

New Capitalism After Disaster in Indonesia, Ngelepen Teletubbies Village

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Abstract— Bantul had to face severe damage when the earthquake struck on May 27, 2006 and one totally destroyed village was Ngelepen Village. As a result, 72 families received house-living aid in unique shape. The construction of the house is a dome shaped, that looks like a Teletubbies house (cartoon movie in early 2000s). Its uniqueness then made Ngelepen villagers transform their house-living as tourism village. The debate that occurs is how the humanitarian assistance or house aid for victims to live in after disaster happened were turned into one commodity for economy oriented goals in capitalism system. The data collection techniques for this paper were in-depth interview and field observation. The result shows that there is a new formation of power relations among village government, *POKDARWIS*, and villagers in the circle of Teletubbies Village. These power relations are closely related with profit-oriented in economy aspect. Moreover, the initial situation in the disaster and after it turns into capitalism after disaster.

Keywords— *New Capitalism, Disaster Commodity, Teletubbies Village.*

I. INTRODUCTION

Yogyakarta had faced a severe damage after the earthquake in 2006. One of the worst locations was in Ngelepen Village in Sengir hamlet. Along 300 meters of the land in this area were mired in 7 meters with 31 houses. The phenomenon is known as soil liquefaction causing none of the building could stand in that area. The government helped them by giving two options for solution. First, the institution would give 15 million rupiah as aid. The second deal was to provide them the quake resistant houses. It was collaboration project between Yogyakarta Government and Domes for World. The government provided 2,3 hectare land. Meanwhile, Domes For The World, an international non-governmental organization supported by USAID, built domes for the Ngelepen's villagers as the quake resistant houses. In spite of that, the villagers should pay the tax around 15 million rupiahs per year or about 200 hundred rupiah per months for one house.

Ngelepen's villagers are a communal culture group. Most of them are farmer and breeder. Therefore, the need of houses is the most important thing. The first option from government could not help the villagers to buy the land and build new house. Moreover, they were also banned to live in

their old area because of soil liquefaction. Yet, the old land is still under the villagers' property right. Therefore, they chose the second option as they needed houses after one year stayed at camp and and they thought that it was the best solution for them. The government's offer came to them while they were vulnerable and unfortunate. In 2007, they began to inhabit the dome house that was built by Dome for World. This location is known as Telletubbies Village because the round shape of their houses is similar to Teletubbies house (the British children television series).

The disaster made social and political changes since disaster happened until after disaster [1]. Accordingly, these occurring social and political changes built a new form of power relations in that area, mainly for the beneficiaries. Ngelepen's villagers as the beneficiaries should be resistant after disaster, but the changing situation needed more attention. In this case, they got dome house which is different from their old house. It required more assistance for them to socialize with the new environment (David etc, 2019). The dome house consisted of two floors and four rooms, but it did not have indoor bathroom. They should use sharing bathrooms with other residents. They used to be farmer and breeder; however the new environment could not support them. Their rice field was far away from the new residence area. Keeping animals near the house did not provide enough to help them. In that situation, they had additional expenses per month for land tax.

The changing situation of their livelihood constructed a new idea to get more money. Some youngster in Ngelepen saw the opportunities to create their unique house into tourism place. Then, they made a community service that was called *POKDARWIS* (Kelompok Sadar Wisata- A society group who is committed to develop tourism sector). This community turned Ngelepen residence into tourism attraction. They promoted it through social media. It did not take a long time before it became viral and collected a lot of visitors. The tourism income could help them to pay the tax. In fact, *POKDARWIS* had earned high profit from this tourism. This community; however, did not involve all of villagers and sub district government. They acted as the private agency from Ngelepen. It brought up the new form of conflict among them. The post reconstruction after disaster

produced power relations and conflict of interest in Ngelepen. The related agencies such as *POKDARWIS*, Ngelepen residents, and sub district government played a role in making the situation more vulnerable after disaster. Hence, all explanation above emerged the question: how did the situation in Ngelepen create a new form of power relation that turned into new capitalism after disaster?

