CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A.   Background

The electoral contest will be held again simultaneously in 2024. In the 2024 Election this time there are 18 national political parties and 6 local political parties in Aceh who will be participants, this is stated in KPU decision number 518 of 2022. The interesting thing in the upcoming 2024 Election is that there will be 3 new parties participating in the election, including Gelora Party, Ummat Party, and National Awakening Party (PKN). A new party that wants to register as an election participant must go through several stages of registration and verification based on Article 178 paragraph (2) Law - Shrimp Number 7 of 2017. A number of registrations need to begin with registration with the Ministry of Law and Human Rights (Kemenkumham) to obtain legality. Institutions and registration with the KPU for later factual verification so that they are eligible to become election participants. Furthermore, the party must pass the parliamentary threshold of 4%. Parliamentary Threshold is the threshold requirement for a political party's vote acquisition to be able to enter parliament. The calculation is carried out after the total number of votes for each political party is known and then divided by the number of votes nationally (Mu'min & Sanusi, 2020).

The political parties themselves complied by Al-Hamdi (2023) is a group of people who are strongly bound by the same beliefs, the same interests, and the same commitment to realizing their interests, whether the party offers an alternative policy for government or occupying certain public positions provided that the way to achieve power is through legitimate channels, legal, and constitutional. Barnea and Rahat (2011) provide a perspective framework for distinguishing new parties

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from old parties. First, the party aspect in the electoral contest includes party labels, ideology, and voters (Sihombing et al., 2020). Some of the social bases of voters are different from the old parties. Second, the aspect of the party as an organization which includes the party's legal–formal status, institutions, and party activities. Meanwhile, the challenge is that political parties must be able to offer a candidate pair for President and Vice President who is popular and acceptable to other parties in order to obtain support from the coalition of parties that will be formed (Solihah, 2018).

Parliamentary thresholds began to be determined in the 2009 elections. According to the article 202 paragraph (1) of the Republic of Indonesia Law Number 10 of 2008 concerning the general election of members of the People's Representative Council, Regional Representative Council, and Regional People's Representative Council, stating that "Political parties participating in the election must meet the vote acquisition threshold of at least 2.5% of the number of valid votes nationally to be included in determining DPR seats." In the 2009 election, there were 34 national parties and 6 local Acehnese parties participating in the 2009 election.

Among the number of parties participating in the election, there were 18 new parties, including: the National Front Party (Barnas), the Democratic Reform Party (PDP), the Greater Indonesia Movement Party (Gerindra), the People's Conscience Party (Hanura), the Prosperous Indonesia Party (PIS), Struggle Work Party (PKP), Indonesian Democratic Love Party (PKDI), Ulama National Awakening Party (PKNU), Sovereignty Party, Matahari Bangsa Party (PMB), Indonesian People's National Bull Party (PNBK Indonesia), Patriot Party, National People's Concern Party (PPRN), Indonesian Youth Party (PPI), Indonesian Entrepreneurs and

Workers Party (PPPI), New Indonesian Party of Struggle (PPIB), Regional Unity Party (PPD), and Nusantara Republican Party (PRN).

Through the vote acquisition in the 2019 election, of the 34 parties participating in the election, only 9 parties were able to surpass the 2.5% parliamentary threshold. Among them, there were two new parties, namely the Gerindra Party and the Hanura Party. The votes obtained by the Gerindra Party were 4,646,406 or 4.46% and the Hanura Party's were 3,922,870 or 3.77%.

In the next election in 2014, based on Article 208 of the Republic of Indonesia Law Number 8 of 2012 concerning the general election of members of the People's Representative Council, Regional Representatives, and Regional People's Representative Councils, it is regulated that: "Political parties participating in the election must meet the vote threshold of at least - less than 3.5% of the number of valid votes nationally to be included in determining seats in the DPR, DPRD, Provinces and Regency/City DPRD." also In this year, only 12 political parties passed verification by the KPU. They were able to take part in the elections and one of them was a new political party, namely the National Democratic Party (Nasdem). Through vote acquisition, there are 10 political parties can exceed the 3.5% parliamentary threshold, including the Nasdem Party with a total of 8,402,812 votes or 6.72%.

In the third year the parliamentary threshold was implemented, namely the 2019 election, the threshold increased to 4% as stated in article 414 paragraph (1) which reads: "Political parties participating in the election must meet the vote acquisition threshold of at least 4% of the number of valid votes. Nationally to be included in determining the acquisition of DPR member seats." In the 2019 election, there were 16 political parties participating in the election and 9 political parties qualified to

get votes above the parliamentary threshold of 4%. However, none of the 4 new parties, namely the Indonesian Unity Party (Perindo), the Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI), the Berkarya Party and the Garuda Party, passed the 4% parliamentary threshold. The minimum vote size of 4% in the 2019 election resulted in reduced opportunities for new political parties to qualify to appoint their cadres to parliamentary seats.

