



Reshaping Governance: Mainstreaming Co-Production in the Megaproject Development of Nusantara Capital City, Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

Many large-scale development projects, including Indonesia's new capital relocation, face challenges in ensuring inclusive and participatory governance. The development of Nusantara Capital City (IKN) has been marked by limited public consultation, rapid policy formulation, and marginalization of local communities, leading to recurring resistance at various levels. These issues threaten the achievement of SDG 11 (Sustainable Cities and Communities) and SDG 16 (Peace, Justice, and Strong Institutions), both of which emphasize inclusive and transparent governance. This study explores co-production as a governance approach to enhance citizen engagement in the context of IKN's development. Employing a qualitative literature review, it examines how co-production is conceptualized and practiced in the planning of IKN. The findings indicate that while co-production is recognized in official discourse, its implementation remains limited and fragmented. Key barriers include weak legal frameworks, lack of institutional mechanisms, and absence of a formal oversight body. Strengthening co-production is crucial for ensuring transparency, inclusivity, and accountability in IKN's governance. The study proposes a comprehensive framework involving legal reforms, institutionalization of participatory mechanisms, and enhanced accountability tools. These efforts are vital to transform IKN from a top-down megaproject into a model of inclusive urban governance.

INTRODUCTION

The development of Nusantara Capital City (Ibu Kota Nusantara/IKN) is one of the most ambitious urban projects of the 21st century. Through Law Number 3 of 2022 on the National Capital, Indonesia has officially decided to establish Nusantara Capital City (IKN) as a sustainable global city, a symbol of national identity, and a driver of future economic growth. This decision aligns with the government's vision to develop IKN as a green, smart, and sustainable city, reflecting national identity and diversity, firmly rooted in Pancasila and the Constitution. (Perdana, 2024).

According to the *Blueprint of Nusantara Smart City (2023)*, the construction of IKN on 252,660 hectares within the National Strategic Area (KSN) is guided by eight key principles, which serve as Key Performance Indicators (KPIs) based on Presidential Regulation Number 63 of 2022 on the IKN Master Plan. These principles define IKN as a city designed in harmony with its natural environment, a city embodying the uniqueness and harmony of Pancasila, a city with high accessibility and active mobility, an energy-efficient and low-emission city, a resilient and circular city, a safe and inclusive city for all, a technology-driven city, and a city with equitable economic opportunities.

The relocation of Indonesia's capital from Jakarta to Nusantara has been presented by the Indonesian government as part of its effort to address the complex and longstanding issues faced by Jakarta as the nation's capital since 1945. Jakarta, along with the greater Jabodetabek metropolitan area, with a total population of over 35 million, constitutes the second-largest urban agglomeration in the world after Tokyo (Pravitasari et al.,

2015). Rapid population growth over the past few decades has placed an increasing burden on Jakarta, exacerbating the challenges of mega-urbanization (Rachmawati et al., 2024). Severe traffic congestion, air, water, and soil pollution, land subsidence, disaster-related risks, disproportionate urban expansion, and significant socio-economic disparities have severely constrained Jakarta's functionality as the capital city. Among the numerous challenges faced by major urban areas, two of the most pressing issues are traffic congestion and flooding, both of which have far-reaching impacts on various aspects of daily life. The construction of Nusantara, strategically located in the eastern coastal region of Kalimantan within East Kalimantan Province, is expected to serve as a viable solution to the persistent and complex problems that have long plagued Indonesia's capital.



Figure 1. Nusantara is Located in the Central Region of Indonesia

Source: (Sari et al., 2023)

However, since the initial relocation process in 2022, various issues have accompanied the development of Nusantara Capital City (IKN). The primary problem in the relocation process stems from the lack of community involvement. A study by the

Indonesian Corruption Watch (2024) indicates that when Law Number 32 on the National Capital was enacted, public participation was largely overlooked. Numerous issues have emerged, including environmental degradation and losses suffered by local residents affected by the construction project (Aprilia & Supentri, 2024). A report by Project Multatuli (2024) reveals that the IKN project has been developed through the marginalization and exploitation of local communities living spaces, a hasty and poorly formulated policymaking process—particularly in drafting the legislation at an unprecedented speed—and a lack of open and equitable public consultation for a major policy that will reshape Indonesia’s political landscape (Mulya, 2024). Furthermore, the Supreme Audit Agency (BPK) has identified that this ambitious megaproject, with an estimated budget of nearly IDR 500 trillion, still faces numerous challenges, including funding for construction and operations, land acquisition, and asset management (Kompas.com, 2024).

The hasty relocation of the capital has sparked significant resistance from both the national and local communities in Indonesia (Rizqiyah, 2023). Recently, the hashtag #IKNUntukSiapa? has gone viral on social media, serving as a public outcry against the lack of community involvement in the development of Nusantara Capital City (IKN). Public discourse surrounding opposition to this megaproject has also been fueled by comparisons of its budget with other national infrastructure projects (Padawangi & Perkasa, 2022). For instance, the budget allocated for IKN's development is 69 times greater than the average funding for urban drinking water supply projects, which is approximately IDR 1.11 trillion. Additionally, IKN's budget surpasses the funding for transportation infrastructure outside Jakarta by 6 to 9 times. The Makassar Railway Project, for example, is projected to cost IDR 8.25 trillion, while the South Sumatra LRT requires IDR 12.5 trillion. In comparison to the total budget for waste treatment facilities in Jakarta, Tangerang, Bandung, Surakarta, Semarang, Surabaya, Makassar, and Denpasar—amounting to IDR 28.1 trillion—the funding for IKN is three times higher (Adinda, 2024). Furthermore, the claim that IKN will be a “Global City for All” has raised concerns over its negative impact on surrounding regions, affecting both communities and the environment (Kompas.id, 2023).



