International Journal of Education, Vocational and Social Science
https://e-journal.citakonsultindo.or.id/index.php/IJEVSS
E-ISSN : 2963 4954
IJEVSS

The G-20 Presidency as an External Political Instrument to Realize Good Environmental Governance in Indonesia

Laras Putri Olifiani*[1]
[1]Universitas Tanjungpura, Indonesia
Elyta[2]
[12]Universitas Tanjungpura, Indonesia

* Email correspondence: laras.po@fisip.untan.ac.id

Abstract

This article will discuss Indonesia's plan to relocate the capital city which is faced with problems and skepticism related to potential environmental damage, while Indonesia has the opportunity to hold the Presidency of the G-20, which is one of the leading institutions for global environmental issues. Since 1970 until now, environmental issues have attracted much attention and have become one of the main agendas implemented by countries and international organizations, one of which is the G-20, a multilateral forum for global economic and financial cooperation. Several years ago, the G-20 added environmental issues as the main agenda of the collaboration. Along with this, in 2022, Indonesia was elected to the G-20 Presidency. Leadership in the G-20 forum has strategic meaning and benefits for Indonesia. This research will use explanatory methods and literature study data collection techniques as legitimacy for the scientific validity of this paper. Through the theory of global environmental governance and the concept of good environmental governance, this research seeks to find relevance between the existence of the G-20 and Indonesia's efforts to relocate capital cities that have the potential for ecological damage. The study results show that the G-20 can positively contribute to the realization of moving the Indonesian capital city with indications of prevention and mitigation of environmental damage. This research seeks to find the relevance between the existence of the G-20 and Indonesia's efforts to relocate the capital city, which has the potential for environmental damage.

Copyright at authors some right reserved this work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License

International Journal of Education, Vocational and Social Science
https://e-journal.citakonsultindo.or.id/index.php/IJEVSS
E-ISSN : 2963 4954
IJEVSS

Keywords: Global Environmental Governance, G20, Good Environmental Governance, Indonesia, Capital City Relocation.

INTRODUCTION

Environmeal issues have become one of the agendas and priorities of countries in the international system. In calls for mitigating ecological problems and the climate crisis, which are mushrooming and being calibrated in the policies and regulations of various countries, predictions have emerged that state that several countries will be badly affected by the climate crisis, one of which is Indonesia. The Indonesian government faces speculations indicating that its capital, Jakarta, will sink in 2050 (Husain, 2022). This immediately prompted the Government of Indonesia to anticipate this prediction, in addition to the fact that Jakarta's environmental conditions were already polluted and densely populated (Nainggolan, 2022).

In mid-2019, the Government of Indonesia announced plans to relocate its capital city Jakarta to Kalimantan Island, an area with a large expanse of forest in the center of Indonesia. Instead of being welcomed positively, the plan to relocate the national capital (IKN) drew responses and skepticism from various parties. Some parties claim that the Government of Indonesia's efforts will damage the environment more by sacrificing the forest area in the center of Kalimantan (Guild, 2019). The Government of Indonesia has to prioritize environmental issues to ward off skepticism of environmental degradation due to plans to relocate and develop IKNs.

Along with skepticism regarding the potential for environmental damage due to the IKN plan, the Government of Indonesia has the opportunity to become President of a global G-20 forum. The G-20 is a multilateralism forum that includes cooperation between various countries in managing global economic and financial issues (Julina, 2022). However, in recent years the G-20 forum has broadened its focus on issues to adjust to global dynamics whose direction and implication are increasingly unpredictable, one of the focuses being environmental issues and are increasingly unpredictable, one of the focuses being environmental issues and climate crisis mitigation.

At the Indonesian G-20 Summit, environmental issues became one of the three priorities raised to be discussed and calibrated in order to create an agenda for the next year for G-20 member countries. In line with this, Indonesia's G-20 Presidency is the right momentum for Indonesia to resolve issues related to potential environmental degradation due to the transfer of IKN. This was reinforced by the actions of the Government of Indonesia at several G-20 meetings,

Copyright at authors some right reserved this work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License

which often alluded to plans to relocate the capital. Countries responded positively and showed interest in Indonesia's agenda (Tempo, 2022). Based on this description, this research will seek relevance between the G-20 Presidency and the realization of the transfer of IKN carried out by Indonesia. To discuss this, this study formulates a research question "Why is the Indonesian Presidency in the G20 forum a crucial

To discuss this, this study formulates a research question "Why is the Indonesian Presidency in the G20 forum a crucial factor for overcoming environmental problems in the plan to relocate the capital city?".

This research will present four discussion sub-chapters that have relevance in explaining related phenomena, starting with an initial discussion of the factors behind the relocation of the capital city and the challenges that Indonesia will face. Then, it is continued with a discussion on the focus of the G-20 environmental issues and the Indonesian presidency in 2022. Next, a theoretical discussion on the G-20 as a global environmental governance regime will be presented. Finally, the discussion will focus on the G-20, considered a means to achieve Indonesia's political-environmental interests.

RELEVANT RESEARCH

This study refers to several studies with the same analytical framework that present a discussion and analysis of related phenomena. This research will refer to a scientific article entitled "Indonesian International Communication as the 2020 Indonesian G-20 Presidency Viewed From a Diplomatic Perspective" written by Sinta Juliana. This research is motivated by Indonesia's optimism in expanding its duties as a Presidency at the G-20 multilateral forum. According to Juliana, during its implementation as the G-20 Presidency, Indonesia made a series of efforts to increase capacity as well as gain benefits from the G-20 forum, one of which was through international communication.

