

## The Politics of Sustainable Development: Navigating Policy Challenges in Indonesia’s New Capital City Nusantara

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### ABSTRACT

This paper explores the political and policy-related obstacles in implementing Sustainable Development Goal 11 from the United Nations in Indonesia's forthcoming capital city. Authors start by scrutinizing the political motivations and interests influencing the city's development, and how these forces impact sustainability-focused policies. Subsequently, we investigate the challenges in aligning the city's growth with SDG 11 targets, which encompass safe and affordable housing, sustainable transport systems, inclusive urbanization, preservation of cultural and natural heritage, and improved resilience to disasters.

Using a combination of desk research, news documentation, and case studies, this study endeavors to paint a comprehensive picture of the intricacies of achieving SDG 11 in the context of a new capital city. The insights gleaned from this research aim to inform policy-making and provide valuable lessons for Indonesia, as well as other developing nations, in their pursuit of sustainable urban development. Through this multifaceted research approach, this paper offers a nuanced perspective on the political and policy dynamics of sustainable development in the rapidly changing environment of Indonesia's new capital city.

**Keywords:** Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), New Capital City of Indonesia, Nusantara, Environmental Security, Policy Challenges, Urban Development

### INTRODUCTION

Urbanization is a defining trend of the 21st century, with the United Nations Sustainable Development Goal 11 (SDG 11) highlighting the need for cities to be inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable. This prior global objective assumes a distinctive aspect when considered in relation to the upcoming capital city of Indonesia, Nusantara. With official name Ibu Kota Nusantara (IKN) it presents a unique prospect of applying sustainability principles immediately at the earliest stages of the development process, given that it is a city that is being established from scratch. However, this ambitious endeavor is not without its complexities. The project is located within a complicated chain of political entities and policy factors that have the potential to either enable or impede the realization of Sustainable Development Goal 11. Unraveling these complexities is not only vital for the successful realization of Nusantara as a sustainable city, but it also holds valuable lessons for other urban development initiatives worldwide. The research holds importance due to its capability to provide insights for policy formulation and add to the wider dialogue on sustainable urban growth.

This paper aims to explore the political and policy-related obstacles in implementing SDG 11 in Nusantara. Authors will begin by examining the political motivations and interests influencing the city's development and how these forces impact sustainability-focused policies. Subsequently, authors will investigate the challenges in aligning the city's growth with SDG 11 targets. To achieve these objectives, the paper is structured as follows: Section II describes the research methodology, data

collection, and analysis techniques used in this study. Section III presents the results and discussion, including an examination of the political dynamics, stakeholder engagement, and environmental security in Nusantara, as well as an illustrative case study on the green public transportation directive. Section IV provides a comprehensive summary of the research outcomes, policy implications, recommendations, and avenues to explore for future research, therefore concluding the paper.

## **MATERIAL AND METHODS**

### **A. Overview of Research Methodology**

This paper used qualitative research methodology that focuses on how to explore and understand the meaning of some occasions or social problems. (Bakry, 2015) Qualitative research has two main objectives, first, describe and express, and second, describe and explain. Most qualitative research is descriptive and explanatory in nature (Sukmadinata, 2006). In this paper, the authors use explanatory as a main objective to explain what authors are researching and how to answer the research by the perspective.

### **B. Data Collection**

In this research, the authors choose to use secondary data rather than primary data. Secondary data becomes a data collection that is accommodated by qualitative methodology. Documents, statement reports, journal articles also news from mass media become qualitative data (secondary data) that qualitative methodology accommodates (Bryman, 2012) Therefore, to collect accurate and accountable data in this study, the authors use sources from government reports, statement, news from mass media and also journal article.

### **C. Data Analysis**

To analyze the data, this research uses grounded theory. Qualitative data analysis (especially those using an analytic approach induction and grounded theory) is often described as iterative, that is, always there is a repetitive (repetitive) interaction between the process of data collection and analysis data. Analysis begins after some data has been collected (not necessarily all data), which can then have implications for later steps in the process of data collection. (Bakry, 2015)

### **D. Limitations of Methodology**

There are limitations of this methodology in the research. Authors have limitations in getting concrete data that authors can acquire directly from the field or using primary data. Therefore, authors use secondary data according to journal articles, report statements from the government, news in mass media, and the internet.