This research is intended to contribute solutions for the problem after disaster in order to form the resilience without making a conflict of interest among agencies (Mutiarin et al., 2018). It also plays a part in theoretical framework of capitalism in disaster area. Moreover, the result could help to see the effect of aid given by government to evaluate the program.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

A. Disaster Capitalism

The topic of post-disaster capitalism is increasingly being discussed. At least after a Canadian writer made a book called *The Shock Doctrine* [2]. She shows the different perspective of disaster. She believes that disaster is the new way for capitalism. Under the guise of economic assistance, privatization and investment, the economy comes up, the employment opportunities occur and the beneficiaries are victorious again. As a result, capitalism turns out to be entrenched exploiting those who are vulnerable to become a tool to gain a handful of capital owners.

The disaster itself is not seen as a given thing from God. Some researchers said disaster is not a natural event but a political event [1]. Furthermore, it was said by Hoffman and Oliver that inequalities were portrayed in the reconstruction effort so that the term that Schuller mentioned was a disaster after the disaster [1]. This happens because liberal actors see disaster as an opportunity to take advantage of the situation as a gap in their capitalism interests. The process of disaster or post-disaster reconstruction is used by capitalists to enter to spread neoliberal or capitalist strategic interests. Schuller (2008) said national and transnational governmental institutions instrumental use of catastrophe (both so-called natural and human-mediated disaster, including post conflict situations) to promote and empower a rage of private, neoliberal capitalist interest.

This concept places people with vulnerable conditions as an important tool for the neoliberal capitalist agenda to come. The first agenda is increasing the role of private constituents with public responses. Then, they use natural disasters as tools, and the last agenda is promoting neoliberal capitalist interests [1]. This agenda indicates that natural disaster creates a standard equality in society by using their vulnerability after disaster. The disaster and after disaster become window opportunities for the neoliberal capitalist contribute to provide assistance with the purpose of spreading their interest.

That agenda changes livelihood in society where the opportunity for privatization begins, aid as tool for capitalists, As a result, the vulnerable situation promotes neoliberal capitalist interests by changing their daily life. The disaster reconstruction shows an easy opportunity to enter neoliberal expansion with the weakness resilience that is formed [1]. It is emphasized that the window opportunities describe a vulnerable situation where structural changes and

other intervention strategies are in accordance with the interests of the aid provider [1]. It can be seen that reconstruction assistance is not something that should be needed by the community but rather as a form of donor interest. The interests of the capitalists are wrapped up in a humanitarian aid discourse to legitimize this step.

The earthquake sequence that was made as capitalist background followed by structural change led to capitalist space to work. Then, it was accumulated into a regime. Furthermore, the capitalism system creates many actors to involve. In this case, Ngelepen residents are the example of vulnerable society who has access to capitalism due to structural changes.. As a result, there is a contestation of power relation in Ngelepen community.

B. The Commodification

Etymologically, commodification means a process of making something as a commodity. Barker said that commodification is a process associated with capitalism, that is, objects, signs, and quality turn into commodities [3]. This understanding shows that capitalist uses commodification to take advantage or surplus value in the form of money which is obtained by selling products, whether goods or services that have use or exchange value as commodities. Furthermore, Piliang said that commodification is the process of making something into commodity which is not as previous commodity [4]. It shows that the product as a commodity is not something which is given and absolutely becomes a sale-purchase item but can be reproduced before hand to be developed into a commodity. Mosco said that the process of commodification is the way capitalism achieves the goal of accumulating capital and value through the transformation of the use of values into the exchange system [5]. Mosco's idea shows that the process of commodification is an agenda of capitalism where it uses the transformation of values to something that is exchanged. Furthermore, Mosco added that commodification is the transformation of use value into an exchange value [5]. It can be seen that commodities are born from changes in the value of a product to something that can be traded or exchanged. Commodification is used as a form of capitalism's agenda of keeping its purpose in transforming values into something that has exchange rates.

This research observes the form of commodification which is emerged in post-reconstruction disaster area. The effect of commodification after disaster indicates the starting point of new capitalism in post-reconstruction area. The new type of commodification is formed by post reconstruction that can be seen in the transformation of livelihood in Ngelepen area.

