

Disaster studies inside out

JC Gaillard Associate Professor, School of Environment, The University of Auckland, New Zealand

Disaster studies is faced with a fascinating anomaly: frequently it claims to be critical and innovative, as suggested by the so-called vulnerability paradigm that emerged more than 40 years ago, yet often it is perpetuating some of the core and problematic tenets of the hazard paradigm that we were asked to challenge initially. This paper interrogates why such an anomaly persists. In so doing, it employs Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony to unpack why disaster studies is still dominated by Western epistemologies and scholars that perpetuate an orientalist view of disasters. Ultimately, it suggests a research agenda for the 40 years to come, which builds on the importance of local researchers analysing local disasters using local epistemologies, especially in the non-Western world. Such subaltern disaster studies are to be fuelled by increasing consciousness of the need to resist the hegemony of Western scholarship and to relocate disaster studies within the realm of its original political agenda.

Keywords: disaster studies, epistemology, hegemony, orientalism, vulnerability

*In memoriam of Bernard Manyena,
a friend, colleague, advocate, and proud Tonga chieftain.*

Forty years of disaster studies

There is no doubt that disaster studies has changed over the past 40 years. For the better. We have witnessed the emergence and expansion of the so-called vulnerability paradigm that has altered not only the way in which disasters are understood, but also how policies and practices to reduce disaster risk are designed. We have (almost) all come to rebut the proposition that disasters are natural, so that anyone daring to use the misnomer 'natural disaster' now attracts widespread criticism. We have all recognised that disasters result from the unequal distribution of power and resources between those who are more vulnerable and those who are less so. Yet, in saying this, we have also acknowledged that even the most marginalised people in society are not helpless 'victims' when dealing with disasters. They all possess knowledge, resources, and skills that gather as capacities. Many seminal papers published in *Disasters* over the course of the past 40 years well reflect this theoretical evolution, so that the journal nowadays constitutes a major insignia for the proponents of the vulnerability paradigm.

In pushing for this paradigm shift, we have all claimed to be innovative and critical so that the vulnerability paradigm is also known as the radical paradigm, and therefore an apologia for critical scholarship. As such, disaster studies has been instrumental in the emergence of broader and highly influential fields of scholarship, such

as environmental justice and political ecology. As Jim Blaut (1993, p. 13) once realised, though, in the context of Western imperialism, we may be facing a fascinating anomaly. Have we indeed completely grasped the full implications of our critique of the hazard paradigm, or, rather, are we perpetuating some of its core and most problematic tenets? Have we actually taken on the challenge set up for us 40 years ago by the pioneers of the vulnerability paradigm? This paper will argue that we may have only done so in part. In fact, in many aspects, disaster studies still mirrors a Western hegemony that we were meant to contest in the first place.

A brief epistemology of a paradigm shift

Let us recall that the vulnerability paradigm emerged in the 1970s in reaction to the then dominant hazard paradigm. It was designed to push back against the idea that disasters are the consequence of extraordinary hazards that overwhelm people and societies (Hewitt, 1983). It encouraged us instead to consider disasters within the context of everyday life and how power and resources are shared within society—that is, to appraise vulnerability to disaster as a cultural, economic, political, and social construct. This was seen as a critical departure from the then common understanding of disasters. We had to ‘radically rethink the causal relationships involving people and nature’ (Wisner, Westgate, and O’Keefe, 1976, p. 548).

The vulnerability paradigm was the bearer of a strong political agenda amidst emerging and broader postcolonial thought led by Frantz Fanon (1961), Paulo Freire (1970), and Edward Said (1978). The unequal power relations between, on the one hand, those who had long defined international scholarship, in Europe and other Western countries, and, on the other hand, those who had been studied in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, were at the core of this agenda. Western technocratic views of disasters were considered skewed and inappropriate inside their homelands and more significantly outside of them. They were seen as the mere justification for imposing neo-colonial policies and actions to reduce the risk of disaster in the rest of the world (Comité d’Information Sahel, 1975; O’Keefe, Westgate, and Wisner, 1976; Wisner, Westgate, and O’Keefe, 1976).

