

## IMPACT OF DISASTERS ON WOMEN

Bikash Chetry<sup>1</sup>

### Abstract

*This paper attempts to explain the impact of disaster on women as their roles in disaster management have largely been ignored. They are portrayed as a “Victims” of disasters and their strength and coping strategy are largely been ignored in the policy framework. Despite having provisions for inclusion of women representatives in local governance processes, gender relationship are bias towards males does not allow women to meaningfully participate in decision making fora. While lapses in good governance practices alienate women’s voices further, leaving virtually no room to meaningfully contribute towards the reduction of their vulnerability. It is important to explore and analyze the impact of disaster on gender, as the gender roles varies between men and women so as the impact of disaster varies between both socially, economically and psychologically. Men are traditionally assigned the role of family provider while women in the home take up the role of homemakers. Multiple roles of women curtail their presence from the public sphere, while it places men prominently in decision making process which makes women vulnerable. So, it is important to lay emphasis on this and it is important to make disaster management gender sensitive.*

**Keyword:** *Disaster, Impact, Vulnerability and Women.*

The number of disasters over the world is increasing year by year. These disasters include natural calamities as well as manmade conflicts like war, terrorist attack, chemical abuse etc. As per the Red Cross report over the last decade an average of 242 million people per year were killed and affected by disasters and conflicts. Natural catastrophes reportedly cost an estimated US\$ 78.7 billion per annum. Nearly 90% of the natural disasters occur in the developing countries and these countries also account for 95% of deaths which occur due to these disasters. By 2025 it is estimated that 80 percent of population will start living in the developing countries and out of this, 60 percent of the population will become vulnerable to various disasters. In a country like India which is highly vulnerable to natural disasters due to its geographical position, loss to the tune of about 2% GDP (World Bank survey Year NA, cited from UNDP-GOI 2009-12) on an average. It is important to address the problem and to achieve sustainable development goals by ensuring that the development activities are disaster resilient.

*“Disaster doesn’t discriminate; it has same social and economic impact on both men and women. However, the ways gender is perceived by society or community lead to difference in how men and women of different age group deal with the disasters”.* It is important to explore and analyze the impact of disasters on gender, as the gender roles vary and are culturally determined. The impacts of disaster on both the genders vary socially, economically and

---

<sup>1</sup>Bikash Chetry, Research Associate, Indian Institute of Management, Lucknow, Noida Campus, Uttar Pradesh - 201307

psychologically. The coping capacity of men and women also differs and they have implication on their vulnerability and capacities.

Men are traditionally assigned the role of family provider and protector, as the wage-earner and as the liaison between the home and the public sphere while women in the home mostly take up the role of homemakers, the bearers of children, and primary caregivers. The multiple roles of women in the home front curtail their presence in the public sphere, while it places men prominently in decision making processes. This is when they are found to exercise their power and control the others in the family, pertinently the women. Monique Wittig states that power is used to subordinate and exclude women. Materialistic feminist approach shows that we take for the cause or origin of oppression as imposed by the oppressor (Wittig, 1983).

Disaster management has largely been male centered and the dominance of men and masculine culture has been posed essential to the prevalent discourse (Morrow & Enarson, 1996). On the other hand, if we operate from Eco feminist perspective, women are seen closer to nature, and are known to have efficient coping strategies. During the Orissa super cyclone (1999) the women demonstrated being very active throughout the Disaster Management cycle and cultural practices which was passed from one generation to other helped them to cope from disaster. Hence one may infer that the role of a woman in Disaster management cycle could be very significant but continue remaining unnoticed and undervalued. Societal prejudices view women as a weak, passive, incapacitated victims in disaster whereas women of different age groups plays an active role in the disaster management cycle. Hence the underlying causes of gender inequality in disasters need to be explored in order to address it and the development practioner's should ensure that awareness of gender among people.

## Introduction

Women are seen as vulnerable to disaster because of their low economic status, decision making power, lack of participation in disaster management cycle. Most of the vulnerable theorist agrees that women are at the risk when hazardous conditions unfold as a disaster. Therefore in order to understand the implication of Disaster on women, it is important to integrate the idea emerged from the Feminist theory, Kalwant Bhopal says:

Emerged as [an] important area of study... [and] it is important to look at the position of women in society, with the limited access to power , division of labour or their gender roles and expecting them to behave in particular manner this results to limit the mobility and achievement leads to vulnerability of women from the disaster (1997).

