

DELIBERATIVE DEMOCRACY FORMATION IN POLITICAL EDUCATION: A CASE STUDY ON THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (NASDEM) OF DKI JAKARTA

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to analyze the formation of deliberative democracy in political education within the National Democratic Party (NasDem) of DKI Jakarta. By employing the concept of deliberative democracy, we argue that the NasDem Party of DKI Jakarta applies a democratic intersubjective dialogue process in decision-making regarding internal party political education. Although research on political education in general within political parties in Indonesia has been widely discussed, this paper complements previous studies by considering democratic inter-agent interactions and analyzing the discourse of deliberative democracy in political education within the NasDem Party of DKI Jakarta. Through qualitative exploration with descriptive case studies of two informants, field findings indicate that interactions in political education within the NasDem Party of DKI Jakarta are democratic in line with the party's ideological foundation, which guarantees internal democracy and promotes public democratization. Additionally, political parties also engage in empowering active members through participatory procedures and facilitate deliberative decisions in legitimizing internal political education from the village level to the provincial level. These findings contribute to an intra-party deliberative democracy model aimed at empowering members and offering a political public forum that prioritizes deliberation in influencing decisions.

KEYWORDS

Political Education, Deliberative Democracy, Intersubjective Dialogue, Public Sphere, National Democratic Party



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INTRODUCTION

Political education by parties refers to organized activities aimed at increasing the awareness of members' roles within the party and understanding political ideology among the entire society (Suparno & Karmanis, 2020). Political education is crucial in fostering civil society democracy as it can enhance the internal quality of political parties and support a better governance system (Sutjipto et al., 2023). Additionally, strategic political education anticipates amoral political cultures, thus minimizing government reforms in a destructive manner (Febriani, 2019; Pietrzyk-Reeves, 2020; Sandahl & Björklund, 2023). In the Indonesian context, political education is reflected in seminar programs, intensive training, and leadership schools that articulate the political aspirations of civil society and aggregate stakeholders' interests (Hidayah et al., 2020; Kusuma et al., 2020).

Meanwhile, according to the Minister of Home Affairs Regulation (Permendagri) Number 36 of 2010, agencies involved in political education include political parties, local political parties, community organizations, non-profit organizations, and related organizations or institutions in the region. Based on this policy, political parties play a crucial role in the realization of political education in Indonesia (Kusuma et al., 2020). Political education within parties is divided into two categories: external political education (general public) and internal political education (cadres and officials), in accordance with the political party's statutes. In this context, political education provided to party officials or cadres serves as a foundation that must be socialized to the public and provides a space to reaffirm the urgency of ethics and the development of political ideologies (Daud, 2019).

One political party movement that has implemented public political education is the National Democratic Party (NasDem) of DKI Jakarta, which serves as the center of government and the national political barometer. Political education within the structure of NasDem DKI Jakarta tends to be democratic, upholding the ideological values they embrace, namely nationalism and democracy in Indonesia. It is not surprising that this party tends to be democratic in political education because they have a political education center called the National Defense Academy (ABN) NasDem based in Jakarta. Political education at ABN NasDem is structured and systematic like a school. Furthermore, political education also has a curriculum covering aspects of personality, nationalism, and party aspects.

Thus far, previous studies, such as Nadir & Wardani (2019), have primarily considered the dynamics of political education in the context of Pancasila democracy and deliberation processes. The study emphasizes that Pancasila democracy and deliberation serve as practical discourses that can accommodate the political aspirations of society procedurally. Deliberative formations within the bureaucratic system in Indonesia are expected to control government decisions, thus supporting efforts in citizenship practices and political transformation (Zhang & Fagan, 2016). Additionally, Gherghina, Soare & Jacquet (2020) also reveal that deliberative practices strengthen democracy within parties by connecting dialogue between citizens and the government for mutual evaluation.

Specifically, McClave (2000) asserts that deliberative democracy in political education can uphold intersubjective empathy, communication tolerance, and analytical reflexivity. The deliberative democracy model has benefits for application

in all places as it emphasizes reasoned discussion in decision-making as a central element of political life (Cooke, 2000). Deliberative teaching approaches have also been identified as effective methods in formal learning environments to nurture individuals with democratic perspectives and contribute to the formation of democratic societies (Egler, 2022; Stitzlein, 2010)..

