

Unveiling the Consequences of Parliamentary Thresholds on the Quality and Quantity of Political Representation in Multi-Party Systems

Singgih Manggalou¹, Jannatul Ferdous²

Article history: Received: 14 April 2024, Accepted: 23 May 2024,
Published: 27 May 2024

Abstract: Implementing Parliamentary Thresholds in Indonesia's multi-party system has significant implications for political dynamics. Parliamentary Thresholds aim to control political party fragmentation and ensure political stability, yet they may also limit the space for inclusive political participation.

Purpose: This study aims to analyze the consequences of implementing the Parliamentary Threshold on the quality and quantity of political representation in a multi-party system.

Design/Methodology/Approach: This study employs a qualitative descriptive approach to explore the impact of the Parliamentary Threshold on the political dynamics in Indonesia, analyzing data and information from various primary and secondary sources.

Findings: The Parliamentary Threshold can reinforce the dominance of major parties, diminish the representation of small and minority parties, and influence overall political participation. Regular evaluations and flexibility in adjusting the Parliamentary Threshold are crucial to balancing political stability and pluralistic representation.

Originality/value: This study contributes to understanding the consequences of the Parliamentary Threshold on political representation in the context of multi-party systems, emphasizing adaptability's

¹ Universitas Pembangunan Nasional "Veteran" Jawa Timur, Indonesia | singgih.m.adneg@upnjatim.ac.id

² Department of Public Administration, Comilla University, Cumilla-3506, Bangladesh | jannat.lata@yahoo.com

importance in maintaining the political system's relevance in dynamic democracies.

Keywords: Parliamentary Threshold; political representation; multi-party system; political parties

Paper Type: Article-Research

Introduction

The Parliamentary Threshold is a concept within electoral systems utilized in several democratic nations (Fikri, Firmansyah, and Sabina 2023), particularly in proportional representation systems. This concept influences how seats in parliament are allocated to political parties based on the results of general elections. The Parliamentary Threshold is the minimum percentage threshold of votes a political party must attain to be allocated seats in parliament (Nurman 2023; Sudarsa 2008). This implies that political parties must garner votes exceeding or at least equal to a certain percentage of the total valid votes to secure seats in parliament. The purpose of the Parliamentary Threshold is to prevent parliamentary fragmentation and ensure political stability by reducing the number of political parties seated in parliament (Indrawan and Aji 2020). In other words, the threshold aims to avoid an excessive influx of small political parties into parliament, which could lead to political instability and difficulties in forming an effective government (Ramadhan 2018).

The application of the Parliamentary Threshold can take various forms, such as national thresholds (applicable nationwide), regional thresholds (applied in specific regions), or thresholds for individual electoral districts. The magnitude of the Parliamentary Threshold varies among countries that implement it and can be a subject of significant political debate. In Indonesia, regulations regarding the Parliamentary Threshold are stipulated in Article 414 Paragraph (1) of Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections (hereinafter referred to as Law No. 7/2017). According to these regulations, political parties wishing to

participate in general elections must meet the minimum vote threshold requirement. This threshold is set at a minimum of 4% (four percent) of the total valid votes nationally. Only political parties that successfully achieve or surpass this threshold will be included in determining the allocation of seats in the People's Representative Council (Gunanto and Murod 2022). In other words, political parties that fail to reach this threshold will not secure seats in parliament. Only political parties with significant national voter support can represent their electorate in parliament (Iswandari and Isharyanto 2019).

The Constitutional Court also ruled that applying Article 414 Paragraph (1) of Law No. 7/2017 in the general elections for the People's Representative Council in 2029 and beyond is conditionally constitutional. This means that for general elections of the People's Representative Council in those years, the norm will remain valid as long as changes have been made to the parliamentary threshold norm and the magnitude or percentage of the parliamentary threshold (Oktavira 2024). In this regard, changes to the parliamentary threshold norm and the magnitude or percentage of the parliamentary threshold must meet the established requirements. These requirements could involve democratic deliberation processes, consultations with relevant stakeholders, or ensuring that the changes do not contradict fundamental principles in the Constitution. This approach indicates that the Constitutional Court recognizes the importance of the threshold in the context of general elections to ensure stability and efficiency in the political system while also providing flexibility for changes, if necessary, to keep the norm relevant and aligned with the evolving needs of society.

