

**Gender-Sensitive Disaster
Risk Reduction in Indonesia
Strengthened Indonesian Resilience:
Reducing Risk from Disasters
(StIRRRD)**

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Reducing Risk from Disasters
(StIRRRD)***



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report highlights the major findings of eight focus groups held in Indonesia on the topic of gender and disaster risk reduction (DRR). Below are further details of the locations of the focus groups, including information about the particular cultural and religious contexts. We also note the value of using focus groups to collect data. Focus groups provide an environment for people to share their thoughts and bounce ideas off of each other. Focus groups have thus worked well in this context, and future work might like to augment these discussions with practical follow up – for instance, women noted that they knew the evacuation routes, but it would be good to test this at night when women are less likely to feel confident moving around. Follow up conversations and observation in less formal settings might collect further rich data.

An interesting move in these focus groups was to hold some with both women and men present. In many ways, this approach is useful as it ensures the buy-in and contribution of men. However, it is important to acknowledge that men often dominate discussions. Further, men in Indonesia are usually in relative positions of power compared to women, and women may thus feel less likely to contribute contrary views. It is also possible that women will not feel comfortable discussing issues such as their various vulnerabilities, including those related to reproductive health, in front of men. It is not possible to extract valid conclusions from just eight focus groups to see whether women felt less comfortable sharing all manner of information with men present, but it is something to be mindful of in reading the findings below.

Women participating in these focus groups shared a general sense of awareness concerning DRR. Women had a generally sound understanding of disasters, including which ones were most likely to impact them. They also had a generally sound understanding of preparations they could take in order to reduce the impact of disasters and what they needed to do during and after a disaster. For instance, women generally knew where evacuation paths and shelters were located, and they knew what particular role they should take in the event of a disaster. Some women talked of their role in maintaining paths and shelters and their role in helping to feed the community in the aftermath of a disaster. While women often had a clear theoretical understanding, it is less clear what this means in practice. For instance, some of the women noted that their role after a disaster would be working in what they called the ‘soup kitchen’. However, they noted that, at the moment, the soup kitchen was just a name and that there were no utensils or food that could be sourced. They also noted that cooking for a number of 1000 people was beyond their experience. Women also noted that they knew the evacuation routes, but it remains uncertain if they would be able to support their children and other dependents and make their way to the shelters without assistance, especially if it were dark. Women were often articulate about their needs in respect to DRR. For instance, women noted that they would require water for cooking, drinking and washing at the emergency shelters but that they did not know how they would access that.

A key point drawn out in the focus groups concerned the relationship between women and men. Both government discourse and religious ideology frame the relationship between women and men as being ‘separate but equal’ and place within women’s remit the demand that they care for their husband and children as their primary task. In many respects this narrative is used to ‘protect’ women. For instance, some men believe that women should not be privy to conversations and actions regarding DRR because it will overly worry them and leave them unable to fulfil their roles as wives and mothers. Rather than try to change the

narrative about women's need of men's protection, it might be perhaps more useful to utilise this narrative to empower women within DRR. One approach could be working with local mosques and churches to empower women to have a stronger voice in DRR in order that they can better fulfil their roles as wives and mothers.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to Gender-Sensitive Disaster Risk Reduction in Indonesia

In 2007, Indonesia recognised the need to develop a new institutional and regulatory framework for disaster risk reduction (DRR). While Indonesia subsequently passed some significant laws, there was no specific focus given to the differing impact of disaster on women and men. As this report makes clear, in order for DRR programs to be successful, gender considerations must be at the forefront of both policy and implementation.

In recognising the need to address DRR, Indonesia passed a law in 2007 that is officially referred to as the Law of the Republic of Indonesia, Number 24 of 2007, Concerning Disaster Management (henceforth Law 24/2007). Of the 85 articles contained within Law 24/2007, only one (Article 55) specifically mentions women. Moreover, Article 55 only mentions women in the context of them having particular vulnerabilities while they are pregnant or breastfeeding. Article 55 states that the protection of vulnerable groups (e.g. pregnant and lactating women) must be given priority in terms of rescue, evacuation, protection, healthcare and psychosocial services. Recognising women only as vulnerable beings means that Indonesia has been unable to recognise the strengths women bring to DRR and, moreover, to recognise women's vulnerabilities outside of being pregnant and breastfeeding. The full law can be found here: https://www.ifrc.org/PageFiles/139604/Indonesia_DMAAct_2007.pdf.

