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## Resilient in a Feminine Face

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### **Abstrak:**

*Isu tentang kerentanan perempuan dalam bencana telah banyak dibahas dalam berbagai literatur mengenai kebencanaan. Sebagian besar literatur menunjukkan bahwa tingkat kerentanan perempuan akan meningkat pada periode sebelum, selama, dan setelah bencana. Memahami bagaimana perempuan menjalani kehidupan pascabencana memberikan kontribusi terhadap kajian kebencanaan yang telah ada. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa perempuan memiliki kemampuan yang baik dalam menghadapi bencana dan bertahan hidup, terlebih bagi perempuan yang memiliki warisan keterampilan. Diferensiasi latar belakang sosial ekonomi desa memberikan tampilan yang lebih lengkap baik dalam hal pola budaya yang terlihat maupun masalah yang lebih dalam mengenai cara perempuan untuk bertahan terhadap bencana. Perempuan dalam kajian ini menyadari bahwa bencana telah memicu motivasi perempuan untuk membantu membiayai kehidupan ekonomi keluarga. Bahkan, pendapatan mereka saat ini telah berkontribusi besar bagi keluarga. Pada akhirnya, kemampuan bertahan hidup pascabencana sekaligus juga telah membangun kepercayaan dan harga diri perempuan serta memengaruhi relasi gender.*

*Kata kunci: Bencana alam, gender, kerentanan, perempuan*

### **Abstract:**

*The issue of women being vulnerable in disasters has gained strength in many reviews of disaster research. Most of the reviews suggest that women have increased vulnerability before, during and after disaster. Observing that women coping with postdisaster's life often represent an important knowledge and resources. The findings present data on how previous disaster experience shaped the capability for women to survive, particularly for women having inherited skills. The differentiation of the village's socio economic background allowed a more complete display on both the cultural patterns occurring as well as the deeper issues on how women coped to resilient to a disaster. Women have admitted that disaster triggered their motivation to help men financing the family economic life. Even, their income now has contributed to most of the family expenses. This reality builds their self-confident and self-esteem that influence the gender relation.*

*Keywords: Gender, natural disaster, resilient, women*

## I. INTRODUCTION

In gender and disaster literatures, men and women have different capabilities in facing the disaster. According to Enarson and Morrow (1998), issues of economic, race/ethnicity, and age have caused women more vulnerable than men in the prior, during and postdisasters. In addition, the physical differences between men and women, political marginalization, and dependency on men has caused women's vulnerability to disasters become greater (Neumayer & Plumper, 2007; Scanlon, 1998). The main problem faced by women during disasters is lack of access to resources compared to men, women also do not have a great social network, and do not always have the authority to make major decisions.

Women's ability to respond and adapt to disasters is a resource that can be used in planning disaster risk reduction programs. People who live in disaster-prone areas instinctively have their own way to respond to catastrophic events (Adger, Brooks, Bentham, Agnew, & Eriksen, 2004). This is because of the periodic and streak disastrous events required communities to be able to respond and adapt to disaster-prone areas. The way to respond to the disaster is presented in a social system that is agreed and serves as a guideline in running their lives. That social system forms through social interactions, which grow and evolve based on the value agreed by all members of the community.

However, in this postmodern era, mindset and values of people's life has changed a lot towards the globalization paradigm that no longer uphold sacred values in a social system. Poor community preparedness, especially women has indicated the vanishing of local knowledge, which is based on the sensitivity in feeling the natural signs.

This paper discusses three aspects. Firstly, It explains how women In Bantul and Sleman who have experienced a past major disaster maintained themselves and successfully navigates challenges associated with short and long term recovery stage. Secondly, it analyses how social capital

shapes a strategy for women to survive in post disaster economic recovery. Thirdly, It discusses why government has not considered women interest in its local policy.

## III. RESEARCH METHODS

A detailed case study in two selected villages in District Bantul and Sleman, Province of Yogyakarta, Indonesia that had different experience in natural disaster and socio background was carried out to identify specific strategy associated with women managing disaster recovery stage. This research employed a blended methodology of both qualitative and quantitative methods in order to provide an in-depth and interpreted understanding of the social world of women in the research area by learning about their social circumstances and experiences regarding a disaster they experienced.

