

Dissensus in collaborative governance: Future challenges of Lampung's capital relocation policy

Maulana Mukhlis^{1*}, Teuku Fahmi², Ulfa Umayasari³

Universitas Lampung, Lampung, Indonesia¹⁻³

maulana.mukhlis@fisip.unila.ac.id¹, teuku.fahmi@fisip.unila.ac.id², ulfaumayasari@fisip.unila.ac.id³



Abstract

Purpose: The find out whether there is dissensus and its implications for the experience of policy failure. Analysis of these factors is an important note in the anticipatory government framework for the future of the policy.

Methodology/approach: Descriptive research with a qualitative approach and analysis. Primary data was obtained by conducting interviews with several informants. Secondary data was obtained from tracing reports and research and regulations related to the topic of collaborative governance challenges that are directly related to the research.

Results/findings: The results showed that dissensus occurred from the planning to the implementation stages. Furthermore, the lack of guarantees that collaborators' actions corresponded with the consensus led to dissensus. This condition allowed collaborators to pursue self-interests, viewing collaboration as a means to achieve economic objectives and mutually strategize.

Conclusions: The involvement of the parties with the consensus before the policy is implemented still leaves the challenge of the dissensus which has the potential to be a factor that influences the failure of the policy.

Limitations: This research is based on the experience of policy failures several years ago. Therefore, in the current situation, it is very possible that there will be a change in collaborators.

Contribution: By analyzing the factors that lead to policy failure, this research offers important insights into the challenges faced in multi-stakeholder decision-making processes. The findings are expected to serve as a reference for policymakers to develop more effective strategies for government and stakeholder collaboration in the future.

Keywords: Collaborative Governance, Dissensus Potential, Decision-Making Processes, Lampung New City, Policymakers

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1. Introduction

Various theories and extensive empirical studies have shown the benefits and positive impacts of implementing collaborative governance, describing it as an ideal method (Papadopoulos, 2012). The method is believed to improve the quality of government administration (Dupuy & Defacqz, 2022), enhance legitimacy (Lahat, Sher-Hadar, & Galnoor, 2020), increase public service quality (Aidi, Avianti, Koeswayo, Poulus, & Mariam, 2024), strengthen democratic processes (Sher-Hadar, Lahat, & Galnoor, 2020), and improve environmental outcomes (Haapasaari, Marttunen, Salokannel, & Similä, 2024) and networks (Zaenuri, Musa, & Iqbal, 2021). Empirical studies have also shown that collaborative governance leads to good outputs and *outcomes* and significantly increases political legitimacy and public trust in government performance (Abutabenjeh, Dimand, & Tao, 2023).

However, no study has shown any significant refutation or weaknesses in the theory of collaborative governance, often focusing on the ineffectiveness of certain ongoing collaboration processes.

The idea of implementing collaborative governance has inspired many countries and areas in Indonesia to adopt this method in various policies. In 2007, the Lampung Provincial Government, under Governor Sjachroedin ZP, initiated a policy to relocate the provincial government center by building a new city in South Lampung Regency. The initial objective was to move the government center from its current location in Bandar Lampung to the new city. This relocation was expected to spur the development of other primary non-government activities, such as housing, the economy, education, and more. The policy was born out of the necessity for urban development, as Bandar Lampung, the current provincial capital, struggled to function effectively. In addition, it is a form of anticipatory government.

Bandar Lampung, as center of government, business, education, as well as social and cultural activities, was over capacity and had significant disparities with surrounding areas. With an area of only 197.22 km² and a population of 902,885 in 2012, the population density was 4,578 people/km². In addition, a high population growth rate of 2.04% per year over the previous five years has contributed to rapid urban growth. Consequently, Bandar Lampung became overcrowded and less capable of fulfilling its roles and functions, particularly as a government center. Government offices are scattered across various locations, leading to low accessibility. Efforts to consolidate these offices have been hindered by the limited availability of land (Badan Pusat Statistik Kota Bandar Lampung, 2013).

