

**International Conference On The State, Law, Politics & Democracy (ICON-SLPD)  
Conference Proceedings 2025**

**RECONSTRUCTING THE ROLE OF THE OPPOSITION AND  
COALITION IN THE INDONESIAN PRESIDENTIAL SYSTEM:  
EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN *THE CHEKS FUNCTION AND  
BALANCES* BASED ON THE CONSTITUTION**

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Article	Abstract
<p><i>Received: Des 02, 2025; Reviewed: Jan 07, 2026; Accepted: Feb 09, 2026; Published: Feb 26, 2026</i></p>	<p>Next allocation DPR seats against the Election general 2014, has been explained in Law No. 8 of 2012 where the allocation process The chair has been simplified into two stages. This has been changed remembering the Election In general, in 2009, the process used was very complicated . Then in the General Election 2014 general election , KPU, in the first step will determine Number Divider Voters (BPP) in each area election , where BPP is amount voice valid in A area election shared with amount available quota in area election said . With thus , a party political will get one chairs if each amount votes received by the party political the achieve the BPP determined by the KPU. Next regarding gender quota in elections general 2014, in Law No. 8 of 2012 which makes it mandatory minimum quota of 30% of candidates women to make the list of candidates Election general . And in the Election In general , in 2014, if the 30% women provision is not met filled then there are sanctions, namely in the form of revoked rights as a member of the Election common in the area the election where the quota is 30% No fulfilled .</p> <p><b>Keywords:</b> Opposition, Coalition, <i>Cheks Function</i>.</p>

## A. INTRODUCTION

Democracy is system politics that provides room for participation active all over elements of society in the decision-making process decisions , including the vital role of the party politics . Issues decline democracy has become a popular topic today . According to The Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) index democracy in Indonesia is experiencing decline in 2023. Indication

this setback is the more narrowness room public and freedom civil , including the decline quality work of the escort agency democracy , such as court constitution and decline This democracy is accompanied by with politicization court constitution with granting additional terms of office for constitutional judges .

Among the elements said , the party political the opposition has an important responsibility in guard balance power and ensure government accountability . The party political Alone play its role as a determinant in system democratic and is a main pillar in institutions system politics . The role of political parties Politics also deserves to be called a link between the state and society capacity of the people inside party political the capable influence direction and policies taken by a country .<sup>1</sup>

The role of the party politics as the main pillar cannot be denied , because they function as a bridge between the state and society. Through the process of representation politics , these parties articulate aspirations of the people and aggregating various interests into policies that can be implemented by the government. However, this ideal role often faces challenges. challenge in in practice . In many cases, the party politics is more focused on interests elite or certain groups rather than representing the interests of the people at large. The phenomenon pragmatism politics , opportunism , and unfriendly coalitions based on ideology often weakens function parties as an effective link between society and the state. In addition , the capacity individuals within party political of course influence direction state policy . However, this influence can be counterproductive if it is not accompanied by with accountability and transparency . In a healthy democracy , political parties political must capable operate their roles responsibly with put forward interest public , not just chase power or personal gain . Therefore , party reform political involvement is needed to ensure that their role is truly supportive progress democracy and social welfare.

The existence of a coalition in a government indeed deemed necessary in order to make the internal climate of power becomes more stable and runs smoothly in accordance plan . In this regard , a coalition built by the government , namely with scheme share chair position , where the party politics that are willing to form a coalition then in the end will splash of such things and things like this are common in a presidential system of government .<sup>2</sup> However, the scheme formation coalition through " share-share" chair " position " often gives rise to challenge serious about the principles of good governance .

approach , although general in system presidential , potential sacrifice meritocracy and strengthening political transactional . Party politics involved in coalition is more likely prioritize interest position and access power rather than commitment to a substantive work program . As a

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas Meyer, *The Role of Parties Politics in a Democratic State : Nine* (Thesis), Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES), Jakarta. 2012. p . 30.

<sup>2</sup> Sholihin , Ahmat, and Heri Kurnia. " The Phenomenon Coalition Party Politics in a Government." *Administratus* 6.2: 54-70, 2022. p . 56.

result, the resulting policies may be more accommodating interest elite politics rather than the needs of the people. Therefore, even though coalition is important for stability, its mechanisms must be designed more professionally and based on principles of healthy democracy, not just distribution of power.

