

Governance and Management Challenges in Indonesia's Nusantara Capital City (IKN) Project: A Critical Review and Strategic Recommendations

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Abstract

International experiences from Brazil's Brasília, Myanmar's Naypyidaw, and Kazakhstan's Nur-Sultan demonstrate that such mega-projects often encounter significant governance deficits, cost overruns, and implementation delays that compromise their transformative potential. This paper offers a critical review of governance and management challenges in Indonesia's Nusantara Capital City (IKN) Project: A Critical Review and Strategic Recommendations governance and management issues in Indonesia's Nusantara Capital City (IKN), an essential national development program. Applying a qualitative case study method, recent data and reports are scrutinized to draw attention to themes such as leadership instability, a lack of government agency coordination, budget constraints, opacity in the use of funds, social strife over land acquisition, and the questionable sustainability of development across Indonesia. The study shows the constraints on the institutional capacity of the IKN Authority and how political changes affect project continuity. The findings inform policy suggestions to improve governance, inter-agency collaboration, transparency, and inclusive stakeholder engagement. This study adds to the existing literature by highlighting the challenges faced in implementing large government mega-projects within a developing-country context and provides practical advice for policymakers with an aim of achieving IKN development sustainability.

Keywords: National Capital Relocation; Nusantara; Indonesia; Regional Development Equity;

INTRODUCTION

In mid-2019, President Joko Widodo announced that Indonesia would move its national capital off the island of Java. The chosen site for the new capital covers a large land area across Penajam North Paser Regency and Kutai Kartanegara Regency in East Kalimantan province on Borneo. The idea to move the national capital is not new and has been a topic considered by several of Indonesia's past presidents (Azmy, 2021; Drake, 2019; Ikfina, 2024; Perwira et al., 2024; Sugihartati et al., 2020). The idea of shifting the capital city from Jakarta to Palangkaraya was proposed by Indonesia's first President, Soekarno on 1957, when Palangkaraya was officially named as the capital of Central Kalimantan. The second president, Soeharto, then issued a Presidential Decree No. 1 of 1997 on the Coordination of Development in the Jonggol Area as an independent city that was designated to be a new administrative center. Moreover, President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, the sixth president, cited several options for moving in 2013, indicating the ongoing interest of the government on this strategic project:

1. Establishing the governmental district around the Monumen Nasional (Monas) area while retaining it within Jakarta;
2. Relocating the capital to an area proximate to Jakarta, within a 50 to 70-kilometer radius; and ultimately,
3. Moving the capital outside the island of Java altogether.

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The establishment of the new national capital is part of Indonesia's approach to spread economic and infrastructural growth more fairly across the country, reducing disparities that have long seen them focused on the island of Java (Drake, 2019; Ikfina, 2024; Kalalinggi et al., 2023; Masrom et al., 2023; Sari, 2018). Additionally, the IKN initiative seeks to ease environmental pressure in Java and Jakarta where significant sustainability challenges are encountered. Initiatives to promote balanced development across the archipelago are also continuing, as seen from basic infrastructure programmes, namely toll roads in Sumatra, railways in Sulawesi and roads and bridges in Papua which require seaports and airports as well. On 2022, January and after, The Government confirmed the name of "Nusantara" as new Capital City of Republic of Indonesia already become institutionalized in Law Number 3 about State Capital (UU-IKN) by House Representatives (DPR) (Arief Buwono, 2025; Damarjati, 2024; Hidayat et al., 2024; Wijaya et al., 2025).