Gender inequalities in society are deeply rooted in the social and cultural practices of the society. Power relations or access to resources vary between men and women, and it differs from one community to another. Women in disaster-prone communities are more vulnerable than men and disasters tend to have more impact to women compared to male. For instance, several studies have showed that the mortality rates for women during disasters are often several times higher than men. During the tsunami of 2004, women accounted 70 percent of deaths in the affected area (Oxfam International, 2005). Study by Neumayer and Plumper in 2007 depicts that the gender discrimination during the disaster leads to higher death of women than of men during

disaster. Women try to 'cope' with the disaster but their attempt to survive through the disasters takes a lot of personal sacrifices and compassion as well as accepting psycho-physical burden. Their coping efforts are often challenged by the gender inequalities and handicapped by the power relations both within the households as well as in community. Despite having provision of inclusion of women in local decision making bodies, gender relationships having a bias towards males and it does not allow women to meaningfully participate in the decision making fora which further increases their vulnerability while lapses in good governance practices alienate women's voices further, leaving virtually no room to meaningfully contribute towards the reduction of their vulnerability.

### ***Determinates of Women's Vulnerability during Disaster:***

Gender based construct marginalize women irrespective of their caste or economic status and women and girls are economically and socially weaker in comparison to men which lead to inequalities and make them more vulnerable. Hence, they can be categorized as "Vulnerable within the Vulnerable" (Ariyabandhu & Foenska, 2006). Women in the relief camps become victims of the patriarchal society in which it is taboo for the women to go male doctors. Women in camps usually opt not to see male doctors. This shows gender insensitivity during the relief camps. It is often seen in relief camps pregnant women lack obstetrical care and young women lack access to sanitary supplies. Often, supplies in relief programs are distributed by men, and displaced female victims feel uncomfortable attaining them from the males

Women by their **gender roles and responsibility** in the family inclusive of bearing, nurturing, rearing children, caring of elderly and sick etc. which are done voluntarily without getting any economic remunerations. These roles of women are linked to their reproductive roles which place men in more public and powerful area and fetches them social recognition and economic rewards, and makes women more vulnerable as their inability to participate in the disaster management cycle becomes less. Thus the role of women remains as the secondary caretakers and is largely been overlooked. Similarly, in disaster like 2005 Kashmir earthquake were women folks were largely affected because "*when the disaster struck in the area many women were inside doing household chores which resulted large number of women lost their life*" (Oxfam International, 2005).

In disaster the new roles gets added to the women's existing roles and makes them more vulnerable to disaster. Study on Rajasthan drought (2005) after the disaster struck in the area a large numbers of men migrated to other areas for job. While most of the women stayed behind in the villages. This adds burden on them, especially when the availability of adequate nutrition and clean drinking water dwindles in the family and it becomes women responsibility during disasters. Disaster also decreases women chance to involve in paid work because of their increased drudgery at home.

**Role stereotyping** is largely been seen in South Asian countries where women are primarily identified in their reproductive roles and men are identify in relation to their roles which gives them economic remunerations. As the other socially accepted norms with role stereotyping excludes women from the development planning. In case of disaster where women are made to shoulder many responsibilities and negotiates multiple roles in life as the women reproductive roles makes them more vulnerable in case of disaster. Disaster also leads to changes in the gender roles where women are seen as helping hands in male work such as digging wells,

involving in relief and rehabilitation in spite of their efforts in disaster management it remain overlooked and rarely documented. The literature depicts that Women are seen recovering slowly from the disaster as compared to men, as they are not mobile as compared to men because of their gendered division of labour and makes them less mobile. It is largely observed in disaster situation where men often migrate and women are left behind because of their gendered division of labour. Women often doesn't get financial assistance and mostly it is given to man by making them exposed and vulnerable, this make it makes it difficult for them to survive.

**Purdah** as a patriarchal cultural institution prevents women from engaging in social economic roles and creates seclusion of women from outsiders as it results inability to access relief goods which prescribe women vulnerability to the. During the Earthquake of Kashmir 2007 purdah system (gender segregation or seclusion of women from public life) was seen as one of the major factor contributed to the location of women inside the private spaces of home. Areas where purdah system was not being followed most of the women flee from their houses during disaster and were able to save their life (Kumar, 2001). In other studies done in Bangladesh showed that how women did not respond to flood or cyclone warning because of the purdah system it leads to seclusion and mobility of women.

