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Sustaining Life on the Fault Line: Women’s Social Reproduction and Grassroots Disaster Governance in Yogyakarta, Indonesia

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Abstract

Mainstream disaster resilience studies overwhelmingly privilege top-down institutional frameworks, leaving the socio-economic and care-oriented contributions of women undertheorized as constitutive forces in how resilience is actually produced at the community level. This study examines how women’s everyday practices and organizational capacities shape disaster preparedness, response, and recovery in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, a multi-hazard environment (MHE) defined by continuous geological stress from the Sunda Megathrust, the Opak Fault, and Mount Merapi. Drawing on a qualitative case study of Daya Annisa, a women-led grassroots organization in Bantul Regency, this study deploys Social Reproduction Theory (SRT) to analyze how women’s informal networks operate under conditions of structural vulnerability and state withdrawal. Data were collected through in-depth interviews (IDIs) and focus group discussions (FGDs) and analyzed using thematic coding synthesized through a Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats (SWOT) framework reinterpreted as an analytical lens on the structural conditions governing reproductive labor. The findings demonstrate that resilience is produced through gendered social reproductive labor embedded in daily routines: household preparedness integrated into *arisan* and *pengajian* gatherings, rapid collective crisis response organized through trust-based care networks, systematic grassroots data production that maps vulnerable populations, and informal livelihood strategies that absorb economic shocks during reconstruction. Organizationally, internal strengths such as high social cohesion and adaptive outreach to marginalized coastal communities are structurally constrained by chronic underfunding, leader concentration, and documentation burdens imposed by donor logics. By foregrounding SRT, this study argues that resilience is not a passive capacity to absorb shocks but the active, gendered, and largely uncompensated labor through which communities are materially sustained when formal state systems and capitalist markets collapse under geological duress. These findings call for disaster policies that recognize grassroots women’s organizations as autonomous governance actors and that compensate, rather than merely celebrate, the reproductive labor on which community survival depends.

Keywords: community-based disaster risk reduction; grassroots governance; social reproduction theory; women’s resilience

1 Introduction

Women have long functioned as primary organizers of community survival in disaster-prone regions, yet the mechanisms through which their labor produces resilience remain poorly specified in the dominant literature [8, 14]. In multi-hazard environments (MHEs), disasters do not merely destroy physical infrastructure; they strip away the formal systems on which communities nominally depend and force the work of sustaining life back onto informal, localized, and overwhelmingly gendered networks. The vast body of scholarship on disaster risk reduction (DRR) acknowledges women as important actors [16], but it tends to oscillate between two insufficient poles: either treating women as a particularly vulnerable population requiring protection, or celebrating women’s agency in generalized and depoliticized terms that obscure the material conditions under which that agency is exercised. What remains largely absent is a theoretically grounded analysis of the specific labor processes through which women-led organizations convert everyday social reproductive work into effective crisis governance.

Indonesia provides an especially productive context for this analysis. Positioned at the convergence of the Indo-Australian, Eurasian, and Pacific tectonic plates, the archipelago ranks among the most geologically volatile territories on the planet. Within this national context, the Special Region of Yogyakarta represents an extreme case. The region sits above the Sunda Megathrust, where active subduction of the Indo-Australian plate beneath the Eurasian plate generates persistent seismic stress. The Opak Fault, a localized structure cutting through the Bantul graben, ruptured catastrophically in the 2006 earthquake that killed over 5,700 people and destroyed

approximately 156,000 homes [1, 27]. The thick deposits of young volcanic material from Mount Merapi that fill the graben dramatically amplified ground motion during that rupture, producing severe liquefaction and lateral spreading across large areas of the built environment [29, 4]. This geological volatility is not episodic but continuous: the region exists in a state of persistent environmental stress that renders static, top-down preparedness infrastructures structurally inadequate.

