

BUILDING INCLUSIVE CITIZENSHIP: A STUDY IN YOGYAKARTA SOCIETIES

Rianda Usmi¹, Dasim Budimansyah^{2*}, Rahmat³, Iim Siti Masyitoh⁴, Beti Indah Sari⁵, Deby Febriyan Eprilianto⁶

^{1), 2), 3), 4)} Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia, Bandung, Indonesia

^{1), 5)} Universitas Negeri Surabaya, Surabaya, Indonesia

⁶⁾ Asia E-University, Selangor, Malaysia

Author Correspondence Email: * budimansyah@upi.edu

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ABSTRACT

The increasing intensity of socio-ethnic conflicts in the last decade in Yogyakarta has led to stereotypes and social segregation between local residents and migrants. This research aims to analyze how the Provincial Government of DIY can build inclusive citizenship in its community through Community Pancasila Education, namely the Sinau Pancasila Program. This qualitative research with a case study design was conducted in the Province of DIY. Data collection was conducted using interview, observation, and documentation techniques. Data analysis was conducted using qualitative data analysis techniques. This study found that the Sinau Pancasila Program is very important in the formation of inclusive citizenship in the DIY, namely to appreciate the nation's pluralism in order to minimize conflicts of identity, ethnicity, and socio-religion. The Provincial Government of DIY can build inclusive citizenship in its community through the Sinau Pancasila Program, which is functioned and maximised as an educational forum for community political education, a mingling forum, and a dialogue-communication forum. Sinau Pancasila Program is believed to be able to minimizing socio-ethnic conflicts and strengthening the value of diversity in the Yogyakarta. Therefore, the Sinau Pancasila program is very important for the Provincial Government of DIY to continuously implement this program.

ABSTRAK

Meningkatnya intensitas konflik sosial-etnis dalam satu dekade terakhir di Yogyakarta memunculkan stereotip dan segregasi sosial antara warga lokal dan pendatang. Penelitian bertujuan menganalisis bagaimana Pemerintah Provinsi DIY dapat membangun kewarganegaraan inklusif pada masyarakatnya melalui Pendidikan Pancasila Kemasyarakatan, yakni Program Sinau Pancasila. Penelitian kualitatif dengan desain studi kasus ini dilakukan di Provinsi DIY. Pengumpulan data dilakukan dengan wawancara, observasi, dan dokumentasi. Analisis data dilakukan dengan teknik analisis data kualitatif. Penelitian menemukan bahwa Program Sinau Pancasila sangat penting dalam pembentukan kewarganegaraan inklusif di DIY dengan tujuan menghargai pluralisme untuk meminimalisasi konflik-konflik identitas, etnis, dan sosial-keagamaan. Pemerintah Provinsi DIY dapat membangun kewarganegaraan inklusif melalui Program Sinau Pancasila yang dapat difungsikan sebagai forum edukasi pendidikan politik kemasyarakatan, forum pembauran-perjumpaan, serta forum dialog-komunikasi. Program Sinau Pancasila dapat meminimalisasi konflik sosial-etnis dan menguatkan nilai kebhinekaan di masyarakat Yogyakarta. Oleh karena itu, program Sinau Pancasila sangat penting secara kontinu untuk terus dilaksanakan oleh Pemerintah Provinsi DIY.

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INTRODUCTION

The Special Region of Yogyakarta (Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta/DIY) is a province in Indonesia that is currently developing into a multicultural region. The community structure, which was previously culturally relatively homogeneous, is slowly becoming increasingly heterogeneous. Yogyakarta and its people are becoming increasingly open to various cultures from outside as people from other regions migrate to Yogyakarta. This is because the consequences of Yogyakarta as a city of education, a city of students, a city of culture, and a city of tourism make people from various parts of Indonesia live in Yogyakarta. The arrival of migrants also brings different ethnic, racial, customary, and cultural identities so that Yogyakarta eventually becomes a pluralistic city with a variety of cultural diversity (multicultural).

Based on the results of the 2020 population census, the population of the Yogyakarta Special Region reached 3.67 million people, and by 2023, it had increased to 4.07 million people (Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta, 2023, 2024c). In terms of the population distribution in the Yogyakarta Special Region based on ethnicity, the majority of ethnic groups residing in Yogyakarta Province are Javanese (96.53%). Although the majority are Javanese, other ethnic groups living in Yogyakarta are also quite numerous and varied. The Sundanese tribe ranks as the second-largest percentage after the Javanese tribe living in DIY, which is approximately 0.69% then followed by other ethnic groups such as Malay, Chinese, Batak, Madura, Minangkabau, East Nusa Tenggara (Nusa Tenggara Timur/NTT), Dayak, South Sumatra, Papua, Bali, Bugis, Maluku, Banjar, Lampung, Betawi, Sasak, Aceh, NTB, Minahasa, Nias, Makassar, and other tribes from Sumatra, Kalimantan, and Sulawesi. In addition to plurality in terms of ethnicity, the people of Yogyakarta are also very plural in terms of religion and belief. Quantitatively, based on Yogyakarta population census data, the majority of Yogyakarta's population is Muslim, comprising 3,179,129 people, or approximately 91.95%. Then, the population of Christians amounts to 94,268 (2.73%); Catholics, 165,749 (4.79%); Hindus, 5,257 (0.15%); Buddhists, 3,542 (0.10%); Khong Hu Cu, 159 (0.00%); and others, 506 (0.01%) (Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta, 2024a, 2024b).

