
Human Rights Violations in the Development of the Super Priority Tourism Destination Labuan Bajo

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Abstract

Globalization offers various features such as the presence of Global Travel which continues to overgrow. However, Indonesia is still ranked at the bottom of tourist visits that compared to neighboring countries, therefore the Government plans to develop Destinasi Super Prioritas (DSP) or Super Priority Destinations. Labuan Bajo is the only one of the 5 areas that will be created. So, the author is interested in seeing the impact of the development of the DSP area in Labuan Bajo on fulfilling the human rights of the local community. In order to provide the recommendations for solutions to these issues the research method is descriptive qualitative by using the secondary data. To answer the problem formulation, the author uses the thinking framework of Peter M Burns on Tourism and Politics Global Frameworks and Local Realities, and Alyson Brisk on the Introduction: Transnational Threats and Opportunities. The results show that in the process of the Labuan Bajo DSP's social presence, various kinds of human rights violations occurred, starting from the loss of the right to work and obtain food security, the right to private property, the right to do the same before the law, the right to shelter and the environment. These conditions occur because there is a friendship relationship between the Government and Investors through regulatory support to State apparatus so that local communities is becoming the victims of this asymmetric relationship. This condition received resistance from the civil society alliances by using networks, solidarity, and social media.

Keywords: Global Travel; Government; Destinasi Super Prioritas; Human Rights; Local Society

Introduction

In the era 19 th century of globalization, the tourism industry is growing fastly and has become one of the largest economic sectors because this sector opens up new jobs, increases people's income, and it is the major contributor to state income. The beginning of the revival of the tourism industry was marked in the 1960s when Global Travel began to take place publicly, and it continues to develop today with the support of flexible accessibility and the internet. International tourism is considered as a part of the contemporary international relations because it is a global phenomenon and is reached not only by developed but also by developing countries, and is a part of the connectivity features that is offered by globalization (Shao et al. 2022). These conditions make the tourism industry grow more rapidly as it has been claimed by the World Tourism Organization (WTO) in 2017-2021 that the number of global tourists will increase by 7.1% per year with economic value reaching USD 631 billion per year and global industry growth value of 13% (Global Data 2021). This figure is in line with the number of international tourists visit globally. According to the WTO in 2019, it reached 185 million which Indonesia received 16 million international tourists from various arrival points with USD 16.91 billion in economic revenue and contributing 5.0% to Indonesia's Gross Domestic Product (Kementrian Pariwisata dan Ekonomi Kreatif 2020).

It is not surprisingly that Indonesia received a total of 16 million international tourist visits because of Indonesia has various unique features, both from culture to natural beauty, which is spread over 1,905 million KM from Sabang to Merauke. However, in 2019 based on data from the Travel and Tourism Competitiveness Index (TTCI) (World Economic Forum 2019), Indonesia was in 40th place that compared to other tourist destination countries. This ranking is far behind compared to neighboring countries in the ASEAN region such as Thailand is ranked 34th and Malaysia is ranked 26th. Therefore, the Government is aware of providing improvements and increasing tourism potential in Indonesia. To be precise, on July 15 2019, in a cabinet meeting, President Joko Widodo launched the development of Destinasi Super Prioritas (DSP) or Super Priority Tourism Destinations by involving several

government agencies and private investments to increase tourist visits due to competing with other countries. This policy is considered a form of implementation of the Government Regulation (PP) No. 50 of 2011 concerning the National Tourism Development Master Plan for 2010-2025 as well as part of the Indonesian National Medium Term Development Plan (RPJMN) 2020-2024 with APBN funding reaching 166 T (Kementerian Pariwisata dan Ekonomi Kreatif 2020). The DSP is expected that in 2024 it will strengthen economic resilience for fair and quality economic growth by increasing GDP to 5.5% with foreign exchange value from the tourism sector reaching USD 30 billion and the number of visits reaching 350-440 million domestic tourists and 22.3 million foreign tourists (Kementerian Pekerjaan Umum dan Perumahan Rakyat 2020).