Indonesia also formed two organisations in 2007 to better address DRR. These two organisations are the National Agency for Disaster Management (Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Bencana, BNPB) and the Local Agency for Disaster Management (Badan Penanggulangan Bencana Daerah, BPBD). While these organisations have had a positive impact on DRR, the lack of recognition of women's contributions means these organisations are gender-blind. As this report makes clear, a gender-blind approach to DRR means that men's strengths and weaknesses are made to stand in for women's, thus significantly disadvantaging women in DRR.

Following efforts in 2007, Indonesia passed a number of other regulations to help support DRR efforts, although these too disregarded gender as an important site for consideration. For example, in 2008, regulation 21/2008 Concerning Disaster Management was signed, but of the 96 Articles not one mentions women, even as a vulnerable group. Further, while Indonesia has ratified various policies to address gender inequality, there is to date no cross-over from these policies to ones focusing on DRR. For instance, Presidential Instructions on Gender Mainstreaming (INPRES No. 9/2000) is a policy aimed at reducing the gap between Indonesian women and men in all aspects of social, economic and political life (see a policy brief here: <https://www.kemenpppa.go.id/lib/uploads/list/eb8d4-0ffb0-1.-gender-mainstreamingq.pdf>). However, this policy has not been incorporated into any of the DRR policies, meaning that gender is not yet addressed in DRR projects.

DRR projects must focus on women because, as the UNISDR (United Nations International Strategy for Disaster Reduction)¹ notes, while disasters do not discriminate, people do:

¹ UNISDR has rebranded itself as the UN Office for Disaster Risk Reduction (UNDRR). Given that this report references UNISDR, we use this previous name for consistency.

Disasters don't discriminate, but people do. Existing socio-economic conditions mean that disasters can lead to different outcomes even for demographically similar communities – but inevitably the most vulnerable groups suffer more than others. Research reveals that disasters reinforce, perpetuate and increase gender inequality, making bad situations worse for women. Meanwhile, the potential contributions that women can offer to the disaster risk reduction imperative around the world are often overlooked and female leadership in building community resilience to disasters is frequently disregarded (Yumarni and Amaratunga 2015).

This report has a gender focus but, rather than exploring all the specific variations of gender (e.g. women, men, transgender), we are particularly concerned with cis-women. Cis-women is a term used to describe those people assigned 'female' at birth who are happy to live within the normative category of women. However, there is a need for future research to focus on the contributions of all genders to DRR (see Balgos et al. 2012).

While many people recognise that women's strengths and vulnerabilities should be taken into consideration, with so many competing concerns, gender imperatives can often be missed. The UNISDR further notes:

Gender mainstreaming is a concept that most find easy to agree with, but fewer consistently do well. The same can be said of disaster risk reduction. When these two issues are brought together in efforts to mainstream gender into disaster risk reduction, governments and practitioners have found a gap in policy and practical guidance. They know why they should do it, but not always how. This is not because the task is inherently difficult; rather, there is not enough guidance and practical understanding (Yumarni and Amaratunga 2015).

As half of the world's population, women need to be included in DRR concerns. Women (and girls) suffer higher rates of mortality, morbidity and economic disadvantage. There are numerous examples of where women have been disproportionately impacted by sudden shocks. Perhaps the most infamous example occurred in Bangladesh following the 1991 cyclone and flood. The death rate for Bangladeshi women was five times higher than men. Social restrictions in terms of dress code, how and to whom life-saving information was relayed and who is taught to swim, versus who is not, all contributed to the unbalanced death toll. Further, many women felt they could not leave the house without a male relative and so perished waiting for relatives to return and take them to a safe place.

There are various reasons why women are more likely to be adversely impacted by disasters than men. Women are more likely to be responsible for children and older people. Disaster information is not forwarded to them as effectively as it is to men. Further, women have higher rates of illiteracy. Women are also less mobile than men, and this may be particularly true at night.

