Aviation expansion in Indonesia

Tourism, land struggles, economic zones and aerotropolis projects

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TWN
Third World Network

June 2017
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Global Anti-Aerotropolis Movement (GAAM)
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ABBREVIATIONS

BAI Bintan Aviation Investments
BJB Bandara Internasional Jawa Barat
BPN Badan Pertanahan Nasional
EIA environmental impact assessment
FPRS Front Perjuangan Rakyat Sukamulya
IATA International Air Transport Association
KAI PT Kereta Api Indonesia
KIE Kabil Integrated Industrial Estate
KPA Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria
MoU memorandum of understanding
MRO maintenance, repair and overhaul (of aircraft)
MW megawatt
SEZ Special Economic Zone
VAT value-added tax
WTT Wahana Tri Tunggal

NOTES

The ‘Airport expansion in Indonesia’ section of this report draws on research conducted for the ‘Airports and airport projects A-Z’ section that follows, which comprises a list of airports and the provinces in which the airports are located. References are provided as URLs. Source material that is not referenced in the ‘Airport expansion in Indonesia’ section is referenced in the ‘Airports and airport projects A-Z’ section.
Introduction

The Indonesian government is implementing an ambitious aviation expansion programme, constructing new airports and expanding existing airports. This report, based on research conducted over a few months, looks at 58 airports which are either operational, under construction or proposed. A key goal of the airport expansion is to support a government tourism drive, initially focussed on development of 10 new destinations. A high level of government expenditure on tourism is set to benefit wealthy visitors, with an emphasis on premium facilities such as upmarket, exclusive resorts and five-star luxury hotels.

This report documents opposition to and community divisions over land acquisition for 25 airports at various stages of planning, construction and expansion. Repression of resistance to land acquisition for two airports currently under construction in Java, Kulon Progo and Kertajati, has escalated into state brutality and violation of human rights. Land owned by state forestry firm Perhutani is sometimes considered for use for airport developments as an alternative to farmland. Another option, offshore airport development, avoids the loss of agricultural land and forest but reclaiming land from the sea damages coastal ecosystems and fishing livelihoods.

Several Indonesian airport projects are integrated with Special Economic Zones (SEZs), which offer investors tax breaks and other subsidies along with supportive infrastructure including multimodal transport links, power and water. Three SEZs – Mandalika, Tanjung Lesung and Tanjung Kelayang – are designated for tourism, and the entire northern coast of Bintan Island is a Free Trade Zone with similar subsidies and provision of infrastructure. All these zones pave the way for international hotel chains and incorporate substantial stretches of coastline with white sand beaches, natural assets that are a cornerstone of tourism.

There are plans for commercial and industrial development around several airports: Juanda, Hang Nadim, Kuala Namu, Sultan Hasanuddin, Kulon Progo and Kertajati. All are potential examples of an emerging urban form known as the ‘aerotropolis’. Other aerotropolis-style projects include construction of tourism facilities on land around Silangit and Sibisa airports, aiming to create destinations in their own right. With its own airstrip, plus the prospect of being served by a proposed new airport in Panimbang, Tanjung Lesung SEZ is a form of aerotropolis.

Aviation expansion in Indonesia is being imposed against the will of many communities facing displacement and loss of farmland. Integration of airport expansion and new airports with other megaprojects, SEZs and aerotropolis projects amounts to a wave of airport-centric development that is designed to be dependent upon aviation and to facilitate its growth.
Airport expansion in Indonesia: tourism, land struggles, economic zones and aerotropolis projects

Aviation expansion and tourism

The Indonesian government is implementing a major aviation expansion programme which requires large amounts of state funding. In April 2015 the Ministry of Transportation announced a plan to build 57 new airports over the next five years, pledging to allocate US$5.5 billion for the projects. Indonesia already has 237 airports and between 2010 and 2015 passenger numbers tripled to reach 88.7 million. The International Air Transport Association (IATA) projects continued aviation growth in Indonesia, anticipating 219 million passengers in 2034, the world’s fourth fastest growth rate after China, the US and India. In addition to construction of new airports, expansion is underway or planned at a number of existing airports including Juanda, Lombok, Soekarno-Hatta and several minor airports.

Aviation expansion in Indonesia is closely intertwined with a government-led tourism drive. Tourism has been hailed as a ‘new engine of economic growth’ and the government aims to attract 20 million foreign tourists per year by 2019. Coordinating Maritime Affairs Minister Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan said the government expects the tourism sector to become the main contributor to state revenue, anticipating an increase in foreign exchange earnings to the extent that they will exceed earnings from the fisheries, minerals and oil and gas sectors. In October 2016 the Asian Development Bank agreed to lend Indonesia US$10 billion over the following five years to support the tourism growth target.

The government has set a specific target for increasing the number of tourists from China, including Taiwan and Hong Kong, from 2.1 million in 2016 to 2.4 million in 2017. In March 2017 the Tourism Ministry, in cooperation with Chinese provincial tourism administrations, announced an even more ambitious longer-term growth target of 10 million Chinese visitors by 2019. The ministry offers an incentive of US$20 per passenger to airlines bringing in visitors to destinations outside of Bali and Jakarta.

In May 2016 Tourism Minister Arief Yahya said that the government allocation of US$755.5 million for tourism infrastructure development and promotion, including roads, hotels and cottages, was insufficient and should be doubled. The Financial Services Authority was reported
to be considering sources of funding, including bonds, to finance 11 priority destinations to make them as famous as Bali. Nine of these destinations are looked at in this report, all of which are supported by airport development: Lake Toba, Belitung, Tanjung Lesung, Borobudur temple, Mandalika, Lombok, Komodo Island, Wakatobi National Park and Morotai. Arief stated that Indonesia required an additional 120,000 hotel rooms, along with 100 recreational parks, 100 marinas and 100 Special Economic Zones.

On 2nd November 2016 the government reiterated tourism growth plans and confirmed funding for infrastructure projects to support three priority destinations: Lake Toba, Borobudur and Mandalika. US$122.74 million was allocated from the 2016 and 2017 state budgets, with a loan of between US$200 million and US$500 million being sought from the World Bank. Tourism growth around Lake Toba, the world’s largest volcanic lake, ringed with tree-studded hills, is set to be served by expansion of both Silangit and Sibisa airports and a toll road from Kuala Namu Airport. A special authority, the Lake Toba Authority Agency, has been established to manage tourism development, but this development path has been opposed by non-governmental organisations (NGOs) including the People’s Forest Institute and a coalition of church leaders. The project area to be rezoned is classified as ‘protected forest’, raising concerns that trees will be felled for resorts.

Construction of Kulon Progo Airport commenced in January 2017. Part of the rationale for the project is to support growth in tourist visits to Borobudur, a Buddhist stupa and temple complex in Central Java dating back to the 8th century and listed as a UNESCO World Heritage site. A new road is to be built from Kulon Progo Airport to Borobudur and the government has revealed plans to develop new tourism destinations in areas surrounding the temple, including Bener district, the city of Salaman and the town of Tritis. Meanwhile the expansion of Lombok Airport is geared to supporting the Mandalika tourism resort, a 1,200-hectare area designated by the government for development of hotels, resorts, retail and other tourism facilities.

**Land rights struggles**

Construction of new airports and expansion of existing airports on undeveloped (greenfield) sites frequently entails displacement of people from their homes and farmland. There are known land struggles associated with many of the 58 airports mentioned in this report, and these struggles have seen recourse to direct actions such as resistance, rallies, marches, airport occupations, and blockading of roads and runways with stones, trees and even human barriers. The short news articles that make up the majority of source material for this report give the impression that land disputes revolve entirely around the level of compensation offered by the
government. However, in-depth source material about the major land struggles sparked by the Kulon Progo and Kertajati airports under construction on Java farmland – where several villages are under threat of displacement – reveals that affected people also have broader concerns over the future of their community, ecological damage and loss of farmland impacting on food security.

State intimidation of landholders resisting eviction for both the Kulon Progo and Kertajati airports has escalated to severe brutality. On 16th February 2016 residents resisting boundary marking for Kulon Progo Airport were subjected to a brutal attack by the police and army, a case that has been taken up by the Asian Human Rights Commission. Resistance in six villages against land acquisition for Kulon Progo Airport dates back to 2012 and continues as a two-metre-high security fence is being erected to block off the site prior to construction.

Opposition to Kertajati Airport dates back more than 12 years to the announcement of the project in 2004. On 18th November 2014 police fired tear gas and rubber bullets at residents attempting to prevent officials from accessing villages to measure land. People were dragged along the road and some were beaten. Almost exactly two years later, resistance to further attempts at land measurement met with another incidence of police violence. By this stage residents of 10 villages had already been evicted for Kertajati Airport, with only the village of Sukamulya remaining. In a series of stand-offs beginning in August 2016, Sukamulya residents had held back several attempts by officials to measure land for the airport. On 17th November 2016, when the Sukamulya villagers gathered yet again to resist eviction, 2,000 police officers rushed onto the farmland and fired tear gas. Twelve people were injured, some were beaten and one suffered an open head wound.

Indonesia’s worst incidence of state brutality inflicted on people resisting displacement for an airport project occurred on 18th September 2005, the darkest chapter in a long struggle against Lombok Airport that began in the mid-1990s. The incident occurred a few weeks after the forcible eviction of 2,631 people from their homes and fertile farmland in August 2005. Without provocation, police fired into a crowd who had gathered to commemorate Indonesia’s National Peasant’s Day and protest against the construction of Lombok Airport. Thirty-three protesters were injured, 27 of them by gunshots, six from being beaten by police. As of November 2016, a number of residents impacted by Lombok Airport were still seeking clarity on and resolution of land acquisition matters, highlighting flaws in calculation of land prices.
Another airport project that has met with protracted opposition to land acquisition is Onondowa, in South Sulawesi. Unrest in 2016 over a runway extension and widening scheme, which a community representative said would displace half the population of densely populated Onondowa village, also raised land acquisition issues dating back to 2003; protesters also demanded compensation for people who had been evicted for construction of the airport.

Land acquisition disputes with residents over the level of compensation led the government to consider offshore options for expansion of Indonesia’s main airport, Soekarno-Hatta. But now the levelling of three villages to make way for a third runway is imminent, involving displacement of thousands of families. Disputes over the level of compensation saw a land acquisition meeting descend into chaos with affected people walking out and protest banners were erected on fences. Residents’ protests in March 2017 called for reappraisal of compensation for the loss of land and buildings.

**Protests and divided communities**

At least three airports in Papua have had their operations disrupted by protests over land acquisition. In May 2013 a group of between 30 and 40 local people rallied in Domine Eduard Osok Airport demanding compensation for land that had been taken from them. Indigenous
people who lost land to Mopah Airport have disrupted operations on several occasions, dozens of them resorting to occupying the runway overnight in August 2012. Residents demanding compensation for land lost to Sentani Airport have staged many protests that have disrupted flights. In August 2009 scores of residents from three tribal groups closed the airport down by placing bars on the runway. In June 2015 the runway was blocked with bamboo poles and in May 2016 residents blocked a taxiway with banana trees.

Land acquisition for an airport often proves a divisive issue in affected communities, with some residents in favour of the project and others against it, rupturing social cohesion. Residents resisting eviction for Kulon Progo Airport, and their supporters, maintain that manipulative and deceptive land acquisition practices which violate numerous laws have intensified community divisions.

Tensions over airport projects can be particularly acute when the land in question is customarily owned and residents’ rights to inhabit and cultivate it are not formalised or recognised by the government. One example is Rendani Airport in West Papua, where dozens of residents have refused to be evicted for a runway extension, insisting they have certificates proving their customary rights to the land.

People who were displaced for development of Mengkendek Airport, currently under construction, maintain they were not compensated for communally owned land, and one family threatened to occupy and recultivate the land they were evicted from. Land acquisition for the proposed Tanjung Bendera Airport almost resulted in violence. People from seven clans were affected but they were not consulted about how the project would affect them. The land acquisition process had failed to recognise the customary and communal land rights of indigenous people, causing tensions over opposing claims to the land to escalate.

Other airport projects which have sparked opposition to and disputes over land acquisition include Abdul Rachman Saleh, Binaka, El Tari, Koloka, Komodo, Miangas, Mutiara, New Samarinda, Pongtiku, Sampit, Sultan Aji Muhammad Sulaiman, Sumenep, Supadio and Syamsudin Noor.