The concept of "*checks and balances*" which comes from Montesquieu's theory teaches that political power must be limited by mechanisms that allow for control between institutions, one of which is realized through the role of opposition. State institutions in operating state powers are necessarily limited, so as not to be arbitrary, no overlapping authority and there is no centralization of power in one institution, then there needs to be a distribution or separation of power.<sup>3</sup>

In the context of the Indonesian state system, which adheres to the principle of *trias politica* (executive, legislative and judiciary functions), the opposition is becoming increasingly essential in ensuring a sustainable, healthy and effective democracy. Since<sup>4</sup> the reform era, Indonesia has made various changes to constitutional law that strengthen the mechanism of *checks and balances*. According to Munir Fuadi, *checks and balances* is control of one with another, order holder of power. No one is arbitrary. While *balances* is balance of power so that the holder of power is not stronger than the other, so there is no domination of one over the other.<sup>5</sup> Amendment of the constitution has provided a basis for state institutions to carry out supervisory and mutual functions, balance one over the other, thus creating a more balanced and responsible system of government. The concept of *checks and balances*, or the system of checks and balances is one of the fundamental principles in a democratic system of government. This principle is designed to prevent abuse of power with the method of sharing state power to several independent institutions that have the ability to monitor and balance each other.

The history of government teaches that when power is concentrated on one particular party or institution, this often triggers deviation that ultimately pushes people's movement to demand change. Development of politics in Indonesia significantly influences the mechanism of work system *checks and balances*. Changes in political strength often impact the balance between state institutions, so adjustments and adaptations are needed in implementing *checks and balances*. Strengthening *checks and balances* depends heavily on institutional reforms, including increased transparency and stronger law enforcement.

Development of state administration in Indonesia which is moving towards a system of *checks and balances* marked with the amendment to the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, namely state institutions that supervise and balance other state institutions. Indonesia divides government power to the executive which is exercised by the president, legislative by the People's Representative Council (DPR), and judiciary by the Supreme Court, the Constitutional Court, and the Commission of the Judicial. Therefore, the system of *checks and balances* was born.

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<sup>3</sup> Nafi'aturridza, N. "Implementation The Concept of Checks and Balances According to Mohammad Tolchah Mansoer in the Trias Politica System of Indonesian Constitutional Law". *Rechtenstudent*, vol. 2, no. 3, 2021. p. 294.

<sup>4</sup> Vicko Wahyu Rifan Toyibi. "THE ROLE AND INVOLVEMENT OF OPPOSITION POLITICAL PARTIES IN MONITORING DEMOCRACY: A CHECKS AND BALANCES APPROACH IN INDONESIAN STATE CONSTITUTION". *Journal of Social and Economics Research*, Vol. 6, no. 2, pp. 539-4. 2025. p. 540.

<sup>5</sup> Irma Fitriana Ulfah, et al., *Study of Parliament*, UB Press, Malang, 2017. p. 95.

and cannot be separated from the problem distribution power . The President as the holder power The executive has very dominant authority . This condition causes other state institutions to can't run their function optimally because they are under the shadow power executive . The legislative body , which should act as a supervisor of the power executive , no capable carry out the supervision effectively , so that the President can act in accordance his will . The legislative body also only functions as a " stamp" rubber " which is merely legitimize government policy . Likewise , the judiciary , which should independent to enforce justice , loss his freedom consequence influence domination power executive .

In Indonesia, Law Number 2 of 2008 defines objective party politics in general and specifically. General objectives party politics in Indonesia includes aspirations to realize ideals nationally stated in The Preamble to the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, maintains the integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, developing democracy based on Pancasila and the sovereignty of the people, and realizing prosperity for all Indonesian people.<sup>6</sup>In the election general party political compete for support majority of the people. Party politics that gets majority popular support have the opportunity lead the government, while the party that gets support minority can determine policy politics becomes a group opposition that is, being outside parliament as a counterbalance to the government, so that it will check and balance arises .<sup>7</sup>

Decision to become a group opposition based on the existence of differences view in operate A wheels of government. Differences view this is what produces many alternatives in operate the wheels of government, so that it doesn't happen again coercion clear view No appropriate to apply . The emergence opposition No off target establishment a country, namely to improve the welfare of the people, and the government is given the mandate and authority to regulate and find the right way to achieve prosperity nation . Therefore formed something a system that can measure and evaluate obstacles , weaknesses , and successes in realizing the country's goals that are not can always run with Good .<sup>8</sup>