The connection between the Parliamentary Threshold and political representation illustrates the complex relationship between efforts to maintain political stability and strengthen pluralism in multi-party systems (Indrawan and Aji 2020). The

Parliamentary Threshold, established by setting a minimum vote threshold as stipulated in Article 414 Paragraph (1) of Law No. 7/2017 in Indonesia, aims to address the issue of party fragmentation in parliament. The importance of the Parliamentary Threshold in the context of political representation is revealed in Constitutional Court Decision No. 116/PUU-XXI/2023, which declared the constitutionality of the norm but with certain conditions. This indicates a recognition that maintaining a balance between political stability and pluralism representation is crucial. The Constitutional Court allows flexibility in adjusting the Parliamentary Threshold according to the evolving needs of society and the times. This emphasizes the importance of adaptability in maintaining the relevance of the political system in the dynamic context of multi-party democracy. Therefore, the Parliamentary Threshold serves not only as a tool to control party fragmentation but also as an instrument to ensure effective political representation in a stable and dynamic political environment. By setting the threshold, the political system can reduce the number of political parties representing in parliament, thus facilitating the legislative process and policy-making. However, the regulation of the Parliamentary Threshold must be done wisely to ensure that the interests of minority groups are also represented in the political process. Thus, a balance between political stability and pluralism can be well maintained.

Therefore, a profound understanding of the consequences of the Parliamentary Threshold is necessary to assess its impact on political representation. While the Parliamentary Threshold can facilitate the formation of stable and effective governments by reducing the number of political parties in parliament, its regulation must also consider the interests of minority groups/small political parties to ensure inclusive and balanced political representation. Thus, understanding the implications of the Parliamentary Threshold is a crucial step in optimizing the

political system to maintain a balance between political representation and pluralism in diverse societies.

Methods

This study adopts a qualitative descriptive research design to explore and elucidate a social phenomenon/reality. The research technique employed is a literature review, which involves scrutinizing existing literature to formulate theoretical frameworks or to support the investigation and problem-solving process (Ashshofa 2011). Primary data sources include information from journals, books, and legislative regulations supporting this research. Secondary data sources in this study encompass additional literature that complements the primary data sources, enhancing the research's depth of discussion and analysis.

Discussion and Findings

Influence of Parliamentary Thresholds on Political Representation Quality

In political systems adhering to democratic principles, effective political representation is a cornerstone supporting a nation's stability and success. However, in efforts to achieve political stability, debates often arise regarding the effects of bolstering major parties by implementing parliamentary thresholds in general elections. Arguments put forth by some assert that strengthening major parties can enhance government stability and facilitate the cohesive implementation of their programs. Yet, opposing views express concerns that such measures may diminish political pluralism and diversity of opinions in political representation. Proponents of parliamentary threshold implementation often highlight that by eliminating small parties failing to reach the threshold, governance can become more robust (Hadi and Brata 2020). Established major parties typically possess strong voter bases and solid political organizations. Consequently, reducing the "chaos" caused by the

presence of numerous small parties in parliament may enhance governance effectiveness and prevent internal conflicts within coalitions (Hadi and Brata 2020; Ramadhan 2018), thus allowing for more cohesive and efficient policy implementation.

In discussions concerning parliamentary thresholds, a recurring question emerges regarding whether such systems indirectly result in decreased representation for small and minority political parties. However, underlying these arguments is a debate regarding the side effects of bolstering significant parties. Reducing small parties in parliament may diminish representation for minority groups or less popular political views overall. This raises concerns about the potential loss of political pluralism and diversity of opinions in political decision-making processes. While governance may become more stable, it may also become more polarized, sacrificing inclusivity in political representation (Ristyawati and Saraswati 2018). Additionally, there are concerns about the potential for strengthened political oligarchy by implementing parliamentary thresholds. Established major parties possess more significant political and financial resources to maintain power, hindering broader political participation and dampening healthy political competition. Consequently, it may become challenging for new parties or individuals newly engaging in politics to compete fairly.

Although these thresholds are intended to generate political stability and strengthen significant parties, there is a risk that they may have negative implications for political pluralism and minority representation. One of the most apparent impacts of parliamentary threshold arrangements is the decrease in representation for small and minority political parties. Parties failing to reach the threshold are overlooked in seat allocation; thus, their voices and interests still need to be represented in Parliament. This directly diminishes the diversity of political views in the political decision-making process. Small parties

representing ethnic, religious, or specific political ideologies may be marginalized, even if they have significant support from a small population.