There are 5 DSP areas, Labuan Bajo in East Nusa Tenggara is one of them. Before becoming a DSP fairly, this area had already received development priority from the central government with the State Revenue and Expenditure Budget allocation that is increasing from year to year, even during the Covid 19 pandemic it reached 12.35 T for various developments in this tourist area and improve the local community's economy. This is in line with Presidential Regulation No. 32 of 2018 to establish an authority body for managing the Labuan Bajo Flores tourism area (*Badan Pelaksana Otoritas Labuan Bajo Flores*), until its peak on January 20, 2020 the President gave directions to accelerate transformation for the DSP area in Labuan Bajo. It means that Labuan Bajo's is the priority because it is the entry point for tourists who want to visit Rinca Island and Komodo Island, which are endemic habitats for these ancient animals, as well as the charm of the natural beauty of the sea and hills offered by Labuan Bajo (Sekretariat Kabinet Republik Indonesia 2022)

The DSP, which focuses on the development of various infrastructure, is the part of the National Strategic Project (*Proyek Strategis Nasional or PSN*) master plan that is established by President Jokowi through PERPRES No. 109/2020, which consists of 201 projects with an investment value of up to 4,809 T. If taken deeper, the PSN intersects with China's ambitious mega project is the Belt Road Initiative (BRI) because some of the funds that used in the PSN are investment funds from China in Indonesia. So, it is not surprisingly that DSP will be oriented towards tourism estate and investors. However, behind the large

investment which is considered profitable for Indonesia, there are various kinds of human rights violations that occurred in this process, as it has been stated in the investigation that carried out by Narasi. It stated that the PSN which is part of China's BRI was recorded as causing the 73 agrarian conflicts and 35 criminalizations of civil society, and vulnerable people on period 2016-2023 (Narasi 2023).

In line with this, the premise of environmental activist groups is that humans are above nature and nature was created to be used by humans so that often the two cannot work together even though the concept of sustainable development has been initiated. Darmawan (2022) explains that the development of the National Capital City which is part of the PSN still has not implemented yet the respect for the fulfillment of human rights, because of the destruction of nature, and the Paser Tribe Indigenous community group which is marginalized increasingly due to the development process. In agreement with the article, Boediningsih (2023) emphasized that human rights violations in Indonesia have occurred since the Old Order era until now and are still occurring, and it have not been resolved yet. According to him, this is because the law does not punish strictly these violators. In several cases, the perpetrators are the state which should be an actor that has a legal mandate to guarantee the human rights of every citizen. This problem can be resolved with strong laws and should be accompanied by the independent human rights institutions that carry out their obligations. However, according to Sobarnapraja (2020) , the government has already the various legal and institutional instruments to realize human rights protection. This can be seen from the smaller number of cases in the reform era compared to the New Order era and the emergence of human rights courts which are a form of supreme authority over law and human rights where human rights courts play many roles in resolving major cases in Indonesia.

From the previous article, the author sees that there is a lack of discussion on the conditions of human rights violations that occur in Indonesia as a result of globalization which has consequences for economic development but it is not in harmony with the protection of human rights and the environment. This impact is unavoidable, so in this article, the author provides an updated strategy that globalization is not only a result of

human rights violations but Globalization also has the potential to promote sustainable development and community resilience by involving the participation of local communities in this development. The various conflicts that occur can be prevented with community participation through social media, which is part of the check and balance role of the government and MNCs themselves.

Starting from the initial findings regarding various violations that occurred in the DSP and PSN development process, the author is interested in studying the impact of the development of the Premium Tourism Destination area in Labuan Bajo on the fulfillment of the Human Rights of the surrounding community.

Methods

As for answering the problem formulation, the author will be assisted by a synthesis of the thinking framework from Peter M Burns *Tourism and Politics Global Frameworks and Local Realities* (2006) and Alyson Brisk in *Introduction: Transnational Threats and Opportunities* (2002). Peter explains the emergence of the new and complex actors increasingly in the contemporary tourism industry where strengthening role of MNCs and corporations to carry out privatization and competition is submitted to market mechanisms because of the promising economic potential of tourism. This condition has implications for the existence of a political and economic framework (lobbying and negotiations) that is carried out by tourism actors with the state, but often these actions are capitalist in nature, giving rise to horizontal conflicts with indigenous communities due to their rejection, and losing of human rights due to the capitalist tourism industry, and the existence of environmental degradation due to massive development to support tourism (Burns 2006). Meanwhile, Alison explained that globalization brings the new threats and opportunities for human rights. On the one hand, globalization has increased human rights violations because new actors and activities have emerged those cross-national borders. One of them is the emergence of expansion from MNCs to developing countries where their economic activities lead to human rights violations, cause social conflicts and social change felt by society. On

the other hand, globalization is increasing the promotion of human rights issues by the civil society community, there will be intervention and monitoring of human rights by utilizing digitalization. This condition shows that globalization leads to complexity in influencing human rights because *the state* is not the only actor (Brisk 2002).