The plurality of Yogyakarta society, with its diverse cultures, has a positive side, but it is also undeniable that it has a negative side. On the positive side, it can be a strength and potential in the social and economic development of the people of Yogyakarta. However, the negative side can be a trigger for conflict between community groups, as social conflict is prone to occur in a plural society between ethnicities, tribes, races, religions, and other groups. As stated by Purwaningsih, Galba, and Ariani (2014), conflict is unavoidable in a multicultural society, including Yogyakarta, because its society already comprises various ethnicities, often referred to as "Indonesia Mini." Disputes and conflicts in multicultural societies, particularly between residents and immigrants (including immigrants and non-immigrants), have also become a significant global issue (Choi, 2024). Based on Choi's study (2024), globally, in recent years, the world has experienced a surge in conflict and strife between immigrants and non-immigrants, manifested in cases of racism, hatred, anti-immigrant sentiment, and segregation.

The plurality of Yogyakarta's society has not led to large-scale, open, inter-group conflicts or conflicts that disrupt national stability, such as the Ethnicity, Race, Religion, and Intergroup (SARA) conflicts in Ambon, Poso, or Sampit. However, Yogyakarta is not free from destructive social conflicts. If traced back to the last decade, in 2013, a conflict arose between NTT students and the local community, specifically the Tambakbayan community

in Babarsari, Yogyakarta, which led to the rejection of Tambakbayan residents against NTT students returning to their area. This conflict originated from the drunken habits of students, so residents reprimanded them, but ethnic immigrant students did not accept it. Finally, there were clashes and physical violence between local people and immigrant students. This conflict also resulted in damage to residents' houses in Tambakbayan, Babarsari (Putri & Kiranantika, 2020).

In 2016, ethnic conflict also still occurred in Yogyakarta, namely the siege of the Kamasan Papuan student dormitory on Jalan Kusumanegara Number 119, Yogyakarta City, from July 14 to 16, 2016, by the Police and local mass organizations. National Human Rights Commission of the Republic of Indonesia's (Komisi Nasional Hak Asasi Manusia Republik Indonesia/Komnas HAM) Press Statement Number 021/Humas-KH/VI/2016 on the Results of Komnas HAM's Investigation into the Siege of Papuan Student Dormitory in Yogyakarta City found 8 (eight) allegations of human rights violations in the incident (Komisi Nasional Hak Asasi Manusia Republik Indonesia, 2016). Cases of ethnic conflicts involving migrants from Papua continued in the following years. In 2017, there was an incident of destruction of the Police Post Office in Kotabaru, Yogyakarta, which was thought to have been carried out by a group of ethnic Papuans (Putri & Kiranantika, 2020). In 2018, a riot broke out between ethnic Papuans and ethnic Ambon-Maluku in Babarsari, Sleman, Yogyakarta. The riots began with a commotion in one of the cafes, which resulted in one person from the Papuan ethnic group being stabbed. Not accepting that their colleagues were injured, ethnic Papuans swept down the streets with sharp weapons, looking for ethnic Moluccans who were the perpetrators of the stabbing (Putri & Kiranantika, 2020).

In 2022, three consecutive conflicts occurred at once. In July 2022, there was a conflict involving three ethnicities, namely between ethnic migrants from NTT, Maluku, and Papua. This conflict is known as the AMKEI (Maluku) and Melanesian riots. The conflict began with a dispute between ethnic NTT and ethnic Maluku in Ngemplak, Sleman, which then ignited a commotion, visiting each other and attacking each other using sharp weapons. However, the attack was misdirected, injuring Papuan students with severe injuries caused by sharp weapons. Following this incident, the Papuan Students Association organized a demonstration at the Yogyakarta Special Region Police Office, located on Jalan Ring Road Utara, Depok, Sleman, which escalated into a riot. Then, in August 2022, another inter-ethnic commotion occurred at Jalan Kusumanegara, near the Papuan Dormitory. Finally, in September 2022, there was another ethnic commotion on Jalan H.O.S Cokroaminoto, Tegaltrejo, Yogyakarta, involving foreign nationals and ethnicities from Eastern Indonesia, which resulted in the loss of life of Timor Leste citizens (Badan Penanggulangan Bencana Daerah Provinsi Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta, 2022).

Starting from the problems and social conflicts that occur in Indonesian society, especially in the lives of the people of Yogyakarta, changes must be made in the social order. This change is an effort to strengthen the ethical foundations and character of citizenship, based on the philosophical basis of "philosophische grondslag," in order to form an inclusive citizenship society. The deterioration in the implementation of national values, accompanied by the rise of socio-ethnic conflicts, indicates a lack of understanding and appreciation for Pancasila and hints at the failure to socialize Pancasila values as the soul of the nation. This is evident in the decline in social awareness, the increase in intolerant behavior, and the lack of a wise and fair attitude toward differences. Often, the principles of Pancasila are understood at various levels of society only as theoretical ideas without being applied in everyday life (Syahwaliana et al., 2025).

The Pancasila socialization approach implemented at this time remains generally superficial, compartmentalized, less planned, less structured, and less coordinated. Pancasila socialization is carried out vertically, which limits community participation and empowerment. Therefore, a new approach is needed that is planned, systematic, integrated, measurable, and sustainable, involving all policymakers and community participation. The Pancasila socialization approach must be creative and holistic, encompassing cognitive, affective, and conative dimensions that can influence mindsets, attitudes, and patterns of action through the values of Pancasila (Latif, 2018).

In community life, the Pancasila socialization approach can be done through non-formal community education. Regarding the Pancasila socialization approach through non-formal community education, the Provincial Government of Yogyakarta Special Region (Pemerintah Provinsi Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta/Pemprov DIY) is the only local government that has established and implemented community Pancasila education as a formal regional policy, specifically through the *Sinau Pancasila* Program. Therefore, in this research, solutions to the challenges and problems of nationality, ethnicity, religion, and identity in the lives of the people of Yogyakarta will be pursued through the *Sinau Pancasila* Program to build an inclusive society. The *Sinau Pancasila* program is a non-formal education activity for the community, focusing on Pancasila and other national insights, conducted by the Yogyakarta National Unity Agency (Badan Kesatuan Bangsa dan Politik Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta/Badan Kesbangpol DIY). *Sinau Pancasila* is a flagship program of the DIY Provincial Government implemented by the DIY Kesbangpol Agency since 2017. This program was born out of the decline of Pancasila values and national values in the lives of the people of Yogyakarta, as well as issues related to nationality, ethnicity, religion, and identity in DIY. *Sinau Pancasila* is carried out in 78 sub-districts throughout DIY in the form of activities to socialize state political values, namely the four basic principles of the life of the nation and state (Pancasila, as outlined in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, and *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*), and the content of insights about DIY Privileges.