Through the use of a diplomatic perspective, Juliana found that Indonesia aims to achieve several agendas with its international communications, namely; 1) reducing conflicts between G-20 member countries; 2) increasing bilateral and multilateral cooperation among G-20 members; 3) strengthening Indonesia's positive bargaining in various G-20 cooperation forums; 4) improving the quality of Indonesia's image and reputation in the eyes of G-20 members; 5) perpetuate world peace efforts; 6) voicing the spirit to recover with the members of the G-20.

Copyright at authors some right reserved this work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License

Juliana also stated that the Government of Indonesia carried out multi-track diplomacy as the G-20 Presidency by presenting several priority issues: revitalizing the global health system, economic and digital transition, and transformation towards renewable energy. Departing from Juliana's research discussing Indonesia's G-20 Presidency, this research will present a discussion on the G-20 Presidency and the communication efforts made by Indonesia in achieving its interests. Even though there are differences in the analysis tools, this research will be based on the facts presented by Juliana regarding the G-20 as a global forum representing global interests and agendas.

The subsequent research used as a reference is a scientific article entitled "The G20 and Climate Change: The Transnational Contribution of Global Summit" by Steven Slaughter. This study discusses the prospects for the G-20 forum in contributing to the environmental agenda and the global climate crisis. In his research, Slaughter found several aspects that indicated the G-20 was one of the main drivers in managing the global environmental agenda. Namely, the G-20 comprised members from countries representing the global population and economy. On the other hand, the G-20 also began to focus on the agenda, mainly on environmental issues. The study results show that the G-20 has a strategic position for policy coordination between countries in supporting the implementation of the Paris Climate Agreement (COP21) so that the G-20 becomes a forum to create a transnational cooperation framework to manage global climate and environmental issues.

This research will depart from the results of research presented by Slaughter regarding the G-20, an institution that can accommodate and carry out global environmental governance efforts. Arguments based on empirical and scientific approaches will become the basis for discussing the G-20 as a forum bridging Indonesia's political-environmental interests. The latest research that will be used as a reference is a scientific article entitled "Good Environmental Governance in Indonesia (Perspective of Environmental Protection and Management)," written by Purniawati, Nikmatul Kasana, and Rodiyah. This research discusses the basis and practice of sound environmental governance in a country. According to Purniawati, Kasana, and Rodiyah, good environmental governance is an obligation for the government because the environment is an inseparable part of society. The implementation of sound environmental governance is rooted in good governance practices, so there is a close relationship between good governance practices and environmental governance (Purniawati, Kasana, & Rodiyah, 2020). Even so, a government that has implemented good governance only sometimes implements good environmental

Copyright at authors some right reserved this work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License

governance. Reflecting on this, one of the essential elements is needed, namely ecological sustainability. Departing from the ideas of Purniawati, Kasana, and Rodiyah, who stated that good environmental governance is an essential part of the practical governance of a country, this study will use a similar concept to analyze Indonesia's efforts to overcome the pressure of skepticism regarding issues and potential for environmental degradation in the plan to relocate the capital city.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND CONCEPTS

This research will use the theory of Global Environmental Governance (GEG) as an analytical instrument to present an in-depth discussion regarding the phenomenon of the Indonesian G-20 Presidency and its relationship with the plan to relocate the Indonesian capital, which has potential environmental problems. The Global Environmental Governance (GEG) theory is a scientific view that describes the formation of international regimes or structures with indications that various countries collectively address environmental problems. According to Najam, Papa, and Taiyab (2006), GEG refers to policies, regulations, norms, and financial mechanisms implemented to manage global environmental problems. The ultimate goal of GEG is alleviating environmental problems towards sustainable development. Betsil and Burkeley (2006) stated that since environmental issues received international attention in 1970, various countries began to highlight and think about solutions that had to be carried out collectively, namely international negotiations. (Betsill & Bulkeley, 2006).

Global environmental governance (GEG) was implicitly sparked in 1972 as the output of the formation of the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP), which is a program from the United Nations (UN) to address global environmental problems. Since then, global activities have been filled with an environmental agenda (Najam, Papa, & Taiyab, 2006). Global environmental problems also encouraged the creation of Multilateral Environmental Agreements (MEAs), agreements between countries in dealing with environmental issues, the Rio Earth Summit in 1992 and the Johannesburg Summit in 2002, which contained collective coordination of countries to overcome the global environmental crisis. This fact shows that global environmental governance is increasingly fragmented with the involvement of many member countries and organizations (Najam, Papa, & Taiyab, 2006). This is in line with Pattberg and Widerberg's (2014) views, which state that global environmental governance has become an inseparable part of the foreign policy practices of each country (Pattberg & Widerberg, 2015).

Copyright at authors some right reserved this work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License

The idea that environmental issues are one of the global priorities is further explored by Najam, Papa, and Taiyab (2006), who gave birth to several models related to updating the global environmental governance agenda; 1) the compliance model, namely focusing on the institutionalization of law and legality for violations of global environmental agreements; 2) new agency model that focuses on the institutionalization of global environmental issues outside of UNEP; 3) upgrading the UNEP model that focuses on improving and expanding the UNEP domain in accommodating global environmental issues; 4) organizational streamlining model that refers to increased coordination between global environmental governance regimes; 5) the multiple actors model which refers to updating the global environmental agenda by involving many actors to coordinate and synergize with each other. Based on the theoretical description of global environmental governance, this research will use the GEG as a scientific basis for analyzing the existence of the G-20 as an international institution that drives Indonesia's interests regarding the issue of environmental degradation in the plan to relocate the capital city. This research will be based on the new agency model and the multiple actors model in order to present discussions regarding the G-20 as a new institution that has become a global environmental governance regime and the Government of Indonesia as an actor who participates in global environmental governance through prioritizing environmental issues in resettlement plans. Capital.