Peter Mahmud in his work emphasize importance existence party political opposition in guard balance power . According to Mahmud, the opposition not only tasked with supervising the government, but also as a forum for testing policy , offering solution alternative , and represent voice critical outside scope of government. In this context , the opposition hold role crucial *checks and balances* . Without the presence of opposition , democracy prone to slip to direction disguised authoritarianism . Theoretically , the party the opposition functions as a watchdog power , but its effectiveness in practice is heavily influenced by power politics ,

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<sup>6</sup> Megawati Atiyatunnajah and Wari Syatul Amna, " Societal Friction in Incompatibility" Elections and Indonesian Democracy ,” Journal of Constitutional Studies 3, no. 1. 2023. p . 31.

<sup>7</sup> Noer D, Introduction to Thinking Politics . Rajawali . Jakarta, 1983. p . 118.

<sup>8</sup> Fatah, ES Builds Opposition . Teenagers Rosdakarya . Bandung, 1999. p . 213.

legitimacy, and support public owned. Strong opposition needed to prevent domination absolute party in power and ensuring permanent government transparent and responsible. Peter Mahmud's theory links success democracy with ability opposition operate his role in system politics. In *checks and balances*, the opposition not only criticize and monitor the government, but also must capable submit policy realistic and applicable alternatives. They are tasked with represent community groups whose interests No accommodated by the party ruler. Mahmud emphasized that this role is the core of a healthy democracy, where the opposition need offer solution constructive and not solely nature destructive.<sup>9</sup>

### **Identification Problem**

1. How implementation principle *checks and balances* in the current Indonesian government This ?
2. How role opposition as a mechanism *checks and balances* in system political democracy in Indonesia?
3. How due to weak laws system *checks and balances* in the Indonesian government?

## **B. MATERIALS AND METHODS**

The research in this article uses a normative legal method. A normative legal approach is a legal study conducted by examining secondary data or library materials as the primary research object, obtained through literature relevant to the topic discussed in this journal. In this prescriptive legal approach, the method used is the statutory regulatory approach, also known as the statute approach.

The data sources used were primary legal materials, such as regulations regarding fixed-term employment agreements, as well as secondary legal materials, such as books and scientific publications related to the research topic. Additionally, tertiary legal materials, such as dictionaries, encyclopedias, newspapers, and various other online sources, were used. Data presentation and analysis were conducted using descriptive-analytical methods. Data processing was conducted qualitatively, while conclusions were drawn using deductive methods.

## **C. RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

### **System Presidential and *Checks and Balances***

System presidential is a system of government in which the head of state also serves as head of government government. In the system presidential, president elected separately from

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<sup>9</sup>Vicko Wahyu Rifan Toyibi, *Op.Cit*. p. 541.

the legislative body and has clear authority in running the government.<sup>10</sup> Whereas in parliamentary system of government The head of state and the head of government are distinguished. In the system presidential, the president becomes the holder power executive full term, concurrently serving as head of government and head of state. Characteristic This system includes the president No elected by parliament, not responsible to parliament, serving in period permanent, and can only be terminated through a mechanism *impeachment* if breaking the law or constitution.<sup>11</sup>

System presidential and system parliamentary are two forms government systems that have differences fundamental in terms of settings power executive. In the system presidential, power executive is strictly separated from the legislature. The President, as head of state and head of government, elected directly by the people and has independent power to run the government. In contrast, the system parliamentary put power executive branch of the prime minister and cabinet which is directly responsible to parliament. In this system, the head of state often acts as a symbolic, such as a king or president ceremonial, while practical government power run by a prime minister who comes from a party majority in parliament.

Difference other lies in the mechanism elections and relations between state institutions. In the system presidential, president cannot be dismissed by parliament and has a term of office still, which makes This system tends to be more stable. However, the relationship between the president and the legislature can be confrontational because there is no need to have support majority of parliament. On the other hand, the system parliamentary demands a close relationship between the legislature and the executive, where the prime minister must guard trust parliament to remain in power. Consequently, the government in system parliamentary can be more flexible and responsive to change politics and opinion public, but also more vulnerable to instability, especially if the governing coalition breaks up.<sup>12</sup>

The characteristics of a presidential system of government are more characteristic separation power according to Montesquieu's theory, namely separating power executive, legislative and judiciary which are not found in parliamentary system of government at least in function legislation between powers executive and power legislative. One of the draft main in system presidential is that the position between the executive and legislative institutions The

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<sup>10</sup> Husnul Abdi, System Presidential, Understand Definition, Characteristics, and Advantages and Disadvantages, <https://www.liputan6.com/hot/read/5539217/sistem-presidential-pahami-pengertian-ciri-ciri-serta-kelebihan-dan-kekurangannya>, accessed on June 16, 2025.