The *Sinau Pancasila* program has distinctiveness and attractiveness that warrant exploration. Researchers are interested in conducting case study research on the *Sinau Pancasila* Program, which the DIY Government is implementing as part of its effort to create a cultured Yogyakarta community life characterized by inclusive citizenship. The case study of the *Sinau Pancasila* Programme is significant because it is a hallmark of the DIY Government, especially as the only region to create and establish a massive and structured socialisation programme of Pancasila and national values that reaches communities throughout the province's administrative area. Inclusive citizenship is a form of civic or community life that fosters awareness of attitudes and behaviors that promote inclusive values and attitudes. These inclusive values encompass equality, justice, recognition, self-determination, and solidarity, fostering an open environment that accepts all differences in culture, ethnicity, religion, characteristics, and social status. In a society with an inclusive citizenship culture, people should celebrate differences rather than reject them, be non-judgmental towards one another, and be more open (Bartlett, 2022; Chiu et al., 2016). Inclusive citizenship fosters brotherhood and solidarity among people, promoting a caring and just coexistence that enables shared life together (Daou, 2021; Finch, 2021).

This study contributes to the development of socialization and development practices related to Pancasila in society, particularly in the effort to build a multicultural society with an inclusive citizenship culture in Yogyakarta through the *Sinau Pancasila* Program. Through this research, people can gain a deeper understanding of the importance of inclusive citizenship in creating a life that prioritizes harmony and equality, fostering an open

environment that accepts all differences in culture, ethnicity, religion, and social status. In contrast to some previous studies, this research is limited to providing a general overview of the Nationalistic Insight Education program in Yogyakarta. As the research conducted by Hidayah (2018) with the research title "Implementation of the Pancasila Ideology, Nationalistic Insight, and Specialty Training Program at the DIY Training Agency" which focuses on the description of planning, implementation, evaluation, and supporting and inhibiting factors for the implementation of Nationalistic Insight Education. Similarly, Siregar's research (2022) with the title "Nationalistic Insight Education in the Era of Globalisation" was only to describe the implementation of Nationalistic Insight Education in the Era of Globalisation by conducting civic education. Then Paryanto, Wance, Hadi, & Suhu (2022)'s research on "Pancasila and Nationalism Education Policy in Yogyakarta Special Region" which generally examines the factors behind the Nationalism Education programme in Yogyakarta. These previous studies only examine in general the policy of Nationalism Education in Yogyakarta, which of course includes many programmes such as *Sinau Pancasila*, Socialisation of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, Nationalism Camp, and so on. This previous research study also generally examines the planning, implementation, evaluation, supporting and inhibiting factors of the programme. Therefore, previous studies did not focus on the *Sinau Pancasila* programme to build inclusive citizenship.

As for research related to building inclusive citizenship, there is research by Rauf, Muhammad, & Siddiqu (2024) entitled "Constructing Inclusive Citizenship: Fundamental, Cultural and Religious Rights Narratives in History Textbooks Taught in Elite Schools in Pakistan," but this research examines inclusive citizenship in an educational context that specifically examines textbooks or textbooks used in Pakistani schools. Most recently, research by Ikhsan et al. (2024) entitled "Navigating Diversity: Exploring Inclusive Citizenship and Recognition of Minority Rights in the Indonesian Context," but this study focuses on the challenges and obstacles in the implementation of inclusive citizenship, which studies using the literature study method. Thus, these two studies do not empirically examine real phenomena in society, only literature review and content analysis.

Therefore, there has been no research on the National Insight Education program in Yogyakarta, specifically the *Sinau Pancasila* Program, which aims to build inclusive citizenship. This focus is the novelty of this research, which explores how the *Sinau Pancasila* Program can foster inclusive citizenship among the people of Yogyakarta. This research is important to do because it aims to analyze how the Provincial Government of the Yogyakarta Special Region can foster inclusive citizenship within its community through Community Pancasila Education, specifically the *Sinau Pancasila* Program, by exploring the importance of this program in shaping inclusive citizenship in the Special Region of Yogyakarta. What is the implementation process of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program in the formation of inclusive citizenship in the Special Region of Yogyakarta, and what is the impact of the implementation of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program in the formation of inclusive citizenship in the Special Region of Yogyakarta? Exploring how the *Sinau Pancasila* Program can foster inclusive citizenship is necessary because people require relevant educational experiences to navigate an increasingly diverse and multicultural life order (Choi, 2024), and the development of inclusive citizenship is one of the key requirements for being a good citizen (Ikhsan et al., 2024).

METHOD

This research uses a qualitative approach with a case study design. The case study was employed in this research due to the uniqueness of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program's implementation in fostering inclusive citizenship in the Yogyakarta Special Region. Thus, the

research was conducted in the Special Region of Yogyakarta. The uniqueness of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program's implementation in fostering inclusive citizenship in the Yogyakarta Special Region can be observed for three reasons. First, politically, the *Sinau Pancasila* Program only exists in Yogyakarta. Secondly, juridically, the *Sinau Pancasila* Program is an effort to implement the mandate of Law No. 13/2012 on DIY privileges (Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 13 Tahun 2012 tentang Keistimewaan Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta) carried out by the DIY Government to create a government order and social order that guarantees unity in diversity. Third, philosophically and culturally, the *Sinau Pancasila* Program is a special mission of the DIY Government to develop and maintain the values of specialty by relying on the harmony of the "*Keraton-Kampus-Kampung*" as the three pillars of DIY specialty.

