

**Model of Political Education in Improving Political Participation of Women Cadres**

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**Abstract**

This research aimed to describe the model of political education of the party, including strategy, materials and methods of political education. The research was conducted on Nasdem party of Regional Executive Board of West Sumatera, Indonesia. This research used qualitative approach with descriptive method. The findings of the research indicated that (1) the strategy used by the party included empowering women's wing and State Defense Academy (ABN) program; (2) the party provided political education materials including party identity, political ethics of politicians, board duties and the need for electoral winning; (3) the party used methods that tend to be conventional in every political education activity. The law provides autonomy to political parties to develop model of political education according to party ideology and platforms to empower women cadres amid lack of women's political participation in terms of quantity and quality.

*Keywords:* Political Education Model, women cadres, political participation

**Introduction**

Political education is necessary in a democratic country. Citizens need to gain knowledge and understanding and even enlightenment around the political issues that occur. Political parties carry out the function of political education, which aims to shape political personality, political awareness and political participation (Usman Abdul Muiz Ruslan, 2000). The goal of political education is the high participation of political cadres in the process of practical politics. Political party is a necessity in a democratic country because it serves as a means of political socialization and people's political participation. Clinton Rossiter in "Political Party Handbook" (Katz: 2015) says that there is no democracy without politics, and there is no politics without party.

Political education aims to shape the attitude that supports the political system and awaken the individual upon his role as a political participant. As explained by Irish and Frank (1978 in Al Rafni, 2016), "Process where individual members of a state acquire their feelings and behavioral attitudes about government and politics generally, their sense of national identification, loyalty to the government, allegiance to the leadership, and their understanding of roles they expect/or are, expected to play as participants in the political system ...". It can be said that in the process of political education, the ultimate goal is political participation whereby a person with knowledge, values, orientation, and beliefs has an awareness of the community condition and is willing to change it through the activities and political roles. However, it should be underlined that political education to increase women's political participation is not aimed at competing and dealing with men in seizing power, but women become partners for men in practical politics in order to realize the welfare of the masses. Achmad Soeharto (2011) states that the goal of political education for

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women is not to seize the dominance of the political power of men, but to form a balance of roles in practical politics so that the interests of both parties can be accommodated fairly and proportionately.

Political education is provided to hone the political skills of women cadres so that they can actively participate in political party activities and in the legislature as a form of their responsibility to the community, political parties and constituents. According to Mihai Predescu and Ioana Darjan (2010, p.1) Political participation requires knowledge about political topics, skills of using political tools and possession of adequate procedures. Also, the political participation implies the manifestation of a positive attitude toward politics. Thus, political knowledge is needed in practical politics, so that the activities performed are not pseudo, meaning that the participation has quality and influence in the process of public decision making.

Al Khumaisi (in Ustman Abdul Muiz Ruslan, 2010, p.99) states that political participation is illustrated in several points: (a) the individual's strong desire to actively participate in political role. This role has various forms; (b) the role has advantages over willingness; (c) it has formal forms, such as affiliated to a particular political party and non-formal forms such as mass demonstration. In this research, the forms political participation of the cadres in the political party are (a) to initiate the party programs/activities; (b) to be actively involved in party programs/activities; (c) to participate in debates to determine party policies/attitudes; (d) to be active in the party committee; (e) to participate in the success of party programs in the social environment of their communities; (f) to run for legislative election/election of regional head and/or deputy regional head and election of president and/or vice president; (g) to provide political enlightenment and socialization to the community as an extension of the party in the exercise of the functions of political parties.

Women's political participation in Indonesia is relatively low. One can be seen from the quantity of women represented in the legislature. The research result of Center for Political Studies University of Indonesia (PUSKAPOL UI) on September 26, 2014, revealed that women representation in parliament in Indonesia never exceeded 20%. It is far from the expected 30% quota of women's representation as an affirmative action to increase women's political participation and specific way to achieve gender equality in politics. Affirmative action is a policy issued by the government for the first time through Law No. 12 of 2003 on the election of members of DPR, DPD and DPRD. Political parties must meet the 30% quota of women representatives in the nomination of legislative candidates and party committee at all levels. Quota system is a form of affirmative action that must be fulfilled by parties in proposing candidates for legislative members and party committee.

However, women's representation quota will not be effective if women's political knowledge, understanding and skills are minimal. It is hoped that women who participate in practical politics become cadres, party committee and those who sit in public office not only become "sweetener" or "complementary" but are able to take the role and influence political policy making. This research aims to describe (1) a model of party political education including political education strategies; political education materials and political education methods used by the Nasdem party (National Democrat Party) in an attempt to increase the political participation of women cadres.

