

## The Policy of Moving Civil Servants to Ibu Kota Nusantara: Perspective from Junior Civil Servants

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### Abstract

*This paper explores the perspective of policy subject as an important factor in policymaking. Using the case of the moving civil servants to Ibu Kota Nusantara, this paper focuses on the perspective of junior civil servants as the first and foremost target for policy acceptance. In studying the policy analysis model, this paper attempts to assess the agonistic analysis model as an alternative to technocratic and proceduralism in policy. This rationality-based analysis model tends to bring up problematic positions between policymakers and policy subjects, with some cases where policy recipients lack advocacy. The data and information in this paper come from the results of in-depth interviews with representatives of young civil servants, studies of research reports, and studies of documents and reporting chronologically. This method was chosen to support the agonistic style of the constructivist analysis model.. The agonistic analysis model in the case of the ASN moving policy to IKN has general findings and reflections, namely: 1. It is necessary to see the construction and contextuality of the pros and cons in the policy, 2. It is necessary to map the dynamics or problems that will or have occurred in the policy, 3. It is necessary to accommodate vulnerable parties in the policy.*

**Keywords:** *agonistic analysis, Ibu Kota Nusantara, moving civil servants, policy subject.*

### INTRODUCTION

This paper analyzes the policy of moving civil servants to Ibu Kota Nusantara. The moving of the State Capital from Jakarta to Nusantara raises several problems, such as the urgency of the moving, the cost of the moving, the potential for disaster, and local community protests. However, it has practically not been conceptually highlighted how problematic the moving of ASN is. This happens because of the formal consequences of ASN's position as a government employee. Moving the center of government means moving government human resources.

Based on data tracing in the Nusantara Capital Authority and related ministries/agencies, the ASN moving policy contains the transformation of work culture, public infrastructure, and settlement infrastructure. The moving planning framework is the determination of the organizational unit scenario by the ministry/agency, the determination of the ASN scenario by the ministry/agency, and the family scenario by ASN. There are at least a total of 76 ministries/agencies and 100,023 ASNs that will be moved gradually from 2024 to 2029 [1].

Specific criteria for ASN to be moved are 1. ASN with a minimum education of D-3, 2. Taking into account the retirement age limit, 3. ASN performance data, and 4. ASN competency and potential data. The selected ASN comes from the organizational unit of the ministry/agency with consideration of: 1. The level of importance/urgency of the organizational unit, 2. Transformation of new ways of working (shared office, flexible working arrangement, and smart governance), 3. Organizational units that function as public service units are gradually moved to the Ibu Kota Nusantara. This paper will focus on the perspective of young ASNs as ASNs who

potentially meet the criteria to be moved in the early stages. This means that it is necessary to explore how the perspective of these young ASNs is not only about formalism but also on informalism in policy; such as the views, attitudes, and readiness for moving in personal capacity.

This paper with the perspective of Young ASN is the beginning of a study on the policy of moving ASN to Ibu Kota Nusantara, which further writing can review with various perspectives and approaches [2]. As an initial policy study, this paper uses an interpretive perspective and a qualitative approach to understand the perspective of the policy subject in the policy [3]. Technically, the policy analysis model used is agonistic analysis. This model has been carried out in problematic cases, nuanced conflicts between policymakers and recipients, and their resolution using social movements.

The case in this paper will be interesting to assess the agonistic analysis model because the policy of moving ASN to Ibu Kota Nusantara is not too problematic, no explicit conflicts have been identified, and the resolution of policy constraints uses moderate methods. So with a case that does not have "antagonistic" nuances, will the agonistic analysis model be effective in revealing the perspectives of young ASNs as policy subjects in depth? This paper seeks to assess the substance and instrumentation of this matter.