Moreover, parliamentary thresholds tend to impede small political parties' ability to compete fairly in the political arena (Taşkin and Çakin 2022). These thresholds make it challenging for small parties to secure seats in parliament, especially in their early formation stages. This may inhibit the growth of new political parties and reduce opportunities for various political ideologies to be effectively expressed on the political stage (Adam, Betaubun, and Jalal 2021). Such policies may reduce motivation for citizens to vote for small or minority parties, perceiving that their votes may not significantly influence government formation. Consequently, parliamentary thresholds may decrease voter turnout, as individuals feeling inadequately represented in the political system may tend to disengage from the electoral process.

Furthermore, parliamentary thresholds tend to influence party political representation in parliament. By implementing thresholds, small parties failing to reach the specified vote percentage are denied seats in parliament. This means parties with minority support or more specific ideologies may be excluded from the legislative process. As a result, ideological diversity in parliament may be limited, with significant parties dominating the political stage (Taşkin and Çakin 2022). However, the impact of parliamentary thresholds on ideological diversity may vary depending on the broader political system's design. For instance, in proportional systems with low thresholds, small parties may still have opportunities to gain seats in parliament. In such systems, seats in parliament are allocated proportionally based on each party's percentage of votes. Small parties still have opportunities to gain seats even with relatively few votes if the threshold is low. This allows for a more inclusive representation of various political ideologies, as small parties representing

specific ideologies still have the chance to be represented in parliament (Sturanovic 2018). Proportional systems with low thresholds tend to support ideological diversity in parliament. On the other hand, in majoritarian systems with high thresholds, small parties may struggle to gain seats, reducing ideological diversity in parliament. In majoritarian systems, the party or candidate winning the most votes in a constituency will gain a seat (Dow 2011). A high threshold may make it difficult for small parties to gain seats as they may not meet the required minimum vote percentage. To avoid wasting their votes, supporters of smaller parties may elect to cast their ballots for a larger party as the backup choice if there is a threshold (Valentim and Dinas 2023). This may reduce ideological diversity in parliament as only major or dominant parties can gain seats, while small parties representing minority ideologies may not be proportionally represented.

It's important to remember that ideological diversity doesn't solely depend on the composition of political parties in parliament but also individual participation in the legislative process. Although parliamentary thresholds may influence party political representation, parliament members still bring diverse ideologies into debates and decision-making. While political parties often have transparent ideological platforms, individual behavior in parliament may vary, enriching discussions and advocating for diverse ideological views. Therefore, in analyzing the effects of parliamentary thresholds on ideological diversity, we need to look beyond party political representation and consider individuals' role in shaping political decisions and representing a broad spectrum of ideologies.

The Influence of Parliamentary Thresholds on Political Representation Quantity

In Israel, political division has grown in spite of rising requirements for parliamentary seats. The conflict between

several parties, instability in coalitions, and issues with governance are all topics of ongoing discussion regarding the system. The threshold increase boosted the rivalry amongst parties to attract good candidates, encouraged small parties to establish alliances ahead of the election, and decreased the amount of votes that were squandered. The distribution of the political system and the representation of the parliament are determined by the number of seats that each party is awarded in the legislature. The influence on disproportionality and the party system increases with increasing legal thresholds (Atmor 2023).

Setting this threshold controls the number of political parties entering parliament, hoping to create political stability, prevent excessive fragmentation, and facilitate efficient decision-making processes. However, the existence of this threshold often becomes a controversial topic for several reasons, one of which is the argument that parliamentary thresholds can act as a form of restriction on access for small parties (Dinas, Riera, and Roussias 2015). Higher thresholds may restrict the number of parties that are allowed into parliament, which will have an impact on the diversity of opinions expressed. This could prevent undue fragmentation and help establish stable majorities, but it could also make it more difficult for regional parties, linguistic and ethnic minorities, and other groups to be represented (Monte, Crego and Kotanidis 2024).