### Methodology

This research uses qualitative approach with descriptive method. The research is conducted at the Regional Executive Board (DPW) of the NasDem Party of West Sumatra Province. The research instrument is the researcher itself. According to Sugiyono (2013, p. 305), human instrument serves to determine a focus of research, select informants as data sources, collect data, assess data quality, analyze data, interpret data, and draw conclusions

on its findings. Determination of research informant is performed by using non probability sampling with purposive sampling technique. Data collection is performed by interview and documentation. Data analysis includes data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing as well as verification. The validity testing uses data source triangulation.

### Literature Review

A political party is a group of organizations whose members have the same orientation, values and ideals. The aim of this group is to gain political power and seize the political position (usually) in a constitutional way through elections-to carry out its program, placing its candidates for public office (Miriam Budiarjo, 2013; Giovanni Sartory, 1976 in Miriam Budiarjo, 2013). Political parties play a strategic role in government, not only when governing the government but also when playing as opposition as stated Rebecca A. Jeffs et al. (2016, p.1) Political parties play a vital role in the governance of countries. They provide the personnel of the emerge, a legitimate political identity for those in government, and an arena in which policy can be formed. Even when not in power, parties can provide checks and balances by providing an opposition, both in democratic forums and outside. As such there is keen interest in their growth and decline. Furthermore, Rebecca Jeffs et al (2016, p.1) states that membership in a political party can be divided into two: active participative cadres and passive cadres. The study was conducted in England. Presumably, this is not only the case in England but is a phenomenon in any internal structure of political parties.

In a democratic country, political parties have various functions in the political process. Robert L.Cord, et al., (1974, pp. 196-197) argues that the functions of political parties are as follows: (1) Mobilizing voters; (2) Socializing, in dictatorship where the party is a conservative force, designed to uphold and perpetuate the existing social and political order; (3) Organizing government policy, (4) Other roles, parties help keep the political process running smoothly in other ways as well. They provide a training ground for the future political leaders by allowing inexperienced politician to hold minor party office and learn the working of the political system. The function of political education for cadres is reflected in the latter function in which the party provides basic training through the provision of opportunities to new or inexperienced cadres to be active in the party's internal structure so as to learn about the workings of the political system.

Kartini kartono (2009, p.63) states that political education is a form of adult education by preparing cadres for political struggles and obtaining political solutions to victory in political struggles. Political education is an intentional, directed and systematic educative effort to form politically conscious individuals and capable of being ethically / morally responsible political actors in achieving political goals. Political education aims to shape the attitude that supports the political system and awaken the individual to his role as a political participant. As described by Irish and Frank (1978 in Al Rafni, 2016): "Process where the individual members of a state acquire their feelings and behavioral attitudes about overment and politics generally, their sense of national. Identification, loyalty to the goverment, allegiance to the leadership, and their undstanding of roles they expect / or are, expected) to play as participants in the political system ... "

It can be said that in the process of political education, the ultimate goal is political participation whereby a person with knowledge, values, orientation, beliefs possesses, has an awareness of the condition of the community and is willing to change it through the activity and political role it can do. Political participation can be manifested in various forms, Samuel Huntington and Joan M. Nelson (in Kokom Komalasari and Syaifullah, 2009, p.87) state that political participation is voluntary on the initiative of citizens to engage in political activity, periodic social and political activities such as voting in elections, violent

to using subtle means such as lobbying politics. Joining and being a member of a political party even sitting in political office both internal party and government is the highest position in the pyramid of political participation. This is reflected in the pyramid of political participation by David R. Roth and Frank Wilson. More specifically Achmad Soeharto (2011) argues that the goal of political education for women is not to seize the dominance of the political power of men but to form a balance of roles in practical politics so that the interests of both parties can be accommodated fairly and proportionately.

The political participation of party cadres in political parties does not have to be rigidly defined in the view that political participation means the aggression of cadres to run for legislative, regional and vice regional election and presidential and vice presidential elections. However, the political participation of cadres in political parties has a broader context: (a) participate in party programs / activities; (b) be actively involved in party programs / activities; (c) participate in the debate of party policy / attitudes; (d) active in the party stewardship; (e) participate in the success of party programs in the social environment of their communities; (f) to run for legislative election / election of regional head and / or deputy head of region and election of president and / or vice president; (g) provide political enlightenment and socialization to the community as an extension of the party in the exercise of the functions of political parties.