According to Hanafi (2018) the emergence of new political parties in the 2019 elections as an alternative political choice to existing parties, because new parties can gain sympathy from voters who want new things in parties and the challenge is leadership, namely the lack of popular and strong figures who have grassroots base. A person's consideration for voting depends on their individual motivation or desire to vote, such as whether they are interested in the issue or personality of the candidate or because of their loyalty to a party (Wahjono & Syamsuddin, 1988). So if a new party does not have loyal followers or lacks a program that motivates people to vote, the use of a figure as the face of the political party should be the point for people to vote. (Müller, 2000) said that party cadres who will occupy a public office are ultimately agents of the party, they are used as a strategic tool in election competition between parties. In the 2019 election, the four new parties were unable to show quality figures so they could not compete with the old parties in terms of the figures offered (Muhammad et al., 2020).

In the upcoming 2024 election, there are three new parties that will take part in the electoral contest. These new parties include the Gelora Party, the Ummat Party, and the Nusantara Awakening Party (PKN) and these three parties certainly come from different backgrounds. Even though the Gelora Party declared itself as a nationalist party or a centrist party, its birth could not be separated from

factionalism in one of the Islamic parties, while the Ummat Party from the start had identified itself as an Islamic party and the presence of Amien Rais this party was increasingly placed on the right spectrum (Argenti, 2021). Meanwhile, the Nusantara Awakening Party (PKN) is a party formed and led by the former deputy chairman of Democrats Party, namely Anas Urbaningrum whose ideology is the national philosophy, namely Pancasila, and with the foundation of building a state with noble, traditional values that have been reshaped following the progress of the times (Barokah et al., 2022).

As a new party that is not yet well known to the wider public, the party headed by the former chairman of the Democratic Party must strive to gain public trust in order to get votes that exceed the high parliamentary threshold of 4% so that they can place their cadres in parliamentary seats. Seeing that in the 2019 election, not a single new party could pass the parliamentary threshold, this is a challenge for new parties in developing their strategy to gain public support and occupy the parliamentary threshold in the 2024 election, including PKN. Through this research, researchers want to discuss the strategy carried out by the Nusantara Awakening Party (PKN) to achieve a Parliamentary Threshold of 4% in the 2024 election.

B.   Problem Formulation

Based on the background explained above, this research concludes in the 2009 election two new parties surpassed the parliamentary threshold. Then, in the 2014 election, only one party could surpass the parliamentary threshold, and in the 2019 election, there were no new parties that could reach the parliamentary threshold. This was caused by a lack of preparation and the inaccuracy of the strategies they prepared to gain public sympathy. Therefore, this research proposes a question: how

does the strategy of a new political party, namely the Nusantara Awakening Party (PKN) reach a parliamentary threshold of 4% in the 2024 election?

C.   Benefit and Research Purpose

1. Research Purpose

    Based on the problem formulation described above, the aim of this research is to find out the strategy prepared by the Nusantara Awakening Party (PKN) as one of the newcomer parties in the 2024 election to get people's votes so that it can achieve the 4% parliamentary threshold in the 2024 election.

2. Research Benefit

    a. Theoretical Benefit

        It is hoped that this research can contribute to socio-political research to find out the strategy of a new party, namely the Indonesian National Awakening Party (PKN), in getting votes to reach the political threshold of 4%.

    b. Practical Benefit

        It is hoped that this research can contribute to further research and serve as comparative material relating to the political parties in achieving the parliamentary threshold in election contestation.

D.   Literature Review

This research used 20 literature reviews from journal articles. This literature review aims to find out similarities in the research to be researched and look for information to find out differences with previous research. In this literature review, it is divided into two classifications. The first classification is the strategy of new parties that succeed in reaching the parliamentary threshold and the second classification concerns new parties that fail to reach the parliamentary threshold.

The following are 20 previous studies based on themes that have relevance to the research to be studied.

Research conducted by Winahyu (2014) shows that the strategy that was successful in bringing the Gerindra party to the 2009 election was to use an imaging strategy for Prabowo Subianto by carrying out political communication dialogically in various segments of society and through the media. With the intensity of political communication carried out by the Gerindra party with the community, it produces pro-people political policies such as the idea of a people's economic discourse. In line with the research conducted Arif (2018) the strategy carried out by the winning team from the winning pair for mayor of Malang was to understand political marketing well. By knowing the market needs of voters or society, utilizing the internal strength of supporting organizations, using capital support or large funds, relying on the candidate's managerial abilities, making social investments and organizing campaigns.

Research by Paudel et al. (2018) explained that political interests are positively related to perceptions of political parties and voting behavior, which concludes that perceptions of political parties are influenced by the political interests of politicians, and political trust is also positively related to political perceptions and voting behavior, which shows that political beliefs greatly influence political parties.