Indonesia’s aviation expansion drive is likely to trigger more land struggles. The threat of land disputes and evictions looms at a number of airport projects currently in the proposal stage. Three proposed airports on Java – Boyolali, Purbalingga and Purboyo – would each take up large tracts of farmland, and a proposed airport in Tulungagung on the south coast of the island would displace villagers.
On the west coast of Java, in Panimbang, allocation of land for a proposed airport has been stalled by difficulties in finding land to replace the 350 hectares of productive rice fields initially suggested for the project. Another proposed airport, off the northeast coast of Java on Kangean Island, has been held back by farmers cultivating the land earmarked for the project demanding a higher level of compensation. A proposal for an airport in North Bali specifically for wealthy tourists with private jets would entail displacement of 3,335 people.

**Surface transport, forests and land reclamation**

The building of roads providing surface access to airports can also lead to land conflict and evictions. Construction of an access road to Sam Ratulangi Airport has been hampered by several families reluctant to agree to land acquisition. As Kuala Namu Airport prepared to commence operations in May 2013, residents were steadfast in their refusal to accept the compensation on offer to vacate their land to make way for toll roads. As land disputes relating to the project simmered in five villages, more than 100 residents blockaded an arterial road at the airport opening in July 2013. A rail link to Kuala Namu Airport also triggered evictions and protest. In October 2016 bulldozers, accompanied by dozens of armed police, began destroying residences of families who had refused the compensation offered. Land acquisition has also hampered a rail link for Soekarno-Hatta Airport, with local people troubled about the relocation of a cemetery lying in its path.

In order to avoid building on farmland, which would inevitably result in a reduction in food production and displacement of people, airport planners sometimes hone in on forested land owned by state forestry firm Perhutani, which manages productive and protected forests. This option is not without its problems, however, as destruction of forest also raises concerns of habitat loss, particularly in areas where the forests themselves have protected status.

Rejection of a series of potential sites for an airport in Karawang, one of the main rice-growing areas in Java, led to an alternative proposal to transfer Perhutani forest land for the airport, reducing government funding for land acquisition. However, this option was also rejected as the area is conserved forest and the project was shelved.

The initial site for a proposed airport in Panimbang, on the west coast of Java, consisted of productive agricultural land. Authorities’ attempts to find replacement fertile land for farmers who would be displaced have been followed by discussions regarding the possibility of allocating 1,500 hectares of Perhutani forestry land for the project. A 300-hectare area earmarked for a proposed airport in Bojonegoro regency, East Java, is about 80 per cent
Perhutani forest. Near the shore of Lake Toba, land belonging to Perhutani and the local administration has been cleared for development of tourism facilities around Silangit Airport.

Offshore airport development is an alternative to the use of either agricultural or forested land. This option brings its own negative environmental and social impacts; the requisite land reclamation, dredging and dumping of enormous volumes of sand and gravel destroys coastal and marine ecosystems, with devastating effects on fisheries and threatening fishing livelihoods.

Fisherfolk with well-established fish ponds, as well as farmers, were displaced for Achmad Yani Airport, where planned expansion threatens to impact further on fishing livelihoods. On the southwestern coast of Bintan Island, construction of New Bintan Airport involves land reclamation for two 3.6-kilometre runways. Proposals for two airports on the north coast of Bali involve large-scale land reclamation, as do the planned runway extension at Sultan Aji Muhammad Sulaiman Airport and the expansion of Juanda Airport over a 4-kilometre stretch of the northeast coast of Java.

**The megaproject complex**

Airport expansion in Indonesia is part of a wider construction frenzy and is integrated with other destructive megaprojects. A wave of fossil-fuel-dependent industrialisation is gouging up farmland and wildlife habitats and displacing communities. Megaprojects spawn more megaprojects and they operate in synergy, feeding each other’s growth. In Central Java resistance against Kulon Progo Airport is part of a broader movement opposing megaprojects that imperil agricultural livelihoods. These include quarries, mining, hotels, shopping malls, apartment blocks, toll roads and the Batang coal-fired power plant which, if built, will be the largest in Southeast Asia.\(^{14}\)

Hundreds of people have participated in protests against cement plants, including a group of farmers who set their feet in concrete blocks outside the State Palace in Jakarta.\(^{15}\) Several Central Java NGOs have protested against a complex of megaprojects including the proposed Purbalingga Airport, toll roads, railway, coastal reclamation, industrialisation in the Kendal area, mines and cement plants and a power plant.

Airports have their own prodigious energy requirements. Aviation fuel is delivered in trucks or via pipelines and major airports can require power plants to supply energy to airport terminals and other facilities. Power plants are planned to supply Kuala Namu, Soekarno-Hatta and Kertajati airports. An electricity supply facility is currently under construction for Kertajati
Airport, with a major 190-hectare energy complex planned to meet the energy requirements of the proposed 3,200-hectare Aerocity adjoining the airport.

Aviation expansion is integrated with a government surface transportation expansion programme aiming for construction of 1,000 kilometres of toll roads, 3,258 kilometres of railways and 24 new seaports between 2015 and 2019. Sam Ratulangi Airport is linked with a scheme to develop Bitung Port into an international shipping hub, the biggest in Southeast Asia. Development of Kuala Namu Airport is integrated with two ports: Belawan and Tanjung.

Airport expansion also enables growth of aviation’s ancillary industries. Aircraft maintenance, repair and overhaul (MRO) facilities are planned at two airports currently under construction, New Bintan and New Samarinda, and at the proposed North Bali Airport, while a major 300-hectare aerospace facility is planned at Kertajati Airport.

Special Economic Zones

A number of Indonesia’s airport projects are integrated with Special Economic Zones (SEZs), areas designated for growth of specific industries, including tourism. Supportive infrastructure, including multimodal surface transportation links, power and water, is provided and investors are given preferential treatment including relaxed regulations, tax breaks and other incentives. Fiscal incentives for SEZ investors, outlined in a 2015 presentation by the Indonesian Investment Coordinating Board, include exemption or deferral of income tax, import duties, value-added tax (VAT) and excise. Additional financial support for SEZs from local governments is promised, including a budget commitment and local incentives. Investors are assured of provision of transport infrastructure – road, seaport, airport and railway – along with electricity, gas and water supply and an ‘Easy Process’ for securing land rights. SEZs which are integrated with airport development include the following:

- Bitung SEZ is designated for various industries and logistics supported by strategic road access to Sam Ratulangi Airport. Land acquisition for Bitung SEZ sparked resistance as the site was customary land occupied by 2,458 families, who were not consulted about the plans;

- Sei Mangkei SEZ, which is focussed on production and processing of crops including rubber and oil palm, logistics, and a tourism zone with a golfing area, is supported by development of Kuala Namu Airport;
• An airport on a site that could be as large as 1,500 hectares is planned in Panimbang, on the west coast of Java, to support the development of a tourism SEZ covering the entire Tanjung Lesung peninsula;

• The Mandalika resort, just a 20-minute drive from Lombok Airport, has been designated as a tourism SEZ. State funds have been allocated for supporting infrastructure including power plants, electricity and water supply. As with Lombok Airport, the Mandalika resort itself has triggered land disputes, which remain unresolved on over 31 sites in strategic locations along the coastline earmarked for hotels and other tourist facilities;

• Morotai Island’s existing airport is being expanded to serve an industry, logistics and tourism SEZ, and a new major hub airport has been proposed;

• Mutiara Airport is being expanded to support Palu SEZ, a 1,500-hectare area focussed on automotive and heavy equipment manufacturing and processing of agricultural and mining products;

• H.A.S. Hanandjoeddin Airport, the main airport on Belitung Island, is being developed, including runway extension, in order to support Tanjung Kelayang, designated as a tourism SEZ in March 2016.

Both Hang Nadim and New Bintan airports are encompassed within a Free Trade Zone; the Riau Islands – Batam, Bintan and Karimun – were designated as a Free Trade Zone in 2007, a joint project between Indonesia and Singapore granting businesses customs and tax exemptions.¹⁸ Hang Nadim Airport adjoins the 520-hectare Kabil Integrated Industrial Estate which caters to the oil and gas industry. Construction of New Bintan Airport aims to support the expansion of luxury tourism on Bintan Island, the entire northern coast of which has been designated as a tourism zone. Bintan Resorts, an area of 18,000 hectares, is being developed for tourism by the firm developing New Bintan Airport, Gallant Ventures.

All four major tourism economic zones – Mandalika, Tanjung Kelayang and Tanjung Lesung SEZs and Bintan Resorts – include white sand beaches. Beaches are a cornerstone of tourism and the SEZs have been bestowed with a key natural asset. Mandalika has a 7.5-kilometre white sand beach. Tanjung Lesung has a 13-kilometre shoreline dotted with several white sand beaches. Tanjung Kelayang includes a stretch of coastline with white sand beaches and the iconic Kelayang stones and is surrounded by idyllic small islands. Bintan Resorts boasts of ivory beaches along the coast.
Tourism-oriented SEZs are paving the way for major international hotel chains. AccorHotels and Meliá Hotels International are expanding their footprint on Bintan Island in anticipation of New Bintan Airport commencing operations, and a number of major chains are set to break ground on construction projects in Mandalika in 2017. Global hotel chains have embarked on construction projects in Tanjung Kelayang SEZ and have already entered Tanjung Lesung SEZ. Arrival of visitors by air is likely to be complemented by sea passengers at both Mandalika and Tanjung Lesung SEZs as cruise ship ports are planned, along with theme parks and other standard attractions such as golf courses which would further facilitate mass tourism.

**Aerotropolis projects – destinations in their own right**

There are plans for a number of Indonesian airports, which are either established, under construction or still at the proposal stage, to evolve into an aerotropolis, or airport city. Aerotropolis development entails extending the footprint of the airport, surrounding it with commercial and industrial development that is designed to be aviation-dependent. Provision of land and infrastructure prioritises facilities that utilise air services and support airport growth. Passenger-oriented aerotropolis development aims to develop self-contained destinations in their own right boasting hotels, shops, entertainment and cultural venues and offices. Cargo-oriented aerotropolis development includes warehouses, logistics and distribution complexes, manufacturing and assembly plants.

Aerotropolis development is planned around four established Indonesian airports: Juanda, Hang Nadim, Kuala Namu and Sultan Hasanuddin. Aerotropolis projects are also planned on land around two major airport projects that are currently under construction in Java, in spite of resistance from people living in rural communities who are being displaced: Kulon Progo and Kertajati. The proposed land area for both aerotropolis schemes is substantial and largely composed of farmland. A 2,000-hectare airport city development around Kulon Progo Airport has been proposed. The Kertajati aerotropolis plan comprises a 3,200-hectare Aerocity adjoining a 1,800-hectare airport site, together forming a massive development covering 5,000 hectares. Also in Java, an airport surrounded by an aerotropolis has been proposed in Tulungagung on the south coast of the island, and development of Soekarno-Hatta Airport’s third runway includes an ‘Airport City’ complex.

State-owned operator of Indonesia’s western airports, PT Angkasa Pura II, intends to utilise airport land to expand into the retail and hospitality sectors, beginning with construction of three hotels at Soekarno-Hatta Airport and one at Kuala Namu Airport. A larger-scale aerotropolis around Soekarno-Hatta Airport, spanning 184 square kilometres, has been
suggested by Arief R. Wismansyah, mayor of the city of Tangerang, situated to the east of Jakarta. A proposal for a new North Bali Airport, on a 1,400-hectare site, incorporates typical aerotropolis components including hotels, a sports centre and water parks.

One proposed aerotropolis has been cancelled. The government had suggested a land area of up to 5,500 hectares for a proposed major new airport in the Lebak regency southwest of Jakarta. In February 2015 it was reported that 4,000 hectares of land were being cleared for the project and Lion Air, Indonesia’s largest privately run airline, was granted a permit to develop the airport along with a commercial centre including a shopping city. In November 2015 the airport megaproject was cancelled but Lion Air was reported to be considering use of the vast area of land it has acquired for other purposes, possibly for raising cattle.

The developer of Kertajati Airport and Aerocity, Bandara Internasional Jawa Barat (BIJB), intends to cross-subsidise airport operations with non-aeronautical revenue from facilities built on land allocated to the Aerocity. Revenue from facilities such as retail and food and beverage outlets will enable the airport to reduce fees charged to airlines, thus encouraging use of the airport and facilitating its growth. Generation of non-aeronautical revenue, to a level exceeding aeronautical revenue from fees charged to airlines, has also been suggested for development of an airport city around Sultan Hasanuddin Airport, a proposed 2,000-hectare area including industrial estates, hotels, hospitals, conference and exhibition centre and a theme park.

Use of airport-owned land for non-aeronautical revenue is the economic model underpinning the viability and growth of major established aerotropolis developments around the world including Schiphol, Frankfurt, Dallas/Fort Worth, Incheon and Kuala Lumpur. All these aerotropolis developments utilise non-aeronautical revenue from land owned by the airport to cross-subsidise airport operations and expansion.