The development of the Lampung New City project has both pros and cons, necessitating evaluation. Siti Wilda's investigation of community political attitudes in two sub-districts in South Lampung found that 71% of respondents supported the project, 12% opposed it, and 17% were indifferent (Wilda, 2012, p. 136). Several aspects that needed evaluation were the population in the new city, which was only 8,084, far below the standard population of over 50,000. In addition, 70% of livelihoods in the new city were based on farming, while 70% of job demand focused on the government sector. New cities have not been competitive with surrounding areas in meeting residents' needs, and public transportation services have been inadequate (Mahani, 2017).

According to Hadi Purwanto, the process of formulating regional regulations for relocating the capital of Lampung Province was not ideal and could be categorized as an institutional model. The initiative came solely from the previous governor, Sjachroedin ZP, without considering alternative solutions, leading to a lack of comparison in choosing the best option. Policymakers have been criticized for being insufficiently thorough in evaluating alternative solutions regarding the costs, time, causes, and effects that could arise from the policy. This is evident as the Lampung New City development policy was temporarily halted by Governor M. Ridho Ficardo with no set timeline for its resumption (Purwanto, 2015). The termination of the project shows the ineffective implementation of collaborative *governance* methods. Ironically, the stakeholders (policy community) who initially agreed to collaborate did not respond when one party broke the consensus (Maulana Mukhlis, 2017).

This study critically examined the challenges of collaborative governance in the Lampung New City Development Project in Lampung Province. The topic of relocating the capital of Lampung Province has been investigated multiple times. Wodson normatively described the concept and objectives of Lampung New City's development, showing its focus on improving the physical quality of an area, maintaining environmental balance, and reducing development gaps (Wodson & Sulistyo, 2015). Cavenati explained that Lampung New City could serve as a special area for bureaucracy and a center of government (Cavenati, 2019). Empirically, study experts such as Mukhlis and Mares Ersan have criticized the project's socio-cultural (Maulana Mukhlis & Drajat, 2012) and economic impacts, respectively. Evaluative notes on the facility construction process have also been provided by Zulkarnain (Sero, 2020) and Isfansa (Mahani, 2017).

The novelty of the current study lies in its perspective and method, which uses a collaborative

governance framework to critique the Lampung New City development policy. Building on Mukhlis' investigation, which critically analyzed policy community motives in collaboration (Maulana Mukhlis, 2017), the current study specifically examined the forms of consensus and the actions of collaborators after consensus is reached. Therefore, this study aimed to identify forms of dissensus in the collaborative governance of the Lampung New City Development Project in Lampung Province.

However, existing studies tend to focus more on the normative and descriptive aspects of Lampung New City policy and lack a critical perspective on how collaborative governance mechanisms can be broken down. This study addresses this gap by analyzing dissensus in the collaboration process, particularly after consensus is reached, which is often overlooked in the existing literature. Therefore, the main research question posed is as follows: *How does dissensus emerge and affect the collaborative governance process in the Lampung New City Development Policy?* The study applies the conceptual framework of collaborative governance as proposed by Ansell and Gash, with an emphasis on post-consensus dynamics (Emerson, Nabatchi, & Balogh, 2012). Methodologically, this study employs a qualitative case study design to examine dissensus through in-depth interviews and document analysis. The relevance of this study lies in its contribution to refining collaborative governance theory by highlighting the importance of post-consensus behavior, particularly in Indonesia. Moreover, understanding dissensus is significant for anticipating policy failure and designing more adaptive governance models.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Conceptual Foundations of Collaborative Governance

Ansell and Gash defined collaborative governance as a government regulatory effort in which one or more public institutions directly involve non-state stakeholders in a formal and collective decision-making process. This method focuses on consensus and deliberation, aiming to create or implement public policies or manage public programs/assets. The definition focuses on six important criteria: the forum is initiated by a public body or institution; forum participants include non-state stakeholders; participants are directly involved in decision-making and not simply "consulted" by public bodies; the forum is formally organized and meets collectively; the forum aims to make decisions through consensus (although consensus is not always achieved); and the focus of collaboration is on public policy or public management (Ansell & Gash, 2008).