This paper uses the agonistic analysis model offered in the study of policy analysis by Hendra Try Ardianto [4] and Martin Fortis [5]. This model departs from the comparison and contrast in contemporary policy studies which are divided into two main approaches, namely between rationality and constructivism. A comparison of the basic assumptions between the rationality and constructivist approaches is as follows:

**Table 1. Comparison of Basic Assumptions between Rationality and Constructivist Approaches**

No	Basic Assumptions	Rationality	Constructivist
1	Ontological basis	Reality can be digested objectively	Reality is subjectively positioned
2	Epistemological basis	The existence of standardised tools that can objectively be used to understand reality	Understanding reality must look at the field of meaning construction
3	Policy mission	Comply with all provisions in standardised/agreed tools	Obtaining the substance of the meaning of the policy
4	Key to success	Fulfilment of all provisions stipulated in the work toolkit	Realisation of consensus without negating differences of views
5	Treatment of context	Not relevant, as standardised tools can test everything	Context in time and space determines the reading of how meaning is treated.
6	Actor	The state (with its bureaucracy)	All actors involved in the battle of meaning
7	Actor position	Neutral, apolitical and disinterested	Partial, political, and constructed in the struggle for meaning

(source: Ardianto, 2016)

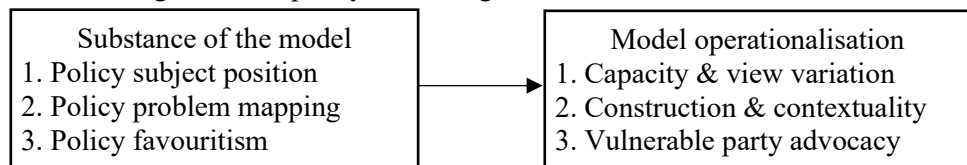
Through the dialectical process above, the agonistic analysis model assumes that first, policy analysis needs to look at the position of the subject (policy recipient) in the circulation of policy issues. In the policy issue, there are conditions where policy recipients have varying capacities and views. This variation explains the dilemma between supporting policies and rejecting policies. In the policy of movingring ASNs to IKN, this analysis model has the potential to reveal the arguments of policy supporters and policy opponents, even though the ASNs are explicitly in a supportive position because they are policy recipients.

Second, policy analysis needs to look at the existence of reconciliation in policy dynamics. In policy dynamics, there is a resolution to obstacles or problems in the policy which is then called

consensus, which is synonymous with the final position of problem-solving. In the agonistic analysis model, the claim of the final position of a problem solving needs to be finalized again, but hypothetically functional. This means that the resulting solution may function in a certain time context, therefore there is a need for a review of the problem mapping on an ongoing basis with alignments. As a simulation, on the surface, ASN supports policies as part of the consequences formally, but informally, ASN support may become irrelevant.

Third, policy analysis needs to have partiality or courage in advocating for vulnerable parties in policy implications. In the implications of a policy, there are potential problems that place vulnerable parties in the policy. These vulnerable parties arise in relation to the conditions of the capacity and views of policy recipients, as in the first point, or in relation to the consensus on policy issues that are claimed to be finalized by policymakers but are actually imposed or there is no consensus dialogue, as in the second point. Therefore, the point of policy analysis that has an axiology has a bias towards vulnerable parties in the policy, namely in this case the Young ASN, which is the main substance and instrumentation in the agonistic analysis model.

Based on the review of the conception of the agonistic analysis model above, the analytical framework for writing about the policy of moving ASN to IKN is assembled as follows:



**Figure 1. Analytical framework**  
(source: author's analysis, 2023)

## METHOD

This paper is about policy analysis based on the agonistic model with the main objective of revealing the perspectives of policy recipients in the policy of moving Civil Servants to Ibu Kota Nusantara. In the initial study of the moving of ASN to IKN, this paper focuses on the perspective of Young ASN as the main and first party affected by the policy. To explore the initial findings, this paper focuses on the representation of Young ASNs from the moved Ministries/Agencies in the early stages of the moving scheme.

This paper uses the agonistic model in policy analysis, whose main substance is attention to the position of the policy subject, mapping policy problems, and policy alignments. In the ASN moving policy to IKN, this substance is translated by exploring and appreciating the variations in the capacity and views of the Young ASN representatives, the construction and contextuality of the constraints or problems of the Young ASN representatives, and trying to advocate for the aspirations and interests of the Young ASN representatives.