Research by Ahmed, Jaidka, and Cho (2016) regarding the elections in India that the new parties used social media Twitter as self-promotion and media validation of the success of the party winning the election by using Twitter to attract voters. Relevant to research Plescia, Kritzinger, and Oberluggauer (2020) in their research on elections in Australia, the success of a party depends on its ability to exploit the opportunity structure of election issues, namely by identifying which

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issues are the basis of the party and in larger numbers due to increasing voter instability, capturing and then responding to a larger scope of voters will be one of the main challenges for parties to run successful election campaigns.

As reported by As'ari (2010) Hanura Party as a new party also succeeded in passing the parliamentary threshold in the 2009 election by using a door-to-door strategy technique to attract public attention. This technique has also proven effective by being carried out at the same time as a dialogue forum with the community so that the placement of legislative candidates as a political product is proven to be in accordance with what the community wants. As Brierley and Kramon (2020) said in their research that a number of new parties implemented strategies targeting information gathering and providing assistance in voter and opposition areas.

In the 2014 election based on the findings Raharjo (2015) and Mustofa (2013) the strategy implemented by the Nasdem party in achieving victory in the 2014 election was an imaging strategy through mass media as a movement for change, a strategy for developing party infrastructure, and a funding strategy. Meikyansah et al. (2023) in their research, he also said that the Nasdem Party's victory in the 2014 and 2019 elections used a sales-oriented party strategy, where the strategy aims to get the number of votes from prospective voters as well as party representation and figures sold by political parties.

In contrast to the two previous elections where new parties with their strategies were able to pass the parliamentary threshold, in the 2019 election a number of new parties failed. As for the findings Atika (2019), Al-hamdi (2019), and Yudiansyah (2021) a number of new parties in the 2019 election have developed political marketing strategies. The Perindo Party uses television to socialize programs and

parties, the PSI carries out door-to-door outreach to introduce its party, and the Berkarya Party socializes the valuesand programs of the New Order to the public and has the image of Suharto and the Garuda Party carries out socialization of political party narratives centrally through social media Facebook and Instagram.

Susanto (2019) and Aristya, Astuti, and Fitriyah (2021) based on the results of his research, the Perindo Party's strategy is also to build public trust by implementing party programs that address community problems, such as distributing free trolleys to MSMEs. Hary Tanoesoedibjo said that the most important thing is for the public to know the Perindo Party first so that it will be accepted and freely work in the community with its programs. As for other findings from Hayati et al. (2022), the Perindo Party also developed a strategy to build brand awareness by managing six main issues regarding the differences between the Perindo Party as a new party and other political parties.

Another finding from Citra, Fitriyah, and Alfirdaus (2023) that PSI has several political campaign strategies that build a youth image, use social media as a campaign tool, attract minority votes, involve the community in financing and campaign activities, door to door canvassing campaigns, and creative campaigns. However, PSI's political campaign was unable to gain PSI votes in the 2019 election, namely because the campaign carried out by PSI was more suitable for young voters in urban areas, the content of PSI's campaign brought resistance from the public, and public perception of the new party was not able to convince the election to vote to PSI.

In addition, in research Sihombing et al. (2020) the institutionalization of the PSI and Garuda Party was far from ideal and was a factor in the failure of the new party. Apart from that, party systemic factors such as unsystematic recruitment of

members and legislative candidates and a lack of figures and the party's image in the public are also factors in the failure of the 2019 election. In line with research Indi (2023) the lack of cadre formation in the Perindo party is the root cause of the party's failure to win the 2019 election.

Sultoni and Harsasto (2020) said based on the results of his research that the political campaign strategy of using the media carried out by Perindo and PSI basically did not have a significant impact on the votes obtained by the party. Still, in this case, the media became quite an important tool in the process of introducing or increasing the party's popularity before raising its electability.

Tabel 1. 1Summary of Literature Review

No	Classification	Writer	Findings
1	New Party strategy that succeeded in crossing the parliamentary threshold	(Winahyu, 2014), (Arif, 2018), (Paudel et al., 2018), (Ahmed et al., 2016), (Plescia et al., 2020), (As'ari, 2010), (Brierley & Kramon, 2020), (Raharjo, 2015), (Mustofa, 2013), and (Meikyansah et al., 2023)	New parties that pass the parliamentary threshold use a number of well-thought-out strategies, including a party imaging strategy or the emergence of party figures who already have an image in society and carrying out a centralized campaign strategy through social media.
2	The New Party failed to pass the parliamentary threshold	(Atika, 2019), (Al-hamdi, 2019), (Yudiansyah, 2021), (Citra et al., 2023), (Susanto, 2019), (Aristya et al., 2021), (Hayati et al., 2022), (Sultoni & Harsasto, 2020), (Sihombing et al., 2020), and (Indi, 2023)	The failure to reach the parliamentary threshold by a number of new parties was caused by several factors including; the lack of institutional preparation in their party, the inaccuracy of the campaign they carried out to the public, and the absence of a figure they could sell to the public to attract their sympathy.