The UNISDR further notes that the consequences of assuming disaster risk is gender neutral can be catastrophic. Among other shortcomings, a gender-blind approach can result in:

- inaccurate risk identification and risk assessment,
- inappropriate policy response,

- inappropriate interventions, and
- ineffective DRR interventions and outcomes.

Communities will not always necessarily be receptive or supportive of interventions, and some interventions can create or exacerbate gender inequalities and vulnerabilities.

A gender-sensitive risk identification and assessment will thus result in more efficient and cost-effective DRR interventions. Indonesia still has a way to go towards ensuring women are equally able to participate in and benefit from DRR, as highlighted above when discussing Article 55. However, there are some glimmers of hope that Indonesia is prioritising gender in its approach to DRR. For instance, the Hyogo Framework for Action National Progress Report for Indonesia (2013–2015) has a section in which DRR and gender are addressed. The report is available at the following link: <http://preventionweb.net/go/41507>.

Unfortunately, while the report shows gender has been recognised in principle, implementation of the recommendations is taking time. For instance, gender is mentioned in Section B, Drivers of Progress. This section includes gender perspectives on risk reduction and recovery. The section notes on page 36:

The Government of Indonesia has developed gender disaggregated data down to the village level. However, this has yet to be used properly in decision-making in all development sectors. Gender concerns has [sic] only started to inform development policies and programs, since awareness of policy makers on the importance of promoting gender equality has not been well developed. The government needs to enhance the capacity to manage gender-disaggregated database. The involvement of mass media and NGOs in mainstreaming gender into DRR will be very crucial. (Jati 2015)

Drawing on UNISDR, we recommend that a gender-sensitive approach be included in disaster reduction efforts at the national, regional and international levels, including in policies, strategies, action plans and programmes. We also recommend that a gender-sensitive approach be used in all data analysis. Further, we recommend the following: data collected should be gender disaggregated; projects should take gender-aware steps to reduce the negative impacts of disasters on different people, particularly in relation to women's critical roles in rural areas in the provision of water, food and energy; increase women's participation and representation in all levels of decision-making processes; include gender-specific indicators to monitor and track progress on gender equality targets; and ensure women are visibly engaged as agents of change at all levels of disaster preparedness, including early warning systems, education, communication, information and networking opportunities.

We note here that, ideally, a gendered approach would capture the differential impacts experienced by men and transgender people alongside women. Gendered analyses by their very nature are most effective when gendered interrelations are considered. Unfortunately, the design of the project, alongside the process of data collection, does not allow insights into nuances of gendered relations. We re-emphasise here that disasters affect different people in different ways and that DRR interventions be cognisant of this.

1.2 Gender in Context

Gender in Indonesia is dynamic. There are clear and strict ideas about particular gender roles disseminated by governmental and religious bodies. The dominant narrative states that women are wives and mothers and that all their activities should be structured around these key roles. In accordance with this narrative is that of the dominant religion across the archipelago, Islam. Islam encourages women in their roles as wives and mothers and provides space for them to fulfil other roles only after first ensuring these two former roles are taken care of.

In Indonesia, as elsewhere, it is essential to recognise that gender deals with more than women. Gender is not a code word for women. Rather, gender involves understanding the interaction between women, men and genders beyond this. While the scope of the StIRRRD project did not enable a full investigation into how diverse genders can engage in DRR, it is worth noting that future projects should take up this mantle. Furthermore, while this project did not canvass issues raised by the intersectional factors associated with gender, including age, disability and poverty, future projects should make such concerns a centrepiece of their mandate.

1.3 The StIRRRD Project

The StIRRRD (Strengthening Indonesian Resilience: Reducing Risks to Disasters) project is a New Zealand government-funded aid programme aimed at strengthening the DRR capacity of 10 districts in Indonesia. StIRRRD has recognised the importance of gender in all DRR work and undertook a number of focus groups in Indonesia to draw out a gender perspective. The gendered approach taken by StIRRRD aimed to identify women's vulnerabilities alongside scoping activities that can be undertaken to assist women in DRR. The project further aimed to map the role and involvement of women in DRR projects.

