

An Integrative-Participative Model for Strengthening National Knowledge and Political Education to Cadres and Constituents of Political Parties

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Abstract

Today, national knowledge (concept) for Indonesians seems relatively decreasing, including for politicians. The relations between political parties and their constituents is becoming greater because in the political life, peoples always support a political party and hope that the political party can accommodate their aspirations to fulfill their need and improve lives. In local, regional and national elections, the conflicts often happen among political party their supporters and it shows a relative low political education among them. Based on this phenomenon, it is interesting to study: *First*, how is the national knowledge of political party's cadres and constituents? *Second*, how is the political education for the cadres and constituents? From the study in Indonesia, in East Java province, we found that the national knowledge and political education for political party's cadres and constituents are not optimal. Their knowledge about politics is still limited and more pragmatism. It is caused by the lack of political education from the political party. Based on these findings, we develop a solution to solve those problems by strengthening national knowledge and political education using the integrative-participative model.

Keywords: integrative-participative model, political education, national knowledge, political consciousness.

1. Introduction

Political education and civic education is not a new agenda in the world. The process of globalization throughout the final decade of the 20th century encourage the emergence of new ideas about political education and civic education. Now, community development at the local, national and global demands of the nations in the world sue to implement a new concept of political and civic education for the people. Similarly, in Indonesia in post-reformation era of the Indonesian nation are facing the process of democratization, political order, the life of the nation, and the true political consciousness is changing, in short Indonesia is experiencing political euphoria. This condition is followed by a decline of nationalism which became one of the urgent issues that must be addressed. Nationalism has got a lawsuit in which the spirit of togetherness for the integrity of the nation marred by various conflicts which leaves a lot of problems. Indonesian nation is no longer promoting diversity that is characteristic of a nation but increasingly prioritize selfishness each group, especially when it is in the political groups. Dealing with political life, people always support their political parties that are expected to be able to channelize their aspiration in order to fulfill their needs and to improve their life. Political parties, therefore, as references to their constituents, are very vital in giving information and building public opinion, but in reality, either cadres of political parties or constituents tend to behave emotionally during either local heads, legislatives or presidential elections. Anarchistic conflicts often happen. In order to avoid such an anarchy, a firm system of parties is needed.

Conceptually, to establish such a firm system of parties, at least, two capacities should exists. *First*, it is necessary to smoothen political participations through political channels, so that this may shift any forms of political activities containing elements of anarchy. *Second*, it is important to involve and to chanelize participations of newly-mobilized groups to reduce the strong degree of tension a political system has (Salviana DS and Wahyudi, 2014).

Based on the above-mentioned concept, some attention of political parties to their constituents is vital, especially in denselly-populated areas such as East Java with the population of 237.641.326 persons based on the 2010 Census where a political map in East Java can be seen from the number of chairs in the parliaments. The table below presents a political party that occupies the highest rank in the results of chairs in the parliament.

A LEGISLATIVE MEMBERSHIP COMPOSITION IN EAST JAVA IN THE 2014 - 2019 PERIOD BASED ON POLITICAL PARTIES

POLITICAL PARTIES/ FRACTIONS	Results of chairs	Percentage
Nasional Demokrat Party	4	5
Kebangkitan Bangsa Party	20	19,10
Keadilan Sejahtera Party	6	5,08
Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan Party	19	18,92
Golkar Party	11	9,35
Gerindra Party	13	12,68
Democrat Party	13	12,06
Amanat Nasional Party	7	6,20
Persatuan Pembangunan Party	5	6,19
Hati Nurani Rakyat Party	2	3,74
Bulan Bintang Party	-	1,14
Keadilan dan Persatuan Indonesia Party	-	0,54
Total	100	100

Source: <http://pemilu.tempo.co/read/news/2014/05/12/269577243/>
DPRD-East Java, accessed on September 5, 2014.