The socio-political dimensions of this vulnerability have deep historical roots. In Javanese society, women have historically occupied a significant, if ambiguous, position within the informal economy and community governance. Javanese market women (*bakul*) have long managed household finances and maintained extensive trade and social networks that operate below and alongside formal political structures. During periods of crisis, community survival in Java has historically depended on *gotong royong*, a form of collective mutual assistance. The political genealogy of *gotong royong*, however, is more complex than its contemporary usage suggests. As Bowen [6] demonstrated, the Suharto-era New Order regime actively appropriated and depoliticized *gotong royong* as state ideology, transforming a heterogeneous set of local reciprocal practices into a uniform national narrative of communal harmony. This ideological operation served a precise function: by casting mutual aid as a spontaneous cultural trait, the state naturalized the extraction of unpaid community labor for development projects while simultaneously suppressing independent political organization at the village level. In the domain of disaster governance, this legacy persists. The Indonesian state continues to invoke *gotong royong* as evidence of inherent community resilience, a rhetorical move that obscures two critical facts: first, that this labor is overwhelmingly performed by women; and second, that its persistence compensates for, rather than supplements, the structural withdrawal of adequate state disaster response.

Within disaster studies, gender-sensitive approaches have gained increasing institutional support, notably through the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction [8]. Empirical research confirms that women’s participation in DRR improves early warning dissemination and strengthens household-level preparedness [14]. Yet the literature remains fragmented. Studies of women’s networks outside disaster contexts emphasize empowerment, micro-finance, and social collaboration [11, 19, 30] but rarely examine these dynamics under conditions of acute institutional disruption. Conversely, disaster resilience research has engaged productively with social capital [3, 21] but typically treats communities as internally undifferentiated units, effacing the gendered distribution of labor that actually sustains collective survival.

This study addresses these gaps by examining the activities of Daya Annisa, a women-led community organization based in Bantul Regency, Yogyakarta. Established in 2005 as a collective of women micro-entrepreneurs, the organization evolved into a grassroots body engaged in both women’s economic empowerment and disaster risk management. By deploying Social Reproduction Theory (SRT) as its primary analytical framework, this research examines women’s resilience not as an individual attribute or a generic community capacity, but as a collective labor process through which the material and social conditions of community survival are continuously produced and reproduced under geological duress. Three research questions guide the inquiry: how do women in Daya Annisa contribute to disaster preparedness, response, and recovery through everyday social reproductive practices? What internal organizational and external structural factors shape their capacity to function as grassroots governance actors? And what conditions enable or constrain the long-term sustainability of women-led disaster initiatives in MHEs?

2 Theoretical Framework

In disaster studies, resilience is conventionally defined as the capacity of systems to anticipate, absorb, adapt to, and recover from hazardous events [7, 24]. Early formulations treated resilience as an outcome: a measurable state of recovery, essentially the ability of a community to return to a prior equilibrium after disruption [20]. More recent scholarship has moved toward processual understandings, framing resilience as dynamic, relational, and socially embedded [3]. This conceptual shift is productive, but it does not go far enough. As Neocleous [22] argues, the resilience paradigm carries a deeper ideological function: it displaces responsibility for crisis management from the state onto communities and individuals, reframing what is fundamentally a political failure of public provision as a question of local adaptive capacity. When disaster policy instructs communities to “be resilient,” it implicitly demands that they absorb the costs of systemic failures through their own labor. This critique has particular force in MHEs defined by continuous geological stress, where the demand for resilience is not episodic but permanent. In such contexts, resilience is not an emergency capacity activated during rare crises; it is an ongoing labor requirement imposed on communities that live under perpetual threat. The question, then, is not simply whether a community is resilient, but *who performs the labor of resilience, under what conditions, and at whose expense.*

Answering this question requires a framework that can specify the material and gendered character of that labor. SRT provides precisely such a framework. Originating in the Marxist feminist tradition, SRT addresses the relationship between unpaid domestic labor and capitalist accumulation. Vogel’s [28] foundational analysis established that the reproduction of labor power—the daily and generational processes through which workers are fed, housed, cared for, socialized, and restored—constitutes a necessary condition for capitalist production, yet this reproductive labor is systematically externalized from the wage relation and assigned disproportionately to women. Bhattacharya [5] extended this analysis by arguing that social reproduction encompasses not only biological reproduction and household maintenance but the entire ensemble of activities through which human life is sustained: food provisioning, water gathering, caregiving, emotional labor, community organization, and the

maintenance of social ties. Fraser [13] further developed the framework by identifying a structural contradiction at the heart of capitalist societies: capital depends on social reproductive labor for its own continuation, yet its drive toward accumulation systematically undermines the conditions under which that labor can be performed. Fraser terms this the “crisis of care,” a tendency inherent to capitalism whereby the social reproductive capacities on which the entire system depends are progressively eroded through defunding, privatization, and the intensification of demands on households.