This research uses qualitative research to examine and understand individual/group activities pattern through data collection without statistical procedures. It is expected that this type of qualitative research will produce a new perspective on the phenomenon being studied in depth, and be able to identify the social characteristics of the object being studied (Matthew B. Miles 2014). Therefore, it is used a descriptive approach to collect, analyze, describe and summarize the data that has been obtained using deductive thinking as a basis for thinking and a tool to guide researchers in collecting and testing theories (Silalahi 2009). So, descriptive qualitative research will easier for the writer to understand the information in depth so that a conclusion can be drawn. As for data collection, secondary data is obtained from the books, journals, reports, news, articles and documentaries. This is a limitation of this paper to uses primary data. Therefore are used technical data analysis which consist of ; data reduction, presenting data and conclusions as a form of verification and accountability regarding the credibility of the data used (Sugiono 2018).

The thesis statement proposed by the author is that the development of the Labuan Bajo Super Priority Destination (DSP) area in Southeast Nusa Tenggara which is intended to welcome Global Tourism actually has an impact on the loss of human rights fulfillment for the surrounding community, both individually and collectively. They take various forms, ranging from agrarian conflicts and seizure of people's living space due to privatization to environmental degradation which is exacerbated increasingly by cooperation between corporations and the government for economic interests and political power.

Discussion

Labuan Bajo Super Priority Destination Strategy

Through Super Priority Destinations (DSP), the government requires to equalize the tourism industry in Indonesia, based on the 2020-2024 National Medium Term Development Plan (RPJMN), which states that Bali is the main focus sector for tourism in Indonesia with a percentage reaching 41%. Therefore, the government wants equality by opening new "*bali-bali*" throughout Indonesia which are represented through 5 Super Priority Destinations namely Lake Toba (North Sumatra), Borobudur (Central Java), Mandalika (West Nusa Tenggara), Labuan Bajo (East Nusa Tenggara), Likupang (North Sulawesi). With a total area of DSP reaching 1,095 Ha, the government is not only focusing on infrastructure development consisting of airports, ports, highways, hotels, internet and development of destination facilities but also non-physical development (including human resources within it) by involving the collaboration of various parties from the Central Government, Regional Government to the private sector through investment schemes. That is a positive impact of presence of tourist areas felt on society.

The government is working on DSP very seriously, even in 2019 President Joko Widodo also provided several directions in developing DSP, namely (1) Arranging and controlling spatial planning, (2) Building access and connectivity to tourist destinations, (3) Building facilities at tourist locations including cleanliness and sanitation, (4) Improving the quality of Human Resources, (5) Marketing local small business products and (6) Massive promotion with the hope of making DSP a quality, sustainable tourism and upholding the empowerment of local communities in each areas. The government hopes that the DSP, which will cover 50 regencies/cities with 150 tourist destinations, will succeed in increasing state income through a strategy of integrating natural, cultural and equitable development (Sekretariat Kabinet RI 2022).

Labuan Bajo is one of the areas that has received development attention from the government, as a comparison DSP zone area of 400 Ha has made Labuan Bajo the largest development zone than other DSPs such as Lake Toba 386.76 Ha, Borobudur 309 Ha and

Likupang 197 Ha (Kemenparekraf 2024). This condition is not surprisingly because Labuan Bajo offers a variety of tourist destinations ranging from marine beauty, diverse landscapes, underwater life to natural adventures with Komodo which has been a UNESCO World Heritage Site since 1991. Apart from Komodo Island which is the main destination and biggest attractor of local and foreign tourists, there are various ways to enjoy the tourism potential in Labuan Bajo, either via Waringin peak to see the beauty of the sunset and the line of ships on the high seas, sailing on a *phinisi* boat to see the nearby islands including Komodo Island and Rinca Island or snorkeling at Manta Point, walking around, traveling to tourist villages in order to learn the culture and wisdom of the local community.

So, it is not surprisingly that Labuan Bajo in 2023, according to the NTT Tourism and Creative Economy Office, recorded 53,367 local tourists and 48,3036 foreign tourists. From the number of visits, the Regional Original Income (PAD) reached 5,381,820 (BPS Provinsi NTT 2022). This number is because Labuan Bajo offers an authentic, original and exclusive tourism experience with a segmentation of those who enjoy the natural beauty and conservation as well as a large-scale promotion that has carried out by the Government by setting the 42nd ASEAN Summit in Labuan Bajo in May 2023. However, this number is still far inferior to Bali which occupies 1st position in Indonesia by 2023, the number of foreign tourist visits was 330,037 visits.

