

Policy Evaluation of the Implementation of the Paskibraka Program at the Provincial Level of DKI Jakarta

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This study was motivated by the gap between the normative design of Presidential Regulation Number 51 of 2022 and BPIP Regulation Number 3 of 2022 and the implementation of the National Flag Hoisting Troop Program (Paskibraka), including overlapping authority among selection assessors, limitations of the Transparency Application, unequal access for participants from island regions, and the suboptimal follow-up development of Purnapaskibraka Pancasila Ambassador members. The research problem addressed is how to evaluate the policy implementation of the Paskibraka Program at the provincial level in the Special Capital Region of Jakarta. This study employed a qualitative approach within a post-positivist paradigm using a case study method. The evaluation was analyzed using William N. Dunn's (2018) six evaluation criteria: effectiveness, efficiency, adequacy, equity, responsiveness, and appropriateness. Data were collected through semi-structured in-depth interviews with nine informants selected through purposive sampling from BPIP, the provincial organizing committee, and Purnapaskibraka Pancasila Ambassadors, complemented by document studies. The data were then analyzed using the interactive model of Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña (2014) through source and technique triangulation. The findings indicate that the policy has not been implemented optimally. Effectiveness was achieved only in the formation stage and the execution of flag-hoisting duties, while the four subsequent sub-programs have not yet been implemented. Efficiency has not been achieved because the budget is concentrated on the first two sub-programs, whereas the remaining three follow-up sub-programs receive no allocation. Adequacy and equity have not been fulfilled due to unequal participant access in the Administrative Regency of the Thousand Islands, while responsiveness and appropriateness have only been partially achieved. The study concludes that the policy requires revision regarding the technical regulation of the four follow-up sub-programs. It is recommended to revise Article 11 Paragraph (2) of Presidential Regulation Number 51 of 2022 and Article 21 Paragraph (2) of BPIP Regulation Number 3 of 2022, develop implementation and technical guidelines for the follow-up sub-programs, and incorporate monitoring and sustainability dimensions into the policy evaluation framework for Pancasila ideological development.

Keywords: policy evaluation; Paskibraka Program; Pancasila ideological development; William N. Dunn; Special Capital Region of Jakarta Province.

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1. Introduction

Pancasila, as the state ideology and the philosophical foundation of the nation, functions as an orientational framework in state life and serves as a value reference for the implementation of national activities (Purwito, 2016; Ananda et al., 2022; Sari & Najicha, 2022). Several studies indicate that the internalization of Pancasila values is facing increasing pressure in the context of globalization, which has transformed patterns of social interaction, cultural orientations, and the references of younger generations. Consequently, symptoms of declining appreciation and practice of Pancasila values have emerged in everyday life (Wijayanti et al., 2022; Adhari & Dewi, 2022). The influence of globalization on the development of national culture and the emergence of cultural acculturation have also been identified as factors contributing to shifts in national value orientations (Nurhaidah & Musa, 2015; Surahman, 2013).

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Therefore, the urgency of Pancasila at the national level extends beyond its position as the state ideology and has shifted toward the issue of how these values can be consistently internalized amid rapid social changes. In this context, young people constitute a strategic group because various studies position them as the successors of national sustainability as well as actors who influence the direction of social change and development (Khansa & Dewi, 2022; Fransisca et al., 2024). Youth studies have also shown that structured development through organizational platforms can shape the character, discipline, and leadership capacity of younger generations (Sulaksono & Permana, 2016).

Based on the Monitoring and Evaluation Report on the Implementation of the Paskibraka Selection at the Provincial Level of the Special Capital Region of Jakarta, Central Jakarta City, conducted from 14–17 May 2024 and officially endorsed by the Acting Director of Paskibraka Program Implementation on 6 June 2024 (Directorate of Paskibraka Program Implementation, 2024), several findings were identified: (a) during the parade selection stage, the organizing committee from the National Unity and Politics Agency (Kesbangpol) participated in assessing prospective participants. However, according to the Decree of the Head of the National Unity and Politics Agency of the Special Capital Region of Jakarta Province Number e-0082 of 2024 concerning the Appointment of Assessment and Assistance Teams for the Implementation of Technical Policy Formulation and Strengthening Activities in the Field of Pancasila Ideology and National Character, under the sub-activity of Paskibraka formation with the detailed activity of Paskibraka joint selection and training at the provincial level in 2024, Kesbangpol personnel were authorized to conduct assessments only during the personality evaluation stage; (b) no eye examination stage was found during the health screening process despite being part of the standard requirements; and (c) duplicate participant names were identified in the Paskibraka Transparency Application when male and female participant data were displayed together.

According to Dunn (2018), effectiveness refers to the extent to which a policy achieves valuable outcomes, namely how successfully a policy attains its predetermined objectives. The policy objective, as mandated in Article 6 of BPIP Regulation Number 3 of 2022, is to mainstream Pancasila within the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia under the principle of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* through the formation of Paskibraka as the nation's outstanding young men and women. However, in practice, the implementation of the Paskibraka formation stage has not been entirely effective in achieving these objectives. This is evidenced by discrepancies between the implementation process and established standards and regulations, including the involvement of Kesbangpol personnel in parade selection assessments beyond their authority, the absence of eye examinations during health screening, and the discovery of duplicate participant data in the Paskibraka Transparency Application. These findings indicate that the technical stages of the selection process have not been implemented consistently in accordance with established standards.

Data from the Statistics Indonesia (BPS) of the Special Capital Region of Jakarta Province in 2021 show that only 69.85 percent of residents aged five years and above in the Thousand Islands had internet access, mobile phone ownership stood at 66.86 percent, and internet usage via computers was only 0.18 percent. Sectoral statistics from the Provincial Government of the Special Capital Region of Jakarta also recorded that several urban villages in the Thousand Islands still lacked optimal internet signal coverage, while the JakWifi service was available at only 35 locations (BPS DKI Jakarta Province, 2022). This condition indicates that the implementation of Paskibraka selection, which relies heavily on digital portals, document uploads, and online tests, has the potential to create unequal access for participants in island areas. Therefore, the issue is not merely related to selection outcomes but also concerns whether all participants have been given equal opportunities to participate in the selection process from the initial registration stage. A standardized national selection system should be accompanied by affirmative mechanisms or access support for regions with limited digital infrastructure so that the principle of equity, as defined by Dunn (2018) as the fair distribution of policy benefits among target groups, can be realized within the Paskibraka Program.

