



Journal of Hunan University (Natural Sciences)

Vol. 53 No. 1

January 2026

Available online at

<https://jonuns.com>



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Open Access Article

 <https://doi.org/10.55463/issn.1674-2974.53.1.5>

Critical Reflections On Political Communication As Civic Education: Anies Baswedan's "Desak Anies" And The Formation Of Student Democratic Consciousness In The 2024 Presidential Election

Cecep Suryana¹

¹Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung, Indonesia,

* Corresponding author: cecep.suryana@uinsgd.ac.id

Article History:

Received: December 22, 2025

Revised: January 27, 2026

Accepted: February 6, 2026

Published: February 27, 2026

Abstract: Political communication serves as a tool to influence audiences in the dissemination of political messages. One prominent form of such communication is through campaign strategies that enhance public awareness and participation, particularly among younger generations. The "Desak Anies" program, initiated by Anies Baswedan during the 2024 General Election campaign, exemplifies targeted political communication aimed at students, representing Generation Z. This study examines the effectiveness of the "Desak Anies" program in promoting political awareness and fostering student participation in democratic processes. A descriptive qualitative methodology was employed, combining literature review and secondary data analysis from relevant sources. Findings indicate that the program successfully engages students with national issues and motivates active involvement in political activities, particularly elections. Importantly, the program functions not only as a one-way communication channel but also as an interactive platform facilitating dialogue between political leaders and the younger generation. These results underscore the significance of adaptive and participatory communication strategies in delivering political education in the digital era.

Keywords: Political Communication, Civic Education, Youth Political Participation, Deliberative Democracy, Political Campaigns.



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作为公民教育的政治传播批判性反思：安尼斯·巴斯韦丹的 《Desak Anies》与2024年总统选举中学生民主意识的形成

摘要：政治传播是一种在传递政治信息过程中影响受众的工具。其中一种重要形式是通过竞选策略，提高公众意识和参与度，尤其是年轻一代。安尼斯·巴斯韦丹在2024年大选期间发起的“Desak Anies”项目，是面向学生（Z世代）的政治传播典型案例。本研究旨在分析“Desak Anies”项目在提升政治意识和促进学生参与民主过程中的有效性。本研究采用描述性定性方法，结合文献综述与相关二手数据分析。研究结果显示，该项目能够有效引起学生对国家事务的关注，激励其积极参与政治活动，尤其是选举。此外，该项目不仅是单向的传播渠道，还提供了政治领导人与年轻一代之间对话的互动平台。这些发现强调了在数字时代实施政治教育时，采取适应性和参与性传播策略的重要性。

关键词：政治传播 · 公民教育 · 青年政治参与 · 协商民主 · 政治竞选

1. Introduction

In the era of modern democracy, political communication is no longer solely the domain of the political elite or mass media but has evolved into a central element in public political education, especially ahead of general elections [1]. Political education plays a crucial role in shaping citizens' political consciousness, strengthening democratic participation, and encouraging active involvement in public decision-making. In this context, political communication is an important instrument for conveying informative, persuasive, and educational political messages, particularly to young voters, who constitute a significant segment of Indonesia's demographic structure [2].

The "Desak Anies" program, initiated by Anies Baswedan in the context of the 2024 election campaign, represents an innovative political education strategy targeting young voter segments, particularly students. Through this program, Anies not only communicated political ideas in a one-way manner but also created opportunities for direct and open discussions at various universities. This dialogue-based format allows students to actively ask questions, offer criticisms, and seek clarifications on policy issues and social problems relevant to their daily lives. This reflects a participatory approach to political education, in which candidates and voters engage in equal interaction and mutual learning [3].

From a substantive perspective, "Desak Anies" delivers political education content addressing key aspects of democracy, citizens' rights and responsibilities, the role of the state in ensuring social justice, the importance of freedom of opinion, and the

need for accountable and responsive governance [4]. Anies used this platform to present his ideas on bureaucratic reform, equitable education, environmental sustainability, and law enforcement. This approach renders political education more contextual and practical rather than purely normative or theoretical, giving students space to critically evaluate, question, and respond to the narratives presented [5].