In contrast to previous research that did not consider the aspect of deliberative democracy in political education within a political party, this article seeks to explore the model of deliberative democracy implemented in the political education process within the NasDem Party of DKI Jakarta. Therefore, the research question posed is how does the formation of deliberative democracy in political education occur in the NasDem Party of DKI Jakarta? Using Jurgen Habermas' (1994, 1996) framework of thought, the author argues that political education within the NasDem Party of DKI Jakarta demonstrates a democratic communication process. All actors within the NasDem Party of DKI Jakarta position themselves as active agents participating in every decision-making regarding the internal party political education policy, which encourages civil participation to uphold democracy.

This aligns with Jurgen Habermas' (1996) argument that intersubjective communicative processes prioritizing social deliberation and political discussion can support a free public dialogue, enabling all actors to contribute to political and legal policies (Hardiman, 2007). Thus, this research offers an important contribution to democratic political education by promoting responsible practical wisdom and supporting citizenship values in Indonesia. Secondly, democratic political education by political parties cultivates active citizens in Indonesia. Finally, the analysis of this article can develop the capacity of deliberative democracy for political education by parties, thus promoting high-quality interactive communication across perspectives in addressing social issues.

RESEARCH METHOD

The study employs a qualitative method to investigate the formation of deliberative democracy built within the NasDem Party of DKI Jakarta. The reason for using this method is because the research delves into social issues regarding how individuals or groups perceive matters (Creswell, 2003, 2018). Specifically, a case study approach is utilized to describe and analyze social realities in-depth based on the research subjects' perspectives. The selection of this procedure aims to capture the consensus of deliberative democracy formation within the NasDem Party of DKI Jakarta, as descriptive case study narratives can explain phenomena (cases) in the real-world context and address research questions centered on "how" questions in a situation (Yin, 2014).

The technique for determining the respondents used purposive sampling because the researchers have selected informants/participants by setting criteria appropriate to the research objectives, thus expecting to answer research questions in-depth. The research location is at the DPW (Regional Leadership Council) Office of the NasDem Party of DKI Jakarta. The scope of this research is the implementation of internal political education for NasDem Party cadres in DKI Jakarta from 2023-2024. Given that the researcher is a sociology student, the focus is inclined

towards the dynamics of deliberative democracy in internal political education within the NasDem Party of DKI Jakarta.

Data in this study adopts two sources. First, primary data refers to direct information collected on-site, such as interviews, observations, and discussions to gain insights into participants' perspectives and experiences. In this context, primary data is obtained from interviews conducted by the researcher over one month to provide a comprehensive overview of the phenomenon under study. Second, secondary data contributes to understanding the generalizability of findings that assist primary information in the field. Secondary data (such as literature records, party documents, modules, and other relevant sources) are analyzed to maximize the utility of previous research. Overall, the researcher conducted a review of research on deliberative democracy and political education in the NasDem Party of DKI Jakarta (Hasan, 2002).

Data collection techniques in this article employ two approaches. Firstly, in-depth interviews. Interviews were not only conducted in person but also via face-to-face communication using technological aids (Zoom Meeting) or speaking through phone (WhatsApp). Interviews were conducted with the Deputy Chairman of the Cadre Education & Political Education Department of the NasDem Party of DKI Jakarta & ABN NasDem Teaching Staff. Secondly, literature review, used to gather data on deliberative democracy and political education in the NasDem Party of DKI Jakarta.

The qualitative data analysis technique used in this study applies the interactive analysis model by Miles and Huberman, which involves a systematic approach to analyzing data including data collection, data reduction, data display, and conclusion/verification (Miles & Huberman, 2007). The Miles and Huberman interactive model is often used for content analysis and coding in qualitative research, particularly analyzing data collected through in-depth interviews to ensure the reliability of research findings. Furthermore, the data validity of this study utilizes data triangulation by identifying consistencies and differences among various cases regarding the phenomenon under investigation. This process also integrates various techniques of collecting existing data sources, such as interviews and literature review, to obtain valid data (Sutopo, 2006).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

A. Political Education in the NasDem Party of DKI Jakarta

Political parties have a role or function to conduct political education, which is divided into two categories within political parties: Internal political education for party cadres, officials, members, and legislative candidates from the party, while External political education is for the general public. Political education from political parties can take various forms depending on the policy or statutes of the political party. One party that conducts political education is the NasDem Party, a party that can be considered new as it was declared on July 26, 2011, at the Mercure Hotel, Ancol, Jakarta (PartaiNasDem.id, 2014).