Another issue concerns the post-implementation stage of the Heritage Flag-raising assignment. Based on the Paskibraka Monitoring Report by the Directorate of Monitoring, the Pancasila Ideology Development Agency (BPIP), follow-up development activities for former Paskibraka members serving as Pancasila Ambassadors have not yet been implemented in several provinces (Directorate of Paskibraka Program Implementation, 2024). Article 11 Paragraph (2) of Presidential Regulation Number 51 of 2022 mandates two forms of follow-up development, namely education and training on Pancasila Ideology Development, as well as activities to mainstream Pancasila values. The absence of these two forms of follow-up development indicates that the Paskibraka Program has not adequately fulfilled policy needs, as Dunn (2018) argues that adequacy relates to the extent to which a policy can meet needs or solve the problems it is intended to address. The failure to implement education and training on Pancasila Ideology Development and Pancasila mainstreaming activities, as mandated by Presidential Regulation Number 51 of 2022, has resulted in an incomplete cadre development process. Consequently, the Paskibraka Program has not been sufficiently capable of ensuring the sustainability of Pancasila ideological development and strengthening the role of former Paskibraka members as agents of Pancasila mainstreaming within society.

These various inconsistencies and implementation dynamics highlight the importance of conducting an evaluation of the Paskibraka Program policy. Policy evaluation is necessary to analyze whether the established policy has achieved its objectives effectively, efficiently, adequately, equitably, responsively, and appropriately, as explained by Dunn (2018). This evaluation aims not only to measure the overall success of the policy but also to analyze whether policy implementation complies with prevailing regulations, national values, and the spirit of inclusiveness mandated by legislation.

William N. Dunn's evaluation model is considered relevant because the issues surrounding the Paskibraka Program are not limited to program outcomes but also involve the quality of the policy implementation process. Empirical findings from the implementation of the Paskibraka Program indicate problems related to effectiveness in the selection process and follow-up development, efficiency in governance and the utilization of digital systems, equitable access to the selection process for participants in areas with limited digital infrastructure, government responsiveness to public criticism regarding the use of religious attributes, and the appropriateness of policy implementation in achieving the objectives of Pancasila ideological development. In addition, issues concerning selection transparency, overlapping authority among implementing actors, and suboptimal inter-agency coordination demonstrate that policy evaluation must be conducted comprehensively, focusing not only on program outputs but also on policy processes and governance.

As a special administrative region, the Special Capital Region of Jakarta (DKI Jakarta) is commonly regarded as a benchmark for the implementation of national programs and should serve as a model for ideal policy implementation, including the Paskibraka Program. This province possesses highly complex governance arrangements because it is an autonomous region while simultaneously maintaining strong vertical relations with the central government (Supriyadi, 2022). Data from Statistics Indonesia (BPS) indicate that young people aged 16–30 account for 23.36 percent of DKI Jakarta's total population, with youth internet access reaching 98.46 percent and mobile phone ownership at 98.78 percent (BPS DKI Jakarta Province, 2021). Nevertheless, these provincial averages conceal internal disparities, particularly in the Thousand Islands Regency, where only 19.84 percent of young people are still attending school, and the proportion of youth who have completed higher education is the lowest in DKI Jakarta, at 10.73 percent.

Therefore, DKI Jakarta is important to select not only because of its high capacity and strategic status but also because significant disparities in access and opportunities exist within the same province. These conditions make DKI Jakarta a relevant location for examining whether the implementation of the Paskibraka Program is equitable, sensitive to regional contexts, and consistent with the program's national

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objectives. Furthermore, DKI Jakarta is a special governmental entity in its capacity as an autonomous region with important functions and roles in supporting the administration of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (Utami, 2018), causing policy implementation dynamics in DKI Jakarta to often differ from those in other regions. Based on the foregoing explanation, this study is entitled "Policy Evaluation of the Implementation of the Paskibraka Program at the Provincial Level of DKI Jakarta." In general, this study aims to analyze the effectiveness, efficiency, adequacy, equity, and responsiveness of the Paskibraka Program implementation policy at the provincial level of DKI Jakarta. More specifically, this study is expected to generate recommendations that provide benefits through the description of policy evaluation results and contribute to quality improvement, particularly in relation to the Paskibraka Program, while serving as a reference for BPIP in formulating policies for program implementation.

2. Methods

This study employed a policy research approach in the form of applied policy evaluation developed through a case study method. This method was applied within a qualitative approach to gain an in-depth understanding of a phenomenon in its real-life context, particularly when the boundaries between the phenomenon and its context cannot be clearly distinguished (Yin, 2014).

This study adopted a descriptive qualitative approach requiring both primary and secondary data to support the policy evaluation process. The collected data reflected the analytical needs concerning the implementation of the Paskibraka Program in DKI Jakarta, which was examined based on Dunn's six dimensions of policy evaluation: effectiveness, efficiency, adequacy, equity, responsiveness, and appropriateness.

The study employed informant coding to maintain confidentiality while facilitating data analysis. Codes B1, B2, and B3 were assigned to BPIP informants as policy formulators; codes P1, P2, and P3 to provincial committee informants as policy implementers; and codes D1, D2, and D3 to beneficiary informants. Research informants were intentionally selected through purposive sampling, namely the selection of informants based on the consideration that they possessed knowledge, experience, and direct involvement in the implementation of the Paskibraka Program at the provincial level of DKI Jakarta.

Data were collected through in-depth interviews and official policy document studies, as described below: in-depth interviews and document analysis. This study employed the qualitative data analysis technique developed by Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña (2014). According to Miles et al. (2014), qualitative data analysis is an interactive and continuous process that begins with data collection and continues until the research report is completed. Data analysis consists of four interrelated components: data collection, data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing and verification.

3. Results and Discussion

In assessing the implementation of the Paskibraka Program at the provincial level, this study employs a policy evaluation approach as formulated by William N. Dunn (2018), which emphasizes the importance of measuring six dimensions of policy evaluation: effectiveness, efficiency, adequacy, equity, responsiveness, and appropriateness. These six dimensions are used to assess the extent to which the implementation of the Paskibraka Program in DKI Jakarta Province has fulfilled the principles of good public policy.

