CHAPTER FOUR

FINDING AND ANALYSIS

A. The Position of Political Party in Indonesia

Political parties have frequently been understood as vehicles that bring together those similar political opinions. Parties are seen as arenas in which opinions about public affairs are organized. Each party in a particular party system has its own ideas and approach to the relation between state and society and to the role of the state.[1]

1. The Position and Role of Political Party in Democratic State

Political party has an important role or position in every democratic system. Political party is often called as one of the democracy pillars. The existence of political party is recognition of the freedom of association and expressing opinions. The party also plays a very strategic liaison role between the process of government and citizens. Even, many argue that political party determines democracy, as stated by Schhattscheider (1942), "Political parties created democracy". Therefore, political party is an important pillar to strengthen the institutionalization degree in every democratic political system.[2]

However, not only positive argument appeared about political party but also critical and skeptical argument appeared in the community. The most serious views is that political party is actually no more than a political vehicle for a group of

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[1] Alan Ware, 1996, *Political Parties and Party Systems*, New York, Oxford University Press, p. 17
[2] Jimly Asshiddiqie, 2014, *Pengantar Ilmu Hukum Tata Negara,* Jakarta, Rajawali Press, p. 401.

people in power which intend to satisfy their own desires for power. Political party is only a tool used by some lucky people that managed to win the votes of the people who are easily fooled, to run certain public policies at the expense of the general will.[3]

In a democratic state, the role and position of every state institution must be equally strong and control each other in the checks and balances relationship. But, if the state institution function is poor, its performance is not effective, or weak authority in running each function, what happens is the greedy party reigning in control and maintaining all the process of implementation of government functions.

Therefore, a great party system determine the functioning of the constitutional system based on checks and balances principle in wide meaning. On the contrary, the effectiveness of the functioning of the state's institutional functions is in accordance with checks and balances principle based on the constitution also determining the quality of party system and democratic mechanism that developed in a state. Of course, political party is one of the institutions as expression form of ideas, thoughts, view, and free belief in a democratic community.

The role of political party as media and vehicle absolutely stand out in state activities. Political party also have role in dynamic process of value struggle and constituent interest which represented to determine the context of state activities. Political party is a mediator in state decision making process, between citizens and state institutions.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 402.

According to Robert Michels in his book, Political Parties, A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy mentioned that "....organization… is one and only of economic or political tool to form collective willing."[4] It can be said that join organization is absolute precondition for every organizational imperative. Therefore, it must be admitted that role of political party organization is very important in dynamics of the institutionalizing democracy.

The institutionalizing democracy process is determined by institutionalizing democracy of political party as inseparable part of democracy system itself. Therefore according to Yves Meny and Andrew Knapp, "A democratic system without political parties or with a single party is impossible or at any rate hard to imagine"[5] A political system with only one political party, it's hard to imagine to be called democratic, especially if without political party at all.

2. The Function of Political Party in Democratic State

Political party is often called as one of pillars of democracy. The existence of political party is recognition of freedom of association and expressing opinions. But, the existence of political party quantitatively could not be a benchmark of the democratization success in state, but must be able to run the

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[4] *Ibid,* p. 403.
[5] *Ibid.*

function and competitive and general election. Thus the function of political party that mentioned in article 11 Law No. 2 of 2008 on Political Party are:

a. Political party has a function as political education for members and broad community in order to become an Indonesian citizen who are aware of their rights and obligations in society life, nation and state;

b. Political party has a function as the creation of a climate conducive to the unity of the Indonesian people for the welfare of the people;

c. Political party has a function as absorbers, collectors and suppliers of people's political aspirations in formulating and implementing state policy;

d. Political party has a function as political participation of Indonesia citizen; and

e. Political party has a function as political recruitment in fulfillment political positions process through democratic mechanism with regards on gender equality.

Generally, political experts described four functions of political party. According to Miriam Budiardjo, those four function, are: (i) political communication; (ii) political socialization; (iii) political recruitment; and (iv) conflict management. In addition, according to Yves and Andrew Knapp, the function of political party covers (i) mobilization and integration; (ii) voting patterns tool; (iii) political recruitment; and (iv) tools of elaborating policy choices.[6] The four functions are related to one another, which are:

1. Political Communication

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[6] *Ibid,* p. 407.