Furthermore, this program strategically fosters political awareness and civic engagement among the younger generation. By presenting presidential candidates directly within university discussion forums, "Desak Anies" reduces the distance between the political elite and the public. In this context, political education functions not only as a campaign instrument but also as a vehicle for cultivating critical, open, and democratic political attitudes [6]. This approach is particularly relevant given the challenges of Indonesia's current democracy, including youth political apathy and the dominance of populist narratives in digital spaces. It may serve as an alternative model for fostering healthy and productive political dialogue in the future.

The presidential election, as a quinquennial democratic event in Indonesia, has long been a stage for candidates to present their image, vision, and programs to the public [7]. During the campaign period, the political communication strategies employed by candidates are decisive in building electability and public perception. Political branding has become an inseparable component of campaigns, with candidates striving to reinforce their political identity through narratives, symbols, and public interactions [8].

One political communication strategy that drew attention in the 2024 election was Anies Baswedan's "Desak Anies" program. Routinely held on various campuses throughout Indonesia during the campaign period, it engages students as active participants in political discussions. This strategy not only introduces the candidate's political vision to the younger generation but also provides a platform to gather citizens' aspirations and concerns. Thus, the program exemplifies a participatory and dialogical approach to political communication, contrasting with conventional top-down models [9].

As part of the younger generation and key actors in Indonesia's democratic history, students are often the primary targets of political education efforts [10]. Their strategic role in safeguarding democracy makes them a critical audience for any political communication strategy. Through "Desak Anies," Anies Baswedan seeks to revive the tradition of open, rational, and reflective public discourse as a form of contemporary political education.

This paper aims to analyze the political communication strategies implemented by Anies Baswedan through the "Desak Anies" program and to evaluate the effectiveness of this approach in enhancing political awareness and student participation ahead of the 2024 election. Using a descriptive qualitative approach, the study also examines students' responses to the program and their contribution to shaping the political behavior of the younger generation in the era of information disruption and digitalization.

2. Literature Review

In the era of modern democracy, political education plays a central role in shaping citizens' awareness and participation, particularly among the younger generation as novice voters. Political communication serves as the primary medium for transmitting democratic values, shaping public perceptions, and fostering dialogue between political elites and society. Therefore, examining political communication within the context of education is essential to understanding the dynamics of voter engagement, especially amid the evolution of campaign strategies that increasingly adapt to digital platforms and encourage public participation. The "Desak Anies" program, initiated by Anies Baswedan during the 2024 election campaign, represents an intriguing case study, as it directly targets students as strategic subjects of political education.

3. Methods

This study employs a descriptive qualitative approach to examine the political communication strategies implemented in the "Desak Anies" program. This approach was chosen to capture the meanings, interaction patterns, and contextual dynamics of

political communication, rather than to measure its effects quantitatively.

The study relies exclusively on secondary data collected through library research. Data sources include: (1) official audiovisual documentation of the "Desak Anies" program published on digital platforms; (2) national online media coverage discussing the program's implementation and public reception; (3) media interviews with Anies Baswedan and other relevant actors; and (4) scholarly literature on political communication, political education, and youth political participation [11]. Data were selected based on relevance, source credibility, temporal proximity to the program, and completeness of information.

Data analysis was conducted using qualitative thematic analysis. All audiovisual materials were transcribed, and textual data were read repeatedly to identify meaningful units. An open coding process was applied, followed by thematic categorization focusing on dialogic communication strategies, audience participation, political messaging, and educational versus persuasive elements. These themes were then interpreted through a conceptual framework integrating dialogic political communication and participatory political education perspectives.