Then, the determination of research subjects using purposive techniques. The criteria for research subjects include: 1) policymakers, 2) policy implementers, and 3) practitioners involved in the implementation of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program. The research subjects in the study were members of the Regional People's Representative Assembly (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah/DPRD), the Head of the Division of Ideology Development and National Vigilance of the DIY Kesbangpol Agency, academics/lecturers from various universities in DIY, Indonesian National Army (Tentara Nasional Indonesia/TNI)/ Republic of Indonesia Police (Kepolisian Republik Indonesia/POLRI), Interfaith Harmony Forum (Forum Kerukunan Umat Beragama/FKUB), and National Integration Forum of the Special Region of Yogyakarta (Forum Pembauran Kebangsaan Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta/FPK) DIY administrators. Participants in the *Sinau Pancasila* Program, which includes community groups, can be community organizations, youth organizations, and other similar entities. Meanwhile, data collection was carried out using interviews, observation, and documentation techniques. As a case study, this research employs open-ended interview techniques, also known as unstructured or in-depth interviews. Regarding observation, the researcher employed participant observation. Researchers went directly to the field to observe the behavior and activities that occurred at the research location; in other words, they actively participated in the activities of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program. The documents collected in this study include reports on *Sinau Pancasila*'s activities, as well as documentation and photographs of these activities, along with other relevant documents related to the research problem. Additionally, as a secondary source, this research may draw on documents from dissertations, theses, journal articles, research reports, and related books. The results of interviews and observations are used as primary data, while the results of documentation are secondary data.

The data obtained was then tested for validity using triangulation techniques. The steps taken by researchers using triangulation techniques are as follows. First, researchers compared the results of interviews with participatory observations in the field related to the implementation of *Sinau Pancasila* Program activities, including the aims and objectives of implementing *Sinau Pancasila* activities, forms of activities, implementation strategies, activity methods, materials, as well as presenters and participants of activities, as well as evaluation and impact of activities. Second, the data from the interview and observation results are then compared again with documentation, which may include archived reports, implementation modules, news publication activities, and photo documentation related to the *Sinau Pancasila* Program to ensure consistency of the results obtained. The data analysis technique uses an inductive descriptive method. Data analysis in this study was conducted through the following stages: organizing data, reading data, coding data, linking themes, interpreting the meaning of themes, and finally, validating the results. After the results of the data analysis are obtained, the researcher conducts the final validation by returning to the research subject

to ask if there is any data that is not appropriate, too excessive, or there are shortcomings so that later it can be accommodated as a refinement of the findings in this study.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. Importance of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program in the Formation of Inclusive Citizenship

Starting from an effort to answer the question of why the *Sinau Pancasila* Program is critical to building civic inclusiveness in DIY. So, the effort to find this answer is traced by using the perspective of critical discourse analysis, namely a critical approach is used to investigate why discourse is generated (Jahedi et al., 2015; Mayor & Bietti, 2017; Williamson et al., 2018), which in this case is the *Sinau Pancasila* Program policy. A critical discourse analysis perspective is employed in this study because it not only captures important aspects of the social world but also plays a crucial ethical and political role in revealing how social phenomena are discursively constructed (Sriwimon & Zilli, 2017; Williamson et al., 2018).

Based on the critical discourse analysis approach to the *Sinau Pancasila* Program policy, the first setting or context that explains the origin of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program is the plurality of Yogyakarta society. According to data from the Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta (2021) the people of Yogyakarta are comprised of individuals from various ethnicities and religions. Social, religious, and cultural diversity is a necessity in people's lives (Ginting et al., 2025). The presence of various tribes, ethnicities, and religions in Yogyakarta raises the potential for social friction or conflict within the society. The second setting or context in which the *Sinau Pancasila* Program was born is due to the socio-cultural complexity of the society in the DIY region. This complexity, if not appropriately managed, will also have an impact on social conflicts between Yogyakarta residents and migrants in DIY. The third context or setting for the birth of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program is the values of privilege or fair values that DIY has in creating a harmonious life in community life. The adiluhung values in Yogyakarta include; *Hamemayu Hayuning Bawana* (building the welfare of the world), *Mangasah Mingising Budi* (sharpening the conscience/heart), *Memasub Malaning Bumi* (cleaning the world's diseases), *Sangkan Paraning Dumadi* (everything comes from God and will return to God) *Golong Gilig* (unity of the people and rulers or all groups) (Triwahyuningsih et al., 2023). These values of specialty are believed to be local wisdom, and in addition to having a scope of applicability in Yogyakarta, they can also be aligned as national or national cultural values (Peraturan Daerah Istimewa Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta Nomor 3 Tahun 2017 Tentang Pemeliharaan dan Pengembangan Kebudayaan).

Then, DIY Privileges are also harmoniously connected between the *keraton*, *kampus*, and *kampung*. *Keraton*, *Kampus*, and *Kampung* are the three pillars of the DIY specialty in the midst of community plurality and socio-cultural complexity, which, with these three pillars, should maintain the civic relations of the DIY society in harmony (Samsuri, 2021). Harmony between the *keraton*, *kampus*, and *kampung* is impossible to grow strongly in DIY if the civic relations built are not based on the fundamental values of national life, which are then also not understood and carried out properly by the community. In this context, harmony is the key to peaceful interaction between different individuals and groups (Ginting et al., 2023). This is where the link, red thread, or blueprint of the importance of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program becomes clear, as it serves to socialize the fundamental values of national life and state for the people of Yogyakarta. As stated by Paryanto et al. (2022), *Sinau Pancasila* is also a strategic forum aimed at strengthening the ideology of Pancasila and

providing insights and alternative solutions to various national problems that occur at both local, national, and global levels.