**Swimming ability** appeared to be the significant protective factors against the mortality and it is likely that more women would have survived the tsunami if they would have known swimming (Guha-Sapir & Parry, 2005). During 2004 tsunami in India statistic exposes the gender inequalities in disaster In Cuddalore 391 women died as compared to 146 men. In Pachaankuppam only women died. In Nagapattinam, 2,406 women and 1,883 men died. In Devanampattinam, 42 women and 21 men died. The higher number of female deaths led to a shift in gender ratio, otherwise referred to as "gender breakdown".Patriarchal tradition restrict women from entering into sea in fishing communities during the 2004 Indian ocean tsunami and it is seen as a taboo, due to which women didn't know how to swim at the time of disaster and most of the women lost their lives after the disaster and this was evident in other disaster situation as well apart from this in most of the communities women are not socialized. They are not allowed to climb trees and it is seen as taboo and labeled as behaving like 'Boy'. After the disaster struck many women could not save their life as they didn't know how to climb trees (Oxfam International, 2005).

**Inheritance laws, tradition, social pattern, marriages** etc. reinforces women to be dependent on men which contribute to their unfavorable access to resource and their home based responsibility limits their mobility and as they have lack of power to change things in house and societies makes the vulnerable and victims of disaster. It is quite evident in India where women don't have equal socio- economic position as men, and they fail to provide economic support to family and access to necessary resources and make the female headed household more vulnerable to disasters.

If we look at rural women their fallback position like access to ownership/ control over productive means and resource are limited. As most of the women being uneducated, unemployed these factors make them deterrent due to which they struggle with the forces nature as well as society. Disaster recovery phase clearly shows biasness in participation, access and rights as women are less represented in leadership and decision making process also their multiple roles and invisibility of their contribution in emergency management were clearly observed during the Tamil Nadu Tsunami (Ariyabandhu, 2006).

### ***Impact of disaster on women:***

Gender is prevalent division which affect all societies, and which takes away the social and economic resources away from the women and tend towards men (Blackie et al., 1994). Gender refers to roles responsibility, needs, interest of both men and women. It is important to ensure Gender equity in disaster management, so that there is no sex based discrimination in the allocation of the resources or in access to resources. Yet, large majority of poor women in India, faced gender based discrimination or differences and their relative bargaining position of the family members is determined by their fallback position which depends on their inter and intra household social and economic factors (Sen, 2005).

The impact of disaster is usually measured by looking at the number of deaths or injury or by estimating the damage in land, property, livestock etc.. Disaster affects men and women differently depending on their social and economic position within the family and society. The vulnerability of women increases because of the subordinate position in the family arising out the patriarchal value systems. They becomes more susceptible to injury and loss due to their Lack of control over means of production, low access to resources and control over it, less access to information and participation makes them vulnerable to various disaster.

### ***Economic impact:***

Disasters often cause large numbers of deaths and extensive destruction of infrastructure and economic assets. Between 1975 and 2008 the International Emergency Disasters Database registered 8,866 such natural events (excluding epidemics) that killed a total of 2.3 million people. This caused economic losses of \$1.5 trillion (UNISDR, 2009). Disaster leads to huge economic loss, employment patterns are changed, livelihood are being lost and creates economic insecurity among women it deprive women from job and income. In normal situation where women are already in disadvantage because of the less employment opportunities after the disaster it decreases further. Men's have the option of migrating for employment but women are left behind because of their gendered roles which impacts them to recover from the disaster (Ariyabandhu, 2005). Natural disasters greatly impacts women's economic insecurities because of their less access to resources. In most cases, women who lose their husbands after disaster have to take on the unprepared responsibility of becoming the bread winner of the household. Gender stereotypes and social structures may limit their opportunities in disaster situation. The immediate impact of natural disasters leads to an increase in women's workload also they have to incorporate earning wages along with their socially required tasks such as caretakers, caregivers, and nurturers. In a study done in Chitwan district, Nepal(2010), showed that after the disaster women had limited option of employment, as a result of which even after the seven years of disaster occurrence they were not able to compensate its impacts (Kafi, 1992). After the disaster men's started migrating for employment and women were left behind with the need of work to survive after the disaster. However, the gender restriction on occupation, child care responsibility restricted women from employment (Enarson, 2001).The ability to earn money for poor women is essential for their survival before, after and during disaster yet women's paid and unpaid works is not be understood by the policy makers, relief providers who responds to survivors.

