

DEMOCRATIC DIALOGUE OR POLITICAL PERFORMANCE? ANALYZING ANIES' URGENCY THROUGH THE LENS OF DELIBERATIVE DEMOCRACY

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Abstract

Desak Anies, as a political initiative led by Governor Anies Baswedan, it is the focus of research within the conceptual framework of deliberative democracy, which emphasizes the importance of broad, independent, and critical public participation in the political decision-making process. Through a descriptive-analytical approach, This study investigates Desak Anies from the perspective of deliberative democracy. Data on public participation and active participation invitations from Anies Baswedan were analyzed to understand the extent to which Desak Anies reflects an independent and critical public space. Even though Desak Anies encouraging public participation, further evaluation is needed to ensure that available public spaces support open discussion, equitable inclusion of different segments of society, and in-depth consideration of diverse views. This research provides in-depth insight into the role of Desak Anies in strengthening the principles of deliberative democracy in the context of contemporary politics. In addition, the study provides a basis for further reflection and improvement in democratic public participation, affirming the importance of strengthening public spaces to support a healthy and inclusive democratic process.

Keywords: Desak Anies, Deliberative Democracy, Public Participation

A. Introduction

In the midst of Indonesia's political and social journey, the "Desak Anies" campaign emerged as a real effort to encourage political participation, especially among young people. Presented by Anies Baswedan, this campaign aims to create an open and inclusive discussion space on crucial issues faced by the Indonesian people. Behind these efforts, however, critical questions arise about the extent to which these campaigns reflect the principles of deliberative democracy.

Statistical data showing the projected demographic bonus of the population in 2045 provides a relevant context to understand the urgency and relevance of the "Desak Anies" campaign. Projections from the Central Statistics Agency in 2023 show that in 2045, the productive age population in the range of 15-64 years will dominate with a



figure of 70%. This highlights the importance of involving the young generation in the nation-building process, because they will be the backbone in realizing the vision of the nation's progress.¹⁴⁰

In this context, the "Desak Anies" campaign is a relevant and important initiative. Through this campaign, Anies Baswedan invites young people to actively participate in the discussion of important issues related to the future of Indonesia. The prominent demographic bonus phenomenon in 2045 shows that young people will be a great force in shaping the direction of national development.¹⁴¹

However, in looking at the "Desak Anies" campaign from the perspective of deliberative democracy, several questions arise. Does this campaign really create an inclusive and meaningful discussion space for all levels of society, including vulnerable and marginalized groups? Is the participation of young people in this campaign really noticed and valued? And are the decisions taken in the discussion forum based on rational arguments and accurate data?

It is important to remember that political campaigns such as "Desak Anies" are not just a publicity event or a mere political show. They have great potential to encourage more active and inclusive political participation from different levels of society, especially young people who are the main agents of change in society.

However, to optimize this potential, it is important for initiatives such as "Urak Anies" to truly implement the principles of deliberative democracy. This means ensuring that the open discussion space is truly inclusive, where diverse voices and views are heard and valued.¹⁴² It also means ensuring that young people's participation in the discussion process is truly taken care of and given the value it deserves. And most importantly, the decisions taken in such discussion forums should be based on rational arguments, not on political interests or other irrelevant considerations.

¹⁴⁰ Ilham Febri Budiman, "Peran Pancasila Sebagai Ideologi Negara Dalam Mewujudkan Indonesia Emas 2045" 2, no. 3 (2024): 47–54.

¹⁴¹ Milda Nur et al., "Proyeksi Penduduk Menuju Indonesia Emas Tahun 2045 Melalui Penerapan Teori Malthus Milda Nur Risma Abdah Fatimah Aqilah Ichtiari dan filsuf Bangsa Jerman tidak setuju dengan Malthus . Karl Marx menyanggah Teori kesempatan kerja kala itu , dan bukan meneka" 2, no. 1 (2024).

¹⁴² Kurniawan Arif Maspul, "Reimagining Democracy: An Exploration of Anies Baswedan's "Desak Anies" Program," *Indonesian Journal of Social Development* 1, no. 3 (2024): 13.