‘A change in the whole approach to disaster’ was needed (Lewis, 1976, p. 8). We were challenged not only to amend the way in which we understood disasters, moving from nature to society, but also to reconsider the way in which we study them, the way we come to think about them (Ball, 1975; Copans, 1975; O’Keefe, Westgate, and Wisner, 1976; Wisner, O’Keefe, and Westgate, 1977). As Eric Waddell (1977, pp. 75–76) suggested, our interpretation of disasters was ‘dictated by the constraints of the methodology’ that was not ‘necessarily dictated by reality, but rather by a social scientific tradition in the West which fragments reality and which promotes a type of functional analysis that is profoundly ahistorical’. Consequently, we had to move away from rigid research methods, relying, for example, on standardised questionnaires that were designed by outsiders, that is, Westerners. Approaches that Robert

Chambers (1981) coined quick-and-dirty and criticised for being skewed by the so-called tarmac and dry-season biases, whereby outside researchers focus primarily on easily accessible places at convenient times of the year.

We were encouraged, therefore, to embark on an epistemological journey that was meant to take us away from the certainties of Western scholarship. We were meant to challenge the hegemonic rules and values of Western science that were underpinning the whole transfer of knowledge and technology associated with the then dominant strategies to reduce the risk of disaster; strategies embedded within the broader neo-colonial relationships imposed by Western governments on the rest of the world (Comité d'Information Sahel, 1975; Copans, 1975; Said, 1978).

The concept of vulnerability was the springboard for this journey, but in no way was it a 'silver bullet'. In fact, it was used rather as a prompt to uncover issues and processes that lead people to be adversely affected in the event of hazardous phenomena. James Lewis (1979, p. 116) was even questioning whether the very concept of disaster could be 'a wholly Western concept, introduced by alien administrations from alien sources and adopted for practical and pragmatic advantages?'. Thus, in no way were Western concepts meant to be rolled out in all sorts of settings and locations as the panacea to comprehend and address the root causes of people's hardship (Richards, 1975). This would contradict the very essence of the paradigm shift.

Research, instead, was meant to be driven by local scholars within their own countries (Lewis, 1979) or by local people themselves through genuine participatory research outside of the academic environment (Wisner, O'Keefe, and Westgate, 1977). Local researchers were meant to study disasters on their own terms using indigenous perspectives and concepts. Consequently, research was to be moved away from the silo of Western science and academic institutions, whose role, beyond their surrounding localities, was supposed to shift from drivers to supporters. We were all to acknowledge that local researchers and people affected by disasters are as good and capable as Western scientists, and that their views could underpin indigenous and context-specific initiatives to reduce the risk of disaster and support their demand for action by the state.

Have we risen to the challenge?

Forty years later have we really completed this 'revolution in thinking about disasters' (Wisner, Westgate, and O'Keefe, 1976, p. 548) initiated in the 1970s? For sure, as noted in the introduction to this paper, we have moved forward and our general understanding has changed to capture better the social dimensions of disasters.