Based on the context of the birth of the *Sinaw Pancasila* Program, the urgency of the *Sinaw Pancasila* Program in building civic inclusiveness in Yogyakarta stems from the causality and essence of the program. The causality of the *Sinaw Pancasila* Program is the cause or background, as well as the aims and objectives of the implementation of the *Sinaw Pancasila* Program. The essence, as well as the benefits resulting from the implementation of the *Sinaw Pancasila* Program, is that it serves as a vehicle for community political education forums, meeting forums, and means of dialogue forums.

In substance, the reason behind the implementation of the *Sinaw Pancasila* Program by the Regional Government of the Special Region of Yogyakarta is to address the turmoil surrounding identity, ethnicity, and religious issues that have occurred in the Special Region of Yogyakarta Province. This condition is undeniable, as the publication of research results from the Center for Religious and Cross-Cultural Studies (CRCS) of Universitas Gadjah Mada in 2017 presented 70 cases of violence against minorities in Yogyakarta in the form of social conflicts that occurred from 2000 to 2016 (Ahnaf & Salim, 2017). Then, the research results of the Setara Institute showed that in 2017, Yogyakarta was included in the bottom 10 (ten) cities with the lowest tolerance score nationally, which ranked 6 (six) from the bottom. Then successively, the tolerant index of Yogyakarta City increased but remained in the middle cluster, namely in 2018-2019 ranking 41, in 2020 ranking 33, in 2021 ranked 24th, in 2022 ranked 16th, and in 2023 it decreased again, namely 19th (SETARA Institute, 2018, 2020, 2021, 2023). This reality, of course, still contradicts the slogan of Jogja City, which was declared as a city of tolerance. This is because, in nine measurements and assessments of tolerant cities from 2015 to 2023, Yogyakarta City has never been included among the top 10 tolerant cities in Indonesia. Ethnic, identity, and religious conflicts occurred in Yogyakarta, such as the siege of the Papuan student dormitory, fights between other ethnic groups and residents, destruction of houses of worship, dissolution of worship, criminalization, and so on.

Based on the reality of these identity, ethnic, and religious conflicts, the Yogyakarta Provincial Government responded by adopting government policies to minimize and prevent the emergence of conflicts that continue to occur in the community. Among the policies implemented by the Yogyakarta Special Region Government is the *Sinaw Pancasila* Program, introduced in 2017. The *Sinaw Pancasila* program has been implemented since 2017 until the time of this research. This is by the nature of a program, as stated by Arikunto (Khoeriyah & Nurmandi, 2014) that a program is a unit or unit of activity that is not only done once but continuously. The *Sinaw Pancasila* Program is a continuous unit of activity carried out annually in 78 sub-districts of the Special Region of Yogyakarta (Hastangka & Ma'ruf, 2021; Paryanto et al., 2022). The purpose of the *Sinaw Pancasila* Program is to increase understanding of the Pancasila ideology, foster national insight, and cultivate love for the country, as well as respect for national pluralism, thereby strengthening national unity and integrity, especially in the Special Region of Yogyakarta. The purpose of *Sinaw Pancasila* is to instill a sense of nationalism by fostering pride in the Indonesian nation in the hearts of the people of Yogyakarta and to promote the development of the Pancasila ideology in order to minimize cases of intolerance in the Special Region of Yogyakarta.

Issues of identity, ethnicity, and religion in DIY are impossible to minimize or overcome if citizenship relations based on the nation's and state's fundamental values are not well understood and applied by the community, namely Pancasila, the 1945

Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia/NKRI), and *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*. This is where the strategic importance of the presence of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program in the formation of civic inclusiveness lies in DIY; the *Sinau Pancasila* Program is essentially a socialization of the fundamental values of the life of the nation and state to the community so that people increasingly understand and can apply these values in social relations. Furthermore, the importance of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program in the formation of inclusive citizenship is evident from both its essence and the benefits it produces. The essence of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program includes being a forum for community political education, a forum for meetings, and a means of communication-dialogue forum.

First, the forum for community political education. The purpose of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program as a forum for community political education is to be a space for the transfer of knowledge. The transfer of knowledge in question pertains to the material of early prevention strategies for handling social conflicts, as well as the Specialty of DIY, Pancasila, and national insight materials, such as the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, NKRI, and *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, which are state political values. The *Sinau Pancasila* Program is an activity of socializing political values, as an activity of socializing state political values; the *Sinau Pancasila* Program is concretely one of community political education, as the nature of political education is the process of teaching citizens to internalize a set of political system values (Dag et al., 2015). Political education is the process of instilling knowledge, understanding, and skills related to the political system, government, civic duty, and political participation. It aims to educate individuals and communities about political structures, processes, ideologies, and issues and to foster informed and engaged citizens in society (Chen & Madni, 2024). Political education empowers individuals and communities by providing them with knowledge and understanding of how the political system works (Almond & Verba, 1984; Willeck & Mendelberg, 2022). When people understand the political system, the structure of government, and the impact of policies, they can make informed decisions and actively participate in civic life (Chen & Madni, 2024). According to Chen and Madni (2024). through political education, citizens not only acquire information and knowledge about politics but can also develop into participatory and responsible citizens.