Furthermore, in the context of ideological development through youth programs, Taliziduhu Ndaha (2011) argues that the government is obligated to ensure the fulfillment of society's ideological needs through adequate public services, including nation-building character development for the younger generation. This

perspective is consistent with Sadu Wasistiono (2013), who emphasizes that the government has the responsibility to guide society so that it remains within the framework of the state ideology.

Therefore, the following interview findings will be analyzed to assess how these policy practices have been implemented in the field based on those principles. Based on the findings obtained from nine informants representing Paskibraka Program policymakers, policy implementers, and program beneficiaries, the researcher compared the established benchmarks or criteria with the data collected in order to determine the level of success of the Paskibraka Program policy. There are six policy aspects to be discussed, in accordance with Presidential Regulation Number 51 of 2022 and its derivative regulation, BPIP Regulation Number 3 of 2022.

Effectiveness

The evaluation of effectiveness in this study was conducted on six policy components of the Paskibraka Program in DKI Jakarta Province, namely: the establishment of Paskibraka, the implementation of Paskibraka duties, the appointment of former Paskibraka members as Pancasila Ambassadors, the implementation of the duties of former Paskibraka Pancasila Ambassadors, follow-up development for former Paskibraka Pancasila Ambassadors, and the development of Paskibraka-related activities. The evaluation was carried out through in-depth interviews with representatives from BPIP, the National and Political Unity Agency (Kesbangpol), technical committees, DPPI, and former Paskibraka members, and was supported by regulatory analysis and program implementation documents.

a. Effectiveness of the Establishment of Paskibraka

The establishment phase of Paskibraka in DKI Jakarta Province in 2024 was considered to have been implemented in accordance with the stages stipulated in the regulations. Informant B1 explained that the establishment procedures had been clearly regulated, ranging from the national insight pretest to health examinations, general intelligence assessments, marching regulation tests, and personality evaluations. Informant P2 stated that the national insight pretest served as an initial screening mechanism to ensure that prospective participants understood the fundamental ideology of the state. Informant D3, as a participant, perceived that the establishment process provided a profound understanding of national values; therefore, technically, the objectives of this stage had been achieved.

These technical achievements are in line with Article 5 of BPIP Regulation Number 3 of 2022, which mandates three stages of establishment: recruitment and selection, centralized education and training, and the official inauguration of Paskibraka members. At the operational level, DKI Jakarta Provincial Kesbangpol Decree Number e-0082 of 2024 established an Assessment Team consisting of 16 members and a Mentoring Team involving 15 members from various institutions, as required under Article 21 of BPIP Regulation Number 3 of 2022. Data on participants from the six administrative regions of DKI Jakarta indicate that recruitment was conducted across all regions, with average final scores ranging competitively from 90.50 to 94.35 points.

b. Effectiveness of the Implementation of Paskibraka Duties

Article 7 of Presidential Regulation Number 51 of 2022 stipulates that Paskibraka members are assigned to participate in ceremonies commemorating the Proclamation of Indonesian Independence Day and Pancasila Day. In the research setting, the implementation of duties during the August 17, 2024 ceremony serves as operational evidence of this mandate. However, Informants B2 and D1 highlighted a tendency toward *symbolic compliance*, a condition in which policy implementation focuses more on fulfilling formal and administrative requirements than on achieving the substantive objectives of the policy. This tendency is reflected in the absence of a long-term evaluation mechanism to determine the extent to which

participation in Paskibraka influences participants' social behavior, leadership, and the application of Pancasila values after the program has concluded.

Therefore, the implementation of Paskibraka duties in DKI Jakarta Province in 2024 was effective in terms of the technical aspects of state ceremonial functions but has not been fully effective in terms of the substantive objective of sustainable ideological character development. This finding is consistent with Dunn's (2018) definition that effectiveness is measured not only by formal success but also by the achievement of meaningful outcomes in accordance with established objectives.

c. Effectiveness of the Appointment of Former Paskibraka Members as Pancasila Ambassadors

In DKI Jakarta Province, the primary finding consistently reported by all informants was that the management board of the DKI Jakarta Provincial DPPI had not yet been inaugurated at the time the research was conducted. Informant B1 stated that the provincial DPPI inauguration had not taken place; this statement was reinforced by Informant B2, who explained that although three former national-level Paskibraka members from 2021–2022 were available, the DKI Jakarta provincial board had not yet been established. Informant P1 added that the primary obstacle was the absence of a provincial DPPI organizational structure. Informant D1, representing the Central DPPI, and Informant D2, who was expected to become part of the Provincial DPPI management board, directly confirmed this condition.

This situation demonstrates a clear gap between regulatory mandates and their implementation in practice. Administratively, the appointments have been carried out as a symbolic status; however, operationally, they have not been followed by the establishment of an organizational structure capable of carrying out ideological cadre development functions. Referring to Dunn's (2018) definition, effectiveness at the appointment stage has not yet been achieved because the substantive objective of creating active and sustainable agents for mainstreaming Pancasila values in society cannot be realized without a legitimate Provincial DPPI organizational structure.

d. Effectiveness of the Implementation of the Duties of Former Paskibraka Pancasila Ambassadors

Given that the DKI Jakarta Provincial DPPI management board has not yet been inaugurated, the implementation of the duties of former Paskibraka Pancasila Ambassadors at the provincial level has not been carried out in a structured manner. Informant D2 stated that current activities remain incidental and depend on specific occasions, such as national commemorations or alumni community activities. Informants B1 and B2 explained that, conceptually, DPPI is responsible for participating in social activities, civic education, and youth development; however, in DKI Jakarta Province, these activities have not been organized systematically and no formal work program has been established.