Global infrastructure mega-projects, particularly capital city relocations, have historically demonstrated high failure rates and significant governance challenges that threaten their sustainability and transformative potential (Lephondo, 2021; Rizzo, 2017). Data from the Oxford Global Mega-Projects Database (2023) indicates that 92% of mega-infrastructure projects experience cost overruns averaging 28%, while 73% face substantial delays beyond original timelines. Specifically in the context of capital relocations in developing countries, empirical evidence reveals critical governance deficits: Brazil's Brasília faced decades of incomplete infrastructure development and regional inequality exacerbation; Myanmar's Naypyidaw suffered from inadequate stakeholder participation and limited economic viability; and Kazakhstan's Nur-Sultan encountered severe coordination failures among government agencies. These international precedents establish capital relocation effectiveness and mega-project governance sustainability as critical dependent variables that determine whether such ambitious urban initiatives achieve their intended outcomes of regional equity, economic redistribution, and sustainable development (Lang et al., 2024; Lephondo, 2021; Shin & Gimm, 2025). The IKN project in Indonesia operates within this challenging global context, where governance fragmentation, financial uncertainties, and stakeholder coordination failures represent systemic risks that could undermine the project's viability and reproduce the governance pathologies observed in comparable international cases.

Existing scholarship on capital relocation mega-projects provides crucial frameworks for understanding Indonesia's IKN initiative. Key studies identify primary motivations such as political symbolism and regional equity, alongside success factors like robust institutions and sustained political commitment (Ishenda & Shi, 2019). Research specific to Nusantara highlights its aspirational sustainability goals, yet reveals critical challenges in implementation due to governance fragmentation, financial vulnerabilities, and tensions between centralized planning and decentralized governance (Azizah, 2024; Laksono et al., 2023; Wijaya et al., 2025). Furthermore, analyses emphasize that project legitimacy depends on genuine indigenous community inclusion, moving beyond token consultation (Rifaïd, 2023).

Despite these contributions, a significant literature gap remains, as no study has comprehensively synthesized these interconnected governance, financial, coordination, and rights

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concerns within a unified analytical framework to examine their combined impact on project sustainability. Existing research has also not sufficiently addressed how political transitions and leadership instability within the IKN Authority specifically erode institutional continuity and strategic coherence. This study directly addresses these gaps by offering an integrated governance-oriented analysis of the multidimensional challenges confronting the IKN project and their broader implications for mega-project management in developing contexts.

The development plan of the National Capital (IKN) is set in 5 according to the Law on IKN ranging from 2022 - 2045, which is presented under a detail masterplan. Environmental preservation – protecting the forest, its flora and fauna and biodiversity as far as possible – is one of the primaries aims of both stages but it will also be inclusive by developing in tune with Kalimantan's natural ecology.

1. Phase I (2022–2024) focuses on constructing the Presidential Palace complex, government offices, residential housing for civil servants and defense personnel, along with telecommunications, energy/electricity infrastructure, and key transportation connectivity nodes.
2. Phase II (2025–2029) emphasizes infrastructure and environmental development, including the airport, dam constructions, domestic wastewater management systems, and expansion of government and industrial zones, hotels, universities, and security institutions such as the Ministry of Defense, Police, Intelligence Agency, and National Cyber and Crypto Agency.
3. Phase III (2030–2034) continues infrastructure and environmental enhancements, including public transportation systems and water resource management, further development of government, business, industrial, hospitality, and educational zones, together with defense-related facilities.
4. Phase IV (2035–2039) targets advanced infrastructure projects like regional rail networks, expanded wastewater management, solar farm construction, and development of four key areas (KIPP phase 2A, West, East, and Northern IKN zones), alongside continued expansion of governmental, commercial, industrial, hotel, university, and defense sectors.
5. Phase V (2040–2045) involves finalizing infrastructure and transportation development, alongside the enhancement of multipurpose dam potentials.

During the initial phase (2022–2024), the establishment of the IKN Authority was prioritized to orchestrate planning, budgeting, and construction activities in collaboration with relevant ministries and agencies.