In Lake Toba, one of the key areas prioritised for tourism by the government, development around both Sibisa and Silangit airports aims to establish aerotropolis-style destinations in their own right. A tourist resort on 600 hectares of land around Sibisa Airport aims to emulate the all-inclusive, upmarket Nusa Dua resort on the southeastern tip of Bali. It has also been reported that 600 hectares of land around Silangit Airport have been cleared for investors, and airport developer GVK reports that it has been selected by PT Angkasa Pura II to develop the airport as a tourism destination.

Tanjung Lesung SEZ, a peninsula designated for tourism, is developing into a form of aerotropolis. An airstrip is under construction within the SEZ and an airport is proposed in
Panimbang, just 10 kilometres southeast of the boundary, specifically to support tourism development in Tanjung Lesung and the wider region. A type of aerotropolis is planned next to New Bintan Airport, a ‘dedicated township’ for MRO employees, with residential areas, health centre, shops, sports centre and other facilities.
Indonesia - Airport expansion

Land struggles, tourism, economic zones, aerotropolis projects

Key

Airport Locations
- Operational
- Under construction
- Proposed
- Cancelled

Indonesia

Other countries

0 250 500
Kilometers

Date: 15/02/2017
Airports and airport projects A-Z

Abdul Rachman Saleh Airport, East Java

Abdul Rachman Saleh Airport is located to the northeast of Malang, the second largest city in East Java province. Along with serving domestic passenger flights, it serves as an Air Force base. There is longstanding conflict over land ownership claims between the Air Force and citizens living on land not used for airport operations. In February 2016 the East Java provincial government said that 237 families would be removed from the land in order to use it for airport development. Tensions heightened after the Supreme Court ruled that the Air Force is the rightful owner of the land. In May 2016 residents of Dengkol village, immediately north of the airport, blocked the airport access road with bamboo and tree branches and hundreds participated in a protest march. They claimed that agricultural land had been appropriated by the Air Force and demanded an end to bringing in bulldozers and other heavy equipment that had destroyed their crops such as sugarcane, corn and cassava.

Achmad Yani Airport, Central Java

Achmad Yani Airport is located in the coastal area of Semarang, the capital and largest city of Central Java province. A land dispute over a 200-hectare area began in 1998. The airport had been used as an airbase until 1996 and the Army claimed ownership of the land. Countering this, fish farmers asserted valid, longstanding rights to the land, which they used for fish ponds. They opposed acquisition of the land for expansion of Achmad Yani Airport, fearing loss of their livelihoods. In 2014 the governor of Central Java was asked to resolve the land conflict. Two hundred households were using the land for fish farming, insisting that their ownership of it dated back to 1906. In October 2016 Indonesian Vice President Yusuf Kalla visited the airport to review the expansion programme, which aimed to double the passenger capacity to 7 million per year, a construction project that poses technical challenges as the coastal land is unstable and prone to erosion.

Atambua Airport, East Nusa Tenggara

The central government has approved plans to expand several airports in East Nusa Tenggara province, which comprises the easternmost of Indonesia’s southeastern islands. The provincial government reported difficulties in clearing land for expansion of a number of airports, including Atambua Airport, which is located near the north coast of West Timor and near the border with East Timor.
Binaka Airport, North Sumatra

Binaka Airport is on Nias Island, the largest island of the archipelago off the west coast of Sumatra. In September 2016 the government announced plans to develop Nias Island into a major tourist attraction, with a focus on surfing. The development plan includes upgrading the Binaka Airport runway in order to accommodate wide-bodied aircraft such as Boeing 737s and building airport access roads. In October 2016 a number of residents refused to give up land for expansion of the airport without appropriate consultation and compensation, erecting signs asserting their ownership of the land. One resident said that a few years previously the airport had appropriated 1 hectare of their 2 hectares of land.

Bojonegoro Airport (proposed), East Java

An airport is proposed in Bojonegoro regency on the northern Java plain. The proposed site, 20 kilometres to the south of Bojonegoro, the capital of the regency, encompasses parts of Temayang district and Dander district. The Bojonegoro regency government began acquiring land for the airport in June 2016, stating that initially a 130-hectare area would be required but that should the airport grow, the requirement could rise to 300 hectares. About 80 per cent of the 300-hectare area is owned by state forestry firm Perhutani and the remainder is community-owned land. Suyoto Ngartep Mustajab, Regent of Bojonegoro, said that the airport is needed to support oil and gas production in the area. Bojonegoro regency is the site of the biggest oil discovery in Indonesia in 30 years and possibly the largest deposits in the country.

In August 2016 Bojonegoro regency reported that some 195 hectares of land had been prepared for construction of the airport, 175 hectares owned by the state and 21 hectares owned by citizens. A land acquisition team with representatives from several government bodies was being assembled. Proponents of the new airport suggested that, in addition to servicing the oil and gas industry, there was potential for it to become a major commercial passenger airport.

Boyolali airport (proposed), Central Java

In 2016 an airport was proposed in Boyolali, Central Java. Three villages would be affected by land acquisition: Madu, Tambak and Karangnongko. The proposed site for the airport comprises fields planted with crops such as cassava, papaya and corn. Village leaders report a lack of detailed knowledge of the plans, which have not been circulated to villagers, but it is thought that the airport would be a large one, comparable to Soekarno-Hatta, the busiest passenger airport in the country, and that the project would be entirely financed by Chinese investors. A village leader said that some affected villagers agree with the airport plan and some disagree.
**Depati Amir Airport, Bangka-Belitung Islands**

Depati Amir Airport is to the south of Pangkal Pinang, the largest town on the island of Bangka, off the east coast of Sumatra. The full length of the 2,600-metre runway cannot be used because a 350-metre section is too close to neighbouring residences and gardens. Land acquisition is planned to enable full use of the runway.  

**Domine Eduard Osok Airport, West Papua**

Domine Eduard Osok Airport is on the coast of West Papua, on the outskirts of the city of Sorong. The airport opened in 2012. In May 2013 flights were disrupted when 30-40 local people staged a rally demanding compensation for land belonging to them that had been taken by the airport. In 2015 the runway was lengthened from 2,000 to 2,500 metres to accommodate wide-bodied aircraft.

**El Tari Airport, East Nusa Tenggara**

El Tari Airport is on the eastern edge of Kupang, the capital city of East Nusa Tenggara province. Hundreds of residents from six Timorese ethnic groups occupied the airport in January 2012, claiming that the airport had been built on 540 hectares of their land. A Timorese elder stated that in 1992 land belonging to the six ethnic groups had been grabbed and transferred to the Air Force without their knowledge. In October 2016 El Tari Airport management announced an ambitious target for growth in passenger numbers, to 2 million annually.

**Garut airport (proposed), West Java**

In January 2017 the central government announced plans to build a commercial airport in Garut, in the Cikelet district near the south coast of West Java.

**H.A.S. Hanandjoeddin Airport, Bangka-Belitung Islands**

Located on the outskirts of the coastal town of Tanjung Pandan, H.A.S. Hanandjoeddin is the main airport on the island of Belitung, off the east coast of Sumatra. Government funds were spent on stabilising the low-lying land to prepare it for airport construction. The government is also building roads to link the airport with hotel developments. In September 2016 it was announced that the government will develop H.A.S. Hanandjoeddin into an international airport – including extending the runway – to support the Tanjung Kelayang SEZ, a 364-hectare area designated for tourism 30 kilometres away, and that construction costs are the responsibility of central and local government. Tanjung Kelayang SEZ is located in Keciput village, in Sijuk sub-
district, on the northwest tip of Belitung Island, and encompasses a stretch of coastline which includes the iconic Kelayang stones, has many white sand beaches and is surrounded by small islands.

A consortium of companies under the Dharmawangsa Group – with interests spanning real estate, oil and gas, construction and mining – has committed US$609 million to developing Tanjung Kelayang SEZ. The government has projected estimates that the SEZ will attract 500,000 foreign tourists annually. In early September 2016 the consortium broke ground on construction of roads and other supporting infrastructure for the SEZ.

Small investors have been offered loans to build homestays in Tanjung Kelayang SEZ, which would offer opportunities for small businesses to benefit from the project. Several global hotel chains, including the Accor Group, Aston, Ritz and Swiss Bell, have purchased land in nearby Tanjung Tinggi, and are waiting for the upgrade of H.A.S. Hanandoeddin Airport before they begin construction. By January 2017 a hotel was being constructed within Tanjung Kelayang, which was reported to be the fastest-developing SEZ in Indonesia. Other projects underway in the SEZ include more hotels and two themed heritage areas, with other facilities including villas and a marine centre in the pipeline.

**Hang Nadim Airport, Riau Islands**

Hang Nadim Airport is located near the east coast of Batam Island, the most heavily populated of the Riau Islands across the Strait of Singapore and an emerging industrial area and transport hub. Plans for the airport to become an aerotropolis, with air cargo and logistics facilities, offices, retail outlets and hotels and covering an area of 1,762 hectares, were revealed in May 2016. A subsequent announcement at a meeting of high-powered officials and industrial leaders, by the deputy mayor of Batam, Amsakar Achmad, envisaged an even wider area evolving into an aerotropolis, integrating airport, seaport, industrial areas, hotels and restaurants. Constraints on aerotropolis development were however envisaged in the Nongsa area because it is densely populated.

One of the attendees at the meeting was the manager of Kabil Integrated Industrial Estate (KIIE), which caters for the oil, gas and energy industries, with large land plots close to the coast allowing for the movement of heavyweight and outsize cargo. KIIE spans over 520 hectares of waterfront land along Batam’s eastern coast, neighbouring Hang Nadim Airport. The KIIE website enthuses about government incentives including exemption from import duty, VAT and excise duty for capital goods and raw materials imported to Batam Island.
In December 2015 there appeared to be a degree of uncertainty regarding the future of Batam Free Trade Zone. Home Minister Tjahjo Kumolo stated that the government planned to abolish the Batam Free Trade Zone Authority because of duplication of authority with the Riau Islands provincial government, failure to lure investors from Singapore and the loss of an estimated US$1.4 billion in potential tax revenue. A March 2016 announcement stated that Batam Free Trade Zone would be converted to an SEZ. Yet the Batam Free Trade Zone Authority was still in existence in August 2016 when the organisation’s chair Hatanto Reksodipoetro, talking about economic development in Batam, described plans for an aerotropolis as ‘an integrated commercial area’ and said toll roads were being built, plus a bridge connecting Batam with neighbouring Bintan Island.

**Juanda Airport, East Java**

In February 2015 the President of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, approved the development of Juanda Airport, near the northeast coast of East Java, into an airport city. Four thousand hectares of land are required for the project. In January 2016, PT Angkasa Pura I, the state-owned operator of Indonesia’s eastern and central airports, stated that development of a third terminal and expansion will turn the airport into an ‘Integrated Airport Area’ containing business space and warehouse areas. This ‘airport city’ and ‘Ultimate Terminal’, with its ‘supporting infrastructure’, is conceived of as the third phase of development, following construction of a second then a third runway, and development of Terminal 1 and toll roads. The Governor of East Java requested that PT Angkasa Pura I resolve issues pertaining to planning and land use permission for expansion of the airport.

In April 2016 Governor Soekarwo stated plans to complete the Juanda Airport expansion by 2019, increasing its capacity to 70 million passengers annually. He explained that the two additional runways would require reclamation of 4 kilometres of land along the northern coastline and that the airport would be designed as an airport city. It was stated that 6,000 hectares of land had been prepared for the airport expansion: 1,500 hectares for the two new runways and 4,500 hectares for the airport city and Ultimate Terminal building. Soekarwo said a shopping concourse and recreational space would be built but refused to comment on the budget or investors which had agreed to fund the project. It was reported that the airport city is one of three Indonesian projects that UK investors are interested in, and that the East Java administration sent a delegation to Heathrow Airport to learn about airport city management. In February 2017 Soekarwo stated that development of Juanda airport city had stalled because the budget had not been disbursed.
Kangean airport (proposed), East Java

An airport is proposed in the village of Paseraman in Arjasa district which covers the eastern portion of Kangean Island, the largest in an archipelago of 38 islands situated north of Bali in the Java Sea. In June 2015 a member of the House of Representatives said that residents of Arjasa district rejected the airport plan because the uneven land was considered unsuitable, and flattening it for an airport runway would be time-consuming and expensive. In April 2016 the provincial government stated it would begin constructing the airport upon completion of land acquisition. Sumenep regency allocated funds for land acquisition but no significant progress had been made by September 2016 as land owners demanded a higher price for their land. Farmers cultivating the land earmarked for the airport had not received compensation from the local government and rejected the project.