The budget allocation for this sub-program in the Revised Budget Implementation Document (P-DPA) of DKI Jakarta Provincial Kesbangpol for 2024 was IDR 0.00. The absence of both budget allocation and an implementing organizational structure at the provincial level has prevented the achievement of the substantive objective of this sub-program, namely transforming former Paskibraka members into active agents of Pancasila ideological development within society. Therefore, effectiveness at this stage has not been achieved, as supported by interviews with all informants and budget documents.

e. Effectiveness of Follow-up Development for Former Paskibraka Pancasila Ambassadors

The interview results indicate that follow-up development has not yet been implemented as an official sub-program that is structured, budgeted, and equipped with performance indicators. Alumni activities still exist, but they are primarily community-based, incidental, and cannot yet be categorized as formal implementation of follow-up development as mandated by the regulations. Informants B1 and B3 stated that several components of the Paskibraka Program have not yet been implemented due to budget

limitations and the continued focus on the establishment phase. Informant D1 explained that, because appropriate budget support is unavailable, implementation still relies on alumni community initiatives. Informant D2, who was expected to coordinate development activities at the provincial level, confirmed that the education and training programs on Pancasila Ideology Development mandated by Article 11 of Presidential Regulation Number 51 of 2022 have not yet been implemented.

These statements are consistent with budget data indicating an allocation of IDR 0.00 for this sub-program and with BPIP's Paskibraka Monitoring Report, which recorded that follow-up development activities had not been implemented in several provinces. Therefore, the effectiveness of the follow-up development stage in DKI Jakarta Province in 2024 is considered not to have been achieved. Interview findings, budget documents, and monitoring reports consistently indicate that the policy objectives at this stage have not yet been realized.

f. Effectiveness of the Development of Paskibraka and Former Paskibraka Activities

In DKI Jakarta Province in 2024, this sub-program did not receive any budget allocation (IDR 0.00). As a result, the structured development of Paskibraka-related activities has not been implemented. Informants D1 and D2 stated that current alumni community activities still depend largely on individual or community initiatives without institutional support from the regional government. Informant P1 added that the development of such activities requires cross-institutional coordination, which has not yet been consistently established.

Referring to Dunn's (2018) definition of effectiveness, policy objectives cannot be considered achieved when the activities intended to support them are not implemented in a structured and sustainable manner. Therefore, the effectiveness of the development stage of Paskibraka-related activities in DKI Jakarta Province in 2024 is considered not to have been achieved.

Efficiency

According to William N. Dunn, efficiency in policy evaluation refers to the amount of effort, cost, time, and resources required to achieve a certain level of effectiveness. A policy is considered efficient when it is capable of producing optimal benefits or outcomes with relatively minimal resource utilization. Therefore, efficiency is not only related to the size of the budget but also concerns the appropriate use of resources, the optimization of work systems, implementation coordination, and the utilization of technology to support the achievement of policy objectives (Dunn, 2018, p. 203).

a. Efficiency of the Establishment of Paskibraka

Informant B2 stated that the budget allocation was relatively adequate to support the technical selection process; however, it was not yet optimal for financing the development of more substantive ideological assessment instruments. Informants P1 and P2 confirmed that the selection process had been implemented with adequate human resources, although there was still a considerable manual administrative burden because the Transparency Application had not been fully integrated. The 2024 BPIP Monitoring and Evaluation Report recorded the occurrence of duplicate participant names in the Transparency Application when male and female participant data were displayed together. This situation required the committee to conduct manual verification, thereby reducing time and labor efficiency. As a result, the benefits of utilizing technology have not been fully optimized in accordance with Dunn's (2018) principle of efficiency.

b. Efficiency of the Implementation of Paskibraka Duties

Informant B1 considered the budget allocation to be sufficient for the implementation of state ceremonies, as evidenced by the successful execution of the flag-raising and flag-lowering duties on August 17, 2024.

However, Informant B2 stated that the budget had not been designed to measure post-assignment ideological impacts. Articles 5 and 7 of Presidential Regulation Number 51 of 2022 indeed position duty implementation as a core stage; nevertheless, measuring its substantive success requires additional instruments that are not yet available. Consequently, efficiency has not been achieved in terms of converting budget allocations into verifiable substantive outcomes.

c. Efficiency of the Appointment of Former Paskibraka Members as Pancasila Ambassadors

The appointment of former Paskibraka members as Pancasila Ambassadors received a budget allocation of only IDR 33,600,000.00, equivalent to 0.00348% of the total 2024 budget of the DKI Jakarta Provincial Kesbangpol. Expenditure details were divided between Office Service Expenditures (36.01%) and Building and Facility Rental Expenditures (63.99%). This composition reflects activities that are symbolic or ceremonial in nature and implemented on a very limited scale.

d. Efficiency of the Implementation of the Duties of Former Paskibraka Pancasila Ambassadors

Informants D1 and D2 explained that, in practice, activities carried out by former Paskibraka members in DKI Jakarta Province are largely based on voluntary efforts and support from alumni communities, without official funding from the regional government. Informant B2 explained that this condition contradicts Article 10 of Presidential Regulation Number 51 of 2022, which obliges former Paskibraka members to carry out four substantive responsibilities. Therefore, efficiency at this stage cannot be assessed conventionally because no resource conversion process is taking place; the absence of budgetary input simultaneously reflects the absence of financial commitment to the regulatory mandate.

e. Efficiency of Follow-up Development for Former Paskibraka Pancasila Ambassadors

Informant B1 explained that follow-up development activities are generally costly because they involve training modules, expert resource persons, and a broad participant reach. Without a budget allocation, this sub-program cannot be implemented by the DKI Jakarta Provincial Kesbangpol. Informant D2 stated that this situation places former Paskibraka members in a difficult position: although they have been designated as Pancasila Ambassadors, no capacity-building efforts accompany that status. Efficiency at this stage has a dual implication. First, the absence of inputs means that no outcomes can be evaluated. Second, structurally, a zero-budget allocation for a sub-program mandated by law reflects inefficiency in resource organization at the provincial level.

f. Efficiency of the Development of Paskibraka and Former Paskibraka Activities

Data triangulation results indicate that policy adequacy has not yet been achieved in two main aspects. First, the technical selection stage has not met the established standards. The 2024 BPIP Monitoring and Evaluation Report (Chapter II, Section E, Point 5b) noted the absence of eye examinations during the health screening process, even though the DKI Jakarta Provincial Kesbangpol Decree Number e-0082 of 2024 (Third Provision) stipulates that Health Examinations and Parade Tests are mandatory components of the selection process. Second, the policy has not sufficiently addressed the need for ideological development after the inauguration stage. Article 11 Paragraph (2) of Presidential Regulation Number 51 of 2022 mandates two forms of follow-up development: education and training on Pancasila Ideology Development and Pancasila mainstreaming activities. However, neither was implemented in DKI Jakarta Province in 2024. Informants B1, B3, D1, and D2 stated that budget limitations (IDR 0.00 in the 2024 Revised Budget Implementation Document of Kesbangpol) and the absence of a Provincial DPPI management structure are the two root causes that reinforce one another.