Therefore, there are 5 strategies that has been set by the government in creating a "New Bali" in Labuan Bajo, namely: (1) Expanding Komodo International Airport in Labuan Bajo to integrate the area with international flights due to accessibility easier for local and foreign tourists. (2) The management of the airport in Labuan Bajo will be auctioned off to the owner of the international tourism network (private sector) so that it is expected that it will increase foreign exchange further and efficiency for the State. (3) Arranging the Puncak Waringin area to be used as a creative handicraft industrial center for small businesses and the introduction of local culture. (4) The container port will be moved to another location so that the Labuan Bajo port will only focus on tourist passengers on *phinisi*, yachts and cruise ships, and other improvements will be made to road infrastructure to integrate tourist areas in Labuan Bajo. (5) Premium segmentation in Labuan Bajo by collaborating with investments

for the development of various resorts and other premium tourism, including the development of the Komodo National Park area into *Jurassic Park* (Komite Percepatan Penyediaan Infrastruktur Prioritas 2022).

As a response to the President's direction and the National strategy in 2023, several implementations have been carried out in the Labuan Bajo area, such as (1) Formulating academic texts that involving 7 key factors for quality tourism, namely Environment, Human Resources, Activities, Travel Management, Infrastructure, Amenities and Health, Security and Safety. This formulation will become a guideline for each tourism developer in Labuan Bajo, (2) Expansion of Komodo airport which is the entry point for tourists that is accompanied by the construction of the Wae Kelambu multipurpose terminal as well as improving the quality of roads and pedestrian areas. (3) Regional arrangement which divides the area in Labuan Bajo into 5 areas including restructuring homestays owned by the community on Komodo Island and Rinca Island that expected non-intrusive the conservation process, (4) Increasing the capacity of MSMEs and human resources through various creative economic trainings and assistance funding for community production capital, and developing creative hubs as a means for communities to sell and display their productions, (5) Increasing the availability of water to support economic activities as well as improving sanitation, managing water waste and household waste, (6) Increasing security by involving the TNI, Polri, BNPB and BPBD as well as providing complaint/ hotline services when security disturbances and natural disasters occur, considering that the Labuan Bajo area is prone to tsunami and earthquakes, (7) Carrying out large-scale promotions through tourism package campaigns that carried out by the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy with the title #ItsTimeForLabuanBajo as well as holding several international and state events in Labuan Bajo such as the G20, the ASEAN Summit and the Digital Economy Working Group Meeting (Sekretariat Kabinet RI 2022). These various efforts were carried out in 2020–2023-time frame to achieve the DSP target by 2024.

Social Impacts and Processes

The various planning and strategic master plans for the development of the Labuan Bajo DSP, however, lead to various impacts on the social life of community and the fulfillment of human rights, because there are 3 unavoidable social processes that occur in society as a result of the emergence of tourist areas (Burns 2006). Due to providing a comprehensive picture, the author in this section will explain the social reality conditions that occurred in Labuan Bajo based on data from the New Indonesia Expedition Documentary that is conducted by Watchdog Indonesia as well as other supporting data (Watchdoc Indonesia 2023).

Firstly, there are new values that were previously unknown to the people of Labuan Bajo. The impact felt by the people of the area as a tourism area. Where the people of Labuan Bajo, located in West Manggarai, with a population of 6,973 people in 2021, come from the Manggarai tribe with their traditional livelihood as fishermen and farming in the fields, but everything changed when the area became a tourist area (BPS 2021). From Traditional Values in meeting their basic needs, have developed into Modern Values, which is happening in a trend among young people who are no longer interested in working as fishermen and farmers but instead have switched to working in the tourism sector. From tour guides, hotel and ship workers to restaurants and bars. There is a perception that traditional jobs are no longer promising and people are switching to tourism jobs because of the luxury and foreign culture that is more modern and luxurious, but this condition, in one hand, poses a real threat to food security and sovereignty because of the unavailability of human resources to produce it themselves, forcing them to become consumers. by importing from elsewhere at higher prices. On the other hand, these modern values enable them to interact with the international community through mastery of international languages, lifestyle and social media skills to promote tourism in Labuan Bajo.