Figure 2. Public Resistance Against the Development of IKN
Source: (Mulya, 2024)

The weak legitimacy of the Nusantara Capital City megaproject, along with its accompanying negative impacts, stems from the lack of public participation and engagement in the policymaking process (Kompas.com, 2022). This aligns with the findings of Asmorowati et al., (2022), which indicates that the weakness of policy entrepreneurs has led to insufficient public involvement. This situation is likely to become even more complex as Indonesia enters the VUCA era, characterized by high levels of volatility, uncertainty, complexity, and ambiguity. The need to reshape governance through a more inclusive and participatory approach is becoming increasingly urgent. This can be achieved by adopting the principles of co-production, which assert that those directly affected by a policy or public service are

best suited to contribute to its formulation (Turnhout et al., 2020). This perspective is consistent with contemporary governance studies, which emphasize the importance of fostering public participation in governance processes and ensuring that citizens play an active role and have a voice in decision-making (Cheyne, 2015). In the context of an increasingly complex society, governance that is formulated as an interactive and interdependent process involving collaboration between state and non-state actors is crucial (Ansell & Torfing, 2022).

Regarding research on the development of Nusantara Capital City (IKN), several studies have been conducted. [Bachechi \(2025\)](#) examined the economic and political reasons behind the implementation of the IKN megaproject while also exploring its realization by assessing the alignment between theoretical expectations and practical outcomes. [Fisher et al., \(2024\)](#) analyzed the IKN project as a symbolic initiative and evaluated the extent to which the concept of a "climate-friendly capital city" can be implemented. Research on sustainable development planning in IKN was also conducted by [Rachmawati et al., \(2024\)](#), whose findings indicate shortcomings in disaster risk mitigation and social aspects that require further attention in the city's development. Challenges in the IKN development process were highlighted by a study conducted by [Syaban & Appiah-Opoku \(2024\)](#), which found that the relocation of Indonesia's capital to IKN has led to significant land-use changes, raising concerns about its societal, economic, and environmental impacts. Meanwhile, in terms of social conflict, [Buana et al., \(2023\)](#) emphasized the potential violation of public rights due to the IKN development project, while [Permadi \(2024\)](#) focused on disputes between indigenous communities and the Nusantara Capital Authority.

While existing studies have extensively examined the economic, environmental, and social dimensions of IKN's development, there remains a notable gap in the literature regarding the integration of co-production into its governance framework. Prevailing research predominantly critiques the limitations of public participation without advancing a structured governance model to enhance inclusivity and engagement. This study seeks to address this lacuna by proposing a co-production framework that systematically facilitates public involvement in decision-making processes. This study seeks to address this lacuna by proposing a co-production framework that systematically facilitates public involvement in decision-making processes. The purpose of this research is to explore how the principles of co-production can be applied within the governance framework of IKN, to improve public participation and enhance the inclusivity of the policy-making process.

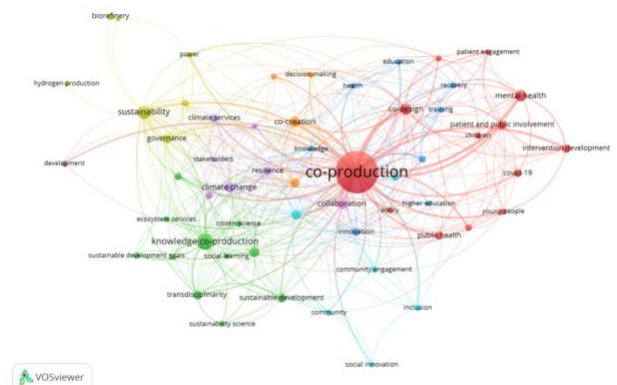


Figure 3. Bibliometric Mapping of Co-Production Research Themes and Keyword Co-Occurrence Network Based on Scopus-Indexed Publications Using VOSviewer

To substantiate this research direction, a bibliometric analysis using VOSviewer (see Figure 3) was conducted to map the current academic landscape surrounding the concept of co-production. The visualization reveals a significant clustering of literature around health and social care contexts, particularly in relation to mental health, patient and public involvement, and intervention development. These domains dominate the conceptual space, indicating that co-production has been predominantly explored within sectors emphasizing service delivery and individualized care. In contrast, governance, policy, and development terms appear only peripherally and lack strong associative linkages to co-production. This suggests a paucity of research examining co-production as a governance approach in large-scale infrastructural or policy initiatives.

Moreover, the absence of geographically contextualized terms, such as urban development, capital city, or references to the Global South, underscores the limited application of co-production frameworks in the context of megaprojects in developing countries. The IKN development, as one of the largest state-led urban transformations in Southeast Asia, presents a critical case for investigating how co-production could be mainstreamed to democratize governance and ensure more inclusive and participatory development outcomes. This research thus responds to both a theoretical and empirical gap: the need to reposition co-production not only as a participatory tool in service sectors but as a core element of governance transformation in complex, large-scale state projects such as the IKN.