Sidney Verba argues that the most important contribution of women in politics is that they are more interested in doing something that benefits the community than extending the scope of power. (Ida Novianti, 2008; Birgitta Dahl in IDEA, 2002; Siti Musdah Mulia and Anik Farida, 2005; M. Zamroni, 2013). According to Al Rafni (2013) Strategy of political education on women party cadres is essentially the efforts made by the party to improve the ability of cadres, whether in the form of knowledge, attitude, and skills (skill). The efforts are made by the party to form and prepare potential, militant, dedicated, and capable personnel to preserve the vision and mission of the party. The research findings of Al Rafni (2013, p.22) states that in the strategy picture of women party cadres formation conducted by political parties, both PAN, Democrat, Gerindra and Golkar looks not systematically pattern of internal party strategy development because that many appear to surface are incidental training such as when there is a draft of new regulations or when there are crucial issues to be addressed.

Robert Stradling (in Brownhill and Smart, 1989) states that the substance of the political education curriculum can be divided into 3 parts: (1) knowledge, which consists of professional knowledge and practical knowledge; (2) skills consisting of intellectual skills, action skills, communication skills; (3) procedural attitudes and values. The curriculum of political education must therefore include the following elements: (a) the values, objectives, basic ethics and targets achieved, including curriculum content should be based on an ethic acceptable to all types and societies; (b) those values will be used as material for compiling information, theoretical knowledge as well as informative and cognitive matters; (c) in addition to theoretical knowledge, the political education curriculum must contain a set of practical knowledge. Robert Brownhill (1989) proposed several points to be considered in the process of making a political education curriculum, namely: an ethical base should be develop, which would include respect for the other, as tolerance, and an understanding of the principle of treating others. treated one self; aconsideration of how rules can be changed; nature of rules and authority; concept of obligation to legitimate authority; an understanding of some basic principles of concepts, e.g, freedom, equality, justice, the rule of law, and of some of the arguments related to these concepts; an understanding of the basic structure of central and local government. Some understanding of the working of the national and international economy; Some knowledge of recent British and international history; Self analysis.

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Meanwhile, in Indonesia, through the Minister of Home Affairs Regulation No.36 of 2010 on Guidelines for Facilitation of the Implementation of Political Education explains about political education materials include compulsory materials and selected materials. The compulsory matter is about Pancasila and the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. while the material of choice in the facilitation program of political education are (1) democracy; (2) human rights; (3) government system; (4) defense and security; (5) political culture and ethics; (6) public policy; (7) civic education; (8) social welfare politics; (9) spatial and environmental policies; (10) good governance; (11) globalization and foreign policy of Indonesia; (12) political parties; (13) regional autonomy; (14) civil society, the market and the business world. In the PERMENDAGRI also explained about civic education, it is interesting to discuss that civic education is part of the material of choice in the facilitation program of political education.

According to Kartono (1983) there are several forms of political education methods namely: (1) Learning in a syndicate. In general, participants are divided into small groups or syndicates, to discuss and report on a problem or an exercise prepared as part of a coaching program. The objective of this syndicate method is to encourage participants to learn *mamahami* and solve problems through group analyzes and discussions; (2) Discussion Methods; (3) Conversion is talks, negotiations, deliberations. While discussion is a kind of free speech that is directed to problem solving. It is hoped that the interest and motivation of the members can also be identified with the type of problem, also able to solve it well; (4) Role Playing. In the role playing, each participant is able to talk and react with her own style and feelings, and try to understand her partners. They may freely speak and act according to their own judgment, in accordance with their personal habits and emotions. This coaching can develop the ability to speak and discuss, and learn to be responsible to produce good thinking products.

### Findings and Discussion

#### Political Education Strategy

There are two strategies used by Nasdem party to increase women's political participation of cadres. *First*, the party empowers women's wing, namely GARNITA MALAHAYATI. The existence women's wing of political party is common in political party system. Article 12 point j of Law Number 2 of 2008 concerning Political Parties which reads "Political parties are entitled to form and own the organization of political party wing" is the legal basis of the existence of political party wing.

Due to its position as a wing, then its nature is beyond the internal structure of party committee, meaning that it is only a supporting system in achieving the goals of the party program. As a women's wing, Garnita serves to improve the capacity and quality of women cadres with the ultimate goal of the readiness of women cadres to nominate and be elected in legislative elections. The establishment of women's wing in political party is not the right way to empower women because the wing is beyond the party structure and is only a supporting system. The wing can not influence party decisions and policies, so that it is not effective to encourage and influence the process of gender-responsive party policy formulation.

Political education program conducted by the wing has not been sustainable and active in empowering women in the form of trainings in increasing knowledge and political skills.