Source: Processed by Author

Based on the literature review that has been presented, almost all new parties have the same strategy, such as conducting door-to-door campaigns and voicing their programs through the mass media. However, the failure that occurred in some new parties was also based on the party's lack of strategic maturity and could not be separated from the increasingly high parliamentary threshold of 4%, which became a big challenge for new political parties that did not yet have loyal supporters in the 2019 election. Therefore, through this research, we want to find out how the new party, namely the Indonesian National Awakening Party (PKN), has developed its strategy carefully to achieve a vote to surpass the 4% parliamentary threshold in the 2024 election.

E.   **Theoretical Framework**

1. Competitive Strategy

According to Murtopo (1974), strategy is an overall plan of actions and decisions that are intuitive, the basic unity and purpose of the plan gives color or characteristics to the strategy. The strategy itself always has a goal, namely "victory", where this becomes the focus because it is reflected as a responsibility to get something. In terms of elections, political parties must have a strategy to obtain the majority of people's votes to win the election and implement regulations or policies that are in accordance with what the public has mandated for a political party. Meanwhile, according to Schroder (2009), political strategy is a strategy used to realize political ideals. In order for a contestant to win the general election, the candidate must be able to get voters to take their side and vote for him (Syahda & Rafni, 2021).

The emergence of new parties becomes a political cycle every five years. In a democratic climate, establishing a new party is a constitutional right of every

citizen and political rights must be respected and respected (Argenti, 2021). So, it is not surprising that with the big national election event, the political stage is enlivened by the presence of new political parties that are also competing for votes from voters. Lucardie (2000)stated that if there are challenges and successes from new parties in being able to compete in elections, they can at least be attributed to:

a. Political project

A political project is a party's effort to address pressing problems for the majority of voters. The aim is for voters to have a high level of trust in a political party because the biggest challenge for a new party in elections is to be known to the public, gain support, and gain public trust.

Ideology is the main thing for political parties to be able to win election contests. Ideology is important for a party because it is seen as a belief system that becomes the party's identity. Political ideology is fundamental to parties and is a tool that parties can use not only to attract votes but also to motivate activists and become a bridge with non-party organizations. Basically, political ideology is a set of values, ideas, norms, and beliefs that are the basis for determining a person's politics (Aji & Indrawan, 2020).

b. Source of Capital

Sources of capital relate to internal parties such as capital used by the party, management, and mass media publications. Basically, resources are capital to make oneself influential in society, where there are many kinds of resources that can be utilized to gain and manage influence (Haryanto, 2017). Sources of capital are divided into several:

1) Economic resources, related to ownership of assets and money are very important things to use in carrying out politics and facing contestation. These economic resources are needed in program and campaign outreach activities to the community and are needed in large quantities.

2) Social resources, include networks owned by various parties. Various social resources are related to internal and external parties as well as the disruptive power of society. The network referred to here is relations with the community and influential people to get party support gain empathy from the community and have great opportunities.

3) Cultural Resources, explain the overall intellectual qualifications produced to be able to appear in front of society, namely knowledge and skills. These cultural resources bring their differences into the fighting arena.

c. Political Opportunity Structure

According to Lucardie (2000) political opportunity structures are related to institutional conditions and social, economic, and cultural conditions. Political opportunities consist of having political party support, having support from the community, leaders who have political communication in public, and having social networks with other authorities (Haboddin, 2017). To win the election contestations, political parties need public support. Political parties must have good communication with the community so that the aspirations of the community are heard by the party and the party gets support from the community. Basically, political parties and society are an interactive relationship where both parties build a common understanding (Liddle, 1978).

To attract the masses, actors in political parties must pay attention to political opportunity factors. Reputation and popularity among members are the main indicators for attracting public sympathy. By having a good reputation, the actor becomes a consideration for the public in making their choice. Because the image of a party cadre is a success for the party. A party leader or a cadre becomes the focus of attention of the media, the public, and fellow politicians (Ediraras et al., 2013). It is hoped that with high popularity it can get high votes.

2. Political Party

According to Carl J. Friedrich quoted from (Budiardjo, 2008), A political party is a group of people who are stably organized to seize or maintain control over the government for the leadership of their party and based on this control, provide their party members with benefits that are either idyllic or material. Sigmund Neumand in his book, Modern Political Parties, states that political parties are organizations of political activists who seek to control government power and gain people's support through competition with a group or other groups who have different views. Next, Prof. Miriam Budiarjo defines a political party as an organized group whose members have the same orientation, values , and, ideals with the aim of gaining political power and seizing political positions to implement their programs.

Meanwhile, according to Al-Hamdi (2023) a political party is a group of people who are strongly bound by the same beliefs, the same interests, and the same commitment to realizing their interests, whether the party offers an alternative policy to the government or occupies certain public positions with a note that the way to achieve that power is by: with legitimate, legal and

constitutional channels. In Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 31 of 2008 concerning Political Parties, it is explained that political parties are social organizations formed by a group of citizens of the Republic of Indonesia voluntarily based on the same will and ideals to fight for their members, society, nation, and state through general election. Thus, political parties as participants in general elections have the opportunity to fight for the interests of the people broadly, to fill state institutions, and to form a government (Wijayanti & Iswandi, 2021).

