A Model for Developing Political Training Curriculum for Political Parties in Indonesia

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Abstract

This paper presents a model for developing a political training curriculum within the context of a political party in Indonesia. It underscores the importance of incorporating institutional values, system enhancement, autonomy in decision-making, and public interaction within the party. As stipulated in Indonesia's constitution, there are two possible focuses depending on the subjects of such training either the party's administrators and cadres or the general public or community. The paper highlights the need for different teaching strategies and content, depending on the target audience, and emphasizes the necessity for both formative and summative evaluations to ensure the curriculum's ongoing relevance and effectiveness. Ultimately, it provides a blueprint for political parties to create effective, relevant political education programs, tailored to their unique objectives and the needs of their constituents.

Introduction

The philosophy of "nurturing the people's minds" as proposed by Indonesia's national hero, Bung Hatta, is an enduring principle that manifests significantly in the political education of the nation (Hatta, 1957). Hatta's critique of agitation as the singular method of political dissent illuminates the imperative role of political education. Set against the backdrop of the colonial era, political education served a two-fold purpose. Primarily, it contributed to the rise in literacy and numeracy among the populace, thus enabling them to access knowledge and subsequently control their destinies (Kratoska, 2001). Concurrently, it became a conduit for triggering an

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understanding of colonialism and independence, comprehending their socio-political milieu, and participating actively in the freedom struggle.

Hatta's thoughts resonate with the beliefs of influential political leaders worldwide. Thomas Jefferson, one of the founding fathers of the United States, underscored public education as a vital cog in the machinery of a functioning democracy, cementing the idea that an educated citizenry is indispensable for maintaining freedom (Peterson, 1981). Similarly, Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India, highlighted the necessity of a literate and educated population for understanding and preserving democratic values in post-colonial India, thereby playing a pivotal role in the nation's developmental trajectory (Moraes, 1956).

In the contemporary period, more than two-thirds of a century after Indonesia's proclamation of independence, political education remains a cornerstone. Concepts such as "filling up independence" (*mengisi kemerdekaan*), in addition to "defending the independence" (*mempertahankan kemerdekaan*), persist. These sentiments are encapsulated in Law No. 2/2008 concerning Political Parties and its amendment, Law No. 2/2011. These pieces of legislation recognize the task of "forming people's minds" and "filling up independence" in the political context as political education (Bureau of Laws and Regulations, 2011).

According to these Laws, political education, conducted by political parties for their members and the public, is instrumental. It focuses on inculcating the understanding of the four pillars of nationhood and statehood, which are Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, Unity in Diversity, and the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia; fostering the comprehension of Indonesian citizens' rights and obligations; and facilitating the structuring of Political Party members in a progressive and consistent manner.

In line with the aforementioned Laws, community-based political education is a critical function of a political party in the institutionalization of a political system within a democratic context (Svasand & Randall, 2002). Political parties themselves are mandated to institutionalize, develop, and adapt (Huntington, 1968), ensuring their ability to "withstand heat and rain", which symbolizes their acceptance within the community, that remains resilient or even grows. Thus, both the external and internal political education, conducted through community outreach and party membership programs respectively, contribute to the sustainability of the political system, which according to Hatta, can be successful only if the process of "forming minds" of the people is accomplished.

This paper will restrict its focus to an important issue pertinent to political education within political parties, specifically the development of the political education curriculum. The author presents a conceptual approach within the context of Indonesian politics, proposing the development of a political education curriculum based on the identification of political training needs within political parties, anchored in the theory of political institutionalization."

The Scarcity of Relevant Studies

The development of a curriculum for political party training is a specific topic that's rarely directly addressed in academic literature. However, there are studies on political education, political socialization, and party institutionalization which indirectly touch on this topic.

In the realm of comparative politics, numerous studies more take on the task of analyzing the development and training programs within political parties, often within the context of international aid and intervention. For instance, Carothers (2006) provides a comprehensive examination of international aid directed towards political party development in new democracies. Carothers contends that such aid, although well-intentioned, often faces significant hurdles in successfully promoting party institutionalization. His work underscores the importance of understanding the cultural, social, and political contexts of the recipient countries to enhance the effectiveness of these programs.