<sup>11</sup> Josef Mario Monteiro, Constitutional Law System Presidential RI: History, Power, Practice, and Problems, Deepublish, Sleman, 2021. p. 13.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

same strong . The following are the characteristics presidential system of government according to Scott Mainwaring:<sup>13</sup>

1. The position of the President as head of state as well as head of government;
2. President and legislature elected by the people;
3. Executive body No part of the legislative body , so it cannot be dismissed by the legislative body except through a mechanism impeachment ;
4. The president cannot dissolve parliament .
5. With Thus , the system presidential system has advantages in ensuring stability

executive because of the president selected separately and have the authority strong executive . However, the weakness This system lies in the potential for conflict between the executive and legislative because these two institutions selected separately . In addition , the system presidential tend hard to overcome *deadlock* politics if the two institutions come from different parties .<sup>14</sup>

### Systems Theory Party

In his study , Duverger provides serious attention to the structure parties politics , internal organization of the system One party , two- party system , multi- party system , and party system party politics due to religious factors . Furthermore, the book the describe the history behind it birth parties in Europe . Duverger argued that in Europe party political it can initially be traced their emergence , namely some come from within parliament and some come from outside parliament .<sup>15</sup>

From the results of the studies he had conducted , Maurice Duverger, then put forward kind of proposition in discuss problem party politics is important to study regarding the structure parties politics , especially “ the machine the driving force ” of the organization For discussion This problem , according to him, is very important to discuss problem internal organization of the parties politics . In the matter internal organization of parties politics , necessary noticed that there is one difference principle between elite parties or parties traditional ( *partis de cadres* ) with party masses ( *partis de masses* ) as well as parties indirect *parteis* ) which is between the two .<sup>16</sup>

About elite parties or parties Traditionally , Duverger distinguishes between elite or traditional American and elite parties or traditional Europe . Next, he suggested that for the type Europe , in general , liberal parties and parties radicals that existed in Europe at the time Maurice

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<sup>13</sup> Saufa Ata Taqiyya, Characteristics Presidential and Parliamentary Systems of Government , <https://www.hukumonline.com/klinik/a/ciri-ciri-sistem-pemerintahan-presidential-dan-parlementer-lt62284dbbd611a/> , accessed on June 17 , 2025.

<sup>14</sup>Basri, Abdul Rahman, et al. " Governance Landscape : Understanding Differences and Implications System Presidential , Parliamentary , and Semi- Presidential ." Journal of Governance and Local Politics (JGLP) 6.1 (2024): 63-73. p . 67.

<sup>15</sup>Maurice Duverger, Political Parties, Methuen , London, 1954. p . 32.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid* . p . 6.

convened research in 1954 still maintains the overall the structure they acquired , in the 19th century . They are prototype of elite parties . These parties do not aim to gain as many members as possible, but they place more emphasis on gaining support from prominent people , they pay more attention to quality over quantity . Prominent people the grouped in committees local , which is suitable with various boundaries area elections . The internal organization of these committees is very irregular. official ; membership their organization and they run his duties with level sufficient autonomy big . In essence organization center party the may it is said have no power anything , or oversight of the committees area That .<sup>17</sup>

The situation as described above does not apply to the UK . In the UK organization Liberal and conservative parties have different characteristics more centralized since the 19th century . In England members of parliament play role main . They are the real deal leader parties that elite tradition , even when some people militant try against their authority , they can still maintain position . In the UK members of parliament organized with very strict manner . In addition That leader The party has great authority . This is quite a difference critical with the conditions of parties in other countries. The difference it can be briefly formulated that in general most party mass That stiff and mostly the elite party flexible , but for Britain ( England ) it provides another example where the parties the elite stiff and party liberal conservative . Structure these parties are in accordance with structures parties in liberal countries that were initially based on rights select the limited one or the universal and where the giver voice still has faith in the traditional elite . The system is fighting back trend democracy except in some changes small .<sup>18</sup>