Apart from the real threat to food security, the presence of modern values threatens the identity of the Manggarai community because it has begun to be abandoned and merged, especially among young people, into universal international citizens due to the segmentation of tourist visits, the majority of whom are from abroad. However, according to the author,

this condition will threaten several human rights according to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights on 10 November 1948 carried out by the UN, namely the right to work and as a worker because it will cause the loss of several traditional livelihoods that have been carried out for years (such as farmers and fishermen). On the one hand, DSP will open up new, modern jobs (such as tour guides, restaurant and bar workers) but these new jobs will be exclusive only to certain groups who are deemed to meet the tourism industry criteria. Such as age under 25 years, height 170 cm, high school education and attractive appearance, etc. Meanwhile, local communities who do not meet the industry criteria will be marginalized and unable to compete so they will lose their right to work because of the spatial planning function in Labuan Bajo.

Before the advent of tourism, local people have made their living from agriculture and fishing, so their expertise in this field have been passed down from generation to generation, they lived without shortage by relying on natural products and using a barter transaction system to meet their daily needs. However, the arrival of the tourism industry with a modern economic system changed this condition and lead to new opportunities for some people in Labuan Bajo, at the same time several people experience losing their right to work because there were no jobs that are appropriate to their skills anymore. In addition, it is not only these problems, but the incoming modern values also threaten food security and sovereignty related to the right to adequate food shortages.

The right to work as a worker, and the right to fulfill food in this case study are interrelated because modernity has forced people to fulfill all their needs at high prices relatively that because of Labuan Bajo is an archipelagic region. This brings it in basic commodities from Java and Bali, and it is a tourism area that seems to be considered for “rich people only”. At this present, nothing is free and provided by nature as it is before, everyone just has to pay a high standard price, so it will lead to potent threat for those who have no job and low wages because by 2022 the Minimum Wage for West Manggarai Regency was only around Rp 1,975,000. Apart from that, the master plan and strategy involving local communities and small businesses as it has been stated in the President's direction in its implementation are not happening, since there is no room for local small business to sell

their products in tourist destinations that have already been dominated by products from destination developers, and resorts and hotels only. Ideally local communities are the important element in tourism development, and they determine tourism success as it is stated in Undang-Undang (UU) article 4 No. 10 of 2009 concerning tourism, but they are not involved regarding failure of fulfillment industry criteria to maintain the exclusivity of the Labuan Bajo DSP.

This is strengthened further by the data from BPS which shows that the number of poverties in West Manggarai reached 17.5% by 2022, where this percentage is higher than the national poverty average, namely 9.57%. Meanwhile, the Human Development Index (HDI) was 64.92 by 2022, which is far lower than the National achievement, namely 73.77 (BPS 2022). The author thinks that the development of DSN since 2019 in Labuan Bajo has not brought improvements to the local community and has posed a threat to the right to work and get food. It seems that the local communities have not gotten yet benefits from these various developments. These conditions actually have violated Article 2 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights regarding development, which states that humans are the central subjects who must be involved in contributions and enjoyment in order to fulfill their needs and fulfill Human Rights. In the first process, the impact of tourism (Burns 2006) shows that the State has not yet implemented its master plan and caused violations of human rights fulfillment.

Secondly, the conflict between local communities with capitalist powers emerged (Watchdoc Indonesia 2023). This condition occurred in Labuan Bajo, where there was the privatization of the sea and beaches that was carried out by luxury hotels such as Plataran Komodo, Atlantis Beach Hotel and La Prima Hotel. As it is stated in Law No. 32 of 2014, the sea is the public area that can be used by all communities. However, it seems that in Labuan Bajo, the sea and beaches are becoming the private land that is controlled by some people, so this has implications to traditional communities who are fishermen and have to experience eviction, even to criminalization due to being accused of entering without permission the sea and beaches belonging to hotels. Until now it is not clear where they should get the permission and claim regarding ownership of the sea and beach.

Not only the beach, the Manggarai people's traditional land (*Ulayat*) is also have similar experiences. The land which was deemed not to have complete legal documentation, was taken over by the land mafia. So, to secure these assets, people are forced to process documents at a high price because the Land and Building Tax that applied in the DSP area is becoming higher than previous years, even forcing people to have to hand over one of their assets to secure other assets. This condition is very profitable for investors who have large capital to take over undocumented land and people who have difficulty of building Land and Building Taxes. Apart from that, agrarian conflicts also occurred during the construction of state facilities in Labuan Bajo, namely the 25 KM Trans Labuan Bajo to Golo Mori Road. The development project, which cost 400 billion from the APBN, did not provide compensation to the people of Kampung Cumbi and Alis, people there were intimidated into handing over their land and gardens which the road passed through under the pretext of national interests, but in reality, the road would be sold to investors who would integrate between premium areas in Labuan Bajo (Watchdoc Indonesia 2023).