In the mainstream of policy analysis research methods, this paper is identical to the constructivist style, which prioritizes the actor's perspective, dissects the vulnerability of policy recipients, and tries to explore implicit problems. Unlike the rational style that claims objectivity, neutrality, and researcher involvement in policy analysis, the constructivist style seeks to reconstruct the things behind the policy, therefore this paper has the same mission as the constructivist style. In the agonistic analysis model, research methods need to support efforts to reveal the perspectives of policy recipients in a dialogical manner, meaning that there is no absolute agreement, only relative agreements.

In collecting data, this paper uses desk study and field study techniques. In the desk study, this paper analyzes the design of policy products and studies documents. Meanwhile, in the field study, this paper analyzes the results of in-depth interviews with representatives of Young ASN. Specifically, this paper collects data from the Nusantara Capital Authority as the main data and data from other Ministries/Institutions as supporting data. The selected representations are from the Coordinating Ministry for Political, Legal and Security Affairs (Kemenko Polhukam), Ministry of Home Affairs (Kemendagri), Ministry of Education, Culture, Research and Technology (Kemendikbudristek) Ministry of Law and Human Rights (Kemenkumham), Ministry of Environment and Forestry (KLHK) Supreme Audit Agency (BPK) and Financial and Development Supervisory Agency (BPKP). The selection of representation was based on the substance of the paper that the Ministries/Institutions mentioned were in the first phase of the moving scheme.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This section describes the findings in the literature study and field study. The findings are divided into several categorizations, namely profiling the representation of Young ASNs, the problematics of the moving, the substance of the moving, the instrumentation of the moving, the feedback of the moving, the transformation of the moving and the advocacy of the moving of the National Capital based on the arguments of the Young ASN representations. The findings in this study will lead to relevant theoretical and empirical discussions at the conclusion of the paper.

### Profiling Representation of Young ASNs

In the field study, this paper collected data from 7 young ASN representatives. The informants were selected by purposive sampling, with the criteria of being 25 years old to 35 years old and working in core government ministries/agencies. The profile descriptions of the young ASN representatives in this paper are as follows:

#### 1. Agency and Functional Position

The Young ASN representatives in this paper come from Kemenkopolkam, Kemendagri, Kemendikbud, Kemenkumham, KemenLHK, BPK, and BPKP with varied functional positions, namely Apparatus HR Analyst, First Expert Planner, Institutional Analyst, Technical Executive, First Expert Policy Analyst, First Expert Computer Technician and Auditor. In the initial moving scenario, seven Ministries/Institutions of these Young ASN representatives were in cluster 1, namely State High Institutions (BPK), Coordinating Ministry (Kemenkopolkam), 'Triumvirate' Ministry (Kemendagri), Ministries/Institutions that support the development performance process (BPKP), Ministries/Institutions that support law enforcement (Kemenkumham), as well as in cluster 2, namely Ministries that support the development of IKN areas (KemenLHK) and Ministries that support the delivery of basic services, human development and culture (Kemendikbudristek). As for the identification of the functional positions of young ASN representatives, this is important to highlight in order to try to deepen the understanding of the performance burden of young ASNs. In addition, technocratic functional positions are also more attached to the career sustainability and performance incentives of young ASNs compared to other positions, such as structural positions.

#### 2. Length of Service and Informal Background

In terms of length of service, measured from the newest and longest, the working period of the young ASN representatives in this paper is 1.5 years, 3 years, 5 years, 9 years and 10 years.

This means that there are ASNs in the 2013, 2014, 2018, 2020 and 2021 recruitment years. In addition, information shows that young ASN representatives have diverse informal/family backgrounds, starting from unmarried men, unmarried women, unmarried men who are the backbone of the family, women who are wives and have children, and male heads of households who have two children. From the sociological identification, the young ASN representations in this paper are predominantly from Java and reside in the Jakarta area and its surroundings, whether it is a boarding house, own house, contract house or a house with family.