About the party mass , from the results of his research Maurice Duverger grouped party this mass to in several types , namely parties mass of type socialist party mass type communists , and parties mass type fascist . For the type socialist , he stated from the outside , technique party mass developed to finance election candidates from the community workers who at that time were a people revolutionary and therefore No may get support from bankers , the masses industrialists , people business , or owner rich<sup>19</sup>land

About the party communist , Maurice stated that the party-split in parties socialist , patterned according to the party in 1924 forced them to accept organization as owned by the Party Soviet Communist . Because the party communists were under pressure from the Bolsheviks before 1917 the structures This party has proven to be very effective in terms of maintaining something flexible and integrated organization for the large masses of the people . According to Maurice, the party Communist is the most organized party compared to with any<sup>20</sup>party .

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<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* hlm. 158.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* hlm. 158-159.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* hlm. 159.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.* hlm. 160.

## D. CONCLUSION

Since the reform era, Indonesia has experienced changes in its election system . general . Changes This happens almost every five years or every One period .

In this era there is debate which results in many changes not only in system Election general But in various lines life state . The most fundamental changes are:<sup>21</sup>

- a. First , it was opened chance back to moving party politics freely including establishing new party . This provision is reflected in election general in 1999 accompanied by with many parties
- b. Second , Election general in 2004, for the first time the first time held election the president and vice president directly, not through the Assembly People's Consultative Assembly (MPR). Previously The president and vice president are elected through the MPR
- c. Third , it was held elections for a new body, namely the DPD ( Representative Council) area ). For that election general DPD members use the System Districts but with multiple seats for each representative province ). For the election of members of the DPR and DPRD, a proportional system is used. with an open list , so that voters can provide the vote goes directly to the selected candidate

Fourth , an electoral threshold is held , namely a provision that for elections legislative every party must achieve at least 3% of the total legislative body seats center . For the election president and vice president party political must obtain at least 3% of the total chair in the relevant body or at least 5% of the earnings voice nationally valid .

Election 1999 general election followed by three parties new order , plus a number of new parties , bringing the total to 48 parties ; 12 of these parties were successful in entering the DPR . election commonly used No too different with the previous one . The legal basis is Law Number 2 of 1999. In 2004, three elections were held general , namely first election legislative at the same time to elect the DPD, both election president and vice president round first , third president and vice president round second . Election general legislative implementation based on Law No. 12 of 2003, and 24 parties participated . The election general The president and vice president use a 2- round system . This means when on the turn First no candidate meets the minimum threshold then there will be an election second with participants of two pairs who get voice the most , which is the goal main is the existence of a couple the elected candidate who becomes the legitimacy strong with acquisition 50% of the vote *plus* one ( majority) absolute ) as a pair that passed.<sup>22</sup>

Based on the explanation mentioned above, it can be concluded that the Members of the Legislature Good That level national , provincial , and selected districts / cities will accept the term of office for five years. And at that time implementation Election In the legislative general

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<sup>21</sup> Nico L, Kana, et al. , Democracy and Portraits Local Elections : Dynamics Local Politics in Indonesia, Pustaka Percik , Salatiga , 2005. p . 35.

<sup>22</sup>Miriam Budiardjo, *Op.Cit* . pp . 473-484.

election which will be held on April 9 2014, voters /people who will vote will receive four types of letters votes , namely the DPR, DPD, Provincial and Regency / City DPRD

Next allocation DPR seats against the Election general 2014, has been explained in Law No. 8 of 2012 where the allocation process The chair has been simplified into two stages. This has been changed remembering the Election In general, in 2009, the process used was very complicated . Then in the General Election 2014 general election , KPU, in the first step will determine Number Divider Voters (BPP) in each area election , where BPP is amount voice valid in A area election shared with amount available quota in area election said . With thus , a party political will get one chairs if each amount votes received by the party political the achieve the BPP determined by the KPU.

Then in the second stage remaining seats from the region election said , later will allocated to the party politics that obtains voice most in the election results general . Then for the area election in Election general DPR, party politics that obtains voice less than 3.5% of the vote , then No will get a seat , but can still get a seat in the Provincial and Regency / City DPRD .

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## **PAPER/JOURNAL/PAPER**

The International Conference on State, Law, Politics & Democracy (ICON SLPD) Vol. X Issue x , Desember (2025)

Amanda FS, Rifansyah N, Achmad HA, LEGAL ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN  
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