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

### **A. Political Dynamics, Stakeholder Engagement, and Environmental Security in Nusantara**

The development of low-carbon cities is a complex process that involves collaboration between various stakeholders, including national- and local-level political actors, private-sector actors, and civil society organizations. Based on Mungksa, Oswar (2022) article “Mewujudkan Kota Rendah Karbon. Sumbang Saran bagi Pengembangan Perkotaan Indonesia dan Ibu Kota Nusantara.” identifies three categories of key political

actors involved in low carbon city development: internal stakeholders, key stakeholders, and external stakeholders.

Internal stakeholders possess considerable influence over the development of low-carbon cities. The central government is responsible for formulating the vision, setting targets, and providing support for such development. Local governments play a crucial role in coordinating activities from diverse stakeholders to achieve national targets, offering land, promoting investments, and engaging with various stakeholders.

Key stakeholders encompass private sector actors like developers and investors, who supply funding and expertise for sustainable urban projects. Civil society organizations also contribute by advocating for sustainable urban development policies and engaging with communities to enhance awareness and participation.

External stakeholders, who have an interest in low-carbon city development or may be affected but lack direct decision-making power, include local indigenous people, urban area residents, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), academic institutions, international organizations, and other governments.

Effective collaboration among key political actors is essential for successful low-carbon city development. At the national level, stakeholders such as the central government and relevant ministries provide policy guidance and financial support. Meanwhile, local-level stakeholders, including local governments and professionals, focus on implementing low-carbon city initiatives on the ground. Private sector actors and civil society organizations play a vital role in funding sustainable urban projects and advocating for sustainable urban development policies. However, the development of low-carbon cities can be hindered if there is a lack of collaboration or conflicting interests among key political actors. Therefore, establishing effective cooperation among these actors is of paramount importance for achieving national targets for low-carbon city development while also addressing local needs and priorities. (Mungkasa, 2022)

## **B. Interactions of SDG 11 and SDG 13 in Nusantara: Implications for Environmental Security (800 words)**

Environmental security is a concept that exists along with climate change. Environmental security can be considered as the state of protection of vital interests of the individual, society, and natural environment from threats of anthropogenic and natural impacts on the environment. (Asif, 2022) There are six approaches to environmental security according to Collins (Jonsson, Environmental Security A Conceptual Investigating Study, 2009): Ecological Security, Common Security, Environmental Violence, National Security, Greening Defence, and Human Security

The concentration of urban area activities and people brings with it environmental and social challenges that can only be tackled through more sustainable and effective ways of living and working. (GOV.SI, 2023) Environmental security and sustainable development evolved during roughly the same period as human security and human development. The clear link between the diverse perspectives and communities focusing on environmental security and sustainable development is a much greater emphasis on nature. (Khagram, 2003) To develop an urban area (context: relocation of Indonesia's new capital city) environmental security in urban development has an important role. Environmental security can be a guide to objectify development in urban

areas as drivers of economic and social development but not rule out of environment as a main aspect.

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are a universal call to action to end poverty and protect the planet, and people with peace and prosperity. The 17 SDGs are integrated they recognize that action in one area will affect outcomes in others, and that development must balance social, economic, and environmental sustainability. (UNDP, 2023) There are 2 points of SDG's goal that the Indonesia government is supposed to implement in the relocation of the capital city, there are; SDG 11 sustainable cities and communities, and SDG 13 climate action.