Two villages were chosen based on type of disaster women experienced and socio cultural characteristics. In Bantul, the selected location for the research is Giriloyo sub-village, Wukirsari, Bantul, which is the center of batik. This sub-village has a long history in the development of *batik* industry. Women in Wukirsari village have experienced earthquake that struck Bantul district in 2006 and caused 6000 people died while Sleman has to cope with volcanic eruption that occurred in 2010. While the research location for Sleman district is Pager Jurang sub-village, Kepuharjo, which is the center of *wedang Uwuh* (a traditional herbal drinks) and instant ginger industry, which is as a form of economically defense of women to support their families.

Questionnaire was distributed to 80 women, or 30 percent of data from women who owned businesses in Cangkringan, Sleman and 133 women in Wukirsari, Bantul. In this study, the main respondents are women who have job and personal income from their work. Those are women running small industry such as *batik*, leather and bamboo craft, local food producer, convenient store, and handmade souvenir.

### III. DISCUSSION

#### A. Experience Shapes Strategy

Observing that women coping with postdisaster's life often represent an important knowledge and resources. The findings of this research presented data on how previous disaster experience and capability that women inherited have a significant impact on disaster recovery. The pain of suffering from the adverse effect of disaster has built women's inner strength and physical resiliency. One way to look at the role of women in disaster management is to determine how far women's understanding on their home surrounding condition whether it is categorized as hazardous or not. The results of this research found that more than 80 percent of women in Sleman know that the area is prone to disasters and also know the signs of disaster. In contrast, the opposite result occurred in Bantul, the women's knowledge about the signs of disaster is still very low even though they realize that the area where they live is a disaster-prone area.

The different level of knowledge between women in Sleman and Bantul is caused by the different nature of the disaster occurred. Sleman women are accustomed to Merapi eruption disasters in which the nature of events occurs periodically. From their experience in facing eruption, Sleman women have been learning about the warning signs that appear. In addition, there has been a strengthening of the capacity, conducted by the government, local communities or other organizations that are concerned about the danger of Merapi.

In this study, it was found that the involvement of women in Bantul and Sleman particularly in disaster management is still very low. Some activities, such as conducting vulnerability analysis, disaster response and emergency response training were only participated by less than 4 percent of women. Only in the activity such as the provision of logistic for disaster, in particular nearly 10 percent of women involved.

However, it is recognized that mitigation activities that are designed by local authorities has involved both men and women, especially for emergency response training in Sleman that reach 100% of participations and designing evacuation route map in Bantul, which involves both men and women. Particularly for male involvement in disaster mitigation, nearly 40 percent of men active in the provision of facilities and infrastructure for disaster management in Sleman and designing evacuation route map in Bantul.

One of the important variables that influence the shape and degree of women participation in disaster management is the extent of their involvement in disaster management. The lessons that learned by women in Bantul and Sleman from their experience in natural disaster is becoming a moment of awareness to increase the capacity of women to manage disasters, including equip themselves with information on disaster. Is the information obtained differently between men and women? In various studies it was found that the core of the dissemination of information, socialization of disaster and mitigation activities, as well as disaster response, are adult men, teenage boys, teenage girls, adult women, the elderly, and children (Fatimah, 2008).

The exploration of women experience in both sub-districts, Wukirsari, Bantul or Kepuharjo, Sleman, indicates that access to information, dissemination, and knowledge is closely related to the division of space and roles between gender and age. Adult male who has more roles in public spaces and also considered having a greater physical mobility, are having a great opportunity to access information about the disaster and engaged in disaster mitigation activities. It can be seen that an important role in disaster management is close related to male gender role, such as issues related to evacuation, simulation, and emergency response activities.

This fact shows the stereotype that women cannot be relied upon except with men, is still becoming the mainstream. In the context of disaster management, the roles that should be run by the

women themselves, are still have to be paired with men. Although in other studies, Enarson (2000) suggests that compared to men, women are more motivated in disaster prevention. For example, women involved in cleaning up the garbage that floods carried away to their neighboring areas. This example presents something different with the stereotype that women are weak and vulnerable groups. There is a great potential in the woman, which is often overlooked.

### **B. Women as a Social Marketer**

Mitigation and disaster response activities that have been designed specifically for the purpose of women are still limited due to the limited capacity of local governments to capture this important issue. As described by Labadie (1984) that highlighted the problems faced by local government in disaster management is an attitude. The apathy of bureaucratic officials who do not want to think about the disaster emerges until the disaster really occurred.