Adequacy

In this study, the adequacy dimension was analyzed across all stages of the Paskibraka Program based on interview findings and policy document analysis. The evaluation was conducted to assess the extent to which program implementation was able to address the needs for character development, leadership, nationalism, and the internalization of Pancasila values among both participants and alumni of the Paskibraka Program.

a. Adequacy of the Establishment of Paskibraka

The establishment stage of the Paskibraka Program in DKI Jakarta Province in 2024 was considered sufficiently adequate to technically select prospective participants and implement the education and training stages. Informant B1 stated that the selection process covered administrative requirements, health examinations, general intelligence assessments, marching regulations, and personality evaluations, in accordance with Article 21 of BPIP Regulation Number 3 of 2022. Informants P2 and P3 confirmed that the completeness of the selection stages enabled the committee to conduct multidimensional assessments of prospective participants.

b. Adequacy of the Implementation of Paskibraka Duties

The implementation of Paskibraka duties in 2024 was considered sufficient to fulfill the technical requirements of state ceremonies. Article 7 of Presidential Regulation Number 51 of 2022 stipulates that Paskibraka members are assigned to perform duties during the commemoration ceremonies of the Proclamation of Indonesian Independence Day and Pancasila Day; both were successfully implemented in DKI Jakarta Province. Informants B1 and P1 considered that the implementation met protocol standards, while Informant D3, as a participant, stated that the experience left a profound impression.

However, if adequacy is measured in terms of fulfilling the need for sustainable character development, the implementation of duties during only two national ceremonies is considered insufficient. Informants B2 and D1 stated that the implementation of duties should serve as an entry point rather than the endpoint of ideological development. Without continuity through the appointment and follow-up development stages, the substantive benefits derived from the experience risk being lost in the long term. Therefore, adequacy at this stage is partial: adequate in terms of ceremonial technical aspects but inadequate in terms of fulfilling the need for sustainable ideological cadre development.

c. Adequacy of the Appointment of Former Paskibraka Members as Pancasila Ambassadors

Articles 9 and 10 of Presidential Regulation Number 51 of 2022 stipulate that the appointment process must be followed by substantive obligations to be carried out by Pancasila Ambassadors. Due to the absence of an established organizational structure, these obligations have not yet been fulfilled in a structured manner. Informants D1 and D2 confirmed that this situation has weakened alumni networks and limited opportunities for actualization. Therefore, adequacy at the appointment stage has not been achieved: although formal status has been granted, mechanisms enabling the actual implementation of Pancasila Ambassador responsibilities are not yet available.

d. Adequacy of the Implementation of the Duties of Former Paskibraka Pancasila Ambassadors

Adequacy at this stage is highly dependent on the existence of the Provincial DPPI management structure as the implementing body and the availability of budgetary support for operations. The budget allocation for this sub-program was IDR 0.00, while the Provincial DPPI management board had not yet been inaugurated. These two conditions have rendered the implementation of the duties of former Paskibraka members inadequate, both institutionally and in terms of resource availability. This statement is reinforced

by the consistent views of all nine informants, who identified this sub-program as the component most in need of improvement.

e. Adequacy of Follow-up Development for Former Paskibraka Pancasila Ambassadors

Interview findings and budget documents indicate that follow-up development activities in DKI Jakarta Province in 2024 had not been implemented. Informant B1 stated that no specific budget had been allocated at the provincial level for education and training on Pancasila Ideology Development. Informant D2 explained that Paskibraka participants who had been appointed as Pancasila Ambassadors had not received any advanced training modules. The budget data further reinforce this finding, showing an allocation of IDR 0.00. Therefore, adequacy at the follow-up development stage has not been achieved because no activities were implemented to fulfill the regulatory mandate.

f. Adequacy of the Development of Paskibraka and Former Paskibraka Activities

In terms of participant access, disparities are particularly evident in the Administrative Regency of the Thousand Islands. The 2024 BPIP Monitoring and Evaluation Report (Chapter II, Section E, Point 4) recorded that prospective provincial-level Paskibraka participants were divided into six regional groups. Internal selection data showed that the Thousand Islands sent only five participants, whereas South Jakarta and East Jakarta each sent 20 participants. During the registration stage, of the 98 applicants from the Thousand Islands, only 92 successfully uploaded their documents, and 91 passed the administrative screening.

Data from Statistics Indonesia (BPS) for DKI Jakarta Province in 2021 indicate that the percentage of residents aged five years and above who accessed the internet in the Thousand Islands was only 69.85%, mobile phone ownership was 66.86%, and internet use through computers was merely 0.18%. Sectoral statistics from BPS DKI Jakarta Province in 2022 also recorded that JakWifi services in the Thousand Islands were available at only 35 locations. Informant P1 confirmed that these limitations directly affected the effectiveness of the Paskibraka Transparency Application as an online registration system.

Equity

According to William N. Dunn, equity in policy evaluation refers to the fair distribution of benefits, costs, opportunities, and policy burdens among the groups targeted by the policy. Equity is not only related to equal access but also concerns fairness in program implementation, resource distribution, opportunities for participation, and the treatment received by all policy target groups (Dunn, 2018, pp. 204–206). Therefore, the equity dimension in this study is used to assess the extent to which the Paskibraka Program in DKI Jakarta Province in 2024 has been implemented fairly and equitably for all participants, alumni, and stakeholders involved in the program.

The evaluation of equity was conducted across all stages of the Paskibraka Program based on interview findings and policy document analysis. The assessment focused not only on the distribution of opportunities to become Paskibraka members but also on equitable access to development programs, the use of selection systems, the implementation of follow-up development activities, and institutional support for Paskibraka alumni.

a. Equity in the Establishment of Paskibraka

Based on the interviews, Informants B1, B2, B3, P1, P3, D1, and D2 stated that the application still had several issues, including data duplication, the absence of a progress bar, inflexible document upload formats, and the unavailability of a direct helpdesk service. Differences in digital literacy, device accessibility, and technical support among participants may result in inequalities in participating in the selection process.