Table 1. the establishment of the IKN Authority

Budget Component	Amount (Rp trillion)	Description
Government Budget 2022-2024	89	Realized construction and development funds
Approved Budget through 2025-2029	48.8	Additional infrastructure funding
Private Sector Investment	62.1	Committed investments from 42 companies

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Budget Component	Amount (Rp trillion)	Description
State-Owned Enterprises	69.5	Additional investment in various development sectors
Chinese Investment Contribution	70.0	Investments by Chinese firms (as of May 2025)
Additional Public and Private Funding Needed	224.2	Estimated to fulfill total project financing needs

The project IKN has received a boost that is expected to materialise in after 2025, as the second phase of development under the new presidential administration. The government has allocated Rp 48.8 trillion (around US\$2.9 billion), supported by Rp 225 trillion commitments from private and public-private partnership investors. Initial works of key infrastructure, such as roads, utility tunnels and housing have started and efforts are under way to improve stakeholder co-ordination and sustain momentum on the development. Interventions with training programs over 879 sessions work to develop local skills and livelihoods as an integrated socio-economic development strategy. The project aims to be a model for sustainable urbanism worldwide with green spaces and reliance on renewable energy leading the city toward achieving net zero carbon emissions by 2045. Debut in 2017Â Despite the earlier setbacks, and more limited funding than under past governments, Nusantara is now back on track to complete the capital move by 2028, cementing its status as Indonesia's seat of political power. This phase underlines achievements and what challenges persist in implementing such a complex, multi-stakeholders mega-project.

The urgency of this research derives from three critical dimensions of risk that threaten the IKN project's viability and Indonesia's broader development agenda. First, from a financial-economic perspective, the failure to address governance challenges poses imminent risks of catastrophic cost overruns that could exceed the already substantial Rp 466 trillion budget projection, potentially diverting critical resources from essential social services and infrastructure development across Indonesia. International precedent demonstrates that governance deficits in mega-projects correlate strongly with cost escalations averaging 28-45% beyond original budgets (Oxford Global Mega-Projects Database, 2023), representing potentially hundreds of trillions of rupiah in misallocated public resources if IKN governance failures remain unaddressed. Second, from a socio-political dimension, inadequate governance of land acquisition processes and insufficient indigenous community participation create tangible risks of social conflict, legal challenges, and legitimacy deficits that could paralyze project implementation. Recent reports document escalating tensions between development authorities and indigenous Dayak communities regarding land rights and cultural preservation, indicating that governance failures in stakeholder engagement could trigger protracted disputes that fundamentally undermine project continuity. Third, from a national development equity perspective, the failure to achieve IKN's core objective of regional development redistribution—due to governance inefficiencies, coordination failures, and implementation delays—would perpetuate and potentially exacerbate Java-centric development patterns that the project explicitly aims to rectify. This would represent not merely a project failure but a systemic setback

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for Indonesia's national development strategy and territorial equity goals. These urgent risks demand immediate scholarly attention and evidence-based policy interventions to prevent governance pathologies from undermining Indonesia's most ambitious infrastructure initiative.

The novelty and original contribution of this research reside in four distinctive dimensions that advance the scholarly discourse on mega-project governance. First, methodological innovation: this study employs an integrated governance analysis framework that synthesizes institutional theory, public project management models, and participatory governance principles to examine the IKN case, moving beyond single-lens analyses that characterize much existing literature. Second, temporal distinctiveness: this research provides the first comprehensive governance assessment of the IKN project during the critical transitional period (2024-2025) following the presidential administration change, capturing governance dynamics during a pivotal moment of institutional restructuring and policy recalibration that previous studies could not address. Third, integrative variable analysis: unlike prior research that examines financial, institutional, or social dimensions in isolation, this study analyzes the interactive and compounding effects of leadership instability, budget constraints, coordination deficits, and stakeholder participation failures as an integrated governance challenge system, revealing how these factors mutually reinforce each other to create governance pathologies greater than the sum of their parts. Fourth, practical contribution: this research produces actionable strategic recommendations grounded in systematic empirical analysis rather than normative prescriptions, providing policymakers with evidence-based governance interventions specifically calibrated to the IKN context. These novel contributions position this study as a distinctive scholarly intervention that advances both theoretical understanding of mega-project governance in developing countries and practical frameworks for addressing the IKN project's systemic challenges.

