



## **Evaluation of the Gerakan Nasional Revolusi Mental (GNRM) Policy in Improving Tolerance and Harmony among Religious Communities**

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### **Abstract**

The Gerakan Nasional Revolusi Mental (GNRM) [National Mental Revolution Movement] aims to strengthen Pancasila values however, its implementation in multicultural Jakarta continues to face challenges related to value consistency, interagency coordination, and public participation. This study aims to evaluate the implementation of the GNRM policy in improving tolerance and harmony among religious communities, identify supporting and inhibiting factors, and formulate reflective strategies to strengthen value-based governance in Jakarta, Indonesia. The study uses a qualitative approach with the CIPP (Context, Input, Process, Product) evaluation model. The data was collected through in-depth interviews, field observations, and document analysis involving 25 informants, including policymakers, religious leaders, and civil society organizations. The analysis was conducted through open, axial, and selective coding to establish thematic relationships between empirical findings and conceptual reflections. The main findings show that: (1) GNRM contributes positively to strengthening social tolerance, discipline, and cooperation among citizens; (2) there are still limitations in bureaucratic synchronization and reflective monitoring mechanisms; and (3) local leadership commitment and interfaith collaboration are key supporting factors. This study introduces the concept of Value-Based Policy Evaluation, which integrates moral, social, and bureaucratic dimensions into public policy analysis. Overall, the results confirm that value-based governance can bridge bureaucratic systems and social culture to achieve sustainable policy outcomes. The policy implications emphasize the need to institutionalize Pancasila values through an adaptive and learning-oriented governance framework at the central and regional levels.

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## **INTRODUCTION**

A peaceful, safe, and harmonious life is a basic human need and a prerequisite for the sustainability of a pluralistic society. However, globally, the level of religion-based restrictions and conflicts remains high. A 2024 report from the Pew Research Center indicates that in 2022, 30% of countries had high or very high levels of religious restrictions, while 23% of countries experienced religious-based social hostility at the same level. This underscores that religious tolerance and

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freedom remain serious challenges globally. This situation is closely linked to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), particularly SDG 16 (Peace, Justice, and Strong Institutions), which emphasizes the reduction of all forms of violence (target 16.1), strengthening inclusive and accountable institutions (target 16.6), and responsive and participatory decision-making (target 16.7) (Abdullaevna et al., 2025; Khairiah & Sazali, 2025).

For Indonesia, with its high level of religious, ethnic, and cultural diversity, efforts to maintain tolerance and harmony among religious communities are not merely a social agenda, but have become a strategic public policy agenda (Iqbal, 2023; Setiawan et al., 2023; Suhardiyanto et al., 2025; Ardianto et al., 2025). Indonesia is home to more than 1,340 ethnic groups, hundreds of ethnic communities, and thousands of regional languages, with a population that is predominantly Muslim, followed by significant numbers of Christians, Hindus, and Buddhists. This diversity often leads to Indonesia being viewed as a “cultural laboratory” or a complex social mosaic, where differences in language, customs, social norms, and value systems and beliefs coexist within society (Thahir, 2023).

However, social cohesion in Indonesia faces challenges in the form of the increasing spread of misinformation and hate speech on social media. Another challenge stems from the rise of identity politics in social and political dynamics. Furthermore, social cohesion is also confronted by the emergence of exclusive, religion-based claims to truth, which contribute to rising intolerance and the potential for radicalism in society (Adnan & Amaliyah, 2021; Octavianne et al., 2024; Haris & Bustam, 2024; Singh, 2025). Survey data shows that this phenomenon is becoming increasingly concerning among young people. A number of recent studies indicate a growing trend of intolerance and exposure to radicalism among young people. Research findings show that the level of intolerance among students rose from 46% to 54% in 2020, and there are signs that radical ideologies are spreading through social media and educational settings (Hasyim & Junaidi, 2023). A study by the Center for Islamic and Community Studies (PPIM) UIN Jakarta (Convey Indonesia, 2021) found that 30.16% of Indonesian university students have low levels of religious tolerance. INFID and a survey by the Directorate General of Politics and Public Administration of the Ministry of Home Affairs also show vulnerability to intolerance in educational and community environments (Sedayu et al., 2019). National Counter-Terrorism Agency identifies women, adolescents, and children as groups vulnerable to radicalization (InfoPublik, 2024). These findings indicate that the issue of tolerance is no longer merely a matter of social discourse, but has become a policy management issue that requires systematic intervention (Verkuyten, 2022; Wijaya Mulya & Aditomo, 2019; Badruzaman & Adiyono, 2023).