The involvement of personnel whose expertise does not align with parade assessment requirements may also affect the objectivity and fairness of participant evaluations. Equity is not only related to equal opportunities to participate in the selection process but also to ensuring that all participants are assessed by evaluators who possess equivalent standards and competencies. Based on the interviews, seven informants B1, B2, B3, P1, P3, D1, and D2 confirmed the involvement of Kesbangpol personnel in parade assessments. Informant P2 considered such involvement part of Kesbangpol's responsibilities, whereas Informant D3 could not confirm whether Kesbangpol personnel conducted the assessments or merely assisted in their implementation.

Another issue, namely the absence of eye examinations, also indicates that equal standards of participant assessment have not yet been fully guaranteed. Equity in the establishment of Paskibraka does not merely mean that all prospective participants have an opportunity to participate in the selection process, but also that all participants are assessed according to identical standards in compliance with technical regulations. Based on the interviews, Informants B1, B2, B3, P1, P3, D1, and D2 confirmed that eye examinations were not conducted, while Informants P2 and D3 did not provide substantive confirmation.

b. Equity in the Implementation of Paskibraka Duties

Informants B1 and P1 explained that equitable distribution of assignments should not be interpreted as equal numbers of assignments because the limited number of personnel required for state ceremonies makes this impossible. Rather, equity should be understood as providing equal opportunities to attain those positions. In this regard, participants from the Thousand Islands Administrative Regency, despite having the smallest number of participants (five participants), still achieved competitive final scores (an average of 91.41 points), indicating that assignment opportunities remained available. Therefore, equity at the duty implementation stage is partial: opportunities are available, but access limitations at earlier stages continue to reduce substantive equality.

c. Equity in the Appointment of Former Paskibraka Members as Pancasila Ambassadors

Informants D1 and D2 stated that several other provinces in Indonesia have already established active Provincial DPPI management boards, whereas the DKI Jakarta Provincial DPPI management board has not yet been inaugurated. Consequently, former Paskibraka members in DKI Jakarta have more limited access to development activities and national networks than their counterparts in other provinces. Therefore, equity at the appointment stage has only been achieved at the administrative level but not in terms of equal access to benefits across provinces nationwide.

d. Equity in the Implementation of the Duties of Former Paskibraka Pancasila Ambassadors

Equity cannot be assessed for a sub-program that has not been implemented. In DKI Jakarta Province in 2024, the implementation of the duties of former Paskibraka Pancasila Ambassadors had not yet been carried out structurally, with a budget allocation of IDR 0.00 and a Provincial DPPI management board that had not been inaugurated. Informant D2 stated that existing activities were incidental and undertaken only by a small number of alumni based on personal initiative.

e. Equity in Follow-up Development for Former Paskibraka Pancasila Ambassadors

Informant B1 explained that several provinces have already initiated advanced Pancasila Ideology Development training programs supported by regional government funding, whereas DKI Jakarta Province has not. This disparity creates a contradiction: a province that is expected to serve as a benchmark has not yet developed the capacity to implement follow-up development programs already available in other provinces. Therefore, the equity dimension at this stage indicates that DKI Jakarta Province lags behind several other provinces.

f. Equity in the Development of Paskibraka and Former Paskibraka Activities

In terms of participant access, disparities are particularly evident in the Thousand Islands Administrative Regency. The 2024 BPIP Monitoring and Evaluation Report (Chapter II, Section E, Point 4) recorded that prospective provincial-level Paskibraka participants were divided into six regional groups. Internal selection data showed that the Thousand Islands sent only five participants, whereas South Jakarta and East Jakarta each sent 20 participants. During the registration process, of the 98 applicants from the Thousand Islands, only 92 successfully uploaded their documents, and 91 passed the administrative screening.

Data from Statistics Indonesia (BPS) for DKI Jakarta Province in 2021 indicate that the percentage of residents aged five years and above who accessed the internet in the Thousand Islands was only 69.85%, mobile phone ownership was 66.86%, and internet use through computers was merely 0.18%. Sectoral statistics from BPS DKI Jakarta Province in 2022 also recorded that JakWifi services in the Thousand Islands were available at only 35 locations. Informant P1 confirmed that these limitations directly affected the effectiveness of the Paskibraka Transparency Application as an online registration system.

Responsiveness

The evaluation of responsiveness was conducted across all stages of the Paskibraka Program based on interview findings and policy document analysis. The assessment aimed to examine how program administrators responded to various implementation needs and challenges, including the need for development programs, the use of digital systems, the sustainability of alumni development, and the need to strengthen the institutional capacity of Paskibraka organizations.

a. Responsiveness of the Establishment of Paskibraka

The interview findings indicate that responsiveness at this stage has not yet been fully optimized. Informant P1 stated that a user support feature was not yet available, while the 2024 BPIP Monitoring and Evaluation Report recorded instances of duplicate participant names in the application. Informant D3 added that participants in areas with limited internet connectivity experienced difficulties using the application at certain stages. Therefore, responsiveness at the establishment stage is considered partial: the application addresses the need for transparency but has not comprehensively addressed users' technical needs.

b. Responsiveness of the Implementation of Paskibraka Duties

The responsiveness of the appointment of former Paskibraka members as Pancasila Ambassadors was examined through the government's ability to respond to the need for establishing Provincial DPPI management structures. Article 9 of Presidential Regulation Number 51 of 2022 mandates these appointments and implicitly requires the establishment of operational management structures, as has occurred in several other provinces. The fact that the DKI Jakarta Provincial DPPI management board has not yet been inaugurated indicates a delayed government response to institutional needs. Informants D1 and D2 confirmed that prospective board members had already been identified, but the inauguration process had not yet taken place. Informant B1 explained that this was related to unfinished coordination between BPIP and the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government. Therefore, responsiveness at the appointment stage has not been achieved; the need to establish a provincial management structure has been identified, but an appropriate and timely institutional response has not been provided.

c. Responsiveness of the Appointment of Former Paskibraka Members as Pancasila Ambassadors

The interview findings indicate that the absence of a structured post-appointment development framework has prevented alumni from obtaining clear guidance regarding the forms of contribution they can make in

mainstreaming Pancasila values. This condition demonstrates that the program has not yet been fully responsive in providing opportunities for alumni to actualize their roles after the appointment process.