As political communication, political party has important roles in interests articulation effort or political interests that are contained or sometimes hidden in community. Some interests are well absorbed by the party into ideas, vision, and policies of related party. Then, those ideas and policy or policy aspiration are advocated so that it can be expected to influence or even become official state policy material.

The mass media plays a role as political communication tool and forms political culture. Beside for peoples, ideas, policies, and concepts communicated through mass media in order to the party members knowing the party principle, their party's program or party's concept to create moral bond in their parties. This political communication uses mass media or mass media that support them.[7] For example, Perindo party with Hari Tanoedoedibjo as chairman and also as Director President of MNC Corporation, is famous TV station in Indonesia, he utilizes his media to share the work plan of his political party that he created.

Political communication system in Indonesia is developed by free basis communication and to be responsible. Every mass media preach something while not contradictory with applicable rules, does not endanger the interests of the state and society. Besides, mass media also have a function of voicing the development and work plan of government, voicing political ideas,

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[7] Fadillah Putra, 2003, *Partai Politik dan Kebijakan Publik,* Malang, Pustaka Pelajar, p. 20.

develop the growth of political culture then maintain and pass it on the next generation.

2. Political Socialization

       Related to political communication, political party also has important role in political socialization. Idea, vision, and strategic policy that become political party's choice are socialized to the constituent to get reciprocity from the society. Related to political socialization, party also has important role in political education. Political education is a way to introduce political values, attitudes, and political ethic that applied or embraced in a state. The political party becomes intermediate structure that should be played the role in implemented state ideals in collective consciousness of the society.

       The establishment of political attitudes or forming political attitudes or beliefs takes a long time and through unstoppable process. According to Gabriel Almound in his book Political Socialization, there are two important things:

1. That political socialization kept running in someone's life. Attitudes and values that obtained and formed in childhood will be always adjusted or strengthened while he experienced various social experiences.

2. Political socialization can be in the form of transmission and teaching. It means in socialization there is an interaction between attitude and political beliefs owned by old generation towards young generation who tend to be

flexible in accepting the influence of teachings. The transmission and teachings can be realized through:

a. Direct interaction in formal teaching or doctrination of an ideology. For example, teaching of Pancasila courses in college and schools.

b. Indirect interaction, which has very strong influence on childhood, where developing submissiveness or defiance of parents, teachers or friends that affect the attitudes on adulthood towards politic leader and fellow citizens.

Political socialization never stop but keep running in our life. Once we see or involves in groups and social roles that are new and different from the experience of life that we've been through tend to change one's political perspective.

3. Political Recruitment

The third function is political recruitment. Political recruitment is selection process or recruitment for the members group to represent their group in administrative and political office. Political party formed was intended to be a legitimate vehicle to select cadres of state leaders in certain stages and positions.

Every political system has different recruitment procedures and systems. There are some cadres chosen directly, some are indirectly selected by House of Representative, or through other indirect methods. Certainly not all positions can be filled by the role of political party as political recruitment tool. Professional positions in the field of employment and others that are not

political should not involve the role of political party. Political party may only be involved in filling political positions so that they need to appoint their positions through political procedures.

4. Conflict Management

   The fourth function is the regulator and conflict manager that happens in society (conflict management). As regulator or conflict manager, political party has function as aggregation of interests that distribute various different interests through channel of institution of political party. Therefore, according to Yves Meny and Andrew Knapp, conflict management function can be related to the function of political party integration. The party illustrates and integrates various interests with how to distribute it as well as possible to influence state political policies.

3. The Problems of Multiparty system in Indonesia

   Multiparty system is a party system that is contradictory to two-system; this system consists of more than two dominant political parties. Too many political parties in the multiparty system caused weaknesses related to performance and incompatibility this multiparty system. There are some weaknesses of multiparty system, such follows:

a. Expensive to operate

   One of the weaknesses of multiparty system is that it is very expensive to run. All competing parties get political power to convince the

peoples/voters to vote for them. One of them is campaigning, advertising in the media such as billboards on the street and posters in public areas, buying broadcast time on radio and television. In this era, mass media is something that is very often used for the society so this is one way for those who are competing to campaign by advertising or so on. All of this requires a lot of money so the multiparty system is expensive to operate.

b. It creates divided society

Every political party has ideology to run in their organization and every party has different ideology to one another. Ideology is a set of goals and ideas that lead to one goal, hope, and action. So, ideology in political party can be interpreted as a set of goals and ideas that explain how people work and how to regulate power. As mentioned before that every political party has different ideology and goals, this condition can cause conflict in the society and state life. We know that multiparty system has more than two dominant parties and that can happen in Indonesia instead our country have so many political party. We can see in the table below.