The collaborative governance model includes stakeholders from all sectors working together to create efficient and effective solutions to public problems that transcend the capabilities of any single organization. The main objectives of the collaborative governance process are to produce better-informed and more involved citizens, more inclusive participants in decision-making, more stakeholders in community partnerships, better deliberative methods, and greater accountability and trust in the government (Calò, Teasdale, Roy, Bellazzecca, & Mazzei, 2024; Liu, 2024).

In practice, collaborative governance is a strategy in the public domain that brings together stakeholders from various sectors to design and implement policies and programs. The increasing interest in collaborative governance mechanisms originates from the potential benefits of involving various stakeholders to address issues related to government's capacity and legitimacy. Collaborative governance offers a distinct approach compared to privatization and regulation, which have been used to address government challenges. It also reflects intense collaboration, requiring interdependence among stakeholders, the development of joint ideas, and the building of synergy among participants to find new solutions (Keast & Mandell, 2014).

Ansell and Gash, as quoted by Noor, outlined a picture of advanced collaborative governance that includes the following components: aimed at achieving public objectives; pursued when there is an opportunity to create public value that cannot be achieved by other means; includes governance arrangements; engages one or more public bodies (central government, ministries, government companies, local authorities) with non-state stakeholders; can be initiated by any participant; Formal; Collective; Deliberate; Aimed at building consensus, strengthening trust between participants, and sharing expertise and knowledge; responsible for budget decisions; focused on implementing public

policy or managing programs or assets (Noor, Suaedi, & Mardiyanta, 2022).

The emergence of collaborative governance has introduced new methods and strategies in public policy studies. It provides novel ideas for making public policy more cooperative in addressing societal problems. Ansell and Gash argued that collaborative governance focuses on collaboration between parties or stakeholders within public policy from a scientific perspective. These experts also developed indicators to assess the collaboration process, such as face-to-face dialogue, building trust among actors, prioritizing shared commitment, and fostering a common understanding (Ansell & Gash, 2008). These challenges are also found in other types of policies (M Mukhlis, Makhy, Yulianto, & Aviv, 2025).

The success of policies is no longer solely determined by the government, as government strategies are evolving and improving over time. According to Ansel and Gash, Collaborative governance is a new strategy that requires the engagement of various stakeholders to create joint decisions. This view is supported by O'Flynn and Wanna, who described collaborative governance as a partnership seeking mutual benefits. This collaboration should be balanced among stakeholders for effectiveness, as true collaborative governance cannot be achieved when only one party benefits. Collaboration makes achieving goals easier because each party has a specific role in the process (Grootjans, Stijnen, Kroese, Ruwaard, & Jansen, 2022).

2.2 The Requires and Challenge of Collaborative Governance

According to Goldsmith, as cited by Syamsurizaldi, the success of collaborative governance requires fulfilling several criteria: *Networked Structure*: The organizational structure in collaborative governance is non-hierarchical, meaning all parties are considered equal, without anyone being more powerful; *Commitment to a Common Purpose*: Success is measured by the commitment to a shared goal, rather than ensuring one party's goals are superior. All parties should adhere to a common goal: *Trust Among The Participants*: Mutual trust and professionalism are key benchmarks for successful collaborative governance. There should be a clear agreement on the roles of each member. *Access to Authority*: There should be a clear agreement on the rules and authority of each party to perform their duties. *Distributive Accountability or Responsibility*: Each party should understand how to organize, manage, and clearly divide tasks to ensure effective collaborative governance. *Information Sharing*: Clear communication is essential to prevent miscoordination between parties. *Access to Resources*: Adequate capital should be available to support collaborative governance, including financial, technical, human, and other resources from each party (Syamsurizaldi & Antoni).

Ansell, Gash, and Plotnikof note the challenges of collaborative governance, including internal and external factors that may have influenced the termination of this policy (Plotnikof, 2015). The lack of response from other collaborators to the consensus violation and the dominance of one party (the new governor who stopped the policy) also supports Olson's opinion that consensus in collaboration is often a 'strategy' to maximize individual interests. Olson argued that in collective action (including collaboration), it is impossible to be neutral to individual interests. Consensus building is not only a normative-formalistic issue but also involves active agents who continue to pursue self-interests even when one party stops adhering to the consensus (Mancur, 2012). In many government projects in Indonesia, other challenges arise, mainly due to limited capabilities (Yulianita, Subardin, & Zulfikri, 2024). The experience of other countries, such as Nigeria, shows more complex challenges (Emmanuel, 2023).