1.1 Research Problems

Based on the background and existing reality in East Java Province, the research problems are formulized as follows: *First*, how is the national knowledge of cadres of political parties and their constituents in East Java province? *Second*, how is the chance to build a model of political education for political parties and their constituents?

2. Method

The type of the research about an Integrative-participative Model for Strengthening National Knowledge and Political Education to Cadres and Constituents of Political Parties in East Java Province is a field study. This research is focusing on micro-macro social reality or micro-macro linkage, mean that these research is viewing social reality based on the process of relation between agent (actors: cadres and constituents) and structures (political parties). By considering this focus, then we take the Structuration Theory from Anthony Giddens to analyze the result of the research.

2.1. The Determination of Research Subject:

Based on the result of legislative general election 2014th in East Java, we consider to chose big party, such as PDI-P, and Golkar Party, and also middle party, such as Democrat Party, PKS, and PAN as a subject. In this research, we were chosen the main board members of the party, such as the chairman, secretary, and head of field cadre building. To determine the subjects, we used purposive and snow ball sampling.

2.2 Techniques of Data Collection

The techniques of data collection in qualitative researchers commonly used according to Denzin and Lincoln (2009) are as follows:

2.2.1 Participative Observation

The researchers made direct observations on each location using a manual that had been created before covering: (1) the condition of political parties in terms of the facility of internally held- political education; (2) the process of the political education in the parties; the data were obtained by visiting the offices of each party and some activities made by the parties. Using this technique, the researchers got a picture of the material, methods and atmosphere developed during the process of internal political education in the parties, and (3) activities of the cadres when they got in touch with their constituents.

2.2.2 In-depth Interviews

The use of this technique was intended to collect the data on: (1) national knowledge the cadres of political parties, obtained in-debt interviews with the boards and cadres of political parties; (2) political awareness of constituents, where the data were obtained through in-debt interviews with the constituents; and (3) political education in the political parties and political education of the internally held- political education for their constituents, where the data were got from interviews with cadres of the political parties.

2.2.3 Documents

This present research needed a number of data in the forms of documents such as books used in implementing

the internally held- political education, materials presented to the constituents and writings or archives of speeches of the board members of the political parties containing national knowledge.

2.2.4 Focus Group Discussion (FGD)

FGD is a systematic process of collecting data and information on a very specific problems through group discussions. FGD was employed because of philosophical, methodological and practical reasons. In the philosophical reason, it means that FGD may supply information from various perspectives that may enrich the findings of the research. Methodological reasons means that if in this present research data cannot be obtained through a certain technique, another technique may be employed. The practical reason is that any parties involved in the FGD would not feel as 'objects' but 'subjects' who are actives and free and are really involved in finding research results. In this FGD, it is necessary to have a team consisting of 1 moderator, 1 jotter of the process, and 1 linker of participants of the discussion, 1 blocker anticipating negative influences in the FGD, 1 or 2 persons who manager logistics that may facilitate the transportation and other needs. In this present research, data collected through the FGD were those on the model of internal political education for constituents that may anticipate any frictions and conflicts in the society. Before the FGD was made, the researchers prepared a draft of discussion to make the process of discussion may be really focused.

Considering Denzin and Lincoln (2009) thinking about techniques of data collection in qualitative reseach, then we chose in-depth interview, focus group discussion (FGD), participative observation, and documentations.. All of the techniques, of course, has the same goals, thats are to collect the data on: (1) national knowledge of the main board of the party, cadres, and constituents; (2) political awareness of the main board of the party, cadres, and constituents; and (3) the model of political education that already implemented or wanted by the subjects.

In conducting in-depth interview, researchers came to the subject's house or subject's office as purposive way, then interviewed them related with the focus of the research until we got what needed. These techniques repeated in many times until researchers believed that the data is redundant.