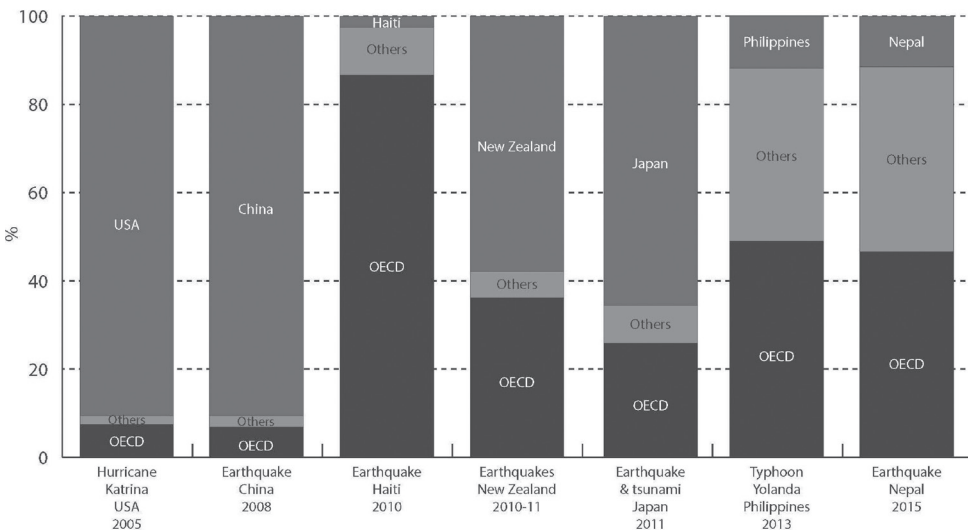
The concept of vulnerability has become a mainstay of disaster research, and virtually all researchers interested in studying disasters, whatever their background, are now handling the concept in one way or another (Hewitt, 1995; Wisner, 2016). Many have made it their own. Sometimes within very meaningful perspectives. Sometimes within a taxonomic approach. In other instances in a direct link with

natural hazards, through cognate concepts such as ‘exposure’ (to natural hazards) and indicators such as demographic data. In many instances, therefore, vulnerability has been emptied of its political and social essence. The political agenda frequently has vanished.

The concepts of vulnerability and disaster have also been rolled out across continents, including in places where they cannot be translated into local languages. The former, in particular, has been imposed on people who have been struggling to make sense of its scope, as if adopting the language of the West was a symbol of elevated status and more rigorous values (Fanon, 1952). A couple of decades ago, in a seminal, unconventional article, Mihir Bhatt (1998) actually asked whether vulnerability could and should be understood beyond its Western academic acceptance. Many studies are still framed, nonetheless, through the lens of Western science, perpetuating a hegemony that was meant to be challenged. As Bhatt (1998, p. 71) suggests, a study driven by an outside researcher is likely to be ‘filtering what she or he reads through the conceptual framework, assumptions, and values of her or his culture and, as a result, is creating false “stories” that fit her or his expectations’.

Hence, ultimately, disaster studies continues to be dominated by Western scholars, whatever the location of the disaster or study area. A review of articles published in *Disasters* since its inception in 1977 reveals that 84 per cent of authors are affiliated with institutions based in countries that are members of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)—an imperfect but probably the closest available proxy for the West. Meanwhile, 93 per cent of those who died in large-scale disasters across that time scale were living in non-OECD countries, according to the EM-DAT database of the Centre for Research on the Epidemiology of Disasters (2018).

Figure 1. Unequal distribution of authorship (based on affiliation of lead authors) for the seven disasters that stirred the greatest interest between 2005 and 2015



Source: author, using data from Scopus, <https://www.elsevier.com/en-gb/solutions/scopus> (last accessed on 3 December 2018).

A closer examination of the broader Anglophone literature (yet another Western bias) for disasters that have stirred the largest number of publications further mirrors the Western hegemony over disaster studies (see Figure 1). American, Chinese (the exception amidst OECD-member countries), Japanese, and New Zealand researchers, have largely controlled research carried out in their own countries following recent major disasters. Yet, most of the research initiatives conducted in the aftermath of disasters that occurred in Haiti, Nepal, and the Philippines have been led by scholars based in OECD countries. So, how can local knowledge be considered paramount and local stakeholders be the leaders of disaster research? Is there not enough capacity elsewhere than in the West (and China) to perform research?