While the collaborative governance literature in Indonesia is growing, comparative international experiences remain underexplored. For instance, Nigeria's capital relocation from Lagos to Abuja revealed similar coordination challenges among stakeholders (Emmanuel, 2023). Meanwhile, Seoul's administrative capital shift to Sejong demonstrated successful inter-agency collaboration owing to strong legal frameworks and leadership commitment. These international cases enrich our understanding of how institutional design, accountability mechanisms, and trust-building processes influence dissensus or consensus. Drawing from these cases, this study contributes to the ongoing discourse by contextualizing the challenges in Lampung within the global experiences of capital

relocation policies.

3. Research Methodology

This was a qualitative study, and the quality depended on the validity and reliability. To ensure confidence in the results, validity tests were conducted using triangulation, and external auditors reviewed the conclusions (Creswell and Creswell, 2022). Although a qualitative descriptive approach was chosen for this study, alternative methods such as process tracing or institutional ethnography could have provided deeper insights into the causal mechanisms or the lived experiences of collaborators, respectively. However, these were not adopted because of limited time and accessibility constraints.

The qualitative case study approach remains appropriate for understanding dissensus in complex policy collaborations because it enables a detailed exploration of context, stakeholder interaction, and post-consensus behavior. Qualitative data analysis commenced with the collection of data through interviews with collaborators and the study of various related documents. This was followed by the interpretation and reporting of the results. Information obtained from informants, both oral and written, was comprehensively analyzed. This study aimed to uncover and understand the truth. The final step was to determine whether dissensus existed in the collaborative governance of the central government's trade policy in Lampung Province. The results would help explain whether consensus was achieved by the actors, its impact, and its relation to policy termination.

4. Result and Discussion

4.1. The Ups and Downs of collaborative Governance Paradigm in Lampung New City Development
Makhya described the policy of relocating the government center in Lampung Province and building a new city, initiated by Governor Sjahroedin ZP during two terms of office (2004-2009 and 2009-2014), as a strategic policy innovation. This breakthrough aims to address future problems. In addition to the construction of Lampung New City, other government innovations during this period included policies for the construction of the Sunda Strait Bridge (JSS), the expansion of Raden Intan Airport to international standards, the construction of Serai Airport in Pekon Serai, West Coast Regency, the creation of an Agri Terminal Business, and the development of the Tegineneng-Bakauheni Toll Road (Makhya, 2014). The policy to relocate the government center was intended to anticipate and mitigate future public problems by addressing the density and congestion in Bandar Lampung, fostering new economic growth centers, developing urban areas, and building a "new city" as a satellite city. This satellite city would serve as a unified development center for the government, business, economy, culture, tourism, and other activities.

According to Syarifudin, as quoted by Makhya, efforts to build an anticipatory government in Indonesia remain limited. The current government style is generally traditional and bureaucratic, focusing on providing goods or services to address existing problems. A more proactive approach is needed to prevent problems that could lead to major risks and greater losses in the future. This traditional model of government struggles to adapt to rapidly changing economic, social, and cultural environments. Therefore, a more capable government model is necessary (Makhya, 2014).

Anticipatory government is a new perspective on governance that focuses on "prevention rather than cure." The model states that the government should act to prevent problems rather than merely addressing them (Poli, 2012). Anticipatory governance aims to avoid or minimize risks by responding to current and future challenges. This includes planning based on the mission and vision of the organization and using past and present challenges to inform future strategies. By focusing on prevention, anticipatory governance can make an organization more efficient and effective, providing greater satisfaction and protection (Makhya, 2014).