Disaster is considered to be part of a discourse that is not important and most of disaster is seen as natural disaster so the idea about disaster is considered as a waste of resources. Thus, the various forms of mitigation and disaster response activities that have been proposed specifically to women become very difficult to be implemented because the perception of bureaucracy is hard to change.

Though some positive benefits can be gained by involving women in disaster preparedness and mitigation activities. Those benefit are firstly, women are completely familiar with their area as well as learn to do social analysis correctly, especially concerning demographics. Secondly, women will learn to identify the risks that exist in the area where they live and it is expected that children aware to do various activities to reduce disaster risks. Thirdly, when there is active involvement, women will immediately learn from those activities so they will easily internalized into

their subconscious. Therefore, it is expected that in the event of a disaster and when women were in any environments, they will quickly decide the right way to escape. Lastly, by involving women, it will reduce the negative impacts after the disaster.

One concern that creates risky conditions for women is "household size and structure and power relations in kinship and marriage especially in contexts of divorce, desertion, widowhood and single mothering" (Enarson, 1998; p. 161). Women's responsibility for household members significantly impacts their disaster work, especially if they are single heads of the household, which has an effect on their decisions to prepare and to evacuate. This was displayed in this research when women reported how little they did to help cleaning up the community and instead, focusing more on the household. It was also displayed in the actions women reported taking more often than men for disaster preparedness. Women explained having household disaster action plans and practicing them more often than men, while men reported higher rates of understanding their community's warning systems and keeping up with the weather reports.

This survey results also explained about how women's anticipation in the face of disaster. More than 75 percent of women chose to save themselves and their family rather than property and their livestock. In fact, what happened in Sleman was the long duration of Merapi eruption has created uncertainty for the life of refugees, both their life in refuge camp and abandoned property. One important property for the refugees is livestock as most of them depend on their life on farming. People who live on the slop of Merapi are willing to risk their life in order to secure their livestock. The government worried on this phenomenon, as it will create more casualties. In order to prevent human casualties due to this phenomenon, on 5 November 2010 the central government issued a agreement to buy all the cattle in the area of disaster and disaster-prone areas.



In mitigation, women can be used as a social marketer. It means to involve and teach women as early as possible to learn about the knowledge of disaster. Women can serve as an agent of change even though they belong to the vulnerable category to disasters. However, if women can be better and maximum empowered, then eventually they will have a remarkable ability to survive at the same time protect themselves from disaster, both for themselves and those around them. It is hoped the involvement of women in various mitigation and disaster response activities can minimize the negative impact of a catastrophic event.

### C. Why Women Inclusion is Still low?

One of the important variables that influence the shape and degree of women participation in disaster management is the extent of their involvement in disaster management. The lessons that learned by women in Bantul and Sleman from their experience in natural disaster is becoming a moment of awareness to increase the capacity of women to manage disasters, including equip themselves with information on disaster. This study also found that women in both places were more concerned with their family and neighbors. This fact confirm many studies that in many disaster situation women have strong ties with the community than men (E. Enarson & Fordham, 2001; E. Enarson & Meyreles, 2004).

However, the government is seemed to ignore the potential of women. There are several reasons why the inclusion of women in disaster management is still low. First, the government embraced the patriarchy ideology. As a result, development activities carried out by the government explicitly or implicitly reinforces the assumption of roles separation between men and women (White & Lestari, 1980). In this regard, the government uses disaster management policy as an apparatus imperishable patriarchal ideology adopted by the government or more familiar to be called as ideological state apparatus. Thus the resulting government policy aims to become a hegemonic instrument. Second, women still hold the title of “the second class” that attaches to the acts of neglect (De Beauvoir, 1997). Third, the

domestication of women reflected in the behavior of women that indicated by low participation of women in public activities. Fourth, there is the phenomenon of “glass ceiling” in a corporation or government, although there are many women who have capacity and ability to hold an important position, the construction of gender roles that are biased has kept away the woman from the opportunity to take the leadership position (Chanavat, 2012).