StIRRRD has now contributed towards making gender visible as a key part of DRR. Gender must be at the forefront of reducing risk and increasing preparedness, an effective response and sound recovery in order for DRR to be impactful. Developing guidelines on how to institutionalise gender-sensitive risk assessments, implement gender-sensitive early warning systems and use gender-sensitive indicators to monitor gender mainstreaming progress has been identified in this report as future areas to focus on. This report contributes to the limited data on gender and DRR in Indonesia (Balgos et al. 2012; Mulyasari and Shaw 2012, 2013).

1.4 Methodology

In order to gain gender-sensitive data regarding DRR, a qualitative research approach was designed. Eight focus groups were conducted in various parts of Indonesia, namely West Sumatra, Central Sulawesi and Lombok. More specifically, these locations were: Donggala, Mataram, Bengkulu, Pesisir Selatan, Agam, Seluma, Sumbawa and Morowali (see Figure 1.1). Please see this link for an interactive map of StIRRRD project locations: <https://stirrrd.org/map/>.

Various people participated in the focus groups, including members of the general public, governmental representatives and people working for various NGOs. Similar questions were asked of participants at all eight focus group discussions.



Figure 1.1 StIRRRD Districts, Indonesia.

One area of interest was the inclusion of men in a number of the focus groups. Part of the reason for including men was the acknowledgement that it is hard to get things done in Indonesia without the involvement of men. There was a sense in some focus groups that men did dominate the conversation. It is important to have the participation of men in any gender sensitising project, but it is also important to ensure that women have space to speak. We reflect on this later in the report.

In order to further push the gender analysis in the StIRRRD project, Dr Sharyn Davies was brought on-board in late 2018. Dr Davies was tasked with assisting Esti Anantasari in the following:

- Re-analysis of the focus group discussion data previously collected, with a view to making the most of this dataset from a publishing and project view.
- Re-examination of the data collected from eight focus groups, including reviewing methodology and conclusions (as presented in presentations).
- Making the most of the data by developing conclusions and any recommendations for both genders in the context of DRR in Indonesia.
- Providing a write-up of the work in a joint report.

The outcomes of these endeavours are outlined more fully in this report. Appendix 1 lists the questions asked in the various focus group discussions and Appendix 2 gives the gender-disaggregated data for the focus group participants.

2.0 LOCAL CONTEXT

2.1 Context of Each Location

The structure of gender relations is part of a cultural and social context that affects the capacity of the community to anticipate, prepare for and defend themselves from disasters, and recover from them afterwards. Because of the construction of their role in the public domain, men are granted particular opportunities and access to various resources that women are not. Conversely, because of the social construction that places women primarily in the domestic area, women have less access to resources, mobility, shelter and employment than men. Each location has unique cultural and social characteristics, as shown in the following table (Table 2.1). Unfortunately, not enough data were collected to enable comment regarding distinctions between areas.

Table 2.1 Ethnic and social context of each district.

No.	Focus Group Discussion Area	Ethnicity	Social Context
1	Donggala District	Kaili	Patriarchy
2	Mataram Municipality	Sasak	Patriarchy
3	Bengkulu Municipality	Rejang	Patriarchy
4	Pesisir Selatan District	Minangkabau	Patriarchy/matrilineal
5	Agam District	Minangkabau	Patriarchy/matrilineal
6	Seluma District	Serawai	Patriarchy
7	Sumbawa District	Samawa	Patriarchy
8	Morowali District	Bungku	Patriarchy

Besides cultural and social issues, the analysis in this study pays attention to the religious context. The majority religion in each area is Islam. Islam, as well as other religions, including Christianity, interlink in many ways with specific cultural contexts in terms of the roles and duties women should assume. These roles and duties primarily revolve around their positions as wives and mothers. It should also be noted that Indonesia is currently experiencing the popularisation of a morality discourse. Given the increasingly punitive stance of police and public policy, it is possible that it will become more difficult for women to be actively involved at a decision-making level.

3.0 WOMEN'S UNDERSTANDING OF NATURAL DISASTERS

3.1 What Do Women Know?

Experience is a good teacher. The information drawn from the focus groups shows a variety of understandings of disasters. Variations on this understanding happen because everyone has different experiences and knowledge of disastrous events. Based on the focus groups, women are aware of the types of natural hazards that could impact them, and which are most likely to occur. Women frequently listed hazards as: earthquakes, flooding, drought and tsunami. Women also often knew what they should theoretically do in the event of a disaster, including evacuating to the highest point in the case of warnings. Some women also knew that if their children were at school that they should not try to find them but trust the teachers to get their children to a safe point.