To support the explanation of the variables in this study, good environmental governance is also used as an analytical lens to present a comprehensive discussion regarding the plan to relocate the Indonesian capital. The concept of good environmental governance is an idea that describes the state's efforts in implementing governance practices with an orientation towards environmental preservation. According to Siahaan (2004), good environmental governance is a country's governance based on the principles of sustainable management of the environment and natural resources. (Siahaan, 2004). Sustainability is the central aspect of good environmental governance because, in essence, humans and the environment cannot be separated. The deep ecology environmental ethic states that humans and the environment must have a balanced relationship (Messersmith-Glavin, 2011), this then requires the state to fulfill its people's lives by applying the principle of sustainability, which indicates an effort to maintain balance.

In the context of environmental governance, Permatasari (2018) describes the state and its people as objects and subjects. The state is considered a determinant of environmental sustainability because of the authority to manage the environment. At the same time, the people are the target of the actions and behavior of the state in managing the environment. In this case,

Copyright at authors some right reserved this work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License

the concept of good environmental governance basically looks at the relationship between the state and its people in environmental management. (Permatasari, 2018).

The concept of good environmental governance has several principles that must be applied by a country so that environmental management becomes more optimal, namely; 1) the rule of law, namely the rule of law in managing the environment; 2) participation and representation, namely the involvement of various parties and parties representing the interests of environmental management; 3) access to information, refers to the availability of access to information to various parties related to environmental management by a country; 4) transparency and accountability, namely openness and state commitment such as management of funds and resources in environmental policy practice; 5) decentralization, referring to the distribution or division of responsibilities in managing the environment; 6) institutions and agencies, namely the presence of institutions and agencies that assist the environmental management process; (Belbase, 2010). Based on the conceptual explanation of good environmental governance, related concepts have relevance to the unit of analysis of this research, namely the plan to relocate the Indonesian capital, which has environmental governance motives and is accompanied by environmental skepticism. In line with this, the concept of good environmental governance in this study will function as a framework for discussing the motives and solutions that the Government of Indonesia must prioritize in progressively realizing the plan to relocate the capital city.

METHOD

This research will use the explanatory method as a methodological framework to present arguments and synthesis that answer the hypothesis scientifically. The explanatory method is a variant of the research method used to find the relationship between two variables (Sugiyono, 2013). In this study, the first variable is the G-20 forum as a global environmental governance regime, then the second variable is the Government of Indonesia which has plans to move the capital city. The results of this study will focus on arguments that can make the two variables relevant.

To support the explanatory methodological framework, this study will use a qualitative data collection technique, a library research data collection technique. The literature study technique is a way of collecting data for the research process that comes from written sources

Copyright at authors some right reserved this work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License

such as books, notes, and scientific literature related to the phenomenon under study (Nazir, 2013).

DISCUSSION

The Urgency and Environmental Challenges of Relocating the Indonesian Capital City

In August 2020, the President of the Republic of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, announced a statement to move the capital from Jakarta to Kalimantan (Reiffel, 2020). Indonesia's new state capital (IKN) is named Nusantara, located in North Penajam Paser, East Kalimantan, which will begin in a structured manner in early 2024. The aim of relocating the Indonesian capital is a step towards achieving one of Indonesia's 2045 visions, namely equitable development and economic growth in all regions of Indonesia (Petriella, 2022).

So far, the island of Java has been the center of Indonesia's economic activity, while other regions such as Kalimantan and the Eastern region, have yet to receive a balanced portion in the context of economic development. On the other hand, the main reason behind the plan to move the capital city is the city of Jakarta which is considered no longer suitable to be the center of Indonesia's activities. Along with the issue of the global climate crisis that predicts Jakarta will sink in 2030 (Prihatini, 2022), the ecosystem and environmental quality in Jakarta have been polluted and has experienced a decrease in environmental quality due to the temporal inorganic disaster 'flood' that hit the city, as well as land subsidence which until now has kept several areas in Jakarta above sea level (Nainggolan, 2022).

Indonesian President Joko Widodo also said that Jakarta and Java Island have borne a heavy burden in population density and integration of business, financial, and trade activities, so the Indonesian Government must relocate the activities of various sectors to the island of Kalimantan. (Tempo, Lima Alasan Jokowi Pindahkan Ibu Kota ke Kalimantan Timur, 2019). The plan to relocate the capital of Indonesia to the island of Borneo has been initiated for quite some time, since the 1st President of the Republic of Indonesia Soekarno, Kalimantan was seen as a potential place to become the new capital to replace the role of Jakarta. This is because Kalimantan has several factors, namely being located in the middle of Indonesia's territory, a place with minimal risk of earthquakes, and a large area (Toun, 2018). Nevertheless, the plan to relocate this latest capital city has faced a series of skepticism because the design offered by the Government of Indonesia is considered to have an anthropocentric connotation rather than an ecological one, this is in terms of the mechanism of land tenure and governance, which has the

Copyright at authors some right reserved this work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License

potential to be driven by the private interests of the owners of capital, business people to stakeholders. (Reiffel, 2020). Environmental issues are a priority issue regarding plans to build Indonesia's new capital city, this is based on the fact that the Government of Indonesia needs around 180 thousand hectares of land to build the capital city's infrastructure and facilities. (Guild, 2019).