The continuing interest of Western scholars in these large-scale disasters further reflects what, a few years ago, we called the ‘gold rush’ (Gaillard and Gomez, 2015). The ‘imperative’ of collecting ‘perishable’ data often results in an influx of Western researchers, frequently with limited knowledge of the disaster-affected areas and with insufficient time to collect enough background information, to learn the local language, and to get to know the local culture, leading regularly to misconceptions (Killian, 1956). Researchers, nevertheless, continue to prioritise large-scale disasters to the detriment of smaller events, despite mounting evidence that the latter are most people’s priorities, mainly because the latter have a larger cumulated impact and contribute to a ratchet process of marginalisation among the affected (Lavell and Maskrey, 2014).

In the end, it turns out that the way in which disaster studies is conducted has not really changed over the past 40 years, certainly not as much as the pioneers of the vulnerability paradigm envisioned back in the 1970s. In fact, there seems to be more rhetoric than actual commitment to change.

Perpetuating the hegemony: disaster studies inside out

Why does, therefore, disaster studies claim to be so critical and radical when, in fact, it has not achieved as much as it suggests it has? Worse, in many aspects, disaster studies may still be perpetuating the hegemony of Western scholarship in the rest of the world.

Hegemony is a soft and subtle approach to exerting power based on consent rather than coercion (Gramsci, 1971). It mirrors ‘political leadership based on the consent of the led, a consent which is secured by the diffusion and popularisation of the world view of the ruling class’ (Bates, 1975, p. 352). Intellectuals, in the perspective of Antonio Gramsci, including not only academics and researchers of all types, but also the policymakers who trust them and take on their recommendations and the journalists who spread their word across society, are key in generating and transmitting the knowledge that underpins the world view of those in power (Femia, 1981). In fact, concepts and theories spawned by Western scholars are central to understanding the perpetuation of the hegemony of the West in disaster studies.

Power and knowledge are intrinsically linked. Establishing a body of knowledge is a prerequisite to the exertion of power, as much knowledge reflects power relations (Foucault, 1975). In fact, the study of disasters in the non-Western world by Western scholars does not differ from what Edward Said (1978) called Orientalism or the study of the Orient by Western anthropologists, geographers, and historians over past centuries. Despite strong criticism and counter-examples provided by the proponents of the vulnerability paradigm 40 years ago, this scholarship continues to be skewed by experiences learnt from studying disasters in the West through the lens of Western theoretical frameworks and worldviews. Ironically, Lewis (1979, pp. 113–114) stated almost 40 years ago that ‘preoccupation with Western concepts and Western disasters and Western outsider response to overseas disaster has hindered any study and analysis of the perception of and response to hazard in third-world countries, and in societies and cultures different from our own’.

This body of skewed knowledge has indeed legitimated decades of international disaster policies that have built on the transfer of experience and resources from the West to the rest of the world, based on the assumption that because the West suffers fewer casualties it knows best what works independent of local contexts (Bankoff, 2001). As such, intentionally or not, disaster studies has fuelled an imperialist disaster risk reduction agenda that, in no way, is different to other ‘sectors’ of the broader development agenda (Escobar, 1995).

Western scholarship nowadays continues to dominate disaster studies and exert its influence over the rest of the world. It still constitutes the centre out of which ideas emerge and eventually spread, maintaining centuries of combined hegemony and diffusionism (Said, 1978; Blaut, 1993). The West is where research ideas shape up and where funding and equipment are available, where many researchers who study disasters in the rest of the world come from, and where those who lead publications are affiliated. The world of disaster studies thus has a core and a periphery, an inside and an outside to echo the words of Blaut (1993). Insidiously, the hegemony of Western scholarship further trickles down to within countries in the non-Western world, where scholars and universities located in capital or other dominant cities exert the same power/control over institutions and researchers at the periphery, reflecting a progressive Westernisation of academia (Altbach, 2004).