In the political arena, parliamentary thresholds can pose a significant barrier for small parties to achieve proportional political representation. Although small parties may have strong support at the local level or within specific interest communities, they often need help to meet the established threshold to gain seats in Parliament. When small parties fail to reach the set threshold, this results in inequality in political representation. This is because the votes cast for small parties by voters are not adequately reflected in the composition of parliament. For example, although

small parties may succeed in garnering a significant number of votes in general elections, they will only have representation in parliament if they meet the established threshold. Consequently, voters supporting small parties may feel their voices need to be improved in the legislative decision-making process. This creates inequality in political representation, where the voices of a significant portion of voters are not well-reflected in parliament (Valentim 2018). In this scenario, established or significant parties have an advantage because they are more likely to meet the parliamentary threshold and, therefore, have more excellent representation. Meanwhile, small parties, which may hold differing views or interests, sometimes need more votes to influence policies significantly.

This inequality in political representation can lead to dissatisfaction among voters and undermine the political system's legitimacy (Anderson and Guillory 1997). It can also affect political stability and fuel polarization, as voters who feel inadequately represented tend to seek political alternatives outside the mainstream. Parliamentary thresholds affect small parties' access to parliament and can broadly impact equality and legitimacy in political representation.

In many cases, parliamentary thresholds favor established major parties with solid support. This is due to several factors influencing the political dynamics in the context of thresholds. Major parties tend to have more resources and access to media that can help them reach the parliamentary threshold. They have more considerable funds to use in political campaigns, including advertisements in mass media and other activities that enhance their profile and visibility to voters. Additionally, significant parties often have established networks with interest groups and civil society organizations, which can assist them in garnering votes and campaigning.

Significant parties often have broader and more diversified support bases. They have built reputations and trust among voters over the years, making it easier for them to gather sufficient votes to meet the parliamentary threshold. Moreover, significant parties also tend to have more robust political engagement at the local and national levels, giving them an advantage in mobilizing voters and organizing efficient organizational structures. On the other hand, small parties that may be less known or have limited funds will need help reaching the parliamentary threshold. They may have different access to financial resources or media required to expand their campaign coverage. Due to a lack of a solid support base, they may need help to attract voter attention and gather enough votes to exceed the established threshold.

Although small parties may have a significant support base at the local level or represent diverse views and interests in society, they are often hindered by this threshold in gaining representation in Parliament. Consequently, most of the votes and opinions they receive must be adequately represented at the legislative level. Small parties often serve as voices for minority groups or communities underrepresented in politics. They may represent specific interests, differing ideologies, or views not fully covered by major parties. However, their inability to reach the parliamentary threshold can result in these votes and opinions not being heard in more significant political decision-making processes. Moreover, it further disadvantages political pluralism by limiting the variety of views and interests in parliament. This reduces opportunities for a broader representation of societal diversity in the political process. As a result, communities feeling unrepresented or overlooked by significant parties may feel alienated and lose trust in the political system as a whole.

Determinants Influencing the Consequences of Parliamentary Thresholds

Various complex factors, such as policy, legal, socioeconomic, cultural, and historical factors, influence the consequences of parliamentary thresholds.

1. Policy and Legal Factors

Policy and legal considerations are vital in shaping and regulating a country's political system. These factors become highly relevant when discussing parliamentary thresholds as they can directly influence the political system's operation. Policies and laws related to parliamentary thresholds affect the electoral process, political party structure, and political representation. One significant aspect of policies and laws about parliamentary thresholds is the rules and requirements imposed to determine the threshold. Whether the threshold is set as a percentage of votes or a specific number of votes required to obtain seats in Parliament, this decision will directly impact the likelihood of small parties achieving it. For example, if the parliamentary threshold is set at a high percentage of votes, it will be more difficult for small parties to reach it than if the threshold is low.

The distribution of seats across parties can be significantly impacted by the design of electoral systems, particularly the guidelines for redistricting and threshold setting (Pilet 2007). For instance, strategic factors were taken into account when district borders and a 5% threshold were changed in Belgium (Pilet 2007). Similarly, national electoral systems that use a stochastic representation threshold and a disproportionality parameter affect the conditional distribution of seats given vote shares (Kalandrakis and Rueda 2020).

Policies and laws related to parliamentary thresholds can also influence the overall structure of political parties. For instance, small parties may merge or form coalitions with other parties to enhance their chances of reaching the threshold. Alternatively, they may strengthen their political identity and platform to attract voters and achieve the threshold.

independently. Policies and laws governing such strategic choices can significantly impact domestic political dynamics. Furthermore, policies and regulations related to parliamentary thresholds can also affect how elections are conducted. For example, whether elections use a proportional or majority system can impact how easy or difficult it is for small parties to obtain seats in parliament. Small parties may have better chances of gaining political representation in proportional systems with low thresholds, whereas, in majority systems with high thresholds, their opportunities may be more limited.