### D. Women and Economic Vulnerability

Lack of economic security is one of the major factors in social vulnerability and directly it increases the impact of disasters on women as individuals and groups. The main economic resource in a disaster is a secure income, access to savings or credit, a job that guarantees social protection, skills, education, and training, as well as control over productive resources. These assets allow women victims to survive in the mid of crisis of postdisaster life with the possibility to build their homes back, replace all the losses or build their business back. However, work division within the household or in the global economy often gender bias and makes most women to be less able to control their economic resources than men (Enarson, 2000).

In postdisaster phase, women in both Sleman and Bantul were still chose to work with a number of reasons. First, very high thrust to meet the economic needs of their family. Secondly, the influence of culture that makes women feels embarrassed if only staying silently at home and do not work. Thirdly, the influence of environment that encourages women to learn *batik*. This condition happened to women particularly in Wukirsari village, Bantul, which every woman from an early age has been taught batik and it becomes hereditary skill that must be mastered by every woman in Wukirsari village. Fourth, support of external factors, such as training provided by various NGOs to increase the capacity and skills of women victims. Training on batik dyeing with natural colors, as well as the production of a home made sweet potato food, ginger instant milk, and accessories are some examples

of training activities provided by NGO to women in Wukirsari and Kepuharjo. Fifth, the influence of international factors which inaugurating batik as Indonesia's cultural heritage by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 2009. At the same time the Government of the Republic of Indonesia has assigned October 2 as the batik day.

High enthusiasm of people wearing batik not only on formal occasions, but also informal has a direct impact on the increase in sales of batik. Wukirsari batik artisans, who are mostly women, experienced an increase in revenue from batik sales revenue. In addition, through NGO' support, they set up a pavilion for residents to sit together and it has been used by women to establish a short training program in making batik for local and international tourists.

The poverty rate of women prior to disasters, secondary status in labor force, extensive informal sector employment, lack of land rights, and extensive domestic responsibilities have clearly make them economically vulnerable long before a natural disaster. The majorities of women in this study have had a business or work before the disaster occurred, both in Sleman and Bantul. They worked as batik or leather craftswomen in Wukirsari village, Bantul, while in Sleman, women worked as dairy farmers and sell their milk to cooperatives. Unfortunately, disasters disrupt trades and markets, destroy productive resources and infrastructure, as well as making life more difficult for working women to go through the crisis times. Therefore, restoring economic resources and capacities of women are crucial for long-term recovery by still considering family and their roles as wives, mothers and community members.

However, why the government policy has not yet considered women interest? Women are often faced the problems to access the resources such as: a secure income, access to savings or credit, a job that guarantees social protection, skills, education, and training, as well as control over productive asset. Whereas according to Enarson (2000) those factors are important in economic recovery to order to survive in postdisaster. Through this, they will be able to reduce the loss

of business, can rebuild their homes and businesses, and of course, will be able to immediately replace the production equipment that are needed.

There are many aspects that could indicate why women have not been taken into consideration in formulating policy, especially after the disaster. *First*, government support programs are often not targeted to the problems that are facing by women in postdisaster. During the eruption of Merapi in Sleman Yogyakarta in 2010, for example economy recovery assistance programs through SMEs (Small and Medium Enterprises) still could not contribute maximum to the economy recovery of women in Sleman postdisaster. This problem occurred because the program was only based on the previous used approach.

Postdisaster economic recovery program that had been applied in this case did not deeply assessed the socio cultural aspects of community life in Sleman which is essentially based on agriculture and livestock. As the result, the potential, which should be used as social capital in economic development of the women, tend to be overlooked in the postdisaster economic recovery program.

*Second*, lack of capital controls in women's economic development assistance programs. In many cases, a lot of women groups said that lack of capital as one of the key obstacles to the improvement of women's economic efforts. According to the women in Sleman, Yogyakarta, they said that there are a lot of training and support tools provided for women in establishing a business. However, these businesses cannot be developed due to limited capital and access to markets. They complained about administration difficulty in applying credit to financial institution that finally made many women were lazy to apply or could not fulfill the standard lending procedures.

On the other hand, lack of capital controls in women's economic development assistance programs could also bring up many fraud cases. This discussion is also confirmed that in a disaster situation, the economic recovery for women faced some challenges such as important situation to gain support from the existing elements.



The newly breakthrough or different approach to economic development prior to disaster is needed, because the common approaches turns out to perpetuate inequality and economic exploitation.