Meanwhile, FGD held by inviting all of the subjects in every location of the research to discuss focused theme. In this field research we conducted twice FGD. This way was very effective for collecting data. It's not only because they had opportunity to express or shared their own knowledge formally, but also because they met their party's colleagues, then they could made informal reunion. As long as this research were conducted, we also had chance to observe directly political campaign in all location that we were chosen as area of the study.

2.3 Techniques of Data Analysis

The collected data through observation, interview and document were then analyzed with stages of data reduction, data display, verification or conclusion (Miles and Huberman, 1992).

The data reduction stage is the stage of simplifying, abstracting and transforming "raw" data collected from any written notes in the field. Data reduction is continually progressed during the research even it started before the researchers decided a conceptual framework of the research area, research problems and approaches to the data collection chosen in this research. This data reduction continued after the field researches made in the locations namely in PDIP and Golkar Party in Malang city, PKS in Malang regency and Demokrat Party in Batu city.

The data display stage is a group of arranged information that enables the conclusion drawing. The mostly-often used data display form is narrative text. At first the information was in the form of disperse texts such as data from the results of interviews with board members of political parties, secondary data in the forms of archives and papers during briefing to cadres that had not been well arranged, and then the researchers simplified complex information in a unity form (*gestalt*) in to an easily understood configuration in the form of narrative.

The verification or conclusion drawing stage is a part of an activity from the whole configuration. The existing conclusions were verified during the research so that the principle of this data analysis is circular in nature.

2.4 Techniques of Data Validity

The data validation involve the following stages: (1) lengthening the observation time;(2) making the source triangulation by checking among one data source with another; (3) making member check, where data were reconfirmed with informants namely board members of political parties and (4) making peer debriefing, where the researchers made discussion with some colleagues in Malang, especially active lecturers in the Center for Social and Political Study, in University of Muhammadiyah Malang- Indonesia and also presented in the international conference in UUM Malaysia (2014) to obtain input to the analysis of the research findings more perfect.

3 Conceptual Framework

In political sociology, political education is called political socialization. There are two stages in political socialization, first stage takes place within family and second stage takes place within schools, peer groups, reference groups, etc (Dowse and Hughes, 1975). Agree with Dowse and Hughes, the concept of political education in the following conceptual discussion stresses the concept of socialization at the secondary stage. The secondary stage is meant here is political education in the peer group intended that the political parties.

The 2004 research by Salviana et al, showed that internally held- political education contained cognitive loads with the forms of trainings, seminars or elucidations. Such political education was still general knowledge transfer in nature on the definitions, bases, and uses of politics and also significant meaning of using rights to vote, political education that had not touched affective and psychomotoric domains, even problems on national knowledge. Anyhow, the role of political education is to give content, direction and meanings to the process of internalizing prevailing values. Political education should be given charge of political principles that should be enforced in good faith, to fulfill the mandate, justice, law and truth, it means that the politicians involved in politics for the sake of the people, not the interests of him/herself and his/her group .

Related to the political education, it is meant to be an effort to get an understanding of normative ethical values namely implanting values and norms as a base and motivation of Indonesian people and a base to construct and develop themselves and to take part in the life of state and nation. The research in Malang Raya showed that activists of political parties possessed interest in political education.

In the theory of structuration, the relation between the actor and the structure is in the form the duality, instead of, dualism relation. This duality relation happens in the "recursive and patterned social practices across space and time" (Priyono, 2002). Duality lies in the fact that a "structure" resembles a guideline that may be used as principles for practices in various places and times that are the recurrent results of various actions, and on the contrary, schemata which resembles the "rule" also becomes a medium for taking place the social practices, and in Giddens terminology the schema is structure. Giddens divides three main clusters of structure. *First* is the structure of signification covering symbolic schemata, making meaning, designation, and discourse. *Second* is the structure of governance or domination covering schemata of domination of people (politic) and goods (economy). *Third* is structure of legitimation concerning schemata of normative regulations expressed in the law order. In the social practice, the three clusters of structural principles are related one another. The structure of signification then covers the structure of domination and legitimation (Priyono, 2009). The following is a scheme describing the relation pattern among the three.