Furthermore, the research will examine how co-production can address the challenges of public legitimacy and community involvement, ensuring that marginalized groups are adequately represented in the policy design and implementation phases. The significance of this study lies in its potential to bridge the gap between theoretical critiques of governance and practical, actionable frameworks for improving public participation in large-scale urban developments. Co-production, as a collaborative governance model, underscores the active involvement of citizens, civil society organizations, and other non-state actors in the design, implementation, and evaluation of public policies (Ansell & Torfing, 2022). By adopting this approach, this study explores how co-production principles can be effectively applied to the development of Nusantara Capital City (IKN), ensuring that governance mechanisms become more inclusive and participatory.

Furthermore, this research situates the IKN development project within the broader context of governance in the VUCA era, characterized by volatility, uncertainty, complexity, and ambiguity. In such an environment, traditional top-down governance approaches often fall short in addressing multifaceted urban and developmental challenges (McMullin, 2021). The co-production framework proposed in this study seeks to bridge this gap by fostering multi-stakeholder collaboration, enabling local communities and marginalized groups to have a more active role in shaping the policies that directly affect their lives.

This study strengthens the comparative understanding of participatory governance in large-scale infrastructure projects. Experiences from both developed and developing countries illustrate diverse approaches to co-production in governance. For

instance, South Korea's strategic urban planning in Sejong City highlights the role of government-led coordination (Lim et al., 2023), while the participatory planning process in Finland's Helsinki emphasizes community engagement as a core principle (Roman & Fellnhöfer, 2022). Furthermore, insights from the Global South, particularly from capital city relocations and urban megaprojects in Egypt, provide crucial lessons on the challenges of balancing rapid urbanization, social inclusion, and governance reform. Egypt's New Administrative Capital reflects the complexities of integrating local communities into decision-making processes amid fast-paced development (Kaye-Essien & Bhuiyan, 2022).

To enrich this global perspective, it is also important to consider participatory governance models from other contexts that demonstrate different forms of citizen engagement. For example, in Brazil, the city of Porto Alegre has become a pioneering example of participatory budgeting, allowing residents to influence municipal spending decisions and fostering a bottom-up approach to urban development (Schugurensky & Mook, 2024). Similarly, the urban planning processes in Vancouver, Canada, highlight efforts to integrate Indigenous communities into formal governance structures, reflecting a commitment to multicultural inclusion and the recognition of minority rights (Peters, 2005), although these efforts continue to face significant challenges in achieving equitable and meaningful participation. These additional cases not only broaden the comparative framework of this study but also emphasize the critical role of contextual sensitivity and inclusive mechanisms in the co-production of large-scale infrastructure policies. By examining such international practices, this research situates IKN within a broader typology of urban megaproject governance, allowing for a more nuanced understanding of what inclusive development might entail in the Indonesian context.

This research aligns with global efforts to advance the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), particularly Goal 11 (Sustainable Cities and Communities) and Goal 16 (Peace, Justice, and Strong Institutions), by advocating for inclusive, participatory, and accountable governance in urban development. Lessons from international and Global South experiences serve as a foundation for designing a co-production framework that ensures the long-term legitimacy and sustainability of Nusantara Capital City. This research makes a significant contribution to the literature on inclusive governance, particularly in the development of megaprojects in developing countries. By emphasizing the co-production approach, it enhances the understanding of how public participation can be effectively integrated into development planning and implementation. Drawing on global insights, this study provides practical recommendations for the government and other stakeholders in designing an inclusive and sustainable IKN development policy that actively involves local communities, especially those directly affected by the project.

To achieve this purpose, this study is guided by the following research questions: 1) How is the principle of co-production being implemented across the stages of co-commissioning, co-design, co-delivery, and co-assessment in the development of IKN? 2) What are the primary governance challenges that hinder the effective mainstreaming of co-production in the megaproject? 3) What strategic framework can be proposed to institutionalize co-production and ensure a more inclusive and legitimate governance model for IKN?

METHOD

The research methodology refers to the systematic approaches and instruments used to collect data in a scientific study. This study employs a qualitative research method, which is a process aimed at exploring and understanding a social issue by interpreting data, individuals, or groups (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). The qualitative research method is used to investigate issues with variables that cannot be measured, to obtain a comprehensive understanding (Aminah, 2019). The data collection technique used in this study is a literature review. A literature review is designed to identify, evaluate, and integrate existing research evidence to provide a deeper understanding (Chukwuere, 2023). The selection of this approach is based on its flexibility in understanding various concepts, theories, and findings from previous studies that are relevant to the focus of this research. By employing a qualitative method based on a literature review, this study identifies and analyzes diverse perspectives and insights from academic sources and policy documents to examine the topic of co-production in the development of Nusantara Capital City (IKN).

The literature review method involves a series of systematic stages, including problem formulation, literature searching, data evaluation, analysis, and synthesis (Wickrama et al., 2023). As this study is exclusively based on a literature review, it does not involve human informants; instead, the data consists entirely of textual and documentary sources. Data collection was conducted through the systematic identification and analysis of various sources, which were selected based on three key criteria: relevance to the topics of co-production and IKN governance, credibility of the source (e.g., peer-reviewed journals and official reports), and timeliness to ensure contemporary analysis. These sources include academic journals, books, policy reports, mass media articles, and previous research documents. To facilitate reference management and systematic organization of these sources, this study utilizes Mendeley. Data analysis was conducted manually through thematic analysis and conceptual synthesis without the use of additional qualitative data analysis software.