SDG 11 has a main target is making cities sustainable means creating career and business opportunities, safe and affordable housing, and building resilient societies and economies also inclusive. (UNDP, 2023) Whilst SDG 13 focuses on climate action, no country is experiencing the drastic effects of climate change. Global warming is causing long-lasting changes to the climate system, which threatens irreversible consequences if do not act. (UNDP, 2023) The development of Nusantara has used the concept of a smart city forest or a city in a forest area with around 75% of the area being a green area and using environmentally friendly construction for each building and the concept of green, smart, beautiful, and sustainable. (Cakti, 2022) The concept of a smart city that used to develop Nusantara is the way to achieve two points of SDGs; 11 and 13. A smart city with green and beautiful is a reflection of achieving SDGs 13, and a sustainable and smart is a reflection of achieving SDGs 11

SDG 11 and SDG 13 are two points that interact with each other as an objection that must be achieved in the context of Nusantara development. Indonesian government applied those points to the concept of smart city forest. Where 75% of IKN is plan become green areas, including 65% protected areas, and 10% food production also IKN develops by 100% clean energy. According to Amalia Adininggar (Hakim, 2022) IKN has been projected as a superhub economy where this could be a motor of economy and economic value chain for Indonesia. Superhub IKN must be locally integrated (IKN economic superhub can be more inclusive and will stimulate economic development whole of Indonesia), globally connected (Indonesia will be more strategic in world trade, investment, and technology innovation), globally inspired (Indonesia will be a world example as a green city, sustainable and high standard of living in the middle of climate change challenge). (Julita, 2021) To objectify a smart green city, Indonesia will make green transportation, there will be more pedestrian, renewable transportation such as solar-powered ships, and it will also combine with technology where there will be a highway in the sea. (Indraini, 2022)

There are 3 pillars of IKN, it is economy, society, and environment. In the economic sector, the government commits to creating jobs, decreasing the cost of living, increasing property value, and bringing in tourist. Those pillars had elaborated become a principal and main of benchmark IKN development where it is applied to the regulations and presidential laws also the vision and objective of Nusantara. The development of the New Capital City (IKN) 2022 has legally been in effect since Law No. 3 of 2022 concerning the State Capital was ratified by President Joko Widodo on February 15. (Rahmat Saputra, 2022) This regulation has derivatives it is presidential law. Those regulations and presidential laws also explain and mention about vision and

objections of Nusantara. There are three visions of Nusantara as a smart city forest (Sunarharum, 2022): 1. Sustainable City in the World (Safe and Affordable, Net Zero Emission, Circular and Tough, Connected, Active and Easy to Access, Harmony with Nature), 2. Economic Driver Indonesia in the Future (Economic Opportunity Tough for All, Convenient and Efficient through Technology and Innovation), 3. Symbol of National Identity (Beauty of Indonesia- Bhinneka Tunggal Ika). To achieve SDGs points 11 and 13, there is a synergy that could be realized but it will impact the achievement of the other and become a conflict. Relocation new capital city from Java to Borneo even if the government endeavors to develop by using the smart city concept cannot be easily done. The development of Nusantara will affect the social impact of the community. In the process of developing Nusantara, what happened was not only infiltration and invasion of migrants from outside. But also, the possibility of a succession process of ownership of local resources could affect the cultural of local people as well. (Rita Kalalinggi, 2023) On the other hand, it could marginalize local people and create a huge gap between migrants and local people. This phenomenon can transform the conflict horizontally (ethnic clash) and SDG point 11 is unachieved.

Besides the social impact of the community, the lecture of forest faculty UGM Dwiko Budi Permadi, S.Hut., M.Sc., Ph.D said there is a threat of deforestation in the development of Nusantara. Planned deforestation occurs in sectors that utilize forest land, and convert and change the allotment of forest land. There is a threat of deforestation from developing Nusantara. Deforestation from utilizing forest land could create disasters and worsen with climate change, like forest fires in East and North Borneo. Deforestation in Borneo, with its tropical rainforests as the "world's lungs", can impact the environment globally by exacerbating climate change and creating disasters. This shows relocating the capital city to Nusantara risks environmental problems that affect people and worsen climate change. Rather than synergies to achieve SDGs 11 and 13 goals, there are conflicts from deforestation that threaten both. (Ika, 2023)

The development of Nusantara Capital City with the concept of a smart city by using SDGs 11 and SDGs 13 point as a benchmark, basically had an interaction with environmental security itself. Based on approaches of environmental security in the journal Environmental Security A Conceptual Investigating Study (2009), environmental security consists of 6 approaches:

Name	Entity	The main source of risk	Scale
Ecological Security	Natural Environment	Human Activity	Ecosystems
Common Security	Nation-State	Environmental Change	Global/Regional
Environmental Violence	Nation-State	War	National
National Security	Nation-State	Environmental Change	National
Greening Defence	Armed Forces	Green/Peace Groups	Organizational
Human Security	Individuals	Environmental Change	Local

**Table 1.** six approaches to environmental security

Of the six approaches, SDGs points 11 and 13 have implications for environmental security in the eco-ecological security and environmental security approaches. The implication lies in the entity and the source of risk so related securitization is required. If you look at the projected development of the IKN by carrying out the smart city concept, the SDG points that were originally trying hard can be turned

into a boomerang. This is because the development of the archipelago creates social problems for the local community such as fear of being unable to compete with newcomers, the opportunity to participate in development and enjoy the results of development as well as issues of property rights and land use that are currently being used. (Fristikawati, Alvander, & Wibo, 2022)

Several social problems emerged from IKN's development that threaten environmental security. Land prices increased by four to ten times, making it difficult for indigenous people to buy land for homes. Rivers were clogged for dam construction, threatening water resources and contributing to environmental changes, resource scarcity, civil violence, and ethnic clashes. (Arbar, 2023) The increase in land prices contradicts IKN's development principles of affordable and safe land and homes. Similarly, restricted access to natural resources makes IKN's development incompatible with SDG 11 goals, requiring the government to mitigate threats through securitization measures. (Jonsson, 2009)

According to a November 2022 report by Forest Watch Indonesia, most forest areas in IKN are production forests granting permits for activities that can cause deforestation. There is also a lack of information on conserving existing forests. Data shows Samarinda and Balikpapan will experience more extreme heat days in the future, similar to other equatorial and tropical cities. Extreme heat events indicate climate change is exacerbating environmental impacts from development, highlighting the need for governments to incorporate restructuring into planning. (Tarigan & Milko, 2023) While IKN's development follows a smart city concept, it risks causing environmental changes through deforestation and worsening climate change, threatening the very issues the relocation aimed to solve. Proper implementation considering local impacts and stakeholders will thus be key to reconciling development goals with environmental security objectives.

### **C. Illustrative Example: Green Public Transportation Directive in Nusantara**

Regarding concerns about the green public transportation directive, the authors take reference from a thesis written by Ricky Wijaya Umar “Adopting planning strategies of exemplary cities to create a sustainable city-wide mobility system for the urban growth of Nusantara, the new capital city in Indonesia” (2023) that highlights the significance of incorporating green mobility as a fundamental component in establishing a sustainable mobility framework for Nusantara. The claim posits that insights gleaned from exemplary urban centers can be utilized to establish an enduring mobility framework that accords precedence to eco-friendly modes of transportation, such as cycling and public transit. The research underscores the significance of incorporating diverse forms of eco-friendly transportation, such as Bus Rapid Transit (BRT), Light Rail Transit (LRT), and electric autonomous buses, within a sustainable mobility system. Even in the latest news, the government made a working visit to Austria represented by the Minister of Transportation with the Minister of the National Development Planning Agency for the Cooperation of the Cable Car in IKN. In addition, the State Capital Authority Agency plans to carry the concept of advanced technology in IKN Nusantara, one of which is by launching a flying car called a passenger drone for public transportation at IKN in collaboration with Hyundai.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, the research

emphasizes the significance of bicycle lanes in supporting the eco-friendly transportation approach. At some point, the findings of the study indicate that it would be beneficial for the government to collaborate with various stakeholders, including citizens, to establish policies and regulations that facilitate sustainable mobility within the region of Nusantara.