Second, the encounter-mingling forum. The implementation of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program is a meeting point between various elements of society with various professions or different groups, such as youth, community elders, religious leaders, mass organizations, farmers, fishermen, teachers, students, sub-district and village government officials, civil servants, as well as Police and military. In addition to being among participants, *Sinau Pancasila* activities also serve as a forum for meetings between participants and presenters who have diverse backgrounds, including religious, ethnic, professional, and institutional affiliations, such as academics, lecturers, TNI /Polri, FKUB, as well as members of the DIY DPRD and DIY Regional Government. The implementation of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program as an encounter-assimilation forum aims to become an asset in strengthening diversity and solving problems of intolerance, violations of religious freedom, ideological threats, and the fading of Pancasila values and diversity in society. The national encounter and assimilation forum can serve as one of the parameters and preventive measures for minimizing various social conflicts within the nation and state (Winarno, 2019). As stated by the Setara Institute (2017), the key problem at the community level related to intolerance and social conflicts in society is due to the narrowing of the meeting space, which hinders

the presence of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program from opening and widening the space for encounters between societal elements.

On the other hand, the *Sinau Pancasila* program also builds trust between the parties by having the same determination and intention to take the best steps for all parties (Sambodo & Pribadi, 2016). Thus, as a meeting-meeting forum, the *Sinau Pancasila* program can build trust (trust building) because, in its implementation, it does not discriminate against the community based on ethnicity, religion, race, or class. The substance of national blending is an effort made by the government, in collaboration with the community, to create a conducive climate that enables changes in people's attitudes to accept plurality within the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (Winarno, 2019).

Third, the dialog-communication forum. The implementation of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program is intended as a means of dialogue-communication space between the community and the government, academics, and other civil society forums such as FKUB and FPK as a political accommodation for problems that arise in society, both social conflicts, intolerance, and the waning values of Pancasila and diversity. The nature of face-to-face dialogue is a meeting between various parties at the same time and place to discuss a common interest (Sambodo & Pribadi, 2016). What is achieved through the dialog is how the participants discuss the importance of building good relationships and fostering cooperation across ethnicities, tribes, and religions (Pomalingo, 2016). Thus, the implementation of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program as a forum for dialogue and communication between the government, academics, and other civil society forums has resulted in the consolidation and resolution of community problems, as well as an early detection strategy for the government to anticipate societal issues. As expressed by Pomalingo (2016) dialog forums can help bridge the gaps that lead to societal clashes.

2. The Process of Implementing the *Sinau Pancasila* Program in Inclusive Citizenship Formation

Based on the research findings, the implementation process of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program includes patterns of program planning, implementation, and evaluation. First, the planning of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program follows the established patterns of public policy in general. The stages of public policy generally include agenda setting or problem determination, policy formulation, policy adoption or legitimization, policy implementation, and finally, policy evaluation or assessment (Anderson, 2011; Dunn, 2015; Hankivsky & Cormier, 2011; Suharno, 2013).

A public policy starts with a public problem. Before *Sinau Pancasila* was established as a policy, the underlying public problems were identity conflict, ethnic conflict, socio-religious conflict, and intolerance. Identity conflicts, intolerance, and socio-religious issues become public problems because they involve many people, including those who are not directly involved, and have a broad impact (Anggara, 2018). The determination of identity conflict, intolerance, and socio-religious issues as public problems can be interpreted as a sociological context in the *Sinau Pancasila* Program policy planning pattern. Sociological context is a consideration or reason that explains how a rule or program created is used to meet the needs of the community in various aspects. This foundation is based on empirical facts about the development of societal and state problems and needs (Khair, 2022).

Then, the planning of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program is undoubtedly not only based on established social conflict issues but also on consideration of other aspects, such as legal and resource (economic) considerations. As the research findings show, the *Sinau Pancasila* Program was created and established by the DIY Provincial Government based on the

mandate of the DIY Privileges Law and the Minister of Home Affairs Regulation No. 71/2012 on Guidelines for Nationalism Education. In the context of the mandate of these laws and regulations, the *Sinau Pancasila* Program is a DIY Regional Government policy that can be categorized as a policy benefiting the community and promoting community development. This is because the *Sinau Pancasila* Program is an intelligence and insight development of public knowledge about Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, NKRI, DIY Privileges, and ways or strategies to prevent conflict in the community, as well as being a program that directly in its implementation leads to the protection, guidance, and maintenance of the values of deliberation, cooperation, solidarity, tolerance, and tolerance in DIY society. The determination of the consideration of the mandate of this legislation can be interpreted as a juridical context in the policy pattern of establishing the *Sinau Pancasila* Program. The juridical context itself is a consideration or reason that illustrates that the regulation or program formed is a rule to overcome a legal problem (Khair, 2022).

In addition to juridical considerations, the next aspect considered in formulating the *Sinau Pancasila* Program policy is the economic aspect, particularly regarding funding. As the research findings show, the *Sinau Pancasila* Program is implemented with the Regional Budget (APBD) and the aspiration funds of the DIY DPRD. *Sinau Pancasila* Program policy planning in this context can be interpreted as a political-economic context. The next stage is gaining legitimacy. At this stage, policymakers choose and fully support a program aimed at preventing social conflicts within the community. In the context of planning the *Sinau Pancasila* Program as a joint policy, there is certainly political communication between policy-making actors at this stage, which can be interpreted as a political context in planning the *Sinau Pancasila* Program. The following policy planning pattern of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program is the determination of the implementer of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program policy. As the research findings show, the DIY Kesbangpol Agency implements the *Sinau Pancasila* Program in collaboration with the Pancasila Study Center of Higher Education in DIY, the TNI/POLRI, FKUB, FPK, and the Kesbangpol Agency at the district/city level as partners and implementers. The implementation of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program, involving these related parties, can be interpreted as a bureaucratic context within the policy planning pattern of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program.

After determining the implementer, the next is evaluation planning. Evaluation planning is interpreted as planning an assessment of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program policy. The results of the evaluation are the performance and impact of the policy, specifically the *Sinau Pancasila* Program (Suharno, 2013). Furthermore, policy development planning is a follow-up after the implementation of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program. As research findings as a policy development, the DIY Kesbangpol Agency conducted the Socialization of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* in 2021 as a supporting program for *Sinau Pancasila*. In this context, it can be interpreted as a pattern of evaluation and follow-up in the policy planning of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program. The socialization of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* aims to foster an understanding of diversity and promote tolerance in society (Muharam, 2021; Sembada et al., 2022). Values such as tolerance, cooperation, and solidarity are important elements in maintaining harmony in socio-cultural diversity (Ginting et al., 2025).

