

## INTISARI

Agenda Nasional tentang Proyek Strategis Nasional (PSN) yang mendorong Kawasan Strategis Pariwisata Nasional (KSPN) diiringi dengan penafikan otoritas adat Mbehal, di Kabupaten Manggarai Barat, Provinsi Nusa Tenggara Timur, Indonesia. Hak ulayat adat Mbehal dikesampingkan, bahkan digantikan dengan ulayat buatan mafia tanah demi pembebasan tanah untuk pembangunan. Ini merupakan suatu bentuk penyingkiran masyarakat adat, baik sejak proses pengambilalihan maupun setelah tanah ulayat berhasil disertifikatkan melalui mal-prosedur. Hak milik ulayat atas tanah terus diganggu selama lebih dari 14 tahun dan tidak ada tindakan tegas dari Pemerintah dan aparat. Semua seakan membiarkan sembari menerima keuntungan dari pelaksanaan KSPN padahal pencaplokan ulayat telah mengganggu tatanan adat hingga akhirnya menyulut konflik yang diekspresikan dengan teror, dipenjarakan, dan kematian.

Tesis ini menganalisis sifat kontra-pemberontakan terhadap pencaplokan tanah ulayat yang terus terjadi secara meluas terutama setelah ditetapkannya komodo sebagai *One of the Seven Wonders of Nature*. Untuk itu, dibuat 3 pertanyaan utama: a) bagaimana pengembangan pariwisata memicu adanya pengambil alihan tanah ulayat di KSPN Labuan Bajo?; b) bagaimana terjadinya konflik agraria di KSPN Labuan Bajo yang berpengaruh terhadap ketidakseimbangan adat Mbehal?; dan c) bagaimana reaksi dari masyarakat adat Mbehal terhadap persoalan tanah ulayat yang terjadi?. Untuk menjawab pertanyaan tersebut, data didasarkan pada kerja lapangan dengan kajian etnografi di wilayah ulayat Mbehal yang masih masuk dalam KSPN Labuan Bajo, tepatnya di Desa Tanjung Boleng dan Desa Pota Wangka. Riset dilakukan sejak 4 Agustus hingga 28 September 2023. Hasilnya, konflik agraria tanah ulayat Mbehal diketahui sebagai akibat dari manipulasi surat jual-beli dan serah-terima tanah secara tidak sah oleh para mafia tanah. Selain itu, Pemerintah dalam berbagai level dan berbagai elemen ditemukan sebagai pihak yang paling berkonflik bagi masyarakat lokal karena kewenangan dan kepentingan ekonomi mereka dalam pengembangan pariwisata.

**Kata kunci:** pariwisata dan konflik, konflik agraria, dekonstruksi, hak ulayat, dan disharmoni adat

## ABSTRACT

The National Agenda regarding National Strategic Projects (NSP) which promotes the National Tourism Strategic Area (NTSA) is accompanied by the rejection of the Mbehal traditional authority, in West Manggarai Regency, East Nusa Tenggara Province, Indonesia. Mbehal's customary customary rights were set aside, even replaced with customary customs created by the land mafia in order to acquire land for development. This is a form of exclusion of indigenous peoples, both since the expropriation process and after the customary land has been successfully certified through the mal-procedure. Customary ownership rights to land have continued to be disturbed for more than 14 years and there has been no firm action from the Government and authorities. Everyone seemed to let it go while receiving benefits from the implementation of NTSA even though the customary annexation had disrupted the customary order and ultimately sparked conflict which was expressed in terror, imprisonment and death.

This thesis analyzes the nature of counter-insurgency against the annexation of customary land which continues to occur widely, especially after the Komodo dragon was designated as One of the Seven Wonders of Nature. For this reason, 3 main questions were created: a) how does tourism development trigger the takeover of customary land in KSPN Labuan Bajo?; b) how did the agrarian conflict in KSPN Labuan Bajo affect the imbalance of Mbehal customs?; and c) how did the Mbehal indigenous community react to the customary land issue that occurred? To answer this question, the data is based on field work with ethnographic studies in the Mbehal customary area which is still included in the KSPN Labuan Bajo, specifically in Tanjung Boleng Village and Pota Wangka Village. The research was conducted from 4 August to 28 September 2023. As a result, the agrarian conflict over Mbehal customary land was discovered to be the result of illegal manipulation of sale and purchase documents and land handovers by the land mafia. In addition, the Government at various levels and various elements was found to be the most conflicting party for local communities because of their authority and economic interests in tourism development.

**Keyword:** tourism and conflict, agrarian conflict, deconstruction, customary rights, and customary disharmony