The proposition posits that the government would benefit from collaborating with citizens and other relevant parties in formulating policies and regulations that foster sustainable mobility. The statement underscores the significance of incorporating sustainability principles into the process of urban planning and design. The research underscores the significance of adopting a comprehensive strategy to encourage sustainable mobility in Nusantara. This involves formulating governmental policies and regulations that foster sustainable mobility, incorporating sustainability principles into urban planning and design, and engaging citizens in the planning process. (Umar, 2023)

According to the journal *Forecasting The Development of IKN (New National Capital) in Sustainable Development, Indonesia (2022)* IKN's development supports SDG 11 (Sustainable Cities and Communities) by fostering sustainable urbanization through smart transportation, green building practices, smart grid systems, and sustainable infrastructure planning. These practices help reduce greenhouse gas emissions, making cities more inclusive, safe, and resilient. The development process must adhere to SDG 5's principles of fairness, participation, and gender equality, which are crucial for sustainable development and align with SDG 11's inclusivity goals. Further, IKN's development aligns with SDG 13 (Climate Action) by promoting sustainable practices that mitigate climate change impacts. However, implementing sustainable practices in IKN's urban development faces challenges such as ensuring adherence to SDG 5 principles. This necessitates meticulous planning, stakeholder involvement, and consideration for marginalized groups. Additionally, challenges include integrating IKN's development with local topographical and geological conditions, demanding a thorough understanding of the environment and detailed planning to guarantee sustainability and resilience. Land grading to prevent flooding in high rainfall areas poses a significant challenge, requiring adequate drainage planning. Lastly, coordinating underground infrastructure among stakeholders to circumvent conflicts and ensure sustainability and efficiency presents another obstacle.

Implementing sustainable practices can also be expensive, potentially constraining IKN's ability to prioritize sustainability due to financial limitations. Overall, these challenges highlight the importance of careful planning, stakeholder engagement, and coordination when implementing sustainable development practices in projects like IKN. Overcoming these challenges will be critical to ensure IKN's development is sustainable and aligned with SDGs 11 and 13. While IKN's development aligns with SDGs 11 and 13 by promoting green transportation and sustainable planning, social issues threaten environmental security by potentially causing resource scarcity and civil conflict. IKN's development also risks environmental changes like deforestation that threaten ecological security and worsen climate change. Thus proper implementation considering local impacts and stakeholders will be key to realizing potential gains for environmental security while overcoming tensions between development goals and environmental objectives. (Kalalinggi, Hisdar, Sarmiasih, & Wijaya, 2022)

## CONCLUSION

IKN's development as a new capital city presents an opportunity to immediately apply sustainability principles from the start. However, complex political dynamics and constraints pose challenges to realizing SDG 11 goals. Effective collaboration among national and local actors as well as stakeholders is crucial but often lacking.

Social issues from IKN's development threaten environmental security through resource scarcity and potential civil conflict. Risks of deforestation and worsening climate change also endanger ecological security. While green transportation systems and aligning with SDGs 11 and 13 show potential to improve environmental security, proper implementation considering local impacts and stakeholders will be critical to realize this potential and resolve conflicts between development and environmental security objectives.

Overall, there are policy and political obstacles to implementing SDG 11 in IKN's development. Central and local governments must improve stakeholder engagement and coordination to support sustainability-focused policies. Directives promoting green public transportation also require collaboration for proper implementation.

### A. Recommendations

- 1) Improving coordination between political actors at central and local levels to align policies and targets with SDG 11 goals.
- 2) Enhance stakeholder engagement, especially with local communities, to ensure development considers social equity, environmental sustainability and local needs.
- 3) Strengthen implementation and monitoring of sustainability plans, policies and directives to minimize environmental threats and resolve conflicts between development and environmental security objectives.

### B. Future research could

- 1) Explore solutions for overcoming socioeconomic challenges impacting local communities from IKN's development.
- 2) Investigate best practices for integrating sustainability principles from the start of new urban projects to minimize environmental risks.
- 3) Examine policy instruments and governance structures for enabling effective stakeholder collaboration around green mobility and sustainable development.
- 4) In summary, exploring political obstacles and solutions for implementing SDG 11 in IKN's development holds valuable lessons for achieving sustainability in new urban initiatives project worldwide.

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