Based on article 11 of Law Number 2 of 2008 concerning Political Parties, it states that political parties have 5 functions, namely:

a. Political parties as a means of political education. The purpose of political education is to shape and develop political personality and political awareness to create ideal political participation that allows people to freely and confidentially make their choices (Pasaribu, 2017). Political parties are also regulated in article 31 of Law number 2 of 2008 which states that the aims of political party education include, among other things, increasing public awareness regarding their rights and obligations as citizens, increasing political participation and community initiative, and increasing independence, maturity and building national character to maintain national unity and integrity.

b. Political parties as a means of unifying the nation or regulating conflict. Political parties as a forum for community democracy become a bridge for the community to the government so that with the same voice and aspirations the community unites in a political party organization and

elects their representatives in elections to convey their aspirations to the government.

c. Political parties as a means of channeling political aspirations or communication. Political communication in political parties aims to provide information about the political party's work program to political party members and the wider community.

d. Political parties as a means of political participation. Political participation is an activity or group of individuals to actively participate in political life, namely through the process of selecting leaders and directly or indirectly influencing government policy (Budiardjo, 2008). Political parties as a means of political recruitment. The political party recruitment process aims to select and refine potential leaders who will be offered to the public (Amundsen, 2007).

Thus, political parties have a very important role in embracing society in political life. This is also explained by Eldersveld in Puhle (2002) that political parties are very important because they are the main mediators and potential links between citizens or voters and the interests of these voters to be conveyed to policy makers. Political parties are also divided into several groups because the majority of political parties determine their political agenda based on ideological considerations and the strength status of their organization (Al-Hamdi, 2023).

Hofmeister and Grabow (2011) groups political parties into various criteria models, namely; based on the level of organization, socio-political goals, groupings based on social class which the party tends to represent, groupings based on position towards the political system, and groupings based on names

where the party wishes to express certain socio-political goals which the party wishes to categorize.

Indonesia also has a grouping of political parties based on the Al-Hamdi (2013) theory, political parties in Indonesia are divided ideologically into three main spectrums; nationalist – secular, nationalist – Muslim, and nationalist – Islamist. According to Al Hamdi the selection of the three classifications is based on three main reasons, namely; These three forces represent three variants of Indonesian society, presenting the main forces of people's aspirations both at the national and local levels, and the parties within these three forces have participated as election participants and always have continuous representation in parliament at both national and local.

As continued by Al Hamdi, there are three reasons why the three strengths of political parties are grouped. First, political parties that are members of nationalist-secular and nationalist-Muslim political forces have clearly stated that the principle of their party is Pancasila. Second, even though political parties who are members of nationalist-Islamist forces do not openly adopt Pancasila as an ideology. Third, as a symbol of Indonesian nationalism, Pancasila has the same values as the platforms of almost all political parties in Indonesia.

Political parties in Indonesia are also classified based on their organizational strength status by Al-Hamdi (2020a). This classification is based on the results of national political parties' vote acquisition in the 2019 elections, on the grounds that the last election shows the real strength of the journey and existence of political parties since their birth. This classification is divided into three categories: major parties, medium parties, and small parties.

Tabel 1. 2 Classification of Political Parties in Indonesia based on Organizational Strength

Category	Description	Political Party
Major Parties	The parties that received votes above 10% in the 2019 election and the parties categorized as this are nationalist-secular.	PDIP, Gerindra, Golkar
Medium Parties	Parties that received votes between 4% - 10% in the 2019 elections and the majority of Islamic parties are in this category	PKB, Nasdem, PKS, Demokrat, PAN, PPP
Small Parties	Old parties were unable to reach the threshold of 4% of the vote nationally in the 2019 election	Hanura, PBB, PKPI
	New parties contested in the 2019 election and have never been contestants in previous elections	Perindo, Berkarya, PSI, Garuda

Source: Al Hamdi (2020)

3. General Election

Elections are the process of selecting or determining someone to fill a certain political position and a democratic party which allows citizens to elect representatives of the people who will sit in government chairs. Sarbaini (2015) said that elections are an arena for the struggle to fill political positions in government using a voting method carried out by conditional citizens. Apart from that, elections are also held to be an instrument for maintaining people's sovereignty as a form of developing and healthy democracy. According to Rantau (2019) elections are a form of political education for the people, which is direct, open, mass, which is expected to educate political understanding and increase public awareness about democracy.

General elections held to elect members of representative institutions which contain the activities of political parties are one of the criteria for democracy. General elections are considered to be the earliest stage in various

series of democratic constitutional life and are the driving force behind the mechanisms of a democratic political system. In the Indonesian context, it is with this general election that the filling in of state bodies or organs begins, both state organs that carry out popular sovereignty and state organs that carry out government (Basuki, 2020).