Thus, there are six contexts of program policy planning patterns in the *Sinau Pancasila* Program. The six contexts of the policy planning pattern of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program are basically in line with the three theoretical frameworks of public policy planning in general, as proposed by Anggara (2018) including the existence of legal instruments in the form of laws and regulations that make the public aware of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program policy, then

a policy that has a clear implementing and financing structure, and a policy that has a public control mechanism. This demonstrates the implementation of the planning stage in the *Sinau Pancasila* Program, making it an effective policy.

Furthermore, the implementation stage of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program. The implementation of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program requires a strategic setting to ensure its success in achieving the desired goals. Strategy is a crucial aspect in realizing the success of a program. A strategy can provide a clear direction for the program, ensuring it is not excessive. Suwarsono (2013) said that strategy is the spirit of a program. The DIY Kesbangpol Agency, as the technical implementer of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program, including in efforts to form inclusive citizenship, implements the *Sinau Pancasila* Program in 3 (three) ways, including: 1) implemented with a top-down approach; 2) through broadcasting media; 3) and socializing *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* as a supporting program. In addition, the DIY Kesbangpol Agency, in implementing the *Sinau Pancasila* Program, employs a collaborative strategy, working with the Pancasila Study Center of Higher Education in DIY, the TNI/POLRI, FKUB, FPK, and the Kesbangpol Agency at the district/city level as partners. The following are three strategic steps in implementing the *Sinau Pancasila* Program by the DIY Kesbangpol Agency.

Then, the form of *Sinau Pancasila* activities aimed at fostering inclusive citizenship is through seminars. A seminar is a form of activity that presents the results of research or a study on a problem (Gafur, 2012). Through seminars and *Sinau Pancasila* activities, the organization aims to foster inclusive citizenship, as evident in the delivery and presentation of materials, as well as during discussions and question-and-answer sessions. The technical implementation of *Sinau Pancasila* activities, in addition to presenting knowledge materials about Pancasila and National Insight, also presents problems in the community because the *Sinau Pancasila* Program is designed to prevent, anticipate, and minimize problems of intolerance, ethnic conflict, and socio-religious issues.

The next aspect related to the implementation strategy of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program, aimed at fostering inclusive citizenship, is through the materials and methods used in activities. As the research findings show, the materials used in the *Sinau Pancasila* Program include Pancasila, national insight (as outlined in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, NKRI, and *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*), strategies for early conflict prevention, and DIY Specialty. The method of *Sinau Pancasila* activities is technically a lecture and discussion, with question-and-answer sessions. The lecture is a method used by the speaker to present material orally about a particular fact, argument, or principle. At the same time, a question-and-answer discussion is a method that requires dialogue to explore a problem from various perspectives (Gafur, 2012).

Next is related to the presenters and participants of *Sinau Pancasila* activities. The determination of presenters and participants in *Sinau Pancasila* activities also contributes to the formation of inclusive citizenship. This is inseparable from the setting of the *Sinau Pancasila* program, which presents presenters from various circles and different backgrounds, as well as participants invited from diverse elements of society. As the research findings show, the speakers involved consist of various groups that directly intersect with the essence of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program, especially the popularization of Pancasila values, national insight, conflict prevention in the community, and the creation of a harmonious, peaceful and united community life, namely the government, academics-lecturers at universities, TNI/Polri, FKUB and FPK. Meanwhile, participants were also presented from various elements in the community, including individuals with different

religious backgrounds, professions, and affiliations, such as youth, community elders, religious leaders, mass organizations, farmers, fishermen, teachers, students, sub-district, and village government officials.

Third, evaluate the implementation of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program. In essence, a policy that is being or has been implemented must be evaluated. As stated by Khoeriyah and Nurmandi (2014), when implementing a program, it is necessary to conduct an assessment of the program, specifically to determine whether the results align with the program plan that has been prepared. Evaluation is a process of careful assessment of the benefits, values, content, administration, outputs, and effects of ongoing or completed government actions (Vedung, 2012, 2017). Agreeing with Vedung, Gertler et al. (2016) also revealed that evaluation is a periodic and objective assessment of a planned, ongoing, or completed project, program, or policy. Evaluation of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program is conducted as a process of program improvement to enhance the implementation of *Sinau Pancasila* in the future.

Based on the research findings, the evaluation conducted by the DIY Kesbangpol Agency, the organizer of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program, is still at the process evaluation level. This is because the *Sinau Pancasila* Program is still in the process of implementation. Following Megawati's (2014) view, process evaluation in the context of implementing the *Sinau Pancasila* Program assesses whether the program has been implemented as planned, whether the planned target audience has been served, and evaluates program implementation strategies. Essentially, the proper evaluation of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program involves the quantitative implementation of the program, its methods, and the evaluation of participants after they have attended *Sinau Pancasila*. Based on the process evaluation conducted, it is known that the implementation of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program occurs annually, targeting 78 times in 78 sub-districts in Yogyakarta. As for the method of activity, the results of the process evaluation provided input for improvement, leading to innovations in the method of delivering material beyond lectures and discussions.

Meanwhile, the evaluation of participants after participating in the *Sinau Pancasila* Program has not been conducted by the DIY Kesbangpol Agency. An evaluation of participants should be conducted to determine the impact on the community after they participate in the *Sinau Pancasila* Program, specifically assessing the level of understanding and changes in community behavior, particularly whether participants have become activators and influencers of Pancasila and national insight in their daily lives. Finally, as a continuation of the implementation of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program in the future, the evaluation results of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program must be a concern and priority for the DIY Kesbangpol Agency, the implementer, especially as an effort to realize inclusive citizenship in community life in Yogyakarta. This is because, essentially, the formation of inclusive citizenship aligns with the objectives to be achieved through the implementation of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program.