The first stage of this research involves identifying recurring themes and concepts in the reviewed literature. This process includes selecting and analyzing various sources to uncover patterns, concepts, and aspects relevant to the research focus. Subsequently, data from these sources are organized and synthesized to identify significant relationships and perspectives related to the research topic. The final stage of this analysis is contextual analysis of the collected data. Through this approach, the researcher aims to gain deeper insights into the mainstreaming of co-production in the development of the Nusantara Capital City (IKN) megaproject in Indonesia, particularly within the VUCA (Volatility, Uncertainty, Complexity, Ambiguity) era. This approach seeks to provide a more holistic understanding through an in-depth literature study and a comprehensive conceptual synthesis.

To ensure the validity and trustworthiness of the findings, this study employed source triangulation. This approach enhances the credibility of the analysis by not relying on a single type of information. It was achieved by systematically cross-referencing and synthesizing insights gathered from a diverse range of materials. The study integrates findings from peer-reviewed academic journals, official policy reports, scholarly books, and timely mass media articles. By comparing perspectives from these varied sources—for instance, contrasting academic

critiques with official government narratives and media coverage—a more comprehensive, nuanced, and robust understanding of the research problem was constructed.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Dynamics of Co-Production in the Development of the Nusantara Capital City Megaproject

The development of Nusantara Capital City (IKN) in East Kalimantan is an ambitious project that represents a major transformation in urban planning and management in Indonesia. As a national megaproject, IKN is designed to symbolize modernity, sustainability, and social equity (Perdana, 2024). One of the key concepts adopted in IKN's planning and development is the 'city for all' principle, which envisions a harmonious and inclusive relationship between residents and their surrounding environment (Jati et al., 2023). Through various IKN development planning products, such as the established blueprints, the planning and construction of IKN fundamentally align with the co-production approach, which involves interaction between the community and the government in jointly designing, implementing, and evaluating development programs or projects (Rosen & Painter, 2019). This approach plays a crucial role in fostering a harmonious and inclusive relationship among communities and various stakeholders, including the government and the private sector. By prioritizing active participation, collective decision-making, and building trust among the involved parties, co-production can drive the creation of more inclusive and sustainable development outcomes (Turnhout et al., 2020).

According to a report from the national news media Kompas.id (2022), the development of Nusantara Capital City (IKN) is designed to be carried out in four main phases. The first phase began between 2020 and 2024, followed by the second phase scheduled for 2025 to 2035. The third phase is planned for the period between 2035 and 2045, while the final phase will take place after 2045. The legal foundation for the development and management of IKN was established through Law No. 3 of 2022 on the National Capital, which was signed into law by President Joko Widodo on February 15, 2022. Additionally, this development plan is reinforced by Presidential Regulation No. 18 of 2022 on the National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN) 2020–2024. The IKN development project is projected to require a budget of 466 trillion rupiahs and will be implemented gradually over two decades. The government aims to complete this project by 2045 as part of its effort to create a modern, sustainable, and inclusive new capital city.

The co-production approach has been a strategic element in the development of IKN, implemented since the initial planning stage. The government, through the Ministry of National Development Planning/National Development Planning Agency of the Republic of Indonesia, has actively conducted various forums and public discussions to gather constructive input for drafting the IKN master plan. This approach aims to ensure that the resulting plan reflects the principles of inclusivity, sustainability, environmental preservation, and equitable economic growth across Indonesia. Additionally, President Joko Widodo has actively engaged the public by holding dialogues with Indigenous leaders in East Kalimantan to accommodate aspirations regarding the relocation and development of IKN (Tribunnews.com, 2022).

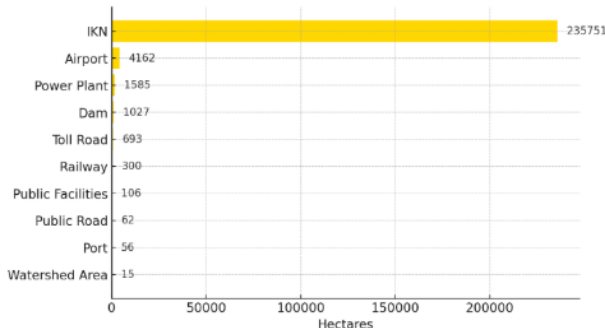
Although the initial phase of IKN's development is already underway, several challenges continue to overshadow its

implementation. One of the main issues is the suboptimal involvement of local communities in the development process. The Indonesian Forum for the Environment (WALHI) has criticized the IKN development process, arguing that it inadequately involves local communities (Tempo.co, 2024). WALHI highlights the lack of dialogue opportunities between local communities and the government regarding the planning and construction of IKN, which could potentially harm the local communities in Penajam Paser Utara, East Kalimantan, in the long run. A report from the Indigenous Peoples Alliance of the Archipelago (AMAN) also states that the Balik Indigenous People were never involved in or communicated with the government regarding the relocation of the national capital to their customary territory. The Balik Indigenous People argue that the IKN Law does not meet the prerequisites for community participation, namely the right to be heard, the right to have their opinions considered, and the right to receive explanations or responses to their input. As a result, various acts of resistance against the capital relocation project have emerged.