Thus, policies and laws related to parliamentary thresholds have broad and significant impacts on the structure of political parties, elections, and political representation. Changes in these policies can alter domestic political dynamics and affect equality and fairness within the political system as a whole. Therefore, it is essential for policymakers to carefully consider the implications of the policies and laws they enact regarding parliamentary thresholds.

2. Socio-Economic Factors

Parliamentary thresholds can have an impact on the political environment and, in turn, the socioeconomic context. Socioeconomic variables, for example, may have an impact on how votes are distributed among parties, which in turn may have an impact on how seats in parliament are distributed (Rickard 2017). Socio-economic factors play a crucial role in determining the impact of parliamentary thresholds on a country's political system. Levels of poverty, education, economic inequality, and wealth distribution are some factors that can affect societal political participation and voter preferences for particular political parties. Concerning parliamentary thresholds, these factors can have significant consequences for the strength or weakness of small parties in reaching the established threshold.

For example, poverty and economic inequality levels can influence how people engage in politics. Economically marginalized communities may have limited access to education and political information and may prioritize their basic needs over political participation. This can result in low political involvement among economically vulnerable groups, affecting the strength of small parties striving to reach the parliamentary threshold.

Economic inequality and uneven wealth distribution can influence voter preferences for certain political parties. Voters may support parties that offer solutions to socio-economic issues they face, such as unemployment, injustice, or access to public services. Parties that can articulate political platforms that favor economically marginalized communities may have an advantage in garnering support from these population segments. These socio-economic factors can shape a political landscape that presents challenges or opportunities for small parties. For instance, if most voters are concentrated in economically vulnerable groups and are interested in political platforms offering concrete solutions to social and economic issues, small parties representing their interests may have better chances of reaching the threshold. However, if political participation is low among these groups, small parties may need more support to reach the established threshold.

Thus, socio-economic factors can be crucial in determining how solid or weak small parties are in reaching the parliamentary threshold. These dynamics can help design more inclusive and responsive policies to meet society's needs and ensure fair and democratic representation within the political system.

3. Cultural and Historical Factors

The electoral system and the outcomes of parliamentary thresholds can be influenced by the historical and cultural background of a nation. Designing election systems and determining thresholds can be influenced by historical

precedents, cultural norms, and community ideals (Charvát 2023). Equally important are cultural and historical factors in shaping the consequences of parliamentary thresholds in a country's political system. Political culture, which encompasses political norms, traditions, and values society holds, strongly influences political dynamics and interactions among political parties.

The political culture that develops in a country can reflect society's attitudes towards politics, such as the level of trust in government, political participation, or views on political pluralism. For example, in cultures with more authoritarian or conservative political norms, political parties may face more significant barriers in reaching the parliamentary threshold due to resistance to change or variation in political choices. Conversely, in more inclusive or liberal political cultures, political parties may have more flexibility and support in reaching the threshold.

A country's political history also plays a crucial role in shaping its political system and rules related to parliamentary thresholds. Political history can provide an essential foundation for forming political structures, including how electoral processes are regulated, the role of political parties in the political process, and rules related to the parliamentary threshold itself. For example, some countries may establish parliamentary thresholds to prevent excessive political fragmentation or strengthen political stability based on turbulent historical experiences.

A country's political culture and history are essential in designing policies related to parliamentary thresholds appropriate to the local context. Policies considering society's values, traditions, and historical experiences can effectively and sustainably promote inclusivity, stability, and legitimacy within the political system. Therefore, when evaluating or reforming parliamentary thresholds, it is essential to consider the cultural and historical factors that significantly influence a country's politics.

Potential Solutions or Alternatives for Addressing Challenges in Political Representation

In confronting the challenges of political representation, implementing parliamentary threshold regulations is one potential solution. This regulation harbors the potential to address several political issues, particularly suboptimal political representation. Parliamentary threshold regulations offer a mechanism to counter excessive political fragmentation within multi-party systems (Gunanto and Murod 2022). Numerous small political parties often secure parliamentary seats in contexts devoid of such thresholds. The resultant effect is the formation of fragile governments and difficulties in reaching consensus in decision-making processes (Taşkin and Çakin 2022). This situation may hinder the efficiency and stability of governance due to the multitude of political parties requiring consideration in the decision-making process. Countries characterized by high political fragmentation frequently encounter challenges in forming stable and effective government coalitions. Additionally, small political parties may wield disproportionate influence over political decisions, as they often represent highly specific interests that may not always align with the majority of voters.