In response to these conditions, the government mainstreamed the Gerakan Nasional Revolusi Mental (GNRM) [National Mental Revolution Movement] through Presidential Instruction No. 12 of 2016 as a policy to change the mindset, values, and behavior of society based on Pancasila (Kelibai & Sujanto, 2018; Aziz et al., 2020). One of GNRM's flagship programs, the United Indonesia Movement, aims to strengthen tolerance, interfaith harmony, national consciousness, and social solidarity. The implementation of this policy is supported by mainstreaming the values of Pancasila into national development planning, particularly in the RPJMN (Indarto, 2024; Amedi et al., 2025). Thus, GNRM can be understood as a policy instrument that contributes to the achievement of SDG 16, particularly in strengthening social cohesion and the value of inclusivity. Several previous studies have demonstrated the relevance of GNRM in a social context. A study (Maulana, 2021) confirms that strengthening local wisdom can support the implementation of the mental revolution through the preservation of cultural values in society. Meanwhile, (Yulianto & Saputra, 2021) show that the mental revolution is linked to the formation of character and moral values from an Islamic educational perspective. Another study by (Hariyanto et al., 2021) also identifies that GNRM programs, including the United Indonesia Movement, play a role in strengthening social values and family resilience as part of national character building.

On the other hand, various studies on this issue are generally grouped into three main themes. First, research on religious tolerance that emphasizes the importance of character building and national values in maintaining social harmony (Saiful et al., 2018). Second, research on religious moderation that positions an inclusive and balanced religious approach as the primary strategy in preventing extremism (Arifinsyah et al., 2020; Rahmadi & Hamdan, 2023; Rasyidin & Fahrudin, 2024). Third, research on the prevention of radicalism that examines socio-religious

dynamics as well as the potential for conflict resulting from differing religious interpretations in society (Aziz, 2024). These studies provide important insights into the values and practices of tolerance, but they still leave a research gap: they have not yet examined in depth how these values are implemented, operationalized, and evaluated in the context of public policy through bureaucratic mechanisms. In particular, there is still limited research analyzing program implementation processes, interagency coordination, and the effectiveness of policies in measuring their impact on enhancing tolerance and interfaith harmony.

Meanwhile, in the policy evaluation literature, the CIPP model developed by [Stufflebeam \(2007\)](#) offers a comprehensive framework for assessing the context, inputs, processes, and outcomes of a program. This model is relevant to this study because it allows for a systematic analysis of policy alignment with social needs (context), the adequacy of resources and program design (inputs), the effectiveness of implementation in the field (process), and the outcomes in promoting tolerance and interfaith harmony (outcome). However, the application of the CIPP model to value-based policies such as the GNRM in the context of religious tolerance remains relatively limited.

This disparity becomes even more significant when viewed in the context of the Special Capital Region of Jakarta. As a region with a population of over 10.6 million and high levels of mobility and urbanization, Jakarta serves as a meeting ground for various social, ethnic, and religious groups ([Pemerintah Provinsi DKI Jakarta, 2024](#)). This situation reflects both high social heterogeneity and the potential for intense cross-identity interactions. Furthermore, as the nation's capital and the seat of government, Jakarta also serves as a barometer of national political dynamics, including the rise of identity politics in various public contests. Consequently, Jakarta's social complexity, population density, and strategic position make it a relevant and crucial location for examining the implementation and evaluation of tolerance policies that cannot always be generalized to other regions. Various cases of intolerance in education ([Bayukarizki & Soleman, 2021](#)), the dynamics of determining the start of Ramadan ([Aziz, 2024](#)), and the phenomenon of identity politics in political contests ([Rosdiana & Suryaningtyas, 2024](#)) show that the challenges of tolerance in Jakarta are real and contextual.

Based on these conditions, this study considers that an evaluation of the implementation of the GNRM policy in Jakarta needs to be carried out systematically using a policy evaluation approach. This study not only evaluates the effectiveness of the program but also analyzes the processes of internalization, institutionalization, and actualization of the values of Pancasila. The analysis focuses on the interactions among bureaucratic actors, religious leaders, and civil society.