The Central Leadership Council (DPP) as well as the Regional Leadership Council (DPW) of the NasDem Party conduct political education at the NasDem

National Defense Academy (ABN), which focuses its curriculum on three aspects: personality, party, and nationalism. The personality aspect serves as the initial foundation to shape and enrich the emotional aspect of cadres psychologically and individually, with the emphasis on fostering and strengthening the cadre's ability to manage emotional skills intelligently and responsibly (Curriculum Document of the NasDem Party National Defense Academy, 2017: XIII).

The party aspect serves as a bridge that will bring emotionally and spiritually intelligent cadre capabilities to recognize and strengthen the cadre's belief in the existence of the NasDem Party. The Party aspect equips cadres with clear and balanced cognitive abilities to responsibly and continuously view political and democratic life. Meanwhile, the nationalist aspect equips cognitive, affective, and psychomotor aspects in a measured and structured manner, to strengthen cadre belief in advocating for the ideals of the NasDem Party, which will continue to safeguard the existence of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia through intelligent and widely accepted movements for change (Curriculum Document of the NasDem Party National Defense Academy, 2017: XIII).

The curriculum structure of the NasDem National Defense Academy, built based on academic studies, is expected to attract and build a movement for change as the main pendulum of NasDem party ideals in carrying out intelligent, militant, and responsible change movements. Eventually, with this curriculum structure, the goals and aspirations of the NasDem Party will continue to grow over time, where the intensity and quality of this growth will also improve in the context of gaining the trust of the wider community (Curriculum Document of the NasDem Party National Defense Academy, 2017: XIII). So, what about the teaching methods at the NasDem National Defense Academy?

"Regarding the most standard teaching method, it is seminars or lectures, there are also workshops. In workshops, there are various types including practical, semi-practical, and simulation. So, we use almost all concepts of modern education" (Khairil Azhar, interview results).

This quote emphasizes that the teaching methods at the NasDem National Defense Academy such as workshops, seminars, and practices can be said to be similar to those in university lectures. This type of teaching method is not new in our current education system. In universities, the teaching methods are still the same, including material presentations, question and answer discussions, and validation or conclusions from the material, usually done by lecturers or professors. The goal of such teaching methods is to make it easy for party cadres or officials to understand and to facilitate cadre interaction in expanding their networks because they can meet and get to know directly the instructors and other cadre friends. Next, it would be incomplete to discuss the curriculum without discussing the competencies of instructors at the NasDem National Defense Academy.

"1. Academic ability. Academic ability means having academic competence in politics, 2. Pedagogical ability. That is having teaching competence. If they can

teach, please do so, because not everyone with a doctorate degree can teach, 3. Personality competence. They have communication competence, leadership competence, and emotion management competence because if a teacher or instructor is emotional, it's not good, 4. Social competence. It means they can socialize well. If a teacher or instructor cannot socialize, it will be difficult. It is in line with the standards of the ministry or the law on teachers and lecturers, which we refer to from there" (Khairil Azhar, interview results).

Regarding the qualifications of instructors at the NasDem National Defense Academy, from the central level to the grassroots level, these are also considered. Instructors must have four competency requirements to be able to teach at the NasDem National Defense Academy: academic, pedagogical, personality, and social competence. These four qualification requirements are checked in accordance with Law Number 14 of 2005 Article 10 paragraph 1 concerning teachers and lecturers. NasDem follows this regulation to ensure quality education services in accordance with the demands of the times, as competency improvement is an ongoing process, especially now that we have entered the digital era.

B. Interaction in Political Education in the NasDem Party of DKI Jakarta

Political education is based on interactions between educators and party cadres, officials, and members to achieve the goals of political education within a specific environment. This environment is regulated and monitored to ensure that the learning activities are directed towards the educational objectives. Political education functions to assist party cadres, officials, and members in their personal development, including the development of all their potentials, skills, and positive personal characteristics, both for themselves and their environment (Fahri & Qusyairi, 2019).

In the process of political education between educators and party cadres, there must be ongoing interactions. In any organization, especially in a political organization, interactions can take two forms: top-down or bottom-up. Top-down interaction is a conventional interaction that is quite rational. This interaction emphasizes centralized decision-making and institutional authority (Suaedi & Widiono, 2021). On the other hand, bottom-up interaction originates from grassroots structures and involves people working together, resulting in decisions emerging from collective involvement (Stewart et al, 2015).

"In the NasDem party, we have a school called ABN (National Defense Academy), ideally, it is to educate cadres from the bottom to the top, cadres from the neighborhood level (DPRT), district level (DPC), city mayor level (DPD), to the provincial level of DKI (DPW). If the DKI DPW is managerial for the entire DKI, including 5 districts and the Thousand Islands, so basically it starts from the bottom to the top, and cadre training is not routine. Because, with no regularity in leadership, not all receive political education training." (Bajora Alamsyah, interview results).