The instruments of the hegemony of Western scholarship

The hegemony of Western scholarship has only been possible because of a coincidence of interests between Western scholars and their non-Western counterparts, the drivers and the partners, the principal investigators and the co-investigators in the lingua of contemporary research, thus initially suggesting active consent, in the vocabulary of Gramsci, on the part of the latter. The former have given up some (small) amounts of funding and, to some extent, consider the ideas of the latter who, in turn, have seen such resources as an opportunity to gain research experience,

develop collaborations, access expensive equipment, conduct more fieldwork, and publish in international journals with native English speakers, thus boosting their own careers. However, decision-making, as well as intellectual and financial leadership, most often remain in the hands of Western scholars. This skewed convergence of interests has created an equilibrium that underpins the hegemony of the West in disaster studies.

The co-investigators or partners of the Western scholars who somehow benefit from the system are, though, but the ‘tip of the iceberg’. What about the multiple research assistants, interpreters, and students who collaborate on projects led by Western scholars in contexts with which they are unfamiliar? That is, those who Sarah Turner (2010) calls the ghost-workers, or the subalterns of disaster studies (Gramsci, 1971; Guha and Spivak, 1988). Some of them may be included on the list of co-authors of publications. Some are not. Some students may benefit from bursaries to pursue their postgraduate studies in Western universities, but is this not a perpetuation of the Western hegemony and diffusionism when non-Western scholars learn how to research the Western way (Altbach, 2004)? Was Michel Foucault right when he suggested during a famous television debate with Noam Chomsky on ‘human nature: justice versus power’ in 1971 that ‘the university and in a general way, all teaching systems, which appear simply to disseminate knowledge, are made to maintain a certain social class in power; and to exclude the instruments of power of another social class’?

The hegemony of Western scholarship in disaster studies is accentuated by the continuing expansion and growing influence of the publications industry, controlled by Western publishers increasingly driven by indicators such as the number of citations the articles they produce receive. As such, only those that match standardised expectations of how an argument should unfold and is structured are worth publishing, overlooking other worldviews and approaches to research (Canagarajah, 2002). In disaster studies, an article written in English with a title that refers to vulnerability is much more ‘marketable’, therefore, than others written in Nahuatl, Telugu, or Wolof, for instance, which must use long sentences to capture something that only approximates what Westerners usually mean by vulnerability. Within such an environment, is there any room to take on the challenge of the pioneers of the vulnerability paradigm to emphasise local and indigenous knowledge in an understanding of disasters?

Scholars of disaster studies are also encouraged to publish as quickly as possible following major disasters. The first papers, and increasingly blogs, to appear in the literature or on the internet are likely to receive attention from the media, bringing fame to the researcher’s institution, while, in turn, fuelling the gold rush and all of its ‘awkward’ practices (Gaillard and Gomez, 2015). The hegemony of Western scholarship is furthered by the continuing expansion of open-access journals that charge (very) expensive publication fees. Is it not the ultimate form of imperialism when only the wealthy can publish and circulate their knowledge among the less affluent while contributing to the prosperity of Western publishers along the way?

The traditional approach to publishing is not much better, but, at least, offers an opportunity to everyone to publish, while any researchers can approach authors to seek a copy of their publications.

The rapid expansion of these expensive open-access journals reflects the increasing pressure to publish that all scholars feel, both in the West and elsewhere (Danell, 2011)—evidence of increasing accountability towards centres at the detriment of the peripheries. Ultimately, this reflects the increasing power of neoliberal academic institutions and associated funding agencies over researchers who are often struggling to secure their own position within the system and, therefore, are forced, consciously or unconsciously, to consent passively to perpetuating the hegemony (Altbach, 2004).

Where to in the next 40 years?