Since its initial formulation, the policy of relocating government centers (as an intermediate goal) and developing the Lampung New City area (as the final goal) in the context of financing and implementation has been designed to use *collaborative governance* methods. According to the criteria outlined by Ansell and Gash, this policy exemplifies collaborative governance. It is characterized by

the government's initial role (the idea originated from the Governor of Lampung), the inclusion of non-state stakeholders (involvement of private and community parties), a joint decision-making process (roles divided according to the master plan document), formal organization (establishment of the Planning Coordination Team and Area Management Agency), achieving joint consensus (issuance of Regional Regulation Number 2 of 2013 concerning the Development of Lampung New City as legal protection), and addressing specific policy issues (the relocation of government center) (A. Hendicaya, personal communication, February 22, 2018).

The policy to move the government center of Lampung Province by building a new city is designed to have a long-term dimension until 2032. To ensure continuous funding and implementation, legal protection in the form of regional regulations is necessary. This would allow the policy to persist, even with changes in the government. The establishment of the Lampung New City Area Management Agency is also mandated by this Regional Regulation. The discussion of the Regional Regulation includes two mechanisms: a structural mechanism (discussions with special institutions in Lampung Province related to spatial planning) and a functional mechanism (discussions with experts and academics), as well as practitioners invited by the Special Committee to provide input for policy consideration.

Several activities since the formulation and implementation of the policy to relocate the government center of Lampung Province correspond with Emerson's concept of collaborative governance. According to Emerson in Ulibarri, policy process, including interaction between parties that produce outputs, agreements, and actions, is central to the collaboration framework termed "collaboration dynamics." Studying the collaboration process, interactions between collaborators, collaboration outputs, forms of consensus, and actions taken after reaching a consensus are essential elements in this dynamic (Ulibarri, 2019).

From another perspective, Sangkala notes that a key characteristic of responsive and collaborative governance is the involvement of non-state stakeholders in the decision-making process. Collaborative relationships between the government, private sector, and society in a responsive and collaborative government are built on democratic principles that prioritize equality and freedom to collaborate, as well as the freedom to express ideas and thoughts about anything that is considered important in supporting the success of public policies and services. In this context, the government regards the public and private sectors as owners of the government, capable of collaborating to meet development needs (Sangkala, 2012).

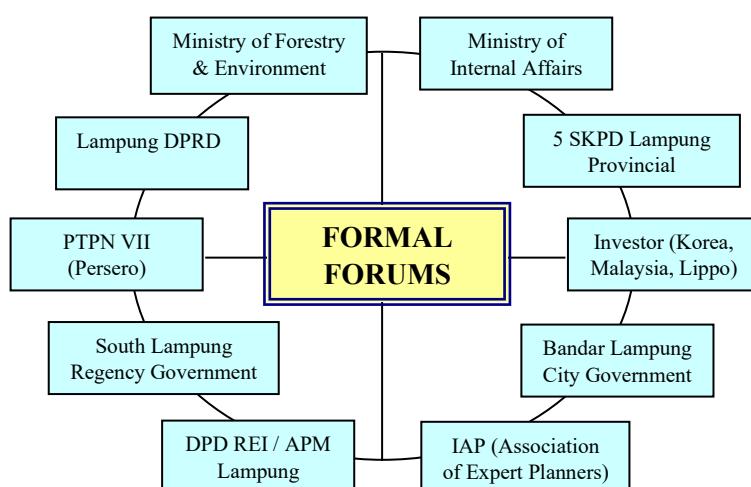


Figure 1. Parties Who Were (Ever) Involved in the Policy for Relocating government Center of Lampung Province (Planning & Implementation)

The policy implementation process that began during the 2010-2014 period was abruptly halted at the end of 2014, following a change in the governorship of Lampung on June 2, 2014. The newly elected

Governor of Lampung, M. Ridho Ficardo, cited budget constraints and limited regional finances, as often reported in the media, as the main reasons for stopping the policy implementation that had been ongoing for five years. Consequently, almost all buildings in Lampung New City have been abandoned since 2016. One of the primary policy objectives, namely relocating the government center of Lampung Province from Bandar Lampung to a new location, which was planned for early 2014, failed to materialize.