The findings also indicate that alumni needs related to capacity development, advanced training, and involvement in youth development activities have not yet been adequately addressed through systematic programs. Several informants stated that post-appointment activities still depend largely on initiatives undertaken independently by organizations and alumni communities.

Furthermore, the suboptimal alumni data management and communication systems have resulted in some former Paskibraka Pancasila Ambassadors not receiving timely and equitable access to information regarding development activities. This condition affects alumni participation in follow-up programs and activities aimed at strengthening Pancasila ideology.

Based on regulatory analysis, Presidential Regulation Number 51 of 2022 positions former Paskibraka Pancasila Ambassadors as part of the continuous process of Pancasila ideological development for younger generations. Therefore, appointments should be accompanied by a development system capable of responding to alumni needs in carrying out their roles as agents of mainstreaming Pancasila values within society.

d. Responsiveness of the Implementation of the Duties of Former Paskibraka Pancasila Ambassadors

Responsiveness at the stage of implementing the duties of former Paskibraka Pancasila Ambassadors centers on one question: to what extent has the government responded to the needs of Paskibraka alumni in carrying out their responsibilities as Pancasila Ambassadors? In DKI Jakarta Province in 2024, this question cannot be answered affirmatively because there was neither a budget allocation nor an implementing management structure.

Informant D2 stated that Paskibraka alumni require concrete channels for actualization, whether through civic activities, community service, or participation in youth forums. In the absence of an institutional response from the provincial government, these needs have been addressed through unstructured alumni community initiatives. Therefore, responsiveness at this stage is considered not to have been achieved because the government's response has not been proportional to the needs of the target group.

e. Responsiveness of Follow-up Development for Former Paskibraka Members

In DKI Jakarta Province in 2024, follow-up development activities were not implemented, as indicated by the IDR 0.00 allocation in the Revised Budget Implementation Document (P-DPA) of the DKI Jakarta Provincial Kesbangpol. Informant B3 stated that these needs had actually been identified in BPIP's internal reports but had not been followed by budgetary responses at the provincial level. Informant D2 explained that alumni, as the primary target group, had not yet received institutional responses that addressed their post-program needs. Therefore, responsiveness at this stage is considered not to have been achieved.

f. Responsiveness of the Development of Paskibraka and Former Paskibraka Activities

At the DKI Jakarta provincial level, the situation is different. Interviews with five key informants (B1, B2, P1, D1, and D2) revealed one consistent finding: the DKI Jakarta Provincial DPPI management board had not yet been inaugurated at the time this research was conducted. Informant B1 explained that the inauguration had not taken place because coordination between BPIP and the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government had not been completed. Informant B2 stated that although three former national-level Paskibraka members from 2021–2022 had already been identified, the provincial management board had not yet been established. Informants D1 and D2 directly confirmed that the names of prospective board members had

already been submitted to BPIP but had not yet been followed by the issuance of appointment decrees by the Head of the Agency or by an official inauguration.

The 2024 Revised Budget Implementation Document (P-DPA) of the DKI Jakarta Provincial Kesbangpol allocated IDR 0.00 for the implementation of the duties of former Paskibraka Pancasila Ambassadors, reflecting the absence of financial commitment to operationalize the policy. Therefore, the responsiveness of the regional government regarding the four follow-up sub-programs is considered not to have been achieved.

Appropriateness

The evaluation of appropriateness was conducted across all stages of the Paskibraka Program based on interview findings and policy document analysis. The assessment aimed to examine the alignment between policy objectives, program implementation, the needs of young people, and the implementation of Paskibraka Program regulations at the regional level.

a. Appropriateness of the Establishment of Paskibraka

Based on the interview findings, seven out of nine informants, namely B1, B2, B3, P1, P3, D1, and D2, stated that eye examinations were not conducted during the health screening of prospective provincial-level Paskibraka participants in DKI Jakarta Province in 2024. Informant P2 indicated limited knowledge regarding the issue, while Informant D3 stated that they were unaware that eye examinations had not been carried out. These findings suggest an inconsistency between the implementation of health screening in practice and the technical selection standards that should have been applied.

b. Appropriateness of the Implementation of Paskibraka Duties

The implementation of Paskibraka duties during the Independence Day ceremony of the Republic of Indonesia represents the direct implementation of Article 7 of Presidential Regulation Number 51 of 2022. These duties were appropriately targeted at the technical ceremonial level, as demonstrated by the successful execution of the ceremony in DKI Jakarta Province in 2024.

However, if appropriateness is measured in terms of alignment with the fundamental values underpinning the policy namely, Pancasila as the state ideology the implementation of duties solely as ceremonial activities is insufficient. Informants B2 and D1 stated that duty implementation should be accompanied by sustainable value internalization mechanisms, both during training and after the activities have been completed. Without such continuity, the substantive benefits of the duties risk being limited to symbolism. Therefore, appropriateness at this stage is considered partial: appropriate technically, but not yet substantively aligned with Pancasila values.

c. Appropriateness of the Appointment of Former Paskibraka Members as Pancasila Ambassadors

In DKI Jakarta Province in 2024, the administrative appointment process had been completed, but it had not been followed by the inauguration of the Provincial DPPI management board. Informants B1 and D2 stated that this condition prevented the fundamental purpose of the appointment serving as active agents of Pancasila from being operationally realized. Therefore, appropriateness at this stage is considered achieved in terms of design and normative objectives but not in terms of substantive implementation.

d. Appropriateness of the Implementation of the Duties of Former Paskibraka Pancasila Ambassadors

According to Article 10 of Presidential Regulation Number 51 of 2022, the duties of former Paskibraka Pancasila Ambassadors encompass four substantive obligations: upholding national consensus, serving as role models in mainstreaming Pancasila values, instilling Pancasila values within society, and carrying out

other assignments designated by the Head of the Agency. These four obligations are appropriately designed as operational manifestations of Pancasila values.