In this modern era, elections occupy an important position, namely as the most important mechanism for the sustainability of representative democracy, and as an indicator of a democratic state, elections are important to discuss and also relate to the broad implications of elections (Basuki, 2020). Next according to Assiddiqie (2006) it is important to hold elections periodically. First, people's opinions or aspirations regarding various aspects of life together in society are dynamic and develop over time. Second, people's living conditions can also change, either due to international dynamics or domestic factors, as well as internal human factors and external human factors. Third, changes in people's aspirations and opinions can also be possible due to the increase in population and the people becoming adults. Fourth, general elections are held regularly to ensure changes in state leadership in both the executive and legislative branches of power. The function of the election itself is based on Wibowo, Wardhana, and Nurgiansah (2022) namely: forming the legitimacy of the rulers and government, the formation of political representatives of the people, the circulation of the ruling elite, and as political education.

Based on market 1 number 1 Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections, it explains that: "General elections, hereinafter referred to as elections, are a means of popular sovereignty to elect

members of the People's Representative Council (DPR), members of the Regional Representative Council (DPD), President and Vice President, and to elect members of the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) which is carried out directly, publicly, freely, confidentially, honestly and fairly within the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia." So that can be interpreted as a media tool to create democratic relations between the people and the state (Puspitasari, 2004).

According to Law No. 23 of 2003, there are 6 election principles regarding the election of president and vice president, namely:

1) Directly, that is, in carrying out elections, people can vote based on their conscience and according to their wishes without intermediaries or giving power of attorney to other people

2) General, which applies to all citizens who meet the requirements, namely 17 years of age without distinction of religion, ethnicity, race, gender, job class, etc.

3) Free, meaning that every citizen has the right to choose whoever contestant they want without coercion, pressure, influence, or intimidation from other parties

4) Confidential, meaning that each voter is guaranteed confidentiality in casting their vote and no party knows about their choice

5) Honesty, namely that every organizer involved, including the people, in carrying out elections must be honest and not commit fraud

6) Fair, that is, all parties involved must receive the same treatment without discrimination.

Based on this law, election procurement is divided into three types, namely legislative elections, presidential elections, and regional head elections. The differences between the three elections are:

a. Legislative Elections are a means of sovereignty for the people to elect members of the People's Representative Council (DPR), members of the Regional Representative Council (DPD), and members of the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD). Legislative elections are regulated in Law Number 10 of 2008

b. The presidential election is a means of popular sovereignty to elect the president and vice president which is carried out directly, publicly, freely, secretly, honestly, and fairly in the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the Constitution. The presidential election is regulated in Law Number 42 of 2008

c. The regional head elections is a means of popular sovereignty to elect people's representatives at the regional level or regional head elections, namely the election of Governor and Deputy Governor, Regent and Deputy Regent, as well as Mayor and Deputy Mayor. The regional head elections is regulated in law number 32 of 2004 concerning regional government.

The separation of the electoral system is considered to be less effective and efficient in its implementation, giving rise to various problems. Referring to the 2009 and 2014 elections as a reference for the experience of holding non-simultaneous elections, various problems arise, namely; (1) Problematic Voter List; (2) the quality of election results is ineffective; (3) less than optimal service; (4) complexity of the electoral system; (5) determining candidates does

not involve citizens who are members of political parties; (6) decreased supervision; (7) ballot conversion system; (8) undirected representation; (9) limited political participation; and (10) performance evaluation of people's representatives is ineffective (Surbakti et al., 2011).

Therefore, based on the Constitutional Court (MK) Decision No. 14/PUU-XI/2013 the Election of Members of Representative Institutions and the Presidential Election will be carried out simultaneously through Simultaneous Elections starting in 2019 and the following years. Simultaneous elections are the answer to various problems that occurred in the 2009 and 2014 elections. In simultaneous elections, the presidential candidate's victory tends to be followed by the acquisition of a majority of parliamentary seats or a combination of the supporting parties. Likewise, simultaneous elections will create a combination of cooperation between political parties in a solid government because there is sufficient time for the formation process.

However, the Constitutional Court's decision still does not regulate operational regulations that could strengthen the presidential system, because simultaneous elections in the Constitutional Court's decision are only held simultaneously. So it is feared that this will not result in the appearance of the Coattail Effect. This Coattail Effect pattern will strengthen evaluations of party performance as well as provide opportunities for political parties to work better so that voters choose candidates from the same party (Garmendia Madariaga & Ozen, 2015).

According to Shugart on Prasetyoningsih (2014) holding simultaneous elections will give rise to a Coattail Effect, namely the results of the Presidential

Election will influence the results of the legislative election. This means that voters will choose the president as well as the political party and coalition parties supporting the president. This can also increase the party's vote share to reach the parliamentary threshold and place their representatives in parliamentary seats. In this way, the government will work effectively because the president has full support from parliament. However, this does not mean that the president works without control, because political parties whose presidential candidates lose automatically become opposition. As an opposition political party, if they do not carry out their opposition function optimally, both in criticizing policy implementation and in offering policy alternatives, in the next election they will lose again (Solihah, 2018).