ABN NasDem serves as the place for political education within the NasDem Party. The interaction in political education within the NasDem party is bottom-up, starting from the grassroots level to the provincial level. However, it is unfortunate that the political education for NasDem DKI Jakarta's DPW cadre training is not routine and comprehensive, perhaps due to the limitations of party funds, which also have to cover operational costs such as candidacy fees, employee salaries, secretariat operational costs, and other expenses (Fadillah, 2017). If a cadre wishes to participate in political education at ABN NasDem, there are requirements.

"For members who already have a Membership Card (KTA), who have been members for at least one year or have interacted with the structure in their respective lines or bottom-up, so we know who they are. So, ABN NasDem recruits bottom-up leadership plus members who have KTA and have been with the NasDem Party for at least one year." (Bajora Alamsyah, interview results).

This quote emphasizes that to participate in political education at ABN NasDem, one must have a Membership Card (KTA) and have been a NasDem party member for at least one year, as well as having interacted with other members or cadres within the NasDem Party. Therefore, interaction within the party during political education is important to be recognized by other cadres and to expand their social networks. The interaction method NasDem uses during cadre training is bottom-up, meaning that all levels or layers within the organization are involved in the decision-making process, which is good because it reflects the democratic values in our country, Indonesia, which are based on majority agreement given freely.

"The NasDem Party is a nationalist party, not a religious party, and it declared Pancasila as its principle during its first declaration. Then, its slogan is the movement for change, the restoration of Indonesia. This movement for change means that we want to change the mindset, attitudes, and actions of people who are negative, who do not align with Pancasila." (Bajora Alamsyah, interview results).

It is not surprising that the NasDem party reflects democratic values since it is a nationalist party with Pancasila as its principle. The party does not seek a significant role for religion, especially Islam, in politics. It also promotes the idea of change to align people's mindset with Pancasila. However, it is important to note that changing public perception is not easy, as every individual has their own thoughts, and people have the right to express their own opinions. The NasDem Party upholds the values of unity and diversity based on Pancasila and *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*. As reported by CNN Indonesia, Pancasila and *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* serve as examples at the United Nations, as stated by UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres at the 2023 ASEAN Summit. By upholding Pancasila and *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, national life in Indonesia becomes more harmonious and peaceful, even though there may be minor tensions, especially before elections,

public opinion tends to be polarized, but after the political contest, political parties and society can reunite and be in harmony.

C. Deliberative Democracy Formation in Political Education in the NasDem Party of DKI Jakarta

The interaction in political education within the NasDem Party of DKI Jakarta is bottom-up. This interaction, according to our research, is suitable and upholds democratic values because decision-making involves the opinions of all structures or layers. One form of democracy that is increasingly discussed is deliberative democracy. Deliberative democracy emphasizes that society or members of a group have a role to actively participate in political decision-making through deliberation, dialogue, or discussion. Deliberative democracy not only occurs within a country; different forms of democracy can exist within a group or political party, such as within the NasDem Party of DKI Jakarta.

"In the NasDem Party, for education, there is its own curriculum at ABN, but for decision-making, it is determined collectively based on plenary meetings at its level. If the Central Board holds a plenary meeting instructing the Regional Boards and their hierarchies below to do something, then the Regional Boards conduct their own plenary meetings because they are responsible for their respective regions, and if it seems that the directive is not feasible, we communicate this upward, and the Regional Board says it seems this cannot be implemented in DKI like that. When such changes arise, we discuss it again, and only after the decision of the plenary meeting at the DKI Regional Board is made do we sound it out to the District and City DPDs in the 5 Districts, and the District and City DPDs must sound it out to the sub-districts and neighborhoods throughout DKI Jakarta." (Bajora Alamsyah, interview results).

As discussed earlier, the NasDem party, in conducting political education, has its own curriculum focused on three aspects: personality, partisanship, and nationalism. Uniquely, in decision-making regarding political education, they involve both the Central Board (DPP) and Regional Boards (DPW). They prioritize collective deliberation before making a decision on political education. Deliberative democracy can be said to have a deliberative dimension, where policies must first be sanctioned through public discourse. Thus, deliberative democracy aims to create broad participation for members or the public. This broad participation aims to create legitimate rules (Haliim, 2016).