III. RESEARCH METHOD

This research used qualitative method. A qualitative approach is an intuitive and systematic research method that will make knowledge efficient and coherent. There are several methods in qualitative method such as interviews or observation, discourse analysis, and history, as well as multi-method research. Research with qualitative methods views phenomena and actors in the natural rules of researchers in order to interpret processes and phenomena based on the meaning and participation of actors in terms of the researchers themselves [6]. The researchers used interview

and observation to collect the data in this research. The informants were the sub district head, Ngelepen residents, and *Pokdarwis* managing members. This research involved 25 villagers in Teletubbies village as respondents who were divided into two groups (near to gate and behind the center of tourism point). It represented all villagers because it was almost half of Ngelepen villagers. In addition to the interview with Ngelepen villagers, the researchers obtained information from sub district head as the representative of decision maker. *Pokdarwis* is the respondent for getting information as the player of tourism activities in Ngelepen. Other pieces of information were obtained through internet, books, and journal. The researchers asked the respondents about their livelihood, occupation, and rules before and after disaster. The researchers used thematic analysis to identify data. First of all, the researchers figured out the data, then gave the code from the respondent's comment, after that defined themes from the data.

IV. RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

A. *POKDARWIS as the Managing Groups of Ngelepen Tourism*

The agreement between *POKDARWIS* and Ngelepen residents resulted in a decision to register their unique house as tourism village in Sleman Regency Tourism Office. It was official in 2009. This community originated from the youngster idea because they saw the enthusiasm of visitors coming to visit their house. The letter of authority in managing tourism was given by Sleman Regency Tourism Office to *POKDARWIS* in 2014. This community got the financial authority, the provision of services and labor. However, they had started the business since 2008. The managing members from the Ngelepen society are around 60 persons. The labor division in this group is divided into men and women tasks. Men are involved in field works and daily operational business; meanwhile the women have a role in domestic sectors. The general managing directors in this community are formed of 7 to 10 people.

POKDARWIS is an expansion of the Sleman Tourism Office. It provides training for youth to play an active role in local tourism activities. They are mostly high school graduates and higher education graduates. Training is important for the provision of skills for youngster who previously lacked this knowledge. There is also a center for tourism studies at Gadjah Mada University (*PUSPAR* UGM) that teaches foreign languages by providing facilitators. *PUSPAR* UGM brings a program namely Sustainable Tourism Development. It aims to foster tourism villages in Yogyakarta.

Besides being a non-profit institution, *POKDARWIS* also has a network of cooperation with private parties. One of the cooperated companies is a national-scale wall paint company with No Drop brand holders doing Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) in Ngelepen. The Teletubbies house basically needs protection from sun and rain by doing maintenance in the form of routine painting to avoid the walls from cracking. Previously, *POKDARWIS* allocated a budget of 30 million rupiahs from the revenue of tourism services for the painting process. *POKDARWIS* managed to establish a two-year contract with a value of Rp 115 million in paint and cash with No Drop company. Hence, the Ngelepen residents were the painter of their house. There

was also collaboration with the Rose In Hotel in Yogyakarta in the assistance program for one hotel in a tourist village.

To gain the trust of *New Ngelepen* residents, *POKDARWIS* provides periodic reports every 3 months about the financial condition, amount of income, expenses and balances in order to maintain the trust of the community.

B. *Who has the right of assets?*

The discussion about the management of tourist attractions cannot ignore the aspect of the assets being managed. Sumberharjo Village Head, Lekta Manuri, stated that the community does not normally have assets on the house or land. The land of the population is the village cash area of 2.3 ha. Indeed, before the 2010 Governor Decree existed, there was no land leasing policy with the aim of post-disaster recovery. However, the status has changed to rent recently. The status of the building is the result of a Memorandum of Understanding between the local government and the private sector [7]. Therefore, the community cannot assume that it belongs to the community which is jointly managed for the common good. Moreover, people occupy Teletubbies and government land. At the same time they were still the owners of land which has collapsed on the hill.

As a result, residents do not have the authority to manage assets belonging to the village even though the community has an initiative. The reason is no handover of assets from the sub district government to the community because it is government's land. In that case, *Pokdarwis* does not have an official legal entity. Hence, the only party that can manage is the sub district government. *POKDARWIS* does not look at aspects of accountability, but only at the aspects of profit by looking at the economic opportunities that exist.

In addition, tourism retribution and parking fees have regulations in the Regional Regulations regarding fees and parking which should be included in district revenues. However, *Pokdarwis* asks fees from the tourists and manages it themselves, both in Teletubbies house and in hills. As for the Teletubbies hill, since the local government built it with APBN funds, then the management should be left to institutions that have legal entities. In addition, if there are consumers complain through legal channels, then *Pokdarwis* will have difficulty to take the responsibility for it..