Indonesia's long-awaited relocation of its capital from Jakarta to Nusantara in East Kalimantan showcases one of the world's trickiest urban projects. This case study examine the IKN initiative to bring in the table the multisectoral governance and management issues related to urbanization for development goals. The project faced institutional instability, bureaucratic inflexible and centralized coordination between the central government-led by Prime Minister and local authorities. Financial uncertainties and social tensions associated with land acquisition add to this challenge. In addition, effective stakeholder participation is insufficient and challenges the inclusiveness and legitimacy of governance systems. In analysing these systemic issues, this article draws on recent official reports, journalistic coverage and academic scholarship. The results outline the necessity of strengthening institutional resilience, mainstreaming governance mechanisms and facilitating participatory decision-making for achieving the vision of a resilient, equitable new capital city.

METHOD

In examining the IKN project, this study employed a qualitative case study methodology to investigate governance and management challenges. It analyzed documents—including

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government reports, project agency releases, media articles, and academic papers published up to 2025—to provide a fundamental evidence base. The research used thematic content analysis (TCA) to identify patterns in institutional structures, coordination policies, and stakeholder interactions. Semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions recorded in secondary materials provided insights into leadership dynamics and community participation. An analytical perspective that combined governance theories with public project management models was employed to assess the extent to which institutional effectiveness, transparency, and sustainability issues were considered in project implementation. This method facilitated a fine-grained assessment of the impact that complex political, social, and financial elements had on project advancement, underpinning strategic recommendations for addressing public mega-project governance issues.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Critical Analysis of Current Management Practices

The realization of the IKN development is a mixture of positive and negative milestones whereby governance issues persist. Although buildings and other infrastructure, such as the presidential palace and civil servant housing, are progressing well in terms of construction, management efficiency is still not uniform. Occasional changes of leadership at IKN Authority level have interrupted strategic continuity and operational co-ordination. The fragmented communication and overlapping mandates in the multi-stakeholder field, which includes ministries, local governments, investors and indigenous communities, add to the complexity. Budget changes and the reprioritization in national planning also reveals a different level of political commitment, therefore putting issues of long-term consistency into doubt. Transparency efforts have increased but need to be bolstered further to mollify investors and the public. The speed of civil servant relocation continues to be measured due to logistical and social complexities. In conclusion, the ground has been laid for a new and sustainable capital; but achieving the full project vision requires stronger forms of governance, closer stakeholder collaboration and continued political commitment to overcome institutional momentum and socio-political considerations.

Management Challenges in IKN Development

IKN: initiative and practice The IKN initiative has been celebrated as a transformative urban, governance concept but is experiencing complex managerial issues which are disengaging of the intended trajectory of success. Chief among them are continuing institutional instabilities in a rolling leadership at the head of governing Badan Otorita Ibu Kota Nusantara (IKN Authority). This instability has caused critical lapses in strategic continuity and undermined inter-agency coordination that is essential for managing megaprojects.

And there has been repeated complaint of piecemeal engagement of stakeholders. There are many layers of governance at play - between central ministries to provincial governments, private investors and communities living off the land – that have overlapping mandates but competitive

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priorities. This fragmentation has caused operational inefficiency, procrastination and an overburdening of mechanisms for the joint implementation of activities that are essential to carry out a coherent project.

Financial constraints intensify these challenges. The realignment of budgets from the once-optimistic budget projections to some Rp 48 trillion for the five-year development phase is putting real pressure on how fast and how much can be delivered by projects. Investor reluctance, partly induced by changing policy priorities and doubt over the sustainable development Nusantara, adds another layer to capital mobilization quandaries.

Moreover, social dimensions, particularly with respect to land loss conflicts and community integration show the fine balance between national development agendas and indigenous entitlements. Addressing such social and cultural tensions is crucial to provide legitimacy to authority actions and ensure sustainable cohabitation. Taken together, these challenges of management reveal the paradoxical tension in the case of Nusantara: an utopian promise for a future sustainable capital city challenged by such mundane realities concerning governance fragmentation, fiscal constraints and the contestations in socio-politics. Overcoming these challenges will require enhanced institutional leadership, stewardship of an integrated network of stakeholders, financial transparency and accountability to maximize the project's potential for transformational impact.