Apart from these situations in Labuan Bajo, people on Komodo Island also experienced something similar where the people of Komodo Island were forced to leave their homes which they had lived for more than 100 years because they were considered to be disturbance the Komodo habitat. If the government only prioritizes Animal Rights, not Human Rights, this effort cannot be separated from the vision to build Jurassic Park in the Komodo National Park area. Local people refuse it because they consider that the Komodo dragon is part of their history, and they are committed to preserve the Komodo dragon because it has been their source of livelihood for so long (Tempo 2020).

According to the author, the existence of social conflict will be difficult to avoid in the development of industrial areas because the introduction of capitalist values is met with resistance from conservative groups who are trying to defend of theirs, one of which is living space/commodity goods in the form of beaches and customary land. This privatization has violated universal basic human rights, namely the right to freedom of movement, because people of Labuan Bajo are no longer able to access the beach freely due to unilateral privatization from the resort/hotel. Beaches and seas, which according to Law No. 32 of 2014

are public areas, are no longer valid, they have become private ownership that are still unknown owner of these beaches and seas till today. The impact of this privatization will be very broad, including in fulfilling the Right to Work and the Right to Fulfill Food because the fishermen are no longer allowed to be fishing around the resort/hotel areas, forcing them to sail further afield and even stop being Fishermen because their fishing areas have disappeared, and changed to become a super priority tourism area.

More than that, if we refer to Law No. 39 of 1999 concerning guarantees and protection of human rights, this social conflict process has violated Article 28 H paragraph 4 of the 1945 Constitution concerning guarantees of private property rights and property rights taken arbitrarily, whether in the form of collective or personal communal land. The country that should be present to promote human rights has become the main actor, with its various elements, in eliminating the fulfillment of human rights to open up infrastructure to support development in West Manggarai. This condition is exacerbated further by various repressive and intimidating actions carried out by the State against people who oppose the forced taking of their living space. This violates the guarantee from the State to provide protection and security as well as the threat of fear for its citizens as stated in article 28G paragraph 1 of the 1945 Constitution. As a consequence, it also violates Article 28 A of the 1945 Constitution concerning guarantees of the right to life and defend the life of the community and Article 28C concerns the fulfillment of fundamental rights, namely residence.

The various struggles have carried out by the community to fight capitalization in the tourism sector, which should ideally be supported and guaranteed by the State, are getting worse (Gedikli 2022). There have been various acts of criminalization that are carried out against people who refuse, where the right to receive equal treatment before the law and freedom of opinion according to Article 28 C paragraph 2 of the 1945 Constitution is not fulfilled or even ignored completely. This condition has implications for the fear of other people to join in the struggle in order to get back their human rights which have been taken away, makes conditions even more difficult, and the longer it takes for people to surrender to the bigger powers that have been taking away their human rights.

Apart from the social and conflict sectors, thirdly, the development of the tourism industry degrades the quality of life and the environment (Watchdoc Indonesia 2023). The existence of the Labuan Bajo DSP causes degradation of environmental quality. Where Rinca Island, which is a concession area for Jurassic Park, is being intensively built on resorts and integration bridges, however this condition is causing disaster because it is destroying the natural habitat of the Komodo dragons which live solitary lives. The Eco Development principles promised by the government do not appear to have been proven the damage caused by heavy equipment going back and forth and construction pollution resulting from the project has worsened. Even though it has received criticism from UNESCO, it seems that the Indonesian government is not budging and is continuing with it even though it is sacrificing the world's wonder heritage (Tempo 2020). Not only in the Komodo Island area, the damage that occurred also occurred in the Bowosoe Forest area which will be built into business and hotel facilities, around 400 hectares of forest were completely cleared which resulted in Manggarai people having difficulty accessing clean water and being prone to flash floods during the rainy season due to the loss of catchment areas. water in the forest.