C. *The Contestation of Political Interest in Ngelepen Tourism*

Badan Usaha MilikDesa (BUMDES) aims to encourage all activities to increase the Ngelepen's income [8]. The establishment of Bumdes is based on the mandate of the Sub district Law No. 6 of 2014 along with the Regulation of the Minister of Sub district No. 4 of 2016 concerning the establishment and dissolution of Bumdes. The village is not obliged to make a Bumdes, but if it is deemed necessary, the sub district head's policy has the authority to create it through discussion with villagers and sub district's regulation. It is based on Article 4 of Chapter II Regulation of the Minister of Agriculture No. 1 of 2016 explaining that "the Sub district Head as the holder of the authority to manage village assets is authorized and is responsible for managing village asset [9]. After that, the

sub district government will prepare the operational procedures of Bumdes by drafting a sub district's law.

The sub district head of Sumberharjo encouraged Teletubbies houses and hills to become a part of BUMDES. Socialization has been carried out since 2006 to 2017. Hence, *POKDARWIS* is still considering it. The Chairperson of *POKDARWIS*, Sulasmono, assumed that BUMDES was only part of the politics carried out by the sub district government to make profit. If *POKDARWIS* rejects BUMDES's suggestion, the sub district government will take over unilaterally the teletubbies hill and house of its management. If they agree, managerial governance remains in *POKDARWIS*' authority, but they should report to the sub district government. They do not play as a private sector, yet they become a part of sub district through BUMDES. This idea can help them to manage asset legally. Their authority is only for managing the business as they do not have the right to control profit from tourism.

The sub district government wants transparency that can be accounted by Pokdarwis tourism management. Meanwhile, all this time Ngelepen residents have only received land rental taxes from all revenues each year managed by *POKDARWIS*.

D. The Transformation of Livelihood

The emergence of tourism management in the Ngelepen residential area has made the transformation of their livelihood. The residents adapt to the rules and functions of their house that are not only residential, but also becoming a tourist attraction. Residents who mostly work as farmers and breeders experience the transformation of livelihood. There are many things that are lost because of adaptation, and then it changes to the new form of livelihood.

Farmers need enough space to keep their agricultural equipment. Meanwhile, the design of the dome house building does not support the needs of Ngelepen residents. The 38m² square house is too narrow to store agricultural needs and tools.

Ngelepen residents have the habit of socializing under a tree in front of their house, but it is difficult to do after they live in dome house. This is because *POKDARWIS* forbids any plants that exceed the height of the dome house. It causes the weather to be hotter than usual in the afternoon without any high tree near the house. Furthermore, the dome's roof is made of concrete causing the increase of hot temperature around the house. *POKDARWIS* also prohibits to plant banana tree because of aesthetic reason. Based on the previous disaster caused by the eruption of Kelud mountain, the banana tree produced the stench and decreased the visitors in Ngelepen tourism.

In addition, the residents are banned from keeping their animals near the dome house. All animals such as goats, cows, and poultry are stored in sharing stall outside the dome residence. Therefore, it changed the prior habitual action of the residents.

The dome house was designed to communal groups in donor perspectives. There are completed public facilities such as prayer rooms, meeting hall, community health center, information post, and sharing toilet. According to the donor, it made for the residence as the communal types of

house that was fit with Indonesian culture. Besides, they should get used to sharing bathrooms. There are only two sharing bathrooms for eight dome houses. It was unlike their previous house which had one bathroom for each house.

Indonesian culture is inseparable from traditional celebrations or family celebration. They usually celebrate it in their house. However, this culture could not be implemented in dome house. The small yard for each dome house does not have enough space to put tent and to hold their own celebration. They should change the place to public hall which is free. This term transforms their previous culture. Their right of house is seized.

The residents have continued to follow the rules and adapted to the transformation of livelihood. In spite of that, some residents could not survive. A number of houses survived by constructing additional buildings according to their needs. Some of them started to keep their animals near to houses although their house was far from the entrance of dome tourism.

The transformation of their livelihood made the changes of social dynamics and their daily activities. In the end, Ngelepen residents did not have choices. The only option is to follow the rules that are applied in their new residence. Now, their residence is well-known as Teletubbies Residence Tourism.