Table No.3

The Amount of Party (1955 – 2014)

Period	General election	Mount of Participant	Party System
Parliamentary democracy	1955	36 parties and individual	Multiparty without a majority winner with a high level

			of competition
Guided democracy	-	-	Simplified multiparty
New Order regime	1971	10 parties	Multiparty, there is no competition between the parties
	1977-1997	3 parties	The forced multiparty, there is no competition between parties
Reformation	1999	48 parties	Multiparty without majority of the winner
	2004	24 parties	Multiparty without majority of the winner
	2009	38 parties and 6 local parties (specially Aceh)	Multiparty without majority of the winner
	2014	12 parties	Multiparty

Source:

Luky Sandra Amalia, Partai dan Sistem Kepartaian Era Reformasi p. 4.

With this large number of political parties, it believed to be different in their ideology, difference in vision and mission and goals of each political party has resulted discordance within Indonesian state. As an example, on 2014 General Election in Yogyakarta, there was a conflict between PDIP and PPP on April 6th 2014. In addition, violence between political party supporters during

the campaign period in Yogyakarta also occurred in the previous elections, namely 1999, 2004, and 2009.[8]

c. Spend the State Budget Funds

Political party has a fundamental role in democratic society. According to Neumann, political party is a large intermediary that connects powers and social ideologies with official government institutions. In other words, political parties are a bridge between "the governing" and "the governed".

Article 1 section 1 of Law No. 2 of 2011 on Amendments to Law No. 2 of 2008 on Political Party states that "Political Party is organization that is national and formed by a group of Indonesian citizens voluntarily on the similar wishes and ideals aspiration to fight for and defend the political interests of members, society, nation and state, and to maintain the integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia." From the provisions of the above article it is clear that the formation of political parties in addition to having aspirations to fight for and defend the political parties must also pay attention to the interests of the people, nation and state.

However, that strategic role cannot run well by themselves. Structural and financial limitation causes the failure of political party as intermediary

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[8] Anonymous, "Bentrok Pendukung Partai Langganan Pemilu di Yogya", Tempo.co, 7 April 2014 accessed on October 24th 2018 at 1:20 p.m

function. Structural limitation signed by the lack of network and organization so political party is not able accommodate and capture the aspiration of society. Other than that, the leadership of oligarchic political party often ignores the interest of the society, constituent, or members of political party itself. While, financial limitation is signed with party financial dependence on the donors so that the party tends to prioritize the interests of the donors and forgets the society interests. This financial limitation is also related to oligarchic leadership because big donors occupy strategic positions in the management of political parties or the people behind the decisions taken by political parties.

Remembering the establishment of political party is the realization of society sovereignty, it is not the realization of economic power, it is necessary to have financial resources for political parties that can prevent misuse of money politics. In this case, the state must guarantee that every political party has equal opportunities in the framework of carrying out democracy and its functions.

To overcome this, in early March 2015, Home Affairs Ministry Tjahjo Kumolo planned to provide political party financial assistance of IDR 1 trillion per party. This idea was raised because so far the funds for political parties were considered too minimal so that they were not sufficient to finance the main party activities. Financial political parties as regulated in article 34 paragraph (1) of Law No. 2 of 2011 come from: (a) Membership fees; (b) Legal donations; and financial assistance of State Budget/Regional Expenditure Budget. Financial assistance of State Budget/Regional Expenditure Budget is given proportionally

to political parties based on the seats in the House of Representative and DPRD of Province, Regency/City whose calculations are based on the number of votes which the budget is prioritized for carrying out political education for the members of political parties and society.