This may seem like a bleak picture of disaster studies and of our ability to move forward within the contemporary research landscape and the hegemony of Western scholarship, including that of Western research institutions, publishers, and funding organisations. Yet, most of us seemingly are conscious of the situation and of the limited progress we have actually made over the past 40 years. Should we agree with the tenets of the so-called vulnerability paradigm, we should nonetheless commit ourselves to uphold further its agenda and decolonise our approach to researching disasters (Tuhiwai Smith, 2012). As Kenneth Hewitt (1994, p. 8) once suggested: ‘among other things, such work seems to involve and require a different *modus operandi*, methodologies and perspectives: a view from within rather than outside communities, a participation in the sense of crisis. One requires insight rather than oversight; a capacity to listen to, comprehend and interpret experience and circumstances expressed in vernacular language rather than technical ways. In sum, one will have to recognise, assess and express the “view from below”’. We can surely do better in rising to this challenge.

Consequently, four key items should be on the agenda for the next 40 years:

1. We should encourage local researchers who know best local contexts to study local disasters. Their ‘own’ disasters. This is critical in the non-Western world that suffers most but where local voices are most often unheard or filtered through Western epistemologies or even suppressed by state power. As Hewitt (1995, p. 330) notes: ‘letting those in hazard speak for and of themselves, is one of the few possibilities for keeping the faces and pain in the foreground of interpretation and response’. Such an approach does not preclude the collaboration of Western or outside scholars, especially when they have built extensive connections and trust with their local counterparts, but the former should become supporters rather than leaders. Local researchers should become principal investigators, lead authors, and main presenters. In fact, should we really want to fulfil our commitment to critical (radical?) disaster studies, let us then invite non-Western researchers to collaborate in studying disasters in the West. One can indeed argue that many

- of the latter have greater first-hand experience of disasters and hence should be in a strong position to inform research and policies in the West, rather than the other way around.
2. In so doing, local researchers should move away from Western sources, concepts, and methodologies. We need different epistemologies to reflect diverse local realities. A sort of subaltern disaster studies should emerge driven by increasing consciousness of the capacity and knowledge of not only local researchers but also local people to conduct their own research to inform their own practice of disaster risk reduction (Guha and Spivak, 1988). ‘Our understanding of disaster needs to be turned inside out and not the other way around, as it tends to become, thanks to the “expert” notions of what is a disaster’ (Jigyasu, 2005, p. 59). Interestingly, such alternative approaches to research and broader theorisation of the processes that shape our everyday lives have emerged in many other fields of studies (see, for example, Connell, 2007; de Sousa Santos, 2007; Tuhiwai Smith, 2012). Why not in disaster studies?
 3. Pushing this agenda and rising to the challenge set for us 40 years ago requires an ‘intellectual and moral reform’ (Gramsci, 1971). There are enough brilliant scholars in Africa, Asia and the Pacific, and Latin America to lead this process and raise consciousness among their peers. Consciousness, here, is essential to resist the hegemony of Western science and scholarship and build on available resources (Freire, 1970). Such a process will take time and will require collaboration with all parties and trust in each other. Indeed, the reform needed to complete the paradigm shift initiated in the 1970s must not be a contentious or conflictual one that would exclude all Western and outside researchers. It has to be an integrative epistemological and political journey (Guha and Spivak, 1988).
 4. In the end, the study of disasters has to be relocated within its political agenda. The progressive political hollowing out of disaster studies has contributed to the ‘anti-politics machine’ that disaster risk reduction has become (Ferguson, 1993). Technical fixes predominate because disasters continue to be seen as technocratic issues, as they were 40 years ago (Hewitt, 1983). To paraphrase Chambers (1983), asking whose knowledge and research benefit whom should be at the core of our agenda for the 40 years to come. Transferring power to local scholars to take the lead in studying disasters should be the first political and symbolic move to embrace fully the challenge set for us 40 years ago. One that informs current policies and practices geared towards reducing the current risk of disaster, as much as to avoiding the creation of new risks in the future (Lewis and Kelman, 2012; Wisner and Lavell, 2017).