All societies differentiate members on the basis of age and sex. This differentiation can be seen in the industrialized and agrarian societies as well where the status of women is formal dependent on the family and hence they are structural subordinated. Sexual discrimination can be

seen in the industrialized capitalistic societies which are dependent on wage labour relations in the form of denial of domestic labour as productive, unequal access to jobs and unequal wages (Wellesley Editorial Committee, 1977). Research has established very clearly that women's entries in the labour market are primarily seen as the addition to their domestic responsibility. Women works in seasonal wages jobs only during the peak demand periods and they have accommodated themselves in this situation which have remain unchanged for generations. Established male dominated social control mechanism show that the women and children's are the first who gets neglected or abused during the disaster management. Women encounter strong institutional barriers to organizational efforts. Women are less likely to organize, either out of seclusion, lack of education, or outright threat. After the disaster in some case women's economic dependence on men may increase further, during the drought in Sri Lanka it was seen that cultivation of the crops has been decreased and no women were being engaged for cultivation during the drought. After the disaster it is seen that women are forced to sell their personal belongings (jewellery, property etc.) to secure food for their family. Economic losses can have a term impact for long time. Household assets (utensils or jewellery etc.) become important for the survival and these assets are owned and controlled by women. In order to survive during the disaster women takes loans from moneylender and they tend to become long term laborers.

### ***Social cultural impact:***

Disaster responses and experiences are largely been shaped by the cultural, ideological, and religious viewpoints and shows how our responses are never neutral in disaster. Poverty and socio-economic deprivation heighten women's vulnerability during the disaster. Socio cultural beliefs which are practiced often prohibit women's from ownership of land and other production technologies. Disaster tends to crush the socio-cultural fabric of the household from the demise of the near and dear one, migration or by decline in the cultural activities. In agrarian economies, usually take dominant role in the societal social culture activities after the disaster struck in the area people tend to postpone or cancel the socio-cultural practices (agrarian rites and rituals, education, marriages etc.) because of their economic loss this situation where evident after the Orissa cyclone and many other disaster (Swain, 2007).

In some cases disruption of power supply led to theft, burglary and molestation of women which tend to affect their social life. After disaster it seen that the widows who lost their husband had limited freedom to participate in the religious and auspicious function they are stigmatized of inauspiciousness and kept away from the functions and they are also restricted to wear certain clothes (Scanlon, 1998). It is also seen that many young girls or widows after the death of their parents or husband are being forced to get married to their relatives or to moneylender for the debt taken by the relatives. Women were being abused by the male and many women who lost their husband are being overburdened and had to take to take care of the family, children, and domestic work and earn livelihood. So the status of women gets weaker also their ability to negotiate within and outside the family.

Young girls who menstruate for the first time they have to go through complex cultural rituals which keeps them in seclusion for many days before they were bathed and integrated within the regular routine. In Pakistan after the Earthquake in 2005 it was observed that women were not involved in the camp management by the religious organisation and they were also barred from participating in the relief phase (Rural Development Policy Institute, Islamabad 2006).

After the Sri Lanka Tsunami the socio cultural set up in the country were like that the father or husband were registered as the head of the households and single women were being left and during the government relief distribution programme men were focused and women rights or their access to relief were bypassed and the indicators showed that female headed households were one who recovered last from the disaster. Lack of credit facility, Access to credit, Lack of marketing skills affects women post disasters. Women have lack of training in cooperative administration and management, as well as in financial recordkeeping. These characteristics in societies hinder the development of preparedness and mitigation strategies from disaster. All these maladies are the symptoms of serious lack of women's empowerment in socio, economic and political terms.

### ***Psychological impact:***

One of the well-known characteristic of any disasters is stress which affects people to a large extent. It varies from person to person but it is always present in the different phases of disaster management. Unusual situation such as emergencies or disaster are themselves are powerful stressors that lead people to experiences stress. Stress is a state of physical, psychological and behavioral imbalance elicited by an individual's inability to cope according to the situation. Stress is felt when people "strive to retain, protect or build resources... from what is threatening to them or the loss of the resources" (Hobfoll, 1989). Women experience greatest stress due to their multiple responsibilities and low social status in the family and society. It is well known that stress weakens women capacity to resistance or ability to cope from the disaster. Shocks, disbeliefs, anxiety, sleep disturbances etc. are the common reactions of disaster and the long term effect of the disaster can be seen for two to three years after the disaster- which can also include alcoholism, depression, child and spouse abuse, anxiety etc.