Discussion

It provides an added layer to the emerging conversation on capital relocation megaprojects which have burgeoned all throughout the 21st century. Similar analyses in recent journal articles identify major thematic overlap, particularly with respect to sustainable urban planning, governance coordination and socio-environmental stewardship.

Azizah (2024) stresses that the Nusantara development policy inserts holistic spatial organization with sustainable allocation in creating a working scheme which inter-connects functional city planning to ecological preservation. This is consistent with our reading that the aspiration of environmental sustainability had been a pragmatic requirement – especially given Kalimantan's role as an epicentre of global biodiversity. But even with Azizah's emphasis on regulatory effectiveness, this analysis also presents evidence of continued governance fragmentation that could challenge these regulatory goals if they are not swiftly resolved.

In the same way, Laksono et al. (2023) examining the IKN "Five City" project in sustainable infrastructure identifies financial viability as play essential role for long-term success. The upbeat financial perspectives found in their financial analyses reinforce this article's result on the budgetary challenge and highlight that innovative funding solutions should be central in moving ahead with development plans when public budgets are tight spot.

In contrast to a few earlier studies that concentrate largely on environmental and economic variables, the research expands on the issue of indigenous community involvement and social legitimacy, mirroring calls by Rifaid (2023) for more holistic governance where local voices are genuinely intertwined with technical and financial aspects. Taken together, these comparative

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perspectives emphasize that the pursuit of Nusantara aspires to global sustainability and smart city values but that the multifactorial realities of governing, socio-political inclusion, and financing are crucial in determining its ultimate success. This article is placed within these debates by offering a governance-oriented analysis that outlines opportunities and risks, strengthening the case for adaptive, inclusive and well-resourced strategies of capital relocation mega-projects.

In order to address the governance and management issues highlighted, a stable and empowered leadership structure needs to be put in place within the IKN Authority to provide coherent strategic guidance and efficient coordination across public/private sector stakeholders. Improvement in the Formal and Informal Communication, Co-ordination Mechanism A coherent and robust communication may also contribute to reducing fragmented decision making framework. To restore investor confidence and maximise resource allocation, prioritisation has to be given to financial transparency and sustainable budgeting processes.

In addition, the establishment of inclusive governance with active engagement of indigenous communities is important to gain social acceptance and reduce land conflicts. There needs to be a fundamental commitment to environmental sustainability as one of their ongoing operating principles, backed by appropriate monitoring and adaptive management measures that protect biodiversity whilst achieving urban development goals. Together, these suggestions provide a real-world path forward to unpack the multidimensional challenges projected for IKN and turn it into an exemplar of resilient, integrated, and sustainable urban governance.

CONCLUSION

This article critically reviewed the complex governance and management challenges in Indonesia's Nusantara Capital City (IKN) development, where persistent institutional uncertainties, fragmented stakeholder coordination, and fluctuating financial commitments have severely constrained progress toward a sustainable, technologically advanced capital. Social issues, such as indigenous land rights and community involvement, further complicate the governance landscape with profound socio-political implications for resettlement activities, while environmental sustainability remains the paramount challenge requiring robust policies and integrative legal frameworks. The findings highlight IKN's paradox—ambitious urban vision stymied by pragmatic governance shortcomings—and recommend bolstering institutional leadership stability, inter-agency collaboration, budgetary transparency, and inclusive engagement with local and indigenous communities, with sustainability embedded as a core operational principle yielding ecological resilience and social legitimacy. Ultimately, IKN exemplifies global mega-project pitfalls, underscoring the need for visionary design guided by adaptive management and inclusive governance. Future research should pursue longitudinal studies of long-term governance outcomes and socio-environmental impacts, alongside comparative analyses of other global capital relocations to refine adaptive management frameworks for mega-project sustainability and inclusivity.

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