In a similar vein, the edited volume by Burnell and Gerrits (2010) delves into the role of external actors in promoting party politics in emerging democracies. They found a complex picture where the effectiveness of such programs can vary widely depending on the recipient countries' institutional context and the nature of the training program itself. Their work suggests that a more nuanced and context-sensitive approach might be beneficial in training program design and implementation.

Beyond the scope of international aid, research also looks at political education from a broader perspective. Niemi and Junn (1998), for instance, investigate the impact of political socialization in educational institutions on subsequent political participation and attitudes. They argue that civic education in schools plays a vital role in fostering democratic citizenship, illustrating the potential utility of adopting similar educational techniques in the training programs of political parties.

These studies, while not focusing directly on the specific task of curriculum development for political party training, provide valuable indirect insights. They underscore the necessity of contextual understanding, the potential utility of educational techniques employed in civic education, and the challenges and opportunities associated with international aid programs. As such, they offer a robust starting point for those wishing to delve into the task of designing political party training curriculums.

Political Institutionalization and Party Education

Democratization within a country is presupposed to transpire when there's an institutionalization of the party system that oversees political parties. Svasand and Randall (2002) assert that the sustenance of a democratic structure is deeply intertwined with the functioning and evolution of political parties. This is because these parties serve as a medium for citizens to participate in political processes, contributing to the overall

democratic governance. A key factor that shapes the democracy in a nation is the extent of institutionalization of the parties within its structure.

Figure 1 illustrates a party system in a democracy (or country) consisting of four political parties. Each party contributes to building democracy in a country, a democratic state, through democratization.
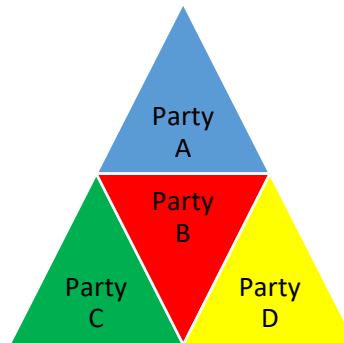

Figure 1 A Model of Political-based Democracy

Continuing this discourse, Harmel and Svasand (2019) argue that the institutionalization of party systems essentially depends on the self-building and developing capacity of the parties forming its foundation. Hence, resilience or adaptability of the parties, demonstrated, for instance, when they successfully surpass the electability threshold in multiple elections, becomes critical. The electability or social acceptance of these parties is a reflection of their success in representing the diverse interests of various societal segments. This, in turn, achieves the socio-political function of the parties' existence, highlighting their crucial role in democratization.

Furthering the institutionalization of a political party is contingent on various influential factors, an idea which finds its roots in several theoretical models. Samuel Huntington's theory (1968), widely recognized for its managerial approach, underscores four crucial elements: adaptability, complexity, autonomy, and party coherence. Adaptability, according to Huntington, speaks to a party's ability to adjust and evolve in response to changing socio-political environments. Complexity, on the other hand, highlights the multifaceted nature of party structures, allowing them to be effective across diverse scenarios. Autonomy emphasizes the party's freedom from external influences, which bolsters the party's capability to make independent decisions that align with its set objectives. Lastly, party coherence underscores the unity within the party, considered essential for its effective functioning. While these elements act as pillars of party institutionalization, Huntington cautions against potential pitfalls, including rigidity, simplicity, subordination, and disunity. These factors may pose challenges to a party's structure and functionality, therefore constant vigilance and efforts to mitigate these issues remain imperative for successful institutionalization.