E. The Discourse of Power Relation in Teletubbies Residence

The legitimacy is needed to justify capitalism's action for capitalist after disaster to work. The post disaster discourse is related to humanitarian action. Universality is made into the right away to intervene in disaster area. It becomes the reason to justify others for protecting vulnerable community.

The capitalism discourse has emerged since Domes for World came to give assistance for Ngelepen residents. They accepted the unusual houses because they thought it fit with their needs in disaster area like Yogyakarta. However, after it was built, the efficiency of earthquake resistant in dome houses has not been tested directly. Besides, they did not neglect the potential disasters such as floods. The developed countries gave aid with new technology in order to encourage the capacity of local government. Furthermore, the local's needs and action can be ignored because they are considered as not to the same abilities with developed countries.

In sub district government's opinion, Teletubbies residents should be thankful to them for providing the land and shelter after the disaster. They gave the solution for the beneficiaries without losing their previous land rights. It became their justification to ask residents paying a tax and did not give the right of new land because the residents still had their own land. Their assistance such as land, the budget for repairing road and PNPM funding were used as discourse to justify their responsibility to protect the residents without giving the right of new land. Then, they prepared BUMDES to take over management of Ngelepen tourism in order to the welfare of residents. The sub district government said not to worry about losing the new land, because they had a commitment to protect residents as citizens that is ruled in Indonesian Law. However, the

residents only got few advantages from their rules, like houses and their previous land right. The sub district government would accept more profit from residents' tax and tourism. This made the new capitalism in this area. The power relation that arises is the community must obey their rules although they are more vulnerable and suffering a financial lose.

In *POKDARWIS* perspective, they do the empowerment which is giving a real contribution to residents. They come to give the tourism skill to encourage them in getting more income. They could change the aid into tourism commodity and make new income. The composition of managing member in Pokdarwis that consisted of local residents earned them a trust from the residents. Pokdarwis is considered as a part of Ngelepen residents. Furthermore, Ngelepen residents believed them as the receiver of the authority from Sleman Tourism Official instead of the sub district government

F. Who Gets More Profit?

The contestation of interest is visible especially in the relation among Ngelepen residents, *POKDARWIS*, and sub district government. *POKDARWIS* dominated tourism management among the residents, while sub district government was interested in managing the assets of land. The disaster appeared as capitalist tool to utilize vulnerable condition of residents, then it developed privatization and neoliberal capitalist interests [1]. *POKDARWIS* and sub district government had interests and ambition to manage disaster commodity that could provide profit as tourism place.

Disaster is related to vulnerability as well as disaster capitalism with neoliberalism. The emergence of new capitalism came from the commodification of disaster reconstruction products, moreover it caused inequality and vulnerability to residents [1]. Therefore, it could be said that the residents is the most vulnerable party in the power relation which exists in Teletubbies residence.

Vulnerability is caused by the form and size of houses which are not accommodating for Ngelepen residents whose work as farmers and breeders. There is no good air circulation and the sharing bathroom are divided into 80 units to 12 families which consist of 3 until 5 people. In Ngelepen residents' opinion, the management of tourism does not significantly give more profit to their monthly income. It is only giving them the money to pay the tax. In addition, they do not have the legal agreement that can guarantee their right of dome houses to live in. They are afraid of losing houses because it belongs to the sub district government. In addition, their previous land is too dangerous to build a new house. It shows that the vulnerability did not only come in disaster but also after disaster [10].

The results show that *POKDARWIS* takes the most advantage from dome houses. They manage tourism from disaster without giving the funding report to sub district government. The visitors only gave a voluntary contribution to parking fees and entrance payment. It can earn approximately 500,000 rupiahs per day. Recently, the retribution fee has increased to 5000 until 10000 rupiahs. They have determined the parking fee of 2000 rupiahs per vehicle. They also provide tour packages such as outbound,

homestay, hill tracking, dome house education, jeep services or traditional cart. It costs around twenty thousand rupiahs per person or three hundred rupiahs for one package.

The results of the retributions are entirely managed by Pokdarwis. It contributes more money to the managing member of Ngelepen tourism. They get more money than Yogyakarta and Sleman minimum wages (UMR). It also increases per year because they could attract more visitors every year. For example in 2008, they got 3407 visitors and 30.255 in 2016.