Operationally, this study aims to: (1) evaluate the implementation of the GNRM policy in improving tolerance and harmony among religious communities in the Special Capital Region of Jakarta using the CIPP model; (2) identify supporting and inhibiting factors in the implementation process; and (3) formulate contextual value-based governance strengthening at the regional level.

This study develops a values-based policy evaluation approach by integrating the moral dimensions of Pancasila, bureaucratic governance, and social dynamics into public policy analysis. This approach is expected to make a theoretical contribution by enriching the field of policy evaluation, particularly with regard to values-based policies. In addition, this study also offers practical insights into how these values are implemented in the context of policy and social interaction. The results of this study are expected to contribute theoretically to the development of a value-based policy evaluation model, methodologically through the application of the CIPP model to socio-religious policies, and practically to the central and regional governments in designing adaptive, participatory policy governance oriented towards strengthening social cohesion. Thus, this research not only enriches the policy evaluation literature but also offers an applicable framework to support the achievement of SDG 16 through strengthening tolerance and harmony among religious communities at the local level.

## METHOD

The research method used was descriptive qualitative research employing a case study approach. This method was chosen because it allows for an in-depth exploration of meaning, an understanding of context, and a description of the social phenomena occurring during policy

implementation (Creswell & Poth, 2018). In this study, key informants were selected using a purposive sampling technique. The research targets were GNRM targets, which will be analyzed using CIPP (Context, Input, Process, and Product) developed by (Stufflebeam, 2007). Context involves an analysis of needs, issues, opportunities, and environmental conditions that form the basis for formulating program objectives. Inputs include an assessment of the strategies, plans, resources, and capacity in place to achieve program objectives. Process involves program execution, including mechanisms for implementation, monitoring, and control of activities. Meanwhile, product refer to the results and impacts of the program, both immediate and long-term, including the program's effectiveness and sustainability.

The informants in this study numbered 25 and were selected using purposive sampling based on their direct involvement in the formulation, implementation, or receipt of benefits from the GNRM program. The criteria for selecting informants included: (1) having a role in GNRM policy or implementation, (2) possessing knowledge or experience related to religious tolerance and harmony, and (3) representing the perspectives of the government, implementers, and the public. Informants were grouped into four categories, namely: (1) policymakers from the Coordinating Ministry for Human Development and Culture, the Ministry of Home Affairs, and the Ministry of Religious Affairs (3 informants, each with 51 questions); (2) policy implementers from the Regional Office of the Ministry of Religious Affairs and the Jakarta Capital Region Agency for National Unity and Politics (2 informants, each with 47 questions); (3) policy beneficiaries, namely the community as recipients of the GNRM program (17 informants, each with 47 questions); and (4) policy evaluators (3 informants) with questions tailored to their evaluative functions. The research instrument consisted of a structured interview guide developed based on the CIPP framework, covering the context, input, process, and program outcomes. In addition to in-depth interviews, data collection was also conducted through observation to strengthen the validity of the findings.

This study employed a combination of source, method, data, and theoretical triangulation to enhance the validity of the findings. In the triangulation process, informants were selected purposefully in accordance with the research objectives. Data analysis was conducted using NVivo software through the stages of open coding, axial coding, and selective coding to identify patterns and key themes. The results of the analysis were then presented in the form of thematic analysis to understand the main research issues, word cloud analysis to identify the frequency and dominance of key terms in the data, and tree map analysis to map the relationships and proportions among theme categories. These analyses were used to address the four main research focuses: policy evaluation, enabling and constraining factors, efforts to overcome barriers, and the research's contribution. The following is a flowchart of the research process.