As explained by Guild (2019) that moving the Indonesian capital from Jakarta to Kalimantan is just a repetitive cycle of efforts to destroy the environment, namely moving from Jakarta, which is no longer suitable for its environment, to a place where environmental ecosystems and thousands of hectares of land will also be destroyed as a consequence of the massive construction welcoming the activities of the new capital city.

According to Mutaqin, Muslim, and Rahayu (2021), the construction of the IKN will face several environmental problems such as; 1) a decrease in the quantity and quality of forests in the areas where the IKN is being developed, this will obviously occur because the transfer of the center of government will increase infrastructure development so that it will sacrifice forest areas for the benefit of settlements and office buildings; 2) the potential for endangered animal habitats, this is a consequence of the massive infrastructure development for IKN, Kalimantan is one of the areas in Indonesia that has a diversity of animal species, forests that are ecosystems and habitats of animals will potentially be damaged for development purposes; 3) the threat of carbon emissions due to deforestation, the area of East Kalimantan which is covered by forest areas as a contributor of oxygen, will experience a decrease in quantity so that carbon emissions will increase. The total carbon emissions from the construction of IKN are estimated to reach 2.4 million tons of CO2, which means that the air in the IKN area has the potential to be polluted; 4) lack of water availability, this is the main factor that underlies environmental problems in the IKN, even though the availability of water in the IKN area is confirmed to be sufficient, the construction of the IKN will massively reduce water availability, not to mention the fact that the IKN area is categorized as a non-CAT area, namely areas with low water absorption rates; 5) the threat of flooding, the area around the prospective IKN has an ecological track record that is prone to flooding, so that with the massive construction of the IKN, (Mutaqin, Muslim, & Rahayu, 2021).

Based on a series of environmental issues related to the development of the IKN, the Government of Indonesia must prioritize environmental aspects, which are the underlying issues for the motive for relocating the capital, as well as the impacts that will result from relocating the

Copyright at authors some right reserved this work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License

capital. The Government of Indonesia must accommodate the emergence of skepticism toward moving the Indonesian capital to Kalimantan. However, to maximize environmental priorities, the Government of Indonesia must optimize other aspects that are no less crucial, namely funding. Funding is the primary basis for infrastructure development. The estimated funding set by the Government of Indonesia for constructing a new capital city is US$33 billion. This figure is considered too small for the massive development of a city that is the center of government and political activity of a country (Guild, 2019).

Reflecting on this, the involvement of external parties is a must in optimizing the development of IKN, such as developing countries willing to invest and establish cooperation by pouring funds to stimulate the development of Indonesia's new capital city. On the other hand, the factor that needs to be underlined is that by involving many countries in developing Indonesia's IKN, environmental priorities will be maximized and can support the global environmental governance agenda, which has recently become a crucial issue in the dynamics of the international system. On this basis, Indonesia will have an excellent opportunity to realize the green city design, the scourge, and the main problem in developing IKN.

Talking about global environmental governance and plans to relocate Indonesia's capital city, in 2022, Indonesia was chosen to be the host and president in a forum that contains members of the world's largest economies, namely the G-20 (Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia, 2022). The G-20 is an international forum involving 19 countries and one regional institution to cooperate in overcoming global economic and financial problems. Recently, the G-20 has changed the issue's focus by involving environmental issues in sustainable development. This research sees that the G-20 Presidency is a momentum that can accommodate Indonesia's interests, global environmental governance, which is one of the main tools in the G-20, will be a profitable opportunity for Indonesia in maximizing the relocation of the capital city, which must prioritize environmental aspects. In the next chapter, the G-20 will be explained as an instrument that implements global environmental governance and Indonesia's position in the G-20 and an explanation regarding updating the global environmental agenda, one of which is leading the management of global environmental issues.

The G20 Environmental Agenda and the Indonesian Presidency

The G-20 (Group of Twenty) is an international forum consisting of countries and regional institutions that have an agenda for cooperation to solve global economic and financial problems.

Copyright at authors some right reserved this work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License

Initially, the G-20 was formed due to dissatisfaction with its predecessor forum, namely the G-7, which was considered unable to solve global economic and financial problems, namely the 1998-1999 financial crisis. Since then, developed and developing countries have collectively sought solutions to global economic problems (Julina, 2022). The main objective of the G-20 is to achieve sustainable global growth. The involvement of major economic countries in G-20 membership represents more than 60% of the world's population, 75% of international trade, and 80% of the world's gross domestic product. This reflects that the G-20 significantly influences the dynamics of the international system (Julina, 2022).

As time goes by, as global problems become increasingly complex, the focus on issues accommodated by the G-20 is also increasingly comprehensive, one of which is the issue of environmental management. Some studies related to the existence of the issue of environmental problems, which are one of the focuses of the G-20, depart from the problems that arise as a result of the activities of developed and developing countries that are members of the G-20, such as Baek and Kim (2011) who stated that trade growth and financial escalation resulted in energy consumption. Becomes high to present the consequences of decreasing environmental quality due to increased carbon emissions (Baek & Kim, 2011).