Karawang Airport (cancelled), West Java

Karawang, located on the north coast of Java to the east of Jakarta, is one of the main rice production areas on the island. Industrial estates have been built in the area since the early 2000s. A series of airport development plans in the area have been cancelled. In December 2011 hundreds of farmers and fisherfolk rallied against a proposed port and airport in the Cilamaya district of Karawang. They argued that the local community would be marginalised and refused to accept the spatial plan allocating land for the projects, which would entail the loss of fisheries and thousands of productive rice fields. The Cilamaya plan was dropped, reportedly because it would affect the expansion of offshore operations of Pertamina, the state-run oil and gas firm, but in March 2016 it was reported that Japan was pursuing a deal for a replacement for the project, a deep sea port further east along the northern Java coast, in Patimban.

After cancellation of the Cilamaya project, the Jakarta government proceeded to plan an airport in Marunda, nearer to Jakarta, only to cancel the project in November 2014. Jakarta Governor Basuki Purnama had asked the central government to transfer land for the project from state-owned forestry operator Perhutani, stating that ‘We could save trillions of rupiah if we build an airport on Perhutani’s land because we do not need to spend money for land acquisition’. In January 2016 the then Transportation Minister Ignasius Jonan confirmed that the government would no longer pursue an airport on this site as it is part of a conserved forest, but said that an airport is still planned in the region and other potential sites would be considered.

Plans for an airport in Karawang have also been stalled by the accelerated development of Kertajati Airport in West Java, which has been favoured by the government and shares a significant portion of the envisaged catchment area.
Kertajati Airport (under construction), West Java

Plans for a major airport in Majalengka, on an enormous 5,000-hectare site in a predominantly rural administrative area in West Java province, first surfaced in 2004. The intervening 12 years were marked by vigorous resistance against displacement for the project, now named Kertajati Airport and also referred to as Bandara Internasional Jawa Barat (BIJB). Ten villages in Kertajati sub-district have been wiped from the map to make way for the airport. But Sukamulya village remains, and its residents are determined to avoid the fate of displaced people from neighbouring villages that have been obliterated, who were given inadequate compensation for loss of their homes and farmland.61

The Front Perjuangan Rakyat Sukamulya (FPRS),62 which translates as the Sukamulya People’s Struggle Front, was formed to resist eviction for the airport and is supported by Indonesian land rights and agrarian reform NGO Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria (KPA).63 KPA maintains that the chiefs of the 11 affected villages unilaterally supported the airport project, against the will of the majority of residents who rejected the plan.

Resistance to land acquisition for Kertajati Airport has met with state repression and brutality. On 18th November 2014, without warning, hundreds of officials and surveyors escorted by armed police arrived to measure land in the villages of Sukamulya and Sukakerta. Hundreds of residents attempted to block the officials from entering the village area and police responded with violence, firing tear gas and rubber bullets. At least five people were detained and many citizens were injured from being trampled on and dragged along the road. Some people were beaten.64

Protests against eviction for the airport continued into 2016; rallies were held on 25th January, 22nd February and on 2nd May, when participants demanded a fair land settlement, protested an inaccurate environmental impact assessment (EIA) which provided lower figures for crop yields than were actually harvested, and complained that intimidation by officials had forced some residents to flee from their homes while some had been detained. A lengthy stand-off between officials attempting to measure land for Kertajati Airport and villagers refusing to be displaced began on 8th August 2016. Hundreds of people participated in the protests and women played a leading role. Road entrances to the village were monitored day and night and blocked with tyres, preventing officials from accessing the land. Sukamulya was bedecked with flags and banners, and a protest camp with a communal kitchen, using food harvested in Sukamulya and donated by villagers, helped maintain high spirits.65
The blockade was successful and several attempts at land measurement were cancelled. Residents blocked entry into the village and succeeded in holding back officials from the land agency, Badan Pertanahan Nasional (BPN), and police. Hundreds of residents said they were ready to die in order to defend their land and demanded that the government treat them humanely. But the government remained determined to impose the airport project and on 5th September KPA reported that BPN was preparing to make another attempt to enter Sukamulya village to undertake land measurement, and that officials would be accompanied by a greater number of security personnel.

This subsequent attempt at land measurement and forced eviction took place on 17th November 2016, almost exactly two years after the violent police attack on villagers defending their land in 2014. In another act of brutality, 2,000 police officers were deployed to enforce land measurement for the airport. They rushed onto fields and fired tear gas to disperse residents who had gathered and formed a line to protect the land. Crops and several homes were damaged and 12 residents were injured, one of them suffering an open wound from forceful blows to the head. After the attack some residents were too frightened to return to their homes and took refuge in the village hall. A number of residents who refused to give up their land were arrested and three people were detained.

A KPA petition to President Widodo, supported by FPRS and 22 other organisations, demanded immediate cancellation of the Kertajati Airport project, withdrawal of security forces, release of people who had been detained, an end to repression, intimidation and criminalisation of people resisting eviction, and an investigation of human rights violations at the site. KPA highlighted the resistance against Kertajati Airport as one of Indonesia’s key land rights struggles and stated that 1,478 families were refusing to move for the airport, defending 500 hectares of land.

Concerns have been raised over the food security implications of development on fertile Majalengka farmland, in particular the prospect of the loss of 5,000 hectares for Kertajati Airport. In addition to rice, many other crops are cultivated on the site, including beans, peppers, watermelons and mangoes. Social and economic problems loom because of the loss of farmers’ livelihoods. The need to pave over productive farmland for Kertajati Airport has also been called into question because West Java already has six airports which are not operating at full capacity.
KPA has called for an investigation into allegations of corrupt land acquisition practices. One way in which land prices are being manipulated, which indicates corruption in the land acquisition process, is through the erection of ‘ghost houses’ on land earmarked for the airport. These hastily built, unoccupied structures with walls made of plywood exist merely to raise the sale price of the land.77 KPA’s petition called on President Widodo to ensure that constitutional agrarian land-use laws, stipulating that land must be used for the benefit of the people, are upheld.78 A KPA letter to President Widodo highlighted a planned development on 3,200 hectares of land adjoining the airport, Kertajati Aerocity, as failing to comply with laws which provide that development must be in the public interest.79

Adding the 3,200-hectare land area for Kertajati Aerocity to the airport site of 1,800 hectares takes the total proposed project area to 5,000 hectares, an aerotropolis matching the land area in the initial airport proposal in 2004. The map on page 23 of this report shows the Kertajati Airport and Aerocity boundary indicated in a BIJB presentation to a visiting Australian business delegation in November 2015. The project description in the presentation consists of components typical of aerotropolis projects worldwide: hotels, retail, conference and exhibition centres, entertainment complexes, business park, offices, industrial and warehousing area, logistics and distribution facilities, aviation ancillary industries including MRO and in-flight catering. An ‘attractive incentives plan’, meaning subsidies for investors, is promised.80

BIJB has adopted the economic model which underpins the viability and growth of the world’s largest established aerotropolis projects: Frankfurt, Schiphol, Dallas/Fort Worth and Kuala Lumpur. All these airports utilise non-aeronautical revenue from facilities on airport land to cross-subsidise aeronautical operations, reducing fees for airlines and thus encouraging them to use the airport.81 BIJB has stated that development on land allocated for Kertajati Aerocity, including retail and food and beverage outlets, will be utilised to lower fees for airlines, encouraging use of the airport. Allocation of land to generate non-aeronautical revenue is a form of subsidy for Kertajati Airport, and embeds a symbiotic relationship between growth of the airport and development of the airport city adjoining it.82

As a greenfield airport (on an undeveloped site) and an aerotropolis, the primary rationale of Kertajati Airport is not provision of air services to established urban development, but to spur commercial and industrial development on the farmland surrounding it, to become a ‘gateway’ to West Java acting as an economic centre for the region.83 The aerotropolis also has a military component. Indonesia’s state-owned aerospace manufacturer, PT Dirgantara Indonesia (PTDI), a firm servicing both civilian and military aircraft, intends to relocate from its current location in Bandung to a larger, 300-hectare site on the land surrounding Kertajati Airport, anticipating that
the new facility will be operational by 2019. A power plant megaproject is planned for the aerotropolis energy supply. An electricity supply facility currently under construction will be sufficient to meet the needs of Kertajati Airport, but not the adjoining Aerocity, so a 190-hectare energy complex is planned to enable the Kertajati aerotropolis to satisfy its energy requirements.

Kertajati Airport is just one of 84 large-scale infrastructure projects planned in West Java, including power plants, ports and roads, criticised by environmental forum WALHI West Java for obliterating farmland and triggering social conflict. Dianto Bachradi, Vice Chair of the Indonesian National Commission on Human Rights (Komnas HAM), has highlighted the private sector interests served by megaprojects. Specifically regarding airports, he pointed out that employment opportunities for local people facing the loss of their livelihood from agriculture would be restricted to poor-quality jobs such as baggage handler or parking attendant, and that the projects benefit large companies, not the local community.

In January 2017 KPA refuted a claim by Transportation Minister Budi Karya Sumadi that land acquisition for Kertajati Airport had been completed, maintaining that there were still 1,478 families refusing to sell their land, the same number as in November 2016 when the violent police raid took place. BJB claims to be upbeat about the potential for commencing airport operations by March 2018, but is struggling with land acquisition, having only acquired 1,000 of the 1,800 hectares required. BJB president director Virda Dimas Ekaputra said that the land procurement process would continue in spite of resistance.

Kolaka Airport, Southeast Sulawesi

Kolaka Airport is located near the southeastern coast of Sulawesi Island. Residents claiming to be the rightful owners of land used as the airport entrance sued Kolaka regency in April 2016. The village leader told the press the access road to the airport would be blocked if the land issue were not resolved and said that compensation payments had not been made although the residents had corresponded with the government on numerous occasions.

Komodo Airport, East Nusa Tenggara

Residents who were evicted from land for widening of the runway of Komodo Airport, near the town of Labuan Bajo on the west coast of the island of Flores, have made repeated attempts to secure compensation from the government. In May 2014 landowner representatives said 59 people were awaiting compensation and the government had not responded in spite of many meetings and written submission of demands. The land issue remained unresolved in February
2016 when 32 residents whose land had been taken held a rally in front of the airport demanding settlement of compensation and threatening to occupy the airport.  

The footprint of the airport may be increased further. The government plans to upgrade Komodo Airport into an international airport to attract more tourists, including to Komodo National Park which covers several islands west of Flores and is home to the Komodo dragon, the world’s largest lizard, which is unique to Komodo and a few other Nusa Tenggara (southeastern) islands. Komodo Airport may also be made into a hub for tourists to access other destinations in eastern Indonesia. In February 2017 PT Angkasa Pura I stated that extension of the Komodo Airport runway to 2,200 metres would soon be complete, following negotiations with landowners which had been constraining the development.

### Kuala Namu Airport, North Sumatra

Opposition to land clearance stalled construction of Kuala Namu Airport, on the northwest coast of Sumatra. It had been expected to commence operations in 2009. In 2007 authorities reported problems with clearing 2,365 hectares of land for the airport. As many as 71 families were distressed by a letter warning them that they would be evicted by security forces if they refused to vacate the land. The head of the village association said that, in spite of the warning, they were not prepared to leave as the level of compensation offered was inadequate. He said villagers had lived in the area since 1918 and had prepared sharpened bamboo sticks to help defend their land.

In 2011 Komnas HAM stated that the highest number of human rights violations in Indonesia related to land disputes, including evictions in the area around the Kuala Namu Airport site. In May 2013, as the airport prepared for opening, residents were still refusing the compensation on offer for eviction to make way for toll roads serving the airport. A week before Kuala Namu Airport opened, in July 2013, land disputes continued in five villages and more than 100 residents blockaded an arterial road.

A rail link to Kuala Namu Airport has also triggered evictions and protest. In October 2016 bulldozers, accompanied by dozens of armed police, moved in and began to destroy residences for the airport railway. The families being evicted had refused the compensation offered. Residents living in two villages near the airport have been troubled by repeated flooding of their homes and agricultural crops caused by the airport barriers, leading to a protest in September 2016.
Kuala Namu Airport already has a large site of 1,365 hectares. But this is just the first stage in its development. In 2014 PT Angkasa Pura II reported plans to develop Kuala Namu Airport into an aerotropolis, entailing integration of the airport with two ports, Belawan and Tanjung, in order to support and attract investors to the Sei Mangkei SEZ, which encompasses three zones: industrial (specifically palm oil and rubber processing), logistics and tourism, including a golfing area. An April 2014 airport conference presentation by the President Director of PT Angkasa Pura II boasted of 100 square kilometres of land ‘available for development’ outside the airport fence. At an international airport expansion conference in Hong Kong in 2015, Rusmin Lawin, Secretary General of FIABCI (International Real Estate Federation) Regional Asia Pacific, said Kuala Namu Airport would become an economic growth engine and that development of an aerotropolis covering a 30-kilometre radius around the airport should be encouraged.