Table 1. Three theoretizations of Party Institutionalization

Theoretization	Dimension			
Huntington (1968)	Adaptability vs Rigidity	Complexity vs Simplicity	Autonomy vs Subordination	Coherence vs Disunity
Panebianco (1988)	Autonomy	Internal Structure		
Randall & Svasand (2002)	System	Value infusion	Autonomy of decision	Reification

For Panebianco (1988), there are two main things to achieve party autonomy: autonomy and internal structure. Autonomy is related to external matters, for example, how the party can be independent in managing the organization so that it is able to make political decisions independently, for example, in line with its ideology, principles, or platforms. Meanwhile, internal structure means that a party must have a management system that allows them to operate as an organization or political institution, evidenced, for example, by the manageable human and financial resources, which enable the various party programs to be carried out. The ultimate goal is how the party survives and/or develops over time and does not just wither and disappear in the political game. In Panebianco's words, "... they are parties which pass like a meteor over the political firmament, which spring up and die out without ever institutionalizing".

Figure 2. Party Institutionalization
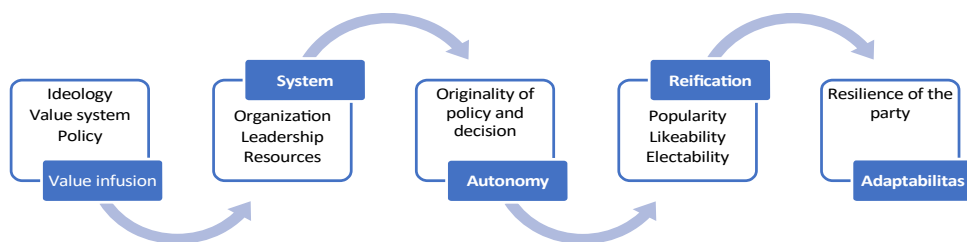
Trying to summarize from the two theorizations above and other theorizations, Svasand & Randall (2002; cf. Svasand & Harmel, 2019), proposed four important aspects in party institutionalization, namely systemness (hereafter referred to as 'systemization' only), value infusion, decision autonomization, and reification. Systemization and value infusion are aspects that are internal or aimed at building and developing the party itself. On the other hand, decision autonomization and party reification are externally oriented or

how the party represents itself to the public. Systemization includes the development and strengthening of party structures and resources; value infusion relates to education and cadres within the party; decision autonomization is how the party can generate authentic political decisions or policy ideas that benefit the public; and reification is how the party can win the people's votes. How this party institutionalization process occurs can be seen in Figure 2, which will eventually result in party resilience, or adaptability.

Based on the above discussion on the institutionalization of a political system and its parties, the possible contents of education or training within a political party can be summarized as follow.

Systemness--The first component of party institutionalization is systemness, which pertains to the development and enhancement of party structures and resources. By cultivating systemness, a political party strengthens its internal mechanisms and resources. This is typically achieved by incorporating specific elements into party training such as:

1. Policy Education: This ensures that party members are well versed in the party's platform and can articulate it effectively.
2. Election Observer Training: This prepares party members to oversee and protect the integrity of elections, reinforcing the party's participation in the political system.

Value Infusion--The second component is value infusion, an internal aspect that involves fostering shared values and commitment among party members. It serves to develop a common understanding and commitment to the party's core principles. Key training elements under this category include:

1. Ideological Training: This ensures that party members are aligned with the party's core beliefs and values.
2. Leadership Development Programs: These are intended to develop competent leaders who can inspire party members.
3. Civic Education: This promotes democratic values and political engagement among party members.

Decision Autonomization: The third component is decision autonomization, an external aspect which enables the party to generate and articulate authentic political decisions or policy ideas that resonate with the public. Party training can foster decision autonomization through:

1. Media Training: This equips party members with effective communication skills to present the party's policies and positions to the public.
2. Membership Recruitment and Retention Training: This strengthens the party's base and ensures a continuous influx of new ideas and perspectives, facilitating the development of policies that are in tune with the public's needs.

Reification--The final component is reification, the party's ability to win the acceptance and votes of the public without heavy reliance on certain leaders or factors. To promote reification, party training can focus on:

1. Ethics Training: By instilling a sense of ethics in party members, this can enhance the party's reputation among voters.
2. Campaign Strategy Workshops: These enhance the party's visibility and likability, thereby increasing its electability.
3. Civic Education: This can enhance the party's reputation among voters, thus improving its electability.