### **Problematics of Relocating the National Capital**

The fundamental question posed to the Young ASN representatives was whether in general the relocation of the National Capital is problematic. The young ASN representatives agreed that the policy has many problems. Such as related to the moving that tends to be rushed, related to the readiness of infrastructure, related to the less mature preparation process, related to the usefulness of the moving, related to environmental issues, well as more substantive matters such as equal distribution of welfare, increasing the distribution of public services, and the presence of government. The points of public discussion related to the problems of moving the IKN are as follows:

#### **1. Urgency of Relocation**

The most fundamental debate on the pros and cons of relocating the capital city is the right time for relocation. The discourse on the realization of the moving began in 2019, which then faced the issue of handling the Covid-19 pandemic and the national economic crisis from 2020 to 2022. However, the moving was still executed through the passing of the Law, the naming of Nusantara and the establishment of an authoritative body. This has caused polemics among the public, that the relocation of Ibu Kota Nusantara has no urgency and will actually add other new problems [6].

#### **2. Dynamics of Moving Financing**

Another problem is the financing scheme. In 2019, President Joko Widodo assured the public that the construction of the new capital city would not use state money or the state budget. However, after the passing of the Law and Government Regulation, the existing regulations stipulate that financing can use the APBN and funding sources other than the APBN. Along the way, there were issues such as problems with domestic and foreign investment, the tug-of-war over investment from Softbank, approaches to Japan and Middle Eastern countries, and plans for crowdfunding from the public [7]

#### **3. Natural Disaster Potential**

Although it is claimed that the potential for natural disasters on the island of Kalimantan, especially in the location of Ibu Kota Nusantara, is low, some citizen journalism and viral social media posts have reported several cases of natural disasters around the location. These cases include floods, landslides, water problems, environmental problems and earthquakes. These cases still occur despite disaster mitigation in development [8]

#### **4. Local Community Protest**

President Joko Widodo has held several agendas and met with traditional leaders or local community leaders in the capital city of the archipelago. Although the representation of local community leaders at these meetings or agendas expressed their approval, at the grassroots there are voices about the fate or position between the people who have been there since birth and the migrants who will slowly dominate their territory. These issues include not only socio-cultural



control, but also political economy (BBC, 2022).

Based on the points above, it is necessary to revisit the vision of IKN, which is a world city for all, including sustainable cities in the world (safe and affordable, in harmony with nature, connected, active & accessible, circular and resilient, and low carbon emission IKN Development), Indonesia's future economic drivers (resilient economic opportunities for all and convenient and efficient through technology and innovation), symbol of national identity (the beauty of Indonesia and Unity in Diversity), smart infrastructure and connectivity (through Public Private Partnership, three-city collaboration, future priority sectors, IKN authority, effective and efficient governance and livable cities and related stakeholders).

### **Substance of IKN Moving**

In deepening the perspective on the substance of the moving of ASN to IKN, the Young ASN representatives revealed that the significance of the readiness of the moving of ASN to IKN can be measured by the transformation of work culture to digital systems, the fulfillment of public and residential infrastructure, facilities and infrastructure or supporting infrastructure that is accommodating and humane, certainty of facilities and benefits schemes, as well as acceptance of local communities and environmental issues. In particular, the Young ASN representatives paid attention to the following matters:

#### **1. Work Culture Transformation Process**

Work culture transformation is the issue of most interest to young workers including young ASNs. Although this process is not actually related to the need for moving, this issue needs to be accommodated consistently. The current problem is that work culture transformation is always associated with the digitalization process, even though digitalization is only one form of effective and efficient work culture that appears on the surface. It needs an ecosystem that is not only through the moving to work smartly, creatively, connected, integrated, collaboratively whose output is a productive work culture and services that are close to the community. This means that the transformation of the work culture does not need to wait for the moving, and can be done from now on and wherever the workplace is [10].