3.2 Where Do Women Get Their Information From?

Women get their information regarding natural hazards from a number of sources. One focus group reported that women got their information from wooden drums that would be sounded at various parts of the village to alert citizens. Some of the women in the focus groups noted that being made alert enabled them to participate in DRR measures: "Before it was just men. But now women are also involved." Other women got their information from radio, television, social media and by word of mouth.

One of the findings of this project is that women do not necessarily have confidence that the information they received is true and not a hoax. While government-disseminated information through official channels is one way to increase confidence in the information received, there is also a level of distrust by citizens in government motives. One recommendation is that research is conducted in each area to find out levels of trust in various officials. For example, Tuan Guru (religious leaders) are held in high regard in Lombok and if information is delivered by them, citizens will believe its veracity.

4.0 DEALING WITH SUDDEN SHOCKS

4.1 Women's Understanding of Disaster Risk Reduction

The focus groups showed that the women participating had a fair understanding of DRR. This might have been because these women were specifically selected to participate in the focus group because of their pre-existing knowledge. The women who attended focus groups were generally involved in disaster management activities. Their activities were then explored to find out how far the understanding of DRR is implemented in everyday life. Each focus group started with an introduction outlining what DRR is and how a broader approach to DRR is needed than merely a response in the aftermath of disaster.

4.2 How Do Women Deal with Sudden Shocks and Participate in Disaster Risk Reduction?

Women deal with sudden shocks in a number of ways. There are also various systems in place to help women deal with sudden shocks and participate in DRR. In a number of focus groups there was acknowledgement of the need to engage more with women in DRR. For instance:

"We have provision issues, which have not addressed the problem of gender. In relation to men, there is a rice supply for them, but we haven't thought about the needs of women and children. That's our current problem. Women and children have special needs. Infants need formula; breastfeeding mothers need special nutrition; women have special needs. We haven't addressed that. Thank you."

In other discussions women were able to impart practical knowledge. For instance, in one focus group women were encouraged to store valuable items such as marriage certificates in Tupperware containers. The durability and leak-proof-ness of Tupperware was recognised as one way to practically keep things safe from flood damage. The various DRR strategies carried out by these women showed that women have been able to reduce the impact of a disaster that could potentially occur in their area. The focus group discussion also found that the anticipatory steps chosen by women were generally still within the scope of personal interests, not all of which were done within the scope of public DRR strategy planning. This report further outlines how women deal with sudden shocks and participate in DRR below.

4.3 Gendered Interventions

There have been strong interventions to assist women with DRR. One example is the introduction of vertical evacuation shelters. From the focus groups it is clear that women living in areas where these have been built have knowledge of them. However, follow-up research is needed to ensure women can make full use of these shelters. Future questions might include the following regarding women and the vertical evacuation shelters: How will they get there? Who are they responsible for? What makes access difficult for them? Do they need permission? How will they know where the shelter is and when to go? How can we solve these problems? How can women be empowered to get others to the shelter? What can women contribute (for instance, they are more likely to think to bring water to drink). Women also need particular things that men may not need, such as sanitary products.

Women would also benefit from having access to emergency contraceptives. In these latter two aspects, it is important to empower health workers, including midwives, to ensure gender equity vis-à-vis DRR. In all focus group discussions there was acknowledgement, including among men, that women are vital to DRR. In other words, there is wide-spread recognition that both women's vulnerabilities and women's contributions need to be acknowledged in all DRR work.

4.4 Specific Reflections on Focus Group Data

The following are specific quotes drawn from the focus groups that are particularly interesting in terms of reflecting on the role of gender in DRR.

"We should all just go to the shelter straight away – that is what we have discussed in our own family. We should not look for each other."

It is possible that women will not be able to get to the shelter straight away because they are the primary carers for children and the elderly. While women mention that they should just go straight to the shelter, it remains to be seen if they would do this without first looking for children and loved ones.

"It is not because we do not trust women, it is because we love you too much, we do not want to trouble you with mitigation efforts. Actually, women and mothers are weaker but highly respected. They should follow their nature."