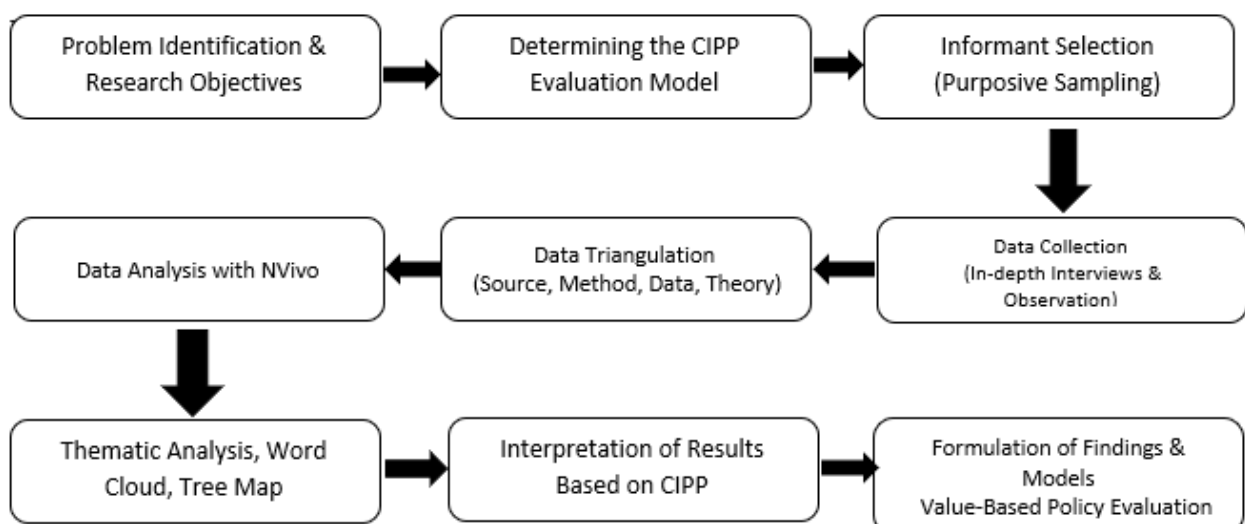


Figure 1. Research Flow Chart

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### Results

#### Context

Interviews with informants from the Coordinating Ministry for Human Development and Culture and the Directorate General of Politics and Regional Government at the Ministry of Home Affairs indicate that the GNRM in DKI Jakarta Province is positioned as a policy instrument to address the diverse social needs of the community, rather than merely a normative program. One informant stated that *“program formulation is not merely top-down, but is based on the real needs of the community identified through social data, survey results, and dynamics on the ground such as potential conflicts and issues of intolerance”* (Informant I).

A deductive approach is applied by using macro data as a starting point such as social statistics, community needs survey results, and social case reports which are then analyzed and translated into program priorities and concrete activities at the local level.

Informants stated that the people of Jakarta have essentially internalized the values of Pancasila in their daily lives, but the dissemination of these values through the GNRM program has not been uniform. One informant noted that *“the values of Pancasila are actually already alive in society, but the GNRM program has not yet reached everyone equally”* (Informant I3).

Another informant also emphasized that *“the main challenge lies not in the acceptance of values, but in the distribution and implementation of the program, which has not been comprehensive”* (Informant I5).

Jakarta’s pluralistic, densely populated, and dynamic social conditions indicate the potential for growing social friction, positioning the GNRM policy as a preventive and solution-oriented response to potential intolerance and disharmony among religious groups. Furthermore, the GNRM also plays a role in assisting the government in identifying priority needs, formulating program objectives, and ensuring the relevance of policies to the actual conditions of society. Thus, contextual evaluation indicates that social diversity in Jakarta is not merely a challenge but also a primary consideration in formulating the direction of GNRM policies.

#### Input

Based on the CIPP framework, the input component of this study examines aspects of GNRM program planning, including strategy, budget, program scope, and the utilization of research findings. Informants explained that the strategies designed by the government employ an inclusive approach tailored to the mindset, lifestyle, and work patterns of communities in each region. For example, program implementation is carried out through interfaith dialogue activities, community-based tolerance campaigns, and the involvement of religious and community leaders in promoting the values of Pancasila. Additionally, there are educational and social literacy programs tailored to the local context, such as community service activities and public discussion forums. This strategy is not uniform but rather flexible and adaptive to the social and cultural characteristics of the local community.

Budgetary support for the GNRM program comes from government allocations and inter-agency cooperation. Additionally, program planning involves the pentahelix collaboration model, which entails synergy among the government, the public, academia, the media, and civil society in supporting policy implementation. This pentahelix concept emphasizes the importance of multi-stakeholder collaboration in enhancing program effectiveness and policy sustainability. One informant stated that *“the implementation of the GNRM cannot be carried out solely by the government but requires the involvement of all parties, including academics, the media, and the public”* (Informant I7).