#### **2. Adequate Public Infrastructure**

In urban governance, public infrastructure such as pedestrian access, public transportation access, green open spaces, libraries and public bathrooms are ideal conditions for a city to be called modern and humane. This is in line with the mission of Ibu Kota Nusantara brought by President Joko Widodo. However, as with the transformation of work culture as the substance of moving the new national capital, this needs to be done in all workplaces, fairly, evenly and optimally in all government institutions, not only in Ibu Kota Nusantara [11]

#### **3. Fulfillment of Settlement Infrastructure**

Most recently, the issue of ASN settlements in the Archipelago's Capital City and its supporting environment has begun to heat up. The most basic problem is the lack of funds for the construction of settlements for ASN in the form of apartment towers. The Director General of Housing of the Ministry of PUPR revealed that the worst scenario is that 1 unit will be filled by 6 people, and the most realistic scenario is that 1 unit will be filled by 2 people. This is discussed in relation to privacy issues and other informalism policies such as how ASN families [12]

What needs to be considered again is the substance of the moving of ASN to IKN above

regarding the 8 principles along with 24 key performance indicators of IKN as a world city for all, then the basic principles of developing the IKN area (as a rainforest or city that can maintain the ecological function of the forest, as a sponge city or city that is able to retain and manage rainwater as a water resource, and as a smart city or city that can optimize technology in managing the area) and finally the principles of IKN Development (in the Law, namely equality, ecological balance, resilience, sustainable development, livability, connectivity and smart cities).

### **Moving Instrumentation**

In the technical moving of ASN to IKN, Young ASN representatives argue that there is no significant planning progress in the places/agencies where they work. This is indicated by the absence of official socialization, the absence of special information up to the staff level, the absence of official information regarding debriefing, the absence of data collection on those who will be moved, to some initial progress such as there are agencies that have recorded the names of ASNs who will be moved in the initial stage, as well as data collection of their clusters in the technical moving.

In general, matters regarding units/organizations within the ministry/agency that will be moved, then personnel or lists of names to be moved, as well as related to debriefing to ASN and families who are participating in the moving, the data, and information cannot be identified because they are in the planning or formulation process and are internal or confidential. However, the information broadcast is that the first phase of the moving is early 2024.

Then, the ASNs who are moved will get a special regional allowance, in addition to the allowance there are also facilities in the form of daily allowances during the moving process, the cost of moving goods for transportation and packing costs, transportation costs in the form of one-way tickets and car rental costs for the first month and waiting costs or lodging costs during transit in Balikpapan. In addition, the Government will cover ASN's family including one spouse, two children, and 1 housekeeper, as well as official residence [13]

### **Moving Feedback**

In an effort to explore policy recipients' perspectives on the policy, a feedback question was posed to the Young ASN representatives, namely what units/organizations in their agencies/workplaces or what ministries/agencies are actually important to moving and not to moving based on their level of urgency or observation. In general, the Young ASN representatives were of the opinion that the important ones to move are law enforcement officials, the Triumvirate Ministry (Ministry of Home Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Defense), the Ministry of Development Affairs (Bappenas, KemenPUPR, Ministry of ATR), the Presidency, as well as ministries/agencies whose business processes need to be located in IKN. Interestingly, in this question, half of the young ASN representatives answered that there is nothing important to move because it is related to the readiness of infrastructure and resources, moreover, such as coordinating ministries, moving actually complicates things.