4. Parliamentary Threshold

Parliamentary threshold is a threshold mechanism for political parties participating in elections to be included in the calculation of valid votes to compete for seat quotas in the House of Representatives (Itasari, 2013). So if a political party participating in an election does not meet the parliamentary threshold, it is not permitted to place its representatives in parliament and the votes obtained will be considered forfeited. Nohlen on Supriyanto and Mellaz (2011) believes there are four criteria in determining the threshold. First, the most common percentage of vote acquisition. Second, the threshold is based on the location of the election. Third, the threshold is based on the initial stage before calculating seat acquisition or based on the seat calculation stage. Fourth, the threshold for the object of the party or party coalition.

According to Al-Hamdi (2020a), thresholds themselves can be applied in two types, namely legal or formal thresholds and as a mathematical device for electoral systems or effective or natural thresholds.

a. This formal threshold is stated in the law or legal provisions that regulate the proportional representation system. The formal threshold model is basically not very friendly toward the existence of small parties and tends to support the existence of large parties. This model also tends to aim at simplifying parties, even if a country adopts a multiparty system, the application of this model is more directed towards a simple multiparty system so that there are not so many parties that have seats in parliament and the coalition that is built is not so tiring. The use of this model in Indonesia only applies to national elections, not yet applicable to regional elections, both provincial and district/city.

b. The application of effective, hidden, or natural thresholds is created as a mathematical by-product of the distinctive properties of electoral systems, namely that the size of electoral districts is the most important. Simply put, the people's vote is the threshold for electability of a legislative candidate. In Indonesia, this threshold model is applied to regional elections at both provincial and district or city levels. The implementation of this threshold was implemented in the 1999 and 2004 elections and after that, it was no longer enforced due to the shift to adopting a formal threshold model.

The application of thresholds allows political parties to compete fairly to gain votes in elections and educates political parties on how to regenerate so that they are not marginalized in the next election cycle as well as teaching how

to win votes in representative institutions (Nurman, 2023). Simply the implementation of the parliamentary threshold is aimed at simplifying the party system and creating a strong presidential system with effective representative institutions (Monteiro, 2023). This parliamentary threshold system also aims to strengthen the president's position because if the parliamentary threshold is high then there will be fewer parties occupying parliament and the president's position will be stronger. With a small number of parties, it will not generate many views and many interests so it can strengthen the institution of the presidential system. Parliament becomes more conducive and effective with a modest number of parties, so that it can be sustainable with the president as head of state and government (Diniyanto, 2019). Based on the academic text of the Draft Law on the 2017 general election, it is stated that the reason for the threshold is to create and strengthen a presidential government system or make the presidential government system adopted in Indonesia more effective.

Indonesia, as a country that adheres to a multiparty system, often experiences difficulties in implementing the presidential system. This could be caused by the multiparty system which accepts the stability of the presidential government system itself. What often happens is that the president is unable to get support that is less than the existing threshold because parliament is dominated by opposition parties, making it difficult for the president to determine strategic policies for the running of the government. Therefore, by simplifying the number of parties in the DPR to a smaller number of parties, the supporting power of the party system against the presidential system adopted will be stronger.

The parliamentary threshold stipulated in the election law indirectly also aims to implement a good governance system (Adiwira, 2020). Since the 2009 to 2019 elections, Indonesia has adopted an open proportional election system or open list proportional representation where the political struggle has been distributed not only to political parties but also to the participation of prospective legislative members (Al-Hamdi, 2020a). PT has been implemented in Indonesia since 2009, as regulated in article 202 paragraph (1) of Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 10 of 2008 concerning General Elections of Members of the People's Representative Council, Regional Representative Council, and Regional People's Representative Council, which stipulates that "Political parties participating in the election must meet the vote acquisition threshold of at least 2.5% of the number of valid votes nationally to be included in determining DPR seats.".

At the beginning of its implementation the PT was at 2.5%, then in 2012 through the Constitutional Court's decision and based on article 208 of the Republic of Indonesia Law number 8 5 of 2012, it was regulated that, "Political parties participating in the election must meet the threshold of obtaining at least 3 votes, 5% of the number of valid votes nationally to be included in determining seats for members of the DPR, Provincial DPRD and Regency/City DPRD." So in the 2014 election, the applicable threshold was 3.5% (Sarwanto, 2017).

Furthermore, in anticipation of the 2019 general election, the law regarding PT was updated in Law number 7 of 2017, stated in article 414 paragraph (1) which states that "Political parties participating in the election must meet the threshold for obtaining valid votes of at least 4% of the number

of valid votes nationally to be included in determining the acquisition of seats for members of the DPR (Budiman, 2017).