### **E. What Causes Women to Survive for Post-Disaster Economic Recovery?**

Women resilience to disasters is also influenced by cultural factors that make women feel shame if she does not work or just staying at home without significant effort. Women in Sleman also have self-motivation to be able to become successful persons who survive from the crisis after learning and seeing the success of others. This community positive response has generated women who are resilient in facing the disaster. Disaster resilient women in Sleman can be seen from their acceptance to disasters, adaptive and capable of using internal resources and their expertise to manage the challenges and changes that occur after a disaster.

Postdisaster has created the opportunity for women to start their own business. In one small village in Bantul today, it is hardly found any unemployment women. Mostly women has run small business on batik producing, traditional food, leather or bamboo crafting. In Sleman, although the women does not have inherited skill such as batik making, they chose to work in informal sector such as becoming porter. On the other hand, various damage arising from the disaster had an effect on the way businesses are run by women in Bantul and Sleman particularly on the availability of raw materials and workshop, difficulty on finding new market, and modal deficit.

To overcome such barriers, women has maintained strategy on marketing their products through online system and establishing a business group as a requirement to be eligible to get government or private assistance. This further confirmed what has been stated by Holman and Silver (1998.) and Schwarzer, Hahn, and Schoder (1994) that the higher frequency of community to be exposure or dealing with catastrophic events,

the stronger and resilient those community will be in adapting to any form of change and challenges that occur. Disaster resilient women that has been established in Sleman is still on the second level of disaster resilient communities which is according to Tobin (1999) is a community who still require attention from others to survive.

Violanti, Paton and Dunning (2000) identified the variables capable of predicting a community resilience to disaster. The variables were having sense of community, coping ability, self efficacy and social support. In terms of having a sense of community, women in Bantul and Sleman have an attachment to their neighbourhood by helping and working with others in providing logistics. Coping ability has been recognized from the way women develop new technique for batik producing, create new market using online system, and have an informal job that totally differently from their previous. The sense of women's self-efficacy inevitably raised since women running their own small bussiness that supported almost 80 percent of family income. Women in both places become less dependent to man. Behavior can not remain silent on the crisis condition can be indicated as a form of resiliency to disaster. Social support has also playing an important role in community resilient to disaster since many asistances from government, NGO, and private sectors were available to help the women in both places. Their assistance is beneficial for supporting the women to move on from crisis.

### **F. Women and Social Capital**

Vulnerability researches conducted by Wisner et al. (2004), Cutter (1995) (1995), and Enarson and Morrow (1998) demonstrate that social inequalities, including gender and ethnicity, play more of a role in disaster vulnerability than previously thought. Nonetheless, there is also a growing body of literature characterizing women as dedicated social actors and capable emergency responders (Ross-Sheriff, 2007), who are proficient in accessing informal social networks to share information and exchange favors (Litt, 2008).

Yet in postdisaster circumstances, much of the literature still acknowledges numerous obstacles to recovery for women as well as other oppressed or marginalized populations, such as access to resources, child care responsibilities, and institutionalized discrimination (Wisner et al., 2004). In disaster situations, where access to many resources is compromised, social capital becomes a more significant element in recovery. Social capital, as it is used here can be succinctly defined. Following Lin (2000, p. 786), it is the “investment and use of embedded resources in social relations for expected returns.”

An individual’s participation and investment in social interactions and reciprocal relations with other individuals establishes a person’s “social network,” within which social capital is created, held and accessed. The breadth and strength of social networks is highly variable, and can be influenced by numerous factors. For example, gender, household composition, and economic circumstances all have an effect on the way a person relates to others to create, maintain and utilize social networks and associated social capital.

This study focused social capital from the existence and role of local institutions, values and norms that exist in the community and response to disasters. At the institutional level, there are quite a lot of local institutions exist in both villages are investigating. Most women actively involved in social groups. Thus, this social group is actually becoming a local institution for strategic vehicle for exchange of experiences and information, including information about disaster. It can be clearly understood that although obtaining information through one’s social network is a daily practice for most people, however the importance of a person’s social network is heightened in circumstances where usual methods of information sharing and resource obtainment are no longer available. Disaster situations may impose stress on these networks because such events often affect broad areas and large numbers of people who would otherwise be networked together socially. Thus social capital developed through informal associations can prove more viable when the integrity of formal systems is compromised.