In 2007, when the policy was first introduced, the Governor of Lampung was Sjachroedin ZP. By the end of 2014, M. Ridho Ficardo had been elected as the new governor. This new governor unilaterally stopped the policy implementation process, which had been in progress for five years. Based on Regional Regulation No. 2 of 2013, concerning the Development of Lampung New City, the governor and Lampung Province DPRD agreed to allocate development funds every year, even though the governor's periodization has changed. However, the new governor, as a result of the 2014 gubernatorial election, stopped the development process; hence, several buildings remain in disrepair.

An interesting phenomenon regarding the termination of the policy to relocate government centers is observed. The collaborative governance method, which is theoretically considered an effective strategy for addressing regulatory politicization, budget overruns, and implementation failures, cannot guarantee sustainability. In other words, the idealized version of collaborative governance, as envisioned by its proponents, is not always smoothly implemented in Indonesia, at least in the case of policy termination in the Lampung Province.

According to Emerson, the factor that influenced the failure of the policy to relocate the government center of Lampung Province was dissensus (Emerson et al., 2012). Post-consensus collaborator actions are the third core element of collaborative governance dynamics. These actions show whether collaborators remain consistent with agreements or engage in dissensus actions that contradict the consensus reached. Factors influencing post-consensus actions include conflicting interests among collaborators, opportunistic behavior (whether through action or inaction), and weak collective action in the face of dominant power (Chen, Riedel, & Mueller, 2017).

The dynamics of policy implementation show diverse motives and interests among collaborators and stakeholders outside the official forum during the planning and implementation stages. The question arises: how can these diverse motives or interests be united in a consensus? In general, the procedural collaboration process was successful in this policy. The collaboration process model by Ansell and Gash, which includes the support of starting conditions, institutional design, and facilitative leadership, was procedurally in progress at both the planning and implementation stages of this policy project. However, there have been several violations of these ideal conditions during the collaboration process (Ansell & Gash, 2008).

Procedurally, the entire collaborative governance process in the planning and implementation stages of the policy to relocate the government center involved face-to-face dialogue between collaborators and stakeholders outside the official forum. As a consensus-oriented process, this collaboration creates opportunities for each stakeholder to identify mutual benefits. Normatively, face-to-face dialogue helps break down suspicion between stakeholders in building collaboration and prevents the exploration of mutual benefits in the early stages of collaboration. This process focuses on building a consensus over regulating the individual benefits of each stakeholder. Face-to-face dialogue is an effort to build *trust*, mutual respect, and understanding, ensuring commitment to the collaborative process.

Several informants admitted that during the internal dialogues in the 2009-2014 period, the dominance or influence of Sjachroedin ZP as governor remained very strong. Eddy Taufik, a representative of PTPN VII (Persero), explained that in several forums not discussing land or location, the party tends to be a mere complement. When the new governor decided to stop relocating the government center, the party was not invited for discussion. In addition, the Secretary of BAPPEDA for Lampung Province and the Head of Planning for the Lampung Province Settlement Service stated that the two OPDs were not involved before Governor M. Ridho Ficardo made the final decision to terminate the policy.

Even though there have been disappointments among collaborators on several occasions, trust between collaborators remains a crucial asset for the continuation of the collaboration process. Some literature states that collaboration is not just about negotiations but also about building trust among stakeholders, even when dominance and emerging distrust are visible during the process (Ansell & Gash, 2008).

The description of the collaboration during the planning and implementation process for the policy of relocating to the government center, despite appearing managerial and procedural with evident issues, shows that agreement and consensus were still achievable. As explained in the previous chapter, the consensus agreed upon by the Planning Coordination Team included selecting PTPN VII (Persero) land as the location, using the relocation of the government center as the initial driving force, mechanisms for private participation and concessions, and the planned implementation timeline in the master plan chart. The consensus agreed upon by the Regional Management Board during the implementation stage was that the Lampung provincial government office should relocate by early 2014, and private stakeholders could obtain concessions to build non-government office facilities after completing their responsibility to build government offices.