Curriculum Development for Party Education

One ideal model of cyclical curriculum development can be seen in Figure 3, which includes needs analysis, design and development, implementation, and evaluation (Visscher-Voerman & Gustafson, 2004; Thijs & van Akker, 2009; Sukmadinata, 1997). Needs analysis includes identifying what is deemed necessary to be the content of an educational activity and identifying values or what can be called as envisioning, which is also referred to as the input aspect of the process of preparing a curriculum (Tyler, 1949; Taba, 1962; Beauchamp, 1975; Saylor et al, 1981). This analysis can be done deductively, such as using the Tyler or Beauchamp model, or conversely, inductively, such as in the Taba and Eisner model (Saylor et al, 1981; Lunenburg, 2011a & 2011b; Ornstein et al, 2019; Gordon et al, 2019).

Design and development are the processes in which the curriculum form is determined based on the objectives of the desired education or training. Table 2 provides five design options based on general categorization by Saylor et al (1981). Considering that education in a political party environment tends to be training or instructional courses, options 2-4 are more appropriate, namely designs for developing competence, character, and social function. Designs in the form of subjects as well as the development of needs and interests are more suitable for formal education such as in schools or universities. Education or training in a political party environment, which is non-formal, refers to mastering certain skills or aspects of personality and social skills required by party officials according to their field of work.

Curriculum implementation is also known as learning (instruction or teaching), where the designed curriculum is used in teaching and learning activities. Teachers, instructors or facilitators develop and use learning strategies, facilitator-participant relations, teaching materials or content, tools and resources, participant organization, and assessment (Beauchamp, 1975). Curriculum implementation requires the selection of an appropriate learning model. Table 3 offers a choice of learning models based on the characteristics of curriculum choices (Saylor et al, 1981). Of course, this offer is not

absolute, because learning is essentially dynamic and depends on the availability of resources, participants, and of course facilitators.

Table 2. Alternatives of Curriculum Designs

Design	Goal	Learning design
Subject-matter	Providing structured knowledge, such as knowledge in the field of biology	Learning is arranged according to the relevant field
Competence/ technologically -based	Developing specific competencies or skills, such as skills in using computers	Designing a learning system based on task analysis
Character development	Developing certain characteristics, such as learning how to learn, problem-solving, effective leadership, analytical capacity about values	Learning processes that allow a variety of experiences according to the characteristics to be developed
Social-function development	Connecting education with society such as involving participants to handle various life situations, developing local communities, or reconstructing society	Involving participants in various social activities and broadly learning about social or community issues and programs
Need and interest development	Meeting the needs and interests of participants such as painting, socializing with friends	Involving participants as individuals or in groups in various activities according to their needs and interests

Curriculum evaluation is fundamentally formative and summative (Saylor et al, 1981). Formative procedures include a variety of arrangements to obtain feedback that allows curriculum designers to make adjustments and developments at each stage of the curriculum development process, both in determining goals and objectives, curriculum design, implementation and evaluation. Meanwhile, summative evaluation is carried out at the end of the curriculum development process and is a total evaluation of the curriculum design. The results of the evaluation become feedback used by curriculum developers to determine whether a curriculum will be continued, modified, or eliminated.

Table 3. Alternatives of Learning Design Model

Instruction/ Curriculum Design	Subject -matter	Competence	Character	Social Function	Need/ Interest
Communal activity	X	X	✓	✓	✓
Discussion	✓	X	✓	✓	X
Group investigation	X	X	✓	✓	✓
Independent learning	✓	✓	X	✓	✓
Enquiry	✓	X	✓	X	X
Systemic learning	✓	✓	X	X	X
Jurisprudence	X	X	✓	✓	X
Lecture/speech	✓	X	X	X	X
Practicum/training	✓	✓	X	x	X
Programmed learning	✓	✓	X	X	X
Role play	X	✓	✓	✓	X
Simulation/game	X	✓	✓	✓	X
Problem-solving	X	X	✓	✓	✓
Auditory-visual	✓	✓	X	✓	✓

Using this ADDIE curriculum development model, the author will offer the development of a political education curriculum based on the identification of political training needs in a political party environment based on political institutionalization theory in the context of the Indonesian political system.