Disaster impacts women the most it is quite evident as case studies tend to convey that women are more psychologically impacted from the disaster then men as they are forced to take up new roles after the disaster. It increases the emotional stress among women as the resources are required to feed the family which gets depleted by the disaster and as not being to meet this responsibility adds to helplessness and depression among women. At the same time biological experiences like child birth creates repercussion on women health which require special care but that is largely being ignored during disaster interventions. Disasters to larger extent impacts women as compared to men case studies reveals in Chitwan district, Nepal during every rainy season women were haunted by the fear of the possible breaking of embankment along the river Rapti (Center for Policy Studies, 2001). Mental anxieties were seen in most of the women from the prospect of harm to their families through landslides in Nawalapitiya, in Sri Lanka (ITDG South Asia, 2001). After the 1993 floods in Chitwan Nepal "Were women suffered from the post disaster reaction like nightmares and horror of future flood for a long time after the disaster struck in the area (Center for Policy Studies, 2001). Earthquake of Great Hanshin Awaji earthquake 1995 showed that most of the girls were largely being affected by trauma of the disaster as compared to boys.

After the disasters the care giving role of women has been increased as they have to take care of the elderly, sick, injured as they live in the relief camps without sufficient food and water which creates pressure and upset them psychologically. Studies have found that that large number of women and girls were reported being suffering from the Emotional disorders and distress as

compared to men after the disaster. After the disaster it is seen that women's becomes the victim of violence, sexual harassment and abuse after the drought in Rajasthan in some villages women were being harassed and exploited by the upper caste groups and contractors when they went for work (Kumar, 2001). In disaster situation women tries to mitigate hazardous condition by preparing the household they take concrete steps in order to protect the possessions and property and to save the life of their children and family members. They were seen volunteering more in the community for the preparedness programme and becomes important communicators in the community with their large social networking they shares the hazards information to other members. Studies has shown that at many communities women participate in the process of clearing debris, clean ups or in the relief and rehabilitation process and they try to organize resources for their family. It is largely been seen that women predominantly provides the emotional and physical need of male partners, differently abled, children, and other dependents. But the Relief and rehabilitation process are largely focused on the materialistic support being provided to people. But the psychological impacts of disasters on women have not given much importance. This is important for the long term survival of women and other marginalized groups in the area.

### **Conclusion**

According to the vulnerability theorists, disasters are the product of social, political and economic environment, and all encompasses occurrences which reveal the power structures which are responsible inequalities in society and makes some population more at the risk of exposure than other. Therefore, if we look at the Indian Ocean tsunami, it showed that women's vulnerability was perpetuated from the patriarchal system which leads to unequal gender relation. Most of the disaster relief efforts are only confine to meeting the immediate needs rather than addressing and lessening the effect of vulnerability. In order to reduce the gendered vulnerability of disaster, it is important that both women and men are given equal opportunities and resources and relief and rehabilitation need to be enhanced. Also women voices needs to hear while making policies. Empowerment of women needs not to be threatening to men, rather seek to incorporate measures to improve women's status in society. Empowerment is sophisticated, multidimensional phenomena. It is like a ladder with many steps in it like education, economic independence, political power etc. and all these are needs to climb by women in order to achieve it.

Disaster gives opportunity to the people to reconstruct differently for crisis management for socio economic transformation through the reconstruction. In the reconstruction phase it has largely been seen that women are portrayed as victims of the disaster and their role during the disaster management has been overlooked or ignored. Women play an important role in the disaster management cycle but with the pervasive influence of the gender relation, gender division of labour etc. becomes important factors in making women vulnerable to disaster and this factors needs to analyse in disaster management. It is also largely seen that women's strengths and resourcefulness are being ignored so it is important to lay emphasis on this and it is important to make disaster management gender sensitive.