"In our case, because there is a school (ABN), in the school (ABN) there is a structure, there are educational departments like universities, in the ABN school. There are educational departments, financial departments, and teaching departments that develop the curriculum. After they develop the curriculum, they inform us, the DKI Regional Board, then we discuss whether this is suitable for our structure up to the neighborhood level. If it's suitable, we implement it; if not, we ask for additional education or instructors from ABN, or we can collaborate (DPW & ABN). Not all provinces are suitable for the ABN curriculum, for example, in

Papua, the characteristics are different. What we teach in the Papua management is how to agitate, propaganda, be ethical, and respect each other." (Bajora Alamsyah, Interview Results).

ABN NasDem has its own structure, and the department responsible for creating the curriculum is the teaching or educational department. After ABN develops the curriculum, they inform the Regional Boards in each province. However, not all provinces in Indonesia are suitable for the ABN curriculum; for example, in Papua, the characteristics of society and government are different from other provinces. Therefore, the provincial Regional Boards can collaborate with ABN or adjust according to the characteristics of their society regarding political education.

According to our research, the above quote emphasizes that indirectly, the NasDem Party prioritizes the principle of deliberative democracy because it adheres firmly to the principle of reasonableness. This means that in making collective considerations, there should be a willingness to understand other parties whose characteristics may be slightly different (in the quote, the Papua community in political education). Furthermore, NasDem can be said to adhere firmly to the principles of freedom and equality of status, meaning that all parties involved in the Regional Boards from Sabang to Merauke have equal opportunities and freedom to express their thoughts, considerations, and ideas openly, as well as a willingness to listen to internal political education policy (Meyer, 2002).

"We are taught how to build a nationalist mindset because we live in Indonesia, not a religious state. At the neighborhood level, he (cadre or member) must build how to interact with different ethnicities, different religions in the neighborhood. Even if we don't need ABN, when we hold DPW meetings, all of us cadres and officials express our complaints or anything that has been done in the surrounding environment, then we can add and discuss. But usually, the results are good, and there are many things we convey and teach to cadres and officials about nationalism, such as mutual respect between ethnic groups, between religions, then mutual respect between upper and lower levels, we teach it's better to yield to win and humanitarian issues." (Bajora Alamsyah, interview results).

This quote emphasizes that during deliberations, NasDem DKI Jakarta allows its cadres and officials to express their opinions, and afterward, they can discuss and add to each other's points. The NasDem Party of DKI Jakarta, in this regard, can create a democratic, free, and critical public space. According to Habermas, a public space must meet two requirements: freedom and criticality. Freedom means that everyone can speak anywhere, gather, and participate in political discussions and debates. While criticality means being ready and able to fairly and responsibly scrutinize public decision-making processes (Haliim, 2016).

A public space is understood as an autonomous space distinct from the state and market. It is autonomous because it does not depend on administrative power or capitalist economic power. Habermas understands political public space as

primarily "a network for interacting and communicating themes and attitudes, that is, opinions." If understood in this way, political public space exists wherever citizens meet to discuss topics relevant to society (Hardiman, 2009).

This is similar to the NasDem Party of DKI Jakarta, where cadres or officials, who are also part of society, meet within a political organization to dialogue and discuss topics related to political education or topics relevant to community interests. We cannot limit their numbers because public space is not singular but plural, just like forms of communication and community forums characterized by plurality. To that extent, political public space lives and grows from intersubjective understanding relationships among citizens occurring in everyday language, that is, from interactive communicative actions (Hardiman, 2009).

CONCLUSION

The NasDem Party of DKI Jakarta in political education has a curriculum that aligns with the Academy of National Defense's focus on personality, party affiliation, and nationalism. The political education learning system uses modern educational systems like those found in schools or universities, with activities such as seminars, workshops, classes, and lectures. Political education instructors possess four competencies: academic, pedagogical, personality, and social. These instructor competencies are also in line with the qualifications for teachers or lecturers in Indonesia. Interaction in political education within the NasDem Party of DKI Jakarta is bottom-up, from the grassroots level of neighborhoods to the upper echelons at the provincial level. The NasDem Party is a nationalist party, not a religious one, thus upholding the values of Pancasila and democracy.

Indirectly, the NasDem Party of DKI Jakarta implements a deliberative democracy formation in its political education. This is reflected in decision-making regarding political education, where they prioritize consultation, dialogue, and discussion before establishing political education policies, with collaboration possible between the Regional Boards and ABN. Furthermore, the NasDem Party of DKI Jakarta adheres firmly to the principles of deliberative democracy, namely reasonableness and the principles of freedom and equality of status. Additionally, the NasDem Party of DKI Jakarta creates a democratic, free, and critical public space where actors can use the power of arguments in discussions.

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