This theory of structuration will be used to analyse and also apply this theory in order to study the relations between political parties and their constituents. For example, actions in the forms of social practices such as speaking, discussing, or writing and even demonstrating are assumed as a certain structure of signification for instance the grammar understood by people in the society that becomes the destination of the act of speaking or demonstrating. This also happens to the governance or control of the board members of political parties over the cadres or constituents who is assumed as the schemata of domination and also legitimation of the political parties to hold political education for their cadres and alson constituents.

3.1 Values of Diversity and National Knowledge

Indonesian society is known as a plural society. Plurality of Indonesian society is multi - dimensional raises the question of how integrated horizontally Indonesian society, while social stratification as it existed in Indonesian society will give shape to the national, vertical integration. The foundations of national integration as it often became a "threat" to the building of Indonesian nationalism itself, particularly in political life. A conception of Diversity in Unity (*Bhineka Tunggal Ika*) is separable with an insight of *Nusantara* (the Indonesian Archipelago), since they support one another in development (Abdullah, 2010). Starting from values giving a priority of coalescence and unity, supported by the implementation of insight of *nusantara* in political, economic, social and cultural life and also defense and security, the quality and capability of human resources will be improved. Improvement of the insight of *nusantara* and the conception of unity in diversity will make them become a basic reference in nation and state buildings where the youth possess strong characters as actors that promote peace and welfare.

It can be denied that since the reformation, degradation of diversity and of national insight, including separatist movement, may be clearly seen. Such separatist movement is due to 3 causes. *First*, this movement is a reaction against dissatisfaction with distribution of development Abdullah (2010). *Second*, basis for the concept of multiculturalism in Indonesia is weak, because the management of pluralism which is lack of conceptual basis. And *third*, the government has not responded the separatist movement through precise preventive movement.

Abdullah (2010) offers a solution namely adequacy of materials in various forms of information, educational curriculum, books, and magazines that may develop insight of diversity to improve national knowledge, especially insights of diversity and reinforcement of inner feelings. Moreover, an institutionalization

of awareness and commitment of diversity through various activities at schools and among the youth at various levels and groups in order to grow awareness and commitment for nation integration and unity is needed.

A concept of integrative-participative is obtained from the *Competition Grant research (the 2008 PHB)* with the title of 'Empowering Productive Age Women through Development of Local Potential-based Life Skills Model' (Salviana DS and Erni, 2008). The integrative-participative model possess 5 (five) important aspects namely:

- Involving all elements in the program so that it may make work atmosphere pleasing, growing work spirits and self-confidence, cooperation and developing competitive performances
- Importance of clear work divisions that makes the program run well, not overlapping, harmonious, and not jealous
- Delegating jobs that may grow the feeling to be trusted due to the capability they possess
- Growing motivation to the people to bring any programs into play
- Building direct communication between elucidators and the people, making the relation closer between the people and the uniting elucidators.
- Transparent leadership that may grow personnel's work spirit and performance, giving impacts on the implementation of activities as planned
- Synergy among building institution, programs implementers and the people. This synergy is more intensively made at the post-training to autonomous stages, meaning that education is made integratively and not to leave aspects of participation of each element in accordance with their portions and roles.

If the concept of integrative-participative is related to education, the integrative-participative education is education that involves many concerned parties with the goal to give supplies and awareness of self-capability and empowerment that may improve motivation and skills.

4 Analysis

Based on this research, it is known that the political awareness (consciousness) of the constituents is still low. They came to the polls to elect a candidate or party they like. The constituents have not had a political calculations associated with the consideration of how and by whom the right to get a mandate to build a national politic. Motives which are built into the consciousness of the constituents are often more influenced by money politics, or other considerations that are primordial. Not political considerations in the national interest. This phenomenon can we call, that the political consciousness of the constituents is false political consciousness (Karl Marx: false consciousness).