Disasters, as the pioneering journal in the field of disaster studies, and the one that has spearheaded the advancement of the vulnerability paradigm, is probably a good place to start to rise to this challenge and to advance our agenda. If so, maybe, in four decades time, we will meet at last the expectation of the first editors of the journal that it ‘will cease its publication as soon as possible’ because suffering owing to disasters will have ended.

Acknowledgements

The author is grateful to Tanay Amirapu, James Lewis, Alice McSherry, and Ben Wisner for comments and suggestions on early drafts of this paper.

Correspondence

JC Gaillard, Associate Professor, School of Environment, The University of Auckland, Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142, New Zealand. Telephone: +64 (0)9 923 9679; fax: +64 (0)9 373 7434; e-mail: jc.gaillard@auckland.ac.nz

Endnotes

¹ See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3wfNl2LoGf8> (last accessed on 3 December 2018).

References

- Altbach, P.G. (2004) 'Globalisation and the university: myths and realities in an unequal world'. *Tertiary Education and Management*. 10(1). pp. 3–25.
- Ball, N. (1975) 'The myth of the natural disaster'. *The Ecologist*. 5(10). pp. 368–371.
- Bankoff, G. (2001) 'Rendering the world unsafe: "vulnerability" as western discourse'. *Disasters*. 25(1). pp. 19–35.
- Bates, T.R. (1975) 'Gramsci and the theory of hegemony'. *Journal of the History of Ideas*. 36(2). pp. 351–366.
- Bhatt, M.R. (1998) 'Can vulnerability be understood?'. In J. Twigg and M.R. Bhatt (eds.) *Understanding Vulnerability: South Asian Perspectives*. Intermediate Technology Publications, London. pp. 68–77.
- Blaut, J. (1993) *The Colonizer's Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History*. Guilford Press, New York, NY.
- Canagarajah, A.S. (2002) *A Geopolitics of Academic Writing*. University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh, PA.
- Centre for Research on the Epidemiology of Disasters (2018) *EM-DAT: The International Disaster Database*. <http://emdat.be> (last accessed on 30 November 2018).
- Chambers, R. (1981) 'Rapid rural appraisal: rationale and repertoire'. *Public Administration and Development*. 1(2). pp. 95–106.
- Chambers, R. (1983) *Rural Development: Putting the Last First*. Longman, London.
- Comité d'Information Sahel (1975) *Qui se Nourrit de la Famine en Afrique?* François Maspero, Paris.
- Connell, R. (2007) *Southern Theory: The Global Dynamics of Knowledge in Social Science*. Allen and Unwin, Crows Nest, Sydney.
- Copans, J. (ed.) (1975) *Sécheresses et Famines du Sahel*. François Maspero, Paris.
- Danell, R. (2011) 'Can the quality of scientific work be predicted using information on the author's track record?'. *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology*. 62(1). pp. 50–60.
- de Sousa Santos, B. (ed.) (2007) *Another Knowledge is Possible: Beyond Northern Epistemologies*. Verso, London.
- Escobar, A. (1995) *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ.
- Fanon, F. (1952) *Peau Noire, Masques Blancs*. Le Seuil, Paris.
- Fanon, F. (1961) *Les Damnés de la Terre*. François Maspero, Paris.
- Femia, J.V. (1981) *Gramsci's Political Thought: Hegemony, Consciousness, and the Revolutionary Process*. Clarendon Press, Oxford.