Then, Jamil et al. (2021) also stated that global economic growth creates consequences in the form of environmental degradation due to increasing greenhouse gas emissions as industrial and production activities explode. Greenhouse gases are the main factor that causes global warming. This encourages G-20 member countries to focus their international political practice on environmental management issues and climate crisis control (Jamil & et.al, 2021). The G-20 began to focus on environmental issues as the main agenda at the 2021 summit when Italy held the presidency. The theme raised at the 2021 Italy Summit is People, Planet, and Prosperity. Even though at the 2017 Germany Summit, the 2018 Argentina Summit, and the 2020 Saudi Arabia Summit, the G-20 discussed issues in a similar domain, namely the climate crisis. However, the 2021 Italian Summit is considered a momentum for calibrating environmental issues into the main agenda of G-20 member countries. Because of the green agenda (OECD, 2023).

The G-20's commitment to managing global environmental problems was increasingly visible when the Glasgow Declaration was signed in 2021, which contains rules for environmental management for forest and land conservation. Not only that, but the G-20 also stated a commitment to managing biodiversity (biodiversity loss) for 2030 (Tanaya, 2022). In 2022,

Copyright at authors some right reserved this work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License

Indonesia was elected as the G-20 president to replace the Italian leadership in the previous period. Indonesia's election indicates that environmental issues will continue to be a priority and the continuation of the cooperation of G-20 member countries. The theme raised at the G-20 Indonesia Presidency is Recover Together, Recover Stronger which represents the efforts and strategic steps of member countries to stimulate recovery after the impact of the Covid-19 Pandemic, which created multi-dimensional negative impacts (Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia, 2022).

This time, the Indonesian presidency has three priorities on the member countries' agenda: restoring the global health structure after the pandemic, massive changes regarding the digital aspect, and efforts to transition the consumption and production of renewable energy related to the agenda of sustainable environmental governance. (Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia, 2022). Environmental governance is one of the focuses presented by Indonesia. (Kementerian Lingkungan Hidup dan Kehutanan, 2022). The EDM-CSWG is a strategic aspect for the Government of Indonesia to voice Indonesia's position which is committed to managing the environment and addressing the climate crisis in a sustainable manner. At several EDM-CSWG meetings, commitments have been reached to reduce the decline in ecosystem quality and escalate environmental conservation efforts that focus on alleviating issues such as; land degradation, water supply management, and maintaining biodiversity (Media Indonesia, 2022).

The result of Indonesia's G-20 Summit regarding environmental issues is an agreement to improve environmental governance in the form of efforts to reduce land degradation by up to 50% in 2040 and protect terrestrial and marine ecosystems by 30% in 2030 (Mutiarasari, 2022). The G-20 forum plays a significant role in improving global environmental governance because the G-20 has a strategic position to carry out forest conservation. Based on data from the United Nations, among the G-20 members, 8 members are categorized as 10 countries with the largest forest areas in the world (Tanaya, 2022). Reflecting on this, the G-20 can represent global environmental interests by becoming the driving force for global environmental governance. As previously explained, plans to relocate Indonesia's capital city are faced with skepticism regarding the potential for more severe environmental damage. Indonesia is also faced with problems related to environmental governance that can accommodate the needs of 92 million people for the next 30 years. (Reiffel, 2020). Considering that the G-20 is a forum that prioritizes global

Copyright at authors some right reserved this work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License

environmental issues, this is a strategic momentum for the Government of Indonesia, considering that Indonesia holds the leadership in the forum.

G-20 as a Global Environmental Governance Regime

Even though the G-20 began to independently institutionalize global environmental issues at the 2021 Italian Summit, long before that, the G-20 had been bound by several agendas that emphasized global environmental governance, namely at the 15th Climate Agreement Conference in Copenhagen, but due to a lack of coordination and commitment from the parties involved, the implementation of global environmental governance has been hampered, since then the G-20 has implemented what is called multilateralism by Eckersley (2012), namely small groups of countries that carry out cooperation and joint commitment, one of which is concerned with environmental issues (Slaughter, 2017). Although according to Eckersley (2012), multilateralism can be a factor that undermines the substantial progress of the collective agenda for managing global environmental issues. (Eckerslay, 2012), but the G-20 is alleged to be able to implement global environmental governance with a massive impact, considering that the eight members of the G-20 are the top 10 countries with the largest forest areas in the world (Tanaya, 2022).

Based on the theoretical view of global environmental governance (GEG), the G-20 is one interpretation of the renewal of the global environmental governance agenda, this is because the existence of the G-20 meets the implicit criteria put forward by GEG theorists. As the G-20 contains various member countries, which is a form of multilateral cooperation, the G-20 fulfills the criteria as a form of regime.

Then, the G-20 experienced an expansion of focus, indicating that this forum also focuses on environmental issues, thus presenting the idea that the G-20 can contribute to global environmental governance. In line with this, Najam, Papa, and Taiyab (2006), who presented a new agency model in the global environmental renewal agenda, also alluded to the G-20 as one of the institutions that could become a regime managing global environmental issues in addition to the UN output organization that focuses on environmental issues. In the development of the G-20 in managing global environmental issues, there are additional elements that have become the agenda for global environmental governance by the G-20, namely green finance and energy efficiency through the creation of an investment ecosystem by involving the coordination of

Copyright at authors some right reserved this work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License

various shareholder actors in member countries in order to finance green development as in 2010 (Kim & Chung, 2012).