Smaller-scale aerotropolis plans were reported in January 2017 when Kuala Namu Airport announced that it was seeking overseas partners to develop the airport into an international hub and to develop an airport city on 200 hectares of land. PT Angkasa Pura II is already committed to building one of the airport city facilities, a 100-room hotel. PT Angkasa Pura II also plans to build a power plant to guarantee Kuala Namu Airport’s power supply. A feasibility study showed that a 15 MW power plant would be insufficient and that a 50 MW facility is required. In January 2017 it was reported that development of the aerotropolis, on land surrounding Kuala Namu Airport in Deli Surdang regency, was being held back by land acquisition difficulties.

**Kulon Progo Airport (under construction), Yogyakarta**

A new airport for Yogyakarta, in the Kulon Progo regency on the coast of Central Java, was announced in 2011. A joint venture of PT Angkasa Pura I and GVK Power and Infrastructure, an Indian resources, energy and hospitality conglomerate, the airport’s site is 637 hectares of productive agricultural land spanning six villages: Glagah, Palihan, Sindutan, Jangkaran, Kebon Rejo and Temon Kulon. The airport threatens to displace 2,875 households with 11,501 inhabitants, most of whom make their living from agriculture and fishing. Hundreds of farmers have refused to accept the compensation packages on offer for land where they make a good livelihood growing vegetables, fruits and other crops and are determined to stay. Residents resisting eviction for the airport, supported by NGOs and students, united with the founding of Wahana Tri Tunggal (WT T) in September 2012. Calling for cancellation of the airport project, the protest movement has initiated legal challenges, a series of marches, leaflet campaigns, street art and direct action including a sit-in protest blocking a road with tree branches and...
stones, obstructing land surveys and removing boundary markers.\textsuperscript{113} Four students went on hunger strike.\textsuperscript{114}

WTT maintains that land acquisition for the airport has been manipulative and deceptive, violating numerous laws and intensifying community divisions over the project by giving favourable treatment to those who have accepted compensation for selling their land to make way for it.\textsuperscript{115} In May 2015, Komnas HAM stated that development of the airport violates the human rights of many local residents by excluding those opposed to the project from consultation exercises and failing to meet their entitlement to information about the project including compensation.\textsuperscript{116}

Authorities have responded to resistance against Kulon Progo Airport with repeated acts of repression, intimidation and violence, which escalated to severe violence on 16th February 2016 when police and army officers brutally attacked residents protesting against the project. The incident was taken up by the Asian Human Rights Commission which issued an urgent appeal and documented what had occurred. Approximately 1,000 army and police personnel were on duty overseeing a boundary-marking exercise. Residents gathered to object to the boundary marking but the authorities refused to enter into a dialogue and subjected them to ‘a violent and brutal attack’. People were punched and kicked, and a number of residents were choked, causing some of them to faint. Children were trampled on when the people who had gathered to protest were dispersed by police. Police also intimidated people and destroyed residents’ property such as chilli plants and motorcycles. The Asian Human Rights Commission condemned the authorities’ excessive use of force and called for a comprehensive investigation and prosecution of the officers who were in charge.\textsuperscript{117}

Opponents of Kulon Progo Airport have also raised concerns over negative ecological impacts. Loss of sand dunes will reduce the effectiveness of a natural barrier that prevents coastal erosion and intrusion of seawater into aquifers, and that also provides a degree of protection against flooding and tsunamis. There is also a potential impact on birdlife. An ornithologist has warned that the airport would be unsafe because of the risk of bird strikes, aircraft collisions with birds which can result in fatal air accidents.\textsuperscript{118} Kulon Progo regency is home to 227 species of birds, including many living in the coastal area and migratory birds whose annual flying routes between the northern and southern hemispheres are close to the airport site.\textsuperscript{119}

Tourism attractions in the area include Glagah beach, waterfalls and several historical sites, most notably Borobudur, a Buddhist stupa and temple complex dating back to the 8th century and listed as a UNESCO World Heritage site. In August 2016 the Central Java Tourism Agency
revealed government plans for development of areas around Borobudur to attract tourists arriving at Kulon Progo Airport and announced construction of a road to provide a direct route between the airport and the temple.120

Plans for surface transportation infrastructure to support Kulon Progo Airport include a railway and a 14-metre-wide access road linking the site with neighbouring districts in Central Java. The proposed route is through the hilly Menorah area and a small number of people would need to be relocated.121 PT Angkasa Pura I plans to develop an airport city around Kulon Progo Airport.122 With entertainment venues, retail outlets, hotels and cargo facilities, it is envisaged as a megaproject boosting the construction, infrastructure and mining industries.123 In January 2017 PT Angkasa Pura I described the airport city as an economic zone integrating the airport, railway, industrial and logistics areas.124

President Widodo broke ground on the project at the end of January 2017. The event was met with a massive wave of protests against the airport, including obstruction of the groundbreaking ceremony. WTT was one of the 84 organisations – encompassing farmers’, peace, educational, democracy, workers’, students’, religious and women’s groups – united in their resistance and calling for the Kulon Progo Airport project to be cancelled.125 One of the organisations, Legal Aid Yogyakarta, estimated that per year, for each hectare of farmland, the project will result in the loss of 90 tonnes of aubergines and watermelons, 60 tonnes of squash, 180 tonnes of melons and several tonnes of chilli peppers.126

Preparation of the site for construction of Kulon Progo Airport began immediately after the groundbreaking ceremony. A 2-metre-high security fence around the site is being erected, prioritising the area allocated for the runway.127 PT Angkasa Pura I has scheduled a work programme for clearing land, removing trees and knocking down buildings.128 Immediately following the groundbreaking ceremony it was announced that construction of the road from Kulon Progo Airport to Borobudur would be prioritised.129 In March 2017 PT Angkasa Pura I stated that the airport city development to support Kulon Progo Airport would require a land area of 2,000 hectares, to include tourist attractions, residential areas and a cargo village.130

Lebak Airport (cancelled), Banten

Lion Air, Indonesia’s largest privately run airline, was granted a permit to develop a major new airport in Lebak regency, southwest of Jakarta, with aerotropolis-type development comprising a commercial centre including a shopping city.131 The CEO of the parent company, Lion Group, a firm with close ties to the government, declined to elaborate on the consortium’s business partners. In February 2015 it was announced that the regional government was clearing 4,000
hectares of land for the project. A larger land area of 5,500 hectares was mentioned in September 2015. The Lebak district government threw its weight behind the airport project after the Transportation Ministry delayed issuing a permit due to concerns over adding traffic to an already crowded airspace shared with existing airports including Soekarno-Hatta. Lebak Airport was envisaged to be one of the world’s busiest, with four runways and an annual capacity of 100 million passengers.

In November 2015 the Transportation Ministry announced that the airport megaproject had been scrapped due to safety concerns, having failed to address issues of congested airspace raised by the military and the risk of disrupting air traffic at nearby Budiarto Airport. Still in possession of the vast tract of land, Lion Air was reported to be considering using it for other purposes, perhaps for raising cattle.

**Lombok Airport, Lombok**

Anti-airport movements in Indonesia are mindful of the long history of state brutality against people protesting confiscation of farmland for Lombok Airport. In the mid-1990s hundreds of families were evicted from 800 hectares of farmland for the airport. The oppression continued and on 23rd August 2005 a further 2,631 people were forcibly evicted. Nearly a month later, on 18th September, police, without provocation, fired into a crowd of 1,000 people who had gathered to commemorate Indonesia’s National Peasant’s Day and protest the construction of Lombok Airport on fertile farmland. Thirty-three protesters were injured, 27 of them by gunshots, six from being beaten by police. As of November 2016 residents impacted by Lombok Airport were still seeking clarity and resolution regarding land acquisition issues, highlighting flaws in calculation of land price which affected compensation rates and demanding settlement of outstanding payments.

PT Angkasa Pura I allocated US$5 million to expand the Lombok Airport premises in October 2016, including construction of two new parking spaces for wide-bodied aircraft such as the Boeing 777 and Airbus A330. The runway will be expanded from 2,750 to 3,500 metres to accommodate long-haul flights. Commercial development is planned on land owned by Lombok Airport. In January 2016 the airport’s General Manager had announced that a Motocross (off-road motorcycling) circuit would be built near the airport’s main entrance, covering 5 hectares of the airport’s 511 hectares of land.

The Mandalika resort, on the east coast of Lombok Island and only 17 kilometres (a 20-minute drive) from Lombok Airport, is to become a tourism destination thanks to being designated as an SEZ. Investors are lavished with subsidies, exemption from many taxes – value-added, luxury
sales, excise duty, import income – and other incentives. The government has allocated a 1,200-hectare area for development of hotels and resorts.\textsuperscript{143} Mandalika, boasting a 7.5-kilometre stretch of white sand beach, aspires to become the ‘new Bali’. Mass tourism schemes include 10,500 hotel rooms, 340,000 square metres of commercial and retail space, a theme park, equestrian facilities and a golf course.\textsuperscript{144} Government infrastructure support commitments to Mandalika SEZ include extending Lombok Airport’s runway.\textsuperscript{145} Major international hotel chains are set to break ground on developments in Mandalika in 2017: Novotel, Royal Tulip, Pullman and Club Med. President director of state-owned Indonesia Tourism Development Corporation (ITDC), Abdulbar M. Mansoer, said that a budget of US$150 million would be allocated for development of Mandalika SEZ over a 10-year period, with the first phase focussing on supporting infrastructure such as power plants, roads and water supply plus a convention centre to accommodate 2,000 people. The longer-term masterplan includes a cruise ship terminal and yacht marina.\textsuperscript{146} By March 2017 the cruise ship port was being developed, along with a desalination plant and solar energy plants hailed as ‘green infrastructure’ projects. The environmental merits of schemes such as solar energy at the Mandalika resort will however be undermined by its dependence on aviation and fuel-guzzling cruise ships.\textsuperscript{147}

The ITDC reports that land ownership claims to 135 hectares of Mandalika SEZ are an obstacle to investment. The land in question consists of 31 sites, most of them in strategic locations along the coastline. The ITDC claims to hold the land-use permit for an entire 1,171-hectare area, by virtue of a capital injection decree issued by the Finance Ministry in 2008. As of October 2016 the land disputes remained unresolved in spite of a series of meetings between the provincial government, Central Lombok administration and the affected people.\textsuperscript{148}

\textbf{Marinda Airport, West Papua}

Local government plans to expand Marinda Airport, situated on Waigeo, the largest of the Raja Ampat Islands off the northwest tip of West Papua, are supported by President Joko Widodo. Lengthening the runway from 1,200 to 2,500 metres is envisaged as part of the development of the airport into a large airport for advancement of tourism. Land in the vicinity of Marinda Airport is a conservation area.\textsuperscript{149}

\textbf{Masalembu Airport (proposed), East Java}

The East Java provincial government plans an airport in the Masalembu Islands, which are situated in the Java Sea about midway between Java and Borneo and are blessed with beautiful
Matahora Airport, Southeast Sulawesi

Matahora Airport is near the northeast coast of Wangi-Wangi Island, one of the largest in the Wakatobi archipelago off the coast of southeast Sulawesi. Wakatobi, a marine national park and a key diving destination renowned for reefs and a unique diversity of fish and coral species, has been highlighted by the government as one of Indonesia’s 10 priority tourism destinations. Opened in 2009, the airport was key to an increase from 3,000 visitors per year to Wakatobi district to over 20,000 in 2016. In addition to Matahora Airport, tourism facilities include a marina and pier and two international firms are developing five-star hotels. The local government has allocated funds for tourism infrastructure and promotion. Plans are afoot to extend Matahora Airport’s runway to 2,500 metres in order to accommodate wide-bodied aircraft and to extend the apron area.

Mengkendek Airport (under construction), South Sulawesi

An airport is under construction in Mengkendek in the Tana Toraja regency of South Sulawesi. The area is already a popular tourist spot, promoted as a remote and unspoiled destination, specifically as an alternative to Bali. Key attractions include forested mountains, terraced rice paddies and elaborately painted houses with boat-shaped roofs. In April 2011 residents opposed airport construction because they had not been compensated for land that was customarily owned. The government had promised a meeting in January but it had not taken place. The media had issued misleading statements that the land acquisition problem had been solved, which was not the case. A former transportation official questioned the location selected for the project, with the mountainous terrain and variable weather posing technical challenges for construction and visibility once the facility becomes operational.