Figure 4. Citizen Protests Against the Development of IKN
Source: Dalidjo (2021)

In addition to the previous legitimacy issues, environmental and social dynamics have also emerged in the process of relocating the national capital. According to a report from the Agrarian Renewal Consortium (KPA), agrarian conflicts related to the development of IKN have further complicated the construction process. Throughout 2023, there were 241 cases of agrarian conflict in Indonesia, affecting a total area of 638.2 thousand hectares. The development of IKN contributed the most to these agrarian conflicts, with an affected area reaching 235.8 thousand hectares, or approximately 38% of the total national agrarian conflict area, as illustrated in Graph 1.



Graph 1. Land Area of Agrarian Conflicts in Indonesia's Infrastructure Sector in 2023

Source: Adapted from (Databoks.co.id, 2024)

The report conducted by Adinda (2024) also highlights that agrarian conflicts arising from the development of IKN have negatively impacted local communities, particularly farmers. In

2023, as part of the planned development of the *Penajam Eco-City* and the VVIP Airport in IKN, approximately 2 hectares of land cultivated with banana trees were cleared by the *Land Bank* without any prior authorization or notification (Adinda, 2024). This situation reflects the absence of co-production implementation, particularly in the stages of *co-commissioning* and *co-design*. In addition to causing social conflicts with local communities, the project has also had adverse environmental effects. This can be observed through a comparison of green land conditions before and after the construction of the VVIP Airport in IKN. Such a comparison is evident from satellite imagery captured by *Nusantara Atlas*, illustrating landscape changes in the airport development area between 2021 and 2023.



Figure 5. Comparison of Landscape Changes in the VVIP Airport Development Area

Source: (Project Multatuli, 2024)

According to Hidayat (2023), agrarian conflicts in the development of Ibu Kota Nusantara (IKN) arise due to the lack of recognition of indigenous territorial rights and the inadequate protection of people's land and indigenous communities' communal land rights. These conflicts typically revolve around unrecognized and unmet land rights, which can hinder support for the development process. In this regard, the involvement of local communities plays a crucial role in the development of IKN.

Meanwhile, the Audit Board of Indonesia (Badan Pemeriksa Keuangan, BPK), in its Summary of Audit Findings for the second semester of 2023, identified several issues requiring serious attention (Kumparan.com, 2024). First, infrastructure development has not yet fully aligned with the National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN) 2020–2024, the Strategic Plan of the Ministry of Public Works and Housing (Renstra Kementerian PUPR) 2020–2024, and the IKN master plan.

Additionally, alternative financing plans beyond the state budget (APBN), such as public-private partnership (PPP) schemes or private investments, have not been optimally realized. Second, infrastructure development preparations face obstacles, particularly regarding forest area release and land acquisition. Out of the total planned 36,150 hectares, approximately 2,085.62 hectares are still occupied by other parties. Third, the supply chain management of materials and equipment for the early stages of construction remains suboptimal, leading to material shortages and inadequate availability of necessary construction equipment. Fourth, the Ministry of Public Works and Housing has yet to establish a clear asset handover plan, including budget allocation for operational costs and mechanisms for maintaining and managing the constructed assets.

The various issues and findings mentioned above indicate that the implementation of the co-production approach in the development of Ibu Kota Nusantara (IKN) remains suboptimal. Although this approach has been strategically integrated since the early stages of planning and development—evidenced by the government's efforts to hold public forums to accommodate

public aspirations—several major obstacles continue to hinder its implementation. The issue of inadequate local community participation reflects the suboptimal execution of the co-commissioning phase or joint procurement (Ongaro et al., 2021). This phase should involve communities in determining development priorities and resource allocation. However, the lack of dialogue between the government and local communities highlights a gap between policy formulation and the actual needs of the people in Penajam Paser Utara.

Furthermore, the findings of the Supreme Audit Agency (BPK) regarding the misalignment of infrastructure development with the National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN), strategic plans, and the IKN master plan indicate weak implementation of *co-design* or joint design (Farr, 2018). The collaborative planning process, which should ensure alignment between development plans and the needs of local communities, has not been fully realized. Additionally, the limitations in planning alternative funding sources highlight a lack of innovation in policy design that involves various stakeholders. Challenges related to forest area release and land ownership further demonstrate that the *co-delivery* phase, or joint implementation (Leonardi & Not, 2022), has not been effectively executed. The ineffective involvement of communities and relevant stakeholders in the implementation of IKN's development could potentially hinder its long-term sustainability.

Moreover, BPK's findings on the absence of asset handover plans, maintenance mechanisms, and operational budget allocation strategies indicate that the *co-assessment* phase, or joint evaluation (Quesada et al., 2019), has not been optimally applied. A collaborative evaluation process involving communities and stakeholders in assessing development outcomes is essential to ensuring sustainability and efficiency. However, to date, this process has not been prioritized.

Therefore, *reshaping governance* is necessary by mainstreaming *co-production* in the development of Ibu Kota Nusantara (IKN). This approach emphasizes the importance of active participation from communities and stakeholders at every stage of development. The mainstreaming of *co-production* principles ensures that IKN's development is not solely focused on administrative efficiency but is also responsive to the evolving needs and aspirations of local communities. Consequently, the resulting policies become more adaptive and contextually relevant, while also enhancing sustainability and inclusivity in the ongoing development process.