To maintain analytical rigor, this study adopts a critical and reflective stance, recognizing that "Desak Anies" operates within a normative tension between civic education and electoral campaigning. The analysis therefore considers not only the program's educational potential but also its limitations, including performative participation, selective audiences, and potential campaign-oriented messaging. The main limitation of this study lies in its reliance on secondary data without direct field observation, rendering the findings interpretative rather than generalizable.

4. Results and Discussion

Results

The "Desak Anies" program, initiated by Anies Baswedan during the 2024 election campaign, represents a political communication strategy that integrates political image-building with elements of civic education. In a session held on August 18, 2024, and broadcast via the official Kompas TV Sukabumi channel, Anies engaged in an open forum to address questions and criticisms directly from students and young voters. Organized by the Ubah Bareng community, the program emerged in response to declining public trust in political elites and the prevalence of disinformation among young voters.

From the perspective of political education, this approach constitutes a form of informal political learning that emphasizes a two-way communication model. According to Ramlan Surbakti (1999), political education is a process through which individuals learn to understand the political system, their role within it,

and how to express their aspirations via democratic channels [12]. "Desak Anies" embodies this approach by inviting students from various universities to engage in direct dialogue, allowing them not only to pose questions but also to critically evaluate and openly critique issues and public policies related to leadership, education, employment, corruption, and social justice [13]. In this forum, students are positioned not as passive recipients of information but as active participants who shape and assess the candidate's political ideas.

The program also addresses the challenge of low political literacy among youth. According to data from the General Election Commission (KPU), in the 2019 election approximately 60% of voters were young (17–39 years old), yet only a small proportion demonstrated substantial understanding of the political process [14]. Many were influenced by identity politics or followed social media trends without critically considering candidates' programs or track records. As an interactive platform, "Desak Anies" provides dialogue-based political education that reconciles the aspirations of young voters with the responsibility of prospective leaders to respond rationally. This demonstrates that political education is not solely the remit of state institutions, such as the KPU, or mass organizations, but can also be undertaken by political actors as part of educational campaigns [15].

During the session, Anies addressed a range of pressing issues, including criticism of the 0 DP housing program, inclusive higher education financing, and his stance on non-party positions in presidential candidacy. He emphasized that he would prioritize the public interest even while supported by the three major parties, provided that the political direction aligns with principles of justice and public service. This approach aligns with Jürgen Habermas's (1996) deliberative political concept, in which ideal political communication is grounded in rational rather than manipulative discourse. By facilitating a live discussion open to critique, Anies reinforces his image as a political communicator committed to transparency and accountability [16].

Furthermore, the program's delivery methods reflect adaptation to the lifestyles and cultural preferences of younger audiences. Anies adopts a reflective and dialogical style, although some critics argue that his communication is overly academic and verbose [17]. This reflects his personal branding as an academic, while simultaneously posing a challenge in conveying political messages to youth who prefer concise and direct communication. From a political communication perspective, this highlights the importance of message encoding and decoding strategies, as described by Stuart Hall, where the effectiveness of communication depends heavily on

how the message is crafted and interpreted by the audience.

Findings of Scientific Article Review ***"Desak Anies" as a Digital Political Education Media in the Post-Truth Era***

The "Desak Anies" program not only provides an offline discussion space on campus, but also expands the reach of political education through digital media such as YouTube, Instagram, and TikTok. This is an adaptive response to the reality of political communication in the post-truth era, where political narratives are formed largely from virality, not from validity. By archiving and disseminating recordings of question-and-answer sessions with students openly, Anies Baswedan leverages the power of digital content distribution to build political dialogue across space and time. This is in line with the findings from Howard & Hussain (2013) that digital media can be used strategically to expand political deliberative space among dynamic urban societies [18].

Strategies to Revive Campus Political Discourse That Has Been Sluggish for a Long Time

In the past decade, campuses in Indonesia have tended to be depoliticized due to strict regulations and concerns about the stigma of radicalism. "Desak Anies" is present as a counter-narrative that revives the spirit of the campus as an intellectual space that is open to national discourse and leadership. The presence of presidential candidates directly among students encourages the return of academic public spaces that were previously stagnant or sterile from political debate. This strengthens the role of the campus as a critical public sphere as stated by Habermas (1996), where the formation of rational opinions on public issues can occur constructively [19].