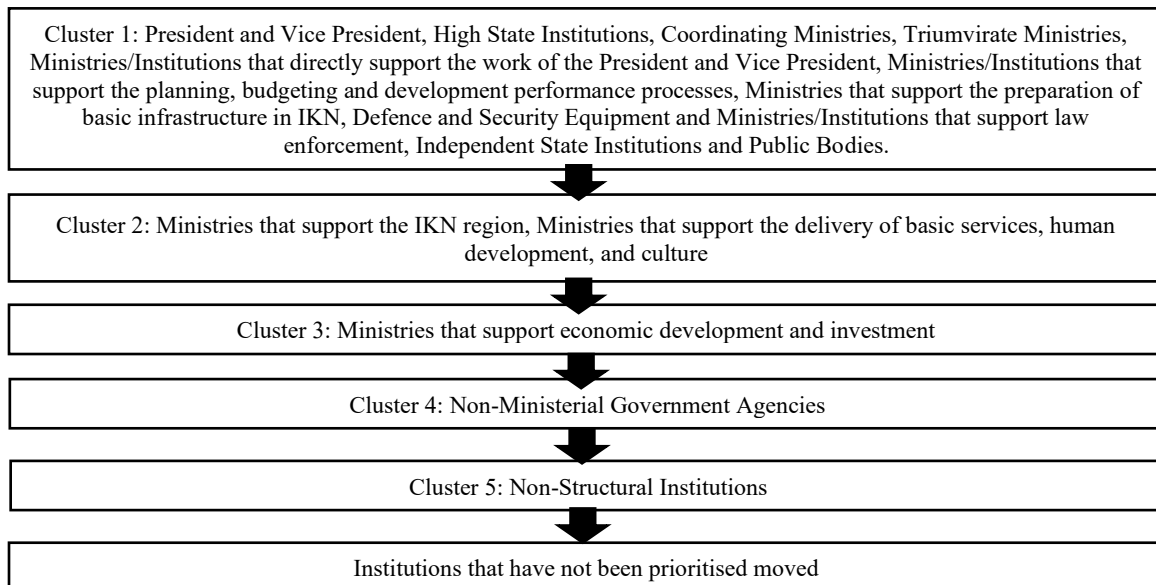
Then, when asked about units/organizations or ministries/institutions that are not urgent to move, the Young ASN representatives responded by mentioning units such as the Center for Education and Training or HR Development (related to learning convenience) and units related to public services, such as business services, industry, trade, and banking. There were some who mentioned specific ministries/agencies, such as the Ministry of Finance and Komnas HAM. In addition, there were responses stating that if one moved, all of them should also move to avoid

social jealousy. In general, the information on the Ministry/Institution relocation scheme is as follows:

**Table 2. Consideration of the Moving of State Institutions to IKN**

Name	Recapitulation Based on Laws and Regulations
State Higher Institutions	7 (MPR, DPR, DPD, MA, MK, KY, BPK)
State institutions	1 (Kejaksaan Agung)
Ministry of State	34 (4 Kemenko dan 30 Kementerian)
Non-ministerial Government Agencies	3 (ANRI, Perpustakaan RI, BNN)
Non-structural Organisations	26 (KPK, KPU, Bawaslu, DKPP, Komnas HAM, Komnas Perempuan, KPAI, LPSK, Ombudsman RI, Komisi ASN, PPAK, Baznas, KPI, Komite Kebijakan Industri Pertahanan, Wantimpres, Dewan Pertimbangan Otonomi Daerah, LSF, Akademi Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia, Badan Perlindungan Konsumen Nasional, Komite Profesi Akuntan Publik, Badan Pengawas Rumah Sakit, Badan Pertimbangan Kesehatan Nasional, Konsil Kedokteran Indonesia, Konsil Tenaga Kesehatan Indonesia, Konsil Keperawatan, Dewan Sumber Daya Air Nasional)
Independent State Institutions and Other Public Bodies	5 (Bank Indonesia, Otoritas Jasa Keuangan, Lembaga Penjamin Simpanan, BPJS Kesehatan, BPJS Ketenagakerjaan)
<b>Total</b>	<b>76</b>

(source: Pandanwangi, 2022)



**Figure 2. Initial Scenario of K/L Moving to IKN**

(source: Pandanwangi, 2022)

### Moving Transformation

On the reflective question, namely whether the moving of ASN to IKN can have implications for the transformation of new ways of working, the Young ASN representatives were divided into two opinions between those who argued that there could be implications or no implications. The argument that there will be implications is that work transformation has existed since the Covid-19 pandemic, that the new location will create a new atmosphere, that the new location with the previous State Capital, Jakarta, will create a new way of working, then there will be opportunities for transformation in certain government affairs. Then the argument that the moving will not have implications for the transformation of a new way of working is that transformation takes time or



gradually, that the work culture is not necessarily determined by the location of work, and that the transformation of the way of working will be the same because it is still on the old rules.