Disaster management requires multi- disciplinary and proactive approach. As it is dominant in the three dimensions of the development such as economic, social and environment so it is important to consider disaster management in maintaining sustainability of the environment. Women's vulnerability is context specific. The overall vulnerability of marginal people (such as

poor, physically/mentally challenged, ethnic minority etc.) in any given hazardous geophysical context is high. However, among any such group of marginal people, vulnerability of women is of the highest order. Resilience building demands women's empowerment in all aspects of life: physical and mental, social, economic, political, and cultural. The State must assume responsibility to remove common and known barriers towards empowering women. Special attention is also required to ensure that a barrier needs to be removed with needs-based targeted programmes and practices. Though it appears obvious that simple coping would not help women much to reduce their vulnerability, raising awareness regarding the anticipated elements of risks and early warning could facilitate them to strengthen their approaches to coping. However, such programmes must be tailor-made to cater the needs of the target audience – the women and the disadvantaged.

### References:

Ariyabandhu, M. & Wickramasinghe, M. (2005). *Gender dimension in Disaster Management: A guide for South Asia*, ITDG South Asia, New Delhi: India edition published by Zubaan.

Blaikei, P. Wisner, B. Cannon, T. & Davis, I. (2004). *At Risk: Natural hazards, People's Vulnerability and Disasters*, (2<sup>nd</sup> Ed.), New York: Routledge.

Centre for Policy Studies, (2001). 'Gender issues in Livelihood and Disasters – a case study of Nepal' carried out by ITDG Nepal.

Enarson, E. (2001). 'We want work: Rural women in the Gujarat Drought and Earthquake', Report based on a Quick response grant from the Natural Hazards Research and Application Center and the National Science Foundation, p9

[www.colorado.edu/hazards/qr/qr135/qr135.html](http://www.colorado.edu/hazards/qr/qr135/qr135.html).

Enarson, E. & Fordham, M. (2001). Lines That Divide, Ties That Bind: Race, Class, and Gender in Women's Flood Experiences in the U.S. and Canada, *Australian Journal of Emergency Management* 15 (4): 43-52.

Enarson, E. & Chakrabati - Dhar, P.G. (ed. 2009). *Women, Gender and Disaster: Global issue and initiatives*, New Delhi: Sage.

Fordham, M. & Anne-Michelle, K. (1998). Men must work and women must weep: examining gender stereotypes in disaster, in Enarson & Morrow (eds.), *The Gendered Terrain of Disaster*, Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Publications.

Guha-Sapir, D., Parry, L.V., Degomme, O. (2005). *Risk factors for mortality and injury: Epidemiological finding from Tamil Nadu*, Brussels: Center for Research on the Epidemiological of Disasters (CRED).

<http://www.em-dat.net/documents/Publication/RiskFactorsMortalityInjury.pdf>

Hobfoll, S.E. (1989). Conservation of resources: a new attempt at conceptualizing stress. *American Psychologist*, 44(3), 513-524.

Kafi, S.A. (1992). *Disaster and Destitute Women, Twelve case studies*, Bangladesh Development Partnership Center: Dhaka p23.

Kumar S. (2001). *Livelihood and Drought, a gender differential, Rajasthan*, Centre for Disaster Management Rajasthan State Institute of Public Administration: Jaipur, India, p11.

Morrow- Betty, H. Enarson, E. (1996). Hurricane Andrew through Women's Eyes: Issues and Planning Recommendations, *International Journal of Mass Emergencies and Disasters* 14 (1) p1-22.

Oxfam International, (2005). *The Tsunami's impact on women Oxfam Briefing Note*.

Scanlon, J. (1998). *The perspective of gender: a missing element in disaster response*, in Enarson & Morrow (eds.), *the Gendered Terrain of Disaster*, Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Publications.

Sen, A. (2005). Gender and cooperative conflicts. In B. Agarwal, J. Humphries & I. Robeyns (Eds.), *Capabilities, Freedom and Equality: Amartya Sen Work from a Gender Perspective*. Delhi: Oxford University Press

Swain, M. Lenka, J. & Mallick, M. (2007). *Gender Perspective in Disaster Management*, New Delhi: Serials Publication.

UNDP-GOI, (2009-12). *Disaster Management in India*, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi.

United Nations International Strategy for Disaster Reduction Secretariat (2009). *Global Assessment Report on Disaster Risk Reduction: Risk and Poverty in a Changing Climate Geneva*: United Nations. Xiv p207.

Wellesley Editorial Committee. (1977). *Women and National Development: The Complexities of Change*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Wickramasinghe, M. Friedrich, E.S. (2000). *From Theory to action- women Gender and development* (based on the Harvard Framework, A Casebook: Gender Roles in Development Projects, West Hartford, and CN. Kumarian Press .

Wittig, M. (1983). *The Trojan Horse' Feminist issue*, Vol. (3)2.