In March 2015, as heavy earthmoving equipment levelled hills to prepare the site for airport construction, with land still not available for the full runway length of 2,000 metres, the cost estimate for the project increased. The high level of rainfall added to the technical difficulty. As of April 2016 land acquisition problems remained unresolved. A family from one of the mountains in the path of the runway threatened to occupy and recultivate the land they had lived on and farmed because they had not been paid compensation. They had grown clove
trees, coffee and cocoa on a 4-hectare plot. Distress over the lack of clarity and broken promises on payment of compensation had adversely affected the health of the whole family.\textsuperscript{155}

**Miangas Airport (under construction, inaugurated), North Sulawesi**

Miangas is Indonesia’s northernmost island, and among the most isolated of the country’s outlying islands. With a population of just 750 people, Miangas measures just 3.15 square kilometres. It is part of North Sulawesi province but is located closer to the Philippines than to the main island of Sulawesi. In December 2010 it was reported that land acquisition for an airport on Miangas was being hampered by citizens demanding compensation for land at a rate three times higher than that being offered by the government. The land in question was productive palm plantations and people also opposed land acquisition because there was no other land available for cultivation.\textsuperscript{156}

In August 2015 it was confirmed that flights to Miangas Airport would be subsidised by the Transportation Ministry as it was not of interest to commercial airlines. Miangas has several white sand beaches and in addition to increasing the number of tourists, it is envisaged that the airport will be used for export of coconuts, fish and seafood such as crabs and sea cucumbers. Indonesia’s northernmost airport will also serve a military purpose, reinforcing the country’s control of the border with the Philippines.\textsuperscript{157}

In March 2016 it was reported that land acquisition, which had been the main difficulty hindering airport construction, was complete. A runway 1,200 metres in length had been completed, which would potentially be extended to 1,400 metres.\textsuperscript{158} By 19th October 2016 construction of Miangas Airport was almost complete. The airport runway, terminal and apron take up a large slice of the northwest of the tiny island. Miangas Airport was scheduled to be inaugurated by President Widodo in December 2016, along with new passenger terminals at two airports in Central Sulawesi province, namely Tanjung Api and Kasiguncu Poso.\textsuperscript{159}

**Mopah Airport, Papua**

Built by Allied forces in 1943 as a base for attacking Japanese forces, Mopah Airport, on the south coast of Papua province near the border with Papua New Guinea, has seen increased tourist flights in recent years. At the beginning of August 2012 dozens of indigenous people from the village of Kayakai occupied the runway overnight demanding payment for land used for expansion of the airport. A local government official claimed that payment had been made two years previously, but said there would be an investigation into the protesters’ claim that the money had been given to people who were not the rightful owners of the land.\textsuperscript{160} It was the
third time that villagers had taken action to disrupt airport operations in their attempts to secure compensation. Protest erupted again in June 2016 when thousands of holders of customary land rights threatened to occupy the airport. A representative said that there were 1,200 residents of three villages willing to take action against the airport, demanding immediate payment for 60 hectares of land.

**Morotai Airport (proposed), North Maluku**

In April 2015 President Joko Widodo proposed a major hub airport on Morotai Island, which local officials envisaged would support Morotai SEZ, an area of over 1,000 hectares designated for industry, logistics and tourism. The government has already committed to upgrading the runway of the established Leo Wattimena Airport, on the south coast of the island, in order to support Morotai SEZ.

**Mutiara Airport, Central Sulawesi**

Mutiara Airport is on the outskirts of the city of Palu, capital of Central Sulawesi province. The airport is being expanded to serve Palu SEZ, a 1,500-hectare area extending 28 kilometres northwards along the coast, designated for manufacture of automotive and heavy equipment and processing of agricultural and mining products. In 2012 residents planted banana trees on land acquired by the airport for extension of the runway, because they had not received the compensation that was promised.

**New Bintan Airport (under construction), Riau Islands**

A new airport is under construction on Bintan Island, the largest island in the Riau archipelago immediately to the south of Singapore. Indonesia’s airports are state-owned but New Bintan Airport will be Indonesia’s first privately owned and operated airport. Bintan Aviation Investments (BAI), a subsidiary of Singapore-based publicly listed Gallant Ventures, has the concession to build the airport, immediately to the east of Bintan Industrial Estate on the coast near the southwestern tip of the island. In the early stages of construction, in 2015, the airport project faced problems securing permits for land reclamation. The first phase of the airport, scheduled to become operational in 2017, includes three hangars, a 3-kilometre runway and a terminal with a capacity for serving 1 million passengers annually. Gallant Ventures and Indonesia’s national airline, Garuda Indonesia, have signed a memorandum of understanding (MoU) to develop New Bintan Airport into a major aviation hub with two 3.6-kilometre runways. Sufficient land has been set aside for expansion to
accommodate 60 million passengers annually, equivalent to the traffic at Soekarno-Hatta, Indonesia’s main airport.\textsuperscript{170} The airport site is 1,000 hectares.\textsuperscript{171}

A 177-hectare aerospace industrial park will be situated next to New Bintan Airport, a joint venture with Garuda Indonesia. The site will host an MRO facility that will serve as regional hub for the airline. In addition to manufacturing and assembly of aircraft engines and components, there will be centres for aviation training and research and development, as well as a kind of mini-aerotropolis, a ‘dedicated township’ for employees with residential areas, health centre, shops, sports centre and other facilities. BAI managing director Michael Wudy explained the envisaged symbiotic relationship between New Bintan Airport and the aerospace facilities: ‘There must be a bundling of several activities in the area to trigger the required base traffic at the airport in order to justify the investment.’\textsuperscript{172}

Firms establishing operations in the New Bintan Airport MRO facility are set to receive incentives such as tax breaks, in the form of tax holidays or tax allowances, and scrapping of taxes on aircraft components. The incentives for the facility are part of a broader government drive to expand the aviation industry in the archipelago.\textsuperscript{173}

New Bintan Airport also aims to support development of mass luxury tourism on the island, in particular charter flights. The firm building the airport, Gallant Ventures, also manages the high-end Lagoi Tourist Resort with 13 premium hotels with daily rates as expensive as US$3,000, golf courses and secluded beaches, and anticipates that the new airport will enable a doubling in the number of annual visitors from the current 320,000.\textsuperscript{174} This marks just the beginning of Gallant Ventures’ tourism business expansion on Bintan Island. The government has designated the entire northern coast of the island for tourism and allocated a 1,750-hectare parcel of land for masterplanning and management by Gallant Ventures. Less than a third of this area has been developed.\textsuperscript{175}

Gallant Ventures’ total inventory of land owned on Bintan consists of 66 land parcels covering approximately 18,200 hectares, encompassing the entire northern coastline which is dotted with ‘ivory beaches’.\textsuperscript{176} The Bintan Resorts website describes the area as a Free Trade Zone granted ‘special tax concessions’ and gives details of an exclusive enclave with access ‘restricted only to guests and resort employees’ protected by a private security force.\textsuperscript{177} Major international hotel firms are expanding their global footprint with hotel developments in Bintan, including AccorHotels and Meliá Hotels International.\textsuperscript{178}
New Samarinda Airport (under construction), East Kalimantan

New Samarinda Airport is currently under construction on a site near the east coast of Kalimantan. The 1,200-metre runway was expected to be complete in December 2016, with opening scheduled for January 2017. Future extension of the runway to 3,000 metres has been approved. In December 2015 an East Kalimantan transport official reported that the government faced issues with land acquisition for an MRO facility because affected residents were demanding compensation payments 10 times higher than had been anticipated.179

North Bali Airport (proposed), Bali

Ngurah Rai, Bali’s existing airport, on the south coast of the island, is hemmed in by development, with little space for expansion. There have been several proposals for a major new airport in Buleleng regency, which covers the northeast of the island. In 2014 residents of Tamblang village were concerned that a proposed new North Bali Airport, on a 3,000-hectare site just 10 kilometres away in Kubutambahan, considered an appropriate site as a considerable area is flat, would have negative impacts on their lives. The village is primarily agricultural, producing rice, cloves, cocoa, coffee and fruits. Villagers had not been given clear, accurate information detailing the airport plans and rumours had triggered an influx of land speculators; agents were trying to persuade residents to sell their land to investors.180

Proposals for an alternative that would not require a large land area then emerged, for an offshore airport on an island made from reclaimed land. The mayor of Buleleng and other officials met with representatives of Canada-based firm Airports Kinesis Consulting (AKC) who presented their offshore airport proposal.181 In May 2016 Kinesis presented an airport plan to the Bali Administration; 264 hectares of the 1,400-hectare project would be reclaimed land whilst the remainder would be built as a ‘floating’ structure.

The airport proposal detailed two runways each 7,200 metres long, over twice the length of the runway of Ngurah Rai Airport, with construction costing an estimated US$2.7 billion and financed by a loan from South Korea. Kinesis said that the airport would be able to accommodate three times as many passengers as Ngurah Rai, 150,000 per day. The project includes typical aerotropolis components: hotels, sports centre, lakes, water parks and other facilities.182 The Airports Kinesis website outlines specifications for North Bali International Airport (NBIA), claiming that it would be Indonesia’s first privately owned and managed airport, on a 1,062-hectare site which would include a ‘new airside economic cluster’ with MRO facilities.183
In August 2016, tourism website Bali Discovery Tours reported that confusion reigned over reports that laying of the ‘floating airport’ foundation stone was imminent and that invitations had been given to village chiefs in the Kubutambahan and Tejakula sub-districts, a premature move for a project which has yet to prepare a feasibility study. Chair of Buleleng regency, Gede Supriatina, said development of the airport would proceed only after a series of specified stages but was supportive of the project and anxious that it should not be delayed. The Governor of Bali, Made Mangku Pastika, said there were many obstacles to the airport being built, such as an environmental impact study.  

In January 2017 the Governor flew to Jakarta to seek the necessary recommendations, including a location permit, to develop the airport. The airport was described as a ‘floating air gateway’ built on reclaimed land offshore, but 10 hectares of land would be required for access and the Bali provincial government submitted documents to the central government expressing preparedness to purchase this land. 

Buleleng regency, PT Baduna Indonesia and Sakae Corporate Advisory have signed an MoU for the development and management of North Bali Airport. The first phase would comprise construction of a hotel and parking area for private jets. The second stage is a terminal and seaport for cruise ships and private yachts.

Professor Dr. I Wayan Windi is among those opposing the new airport. He has called on President Joko Widodo to cancel the project, along with plans for land reclamation in Benoa Bay, saying that overdevelopment of Bali poses a grave threat to local culture and that uncontrolled hotel development causes intrusion of salt water into the water table and the loss of 1,000 hectares of rice fields each year.

**North Bali private jet airport (proposed), Bali**

A proposed airport for private jets on the northeast coast of Bali aims to ‘cater to deep pocketed clients’. The site is predominantly residential land and 656 hectares would be required. The coastal villages of Pejarakan and Bumberkima would be affected and 3,335 people would have to be relocated, in order to offer wealthy tourists ‘panoramic views of white sandy beaches’. Along with the airport, investors intend to build typical aerotropolis-style projects: hotels and restaurants, plus a yacht port. The investors claim to be working with village leaders to involve the community and that the project will employ local residents.
Nusawiru Airport, West Java
Transportation Minister Budi Karya Sumadi is pushing for the expansion of Nusawiru Airport, on the south coast of West Java to the west of the city of Pangandaran. Budi expects the airport to expand to accommodate large aircraft such as Boeing 737s and to serve development of the tourism industry and logistics for fisheries and agriculture.188

Onondowa Airport, South Sulawesi
Onondowa Airport is situated in Onondowa, a remote mountain village in the Rampi district of South Sulawesi. In June 2016 an alliance of concerned residents held a demonstration against a scheme to lengthen the runway by 500 metres and widen it by 30 metres. A spokesperson said that the airport expansion would displace half the population of the densely populated village and that productive land that is the villagers’ source of livelihood would be lost. The protesters also urged the government to pay compensation to residents who had been evicted for the airport in 2003 and urged the police to investigate the land acquisition and construction of the airport.189

Pagar Alam Airport, South Sumatra
Pagar Alam Airport is to the west of Pagar Alam, a city at the foot of Mount Dempo, the highest mountain in South Sumatra and one of the main tourist destinations in the region. The airport opened in February 2013 and tourist flights began. Construction had commenced in 2008.190 Finding a suitable location in the mountainous terrain had been challenging and there were allegations of corruption regarding the EIA for the project. In February 2015 subsidised flights began; ticket prices were half of what would be the normal price due to a subsidy from the central government.191 In August 2015 Pagar Alam Airport was the focal point of unrest over restitution for land acquisition. The airport access road was blocked by local residents192 and a physical barrier made from bamboo stems, barbed wire and trees.193

Panimbang Airport (proposed), Banten
An airport in the Panimbang district on the west coast of Java was first proposed in 2010, to be developed in two phases covering a total of 600 hectares. In February 2016 a 350-hectare site, which was made up of productive rice fields, was earmarked for the airport. The provincial government urged the local government to identify replacement agricultural land so that farmers could keep farming.194 A Banten planning official said the total airport area may expand to 1,500 hectares.195
PT Banten Global Development, a regional enterprise 99 per cent owned by Banten province, received a central government mandate to build the airport in May 2016 and announced that it was seeking investors, but it was reported that the Pandeglang district authorities had difficulties finding appropriate land to replace the 350 hectares of productive agricultural land that would be lost to the airport.