The imposition of parliamentary thresholds ensures that small parties failing to surpass the threshold do not secure parliamentary seats. This results in a natural selection process whereby only sufficiently large and popular parties can endure and attain political representation. Consequently, thresholds aid in fostering the emergence of more significant and stable parties, which have more excellent prospects of forming robust coalition governments and reaching consensus in decision-making (Iswandari and Isharyanto 2019). However, it is crucial to note that establishing threshold regulations must be approached judiciously, as excessively high thresholds may curtail political pluralism and hinder fair representation for small parties and

minorities. Hence, in setting parliamentary thresholds, it is imperative to balance mitigating excessive political fragmentation and ensuring inclusive and democratic political representation for all societal groups.

Parliamentary threshold regulations can enhance efficiency in decision-making processes within the parliament. The number of political parties is more limited, with thresholds obstructing small parties that fail to meet them from securing parliamentary seats. This brings several benefits to policy discussions and decision-making. With a reduced number of political parties, policy discussions can become more focused. Parliamentarians can more easily concentrate their attention and resources on legislative agendas of significance rather than being fragmented by diverse interests represented by numerous small political parties. This can enhance the quality of policy discussions and analysis, as parliamentarians can examine and consider various aspects of each policy proposal.

Furthermore, parliamentary threshold regulations can enable the formation of stronger majorities. With fewer political parties, the likelihood of forming cohesive and solid majorities in the parliament increases. Strong majorities can support enacting more consistent and sustainable policies, as parties within the majority share common political visions and policy goals. This streamlines the legislative process by reducing potential obstacles and conflicts in reaching agreements. Moreover, with stronger majorities, the risk of political gridlock can be minimized. Political gridlock occurs when significant differences exist between political parties regarding preferences and interests, making it difficult to reach agreements or progress in policymaking. With parliamentary thresholds narrowing the spectrum of political parties represented, the likelihood of political gridlock decreases as it becomes easier for the majority to reach agreements and advance policy agendas. However, it is essential to note that

parliamentary thresholds also have the potential to reduce the representation of political pluralism and disadvantage small parties and minority voices. Therefore, while threshold regulations may enhance efficiency in the parliament's decision-making processes, they must be carefully considered to ensure that democratic principles and inclusivity are maintained.

An alternative form of parliamentary threshold regulation, several important aspects need to be considered. It is important to note that in establishing parliamentary thresholds, they should not be set too high to impede political pluralism and be exclusive to minority parties that also have significant support bases. There are several reasons threshold regulations must be implemented carefully to balance political efficiency and representative fairness: First, excessively high thresholds may impede political pluralism by narrowing the diversity of political views and opinions represented in the parliament. Small political parties or parties representing minorities may hold unique views or interests that are important to society, even if they do not meet the high threshold. By setting excessively high thresholds, these parties may be politically sidelined, and the voices of the segments of society they represent may be disregarded in decision-making processes. Governments may become more stable as a result, and parliamentary deadlock may be avoided. Setting the bar too high, however, may stifle political diversity and creativity by barring independent and smaller parties from running (Kalandrakis and Rueda 2020). Second, high thresholds may exclude minority parties with significant support bases. Although these parties may not be large enough to meet the threshold, they still represent the voices of a majority of voters or certain societal groups. Setting high thresholds may prevent these parties from gaining adequate political representation, leading to injustice and alienation among their voters.

Furthermore, regular monitoring and evaluation of the implementation of parliamentary thresholds are essential to ensure that the rules remain relevant and do not result in unfair political representation. Here are several reasons for periodic monitoring and evaluation measures: First, political and societal dynamics can change over time. This may include changes in voter preferences, the emergence of new political parties, changes in social and economic structures, and shifts in political norms. Therefore, parliamentary threshold regulations that may be relevant at one point may no longer be practical or fair in this changing context. Through regular monitoring and evaluation, stakeholders can assess whether the thresholds still serve their purposes and accommodate changes in society and politics.