Article 5 paragraph (1) of Government Regulation No. 1 of 2018 on Second Amendments on Government Regulation No. 5 of 2009 on Financial Assistance for Political Party states "The amount of the value of financial assistance to central level political party that get seats in the House of Representative as referred to article 2 paragraph (3) is IDR 1,000 per valid vote".

This is the table of financial assistance obtained by political parties that participating in 2014 Election if one vote is valued IDR 1,000:

Table No. 4

The Amount of Financial Assistance from State Budget on Central Level Political

Parties in 2014 Election

No.	The Political Party	Number of Votes	Financial Assistance form State Budget
1.	PDIP	23,681,471	23.68 billions
2.	Golkar	18,432,312	18.43 billions
3.	Gerindra	14,760,371	14.76 billions

4.	Demokrat Party	12,728,913	12.2 billions
5.	PKB	11,298,957	11.29 billions
6.	PAN	9,481,621	9.48 billions
7.	PKS	8,480,204	8.48 billions
8.	NasDem Party	8,402,812	8.40 billions
9.	PPP	8,157,488	8.15 billions
10.	Hanura	6,579,498	6.57 billions
11.	PBB	1,825,750	1.82 billions
12.	PKPI	1,143,094	1.14 billions

Source: https://news.detik.com/berita/3547312/naik-dari-rp-13-m-negara-bakal-habiskan-rp-124-m-untuk-parpol and http://news.metrotvnews.com/read/2014/05/14/241830/ini-daftar-perolehan-kursi-dpr-ri-tiap-parpol

For those twelve parties the government should spend Rp 124.92 billion per year of the State Budget. In other words, if the numbers of political party increases or the multiparty system is still applied the state will spend the State Budget Funds that much or maybe more than that.

d. Weakening of the Executive Body's Role

This is because there is no single party which is strong enough to form a self-government, thus force to form a coalition with other parties. In multiparty system and presidential system, coalition of political party to win the

election is natural and common things. Political party coalition happens because to get majority support from parliament is difficult.

Meanwhile the weakness of the coalition is the ineffectiveness of the government because the coalition parties must hold deliberations and compromises with their partners and if there is a mismatch then the coalition is threatened to disband. Political parties that are members of a coalition supporting the government can withdraw their support. There is no guarantee that the coalition is bound to support the government until the end of the president's term of office. Political party that joined coalition tends to take advantage from government. If the policy or program which taken by government is not popular the party tend to be opposition.

e. The Poor Performance of Political Party

As one of the democratic pillars, political party is a forum for people to realize political life. Through political party the society should be able to distribute the aspiration and interests. But in reality, the existence of political party is not directly proportional to the function they carry. Like what Franz Magnis Suseno said, now political parties are currently only a burden for a democratic life. Political party is not a part of solution for the improvement of the nation. On the contrary, it is seen as part of the problem in Indonesia.[9]

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[9]Ridho Imawan Hanafi, Mengingatkan Partai Politik, 12 Desember 2015 http://www.politik.lipi.go.id/berita/1057-mengingatkan-partai-politik accessed on September 27th 2018 at 12.48 a.m

Generally, political parties only work before the election so the relation between political party and society become weak. In addition, political parties tend to prioritize the party, group, and personal interest. This distrust, as the result of a research by the Indonesian Center for Political Research-Knowledge Institute (P2P-LIPI) in 2010, arise because the orientation of political parties towards the interests of the people tends to be defeated by personal and group interests. Even, political parties often forgetting to fulfill his campaign promises to the constituents after obtaining power. The distrust of this society is not only for the old political parties, but also to the new one.

Such an opaque assessment was confirmed from various polls conducted by various institutions. The survey conducted by Kompas from 2009 to 2013, for example, noted that public dissatisfaction with the performance of political party reached 70 percent more. Similarly, the negative image of political party in the public eye shows figures above 50 percent. Likewise in 2015, a Poltracking survey released in May 2015 showed that 63.5 percent of respondents expressed dissatisfaction with the performance of political party. The worsening of political party in the public eyes is mainly related to corrupt practices and the work of cadres in the legislative and executives institutions.