According to Pokdarwis's financial report, general managing member received the most profit. Then, their budget allocation are: 40% for daily operational, 15% for daily managing member, 20% for resident's payment tax, and 25% for tourism development. The cost for daily operational is reasonable because the number of workers is around 60 people as well as the budget for resident's payment tax is still appropriate. However, the allocation for daily managing member is quite large income based on the number of them. They consist of 8 to 10 people. In addition, they had received sponsorship from PNPM and No Drop Company for development funds. On the other hand, the residents did not get budget for home maintenance as tourism place. They should maintain dome houses with their own budget, although it should be included in the development budget. It showed that *POKDARWIS* used their asset without providing more money to residents and did not give income for sub-district government.

Furthermore, the sub district government also became a capitalist that received profit from Ngelepen residents. They maintained situation to increase profit through capitalizing Ngelepen land. It could be shown from giving the residents free tax for 5 years in the beginning, and then they set annual tax around 15 million rupiah per year for all land or 200 thousand per year for one house. This tax would continue to increase based on sub district rules. According to Badan Penanggulangan Bencana Sleman (BNPB Sleman), the case of land property in Ngelepen is an exception. In other places, the land for beneficiaries had been handed over to them. Moreover, they accepted the right of land property on condition that they could not sell it.

The explanation above tells us that Ngelepen residents are at the lowest stage in the chart of capitalist structure. The profit and benefit from tourism could not be spread equally to all of them. The houses which are located near to Ngelepen entrance could get the profit by opening small store such as food street shop and souvenir shop. There are only 2 to 5 houses. Meanwhile, the residents who are far from Ngelepen gate, are almost untouched by additional income. Because of that, the residents who live in the back built additional buildings. Then, they start to keep their chickens behind their house as the breeder. It is one of solutions to earn more money. The legal profit that they get is only money for paying land tax. However, they do not accept the right of land.

In addition, the residents also did not have legal security for living in dome houses. In the past 11 years, twenty percent of first residents have left and given the right to their children. However, there is no standard procedures to fix dome houses according to the initial design. They repaired

and maintained it based on their old houses and their own abilities. The government said they did not know about the technology applied for dome houses. It means Yogyakarta could not build the same houses if it should be replicated because of the time. If it gets damaged, the local government does not have the similar technology to fix it with the same function. It has been tested to be resistant with other types of disasters which appear frequently in Yogyakarta, like floods. This case shows us that the aid could not make them resistant after disaster. They became the object of capitalist because of it. Thus, the residents have become the least profitable party in this case.

V. CONCLUSION

In Ngelepen, the post disaster capitalism turns residential assistance into commodity for profit. The most profitable party is Pokdarwis. They are not only considered as the part of inhabitants of teletubbies, but also have the indirect authority to manage all income for Ngelepen tourism and to allocate little profit to residents. Then, the sub district government consciously retains the property right so that they got the advantage from the residents.

Ngelepen Residents become the least profitable party. Some residents have additional income in Ngelepen tourism. However, the others do not get more income and only receive new houses. Then, the purpose of this assistance to be the replacement of damaged houses has not been achieved. The residents have lived in dome houses for 11 years without knowing the legal security for their houses. They were asked to maintain houses according to their own knowledge. This assistance do not provide transferred technology to them, so they could not repair or maintain it inwite.

According to Gunawardena [1], there are seven proposals for solutions to overcome economic inequalities and social injustices that emerge from post disaster capitalism. This case shows us that the assistance from donor usually comes from donor's perspective without knowing the beneficiaries' need. They forgot the involvement of the local community as vulnerable groups in determining the most appropriate strategy. It came from top-down. The sub district government did not support to protect their own citizens for property right, on top of that, they used the vulnerable condition to get more profit. The beneficiaries received the assistance which did not suit to their daily needs. It seems to put residents in the same condition when their homes were damaged. They should live and accept it without knowing

how long they could stay there. At the same time, residents need to renovate the house to suit their daily needs. The only profit that the residents accepted from tourism activities is earning money to pay the land tax. Meanwhile, their previous land was lower than the new residence.

After disaster, around 80 percents of Ngelepen residents still stay there. The dome houses are no longer like the original because they build additional building according to their daily livelihood. Now, the assistance in Ngelepen has become *New Ngelepen* which is the commodity of capitalist structure in that area.

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