- Ferguson, J. (1993) *The Anti-Politics Machine: "Development," Depoliticization, and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, MN.
- Foucault, M. (1975) *Surveiller et Punir: Naissance de la Prison*. Gallimard, Paris.
- Freire, P. (1970) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Herder and Herder, New York, NY.
- Gaillard, J.C. and C. Gomez (2015) 'Post-disaster research: is there gold worth the rush?'. *Jàmà: Journal of Disaster Risk Studies*. 7(1). <http://jamba.org.za/index.php/jamba/article/view/120> (last accessed on 30 November 2018).
- Gramsci, A. (1971) *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. International Publishers, New York, NY.
- Guha, R. and G.C. Spivak (1988) *Selected Subaltern Studies*. Oxford University Press, New York, NY.
- Hewitt, K. (ed.) (1983) *Interpretations of Calamity from the Viewpoint of Human Ecology*. Allen and Unwin, Inc., Boston, MA.
- Hewitt, K. (1994) 'Shadow risks and hidden damage: problems in making visible the social space of disasters'. *Proceedings of the Seminario Internacional Sociedad y Prevencion de Desastres*. Mexico City, Mexico, 23–25 February 1994. pp. 1–15.
- Hewitt, K. (1995) 'Excluded perspectives in the social construction of disaster'. *International Journal of Mass Emergencies and Disasters*. 13(3). pp. 317–339.
- Jigyasu, R. (2005) 'Disaster: a "reality" or "construct"? Perspective from the "East"'. In R.W. Perry and E.L. Quarantelli (eds.) *What is a Disaster? New Answers to Old Questions*. Xlibris, Bloomington, IN. pp. 49–59.
- Killian, L.M. (1956) *An Introduction to Methodological Problems of Field Studies in Disasters*. Disaster Study Number 8. Committee on Disaster Studies, National Academy of Science – National Research Council, Washington, DC.
- Lavell, A. and A. Maskrey (2014) 'The future of disaster risk management'. *Environmental Hazards*. 13(4). pp. 267–280.
- Lewis, J. (1976) 'The precautionary planning for natural disaster'. *Foresight*. 2(2). pp. 7–10.
- Lewis, J. (1979) 'The vulnerable state: an alternative view'. In L.H. Stephens and S.J. Green (eds.) *Disaster Assistance: Appraisal, Reform and New Approaches*. Macmillan Press, London. pp. 104–129.
- Lewis, J. and I. Kelman (2012) 'The good, the bad and the ugly: disaster risk reduction (DRR) versus disaster risk creation (DRC)'. *PLOS Currents Disasters*. 21 June. doi: 10.1371/4f8d4eac6af8.
- O'Keefe, P., K. Westgate, and B. Wisner (1976) 'Taking the naturalness out of natural disasters'. *Nature*. 260(5552). pp. 566–567.
- Richards, P. (ed.) (1975) *African Environment: Problems and Perspectives*. International African Institute, London.
- Said, E.W. (1978) *Orientalism*. Routledge, London.
- Tuhiwai Smith, L. (2012) *Decolonising Methodology: Research and Indigenous People*. Second edition. Zed Books, London.
- Turner, S. (2010) 'The silenced assistant: reflections of invisible interpreters and research assistants'. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*. 51(2). pp. 206–219.
- Waddell, E. (1977) 'The hazards of scientism: a review article'. *Human Ecology*. 5(1). pp. 69–76.
- Wisner, B. (2016) 'Vulnerability as concept, model, metric, and tool'. <http://naturalhazardscience.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199389407.001.0001/acrefore-9780199389407-e-25> (last accessed on 30 November 2018).
- Wisner, B., K. Westgate, and P. O'Keefe (1976) 'Poverty and disaster'. *New Society*. 37(727). pp. 546–548.
- Wisner, B., P. O'Keefe, and K. Westgate (1977) 'Global systems and local disasters: the untapped power of peoples' science'. *Disasters*. 1(1). pp. 47–57.
- Wisner, B. and A. Lavell (2017) *The Next Paradigm Shift: From 'Disaster Risk Reduction' to 'Resisting Disaster Risk Creation' (DRR > RDRC)*. Keynote paper presented at the 'Dealing with Disasters Conference', Durham University, United Kingdom, 20 September 2017. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/320045120_The_Next_Paradigm_Shift_From_'Disaster_Risk_Reduction'_to_'Resisting_Disaster_Risk_Creation' (last accessed on 30 November 2018).