Besides using multiparty system, Indonesia is using presidential system. The problem of government effectiveness experienced by Indonesia today is also experienced by other countries that use presidential systems. Mainwaring argues that only four countries that adopt presidential systems

succeed in creating an affective and stable government. The four countries are the United States, Columbia,Costa Rica and Venezuela. Otherwise, the majority of countries that adopt a parliamentary system are considered successful in terms of maintaining government stability and effectiveness. Some countries are; Australia, Austria, Belgia, Canada, Denmark, Germany, Ireland, Netherlands, England, New Zealand, Italy and others.[10]

Multiparty presidentialism produces more immobilizing executive or legislative deadlock than either two-party presidentialism or parliamentary system.[11] Instead, USA with presidential system is able to produce an effective government because it is supported by two-party system. There are several reasons why presidential and multiparty systems are less successful in creating effective and stable governance compared to parliamentary systems combined with two-party sytem.

Presidential systems do not have mechanism intended to ensure legislative majorities, its contrast to parliamentary systems. In two-party systems, the president's party often has majority, or close to it, but it happens also to multiparty system. Presidents are forced to build new legislative coalitions with every issue. In this regard, multiparty presidential governments

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[10] Jumadi, "Pengaruh Sistem Multi Partai dalam Pemerintahan di Indonesia", Vol. 4/ No. 1 (June, 2015), p. 145.
[11] Scott Mainwaring, "Presidentialism, Multipartism, and Democracy The Difficult Combination", University of Notre Dame, (July, 1993), p. 200.

resemble minority of parliamentary governments. But in most parliamentary systems, it will lasts for if they have majority legislative support on main issues.

Two-party systems are likely to be more appropriate with presidential democracy because ideological polarization is with only two parties. High-entry obstacles keep radical actors out of the party system, and the need to win votes from the center encourages moderation. The absence of extremist parties and the centripetal nature of party competition support democratic stability by ensuring actors that electoral and policy losses will not have big consequences.

Finally, the combination of multiparty system and presidentialism is complicated by the difficulties of interparty coalition-building in presidential democracies. Multiparty coalitions in parliamentary systems differ in three regards from multiparty coalitions in presidential systems; all of them make coalitions less stable with presidentialism. First, in many presidential systems legislators of parties with cabinet portfolios do not support the government. Second, in parliamentary systems, the parties choose the cabinet and prime ministers, and they remain responsible for providing support for the government. While in presidential systems, president put together their own cabinets, and the parties are less boldly committed to supporting the

government. The last, incentives for parties to break the coalitions are generally stronger in presidential systems.[12]

B. The Influence of Number of Political Party to Democratic Consolidation in Indonesia

During the past quarter-century, the "third wave"[13] of global democratization has brought more than 60 countries around the world from authoritarian rule toward some kind of democratic regime. This is big achievement, but it has also become clear that maintaining democracy is a difficult task as establishing. After all these democratic transitions, concerns quickly arisen about how to strengthen and stabilize these new regimes. With the democracy extension to additional countries now having slowed, political scholars and political actors in new democracies-have was increasingly focusing on what has come to be called "democratic consolidation".[14]

Before democratic consolidation, there are period from democratic transition from the less democratic period to the more democratic one. Including Indonesia, we are also through the democratic transition period to the more democratic one. According to O'Donnel and Schmitter:

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[12] *Ibid.*

[13] This catch phrase "third wave" has been widely used among scholars from Samuel P. Huntington's book titled *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*; what is considered by some to be democratic transitions and democratization throughout much of the developing world. (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Third_Wave:_Democratization_in_the_Late_Twentieth_Century accessed on October 24th 2018 at 1:13 p.m

[14] Andreas Schedler, "What is Democratic Consolidation?", *Journal of Democracy,* 9.2 (1998), p. 91-107

"Transition is the interval between one political regime and another… Transitions are delimited, on the one side, by the launching of the process of dissolution of an authoritarian regime and, on the other, by the installation of some form of democracy, the return to some form of authoritarian rule, or the emergence of a revolutionary alternative."[15]

Originally, the term "democratic consolidation" was meant to describe the challenge of making new democracies secure, of extending their life expectancy beyond the short term, of sustaining their expectancy beyond the short term, of making the immune against the authoritarian regression threat, of building dams to eventual "reverse waves" (a situation that might be come back to the beginning).