The informants also emphasized that research findings are utilized as a basis for aligning policies with community needs. Additionally, research is used as a basis for adjusting program targets and strategies.

Other resources such as networks, human resources, and communication tools are also an important part of this input phase. However, some informants noted that the quality of program implementers is not yet consistent, which affects the variation in implementation quality in the field. One informant stated that *“the capabilities of implementers vary by region, so program*

*implementation does not always proceed optimally”* (Informant 11). Another informant added that *“some implementers already have a good grasp of the program concept, but others still require further guidance”* (Informant 13).

### **Process**

The GNRM program is implemented in an inclusive manner through collaboration between local governments, relevant agencies, religious leaders, and the community. The implementation process focuses on participatory and community-based activities to ensure the community's direct involvement in internalizing the values of Pancasila. Key activities include training for government officials and community facilitators to enhance their capacity in conveying values of tolerance, organizing interfaith dialogues as spaces for communication among groups, and community-based tolerance campaigns. For example, this program is implemented through interfaith discussion forums at the village level, outreach activities on Pancasila values within the community, and educational sessions involving religious leaders as role models in conveying messages of moderation and harmony.

Additionally, the program's implementation leverages information technology, such as social media and digital platforms, to expand communication reach and raise public awareness. Collaboration with strategic partners, including civil society organizations and local communities such as Mapala, is carried out to strengthen social networks and reach broader segments of society.

However, informants revealed several obstacles in the process, such as resistance from some community groups who did not fully understand the GNRM program, ineffective policy communication strategies, and limitations in the quality of implementing human resources. Other challenges also stemmed from external policy dynamics that were sometimes not in line with the direction of the GNRM policy, resulting in inconsistent implementation.

### **Product**

The implementation of GNRM in Jakarta shows signs of increased social harmony and ideological resilience among the public, as reflected in improvements in the tolerance index and a reduction in the potential for social conflict. Data indicates that DKI Jakarta's ranking in the Tolerant Cities Index improved in 2021 compared to the previous period ([Mantalean & Patnistik, 2022](#)). Additionally, local government data also notes fluctuations though generally under control in the number of social conflict incidents and street brawls over the past few years.

This finding is reinforced by an informant's statement noting that *“compared to previous years, the intensity of social conflict in the community has generally decreased and is resolved more quickly”* (Informant 14). Another informant added that *“programs based on dialogue and collaboration allow potential friction to be prevented from the outset”* (Informant 16).

Furthermore, the GNRM program has been integrated into the RPJMD as a form of policy continuity, and is supported by the regeneration of cadres and the development of community facilitators to ensure consistency in implementation on the ground.

Local adaptation in the implementation of the GNRM is achieved by aligning the program with the values of Pancasila and local wisdom in each region. While the program is considered easily replicable in other regions, it still requires technical guidance and contextual adjustments tailored to the social characteristics of each region.

However, based on the researchers' analysis, the effectiveness of instilling Pancasila values through the GNRM has not yet been comprehensively evaluated using measurable indicators. Additionally, the clarity of long-term budgetary support remains unverified. Generally, obstacles at the micro level are still present, although they show a decreasing trend compared to the previous period, while at the macro level, conditions are considered more conducive to supporting program implementation.

### **Discussion**

The findings of this study indicate that the implementation of GNRM in DKI Jakarta Province cannot be understood merely as the implementation of a value-instilling program, but rather as a policy mechanism that works through causal relationships between social conditions, policy planning, implementation processes, and expected outcomes. Jakarta's diversity as a plural, densely

populated, and dynamic region is the main backdrop that shapes policy direction. In this situation, GNRM is positioned not merely as a normative agenda, but as a preventive instrument to respond to potential social friction while strengthening harmony between religious groups. Other studies show that the challenges of pluralism and multiculturalism in religious policy require an inclusive and dialogical approach to encourage interfaith cooperation and tolerance in a diverse society (Hastuty, 2025; Seran, 2025; Wajdi, 2025).