Thus, the analysis of the "Desak Anies" campaign through the lens of deliberative democracy is very important. It is not only about evaluating the success or failure of the campaign in achieving its political goals, but also about assessing the extent to which it reflects the fundamental principles of democracy that involve all citizens in the decision-making process that is essential to their future

B. Method

The research method that will be used in this study is the literature study method. This approach aims to explore and analyze a variety of literature, documents, and other written sources relevant to the research topic. Data will be collected from various sources such as academic journals, books, research reports, official documents, and media articles that discuss deliberative democracy, political campaigns, community participation, and the "Desak Anies" campaign itself.

The data collection process will involve a comprehensive and selective search to identify the most relevant and reliable sources. Once the data is collected, the analysis will be carried out by examining and comparing the various perspectives and findings in the literature. The results of the analysis will be used to support the interpretation and evaluation of how the "Desak Anies" campaign reflects the principles of deliberative democracy. The conclusions of this literature study will be compiled in a research report that presents the key findings, interpretations, and implications of the results of the analysis to the broader context.

C. Result and Discussion

Program Desak Anies

Anies Baswedan's candidacy as an independent in the 2024 election is significant because it confirms the Nasdem party's support for him. This support is influenced by Anies Baswedan's performance in advancing Jakarta to become a collaborative city, which is in line with the concept of smart cities in the global sustainability discourse.¹⁴³ The Nasdem party's support also reflects confidence in Baswedan's ability to lead and implement creative policies that emphasize sustainability and diversity, in

¹⁴³ R. D. Syalianda, S. I., & Kusumastuti, "Implementation of the smart city concept: The case of a smart city in Jakarta, Indonesia" (2021).

line with the theory of trust and political leadership.¹⁴⁴ This support is considered important to build trust among Indonesia's diverse population, which amounts to 280 million, highlighting the important role of Anies in mobilizing civic participation, especially among young people to create consensus.¹⁴⁵ Through Desak Anies, Baswedan hopes to overcome social disparities, facilitate dialogue, and form a common vision for the future of the nation, both through in-person and online forums.

Anies Baswedan, who is well-known in the world of Indonesian education and has recently ventured into politics, has become a supporter of democratic reform through his unique campaign, Desak Anies 2024. The campaign, which is based on grassroots participation and a participatory governance approach, marks a shift away from the traditional practice of top-down policymaking. Anies urged to highlight the values of inclusion and civic involvement by actively involving citizens in the decision-making process. Anies promotes direct engagement with citizens through various forums such as city hall meetings, community discussions, and internet platforms, to get feedback on policy goals and regional development efforts in 22 major cities in Indonesia.

Anies urged to support the bottom-up government model by decentralizing decisions and empowering local communities. This approach not only increases citizen participation, but also promotes accountability by ensuring that elected officials are attentive to the wants and preferences of their people.¹⁴⁶ In addition, Desak Anies serves as a means to discuss and exchange ideas about democracy, helping to grow a culture of political awareness and activism among Indonesian youth. Anies provides an opportunity for citizens to critically analyze government policies and shape the fate of the country's democracy by encouraging open debate and constructive dialogue.

The Desak Anies Program is the main campaign initiative that runs from November 28, 2023 to February 10, 2024, with the aim of directly interacting with the public and getting feedback related to Anies' vision and policy suggestions for the 2024

¹⁴⁴ A. Bryman, "Mission accomplished?: Research methods in the first five years of Leadership." (2011).

¹⁴⁵ P. Norris, "Democratic Phoenix: Reinventing political activism." (2002).

¹⁴⁶ E. Baiocchi, G., & Ganuza, "Participatory budgeting seems as if emancipation is important. Politics & Society" (2014).

Presidential Election. The Anies Urging Event, which was held in various locations, provided an opportunity for Anies to meet with the community, listen to their input, and answer questions directly. The dialogical approach used in this event allowed participation from 500 to more than 13,000 participants, most of whom were young people, to interact directly with Anies and his team.

Through *Denak Anies*, Anies and his partner, Muhaimin Iskandar, aim to overcome urgent social challenges and propose solutions to realize a more just and prosperous Indonesia. Their strategic focus includes enhancing national defense and security, expanding Indonesia's role in global politics, and encouraging economic diplomacy. They are also committed to strengthening the Indonesian National Army and maintaining peace and security throughout Indonesia.

Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar's shared vision is "A Just and Prosperous Indonesia for All," which is realized through a trip from Aceh to Papua, which highlights several social issues along the way. Thus, they promise the necessary corrective measures. Anies and Cak Imin have set eight paths of change to realize this vision, which is the foundation of their goals. One of them is Mission 7, which involves strengthening the country's defense and security system and increasing Indonesia's role and leadership in global politics to achieve national goals and international peace.

The Anies Baswedan Urgak initiative reflects a reformed form of democracy, which is aligned with the main principles of democracy such as participation, accountability, and responsiveness. Through this approach, Anies aims to reduce the gap between the political elite and ordinary people by emphasizing the importance of citizen participation and empowering the community base, thereby creating a more inclusive and representative democracy. The alignment of this program with the values of Pancasila, Indonesia's national ideology, provides strong cultural and ideological legitimacy, and has received wide support from various levels of Indonesian society.¹⁴⁷ Anies also reflects a unique vision of Indonesian democracy that values diversity, pluralism, and shared prosperity. Thus, this initiative is the foundation for the development of a more democratic and inclusive society in Indonesia.

¹⁴⁷ S. P. Huntington, "The third wave: Democratization in the late twentieth century" (1993).

From another perspective, the reciprocal relationship between Anies Baswedan's response to criticism and the level of public trust is closely related to democratic principles.¹⁴⁸ According to the theory of deliberative democracy, public discussion and participation are essential elements of an effective democratic process. Anies' openness in responding to criticism shows his commitment to deliberative principles, which allow citizens to express their concerns and hold elected officials accountable. This interactive approach not only improves the relationship between government and society, but also advances civic empowerment. When voters feel that their votes are cared for and valued, their confidence in the democratic system also grows. Thus, Anies' responsiveness to public input strengthens the quality of democracy practiced in the context of government administration.

Desak Anies In The Context Of Deliberative Democracy

Derebellive democracy here is defined as a view that places public deliberative over free and equal citizens as the core of the legitimacy of political decision-making and self-government. Deliberation itself as a terminology comes from the Latin language, namely *deliberatio* which means to weigh, consult or deliberate.¹⁴⁹

Hardiman emphasized that deliberative democracy places greater emphasis on the public decision-making process than on the end result. This means that whether public decisions are taken through public trials, public debates, and deliberative processes, or only by a small number of authorized individuals (such as governments) in a political structure without going through the previous stages of democratic deliberation, becomes the primary focus.¹⁵⁰

On the other hand Habermas highlights that when the ability to create law is handed over through patterns of exchange in a network of social systems that operate independently, the reproduction of law will fall under the influence of an ambiguous duality of power, which separates the state from the social units of society. This opinion reflects a criticism of the representative democracy model that does not integrate

¹⁴⁸ Maspul, "Reimagining Democracy: An Exploration of Anies Baswedan's "Desak Anies" Program."

¹⁴⁹ Liza Farihah dan Sri Wahyuni, "Demokrasi Deliberatif dalam Proses Pembentukan Undang-Undang di Indonesia: Penerapan dan Tantangan ke Depan Oleh:" 3 (1998).

¹⁵⁰ F. Budi Hardiman, "Deliberative Democracy: A Model for Post-Suharto Indonesia?" (2004).

constituents thoroughly in the law-making process. In this context, the constituent is only given the political right to elect parliamentary representatives, which then ends his involvement constitutionally. This results in ambiguity in the law because the state can create a social system that does not fully reflect the will of the people.¹⁵¹

Deliberative democracy provides space for participation outside the administrative structure of the state, namely through public communication networks in civil society. There is a close relationship between the concept of democracy and deliberative democracy, which aims to empower the community in the process of legislation through the public space. It is evident that representative democracy is not a pure form of democracy, but rather a modification of the more fundamental principle of people's sovereignty.