Reshaping Governance through the Mainstreaming of Co-Production

Reshaping governance in the development of Ibu Kota Nusantara (IKN) entails transforming the interaction patterns between the government, society, and other stakeholders by ensuring their more intensive involvement in every stage of the policy cycle. This approach emphasizes the mainstreaming of *co-production* as a fundamental principle, which entails direct public participation in *co-commissioning* (joint procurement), *co-design* (joint design), *co-delivery* (joint implementation), and *co-assessment* (joint evaluation) of IKN's development. The mainstreaming of *co-production* principles aims to establish a governance structure that is more open, collaborative, and participatory, ensuring that all stakeholders, particularly local communities, have a significant voice and role in shaping and implementing development policies.

Based on the previous discussion, although the concept of co-production has been implemented in several stages of IKN's development, issues such as the exploitation of local communities living spaces and indigenous peoples (Syaban & Appiah-Opoku, 2024), weak legitimacy due to the rapid policy-making process (Wadipalapa et al., 2023), and the lack of open and equitable public consultations (Mulya, 2024) require strategic solutions to realize IKN as a Global City for All. Moreover, in the context of the VUCA era, conventional top-down governance approaches are increasingly inadequate in accommodating the growing complexity of societal and environmental needs. Top-down approaches often marginalize local communities and disregard their contextual knowledge and valuable needs. These approaches tend to be rigid and fail to adapt to the specific and dynamic conditions of the VUCA era, resulting in ineffective policy implementation (van Holten & van Rijswijk, 2014). Therefore, a restructuring of public governance is required, with the mainstreaming of co-production as an approach that can enhance the legitimacy and democratic nature of public decision-making (Brandesen et al., 2018).

In the context of developing countries with limited resources, Linders (2012) states that there is often no alternative other than co-production. On a large scale, co-production can drive sustainable change, meaning that it is not only for citizens but also together with or involving them (Mukherjee & Mukherjee, 2018). This co-production framework encompasses three levels of policymaking simultaneously: agenda-setting, program definition, and implementation (Sorrentino et al., 2018). However, to achieve this, efforts are required to holistically and creatively define policy outcomes and the behavior of service recipients or policy objects, using a collaborative problem-solving approach when implemented on a large scale (Ansell & Torfing, 2022). Holistically, in this context, refers to the idea that the success of a program or service is not solely measured by final outcomes such as numerical targets, but also by interconnected aspects, including social, environmental, economic impacts, and overall community well-being. Service recipients, or in this case, the community, should not be viewed merely as passive beneficiaries awaiting the outcomes but rather as active partners with essential roles and contributions in the problem-solving process.

The first step in mainstreaming co-production is to address various issues in the development of IKN, according to Sorrentino et al. (2018), can be carried out by classifying the necessary resources at the individual, organizational, and systemic levels. This can be achieved by identifying the relationships between the government, private sector, and citizens through a holistic governance paradigm, as illustrated in Figure 5.

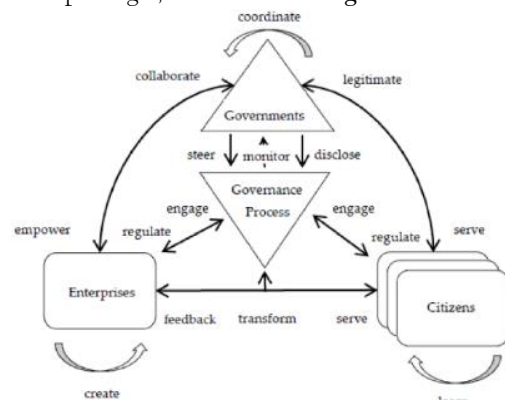


Figure 6. Holistic Governance Framework
Source: Adapted from Li & Ding (2020)

The holistic governance framework consists of four key elements. The government acts as a director with authority and a mandate to regulate other actors, as seen in the formulation of the IKN master plan and public dialogues. The private sector serves as a partner supporting the implementation of development, while citizens represent the needs of local communities and the benefits derived from development, including indigenous communities affected by the project. Meanwhile, the governance process provides a space for interaction between the government, private sector, and citizens, offering mechanisms for participation and influence over policies and services (Li & Ding, 2020).

Based on the analysis of actor relationships mentioned above, the implementation of holistic governance in the development of IKN still faces challenges, particularly in local community participation, dialogue with indigenous communities, and cross-actor synergy, which remains suboptimal. This indicates that the co-production principle, which emphasizes cross-actor collaboration to create public value, has not been fully implemented, thereby posing obstacles to inclusive and sustainable governance. The following outlines the strategies and stages of co-commissioning, co-design, co-delivery, and co-assessment that can be adopted to ensure the sustainability of IKN's development.

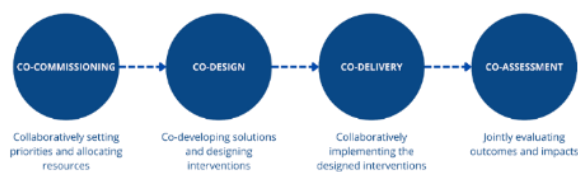


Figure 7. Mapping out co-production processes
Source: Processed by the Author (2024)

1. Co-Commissioning

Co-commissioning refers to the stage where the government and society collaboratively determine development priorities and plan interventions (Ongaro et al., 2021). In the case of IKN, the limited involvement of local communities in this crucial initial stage demonstrates a significant gap between official discourse and practice. Public forums, while conducted, appear to function more as top-down socialization rather than genuine collaborative agenda-setting. This superficial engagement directly contradicts the core tenet of co-production, which emphasizes shared power in decision-making to enhance democratic legitimacy (Brandson et al., 2018). The failure to truly co-commission has resulted in a foundational legitimacy deficit, where policies like land allocation are decided without the free, prior, and informed consent of affected communities, a situation that Turnhout et al. (2020) would describe as a manifestation of unresolved power imbalances that undermines the entire co-production process.