The government is obsessed with turning the natural beauty of Labuan Bajo into an exclusive tourist attraction, but the government sacrifices the fulfillment of local communities' human rights to live and reside in a safe and healthy environment as stated in article 28 H paragraph 1 of the 1945 Constitution and Law no. 32 of 2009. Local communities who are victims of various developments that do not apply sustainable principles. However, as of this writing, the government is still carrying out various developments that are destructive. According to the author, environmental degradation and the quality of life of the community are not commensurate with the values and achievements of the DSP Labuan Bajo, the spirit of tourism by selling natural beauty is not in line with the principles of sustainable development and is a paradox that national development should be for the welfare of the community and improving the quality of the environment, which brings ecological disaster. Ecological risk posed by government and local community must to get the cosequences So, it is a big question why the DSP was built if it has various negative effects on society, the

environment and is not in line with the National goals of economic development to reduce various human rights violations and ensure that its actions are for the welfare of society.

Of the 3 social impacts produced by the tourism industry, it shows that the State is the actor that eliminates the fulfillment of human rights under the pretext of economic development. According to the author, human rights are something basic that cannot be exchanged for anything, and the Indonesian constitution has ratified the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights which is contained in the Law. No. 39 of 1999. Apart from that, the Government has ratified several international human rights instruments such as the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in Law No. 11 of 2005 and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights in Law No. 12 of 2005. Even in Tourism Law No. 10 of 2009 mandates that national tourism development be an effort to fulfill society's human security, however, various social processes in Labuan Bajo still show the government's lack of seriousness in implementing the National Goals and the universal Declaration of Human Rights which have been ratified.

Pull and Push Factors

In the author's opinion, various kinds of human rights violations occur because business relations between the Government and investors are getting stronger as a response to welcoming the increasing trend of Global Tourism in various parts of the world, especially those that offer the charm of nature and the wonders of the UNESCO World. This can be seen in the strategy made by the Government at DSP Labuan Bajo with the existence of various kinds of infrastructure development (Labuan Bajo Airport and Resort Areas) which are handed over to private investors with the aim of efficiency and increasing foreign exchange. Everything is made luxuriously and expensively, but the local community becomes the victim in the form of job loss, confiscation of living space and even environmental degradation. There is no symmetrical relationship between the Government, Investors and the Community to organize the development of the Labuan Bajo DSP, instead the local community has to fight against capitalist actions carried out by the Government and Investors. This condition is the impact of one of the features of Globalization which offers a

free trade spirit that increasingly strengthens MNCs through various policies supported by the State, but results in an increase in various human rights violations, especially for vulnerable groups such as indigenous peoples (Ali et al. 2024).

If this bad condition is drawn globally, it is also influenced by Globalization, both offering free trade features and integration with various infrastructure supports, thus causing Global Tourism (Sylkin et al. 2023). Apart from that author opinion's, it is also influenced by 2 essentials factors, namely (1) The resilience of local communities in facing the presence of the tourism industry in their area. According to the author, only the older group still maintains the identity of the Manggarai tribe and their livelihoods and local values. Meanwhile, the younger generation is increasingly open and becoming agents in promoting the tourism industry such as tour guides, hospitality workers and entrepreneurs. Not all the people of Manggarai and Komodo Island see this industry as a negative impact that must be avoided, but some groups consider this DSP to be an opportunity to improve the quality of life because of the modernity it presents, even at an international level. This condition will cause the loss of traditional values and they will be replaced with modern values and even eliminate the original identity of the Manggarai people themselves. So, according to the author, this condition has the potential to create horizontal conflict in society and cause the social gap to become wider because there are parties who benefit and suffer losses from the existence of the Labuan Bajo DSP.

(2) The policy of the State which supports the DSP program even seems ambitious under the pretext of improving the economy of local communities. However, in fact, it is investors and only some of the elite who benefit, while local communities are the victims of this project. Even if there is resistance from society, the State will use its tools to carry out arrests, intimidation and even criminalization. Even as of this writing, the Government has still not provided compensation for land related to the construction of the Golo-Mori trans-National Road and various issues of confiscation of customary land by the land mafia. The government only makes various policies and strategies for tourism development but does not look at the conditions of the community, the government should involve local communities in making these policies. According to the author, the various policies that have

been made have reflected the aim of tourism to increase local potential, but the reality is that local communities are the victims and have to be marginalized in their homeland due to the asymmetric relationship between the State, Investors and Society.