According to Habermas, the public space must meet two essential conditions, namely independence and criticality.¹⁵² Independent refers to the ability of any individual to speak, assemble, and engage in political discussions anywhere. Meanwhile, critical demonstrates readiness and ability to objectively and responsibly review decision-making processes that are open to the public. Habermas added that democracy must include a deliberative dimension, where public policy must go through the stage of public discourse before being passed. The concept of deliberative democracy aims to expand citizens' participation in the decision-making process, with the aim of creating laws that have strong legitimacy. This view emphasizes that legitimacy comes from the general will, so whatever the process is, if a legal product is declared as a general will, then the product is considered legitimate in terms of legitimacy.¹⁵³

This practical translation of the concept of deliberative democracy becomes relevant in the evaluation of Anies' urgent programs, which raises questions about the extent to which these programs facilitate inclusive public participation and strengthen

¹⁵¹ Wimmy Haliim, "Demokrasi Deliberatif Indonesia : Konsep Partisipasi Masyarakat Dalam Membentuk Demokrasi dan Hukum yang Responsif," *Jurnal Masyarakat Indonesia* 42, no. 1 (2016): 19–30.

¹⁵² Antonius Galih Prasetyo, "Towards Rational Democracy: Tracing Jürgen Habermas' Thoughts on Public Space," *Journal of Social and Political Sciences* 16, no. 2 (2012): 169–185.

¹⁵³ Haliim, "Demokrasi Deliberatif Indonesia : Konsep Partisipasi Masyarakat Dalam Membentuk Demokrasi dan Hukum yang Responsif."

the legitimacy of political decisions. There are several aspects, the first of which is important to pay attention to whether Anies' urgent program provides enough space for broad public participation. Furthermore, the public space provided for participation must be independent and critical. And the last is that the legitimacy of political decisions is based on agreements reached through an inclusive and fair public deliberation process.

The Desak Anies Program is a key campaign approach from November 28, 2023 to February 10, 2024, with the aim of engaging directly with people and gathering feedback on his vision and suggesting policies for the 2024 Presidential Election. The Desak Anies event, which was held in various venues, provided a calm environment for Anies to interact with the community, allowing them to express their concerns and ask questions directly. The event, which uses a dialogical approach, allowed participants ranging from 500 to more than 13000, most of whom were young people, to interact with Anies and his crew.

This is in line with the first aspect, where Anies' urging program is able to provide space for wide public participation. For example, based on information from *detikjatim*, Anies' urging program was held in Surabaya on February 9, 2024. The crowd that attended reached 13,500 people, which were dominated by students. Based on the participation data above, the significant number of masses shows that Anies' urgent program has succeeded in attracting the attention and involvement of Surabaya residents in the issues they are fighting for. The attendance of 13,500 people reflects a wide level of participation from different walks of life, which shows that the program is able to arouse interest and support from various groups and communities.¹⁵⁴

The presence of such a large number of masses also reflects the wide access to information about Anies' urgent program in the people of Surabaya. Thus, it can be assumed that the program has succeeded in providing transparent and easily accessible information to the public, thus allowing for wide participation from various segments of society. However, it should be noted that the number of people attending the program

¹⁵⁴ Fatichatun Nadhiroh, "Jostling During the Last Anies Urgency Held in Surabaya," *DetikJatim* (2024), <https://www.detik.com/jatim/berita/d-7185608/berdesak-desakan-di-desak-anies-terakhir-yang-digelar-di-surabaya>.

does not guarantee that the participation covers the entire spectrum of Surabaya society. It is possible that some groups or communities may not be well represented at the event, so further evaluation is needed to ensure that broad public participation is truly inclusive and reflects the interests and aspirations of the community as a whole.

The dominance of students in participating in Anies' urgent program in Surabaya on February 9, 2024 illustrates the unique dynamics in the public space provided. The large number of student involvement shows the high interest of this group in the issues discussed, as well as awareness of the active role in the political decision-making process. Students are often seen as agents of change in society, and their dominance in participation shows that they have a strong desire to contribute to the democratic process.

The large number of participants who expressed their aspirations also reflects the existence of an independent and critical public space. In an independent public space, each individual has the freedom to express their opinions and aspirations without fear of pressure or intervention from external parties. The extensive involvement of participants, especially among students, shows that there is an awareness of the importance of using public spaces to voice dissent and influence the decision-making process.

In addition, the invitation from Anies Baswedan for the public not to become passive participants emphasizes the importance of critical public participation. In the context of deliberative democracy, critical public participation refers to the ability of the public to objectively and responsibly review the decision-making process that is open to the public. The invitation reflects an urge to go beyond the role of spectator and take an active part in the political process.¹⁵⁵

Nevertheless, it should be remembered that the dominance of students in participation also raises questions about the fair representation of different groups and communities in society. It is important to ensure that voices and perspectives from other segments of society are also well represented in the political decision-making process.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

This underscores the importance of an independent and critical public space, where all voices can be heard and considered fairly.