Slaughter (2017) states that the G-20 can become an essential actor in global environmental governance. This can be seen from the forum's ability to encourage policy coordination among its member countries to focus on environmental management. The G-20 can be a means to accommodate global environmental management needs, one of which is the COP21 (Paris Climate Agreement) through the coordination of transnational support between G-20 member countries. The role of the G-20 can also build an investment and financing arena for reforestation activities (Slaughter, 2017). This is a strategic opportunity for Indonesia. Amidst its presidency at the G-20, Indonesia has an ambitious agenda, namely moving and building a new capital city facing potential environmental damage and degradation of biodiversity due to massive infrastructure development. The current position held by Indonesia is relevant to the elements contained in global environmental governance theory, namely leadership. Najam, Papa, and Taiyab (2006), in their book entitled "Global Environmental Governance: A Reform Agenda," formulates several essential elements to optimize global environmental governance, one of which is leadership. Leadership refers to the presence of the highest party that leads the coordination of global environmental governance. Leadership can encourage world leaders to invest in GEG systems and individuals who lead GEG systems. The intended leadership is intended to accommodate the common interests of the parties involved in the GEG system (Najam, Papa, & Taiyab, 2006).

The leadership element is a formulation to answer the classic problem of global environmental governance, namely the need for coordination and commitment of countries in prioritizing environmental issues. Indonesia can align global and domestic environmental interests through his leadership, namely green development in IKN.

The fact that Indonesia holds the G-20 Presidency accurately illustrates the global environmental governance reform agenda. Acuto (2013) looks at C40 (Cities Climate Leadership Group) and explains that big cities provide dominant significance in overcoming global climate and environmental problems. The transfer and development of IKN with a green concept can contribute to global environmental governance. Furthermore, Acuto (2013) also presents a discourse that is relevant to this research, namely city leadership in global environmental governance (city leadership). Acuto explains that city leadership on the environmental agenda allegedly initiates various transnational policies and actions in managing environmental issues.

Copyright at authors some right reserved this work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License

According to Acuto, the existence of cities has five substantial potentials in optimizing global environmental governance, namely; 1) the potential to form a regime through regional policies; 2) potential hybridization that describes the involvement of the public and private sectors; 3) internationalization potential by establishing transnational relations; 4) the ability to implement international normative frameworks; 5) extracting the macro global agenda with the interests of the micro-community (Acuto, 2013). Based on Acuto's foundation (2013), the development plan for Indonesia's IKN, which will use the concept of greening, can be part of an extensive series of global environmental governance.

G-20 As a Means of Achieving Indonesia's Political and Environmental Interests

Normatively, criticism and skepticism are things that cannot be avoided from a country's political and governmental practices. As previously described, the IKN plan initiated by the Government of Indonesia received criticism and skepticism from various parties. Skepticism of environmental degradation over the consequences of a country's policies is related to the idea stated by Bastari and Retyaningtyas (2019). In the context of the role of cities as a stimulus for global environmental management, the state prioritizes achieving economic development effects rather than ecosystem and environmental sustainability. The discourse on skepticism of environmental degradation as a result of state policies is also further discussed by involving the paradigm of environmental ethics, which is segmented into two main views: deep ecology and shallow ecology. (Bastari & Retyaningtyas, 2019). *Deep ecology* is an environmental ethics perspective that sees the environment as an entity that cannot be separated from humans so that the relationship between the environment and humans is balanced. Meanwhile, shallow ecology is a view that sees the environment as an object that humans can use to achieve their interests (Messersmith-Glavin, 2011).

In order to prevent and anticipate negative environmental impacts from the plan to relocate IKNs, Indonesia must base its policy and practice on the implementation of IKN development on profound ecology conceptions. In this study, the concept of deep ecology is considered to have the same resonance as the concept of good environmental governance because there is a similarity in the final orientation of environmental management efforts, namely ecocentrism and the principle of sustainability. Adhere to the principles of good environmental governance according to Belbase (2010), namely; 1) the rule of law; 2) participation and representation; 3) access to information; 4) transparency and accountability;

Copyright at authors some right reserved this work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License

5) decentralization; 6) institutions and agencies; 7) access to justice, the Government of Indonesia must apply the concept of good environmental governance in the IKN development plan because good environmental governance contains principles that can be applied by Indonesia in order to anticipate environmental degradation due to the transfer and development of IKN.

Based on the previous description, the G-20 Indonesia Presidency is a strategic opportunity to bridge global environmental governance with Indonesia's agenda in developing IKN. On the other hand, the foundation regarding the role of cities that have gone global to influence the dynamics of managing global environmental issues is a strong foundation that presents the idea that the G-20 is a forum that can succeed in planning the transfer and development of Indonesia's IKN.The indications are strengthened by Indonesia's actions which often voice plans to relocate the capital city at several G-20 meetings in Bali. Concerning the priority of environmental issues in Indonesia's G-20 Presidency, the Government of Indonesia presented the plan to move the capital city as a form of openness and an invitation to G-20 member countries to invest (Indraini, 2022). Through the G-20 forum, the Government of Indonesia announced plans to relocate the capital city and open investment opportunities from G-20 member countries with a value of up to 20.8 billion US dollars (Mokhtar, 2022). Minister of Public Works and Public Housing Basuki Hadimuljono also stated that during the G-20 Summit in Bali, Indonesia's IKN plan attracted the interest of G-20 member countries such as Japan and South Korea to invest. In fact, South Korea is seen to be serious about implementing its investment commitments in the development of clean water management in the Archipelago, which is the name of Indonesia's new capital city (Tempo, 2022). This series of facts confirm a correlation between environmental priorities in Indonesia's IKN development plan and Indonesia's position in the G-20 forum. The steps taken by the Government of Indonesia in mediating and voicing its plans are a form of dismissing the issue of environmental degradation as a result of the IKN development plan.