Political Education Through Simulation of Real Political Roles and Responses

This program can also be seen as a form of political experiential learning, where students not only learn the theory of democracy in the classroom, but directly participate in the practice of political communication through open dialogue with public figures [20] [21]. When students ask questions, criticize policies, or ask for clarification on controversial programs, they are acting as critical citizens. Thus, "Desak Anies" functions as a democracy simulation media that introduces how the relationship between the people and leaders is ideally built through a mechanism of direct accountability [22].

Redefinition of Political Leadership in the Generation Z Era

One of the most prominent things about "Desak Anies" is its ability to adapt the communication style

to the characteristics of generation Z that are more horizontal, open, and demand authenticity. In various sessions, Anies did not position himself as a sole authority, but rather as a discussion facilitator who was willing to accept criticism and respond with relatable data and narratives. This is in line with the contemporary political leadership model based on conversational leadership [23], where leaders manage to build public trust not because of symbolic authority, but through the ability to have meaningful conversations with the people.

The Effectiveness of Political Communication in Building Political Efficacy

The "Desak Anies" program implicitly builds political efficacy or the confidence of young people in understanding and influencing the political process. In the Kompas R&D survey (2023), it was stated that only 21% of students felt that their votes had an influence on the direction of national policies. Through this kind of forum, students are given a stage to speak directly to national political figures. Anies' positive response to difficult questions from students including criticism of his overly academic communication style proves that responsive and open political communication can build trust, even from previously skeptical voters [24].

Overall, "Desak Anies" reflects a transformation in the pattern of political campaigns in Indonesia, from being monologue and top-down to dialogical and participatory. Anies not only makes this program a tool to convey the vision and mission, but also as a means to build understanding-based political engagement. This is important considering that political education has often been trapped in the formalities of government programs, such as the socialization of the KPU which is sometimes ceremonial and does not reach the reality of young voters. The community-based and digital approach carried out in "Desak Anies" shows innovation in reaching voters in a more authentic and relevant way.

In terms of effectiveness, further studies are needed to measure the extent to which this program is really able to increase political literacy and active participation of students in the democratic process. However, qualitatively, the presence of this program makes an important contribution to the formation of a new political culture that is more open and educational. It is a reflection that political education can be done through various platforms both formal and informal and that prospective leaders have a moral responsibility to educate the public in their candidacy process. Thus, "Desak Anies" is not only a tool of political communication, but also part of the transformation of a healthier and more participatory democratic system.

Discussion

The "Desak Anies" program represents an innovative form of participatory political communication aimed at engaging the younger generation, particularly students, as a segment of critical and information-literate voters. Amid declining public trust in political elites and rising political apathy among young voters, Anies Baswedan introduced an approach that positions the public not merely as passive listeners but as active dialogue partners in the political process. Unlike traditional political campaigns, which are often one-way, formal, and laden with political jargon, "Desak Anies" employs a flexible yet substantive open discussion format. By visiting various campuses across Indonesia, Anies created a two-way communication space in which students could directly express questions, criticisms, and aspirations regarding public policies and the visions and missions of a presidential candidate. This approach aligns with Grunig and Hunt's (1984) model of symmetrical two-way communication, emphasizing reciprocity in achieving mutually beneficial understanding [25].

Beyond functioning as a campaign platform, "Desak Anies" holds strategic value as a means of non-formal political education. In line with Ramlan Surbakti (1999), political education should shape citizens' attitudes and orientations toward the political system while fostering critical awareness of their rights and responsibilities [26]. Each session exemplifies a real political learning process in which students not only absorb information but also critically process, evaluate, and respond to public issues in a rational and argumentative manner. The forum facilitates deliberative discourse as conceptualized by Jürgen Habermas (1996), who emphasizes that ideal political communication should occur in a public space that is open, free from domination, and grounded in argumentative rationality [27]. In this context, "Desak Anies" positions students as active participants in political discourse, rather than passive objects treated merely as voter statistics. The direct presence of presidential candidates on campuses symbolizes openness and acknowledges the importance of the younger generation's voice in shaping the nation's future [28].