In both governmental and religious discourse, women are considered to have a particular nature that means they need special care. Consideration of this stereotype needs to be given in order to develop appropriate ways for women to receive information about evacuation. While there may be value in disrupting this stereotype, it might also be beneficial to explore ways that it can be used to enable women to play a greater role in DRR.

"We would support anything our husband asks."

Women are positioned as subservient to their husbands. A possible way forward in this regard is to ensure husbands are on-board with women receiving DRR training.

"The shelter is also not equipped with toilets."

Shelters must be equipped with spaces for women to take care of personal hygiene and that of their children. While men can more easily manage without special facilities, for women to manage, provision must be made for their particular needs.

"Formula is easiest – but now the health department do not allow us to provide formula."

The Indonesian government, as with many governments across the world, has gone from a pro-formula to a pro-breast milk policy regarding the feeding of infants. While such a move is to be generally supported, in a post-disaster area, where the mother may be injured or her milk dried up, there needs to be alternative ways of feeding infants. Recommendations to have stores of formula might be a beneficial path to pursue.

While Indonesia is yet to implement a clear gendered strategy, it is not alone in originally dismissing gender as an area of concern. Indeed, an interesting observation has been made by Suzanne Paisley (personal communication, July 2019) who noted that other standards

were not originally gendered. For instance, SPHERE, which developed a global humanitarian standard of good practice, did not originally include a gendered perspective. Indeed, the people who originally developed the standards refuted the truth of different groups having specific needs vis-à-vis food and water. In other words, they erroneously assumed that lactating mothers did not need more food or water compared to non-breastfeeding women. The SPHERE standards have subsequently developed so that they now include a gender perspective.

Indonesia now purports to uphold SPHERE standards, which is clearly evidenced according to the SPHERE website: <https://www.spherestandards.org/countries/indonesia/>. As such, Indonesia needs to take more decisive action in tangibly showing how it supports gender within its DRR project. More about SPHERE and their humanitarian standards can be found at the following link: <https://www.spherestandards.org/humanitarian-standards/humanitarian-charter/>.

“We tell them disaster is part of God’s plan.”

With religion permeating Indonesia to the degree it does, it is useful to find a way to ensure this logic does not impede DRR. For instance, rather than dismissing this sentiment, using religion to promote DRR might be useful. Working with religious organisations to put forth the idea that, while disaster is part of God’s plan, preparation is also part of God’s plan, might be one way to facilitate DRR.

[Have you done DRR with the sellers at traditional markets?] “I’m afraid that they worry more about their goods. In some cases, during evacuation, the women don’t want to evacuate. They fear looting. Me too, sometimes. In the market, most sellers are women.”

In addition to being primary caregivers, women may also be responsible for the protection of property. In such cases, it is difficult for women to evacuate. Consideration of how women will be compensated for lost goods might help with evacuation.

“We have the local pregnant map – we know where they are located.”

It is great to see that local communities recognise the particular vulnerabilities of pregnant women, which, as Michele Daly (personal communication, July 2019) notes, is likely due to the requirement to do so in Law 24/2007. It is worth following up to ensure these maps are kept current and, more than just knowing where pregnant women are, what the plans are to assist their evacuation.

“In my village men and women have equal rights and positions. We don’t discriminate against gender because we deal with our responsibilities together.”

In many of the focus groups there were efforts to stress that men and women were equal. Reading further into such statements it is possible to suggest that people think women and men are separate but equal. What this entails is that men and women have particular strengths and roles. DRR work should ensure a full understanding of gender relations so that a separate but equal ideology does not discriminate against women’s ability to evacuate and be resilient.

“In addition, women must get permission from their husbands before they join a group or attend meetings.”

Further efforts towards DRR should take account of the fact that women may need their husband’s permission to participate in DRR work. Indeed, women may need permission to evacuate. If this is the case, various approaches can be taken. For instance, within Muslim communities, working with local mosques may be a way for women to be granted permission to engage in DRR work and to evacuate without a husband’s express permission.