The involvement of many countries, some of which are developed countries with good track records of managing environmental issues, has become one of the political instruments for Indonesia to anticipate the adverse environmental impacts of IKN through investment. At this stage, Indonesia is an interpretive form of the multiple-actor model in global environmental governance theory.

Copyright at authors some right reserved this work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License

CONCLUSION

This research finds that the G-20 is a political instrument for Indonesia in realizing good environmental governance in anticipating the potential for environmental degradation in plans to relocate and develop IKNs. This is reviewed from the theoretical perspective of global environmental governance, which calls for various models for agenda renewal, including the new agency model and the multiple actors model. The G-20 is a form of global environmental governance in the dynamics of the international system. It is also categorized as a form of the new agency in the model for updating the global environmental governance agenda. Then, externalizing the interests of the Government of Indonesia by voicing the IKN plan to G-20 member countries is an interpretation of the multiple actors model, which defines Indonesia as an actor involved in the global environmental governance agenda. Indonesia's G-20 presidency is also relevant to the priority element in the global environmental governance agenda, namely leadership.

REFERENCE

Acuto, M. (2013). The New Climate Leader? Review of International Relations, 1-23.

Baek, J., & Kim, H. S. (2011). Trade Liberalization, Economic Growth, Energy Consumption and the Environment: Time Series Evidence from G-20 Countries. Journal of East Asian Economic Integration, 15(1), 3-32. doi:10.11644/KIEP.JEAI.2011.15.1.224

Bastari, G. R., & Retyaningtyas, L. W. (2019). Memproblematisasi Peran Kota Dalam Tata Kelola Lingkungan Global. Review of International Relations, 1(1), 72-83. Retrieved January 16, 2023

Belbase, N. (2010). Good Environmental Governance In The Future Constitution. Nepal: IUCN.

Betsill, M., & Bulkeley. (2006). Cities and the Multilevel Governance of Global Climate Change. Gloval Governance, 12, 141-159. doi:10.2307/27800607

Eckerslay, R. (2012). Moving Forward in the Climate Negotiations: Multilateralism or Minilateralism? Global Environmental Politics, 12(2), 24-42. Retrieved January 16, 2023

Guild, J. (2019). Why Jokowi wants to move the Indonesian capital. Retrieved January 15, 2023, from eastasiaforum.org: https://www.eastasiaforum.org/2019/10/31/why-jokowi-wants-to-move-the-indonesian-capital/

Husain, Z. (2022). Explained: Why Indonesia's Jakarta Is the Fastest Sinking City In The World. Retrieved January 16, 2023, from indiatimes.com:

Copyright at authors some right reserved this work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License

https://www.indiatimes.com/explainers/news/why-indonesias-jakarta-the-fastest-sinking-city-in-the-world-566454.html

Indraini, A. (2022). Di KTT G20, Jokowi Sebut IKN Nusantara Buka Peluang Investasi Rp 322 T. Retrieved January 16, 2023, from finance.detik.com: https://finance.detik.com/properti/d-6407907/di-ktt-g20-jokowi-sebut-ikn-nusantara-buka-peluang-investasi-rp-322-t

Jamil, K., & et.al. (2021). Do remittance and renewable energy affect CO2 emissions? An empirical evidence from selected G-20 countries. Energy & Environment, 0(0), 1-17. doi:10.1177/0958305X211029636

Julina, S. (2022). Komunikasi Internasional Indonesia Sebagai Presidensi G-20 Indonesia 2020 Ditinjau Dari Perspektif DIplomatik. Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi Citra, 8(1), 8-17. Retrieved January 16, 2023, from http://jurnalcitra.id/index.php/JCN/article/view/57

Kim, J. A., & Chung, S. (2012). The Role of the G20 in Governing the Climate Change Regime. International Environmental Agreements, 12(4), 361-374. Retrieved January 16, 2023

Media Indonesia. (2022, August 30). Negara G20 Satukan Komitmen untuk Isu Lingkungan dan Perubahan Iklim. Retrieved January 16, 2023, from mediaindonesia.com: https://mediaindonesia.com/humaniora/518740/negara-g20-satukan-komitmen-untukisulingkungan-dan-perubahahn-ikim

Messersmith-Glavin, P. (2011, January 9). Between Social Ecology and Deep Ecology: Gary Snyder's Ecological Philosophy. Retrieved January 15, 2023, from theanarchistlibrary.org: https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/paul-messersmith-glavin-between-social-ecology-and-deep-ecology-gary-snyder-s-ecological-philos

Ministry of Environment and Forestry. (2022). Indonesia Tunjukkan Kepemimpinan Dalam Pengelolaan Lingkungan Dan Pengendalian Perubahan Iklim Di Pertemuan G20 EDM-CSWG. Retrieved January 16, 2023, from ppid.mnlhk.go.id: http://ppid.menlhk.go.id/berita/siaran-pers/6594/indonesia-tunjukkan-kepemimpinan-dalam-pengelolaan-lingkungan-dan-pengendalian-perubahan-iklim-di-pertemuan-g20-edm-cswg

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia. (2022). Indonesia Usung Semangat Pulih Bersama dalam Presidensi G20 Tahun 2022. Retrieved January 15, 2023, from kemlu.go.id: https://kemlu.go.id/portal/id/read/3288/berita/presidensi-g20-indonesia