3. The Impact of Implementation of *Sinau Pancasila* Program in Inclusive Citizenship Formation

According to David C. Korten (in Ramadhani & Suswanta, 2019), the success of a program in producing a positive impact is determined by the suitability of the three elements in program implementation: between programs, program implementers, and program target groups. Korten further explained (Ramadhani & Suswanta, 2019) the suitability between the three elements includes: first, the suitability between the program and the target group (beneficiaries), in which the compatibility between what the program

offers is by what is needed by the target group; second, the compatibility between the program and the implementing agency, namely the compatibility between the tasks required by the program and the capacity of the implementing agency; third, the compatibility between the target group and the implementing agency, which is the compatibility between the conditions decided by the agency to be able to obtain program outputs and what the program target group can do. Based on the results of the research analysis, the implementation of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program succeeded in combining or realizing the compatibility between the three elements, namely the compatibility between what the *Sinau Pancasila* Program offered and what was needed by the target group, the compatibility between the tasks required in the *Sinau Pancasila* Program and the capabilities of the implementing agencies, and the compatibility between the conditions decided by the implementing agency and what the program target groups can do. Therefore, the *Sinau Pancasila* Program has a positive impact on its implementation.

The *Sinau Pancasila* Program has at least two positive impacts on the community. First, socio-cultural factors, in the form of knowledge, have an impact. The implementation of *Sinau Pancasila* emphasizes the importance of Pancasila and national insight. The community regains insight into the substance of Pancasila as the fundamental state philosophy, ideology, worldview, and unifying principle. The value of Pancasila serves as the fundamental basis for the Indonesian people to organize the nation's and state's life in all fields of life (Inthaly & Almubaroq, 2022). The next socio-cultural impact is the social impact. As the research findings show, the implementation of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program becomes a forum for integration and interaction space for the community; the community can dialogue with each other, both among fellow citizens and with the government, on problems that develop in the community so that that consensus can be produced based on mutual agreement.

The second impact is the political-structural impact. Based on the research, the implementation of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program became a meeting place for the community and people's representatives. Through the *Sinau Pancasila* Program, the community can meet their representatives in the government and submit complaints and aspirations. Meanwhile, regional parliaments, through *Sinau Pancasila* activities, can directly address and hear the community's problems. Then, structurally, the *Sinau Pancasila* Program has an impact on the DIY Government, including being the advantage of the DIY Government compared to other regional governments because the DIY Government is the only provincial government that makes and stipulates a massive and structured socialization program for Pancasila and national values to reach communities in all administrative areas of the province. Basically, as research by Ramadhani and Suswanta (2019), the impact that arises from a government program is influenced by four groups of variables, namely environmental conditions such as socio-cultural; relationships within agencies include division of functions between agency units, standardization of planning, budgeting, implementation, and evaluation procedures, accuracy, consistency, communication within agencies, and effectiveness of supporting programs; resources for program implementation which include accurate budget allocations, and sufficient income for expenditures; the ability of implementing agents, such as the ability to coordinate and implement decisions, communication skills, and the ability to establish good relations with parties outside the government. The socio-cultural conditions of the community influence the *Sinau Pancasila* program, the pattern of planning, implementation, and evaluation of the DIY Kesbangpol Agency, including budgeting, and the ability of the DIY Kesbangpol Agency to coordinate

and cooperate with other agencies involved, such as the TNI, POLRI, FKUB, and FPK Yogyakarta.

CONCLUSION

Based on the research results and discussions related to the implementation of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program in inclusive citizenship formation, the following conclusions can be concluded that how the Provincial Government of Yogyakarta Special Region can build inclusive citizenship in its community is through the *Sinau Pancasila* Program, which is functioned and maximised as an educational forum for community political education, a mingling forum, and a dialogue-communication forum. The importance of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program policy in fostering inclusive citizenship in the Special Region of Yogyakarta can be drawn from its origin and background, which aim to respect national pluralism and reduce identity, ethnic, and socio-religious conflicts in the region. The *Sinau Pancasila* programme brings impacts including socio-cultural impacts, namely knowledge and social impacts for the community. In addition, there are political impacts as well as structural impacts, namely the *Sinau Pancasila* Programme becomes the superiority of the DIY Government from other regions in the policy of fostering ideology and national insight for the community.

Researchers have found that this study provides several implications regarding the importance of implementing the *Sinau Pancasila* Program in anticipating and preventing social-identity, religious, and intolerance conflicts in DIY. If the *Sinau Pancasila* Program is continuously and consistently implemented, it can help minimize socio-ethnic conflicts and foster a more inclusive society with stronger attitudes and values of diversity. This is a crucial step in the formation of inclusive citizenship within the DIY community. Several suggestions were submitted to various parties as the output of this research, which include the DIY Regional Government innovating the development of activity methods based on input from participants and presenters. Apart from seminars, other methods that can be applied are games, role-playing, or national projects. Then, the DIY Regional Government must evaluate the participants after they have participated in the *Sinau Pancasila* activity and develop the necessary instruments to determine the results or achievements of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program objectives. In addition, what is no less important is that, after participating in the *Sinau Pancasila* activity, participants can truly become cadres, agents, movers, and influencers of Pancasila and national insight in everyday life. Finally, a notable finding from this research is the impact of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program, encompassing both socio-cultural and socio-political effects. The findings of this impact study confirm the relevance, contribution, and validity of the *Sinau Pancasila* Program, demonstrating that through this program, inclusive citizenship can be fostered among the people of Yogyakarta.

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