Therefore, enhancing co-commissioning is not merely about adding more forums. The government must institutionalize truly inclusive mechanisms, such as revising the IKN Law to mandate binding public participation. As suggested by Hermansyah (2019), genuine engagement from the outset is critical for building social capital, which in turn is a prerequisite for creating sustainable public value—not just for the state, but with and for the citizens themselves (Loeffler & Bovaird, 2021).

2. Co-Design

Co-design involves the collaborative design of solutions by the government, society, and private sector (Farr, 2018). The current IKN design, however, has not adequately integrated local needs, particularly concerning indigenous land rights and environmental sustainability, leading to conflicts. This reflects a tokenistic approach to participation, where community input is solicited but not meaningfully incorporated into the final design. According to Farr (2018), this is a common pitfall where power dynamics prevent genuine co-design, reducing it to a consultative exercise rather than a true partnership. The result is a master plan that, while technically sophisticated, lacks contextual relevance and social acceptance.

To embed the principle of co-design, collaborative planning workshops must be established where local community representatives, environmental experts, and government planners work together to co-develop solutions. This aligns with the call from Meng & Huang (2025) for multi-stakeholder collaboration to produce more resilient and sustainable urban development. Such a process would ensure that IKN's design is not only smart and green on paper, but also socially just and culturally resonant in practice.

3. Co-Delivery

Co-delivery is the joint implementation of policies and programs by all stakeholders (Leonardi & Not, 2022). The implementation of IKN is fraught with challenges in this area, especially regarding the recognition of land rights, leading to conflicts and unequal distribution of benefits. This failure in co-delivery is a direct result of the breakdown in trust and coordination established in the earlier stages. Without a shared sense of ownership fostered through co-commissioning and co-design, implementation becomes a contested terrain rather than a collaborative effort. This highlights the interdependent nature of the co-production cycle; a failure in one stage inevitably cascades into the next.

To enhance co-delivery, the government must establish an inclusive governance body or collaborative team with mandated representation from indigenous communities, local residents, and other key stakeholders. As Shekhawa et al., (2024) argue, such a body is crucial for ensuring sustainable and inclusive urban management. This body should be empowered with real decision-making authority over project implementation, moving beyond a purely advisory role. Supplementing this with a local oversight committee would further strengthen accountability and collaborative problem-solving during the joint implementation phase.

4. Co-Assessment

Co-assessment is the collaborative evaluation of project outcomes and impacts by all stakeholders (Quesada et al., 2019). Currently, IKN's assessment is a one-sided affair conducted by the government, leading to a disconnect between official outcomes and community expectations. This lack of co-assessment perpetuates a non-adaptive, unaccountable governance model. Without feedback loops involving those most affected, there is no mechanism for course correction or for learning what truly constitutes "value" for the community. This undermines the project's long-term sustainability and its capacity to respond to the complexities of the VUCA environment.

To embed co-assessment in IKN's development, several strategies are crucial. These include establishing participatory evaluation workshops and strengthening transparency mechanisms so the community can access and understand data on development outcomes and their impacts. This fosters a culture of continuous improvement based on community feedback. As literature suggests, such collaborative assessment leads to more efficient and sustainable urban projects (Della Spina et al., 2015) and is a critical process for co-creating shared value (Toukola et al., 2023), ultimately ensuring that the definition of "success" for IKN is determined not just by the state, but by all its stakeholders.

The mainstreaming of co-production in IKN development aligns with several Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), particularly Goal 11 (Sustainable Cities and Communities), Goal 16 (Peace, Justice, and Strong Institutions), and Goal 17 (Partnerships for the Goals). By fostering participatory governance, co-production ensures that urban development is inclusive, sustainable, and resilient, addressing the needs of both current and future generations. The emphasis on indigenous rights, environmental sustainability, and equitable participation directly supports SDG 11, which calls for cities that are safe, resilient, and participatory. Furthermore, strengthening governance mechanisms through co-production contributes to SDG 16 by promoting transparency, accountability, and inclusive decision-making. Lastly, the collaboration between government, private sector, and civil society in co-production reflects the spirit of SDG 17, which highlights the importance of partnerships in achieving sustainable development. By integrating co-production principles, IKN can serve as a model for inclusive and participatory urban governance, ensuring that development benefits are equitably shared among all stakeholders.

Co-Production as an Approach to Creating Public Value in the VUCA Era

The VUCA era (volatility, uncertainty, complexity, and ambiguity) is characterized by rapid and unpredictable environmental changes. Uncertainty in the VUCA era refers to a lack of predictability and difficulties in anticipating future events. This condition is further exacerbated by economic instability, political shifts, and climate change (Moesgen et al., 2023). The increasingly interconnected world, driven by advanced technology, contributes to the emergence of more complex modern challenges. The proliferation of information from various sources, often accompanied by minimal interpretation and clarity in decision-making, frequently leads to greater confusion (Kjaerum, 2022).