4.2. Consensus versus Dissensus

Consensus is defined as a joint agreement or understanding regarding opinions and stances obtained through unanimity (Tim Penyusun Dapertemenn Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 2008), while dissensus is a hidden action behind an agreed consensus. Consensus is an intermediate result and outcome of collaboration that forms the basis for post-consensus actions. Tables 10 and 11 describe several dissensus actions carried out by collaborators to ensure that their interests or profits are secured. In the context of relocating government centers, dissensus emerged during both the planning and implementation stages. Although these actions were motivated by the rational choices of collaborators, no sanctions or risks were imposed on those who acted outside the consensus.

Eddy Taufik, a former manager at PTPN VII (Persero), noted that when the Lampung Provincial Government unilaterally granted land released from PTPN VII (Persero) to ITB for the ITERA construction site, despite the MOU the +350-hectare land was to be used for the Lampung Province office center, there were no consequences for the Provincial Government. Similarly, when PTPN VII (Persero) reported the land-clearing workers to the Lampung Regional Police, resulting in their detention, PPTN VII (Persero) did not face any risks and continued to be part of the team.

Table 1. Experience of Dissensus Potentio that Occurs in Collaboration (Planning Stage)

| Consensus | Collaborator | Dissensus Potentio |
|--|---|--|
| Planning Stage: - land owned by PTPN VII (Persero) was chosen as the location - relocating the government center as the initial driving force - private participation mechanisms and concessions granted - implementation time in the <i>master plan</i> chart | Lampung Provincial Government Special Committee on Spatial Planning Regulations at the Lampung Province DPRD | Provide or donate land resulting from the release from PTPN VII (Persero) to ITB for the ITERA construction site. Based on the MOU between the two parties, the +350-hectare land should be used as a construction location for the Lampung Province office center. Agree to establish government center as a <i>generator</i> for non-government sector activities, differing from Putra Jaya's government center relocation experience. |
| | Bandar Lampung City Government | Does not support relocating the provincial government center in RPJMD and RTRW Bandar Lampung. |
| | South Lampung Regency Government | Not carrying out outreach efforts to convey planning results to the community in the sub-district that is the prospective location for the |

| Consensus | Collaborator | Dissensus Potention |
|-----------|--------------------|---|
| | PTPN VII (Persero) | <p>new city. This is an obligation that should be fulfilled by the South Lampung Regency Government in the context of role division as an effort to speed up policy implementation.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Secretly planted new rubber plants on the prospective office center site. According to several informants, it is possible that this was to increase the bargaining position of PTPN VII. - Reported <i>land clearing</i> workers who were working with the agreement of the Planning Coordination Team to the Lampung Regional Police which resulted in their detention. |
| | DPD RI Lampung | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Unable to play an additional role in the development of the office center as a consequence of the land use concession. Finally, through several underlying companies, buying and selling plots of land was carefully conducted outside the central office area. |

Source: Processed by experts based on the study results, 2024.

Table 2. Experience of Dissensus that Occurs in Collaboration (Implementation Stage)

| Consensus | Collaborator | Dissensus Potention |
|--|-------------------------------|--|
| Implementation Stage | Lampung Provincial Government | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The construction process of the central office area was not completed until the end of 2013, hence the relocation plan failed. - The new governor (M. Ridho Ficardo) stopped the policy even though it was regulated in Regional Regulation No. 2 of 2013 that the development of new cities should continue even when there is a change of governor. |
| - Provincial government offices should have relocated by early 2014. - Private stakeholders obtain concession to build non-government office facilities after the completion of government offices. | Lampung Provincial Government | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The construction process of the central office area was not completed until the end of 2013, hence the relocation plan failed. - The new governor (M. Ridho Ficardo) stopped the policy even though it was regulated in Regional Regulation No. 2 of 2013 that the development of new cities should continue even when there is a change of governor. |
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Source: Processed by experts based on the study results, 2024.