5.0 WHERE TO FROM HERE?

5.1 Factors to Consider in Order to Empower Women in Disaster Risk Reduction

Numerous factors need to be considered in order to empower women in DRR. Information needs to be found out about each community and how women's roles and supposed natures are constructed within them. To shed light on this, an examination of women's experiences of daily life is essential. For instance, are women mostly at home in the day or are they mostly in the fields working? We also need to know what women know about disasters and how they get information – is it through gossip, social media, television? While this was asked in focus groups, observation is a key way to triangulate what people say and what people actually do. Further, all local parties need to be involved in DRR from the highest to the lowest levels. There also needs to be understanding of how women respond to disaster. Some of the focus groups mentioned the notion of *gotong royong*, which is the idea that everyone in the community should pitch in and help. In this case, what roles are allocated and who do women help first? At what level is response organised? What effective systems are in place? Are there emergency services? Intimate knowledge of local situations will enable strategies to be put in place to empower women in DRR.

5.2 Strategies to Put in Place to Improve Disaster Risk Reduction for Women

There are a number of possible strategies that can be put in place to assist women with regards to DRR. One option is to deploy the current discourse around women as wives and mothers to the advantage of women in DRR. For instance, instead of trying to extend women's roles and rights beyond that of wife and mother, it might be beneficial to exploit that discourse for a good end. In order for women to be able to take care of their children, for instance, they need to have information around DRR.

DRR can be improved for women by ensuring that women have a real voice in all planning and decision-making. Often women are only appointed to decision-making boards for show or to fill a quota. Such appointments do not necessitate that women be listened to. Policy-making should ensure that women's voices contribute to DRR. Further, working through existing power structures might be useful. For instance, in Lombok, the role of Tuan Guru (religious leader) is a critical avenue through which to spread DRR information. In West Sumatra, the role of Mamak (mother's brother) might be usefully incorporated.

A further strategy to improve DRR for women is to train local women to conduct focus groups in the local language. Having people come from outside, even fellow Indonesians, and run focus groups can create power imbalances. Having local women trained to conduct these instead would be an excellent way to ensure women's voices are heard. Moreover, it is useful to train members of various minority communities to ensure LGBT, disabled, youth and elderly members all have an equal voice in DRR projects.

To ensure women are fully empowered in DRR work, practical simulations need to take place at various times. For instance, if a disaster were to happen during Friday midday prayers, all men would be at the mosque. Would women cope well at this time? Further, if a disaster were to happen on a stormy night, would women feel able to use the evacuation paths and shelters? The intersectionality of women must also be borne in mind during these

various simulations. For instance, a lower-class woman with a disability will be differently impacted than a high-status, able-bodied woman. DRR must then be cognisant of how the intersectionality of women impacts them differently according to class, ethnicity, ability, sexuality, etc.

Data should be collected through various approaches to research methods. For instance, various compositions of focus groups might result in richer data being collected. Women talking amongst women similar in terms of age, class and ethnicity might result in different information than mixed gender and mixed status groups. While in some instances it is instructive to have women and men together, it is also important to have women-only focus groups. Moreover, it is important to think about the composition of women – women of high status might unduly influence the direction of the focus group. It is difficult to compare regions on the basis of one focus group, so it will be good to follow-up with future work to see if the regions recognise the role of women differently. To extract valuable information about gender and DRR it is important to elicit the views of women and men, as well as a range of gendered subject positions. This project had a primary focus on cis-women (that is, gender normative women) and, given time and funding constraints, it is necessary to limit focus in such a way. Future projects can augment this with a focus on a broader range of gendered people.

See Appendix 3 for photos of the focus groups to give a sense of who participated.

A specific focus for future research might be the vulnerability that women face from intimate family members after a disaster. Extensive research (for an overview, see Xu et al. 2016) reveals that domestic violence rises in the aftermath of disasters, and it would be good to investigate this and explore ways in which women and children can be kept safe.

One suggestion that arises from an analysis of these focus groups is to use existing power structures as a way to empower women in DRR. For instance, women noted that they had to get permission from their husbands to attend training sessions. We only know of the women whose husbands gave permission – there might be many women who wished to attend but could not because their husbands refused permission. In such a scenario, working with local mosques could be useful. If the imam (religious leader) told men that their wives must attend these training sessions in order to more effectively perform their roles as wives and mothers during an emergency, all women might then be granted permission to attend. It might also be useful to have children attending such discussions.