The perspectives of young ASN representatives on moving will have implications for the transformation of new ways of working to discuss strategic issues, namely the profile of future government, as well as the opportunities and challenges of implementing smart governance. Based on fast-moving strategic dynamics and challenges, the future government profile must be proactive, adaptive, evidence-based, and community-oriented [14]. In addition, in the implementation of smart governance, which is also closely related to the future government profile, the opportunities and challenges are as follows: regulations and policies (the existence of bureaucratic reform initiatives and policies and digital transformation), internet penetration (73.7% of Indonesia's population are internet users), socio-cultural characteristics (social cohesion is an engagement capital to encourage public participation in governance), long-term strategies (how to formulate a comprehensive long-term strategy?), digital inclusion (how to build a digital ecosystem that is inclusive for all?), and organizational behavior (how to minimize the potential for resistance and conflict over the implementation of smart governance in the bureaucracy?) [15], [16].

Furthermore, regarding the implementation of smart governance at IKN, the strategic plan is to implement the vision of effective and efficient governance with efforts to simplify business processes, and digital governance, strengthen coordination, and structure ASN management. Then also carried out office development with the concept of a shared office that prioritizes physical and digital connectivity between K / L, as well as with a digital-based flexible working arrangement where the way of working is directed more informally, interactively, casually, and not limited to office spaces. Furthermore, the implementation of smart cities is also carried out which includes a smart economy, smart society, smart environment, smart living, smart governance, and smart branding. Finally, it is also supported by the development of a modern central government area and the development of ASN residential areas with sustainable design, supporting the concept of walkability and facilitating social relations.

### **Moving Advocacy**

On the important factors that must be considered in the ASN moving policy to IKN, the Young ASN representatives agreed that the informalism factor in policy is one of the most important factors in the ASN moving policy to IKN. Some statements noted related to this perspective are that in movingring ASNs, it is better to focus on young ASNs who do not have families so that they can focus more on achieving organizational goals. Then, the reason for the family factor for those who are married and have children or with parents is the main factor why the ASN moving policy to IKN needs to be considered more deeply. However, there are also opinions that state in detail that attention is also needed to the education of ASN children and the health of ASN parents, or attention to if those moved are young ASNs who are not married, it is necessary to look at the resilience and sustainability of the young ASN's life related to personal affairs, socio-economic environmental affairs, and excessive burden/performance expectations.

These findings reflect the agonistic analysis model in the case of the ASN moving policy to IKN raised in this paper,: First, it is necessary to see the construction and contextuality of the pros and cons in the policy, ASNs with attribution as state/government employees who must submit to policies have low bargaining power in the policy of movingring ASN to IKN, the formulation is at the level of the planning room by the relevant ministries/agencies without any in-depth

polling with ASNs, because it only relies on data and information in the form of numbers and statistics.

Second, it is necessary to map the dynamics or problems that will or have occurred in the policy, especially related to what ASNs experience directly, such as uncertain plans or information, high expectations of performance targets for ASNs who move, and other matters that affect the lives of ASNs indirectly. Third, it is necessary to accommodate vulnerable parties in the policy, because the findings in this study prove that the moving of ASN to IKN is still problematic and has not resolved some of the existing problems, especially the informal factors in the ASN moving policy to IKN, namely the personal affairs of ASN, their families and their life support environment.

## CONCLUSION

Using the agonistic analysis model, the case of the ASN moving policy to IKN by exploring the perspectives of young ASN representatives as the first and main party in receiving the policy finds and reflects that this policy is problematic, the solution is uncharted and needs advocacy of vulnerable parties. This discussion can have empirical implications, such as feedback on policies, as well as theoretically, namely that the agonistic analysis model on the one hand can reveal implicitly problematic and under-advocated policy problems, but on the other hand this model is also radical for moderate problems and is more relevant to use in cases of conflictual policies and nuances of social movements. Of course, this paper can spark further research on agonistic analysis models in various policy dynamics specifically in the case of moving ASN to IKN.

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