The concept of public space is very important in assessing the legitimacy of political decisions. The public space is not only a place for people to voice their opinions and aspirations, but also an arena where political decisions are tested and debated openly. According to Habermas (1989), the public space plays the role of an intermediary between the state and bourgeois society. In the public sphere, the opinions and arguments presented have more important weight than the social status or power of the individual. (Prasetyo 2012) The legitimacy of political decisions is assessed based on agreements reached through an inclusive and fair public deliberation process. In this case, the public space serves as a tool to check the legitimacy of the power used by the government, by testing whether the public interest has been well represented in the policies taken.

In this case, Desak Anies emerged as a concrete example of how public participation can strengthen the principles of deliberative democracy at the local level. The success of Desak Anies in rallying mass participation from various segments of society, including students, activists, and the general public, shows great potential to change the dynamics of national politics. By providing an inclusive and open platform for the public to voice their aspirations and needs, Desak Anies illustrates that a responsive and participatory public space can be the foundation for the formation of more representative and democratic policies in Indonesia. Thus, Desak Anies is not only a brief political event that reflects public dissatisfaction with government policies, but also a starting point for the development of a more substantial and sustainable public deliberation model in the future.

Anies' potential to become a model for the public deliberation process in Indonesia lies in his ability to strengthen public involvement in the political decision-making process, as well as to strengthen the basis of public policy legitimacy through agreements reached through open dialogue and discussion. By continuing to encourage active and inclusive participation of the public in the political process, Desak Anies has the potential to become an important milestone in the development of deliberative democracy in Indonesia, which in turn can bring positive changes in governance and democratic development in the future.

D. Conclusion

In a political journey filled with dynamics and complexity, the Desak Anies program has emerged as a significant innovation in the context of deliberative democracy in Indonesia. Through an inclusive participatory approach, the program has provided a foundation for the development of a more democratic and responsive society to citizens' aspirations. An in-depth analysis of the program reveals various aspects that strengthen its legitimacy and relevance in Indonesia's diverse and evolving political context.

First of all, the Desak Anies program has succeeded in creating a large and open public space for public participation. By holding a series of events involving thousands of participants from all walks of life, including students, activists, and the general public, the program has managed to gather diverse voices and perspectives that reflect the diversity of Indonesian society. The active participation of the public in the political decision-making process has increased the legitimacy of the proposed policies and encouraged the creation of more representative and sustainable policies.

Second, the Desak Anies program has strengthened the principles of deliberative democracy through a responsive and dialogical approach. By paying attention to and responding to the aspirations of the community directly, Anies Baswedan and his team have succeeded in building a close relationship with citizens and increasing their sense of ownership of the political process. This approach not only strengthens people's involvement in decision-making, but also helps to address the gap between political elites and ordinary people, thus creating a more solid foundation for inclusive democratic development.

In addition, Desak Anies' success in gathering mass participation from various segments of society highlights the importance of developing an independent and critical public space. In a public space free from external pressure or intervention, people can objectively and responsibly review the political decision-making process and voice their aspirations without fear. This strengthens the legitimacy of political decisions and

strengthens the foundations of democracy that is responsive to the needs and interests of the community.

However, in evaluating the Desak Anies program, there are still challenges and opportunities that need to be considered. One of them is the importance of ensuring fair representation of various groups and communities in society in the political decision-making process. While the program has managed to attract widespread attention and engagement from different walks of life, further efforts are still needed to ensure that voices and perspectives from all segments of society are heard and considered fairly.

Thus, the Desak Anies program is not only an important step in developing deliberative democracy in Indonesia, but also offers a model that has the potential to be applied on a wider scale at the local and national levels. By continuing to encourage active and inclusive participation of the public in the political process, Desak Anies has the potential to become an important milestone in the transition towards more democratic governance and more sustainable democratic development in Indonesia. As future research, it will be interesting to look at the long-term impact of this program on political dynamics and governance in Indonesia as well as the potential to develop a more substantial and sustainable model of deliberative democracy in the future.

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