In addition to its political education dimension, "Desak Anies" serves as an effective platform for building Anies Baswedan's political image and personal branding. On multiple occasions, Anies demonstrated consistency as a communicative, rational, and substance-oriented leader. He addressed critical questions openly, using them as opportunities to clarify his policies and political positions on issues such as the 0 DP housing program, access to inclusive higher education, and other social policies. This strategy reflects his awareness that public perceptions of leaders are influenced not only by the content of their messages but also by their communication style,

sincerity, and narrative consistency. Drawing on Newman's (1999) concept of personal branding, an authentic and trustworthy image is key to gaining public trust. Anies presents himself as an intellectual leader who is approachable, willing to engage in dialogue, and receptive to criticism—qualities that contrast sharply with traditional campaigns characterized by rigidity and superficial imagery [29].

Another strength of "Desak Anies" lies in addressing the challenge of low political literacy among young voters. According to the General Election Commission (KPU), approximately 60% of voters in the 2024 election were millennials or members of Generation Z. However, many of these voters engage in symbolic participation without substantial understanding of political issues. The fast-paced, viral, and often superficial nature of digital politics makes this generation more susceptible to popular narratives than to critical evaluations of candidates' ideas and track records. In this context, "Desak Anies" seeks to transform political participation from passive observation to active engagement in political reasoning. The live discussion format, which brings students together with potential leaders, fosters deeper intellectual and emotional engagement than traditional digital campaigns or political advertisements. This approach positions the program not only as a tool of political persuasion but also as an educational medium that strengthens deliberative democratic culture and enhances the quality of citizen participation [30].

In summary, "Desak Anies" exemplifies an innovative model of political communication that addresses the need for a more open, educational, and participatory approach. In the digital age, characterized by rapid information flows and dynamic public perceptions, successful political campaigns cannot rely solely on one-way messaging or visual imagery. Effective strategies must engage voters both emotionally and intellectually. "Desak Anies" demonstrates that political communication can function as a collective learning platform that strengthens relationships between elites and citizens, promotes responsive leadership, and expands meaningful opportunities for public participation. In the context of fostering a healthy Indonesian democracy, initiatives like this are vital and warrant replication and further development—not only during election periods but as part of a sustainable political culture.

5. Conclusion

The "Desak Anies" program, as a political communication strategy by Anies Baswedan, demonstrates significant effectiveness in building an adaptive and responsive political image that resonates with the younger generation in the digital era. By employing a relaxed, informal, yet substantive

approach, the program successfully creates a safe and comfortable space for students and the broader public to express their aspirations, criticisms, and questions directly. This two-way interaction not only reinforces the positive perception of Anies Baswedan as an open and solution-oriented leader but also encourages political engagement among young voters, who are often characterized by apathy and limited involvement.

The program's success is closely linked to the active participation of students and young citizens, which renders discussion sessions lively and dynamic. The political communication strategy effectively engages both the emotional and intellectual dimensions of the audience, fostering trust and closeness between leaders and voters. In this context, the application of Framing Theory proves highly relevant, as strategically framed issues and Anies' direct responses influence public perceptions of political problems and prospective leaders. Consequently, "Desak Anies" serves as a concrete example of how participatory, interactive, and educational political communication strategies can enhance the quality of democracy and strengthen meaningful public participation.

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Manuscript Information

Word count: 5,819 words (excluding references).

Peer-Review Record

Fast-track status: Not fast-tracked.

First-round reviews received: 3 reports.

Revision cycles completed: 3 rounds.

Final version submitted: February 6, 2026

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