In the context of IKN development as an ambitious megaproject, the VUCA era presents multidimensional challenges that require innovative and adaptive governance approaches. The complexity of IKN planning extends beyond technical and infrastructure aspects to include the management of interrelated social, cultural, and environmental factors. The uncertainty surrounding public support, political dynamics, and environmental sustainability in the IKN development process necessitates adaptive and responsive policy actions. This is also reinforced by volatility in technological advancements and the global economy, which increasingly demands that public sector organizations remain vigilant against unpredictable situations (Fletcher & Griffiths, 2020).

Through its mainstreaming in IKN development, co-production can bridge the gap between the community and the

government, enhance trust, and ensure that the solutions emerging in the development process align more closely with local needs and contexts. Beyond this, co-production—by engaging citizens in co-commissioning, co-design, co-delivery, and co-assessment—has the potential to transform into a strategic approach for creating public value in the VUCA era.

This aligns with the perspective of Osborne et al., (2021), who argue that co-production should be understood as more than just an independent process. It involves integrating the concept of value creation, which connects the process of service production with its utilization by the community (Osborne, 2018). Thus, co-production is not merely a participatory mechanism but also a crucial component in generating relevant value for both individuals and society collectively. This notion is reinforced by influential discourses in public administration and management, where co-production has evolved in various directions, including resource utilization, innovation facilitation, and as a driver of public service reform (Brandsen et al., 2018; Loeffler & Bovaird, 2021; Nabatchi, 2018).

The primary effort to create public value through the co-production approach is to position public officials as key facilitators (Farr, 2018). The traditional belief that public officials have full control over determining policy and public service outcomes must be reconsidered. Osborne et al., (2021) propose a three-dimensional model for value creation through co-production by identifying the *loci*—or places—where public value is generated. Osborne et al., (2021) categorize these into three main *loci*: (1) individuals as service stakeholders and citizens, (2) communities where shared values are created, and (3) public service organizations and ecosystems, where value creation occurs through iterative learning—meaning organizations continuously adapt based on experience and knowledge integration. This approach emphasizes that value creation through co-production does not occur in isolation at the individual level but rather within the dynamic interactions between individuals, communities, and organizations within the public policy ecosystem.

In addressing the challenges of the VUCA era, applying co-production in IKN development becomes highly relevant. By adopting the three-dimensional value creation model, IKN development can place greater emphasis on the active involvement of individuals, communities, and the broader public service ecosystem, ensuring a more inclusive, adaptive, and sustainable governance process.

CONCLUSION

The co-production approach in the relocation project of the National Capital has been a strategic element implemented since the early planning stages. This is evident in the government's efforts to conduct various forums and public discussions to gather constructive input for the preparation of the IKN master plan. However, the recurring resistance from society at both national and local levels—manifested through direct and digital demonstrations—indicates that public participation in this megaproject remains suboptimal. Various societal elements argue that Law No. 3 of 2022 on IKN does not meet the prerequisites for meaningful public participation. This reflects the weak implementation of the co-commissioning or joint procurement stage in IKN development. Findings from the Audit Board of Indonesia (BPK) regarding discrepancies between infrastructure development and the National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN), strategic plans, and the IKN master plan suggest weak

implementation of co-design or joint design. Furthermore, land acquisition issues indicate that the co-delivery or joint implementation stage has not been effectively executed. Additionally, the absence of a structured asset handover plan, maintenance mechanisms, and operational budget allocation further reveals the lack of co-assessment in IKN development.

Addressing these governance challenges requires a paradigm shift by mainstreaming co-production in IKN development. This is particularly crucial in the VUCA era, where complexity and uncertainty demand adaptive governance models. The integration of co-production into the IKN development process is not only about enhancing administrative efficiency but also about ensuring that the project aligns with the needs and aspirations of diverse societal groups. This approach is in line with SDG 11 (*Sustainable Cities and Communities*), as it emphasizes inclusive urban governance, and SDG 16 (*Peace, Justice, and Strong Institutions*), which advocates for participatory decision-making and institutional accountability. By strengthening the role of co-commissioning, co-design, co-delivery, and co-assessment, the government can foster a more responsive and participatory development process, reducing resistance and increasing public trust in the new capital's future.

To ensure meaningful public involvement, several strategic measures should be taken. The government must revise Law No. 3 of 2022 to mandate public participation mechanisms at every stage of IKN development. Additionally, establishing a governance body and an independent oversight committee—comprising representatives from the public, experts, and government officials—should be prioritized to ensure transparent and accountable decision-making. These representatives should not be limited to community leaders but should also include vulnerable groups to ensure an inclusive approach. Furthermore, leveraging digital platforms to enable real-time public access to information on development progress and budget allocation is a critical step in fostering transparency.

Future research is needed to explore innovative mechanisms that can strengthen co-production in large-scale infrastructure projects, particularly in Global South contexts. Studies could investigate the role of digital technology in facilitating participatory governance, the effectiveness of co-production in mitigating socio-political resistance, and comparative analyses of co-production models in other megaprojects worldwide. Ultimately, by mainstreaming a joint production approach, co-production can serve as a strategic framework for bridging the gap between government and society, fostering democratic governance, and ensuring that the new capital embodies the principle of a city for all.

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