Second, monitoring and evaluation can help identify the potential negative impacts of parliamentary thresholds. For example, excessively high or low thresholds may result in unfair political representation or disadvantage small or minority parties. By conducting regular evaluations, authorities can identify such issues and make necessary adjustments to enhance fairness and inclusivity in the political system. Third, monitoring and evaluation can help determine the effectiveness of thresholds in achieving desired goals. For example, whether thresholds reduce political fragmentation, enhance governance stability, or facilitate the formation of solid majorities. Such evaluations can provide valuable insights into whether thresholds must be adjusted or modified to achieve more optimal outcomes. Fourth, through continuous monitoring and assessment, stakeholders can actively engage in the policy process and provide meaningful input for improvements or changes needed in parliamentary threshold regulations. This ensures that the rules are technically relevant and reflect the values and principles of democracy underpinning the political system.

Implementing parliamentary threshold regulations is a crucial step in addressing the challenges of political representation, with the potential to enhance efficiency in decision-making processes in the parliament and facilitate the formation of strong majorities. However, it is essential to remember that thresholds must be applied judiciously to balance political efficiency and representative fairness. Periodic monitoring and evaluation efforts are necessary to ensure that thresholds remain relevant and accommodate changes in political dynamics and democratic values. Thus, ongoing efforts to improve and adjust threshold regulations will help ensure inclusive and democratic political representation for all societal groups. This procedure must be carried out in a transparent and equitable manner in order to support a robust, representative democracy (Taagepera 2009).

Conclusion

Implementing Parliamentary Thresholds in Indonesia's multi-party system has significant implications for political dynamics. Parliamentary Thresholds aim to control political party fragmentation in parliament to achieve the formation of a stable and effective government. However, Parliamentary Thresholds also reinforce the dominance of established large parties, which may restrict the space for inclusive political participation. This can diminish voters' motivation to support small or minority parties. Maintaining a balance between political stability and pluralistic representation in multi-party political systems is acknowledged as a crucial aspect. Socio-economic and cultural factors also play a significant role in the ability of small parties to reach Parliamentary Thresholds. Therefore, a deep understanding of these dynamics is essential for designing inclusive and responsive policies. Periodic evaluations of the implementation of Parliamentary Thresholds are necessary to ensure the political system remains relevant and inclusive. Flexibility in adjusting

Parliamentary Thresholds according to societal needs and changing times is essential to maintain effective political representation. Thus, the primary conclusion is that Parliamentary Thresholds have complex implications for political representation in multi-party systems. It is crucial to consider the balance between political stability and representational inclusivity in designing and evaluating policies related to Parliamentary Thresholds in Indonesia.

Bibliography

- Adam, Aenal Fuad, Wellem Levi Betaubun, and Nur Jalal. 2021. "Quo Vadis Parliamentary Threshold Di Indonesia." *JiIP: Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Pemerintahan* 6, no. 1 (March): 1-17. <https://doi.org/10.14710/jiip.v6i1.8618>.
- Anderson, Christopher J., and Christine A. Guillory. 1997. "Political Institutions and Satisfaction with Democracy: A Cross-National Analysis of Consensus and Majoritarian Systems." *The American Political Science Review* 91, no. 1 (March).
- Ashshofa, Burhan. 2011. *Metode Penelitian Sosial*. Jakarta: Rineka Cipta.
- Atmor, Nir. 2023. "Israel: Increased Political Fragmentation Despite Increasing Thresholds for a Parliamentary Seat." *Zeitschrift Für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft* 16, no. 3 (January): 447-61. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12286-022-00549-1>.
- Charvát, Jakub. 2023. "Political Consequences of Electoral Reforms: Proportionality and Personalisation." In *Springer Series in Electoral Politics*, 41-56. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-45083-9_3.
- Dinas, Elias, Pedro Riera, and Nasos Roussias. 2015. "Staying in the First League: Parliamentary Representation and the Electoral Success of Small Parties." *Political Science Research and Methods* 3, no. 2 (May): 187-204. <https://doi.org/10.1017/psrm.2014.38>.
- Dow, Jay K. 2011. "Party-System Extremism in Majoritarian and Proportional Electoral Systems." *British Journal of Political Science* 41, no. 2 (April).