The formulation of the GNRM's policy objectives demonstrates that the policy is not merely administrative in nature, but reflects a process of translating social data into a basis for decision-making. This indicates that a deductive approach serves as a mechanism for policy rationalization, in which societal needs at the macro level are translated into more operational program priorities at the implementation level. Empirically, this confirms that a heterogeneous social environment encourages the government to design adaptive policies (Carayannis et al., 2022; Diori, 2021). In addition, studies on religious moderation in public policy mention that the integration of moderation values in policy can strengthen social cohesion and expand policy legitimacy in a diverse society (Hafith & Malik, 2025). The author's interpretation of these findings shows that social conditions are not only the background of policy but also a determining factor that influences the design of inputs, processes, and policy outcomes. This relationship shows a clear causal pattern in the CIPP model, where the success of policy products is highly dependent on accurately understanding the initial conditions of society.

In terms of input, informants emphasized the importance of inclusive strategies, budgetary support, pentahelix collaboration, and the utilization of research results in program planning. Empirically, this shows that policies are designed using a collaborative and needs-based approach. However, the author interprets that the uneven quality of human resources and variations in the understanding of policy implementers have led to inconsistent implementation quality. These findings show that conceptually sound inputs do not necessarily result in an optimal process if they are not supported by adequate implementation capacity.

In the implementation process, the involvement of religious leaders, regional government agencies, communities, and the use of information technology are important factors in spreading the value of tolerance. Informants said that diversity-based activities and the exemplary behavior of religious leaders are effective in building community acceptance. This is in line with other research findings which show that the integration of values of moderation or tolerance in policy and educational practices has a positive impact on social cohesion in heterogeneous communities (Rizwan, 2024; Raharjo et al., 2025; Junaidi et al., 2025). However, resistance from some community groups, ineffective policy communication, and changing external policy dynamics are real obstacles. The author interprets this condition as an indication that the implementation of GNRM is greatly influenced by social and political factors beyond the program design itself.

The results obtained show an increase in social harmony and a decrease in conflict cases in the field, as well as the integration of the program into the RPJMD as a form of sustainability. Empirically, this shows the positive achievements of the policy. However, the author interprets that the absence of a comprehensive evaluation of the effectiveness of instilling Pancasila values is an important gap in measuring the success of the program. In other words, the policy product is phenomenologically visible, but not yet fully measurable in a systematic manner.

When compared to various policy evaluation studies in general, these findings are consistent with the view that the success of social policies is greatly influenced by the suitability between local community conditions and policy design (Howlett, 2018). However, this study shows that value-based policy evaluations such as GNRM require an approach that is not only administrative but also moral and social. This is where the main difference lies with other policy evaluation studies that tend to focus on the technical effectiveness of programs.

The uniqueness of this research lies in its approach to evaluating the GNRM policy as a value-based policy evaluation, in which moral, social, and bureaucratic dimensions are interconnected within a single analytical framework. This approach shows that interfaith harmony is not only the result of the program, but also the result of a policy process that harmonizes community conditions, planning, and implementation. An important implication of these findings is that value-based public policy requires a different evaluation model from that of technocratic policy evaluation in general, as its success is largely determined by the social meaning it generates in society.

## CONCLUSION

Based on an evaluation using the CIPP model developed by Daniel L. Stufflebeam, the implementation of the GNRM in Jakarta indicates that this policy functions not only as a normative program but also as an instrument for internalizing the values of Pancasila in social life. From the context perspective, GNRM is a response to the rising potential for intolerance, social polarization, and the fragmentation of national values in urban areas. From the input and process perspectives, this policy is supported by institutional structures and community-based participatory activities; however, it still faces challenges in cross-institutional coordination and the integration of implementation. Meanwhile, from the product perspective, there is an increase in tolerance awareness as well as the emergence of interfaith social initiatives within the community. In conclusion, these findings indicate that the success of the GNRM is more dominant in the aspect of social awareness-building compared to the effectiveness of implementation governance; thus, strengthening institutional coordination is a critical implication for the program's sustainability, while also underscoring the contribution of this research to value-based policy evaluation using the CIPP approach in the context of a multicultural urban society.

## AUTHOR CONTRIBUTIONS

MF contributed to conceptualization, methodology development, investigation, data curation, formal analysis, and preparation of the original draft. FS contributed to supervision, validation, policy analysis, and review and editing of the manuscript. ML contributed to methodology refinement, theoretical framework development, supervision, and validation of the study. LK contributed to data collection, field observations, and interview administration.

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