Copyright at authors some right reserved this work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License

Mokhtar, F. (2022, December 5). Ambitious plan to build Indonesia a brand new capital city are falling apart. Retrieved January 16, 2023, from japantime.co.jp: https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2022/12/05/asia-pacific/indonesia-new-capital-plans-fall-apart/

Mutaqin, D. J., Muslim, M. B., & Rahayu, N. H. (2021). Analisis Konsep Forest City dalam Rencana Pembangunan Ibu Kota Negara. Bappenas Working Papers, 4(1), 13-29. doi: doi.org/10.47266/bwp.v4i1.87

Mutiarasari, K. A. (2022, November 17). Hasil KTT G20 Bali Telah Diumumkan, Ini Info Selengkapnya. Retrieved January 16, 2023, from news.detik.com: https://news.detik.com/berita/d-6411151/hasil-ktt-g20-bali-telah-diumumkan-ini-info-selengkapnya

Nainggolan, E. U. (2022, January 25). Urgensi Pemindahan Ibu Kota Negara. Retrieved from djkn.kemenkeu.go.id: https://www.djkn.kemenkeu.go.id/kanwil-kalbar/baca-artikel/14671/Urgensi-Pemindahan-Ibu-Kota-Negara.html

Najam, A., Papa, M., & Taiyab, N. (2006). Global Environmental Governance: A Reform Agenda. Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada: International Institute for Sustainable Development. Retrieved January 15, 2023

Nazir, M. (2013). Metode Penelitian. Bogor: Ghalia Indonesia.

OECD. (2023, January 16). Sustainability - Climate Sustainability and Energy. Retrieved from oecd.rog: https://www.oecd.org/g20/topics/climate-sustainability-and-energy/

Pattberg, P., & Widerberg, O. (2015). Theorising Global Environmental Governance: Key Findings and Future Questions. Millenium: Journal of International Studies, 43(2), 684-705. doi:10.1177/0305829814561773

Permatasari, D. N. (2018, May 23). Penerapan Konsep Good Environmental Governance Dalam Pembangunan Berkelanjutan Guna Mengatasi Permasalahan Lingkungan. Retrieved from researchgate.net: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/325312259_PENERAPAN_KONSEP_GOOD_ENVIRONMENTAL_GOVERNANCE_DALAM_PEMBANGUNAN_BERKELANJUTAN_GUNA_MENGATASI_PERMASALAHAN_LINGKUNGAN

Petriella, Y. (2022, February 2). Ini Alasan di Balik Pemindahan Ibu Kota Negara ke Nusantara. Retrieved January 15, 2023, from m.bisnis.com:

Copyright at authors some right reserved this work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License

https://m.bisnis.com/amp/read/20220202/47/1495882/ini-alasan-di-balik-pemindahan-ibu-kota-negara-ke-nusantara

Prihatini, Z. (2022, November 29). Jakarta Diprediksi Tenggelam 2030, Ahli: Bukan Hilang tapi Terendam. Retrieved January 15, 2023, from kompas.com: https://megapolitan.kompas.com/read/2022/11/29/20083801/jakarta-diprediksi-tenggelam-2030-ahli-bukan-hilang-tapi-terendam?page=all

Purniawati, Kasana, N., & Rodiyah. (2020). Good Environmental Governance In Indonesia (Perspective of Environmental Protection and Management). Journal of International Clinical Legal Education, 2(1), 43-56. doi:10.15294/ijicle.v2i1.37328

Reiffel, L. (2020, May 22). Building Indonesia's new capital. Retrieved January 15, 2023, from eastasiaforum.org: https://www.eastasiaforum.org/2020/05/22/building-indonesias-new-capital/

Siahaan, N. (2004). Hukum Lingkungan dan Ekologi Pembangunan. Jakarta: Erlangga. Retrieved January 15, 2023

Slaughter, S. (2017). The G20 and Climate Change: The Transnational Contribution of Global Summitry. Global Policy, 8(3), 1-9. doi:10.1111/1758-5899.12442

Sugiyono. (2013). Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif, Kualitatif dan R&D. Bandung: CV. Alfabeta.

Tanaya, S. (2022, May 9). 6 Ways the G20 Can Maximize the Role of Forests in Climate Action. Retrieved January 16, 2023, from wri-indonesia.org: https://wri-indonesia.org/en/insights/6-ways-g20-can-maximize-role-forests-climate-action

Tempo. (2019, August 26). Lima Alasan Jokowi Pindahkan Ibu Kota ke Kalimantan Timur. Retrieved January 15, 2023, from nasional.tempo.co: https://nasional.tempo.co/amp/1240383/lima-alasan-jokowi-pindahkan-ibu-kota-ke-kalimantan-timur

Tempo. (2022, November 20). Indonesia' New Capital IKN Nusantara Has Drawn Interest of G20 Countries, Says Minister. Retrieved January 16, 2023, from en.tempo.co: https://en.tempo.co/read/1658964/indonesias-new-capital-ikn-nusantara-has-drawn-interest-of-g20-countries-says-minister

Toun, N. R. (2018). Analisis Kesiapan Pemerintah Provinsi Kalimantan Tengah dalam Wacana Pemindahan Ibu Kota Negara Republik Indonesia ke Kota Palangkaraya. Jurnal Academia Praja, 1(1), 129-148. doi:https://doi.org/10.36859/jap.v1i01.45

Copyright at authors some right reserved this work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License