By October 2016 PT Banten Global Development had failed to find an investor for the airport project so the central government and Banten province took over its development. But construction of the airport was still uncertain as land acquisition remained a problem, with lack of clarity over whether it was the responsibility of the central or the provincial government. In March 2017 discussions were underway regarding the possibility of using 1,500 hectares of Perhutani forestry land for the airport, 540 hectares for a runway and the rest for supporting facilities.

The proposed site for Panimbang airport is about 10 kilometres southeast of Tanjung Lesung, a serene, undeveloped peninsula covering 1,500 hectares and ringed by a 13-kilometre shoreline with many white sand beaches facing the Indian Ocean. A government programme for accelerating tourism development was announced in December 2015, aiming for Tanjung Lesung to become a ‘novel gateway for tourists’ and an ‘integrated tourism area’ with facilities including hotels, restaurants, golf courses, theme park, marina and cruise ship port. A full 1,300 hectares of Tanjung Lesung has been designated as a tourism SEZ. In March 2017 it was announced that the airport in Panimbang, named Banten Selatan, would be built immediately to support the establishment of Tanjung Lesung SEZ and for tourism development in the wider region.

In addition to the airport in Panimbang, an airstrip within Tanjung Lesung SEZ will accommodate charter flights. Satellite images show that land has been prepared for construction of the airstrip. A 1.2-kilometre runway will accommodate small aircraft flying short domestic routes. Surface connective infrastructure to enable easier access to Tanjung Lesung SEZ includes a key government megaproject: construction of a toll road between Serang, capital city of Banten province, and Panimbang. A feasibility study for an 83-kilometre toll road between Tanjung Lesung and Jakarta has been completed.

Pongtiku Airport, South Sulawesi

Pongtiku Airport is in the already popular tourist destination of Tana Toraja. In February 2016 hundreds of people protested in the terminal over land disputes regarding the airport fence and boundary. The demonstrators said that the land in question had been measured without
consulting local residents and they were also concerned over the impact of the airport on residential buildings and places of worship. They said they would hold a larger protest if the issue was not resolved.  

**Purbalingga Airport (proposed), Central Java**

In June 2015 Central Java Governor Ganjar Pranowo called for an alternative option to facilitate the conversion of Wirasaba Air Force base into a commercial airport. The plan had been held back by licensing issues and a special permit might be required. The budget for land acquisition, runway extension, terminal upgrade, access road and other facilities was estimated at US$11 million, to be funded through the 2016 state budget. US$1.1 million was allocated to clear and acquire 5 hectares of land. Construction of Purbalingga Airport is scheduled to commence in 2017. The Governor said the airport would open up new economic growth centres in the west and south of Central Java province.

On 14th December 2016 hundreds of people from several Central Java NGOs demonstrated outside the regional office of state-owned forestry firm Perhutani and the Governor’s office. They voiced their rejection of major infrastructure projects, most of which involve expropriation of people’s farmland and living space, handing in letters and other documents. Key projects of concern, entailing massive land acquisition which would be catastrophic for rural people, included Purbalingga Airport as well as toll roads, a railway, coastal reclamation, industrialisation in Kendal regency, a power plant, mining and a number of cement factories.

In January 2017 the Transportation Ministry, PT Angkasa Pura I and the Air Force signed an MoU for immediate development of Purbalingga Airport. The runway is to be extended to 1,550 metres in length and Purbalingga regency had committed to building supporting infrastructure including a road and bridge.

**Purboyo Airport (proposed), East Java**

A new airport is proposed in the village of Srigonco, on the south coast of East Java. The project is described as a new Malang airport, but the proposed site is 40 kilometres south of Malang, the second largest city in East Java. Malang Regent Rendra Kresna said that a site of at least 600 hectares is required. The then Transportation Minister Ignasius Jonan proposed a runway at least 3 kilometres long.

In March 2016 the chief of Srigonco village said that affected people living in the area earmarked for the airport were willing to be relocated from arable land that they had occupied for decades. But full information about the airport plan had not been disseminated to the
villagers and there appeared to be uncertainty regarding plans for their relocation. Construction of Purboyo Airport is slated to begin in 2019 and the central government has allocated US$294 million for construction. It is reported that the airport will be built on land owned by the Navy. There are longstanding disputes over ownership of land claimed by the Navy in villages in the area, including Srigonco.

Ransiki Airport, West Papua

Ransiki Airport, near the west coast of the Bird’s Head Peninsula that makes up the northwestern portion of West Papua, is a former military airfield near the town of Ransiki, which serves as the administrative centre of South Manokwari regency. The South Manokwari Regent, Markus Waran, backs plans to develop the airstrip into an airport, which are related to the allocation of 600 hectares of land to the Manokwari airport authority. Both the Regent and the head of Ransiki Airport, Wahyu Anwar, have claimed that the community support the plans.

In October 2016 the land was handed over to the Transportation Ministry, witnessed by representatives of six clans holding customary land rights. Members of the six clans walked in a procession to submit demands regarding the transfer of the land – health care, education for their children and a flight school in the area – and expressed their hopes that there will be employment for local people at the airport site.

Rendani Airport, West Papua

Rendani Airport is located on the coast to the south of Manokwari, the largest city and capital of West Papua province. In March 2015 indigenous people rejected government plans to extend the runway 500 metres westwards. A community representative insisted that they have customary rights to the land and evidence of their ownership of it, and that they would take legal action if the project went ahead.

In August 2016 dozens of residents refused to be evicted for development of the airport. At a meeting it was stated that each resident had a certificate of land ownership and that it would be difficult for them to relocate and build new residences. Residents also said the government should disseminate the airport development plan. Another meeting was held at the beginning of September. Dozens of residents still opposed the runway extension plan. In addition to losing their homes, there would be an impact on places of worship and public facilities. It was suggested that an alternative would be to extend the runway in the opposite direction into the sea, but it was thought this could endanger flight safety.
Sam Ratulangi Airport, North Sulawesi

Sam Ratulangi Airport is located near the northern tip of Sulawesi Island, 13 kilometres northeast of Manado, capital city of North Sulawesi province. In February 2016 construction of an access road that would be a shortcut to the airport was hampered by several families’ reluctance to agree to land acquisition for building the road. Sam Ratulangi Airport serves as a hub for Lion Air. Upon commencement of flights to and from China and 24-hour airport operations, its parent company, Lion Group, announced plans to build 5,000 cottages for foreign tourists in the South Minahasa regency to the south of Manado, and a further 5,000 cottages in the city of Bitung, near the northeastern tip of Sulawesi Island.

In March 2017 tourism in Manado was reported to be skyrocketing, with mainly visitors from China arriving on cheap charter flights. The increase in tourism had occurred even though North Sulawesi is not on the government list of top destinations; the Tourism Ministry has said that Manado, with its beaches, lakes and pristine forest, could become a top tourist destination like Bali. South Korean retail firm Lotte is planning to open a duty-free shop at Sam Ratulangi Airport.

In October 2016 Transportation Minister Budi Karya Sumadi linked growth at the airport to the upgrade of Bitung Port, calling on state-owned port operators to expand it to make it the largest cargo port in the Asia-Pacific region. The growth of Bitung Port has already been supported by the building of toll roads and the designation of Bitung as one of Indonesia’s Special Economic Zones in 2014.

Bitung SEZ, supported by Sam Ratulangi Airport and Bitung Port, has been designated for processing of fish, edible and industrial plant products, logistics and other industries. Land acquisition for the SEZ sparked conflict as the site included an area of customary land occupied by residents since before the Dutch colonial period. Some 2,458 families were shocked as the government had not consulted them. The local government made life difficult for the residents in many ways including refusal to issue birth and death certificates. The first stone of Bitung SEZ was laid in March 2015, after three letters had been issued warning residents to clear the land and with officials guarding the site. A community representative said residents had suffered greatly and were ready to defend their land with arrows and spears.

Major Chinese investment in Bitung SEZ was announced in September 2014 and the North Sulawesi provincial government committed to providing incentives. Plans for the SEZ outlined in March 2016 were for three zones, namely an industrial zone, logistics zone and export processing zone, occupying a 534-hectare site, but it was reported that land clearance was
hindering development. The regional government had started building a 39-kilometre toll road to Manado.\textsuperscript{228}

**Sampit Airport, Central Kalimantan**

In May 2016 a land dispute relating to Sampit Airport was reported to be stuck in deadlock. A resident claimed that they had not been paid compensation for land acquisition a few years previously, and their proof of legal rights to the land was supported by a number of NGOs and witnesses.\textsuperscript{229}

**Sentani Airport, Papua**

Sentani Airport is situated to the west of Jayapura, capital city of Papua province, close to the northern coast, on the shore of Lake Sentani and near the border with Papua New Guinea. Residents have staged a series of protests to secure compensation for land they claim was taken from them for the airport. Scores of residents from three tribal groups closed the airport down in August 2009, suspending flights for about two hours, by placing bars on the runway. They demanded compensation for communally owned land that was used to build the airport and said they would repeat the action if the issue were not resolved. After leaving the runway they blocked the airport access road. The head of the airport denied their claim, saying the land was a government asset handed over to the airport.\textsuperscript{230}

Unrest among residents displaced for Sentani Airport erupted again in October 2013. Four tribal groups threatened to shut down the airport and asked workers building the airport to cease their activities. They said the airport had still not paid any compensation for land used for airport development, and demanded payment in line with current land values.\textsuperscript{231} Residents demanding compensation disrupted airport operations again in June 2015; 15 residents of Ifar Besar village, on the shore of Lake Sentani, blockaded the runway with bamboo poles and demanded compensation. After 45 minutes police removed the blockade.\textsuperscript{232}

Displaced residents took direct action against the airport again in May 2016, with members of four tribes blockading a taxiway with banana trees placed on top of steel drums. Airport authorities agreed to pay compensation and the protesters removed the blockade but warned they would repeat the action if the authorities failed to abide by the agreement and if payment for customary land was not made by the specified time. The land in question was for the airport to lengthen the runway from 2,500 to 3,000 metres to accommodate larger Airbus planes.\textsuperscript{233}
**Sibisa Airport, North Sumatra**

Sibisa Airport is near the eastern shore of Lake Toba, the largest lake in Indonesia and the largest volcanic lake in the world. As of October 2015 there had been no regular flights since official operations commenced in 2006. Neighbouring communities regretted handing over 40 hectares of land for the airport as the lack of flights meant they had not benefitted economically. PT Angkasa Pura II plans to extend Sibisa Airport’s runway from 1,800 to 3,000 metres and expand the terminal, but reports problems with land acquisition and states that 80 hectares of land have not been ‘freed’.

Construction of an airport access road is another of the infrastructure projects prioritised by the government to boost tourism to the Lake Toba area. The Lake Toba Authority Agency has mapped the area and is preparing a Master Plan for a 600-hectare area around Sibisa Airport to be turned into a destination in its own right, resembling the all-inclusive, upmarket Nusa Dua resort on the southeastern tip of Bali.

**Silangit Airport, North Sumatra**

Silangit Airport is located close to the southern shore of Lake Toba, which is already a key tourism destination. In February 2014 PT Angkasa Pura II allocated funds for development of the airport as the main gateway to tourist areas in North Sumatra, in particular Lake Toba. Funds were allocated for land acquisition, runway extension and passenger terminals. In September 2014 the director of PT Angkasa Pura II said the tendering process for construction would begin when all of the required land had been cleared. Land belonging to state forestry firm Perhutani and the local administration had been cleared for airport development but not land belonging to indigenous groups. He described clearing land belonging to local people as a ‘problem’.

During a visit to North Sumatra in August 2016 President Joko Widodo ordered the demolition of Silangit Airport’s old terminal and the building of a new one to be opened by the end of the year. He urged Indonesia’s flag carrier, Garuda, to fly to Silangit Airport at least three times daily, even if no passengers purchased tickets. Maritime Affairs Minister Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan said the runway is to be expanded from 1,400 metres to 2,600 metres to accommodate Boeing 737 aircraft and that business people had committed to building five-star hotels, an international convention centre and other tourism facilities in the area.