Democratic consolidation can be interpreted as (process) of merging some democratic elements to jointly facilitate the democratization of politics. The elements that involved in democratic consolidation are politic institution, political parties, elites, interest groups and political communities.[16] Other important element in democratic consolidation is there is a mutual agreement regarding "political values" that can bring closer and unite some above political elements become a coherent relative power as long as the transitions to democracy.

The purpose of democratic consolidation is to make the communities going closer to more democratization. What we needed to be more democratization is political party. Huntington evaluate, in some things, political party become

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[15] Scott Mainwaring, "Transitions to Democracy and Democratic Consolidation: Theoretical and Comparative Issues", *Working Paper #130*, (1989).

[16] Kris Nugroho, "Konsolidasi Demokrasi", *Masyarakat, Kebudayaan dan Politik*, Th XIV No. 2 (April, 2001), p. 26.

important as tool of organizing and arrange the expansion of participation. While Diamond explained, political party is institutional framework which is important for representative and government in a democracy.

Political party can promote democracy when the members have rational understanding on their programs and mission; when they are getting complex both horizontally in functions scope and various sub-units in particular, or vertically in reach to citizen level; and when they has built independence from other state institutions and from centers of socio-political power. In that situation, Diamond is optimistic that political party will be effective.[17]

Diamond evaluates that only political party that can forge various identities, interests, choice, and desire to be a law, aid, policy, even coalition. Therefore, certain degree in institutional system of political parties – with the parties that have independent and effective organization, and established relationship and relative stable with voice blocks and social organization – seems an important requirement for democratic consolidation.[18]

Theoretically, the more political parties is the more democratic, as stated by Scarrow, "the emergence of political party is directly proportional to the growth of the democratization process". If looking at the theory, the political party is increasing then democratic consolidation will arise. But in fact, in Indonesia, the increasing number of political parties causes the more problems that arise in

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[17] M. Zainal Anwar, "Peran Partai Islam dalam Proses Konsolidasi Demokrasi di Indonesia", *Jurnal Sosiologi Agama*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (January-June, 2017), p. 36.
[18] *Ibid,* p. 37.

democratic life. As mentioned before, political parties do not become solutions and even become problems themselves.

The increasing number of political party is increasingly difficult in the growth of democratic consolidation. The increasing number of political parties makes coalition is difficult to hold because political parties would be difficult in making consensus that consists of several political parties. The coalition also weakened the prerogative rights of the president in drafting the cabinet. Professionalism that should be the basis for filling ministerial positions was weakened by the influence of the coalition. Besides, one of the objectives of the coalition was to make the president get the support of the majority of the legislative to avoid the deadlock between the executive and the legislative and immobilization in the administration of government.

In multiparty system, the formation of new political party is a lot. The requirements that are not difficult make new political parties appear. New political parties become small political parties which are not widely known by the public. This small political party is usually political parties that are not the election participant, and these political parties are misused to carry out illegal tasks. From the previous explanation, the author concludes that the influence of the number of political party to democratic consolidation is crucial. The increasing of the number of political party makes democratic consolidation in Indonesia difficult.

C. The Mechanism to Simplify the Numbers of Political Party

To simplify the numbers of political party, it needs some mechanism for structuring the design of political institutions as follows:[19]

1. Simplify the numbers of political party as participants of election

   To simplify the numbers of political party as election participant can be done through several ways, they are:

   a. Fulfilling the requirements of political party as election participant based on Law of General Election consistently

      As legal entity of Ministry of Law and Human Rights, a political party shall fulfill some more competitive requirements to be determined as an election participant as required in Law of General Election.

   b. Implementing the Election Participant Political Party System which is categorized into three scopes:

      1) The Election Participant Political Party System of District/City can be only as participant in general election of member of Regional of House of Representative of District or City.

      2) The Election Participant Political Party System of Province can be only as participant in general election of member of Regional of House of Representation of District and Province.

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[19] Aprista Ristyawati and Fifiana Wisnaeni and Hasyim Asy'ar, Penyederhanaan Partai Politik dalam Sistem Kepartaian di Indonesia sejak Perubahan Undang-Undang 1945, *Diponegoro Law Review,* Vol. 5 No. 2 (1996) p. 8.

3) The National Election Participant Political Party System can be as participant in general election of member of Regional of House of Representation of District/City, member of Regional of House of Representative of Province, and member of House of Representative.