- Fikri, Sultoni, Muhammad Firmansyah, and Vina Sabina. 2023. "PENGUATAN SISTEM PRESIDENSIAL MELALUI PENERAPAN AMBANG BATAS PARLEMENTARY THRESHOLD." *Jurnal Sosial Humaniora Sigli* 6, no. 2 (December): 511–20. <https://doi.org/10.47647/jsh.v6i2.1685>.
- Gunanto, Djoni, and Ma'mun Murod. 2022. "Parliamentary Threshold in Multi-Party System in Indonesia." Istanbul.
- Hadi, I Gusti Ayu Apsari, and Desak Laksmi Brata. 2020. "Pengaruh Penentuan Parliamentary Threshold Dalam Pemilihan Umum Legislatif Dan Sistem Presidensial Di Indonesia." *Jurnal Kertha Patrika* 42, no. 1 (April).
- Indrawan, Jerry, and M Prakoso Aji. 2020. "Penyederhanaan Partai Politik Melalui Parliamentary Threshold: Pelanggaran Sistematis Terhadap Kedaulatan Rakyat." *Jurnal Penelitian Politik* 16, no. 2 (January): 155. <https://doi.org/10.14203/jpp.v16i2.802>.
- Iswandari, Bunga Asoka, and Isharyanto Isharyanto. 2019. "Penerapan Parliamentary Threshold Dalam Pembentukan Pemerintahan Presidensial Yang Stabil Menurut Undang-Undang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 1945." *Jurnal Res Publica* 3, no. 1 (January).
- Kalandrakis, Tasos, and Miguel R. Rueda. 2020. "National Electoral Thresholds and Disproportionality." *Political Analysis* 29, no. 1 (July): 102–19. <https://doi.org/10.1017/pan.2020.15>.
- Monte, Micaela Del, Maria Diaz Crego, dan Silvia Kotanidis. Electoral thresholds in European Parliament elections. EPRS | European Parliamentary Research Service, 2024.
- Nurman, Muh. 2023. "Tinjauan Hukum Penerapan Ambang Batas Parlemen (Parliamentary Threshold) Dalam Pemilihan Umum." *FENOMENA* 21, no. 1 (May): 83. <https://doi.org/10.36841/fenomena.v21i1.2910>.
- Oktavira, Bernadetha Aurelia. 2024. "Ketentuan Parliamentary Threshold Setelah Putusan MK." *Www.Hukumonline.Com*. March 2024. <https://www.hukumonline.com/klinik/a/ketentuan-parliamentary-threshold-i-setelah-putusan-mk-lt65d8827563d2e/>.

- Pilet, Jean-Benoît. 2007. "Strategies Under the Surface: The Determinants of Redistricting in Belgium." *Comparative European Politics* 5, no. 2 (June): 205–25. <https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.cep.6110094>.
- Ramadhan, Muhammad Febry. 2018. "Politik Hukum Penyederhanaan Sistem Kepartaian Di Indonesia." *Lex Renaissance* 3, no. 1 (January).
- Rickard, Stephanie J. 2017. "Electoral Systems and Policy Outcomes." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*, May (May). <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.267>.
- Ristyawati, Aprista, and Retno Saraswati. 2018. "An Effort of Political Party Simplification for the Effective Government Realization." *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science* 175, no. July (July): 012170. <https://doi.org/10.1088/1755-1315/175/1/012170>.
- Sturanovic, Petar. 2018. "Political Parties and Their Influence on the Parliamentary Mandate after the Fall of Communism in Montenegro and Serbia." *Studia Politica: Romanian Political Science Review* 18, no. 3.
- Sudarsa, Agun Gunandjar. 2008. "Sistem Multipartai Di Indonesia." *Jurnal Legislasi* 5, no. 1 (March).
- Taagepera, Rein. 2009. "Electoral Systems." In *Oxford University Press eBooks*, 678–702. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199566020.003.002>.
- Taşkin, Burcu, and Berfin Çakin. 2022. "Impact of Nationwide Electoral Thresholds on Party System Fragmentation and Disproportional Representation In Greece and Turkey." *Balkan Araştırma Enstitüsü Dergisi* 11, no. 1 (July): 233–67. <https://doi.org/10.30903/Balkan.1134203>.
- Valentim, Vicente. 2018. "Into the Parliament and into the Mainstream: How the Radical Right Becomes Normalized." *SSRN Electronic Journal*. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3289275>.
- Valentim, Vicente, and Elias Dinas. 2023. "Does Party-System Fragmentation Affect the Quality of Democracy?" *British Journal of Political Science* (Print) 54, no. 1 (July): 152–78. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0007123423000157>.