This policy regarding parliamentary thresholds is a way to create a simple multiparty system of legal politics, especially in realizing a pure presidential system of government in Indonesia. With several processes of increasing the threshold until it has now reached 4%, the aim is to build political life by creating stability between the party system and presidential government to realize checks and balances. With many parties passing the parliamentary threshold, when policy is made it will have an impact on government stability because there are many political parties with their rests.

F.   Conceptual Definition

According to Al-Hamdi (2020b), Conceptual Definition is a limitation about the understanding given by researchers to the variables or concepts to be measured, researched and extracted data. Conceptual definition with various variables can be put forward based on the theoretical basis describe above as follows:

1. Political party

    A political party is an organized group whose members have the same orientation, values and ideals with the aim of gaining political power and fighting for political position, usually by constitutional means to implement their policies.

2. General election

    General elections are a manifestation of a country that adheres to democracy by giving the people the right to be elected or choose to fill government positions using the voting method of the people.

3. Parliamentary threshold

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Parliamentary threshold is the minimum rule for votes obtained by political parties to place legislative candidates in parliament. This concept is considered as an instrument to reduce the growth of new political parties and on the other hand tighten the ideological distance between political parties so that the articulation and aggregation of interests is more effective.

G. Operational Definition

According Salim and Syahrum (2012), The operational definition is an attribute or value of an object that has certain variations that is used by researchers to study and then draw conclusions. With this operational definition, researchers can utilize the existing focus to see the problems of the research.

Paul Lucardie (2000) states that the challenges and successes of new parties in being able to compete in the election competition are linked to a restrictive and liberating structure in dealing with these problems can be seen through; Political projects, party resources, and political structures.

Tabel 1. 3 Operational Definition

Variable	Indicator	Parameter
New Political Party Competitive Strategy	Political Project	Political Party Ideology
	Party's Resources	a. Economic resources b. Social resources c. Cultural resources
	Political Structure	Party figure

Source: Processed by Author

H. Research Method

1. Types and Research approach

In this research, the author used qualitative methods. According to Denzin & Lincoln in Al-Hamdi (2020b), qualitative research is an effort to rationalize and interpret the reality of life based on what the researcher understands.

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According to Hadi and Rusman (2021) explains that this research uses a case study approach. This approach examines unclear phenomena and contexts and uses multiple sources of evidence. Hadi also explained that the case study approach was carried out intensively, in detail, and broadly on programs, events, and activities at the individual, institutional, or organizational group level to gain in-depth knowledge about the event. The case study used in this research is the strategy of the Nusantara Awakening Party (PKN) as a new party to get votes reaching the 4% parliamentary threshold in the 2024 election.

2. Data Source

 a. Primary data

 According to Sugiyono (2018) primary data is a data source that directly provides data to data collectors. Data are collected by the researcher himself from the first source or place where the object of research was conducted. Researchers use the results of interviews obtained from informants regarding research topics as primary data.

 b. Secondary data

 According to Sugiyono (2018) secondary data is a data source that does not directly provide data to data collectors, for example through other people or through documents. In this study, the secondary data sources are in accordance with the Election Law, books, journals, articles related to research topics regarding the strategy of political party to reach parliamentary threshold in election.

3. Data Collection Technique

Data collection techniques are methods used to collect information or data from various sources or respondents with the aim of obtaining the information needed in a study. Data collection techniques are a key step in the research process or systematic collection of information with the aim of obtaining accurate, relevant, and reliable data to answer research questions or specific research objectives. The following are the data collection techniques used in this research, namely;

a. Documentation studies

The term documentation study comes from the word "document" which means written charcoal. This technique is also a procedure for collecting data by collecting existing data. The study of documentation is also commonly referred to as data collection which is used to trace historical data. According to Hamidi (2004) explained that this technique is information derived from important records of both institutions or organizations and individuals.

4. Data Analysis Technique

According to Noeng Muhadjir (1999:104) in Ahmad and Muslimah (2021), data analysis is an effort to find and replace data results obtained through observation, interviews, and other data collection methods so that they are arranged systematically. Researchers can more easily understand and present existing data. Data analysis is a process carried out after all the required data has been collected.

Data analysis techniques according to Al-Hamdi (2020b) are as follows:

a. Data collection and management: at this stage after the completion of the data collection process the process of copying interview recordings into text is carried out. The data collected in the form of interview results and physical data will be sorted according to predetermined indicators or measuring instruments.

b. Data Selection: This stage involves relevant and useful data during the analysis process except for data that is less relevant to the research topic will not be used.

c. Inter-Variable Analysis and Data Validation: After the data selection step, the next step is to correlate the discovery of one variable with another. In addition, there is an important stage, namely data verification, if there are differences in data encountered by researchers, this process is recommended for confirmation with related parties to prove data validation.

d. Explain and conclude: the step of explaining is a response step in formulating a problem based on analysis and verification of data that can be changed. It will only be the basis for the conclusion that becomes the end of the series of studies. Theoretical implications, practical implications, suggestions and recommendations certainly need to be included in the conclusion.