However, the implementation of these obligations in DKI Jakarta Province in 2024 had not yet occurred due to the structural constraints previously described in earlier evaluation dimensions. Therefore, appropriateness at this stage exists at the policy design level but not at the implementation level; the normative objectives are appropriate, but the substantive implementation has not yet materialized.

e. Appropriateness of Follow-up Development for Former Paskibraka Pancasila Ambassadors

Follow-up development in the form of Pancasila Ideology Development education and training, as well as Pancasila mainstreaming activities (Article 11 paragraph (2) of Presidential Regulation Number 51 of 2022), constitutes a highly appropriate design for addressing the need for the continuous internalization of Pancasila values among younger generations. The selection of these development activities aligns with Lickona's (1991) character development theory, which emphasizes the integration of moral knowledge, moral feelings, and moral actions.

However, this well-designed framework had not yet materialized in practice in DKI Jakarta Province in 2024 due to the absence of budget allocations (IDR 0.00) and implementing management structures. Therefore, appropriateness at this stage is considered achieved normatively but not operationally.

f. Appropriateness of the Development of Paskibraka and Former Paskibraka Activities

The development of Paskibraka and former Paskibraka activities was designed to maintain organizational continuity and alumni networks. This design is appropriately targeted because it positions alumni organizations as collective platforms for carrying out the responsibilities of Pancasila Ambassadors.

However, in DKI Jakarta Province in 2024, these development activities had not yet been implemented structurally, as previously demonstrated in the efficiency and adequacy dimensions. Therefore, appropriateness at this stage is consistent with that of other follow-up sub-programs: appropriate in design but not yet operationally appropriate.

At the operational level, policy appropriateness reveals two gaps. First, Decree of the DKI Jakarta Provincial National and Political Unity Agency (Kesbangpol) Number e-0082 of 2024 appropriately established a 16-member Assessment Team consisting of representatives from Kesbangpol, the Indonesian National Armed Forces Garrison Command, Kodam Jaya, the Indonesian National Police, BPIP, the Central DPPI, the Provincial DPPI, the Health Office, psychologists, and practitioners, in accordance with the multidimensional assessment principles stipulated in Article Three of the decree.

However, the 2024 BPIP Monitoring and Evaluation Report identified two implementation discrepancies: (a) Kesbangpol personnel, who according to the decree were assigned to personality assessments, also participated in parade evaluations (Chapter II, Section E, Point 5a); and (b) eye examinations were not conducted during health screenings. Informant P1 confirmed the overlap of authority.

Second, for the four follow-up sub-programs, no technical implementation guidelines existed at the provincial level. Article 11 paragraph (2) of Presidential Regulation Number 51 of 2022 only specifies the types of development activities without translating them into operational implementation guidelines or technical procedures. Consequently, operational appropriateness at the technical selection stage is considered partially achieved, whereas operational appropriateness for the four follow-up sub-programs is considered not achieved.

Based on the analysis of William N. Dunn's (2018) six policy evaluation dimensions applied to the six aspects of the Paskibraka Program, a consistent pattern of findings can be identified across dimensions.

The stages of Paskibraka establishment and the implementation of Paskibraka duties were achieved at the technical and administrative levels but have not yet been fully achieved at the substantive level of value internalization. The four follow-up sub-programs namely the appointment of former Paskibraka members as Pancasila Ambassadors, the implementation of their duties, follow-up development, and the development of Paskibraka activities consistently demonstrate that none of the six evaluation dimensions have been fully achieved.

4. Conclusion

Based on the research findings and discussion, it can be concluded that the policy for implementing the Paskibraka Program in DKI Jakarta Province has not yet been fully optimized in accordance with its policy objectives. This is evident from the following findings: (1) effectiveness has only been achieved at the stages of Paskibraka formation and flag-hoisting duties, while the other four sub-programs (the appointment of former Paskibraka members as Pancasila Ambassadors, the implementation of the duties of former Paskibraka Pancasila Ambassadors, follow-up development, and the development of Paskibraka activities) have not been implemented optimally; (2) efficiency has not been achieved because budget allocations are disproportionate, being concentrated on the formation and duty implementation stages, while the three follow-up sub-programs received no budget allocation at all; (3) adequacy has not been achieved because the program has not been able to address the need for sustainable Pancasila ideological development; (4) equity has not been achieved because disparities in access and quality of development activities still exist across regions, particularly in the Thousand Islands Administrative Regency; (5) responsiveness has not been optimal because the needs of participants and alumni for follow-up development and opportunities for actualization have not been adequately accommodated; and (6) appropriateness has not been fulfilled because program implementation has been oriented more toward the technical success of ceremonial activities than toward sustainable ideological strengthening.

Therefore, the policy for implementing the Paskibraka Program at the provincial level in DKI Jakarta is evaluated as a policy that requires revision, particularly concerning the technical arrangements for implementing the four follow-up sub-programs (the appointment of former Paskibraka Pancasila Ambassadors, the implementation of their duties, follow-up development, and the development of Paskibraka activities), so that policy implementation can be carried out comprehensively in accordance with the regulatory mandate.

From a theoretical perspective, this study demonstrates that William N. Dunn's policy evaluation framework remains relevant for assessing both the successes and shortcomings of public policies, particularly through the dimensions of effectiveness, efficiency, adequacy, equity, responsiveness, and appropriateness. However, in the context of Pancasila ideological development through the Paskibraka Program, these six dimensions should be understood not merely as instruments for measuring administrative success, but also as tools for assessing the sustainability of value development. The findings indicate that technical achievements, such as the successful implementation of the selection process and flag-hoisting ceremonies, do not necessarily reflect substantive success in developing young cadres who genuinely understand, internalize, and actualize Pancasila values. Therefore, this study strengthens the usefulness of policy evaluation theory by emphasizing the importance of distinguishing between formal-ceremonial achievements and substantive-ideological achievements in the evaluation of government programs.

Furthermore, this study provides recommendations for the development of public policy evaluation studies so that they do not stop at assessing program implementation but also consider institutional continuity, post-program development, and long-term impacts on target groups. In the context of the Paskibraka

Program, the four follow-up sub-programs that have not yet been optimally implemented indicate that the evaluation of ideological development policies needs to be enriched by incorporating perspectives from policy implementation theory, youth studies, and sustainable impact assessment. Future research is recommended to develop an evaluation model that integrates Dunn's theory with approaches to policy implementation and youth character development so that evaluations assess not only whether programs have been implemented but also whether they have succeeded in generating changes in values, attitudes, leadership, and the social roles of former Paskibraka Pancasila Ambassadors within society.

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