Future work can also ensure the inclusion of gender-based aspects of age, disability, mobility, access to information and access to income and other resources that are key determinants of vulnerability. There is also scope for conducting a historical analysis of disaster damage experience disaggregated by sex for vulnerability and capacity identification. Also, work can identify risk (i.e. age, disability), capacity (transgender groups, existing networks) and role models and can ensure information is disseminated in accessible languages. The development of WhatsApp groups is likely to be an effective way to share information.

Final Take-Away Points

The final five strategies that are worth reiterating are the following. In order to ensure that women can fully participate in and benefit from DRR projects it will be useful to:

- Recognise the cultural value placed on women as wives and mothers and exploit this in order to enable women's full participation in DRR.
- Acknowledge the strength of local religions, especially Islam, and work with mosques and imams to ensure women's contribution is valued and enabled.
- Make use of dominant government policy and patriarchal ideology that stresses the family principle (azas kekeluargaan) and harmonious familial relations to include women in all aspects of DRR.
- Appreciate the value of including all community members, such as women, men, LGBT, religious leaders, NGOs, auxiliary government groups, etc., to contribute to DRR efforts.
- Employ creative ways of sharing information that are accessible to a variety of women, including through songs, art works and stories.

While the data available does not yet allow us to comment on the sustainability of StIRRRD, we anticipate that the interventions undertaken, combined with raising awareness around the importance of having a gender-sensitive DRR process, will greatly assist DRR in Indonesia.

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APPENDICES

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APPENDIX 1 INDICATIVE TOPICS AND QUESTIONS IN THE FOCUS GROUP

1. Exploring the local context
 - Geographic context (location of area)
 - Social context (roles of men, women, children, community leaders, etc.)
 - Issues or problems experienced as part of daily life
2. Exploring people's understanding of natural hazards in their local area
 - What do they know about the local hazards?
 - Where do people get their information about hazards from (e.g. official information, personal networks, traditional knowledge, etc.)?
3. How people deal with natural hazards, disasters and emergencies (reducing risk, preparedness, response, recovery)
 - People's understanding of official ways of dealing with hazards, disasters and emergencies (official planning, response, etc.)
 - How local community members actually address natural hazard risk (if they do)
4. Issues that have been arising while dealing with hazards and disasters (these also link with issues as part of daily life, e.g. poverty)
 - Practical issues in terms of preparedness and response
 - Vulnerabilities
 - Gender issues (linking with power, performance of tasks, etc.)
5. 'Systems' that exist to help vulnerable people cope in daily life and/or emergencies
 - How is it working now?
 - Can it be improved, and how? (incorporating strengths, capabilities)
 - What kind of work 'systems' in daily life could be applied in emergencies?
6. Suggestions for 'Where to go from here?' by community members
 - How to use the focus group discussion process to the benefit of the community (e.g. disseminate information more widely, start DRR identification and planning process)
 - How to improve DRR in general

APPENDIX 2 GENDER DISAGGREGATED DATA FOR FOCUS GROUP PARTICIPANTS

The following is gender-disaggregated data for the participant data in each focus group.

Table A2.1 Gender-disaggregated data for focus group participants.

No.	Focus Group Discussion Area	Number of Participants	
		Women	Men
1	Donggala District	9	8
2	Mataram Municipality	8	6
3	Bengkulu Municipality	9	8
4	Pesisir Selatan District	4	8
5	Agam District	10	3
6	Seluma District	8	4
7	Sumbawa District	13	8
8	Morowali District	14	7
	Total Number	75	52

APPENDIX 3 PHOTOS OF FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS (FGD)



Figure A3.1 FGD in Kota Bengkulu, Bengkulu (2015).



Figure A3.2 FGD in Pesisir Selatan, West Sumatera (2015).



Figure A3.3 FGD in Seluma, Bengkulu (2015).



Figure A3.4 FGD in Sumbawa, West Nusa Tenggara (2015).



Figure A3.5 FGD in Agam, West Sumatra (2015).



Figure A3.6 FGD in Mataram, West Nusa Tenggara (2015).



Figure A3.7 FGD in Mataram, West Nusa Tenggara (2015).