## Example of Political Party Curriculum Development

Needs Analysis

Based on the theoretical institutionalization of parties, the main goal of every political education or training within the political party environment is related to the implanting and maintaining of party values, development and system enhancement, development of autonomy in decision-making, and how the party undergoes reification in public. Table 4 summarizes the general objectives of each aspect of institutionalization and examples of training needs (Saylor et al, 1981).

In line with this theorization, using the conception of political education in Law No. 2/2008 and Law No. 2/2011, the subjects of political education can be identified (see Figure 3). The first subjects of education are the party's administrators and cadres. In the theoretical institutionalization of the party, the administrators and cadres must first understand, appreciate, and practice party values. In managing the party, the administrators should have managerial and administrative skills according to the

necessary functions and develop party governance so that it is not rigid, organic, autonomous, and coherent (Huntington, 1968). In the Indonesian context, education or training for these party managers can be referred to as cadre capacity building.

The second subject is the public or community, which in the theorization of democracy is the subject represented by the parties. One party is assumed to represent a particular segment of society based on political objectives. The segment of society that supports a particular party but does not become its administrators is also referred to as sympathizers or constituents. They need to be 'cared for' with direct or indirect political education so that they continue to sympathize, vote for, and support the party. In this category of non-cadre subjects, there is also political recruitment, approaches, and recruitment of figures deemed qualified for candidacy, both candidates in management or candidates for legislative or executive members.

Figure 3. Subjects in political education
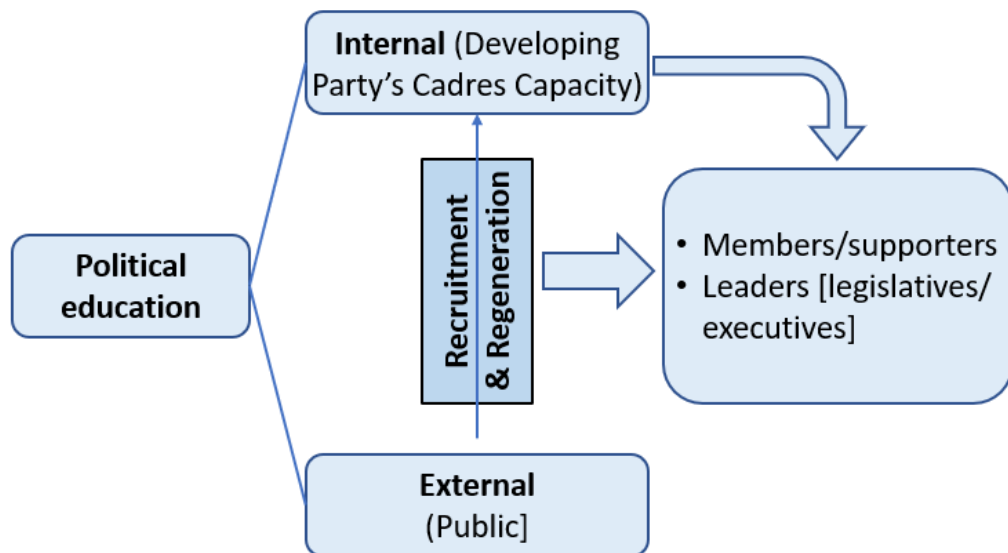
The needs analysis of political education then depends on which subject will attend the education and what educational objectives are to be achieved. If education is internal, where the subject of education is a certain cadre segment, for example, party administrators at the district level, and is intended for briefing on political work, then the curriculum is composed in the context of reification, that is, how these cadres are able to penetrate the public with programs that make the party recognized, liked, and chosen.

The determination of the training form can also be based on inductive analysis. This is exemplified in Table 5 Example Identification of Party Training Needs.