On the other hand, the volunteers and the core committee of the party have a high political consciousness. They are very militant in fighting for victory parties and their candidates. Therefore, the party officials and cadres are considered too militant, it is often stuck in emotional considerations and not objective. Among the party leaders and cadres found adage 'party and our candidates are the best'. Subjective militancy attitude often encourage the party officials and cadres are not just stuck in a negative campaign, but instead tend to do a black campaign. Reality is also asserted, that the political awareness of the officials and party cadres are still false. The reasons are different. False consciousness of officials and party cadres is caused by subjective militancy that is not objective, while the false consciousness constituents caused more by pragmatic motives and their ignorance about the ideals of political development in Indonesia. So far, the political education in Indonesia is entrusted to the political parties and certain school. So far, the forum of political education in certain schools, has not gained political education touch proportionally. If political education held by any political party, then there is brain washing action undertaken by political parties to just assume, that the party is the only party that is the greatest, the ugly and the other party does not need to be selected. For more details, following the analysis of political education in the four political parties as a research subject

In the theory of structuration, Giddens (1984) see three big clusters of structure (Priyono, 2002). *First* is the structure of signification or significance that involves symbolic schema, making meaning, designation and discourse. Related to national knowledge, the cadres of political parties make the same meaning of national knowledge, namely they merely understand state symbols. Different from PKS, it gives an emphasis that to do a party is a means, teaching Islam is the main matter (family, society, state). Internalization of values taught are Islamic values (national knowledge that will save world and here-after life). The structure of signification or significance for each political party is different, as specially in the process of making cadres. Designation of terms beginner, media and honorary members show ranks of membership in PKS which means a little bit different from other political parties such as PDIP or Golkar Party. *Second* is the structure of governance or domination that covers a scheme of governance over the people (politics) and items/matters/economy (Priyono, 2002). Concerning with educational politics made in the internal condition of political parties, the structure of domination is very apparent when they approach political events such as general activities such as in elections of local heads (mayor or governor), legislative members, or in the president election. Based on the theory of

structuration, it can be understood that general election is a practice in a structure of domination that deals with governance over people. At recent months, meetings were often held in internal boards of political parties to discuss anything dealing the effort to gain victory in the 2014 general election namely to get voters as many as possible.

Third is the structure of justification or legitimacy that deals with the schemata of normative regulations expressed in the legal order (Priyono, 2002). Dealing with the process of making cadres and fixed procedures in recruiting members of political parties, there are ranks of memberships and measurement to become cadres to be promoted as candidates of legislative members. In PKS, it is explicitly stated in the oath that is in each rank of membership, the oath is different.

In the social practices, the three clusters are related one another, and the structure of signification will also covers structures of domination and legitimation. Politicians in each political parties possess a schemata of signification namely those who are active in political parties then deal with the schemata of domination namely “authority of politicians over constituents” and also the schemata of legitimation that politicians have rights to influence constituents to support their political parties.

In short, it can be understood that structure is as a medium of social practice. Any action and social practices such as speaking, discussing, or writing are assumed the structure of signification (Herry Priyono, 2002: 26). Duality between structure and action always involves a between-facility, this also applies for any action of politicians who have discussion with other politicians in the same political parties about politics is assumed as the structure of signification in the form of language and political education, making cadres and giving controls by heads of political parties to cadres is assumed from the structures of domination and also legitimation.

Based on the *Focus Group Discussion* (FGD) the expectations of PDIP, Golkar Party, Democrat Party and Amanat Nasional Party are that political education is aimed to build characters, political education starts from the education in the family, political education that is doctrinal in nature should be changed, that political education should be done routinely and should be consistent. Moreover, based on the discussion of the research results and on the peer debriefing, it can be concluded that the model of political education should be participative in nature, meaning that participation of various elements in higher education and NGOs is really needed, especially in improving awareness of political participation among constituents, and integrative means creating high-quality and morality of the politicians and the constituents with adequate political knowledge.