In September 2016 PT Angkasa Pura II announced plans to more than triple the size of the airport terminal in order to accommodate 100,000 passengers per annum. There are indications of plans for development around Silangit Airport; the GVK company reports that it
has been selected by PT Angkasa Pura II as a partner to develop the airport as a tourist destination.²⁴³ By February 2017 costs of expansion of Silangit Airport amounted to US$26.23 million,²⁴⁴ extension of the runway was underway and it was reported that 600 hectares of land around the airport had been prepared for investors to develop the area as a tourism destination.²⁴⁵

**Soekarno-Hatta Airport, Banten**

Soekarno-Hatta Airport, situated in Tangerang 20 kilometres northwest of central Jakarta, is Indonesia’s busiest airport, handling almost 54 million passengers in 2015. A third terminal opened in August 2016.²⁴⁶ Named the ‘ultimate terminal’, it was hit by a series of embarrassing mishaps in the first week of operations, including a flood in the arrivals area, power outage and complaints over lack of cleanliness and clear signage. Renting out commercial space at the third terminal, for food and beverage outlets and retail, including duty-free shops, is anticipated to increase the airport’s non-aeronautical revenue.²⁴⁷

Plans for a third runway and fourth terminal hit a roadblock in 2013 due to land acquisition disputes with residents over the level of compensation, leading the government to undertake a feasibility study considering offshore options.²⁴⁸ But the original plan moved forward. In January 2015 PT Angkasa Pura II earmarked US$240 million to finance land acquisition for a third runway. The president of the company stated that 200 hectares of land would be required for the first phase of construction and that the total land required was about 800 hectares.

In October 2016 it was announced that the Tangerang administration will clear 2,459 plots of land to make way for a third runway, demolishing thousands of houses and evicting thousands of families from three villages: Bojong Renged, Rawa Burung and Rawa Rengas. It was stated that 134 hectares of land would be cleared for the airport expansion, considerably less than the 800 hectares announced in 2015.²⁴⁹

In October 2016 the chair of the land acquisition team said that the citizens being relocated had made demands regarding employment at the airport and the environmental impact of the project.²⁵⁰ A land acquisition meeting organised by PT Angkasa Pura II and Tangerang regency in November 2016 descended into chaos and a number of residents walked out in protest. They refused the compensation package that was offered for their eviction from the land, saying that the amount was far lower than expected.²⁵¹ Banners erected on fences protested the low value of compensation offered by PT Angkasa Pura II to people facing eviction for the third runway.²⁵²
In January 2017 it was reported that PT Angkasa Pura II had acquired 173.2 hectares of land occupied by the three villages, that compensation had been agreed with affected residents, and that the villages were to be levelled, in anticipation of completing the third runway project by 2018. A fourth runway at Soekarno-Hatta Airport might be added by 2024. At the beginning of March 2017 at least 50 residents of Rawa Burung village protested against eviction for the third runway and the low level of compensation on offer for giving up their land and homes. There was a further protest on 20th March. Dozens of residents demonstrated outside PT Angkasa Pura II offices calling for construction of the new runway to be delayed for reappraisal of the level of compensation for their land and buildings.

In November 2016 state-owned rail company PT Kereta Api Indonesia (KAI) announced plans for a new railway line to Soekarno-Hatta Airport, stating that the two-line link with West Jakarta, previously planned as a single line, would be operational by July 2018. KAI was reported to be finalising procurement of 35 hectares of land for the railway project. Construction of a 12-kilometre railway line between the airport and Batuceper rail station, south of the airport in northern Tangerang, is underway. Over 3 kilometres of the railway is already complete. KAI director Budi Noviantoro said that the only challenge hampering the project is land acquisition but that a legal dispute by local people had concluded with a ruling in favour of KAI. Families with ancestors buried in a cemetery in the path of the rail link were reported to be uncertain and troubled over plans for relocation.

The third runway area includes an ‘Airport City’ complex and PT Angkasa Pura II is building three hotels at the airport as part of its expansion into the retail and hospitality sectors. A larger-scale aerotropolis around Soekarno-Hatta Airport has been suggested by the mayor of the city of Tangerang, Arief R. Wismansyah, spanning 184 square kilometres, a massive area with the spatial layout, infrastructure and economy centred around the airport, which would take up 10 per cent of this area.

Fossil fuel energy infrastructure to support the airport and its growth is already in the pipeline. A 60 MW gas power plant, to be built on a site 7 kilometres away, is expected to reduce Soekarno-Hatta Airport’s operating expenses from its electricity bill. The airport’s electricity consumption is anticipated to more than double with Terminal 3 becoming operational and upon completion of a cargo village. Banten province has signed an MoU with the Australia Indonesia Business Council exploring development of a 770-hectare industrial park and seaport on seafront land near Soekarno-Hatta Airport, a project that may serve as a template for public-private partnerships between Australia and Indonesia.
Sultan Aji Muhammad Sulaiman Airport, East Kalimantan

Situated on the outskirts of the port city of Balikpapan, on the eastern coast of Kalimantan, Sultan Aji Muhammad Sulaiman Airport is often referred to by its previous name, Sepongan. The municipal government allocated funds, including for land acquisition, for extension of the runway from 2,500 to 3,000 metres, in May 2013. The Balikpapan government urged residents to support the plan and reported that 50 per cent of them had agreed to accept the amount of compensation offered, with an official stating that, with regard to residents who persisted in resisting land acquisition, the government had the right to impose the policy.

In addition to acquisition of 43.8 hectares of land, the Sultan Aji Muhammad Sulaiman Airport runway extension plan would entail 34 hectares of coastal land reclamation. In April 2015 it was reported that there was still no progress on the runway extension. Some of the earmarked land had been acquired by the airport, and some of the compensation for the land had been paid. Talks had been held with landowners since 2014 but there was a shortfall in the budget for land acquisition and no further funds had been allocated.

Sultan Hasanuddin Airport, South Sulawesi

Sultan Hasanuddin Airport is to the northeast of the city of Makassar, near the southwestern tip of Sulawesi Island. In June 2016 a transportation expert from Hasanuddin University, Professor Way Adji Adisasmita, said the airport city concept was already being implemented at the airport, taking place over four phases and aiming to be completed by 2045. Planned commercial facilities around the airport include industrial estates, hotels, hospitals, convention and exhibition centres, a theme park and a financial district.

Professor Way highlighted the issue of land acquisition for the airport city development, anticipating that, as is usually the case, it would be protracted. He also said that a minimum area of 2,000 hectares is necessary to build an airport city, which poses challenges as the current land area is considerably smaller at 900 hectares, and that a development budget of US$916,000 would be necessary. The goal would be for the airport city to generate a higher level of non-aeronautical revenue than aeronautical revenue.

Sumenep Airport, East Java

Inaugurated in 2014, Sumenep Airport is on the southeast coast of Madura Island, off the north coast of Java. Commercial operations are scheduled to commence in early 2017. In October 2016 resident owners of 5.18 hectares of agricultural land which the airport wants to acquire for building a fence refused to sell if the land was purchased only in part, because the remainder
would be rendered unusable. The airport said the fence was urgently needed because farmers were walking across the runway to get to their fields, admitting that this was their only access route and urging Sumenep regency to build roads for farmers to reach their fields. Later in October it was reported that there was a shortfall in the budget for airport land acquisition, and that the amount of funds available was a quarter of that required.

**Supadio Airport, West Kalimantan**

Supadio Airport is on the west coast of Kalimantan, to the south of Pontianak, the capital city of West Kalimantan province. In May 2015 the Pontianak manager of PT Angkasa Pura II stated that cultivation of crops by 300 people, on 180 hectares of land around the airport required for widening the runway, would be curbed. He said that, although the land had been cultivated for many years, the farmers admitted that the land belonged to Supadio Airport. In February 2016 the people farming the land around the airport were anxious over their cultivation rights. Expansion of the airport area and reduction in the area they were permitted to cultivate was forcing them to move, making them landless as it was difficult for them to find other areas of land to grow crops on.

**Syamsudin Noor Airport, South Kalimantan**

Syamsudin Noor Airport is 25 kilometres southeast of Banjarmasin, the largest city in Kalimantan, and near the south coast. A groundbreaking ceremony for expansion of the airport to accommodate 10 million passengers per year took place in May 2015. In February 2016 South Kalimantan Governor Syahbirin Noor stated that the airport expansion was expected to begin in April but that the project still faced land acquisition issues.

By September 2016 there was still no development on the site. Some of the land was vacated but 33 landowners refused to release their land and leave the area for the price that they had been offered. One landowner said the price was as low as a fifth to a quarter of the land’s actual market value. Residents resisting land acquisition for Syamsudin Noor Airport held a peaceful roadside protest to demand justice and a fair price for their land, leafleting vehicle drivers and pedestrians, placing banners over the roadside fence and making speeches from the back of a truck.

**Tanjung Bendera Airport (proposed), East Nusa Tenggara**

An airport has been proposed in Tanjung Bendera, in the East Manggarai district on the south coast of Flores Island, to support tourism development. In April 2015 many residents opposed
acquisition of 100 hectares of land for the airport. People from seven clans had not been involved in the consultation and discussion and they sent a protest letter to the government. Land acquisition for the proposed airport proved divisive in the affected community.273

Opposing claims to the land almost led to violence in February 2016 when members of two tribes went to the location with weapons.274 Martimus Jimung, a fifth-generation tribe member, wrote an article examining how land acquisition for the proposed Tanjung Bendera Airport had disrupted social harmony. The process had failed to recognise the customary and communal land rights of indigenous people. He supported landholders’ assertion that the handover of land was illegal and said the need for an airport in the area was not urgent, and that the government should prioritise health and education, water, electricity and roads between villages.275

**Tanjung Lesung airstrip (under construction), Banten**

An airstrip is under construction in Tanjung Lesung SEZ (see the section above on Panimbang Airport).

**Tardamu Airport, East Nusa Tenggara**

The central government has approved plans to expand several airports in East Nusa Tenggara province, which comprises the easternmost of Indonesia’s southeastern islands. The provincial government reported difficulties in clearing land for the expansion of a number of airports, including Tardamu Airport, located on Savu Island.276

**Tulungagung airport (proposed), East Java**

An airport is proposed in Tulungagung, near the south coast of East Java. In July 2016 it was reported that eight regional leaders were pushing the project, that there had been a positive response from the central government and that the Transportation Ministry would decide on the airport location. Previously, the then Transportation Minister Ignasius Jonan said that funding would be allocated for construction of a new airport in East Java. Tulungagung regency had set aside an area of land in the district of Campurdarat, near the coast, suitable because it is flat and near Java’s southern ringroad. The land is managed by several villages but the regency guaranteed that land acquisition would not be a problem because of the economic benefits the airport would bring.277

In September 2016 the Transportation Minister sent a team to survey four possible sites for an airport, including the flat Campurdarat site and an area owned by state forestry firm Perhutani. The site decision is in the hands of the Minister. Funding of US$52.3 million for Tulungagung
Airport has been allocated from the state budget. Tulangung Regent Syahri Mulyo said that an area of 200-300 hectares is required for the airport, which would likely have an impact on villagers, including displacement due to land acquisition.\(^{278}\)

Syahri said that site selection was based on plans for a large commercial airport and that the site would be up to 500 hectares and chosen on the basis of minimal obstacles to land acquisition.\(^{279}\)

As the potential airport site on land owned by Perhutani was reviewed, Syahri anticipated that the airport would stimulate economic growth in surrounding communities. Plans for an aerotropolis around the proposed Tulangagung Airport are emerging; Syahri explained that a new industrial and trade centre was planned near the airport, the beginning of the building of a new city.\(^{280}\)

The maps in this document were produced for the Global Anti-Aerotropolis Movement by InTouch GIS Services (www.intouchgis.co.uk) using publicly available information.
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Aviation expansion in Indonesia

Tourism, land struggles, economic zones and aerotropolis projects

A major aviation expansion programme is taking flight in Indonesia, involving the building of new airports and the expansion of existing ones. The initiative is geared towards supporting a government drive to promote tourism as an engine of economic growth. In addition, several airports are also being integrated with commercial and industrial development projects in their vicinity, in the form of a Special Economic Zone or an ‘aerotropolis’.

However, this ambitious programme has met with opposition from local communities facing displacement from their land, as well as from civil society groups concerned about adverse environmental and social impacts.

This report looks into the issues and debates surrounding the push for aviation expansion in Indonesia, and the resistance that has sprung up against it. These issues are thrown into even sharper relief by the report’s survey of progress – or lack thereof – in over 50 airport projects spanning the length and breadth of this vast island nation.

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