In addition to the existence of social groups, the existence of social relations among citizens also one manifestation of social capital. The intensity of social relations between people shows the extent to which the strength of social capital in the community. Culture in rural communities is apparently having an impact on the intensity of social interaction among community. With a relatively homogeneous in terms of society culture, religious and employment cause social relations forms naturally. The research found that social group meeting were held frequently to discuss various things about their lives and the role in distribution of childcare responsibilities after disaster. Informal meetings that take place between members of the community may be able to strengthen the potential of understanding and knowledge of citizens about disaster information. Even interaction with community members are often more effective in the process of delivering information about the disaster. With an informal atmosphere and casual relationships, the understanding citizens about disaster will be more easily accepted.

Given that postdisaster settings highlight the significance of social inequalities, research would suggest that these inequalities are likely to affect a person’s capabilities and strategies to use social capital after a disaster (Cutter & Emrich, 2006; Lin, 2000). Dynes (2006, p. 23) identifies social capital as an active resource in disaster recovery and, “since social capital theory links the consequences of individual action to social resources, such a linkage holds the possibility of explaining individual ‘trauma’ and individual resilience to disaster.”

Such conditions were also found on this research. The value of *gotong-royong*, working voluntary among community members, both in Wukirsari and in Kepuharjo is relatively strong. The contribution of social capital in Bantul’s disaster recovery programme, for instance can be illustrated from the fact that the community worked voluntarily in building houses and infrastructure facilities (Kusumasari & Alam, 2012). However, leading social capital theorists such as Bourdieu (1986), Coleman (1990), and Lin (2001) demonstrate that, while it can be a use-

ful resource, social capital is not equally available to all people because it functions through social systems of inequality. In discussing forms of social capital that are intricately linked to social networks, Coleman's categories of "information potential" and "obligations and expectations" are most closely related to the postdisaster experience of rebuilding. Both forms of social capital play an important role in a postdisaster situation where the need for information, as well as dependence on one's social network, increases.

#### **IV. CONCLUSION**

The paper points at some reason why women have their capability to return to even better life after disaster. It suggests that cultural and social capital provide effective and sustainable assistance to crisis-affected women. The findings present data on how previous disaster experience shaped the capability for women to survive, particularly for women having inherited skills. The differentiation of the village's socio economic background allowed a more complete display on both the cultural patterns occurring as well as the deeper issues on how women coped to resilient to a disaster. Women have admitted that disaster triggered their motivation to help men financing the family economic life. Even, their income now has contributed to most of the family expenses. This reality builds their self-confident and self-esteem that influence the gender relation.

Social vulnerability is a social condition that affects the level of vulnerability to hazards. For example, in terms of education, lack of knowledge about disaster risks would increase people's susceptibility. In this context, the experience of women in Bantul and Sleman who have been exposed to the disaster, have created them to be more sensitive and concern about the signs of disaster. Combined with many programs run by the government and NGOs in mitigation and preparedness, has also improved women knowledge on disaster education. Environmental vulnerability also affects the vulnerability of a society. In the sense that women who live on the slopes of Mer-

api will always be living in danger of eruption of Merapi, while in Bantul will be vulnerable to the threat of earthquakes, fires, floods or landslides.

The awareness of women who live in disaster-prone areas should be addressed by, for example, building the earthquake-resistant housing as in Bantul. In all aspects of vulnerability, women in Wukirsari village, Bantul and Kepuharjo village, Sleman are not in the category of women who are vulnerable, but rather women from both regions demonstrated their ability to adapt to disasters. This is in line with what has been stated by Pelling (2003) that women's ability to cope with natural disasters depends on their capacity to survive. In this condition, an integrated activity is necessary or adjustments in adapting to return to the previous condition before the disaster occurred (Timmerman, 1981). Women in Bantul and Sleman proved to be more empowered and having high self – esteem with the skills, expertise, and having a new job even after a disaster occurs. The nature of dependency on men to be a little diminished because of their ability to generate income to support the economy of their family.

Therefore, ignoring gender concerns, actions, and experiences can be very dangerous. Emergency managers must take gender into consideration at every stage of the disaster cycle. They must consider that women and men may prepare differently, have different resources readily available, and have different coping strategies. If they do not do this, then the area they are supposed to be preparing will remain vulnerable because they will not have taken all aspects of the disaster into consideration.

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