From the results of the FGD, a model of civil society-based integrative-participative political education was found. The participative-integrative political education is a political education that involves participations of all elements either heads of political parties, higher education, and the NGOs to integrate all cadres and their constituents to reach their goal. NGOs may be involved in political education is an NGO engaged in corruption watch, democratic education, community development and others.

The goal is to realize high-quality and morality politicians and constituents with adequate political and national knowledge. In addition, political education in political parties should be given the material on which contextual national unity in all aspects of life in order to provide shared values in the face of life (Abdullah, 2010). It should be added also the strengthening of the values of mutual cooperation (*gotong royong*) as a social institution is an important principle in building togetherness. Mutual cooperation can strengthen social cohesion of this plural Indonesian society. According to the step of another peer debriefing on conference in UUM Malaysia (2014), there is a suggestion that integrative-participative model of political education should also involve women cadres of political parties to increase national awareness of the constituents of each political party because female politicians have the skills that are more flexible than male politicians when dealing with their constituents. In addition, political education should also include elements of an international outlook, given the political party cadres who will sit as a member of parliament to represent the people of their political party supporters/voters.

5 Conclusion

From the research results of the five political parties above, there are some similarities in the process of making cadres namely: graded, specific materials, those making the cadres are senior figures from each political parties. The difference is in the basic ideology of each political party. Dealing with the national knowledge of the four political parties, namely PDIP, Golkar Party, PKS, Democrat Party and also PAN, they have different perceptions due to different condition of each political party. Something considered to show similarity is that they do not forget the founding fathers of this country. Dealing with “Who occupies what”, an understanding of placing national and state symbols, the PKS gave a more emphasis on religion-based national knowledge. Moreover, such a national knowledge at the cadre level, is still being able to maintained at each political party through the process of making cadres in each political party.

The degradation of national knowledge among the constituents is caused by the lack of the socialization process on nationality/state, since the people merely possesses high tense in handling the state/nationality during political activities such as election for local head’s legislative election, and president

election.

From the findings of the first and second year research (Salviana DS and Wahyudi, 2014), some problems concerning political education are identified: (1) One of the problems to solve in the political education is the regeneration of elites; (2) Not all political parties possess a manual of political education; (3) To do politics is not for insights of state, but also of wider life, and (4) the ideal model of political education: nothing but each political party believes that the expected model of political education is that the political education:

- Is aimed at building character
- Is collective responsibility
- Starts from education in the family
- Its doctrinal should be changed
- Is routinely done
- Should be consistent.

It seems that the five political parties studied namely PDIP Malang city, Golkar Party Malang city, PKS Malang regency and Democrat Party Batu city and PAN Blitar are still trying to improve political education appropriate with the culture of Indonesian people and are still trying to find the best political education. Actually, as a nation that has undergone reform for 17 years rather ironic when political parties are still looking for a form of political education which is best according to their political party. Political parties should have a certain form of political education really can educate the cadres of political parties and also able to increase awareness of good politics based on national awareness.

6 Recommendation

Remembering that adequate national knowledge in self of each cadre and constituents has not been well “implanted”, it is necessary to reinforce a participative-integrative political education to create a synergy among board members/heads of political parties and high education and also NGOs as a part of civil society to be responsible for giving national knowledge and right political awareness to constituents. It means, that this political education model also provide an opportunity for an independent institution to participate conducting political education to the community to have the political literacy, and finally created a high social integration although they differ in their political affiliations. In the political education must be given to strengthen the values of unity in diversity, political consciousness and awareness that polite political party cadres ready to work in realizing the aspirations of its constituents. If this may be realized, high-quality politicians and constituents with adequate national knowledge and political awareness will be resulted in.

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