Table 5. Identifying the needs for a political training

Dimension	Example
Problems	Based on the results of the 2014 and 2019 elections, a party was indicated to be weak in terms of grassroots level cadres (branches and sub-branches). Among the indicators are the issues with observerss at polling stations, which often resulted in "loss of votes" and various difficulties in socializing programs before the elections
Context	The lack of militant cadres working at the grassroots level (branches and sub-branches), who, in addition to being election observerss, are also party cadres tasked with tasks such as recruitment and door-to-door socialization
Needs	Cadre training for party workers at the branch level, with a focus on the following materials: 1. Developing militancy (ideology, values, doctrine, party culture) 2. Socialization skills 3. Development of effective communication skills (persuasion, socialization, etc.) 4. Methods, strategies, and techniques for cadre recruitment 5. Methods, strategies, and techniques to be election observerss
Sources	Input for training: party's AD/ART (Articles of Association and Bylaws), party publications, curriculum documents, research data, etc.

Curriculum Design

Table 6 illustrates how the design of a political training curriculum is determined, which is tailored according to the character of the material. In this case, according to the case example above, the main material includes the development of militancy (ideology, values, doctrine, party culture), socialization skills, development of effective communication skills (persuasion, socialization), methods, strategies and recruitment techniques of cadres, methods, strategies and techniques to become an election witness.

Table 6. Deciding a design

Content	Design Focus	Instruction
Cadre Militancy Development	Character development: understanding and appreciating values such as loyalty, commitment	Organizing authentic learning activities from various perspectives to allow participants to construct knowledge actively [learner-driven]
Socialization skills:	Social function development: connecting training with social life	Involving participants in various social activities as well as identification and analysis of social problems and programs or communities
Effective Communication	Competence: Learning system design based on task analysis	Mastery of the ability to perform activities or actions through specific interactions (social or instrumental) and develop an appropriate communication style
Cadre Recruitment	Competence: Designing learning system based on task analysis	Mastery of the ability to perform activities or actions through specific interactions (social or instrumental) and develop effective strategies/methods
Election Witness	Competence: Learning system design based on task analysis	Mastery of the ability to perform activities or actions through specific interactions (social or instrumental) and find appropriate ways to be an effective witness.

Curriculum Implementation

Curriculum implementation here is the development of a curriculum that has been designed in the form of a learning plan. Taking one of the materials above, namely about effective communication, the author illustrates how a learning plan is arranged in a simple model as in Table 7.

Table 7. Sample of designing lesson plan

Contents	Learning and Assessment	Supplement
Introduction to self-communication style and identification of different communication styles	• Opening (conditioning) • Identification of communication style using the "Communication Style" instrument • Discussion on the results	• Conditioning activities that involve mental and physical activities • Ice-breaker for refreshing, for example, every 10 minutes • School in a box [box containing various stationery] • Indigenous knowledge (local wisdom/practice)
Identification of various obstacles that interfere with the effectiveness of grassroots political communication and strategies to overcome them	• Group work filling in the communication barrier table that has been prepared based on participants' field experience • Presentation, discussion, and deepening	
Identification of distortions in political communication and strategies to overcome them	• Activity "See and match!" types of distortions and appropriate strategies • Discussion and deepening • Closure: identification of lessons learned and feedback from participants	

Curriculum Evaluation

In general, the evaluation of a curriculum of an education or training is formative and summative (eg. Saylor, Alexander & Lewis, 1981). In the preparation of a political party training curriculum, formative evaluation is carried out throughout the preparation process. The goal is to improve the quality of the parts of the curriculum being compiled. For example, formative evaluation is conducted in each discussion session by those involved in the compilation. So that there is a 'formation' or formation process towards better.

Meanwhile, summative evaluation is carried out at the end of each step or aspect and at the end of the entire cycle. 'Summative' itself means overall or cumulative, so summative evaluation means a comprehensive evaluation. The source of evaluation data

can be from curriculum developers, participants, facilitators, and beneficiaries (such as party organizational units). Data can be qualitative and/or quantitative. The most important thing is how the results of the summative evaluation can answer the questions needed to make decisions whether a program or part of a program will be continued or not.