The two tables clearly show that there is no guarantee that the actions of collaborators after reaching a consensus will always correspond with the existing agreement. Although efforts are made to reconcile different motives or interests through consensus, collaborators often continue to pursue self-interests post-consensus. In addition, power dynamics, particularly involving government stakeholders, enable collaborators to engage in dissensus or activities outside the agreed-upon terms. Claims of success in the collaboration process for relocating government center of Lampung Province from 2004 to 2014, as stated by Sjachrodin ZP, Anshori Djausal, Lukmansyah, Eddy Taufik, and Asrian Hendicaya, were based on the agreement on various consensuses during the planning and implementation stages.

However, these claims do not necessarily reflect reality. There is often a hidden agenda that collaborators aim to achieve through collaboration. Stakeholders with specific interests from the start used this collaborative process to realize hidden agendas, as acknowledged by PTPN VII (Persero) and IAP Lampung Region. In this context, collaboration in policy can be strategically used to achieve underlying objectives (Mancur, 2012). Under these conditions, the policy of relocating government centers, supported and recognized as very rational, becomes an instrument to influence several parties.

It turns into a 'magnet' to attract attention and cover hidden interests, namely economic interests. Meanwhile, dissensus persists with several actions outside the previously agreed-upon consensus. Collaborators, feeling that the provisions are detrimental to their personal interests, engage in opportunistic actions contrary to the consensus.

The presentation of an empirical story about collaboration in the policy of relocating the government center of Lampung Province shows that collaboration is seen as a means to achieve economic interests; hence, the collaborators mutually agree to strategize. Evidence that some collaborators are primarily motivated by economic gains (*economic orientation*) can be interpreted as follows:

1. The emergence of dissensus among collaborators undermines the agreed-upon consensus, mainly to gain profit.
2. Opportunistic actions by several collaborators, coupled with a lack of response from others, mean that self-interests have been achieved or there are no implications of any loss, even though the policy is halted.
3. A consensus to relocate the government center, ' which received public support as a 'modus' or vehicle for achieving economic interests. In the history of new city planning, it was only in Lampung that 'government offices' were designed as the main driver of non-government sector activities.

The empirical results can be seen as logical consequences of a mindset focused only on achieving goals (instrumental rationality) rather than on what should be done. Collaboration between various stakeholders with different interests and motivations might be viewed as absurd or simply a mandatory requirement of a law or government regulation at the central level. Examples of mandatory multi-actor cooperation forums include the Transport and Road Traffic Forum (mandated by Law No. 22 of 1999 concerning Road Traffic and Transport), Watershed Management Coordination Forum (mandated by Law No. 41 of 1999 concerning Forestry), and Education Council (mandated by PP No. 16 of 2010 concerning the Management and Implementation of Education). However, this collaboration is feasible only when there is a commonality of goals, typically rooted in material-economic interests (Raišienė, Bilan, Smalskys, & Gečienė, 2019).

5. Conclusion

Based on the collaborative processes involved in the relocation of the government center in Lampung Province, dissensus occurred throughout the planning and implementation stages. Dissensus was caused by the lack of guarantees that the actions of collaborators, after reaching a consensus, would always correspond to the existing terms. This allows collaborators to pursue self-interests, making collaboration a forum for achieving economic goals. Evidence of this mindset, focused only on economic motives, could be interpreted from two key factors: breaching of consensus driven by economic motives and opportunistic actions carried out by some collaborators. Differences in profit motives among collaborators do not always threaten collaboration, as long as the differences are not mutually negated. The potential for negating the motives of collaborators can be reduced by building a consensus that minimizes losses for all relevant parties.

Concerns about transactions occurring outside formal procedures should not be a reason to avoid collaboration, as collaboration remains more beneficial than working alone. Despite offering critical insights into dissensus in collaborative governance, this study has several limitations. Reliance on retrospective accounts from informants may introduce recall bias. Furthermore, as this study focuses on one specific case in Lampung, the findings may not be generalizable to other regions or policy domains without further comparative research. Future research should explore dissensus in different governance settings, including successful collaborations, to identify the conditions that enable sustained consensus. Quantitative or mixed-method studies could also validate dissensus indicators and test hypotheses regarding factors contributing to post-consensus breakdowns. This would strengthen the empirical foundation of collaborative governance theory in the Global South.

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