*Second*, through the State Defense Academy (ABN) program, a program initiated by the chairman of Nasdem party, SuryaPaloh is to provide political education to the cadres through a structured and centralized program. The output of this program is that the cadres of ABN are able to perform political education to other cadres and community in the area

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and are ready to be nominated to become legislative member candidate. It is a policy to encourage the effectiveness of affirmative action and to shape a politically competent and skilled women cadre. Special political education is needed to shape the personality, awareness and encourage women's political participation because the needs and interests between men and women are different.

Men and women cadres have their own interests in dealing with public affairs. Women politicians have different concerns with men politicians, they tend to pay attention to the social needs of public services such as public health rather than issues about the defense of power. A number of studies in some countries, such as the United States, suggest that the high number of women's political representation in parliament is related to the lack of infant mortality in the United States in the 1990-2012 period (Patricia Homan, 2016) and this also occurred in Bihar, India (Santosh Kumar, 2017) caused by women politicians' concern in promoting the progress of public health. Then, the level of life satisfaction/quality of life is high in countries with high women's political representation because one of the indicators used which is public health service is given priority (Richard York, 2014).

However, it is also acknowledged that women's leadership does not necessarily influence political policies such as the results of research in several cities in the United States where the position of women mayors does not affect the size of local government, regional expenditure and crime rates. Nevertheless, women who win in political contestation are those who have superior political skills compared to men (Fernando Ferreira and Joseph Gyourko, 2014). Thus, it is not based on charity but political skill of women politicians.

However, the political education strategy has not been effective in increasing the political participation of women cadres. Based on the research result, it is revealed that the political participation of women cadres is relatively low, even one of the women cadres stated that in serving the party, women cadres are relatively inactive in party activities and even the women officers are not all active. Women cadres are rarely present in party meetings and also rarely initiate party programs. However, to join the success of the party program, generally women cadres participate in the declaration of candidate pair of regional head and deputy regional head promoted by the party or join the KSN and follow the KSN activities in preparation for Pileg (legislative election) in 2019. There is a need for sustainable political education to raise women's awareness to be active-responsive in practical politics.

### Political Education Material

Political education materials given to the cadres include: *first*, vision, mission, platform, jargon, ideology and line of party struggle to instill cadres' militancy and loyalty to the party. *Second*, the knowledge of territoriality in this case is around western Sumatra. *Third*, concrete examples of activities can be performed by party cadres for community. *The fourth* is the Law on Politics in Indonesia such as political party law, election of regional head and deputy regional head law and legislative election law. The law is an initial starting point for the cadres to engage in practical politics. *The fifth* is political norms and ethics. This is emphasized to regulate the behavior of party cadres. *The sixth* is a strategy to recruit the wider community to join and struggle with Nasdem party. The output of political education in the party is that women cadres are ready and able to carry out the mandate of being a representative of the people in the region.

Seeing the above explanation, the Nasdem party has provided political education materials including political knowledge covering the aspects of knowledge about party identity and territoriality, law on package of politics, recruitment strategies, while for affective aspects, it is given materials about political culture and ethics as guides to behave

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for cadres. Furthermore, for the practical side, the party provides practical ways of politics with the ultimate goal of making cadres to gain trust and acceptance by the people. The political education materials are in accordance with the statement of Ridley and Robert Straddling (in Robert Brownhilland Patricia Smart, 1989), political education materials include the aspects of knowledge, skills, attitudes and procedural values.

However, when seeing from the level of political knowledge and skill in order to prepare women cadres to be intelligent, competent, skilled and responsive people's representatives, the party has not provided the materials holistically. The party tends to emphasize materials on party identity and recruitment of cadres from the wider community and ways to attract public sympathy in order to get a good image and get the vote.

Therefore, there should be materials in the future on (1) regional mechanism and position in international agreement, international cooperation, and regional cooperation with other regions or third parties; (2) mechanisms and working relationship between local government and Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD), as well as Nasdem party factions in DPRD with Regional Executive Board (DPW), Branch Executive Board (DPC); (4) simulations on (a) preparing working groups/commissions; (b) simulation of the commission meeting for draft of regional regulations; (c) simulation of the commission meeting for the supervision of the implementation of regional regulations; (d) simulation of public hearing meeting with experts or wider community related to the formulation of local regulations. Implementation of simulation to provide description and knowledge, especially in activities of policy formulation meetings, legislation and budgeting to participants; (5) Lobbying technique. Lobbying technique needs to be given to members of parliament because People's Representative Council is a political institution and members of parliament are representatives of the people who come from political parties, so that this institution is full of conflicting, contradictory and even mutually exclusive political interests to seize influence, power and succeed in their respective political interests; communication/rhetoric and public opinion. This skill is required by members of parliament because they are the people's representatives who will always connect and communicate with the public. They need the skills of expressing opinions, responding to opinions and attracting public sympathy because the position in People's Representative Council is a political position that requires a relationship of trust between people's representatives and the people who are represented.