Table 8. Curriculum evaluation

Dimension	Formative	Summative
Determining training objectives or goals	Carried out in each discussion or reflection session	Carried out to revise the draft of the training objectives
Designing curriculum	Carried out in each discussion and reflection session	Carried out to revise the draft of curriculum design
Curriculum implementation	Carried out during or/and at the end of learning process	Carried out after the entire learning process is completed
Curriculum evaluation	Carried out during the evaluation and/or report preparation process	Carried out after the entire step/cycle is completed

Meanwhile, another important evaluation is post-training evaluation related to participant development after returning to work or activities in their respective workplaces or areas. In this case, for example, observations can be made to see the benefits of training. The data obtained will be useful for improving the curriculum in the next program or for assessing the long-term sustainability of the training.

Discussion and Conclusion

This study embarked from the question of how to construct a political education curriculum within the context of a political party (Burnell & Gerrits, 2010). Drawing from the Indonesian political landscape, this paper proposed a conceptual approach to developing such a curriculum based on the identification of training needs within a political party environment (Carothers, 2006). This approach was grounded in the theory of political institutionalization (Huntington, 1986; Panebianco, 1988; Svasand & Randall, 2002; Pridham & Lewis, 1996).

In a deductive manner, training formats and objectives were identified considering the four pillars of party institutionalization: value infusion, systematization, autonomization, and reification. Each pillar demands specific focus areas and tailors the curriculum to the training participants' unique requirements.

For instance, systematization, typically concerned with administrative and managerial aspects, suggests a curriculum design based on competency (Saylor et al, 1981). Such design emphasizes experiential learning, with a heavy focus on practice or exercises (Kolb, 1984). On the other hand, aspects related to value infusion may require a more dialogical and reflective pedagogical approach, fostering internalization of party values and ideology (Freire, 1970).

Implementation of the curriculum aligns with the chosen design, ensuring a coherent learning journey for participants (Knowles, Holton & Swanson, 2011). Evaluation, an essential part of this process, occurs both formatively (during the development and implementation stages) and summatively (at the end of each stage and the curriculum's overall use) (Saylor et al, 1981; Bloom, Hastings & Madaus, 1971).

The outcomes of these evaluations guide subsequent curriculum improvements, determining whether the curriculum requires expansion, reduction, or even a complete overhaul (Stufflebeam, 2007). Through this comprehensive and iterative approach, political party training can become a dynamic and effective tool for party institutionalization, fostering a robust and participatory democracy (Diamond & Morlino, 2005)."

While this paper offers an initial conceptual framework for developing a political education curriculum within the environment of a political party (Burnell & Gerrits, 2010), future work should delve deeper into the specifics of the curriculum development process. This includes considering the different roles within a political party, from the grassroots activists to the highest leadership, and how their unique needs inform the design and delivery of the curriculum (Panebianco, 1988).

Moreover, future research could explore the interplay of cultural, societal, and historical factors influencing the adoption and success of such a curriculum. Different political parties have different traditions, cultural norms, and historical trajectories (Svasand & Randall, 2002), which are all likely to impact how a political education curriculum is received and implemented.

It is also important to examine how political education curricula can be made adaptive and responsive, given the ever-changing dynamics of politics. Rapid changes in societal attitudes, technology, and the political landscape itself call for a curriculum that can evolve over time (Huntington, 1968).

Lastly, there is an opportunity to study the application of modern pedagogical methods and technologies in political education. For example, the use of digital platforms and online learning might be beneficial in certain contexts, while a more traditional, face-to-face approach might work better in others (Knowles, Holton & Swanson, 2011).

In terms of practical application, it is essential that the development of such a curriculum is an inclusive process, engaging multiple stakeholders within the party - from leadership to party members. The training needs, learning preferences, and available resources should all be considered in the design and implementation of the curriculum (Pridham & Lewis, 1996).

Also, the evaluation process should not only assess the outcomes but also the implementation process. This way, it is possible to gather insights that will be useful for improving both the content of the curriculum and the ways it is taught (Stufflebeam, 2007).

In conclusion, the development of a political education curriculum within a political party should be a dynamic and iterative process, informed by theory and tailored to the specific needs and context of the party (Diamond & Morlino, 2005). It should be seen not as a one-off event but as a continuous journey, constantly evolving to meet the changing demands of the political landscape.

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