Like a double-edged sword, apart from globalization, it has given rise to various new cases of human rights violations because of the various features it offers. On the other hand, globalization also promotes human rights values and protects vulnerable groups (Brisk 2002). Ideally, the state should be the key actor in fulfilling human rights, but in the era of globalization, the state has failed in carrying out its duties and has become “*a predator*” that takes away people's human rights for the benefit of private investors. So, there are non-governmental actors who participate in promoting human rights and even advocate for various kinds of human rights violations that occur. As happened in Labuan Bajo, there are non-governmental actors, such as Amnesty International, the Federation for Human Rights (FIDH) and the International Network of Civil Liberties Organization (INCLLO) who have also voiced out various human rights violations in the development of Global Tourism. As is the nature of NGOs, in carrying out their fight to promote human rights they network by involving local NGO communities such as Kawan Baik Komodo. They take advantage of the features offered by Globalization, namely social media, various kinds of independent investigations, research and publications regarding the dark side of global tourism, to provide information and awareness that has not been available to the wider community regarding the condition of the people in Labuan Bajo. their rights are threatened.

The author sees that this method is part of the rejection of Globalization which is considered to present various kinds of bad sides (Globalization of Above) with State and Corporate actors carried out by grassroots communities who are victims of the Globalization process (Globalization of Below). The movement against capitalization in tourism areas is not only happening in Labuan Bajo but in other tourist areas such as Bali Rejecting Reclamation and in Kenya, namely the Massai Mara National Park, due to the government's eradication of local communities because it is considered that community activities for hunting and livestock are disturbing conservation in the area. the National Park. This movement has become global with the help of social media, they have become the anti-thesis

of the tourism market and government policies through their various movements on social media. This strategy has proven effective in promoting human rights globally and encouraging people to use their norms when doing things (Holland 2021). However, they do not completely reject globalization in the tourism industry, they try to be conformist by improving and changing regulations which have so far been considered asymmetrical and not in favor of local communities.

Conclusion

The conditions that occur in Labuan Bajo are the result of Global Travel, which is one of the features offered by Globalization, where these bad conditions do not only occur in Labuan Bajo but almost throughout the world (Walpole et al. 2003) . The development of a super priority tourism area in Labuan Bajo has had a negative impact on local communities, starting from the loss of local values, identity crisis as Manggarai tribal, threats to food security, loss of their jobs, agrarian conflicts in several locations, the degradation of people's living space. This condition is due to support from the community who does not completely reject or even support these various developments as well as support from the State, both from policies to the use of intervention tools. The DSP which is considered EcoTourism actually has a real damaging impact and is far from the principles of sustainable development and even violates various kinds of human rights fulfillment for the economic interests of elites and corporations by sacrificing the environment and local indigenous communities. This condition shows the dark side of Globalization if it is not balanced with regulations that regulate it accompanied by good governance.

So, as a response to various forms of human rights violations and the bad sides, this gave rise to the Globalization of Below by using the power of solidarity and networking as well as utilizing social media features. Therefore, several policy recommendations can be taken to prevent various kinds of human rights violations.

- (1) There is intervention from the global community as supervisors in this development because the Labuan Bajo destination is not only for the Indonesian people but the

world community. There needs to be seriousness in threatening a boycott, if there is no follow-up from the Government and corporations in suppressing the negative impacts of development and its implementation which is not by the SDG concept. Even worsens the quality of life of local communities who have to be marginalized and lose their sovereignty due to the tourism industry. There needs to be cooperation from the global community to ensure that no one left behind and guarantee the fulfilment of human rights.

- (2) There is a need for independent institutions to carry out protests and in-depth investigations considering that up to now data regarding share owners and concessions is still very difficult to penetrate, there is a game of negotiation and lobbying between the government and corporations to smooth out this project itself with increasingly ambitious implementation even though it runs into various obstacles. existing rules. Even though various protests have been carried out by civil society alliances regarding various kinds of human rights violations, to date the government has not taken further action and remains optimistic that the Labuan Bajo DSP will be successful. Even worse, non-governmental groups are hindered by the state when promoting human rights because it would conflict with the interests of those groups who are friendly with investors.
- (3) Involving indigenous communities and MSMEs, the economy does not only belong to the elite but to local communities who should also develop and be involved so that economic benefits can not only be enjoyed by the elite but also the community with their local wisdom. Not only infrastructure development but also human resource development is needed as promised in the master plan, because local people do not fully need various luxury facilities in Labuan Bajo. They want decent education, health and social security to support the fulfillment of their basic human rights.

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