The women cadres of Nasdem party being interviewed stated that they came to the party office and attended the meeting depending on the situation, but political education in the form of increasing women's capacity in politics had not been performed optimally and sustainably. The woman cadre said that she felt bored to come at party meetings because no women were present, so that being the only woman who attended the meeting made her uncomfortable. Some even claimed that they joined party's activities because they felt bored at home after they completed household work. Affiliated with a political party has been a form of political participation even though that participation is not entirely driven by political awareness.

### Method of Political Education

The methods of political education used by the party include lecture, discussion and simulation method. Referring to the information of the research informant, Nasdem party has not fully implemented the method of directed political education in the sense of a progressive method to stimulate the participation of women cadres because the method used tend to be conventional and one-way, so that it is vulnerable to bored the participants of political education. The methods undertaken tend to lead to conventional methods such as seminars, workshops and day-to-day training. Political education materials should be

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presented with an interesting method so that the cadres do not feel bored with the material given let alone the material is considered quite difficult to understand.

According to the author, the appropriate and combined method of learning methods in syndicates, discussions and conference as mentioned by Kartini Kartono (1983) is to conduct group-based trainings, not economic-oriented trainings such as women's business groups but rather study groups to discuss on issues of nationality with the guidance of some party boards. A study group by domicile - in this case according to the branches in each branch of political parties - has several advantages namely (1) fostering synergy and coordination between board and cadre; (2) empowering the function of party branches in the regions; (3) efficient in terms of time and place because it is close to the domicile of each woman cadre; (4) learning with a group consisting of 10-20 people is more effective than gathering women cadres at the Regency/Municipality level; (5) it can be implemented sustainably because the coordination of each participant is easier due to smaller scope.

Another method to be used is informal political discussion in the form of weekly or monthly political study for women cadres. Political education is an activity that can be carried out in official forums by bringing in sources from external parties and unofficial forums such as casual discussions, or internal consolidation by bringing in sources from either internal or external parties. In fact, every meeting in the party is part of informal political education. This means that cadres discuss the political situations that occur and help to provide solutions according to their capacity. According to Kartini Kartono (2009, p.125), the process of political education aimed at forming citizen political participation refers to concrete actions as a form of personality and political awareness because political issues are dynamic activities but are related to many people so that responsible participation will result a change.

This means that in political education, one needs to occupy herself by discussing concrete crippled situations and various disparities in society, with all the political contradictions, conflicts and problems because the actual object of politics is a crippled or non-established political reality in the present, with all the dilemma of its controversy, then finding its way out of the dead end encountered.

Referring to the description of the women cadres participation and the model of political education applied by Nasdem party, it appears that the model of political education has not been sufficiently able to increase the political participation of women cadres, it can be seen from the theory of political participation stated by Al Khumaisi (in Ustman Abdul Muiz Ruslan, 2010, p. 99).

According to the researcher that based on the finding and discussion above, there're some recommendation for women cadres, political parties, and the government (1) Women need to work hard with real proof that practical political activity in the party will not reduce the responsibility to the family; (2) Women need strong motivation to participate because practical political activity is vulnerable to be influenced by a handful of disliking parties if women perform; (3) Women who have served in party stewardship need to be vocal and loud to voice the interests and needs of women in politics; (4) Women cadres need to build networks in the community to support activities in politics; (5) The government needs to make further regulation regarding (a) the minimal amount of formal political education implementation, in the form of seminars, training, workshops, open discussions for political parties; (b) sanctions for political parties that are not serious in carrying out political education; (c) direction for political parties to make special programs related to women's political empowerment to encourage women's political participation.

### Conclusion

Women cadres need political education to encourage the political participation of women cadres in practical political activities. Political participation of party cadres in Indonesia is relatively low. The model of political education applied by the Nasdem party of Regional Executive Board of West Sumatera does not distinguish between men and women cadres and is not performed sustainably. Political education materials for cadres tend to be directed to party identity and consolidation of the organization so that comprehensive political education for cadres has not been achieved. The participation of women cadres in the party tends to lead to their mood and interests. This means that the model of political education offered by the party has not been effective to raise political awareness of women and the party is relatively not serious in empowering women cadres. This is evidenced in the absence of special programs and budgets for women's political education activities.

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