2. Simplify the Numbers in Parliament

   a. Apply District System in General Election

   As one of institutional implementation towards simple multiparty, the strategy changed from proportional to district system or minimum with mixed system is proper to be used as one of the agenda of strengthening presidential system which is more affective and stable through the rearrangement of electoral system design.

   b. Minimize the Electoral District

   District magnitude is the number of parliamentary seats or members of the House of Representative that will be elected in an electoral district. There are two district magnitude groups, namely single-member constituencies and plural members.

   c. Apply the Parliamentary Threshold Constituently

   Actually it is not the number of political parties participating in the election that must be limited, but the ideal number of political parties that need to be empowered or downsized in parliament. The implementation of the parliamentary threshold is more effective than electoral threshold in simplifying the number of political parties in the House of Representative.

Parliament Threshold is more effective in reducing the number of political parties in the election because of its clearer political consequences.

d. Combining the Implementation of Legislative and Presidential Elections (Concurrent Elections)

If the implementations of legislative and presidential elections are carried out together, effective government will be created. The elected president will gain strong legitimacy from the people while getting big support from the parliament.

e. Fractional Threshold

Simplification numbers of fraction through tightening requirements of the fraction formation. The government will be more effective if there are three or four fraction in parliament. One of the examples of the requirements only for the formation of a faction can only be done if political parties have at least 50 or even 100 seats in parliament.

f. Regulation for Permanent Coalition

In order to make a strong and solid coalition, the coalition needs to be built on the basis of common ideas or platform. Political parties need to be encouraged to do permanent coalition to form strength coalition because strong coalition will support strong government.

D. The Problems on the Effort of Simplification the Numbers of Political Party

After reformation, four times of general election from 1999 until 2014, the simplification of the numbers of political party cannot be realized until now. There are some problems or obstacles of reaching these goals that appears from the expert opinion, as follows:

1. According to Masykuruddin Hafidz, a National Coordinator of the People's Voter Education Network, Law of General Election in 2016 is not appropriate in using electoral system instruments. On that time, in the draft of General Election Organizer, Article 393 mentioned; the participate political parties must fulfill the parliamentary threshold of at least 3.5% of the number of legitimate votes nationally to be included in the determination of seats in the House of Representative members. While according to Masykuruddin, simplifying the numbers of political party is not enough with only implementing parliamentary threshold. Even the implementation of higher parliamentary threshold can threaten the proportionality of election results.

The amount of the parliamentary threshold does not have a significant impact on the simplification of the party system. At least that was proven in the 2009 to the 2014 election with the application of 2.5% to 3.5%. The number of political parties actually increased. Therefore, he further argue, by putting forward the aspect of high proportionally, low votes wasted and restrictions on the

participation of the next election, the parliamentary threshold should be reduced to 1 percent. That applies from national to regional.[20]

2. The electoral system still uses the old system. To get a simple party system, there must be a change in the electoral system into a district system. Thus, a process of unification of political power (centrifuges) will occur, making it easier for people to make choices, and reducing or eliminating various forms of political buying and selling.[21]

According to Iwan Satriawan and Dhenok Panuntun Tri Suci Asmawati, there needs to be an idea to make rules about multiparty systems explicitly by paying attention to several alternative points including:

a. Strict party system settings, in the sense of regulation that explains the party system adopted by the number of certain political parties.

b. Although the number of political party is not restricted, it should pay attention to the conditions for establishing stricter political party so they can bring up strong and accountable political party.

c. If there is a coalition, clear regulations must be made regarding the coalition mechanism, because all this time the coalition of political parties has been inconsistent and inclined not paying attention to political ethics.

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[20] Anonymous, Penyederhanaan Partai Belum Tercapai, 9 Desember 2016, http://www.koran-jakarta.com/penyederhanaan-partai-belum-tercapai/ accessed on January 7th 2019 at 8:00 pm 8.00 p.m

[21] Mexsasai Andra, "Gagasan Penyederhanaan JUmlah Partai Politik Dihubungkan Dengan Sistem Pemerintahan Republik Indonesia", *Jurnal Ilmu Hukum*, Vol. II (August, 2011), p. 82.