This contradiction becomes acutely visible during disasters. When formal state systems, supply chains, and market infrastructure collapse or become severely disrupted, the work of sustaining human life falls entirely onto localized and informal networks of social reproduction [15, 25]. Women do not simply “help out” during crises; they perform the essential labor of keeping people alive when the institutions nominally responsible for that task have failed. Federici [12] adds a crucial historical dimension. Her analysis of the transition to capitalism demonstrates that the privatization of reproductive labor within the nuclear household was not a natural arrangement but a political project, one that required the active destruction of communal forms of social reproduction and the enclosure of women’s labor within the domestic sphere. This historical perspective bears directly on the analysis of contemporary grassroots women’s organizations. When women collectivize their reproductive labor through communal gatherings, shared childcare, or coordinated emergency response, they are, in effect, re-establishing forms of communal reproduction that the capitalist organization of the household was designed to eliminate.

The intersection of gender, environment, and knowledge production has been productively theorized within feminist political ecology (FPE). Rocheleau et al. [26] established that women’s environmental knowledge is not merely supplementary to formal scientific expertise but constitutes a distinct epistemological resource rooted in the material practices of daily survival. This situated knowledge, generated through the everyday labor of provisioning, caretaking, and navigating immediate physical environments, often captures dimensions of vulnerability and ecological change that centralized data systems miss entirely. Nightingale [23] further demonstrated that the production of environmental knowledge is itself a site of gendered power relations, where the authority to define risk, map vulnerability, and allocate resources is distributed unevenly along lines of gender, class, and caste. These insights apply directly to disaster governance: when women in hazard-prone communities systematically document the locations and needs of vulnerable residents, they produce knowledge that formal institutional systems cannot generate at equivalent granularity or temporal resolution. This form of grassroots data labor constitutes counter-hegemonic knowledge production, challenging the state’s monopoly over the definition of who is vulnerable, what counts as valid data, and how risk governance should be organized.

The gendered dynamics of post-disaster recovery have received growing but still insufficient attention. Enarson and Morrow [10] documented that disaster recovery processes do not simply restore a prior social order but actively reconstitute gendered inequalities. Formal reconstruction economies tend to channel resources toward male-dominated sectors such as construction and infrastructure, while women are pushed into the most precarious, lowest-return economic activities. Adams [2] extended this analysis in the context of post-Katrina New Orleans, showing how the retreat of the state from reconstruction created a vacuum filled by faith-based organizations and informal community networks whose labor, predominantly performed by women, subsidized the state’s withdrawal. The reconstruction process depends structurally on women absorbing the volatility of transitional economies through flexible, underpaid, and frequently uncompensated labor. In geologically volatile regions where destruction recurs, this pattern is not a one-time adjustment but a permanent condition.

Existing frameworks illuminate important dimensions of the relationship between gender, disaster, and community action, yet significant gaps persist. Conventional resilience and social capital frameworks [21, 18, 9, 24] treat communities as internally homogeneous, ignoring the gendered distribution of reproductive labor. Gender-focused disaster research [8, 14] has identified women’s contributions but tends toward descriptive accounts that lack a structural theory of why this labor takes the form it does. Literature on women’s networks and empowerment [19, 30, 11] rarely examines these dynamics under conditions of acute institutional disruption. This study bridges these gaps by reconceptualizing women’s disaster resilience as the active mobilization of social reproductive labor functioning as grassroots disaster governance. From this vantage point, the everyday practices of women-led organizations in MHEs are not supplementary to formal disaster management; they constitute the material foundation on which community survival rests when formal systems collapse.

3 Methods

This study adopts a qualitative case study design to examine how disaster resilience is produced through everyday practices, social relations, and organizational dynamics. A qualitative approach permits close observation and interpretation of the lived experiences and collective meanings through which resilience is enacted in fluid and interdependent settings. The research was conducted in the Yogyakarta Special Region of Indonesia, specifically in disaster-affected areas within Bantul Regency and the coastal community of Parangtritis (Figure 1). This area is characterized by recurrent multi-hazard exposure driven by the active Java subduction zone, the historical seismicity of the Opak Fault, and a highly dynamic coastal geomorphology that exposes settlements to extreme marine conditions.

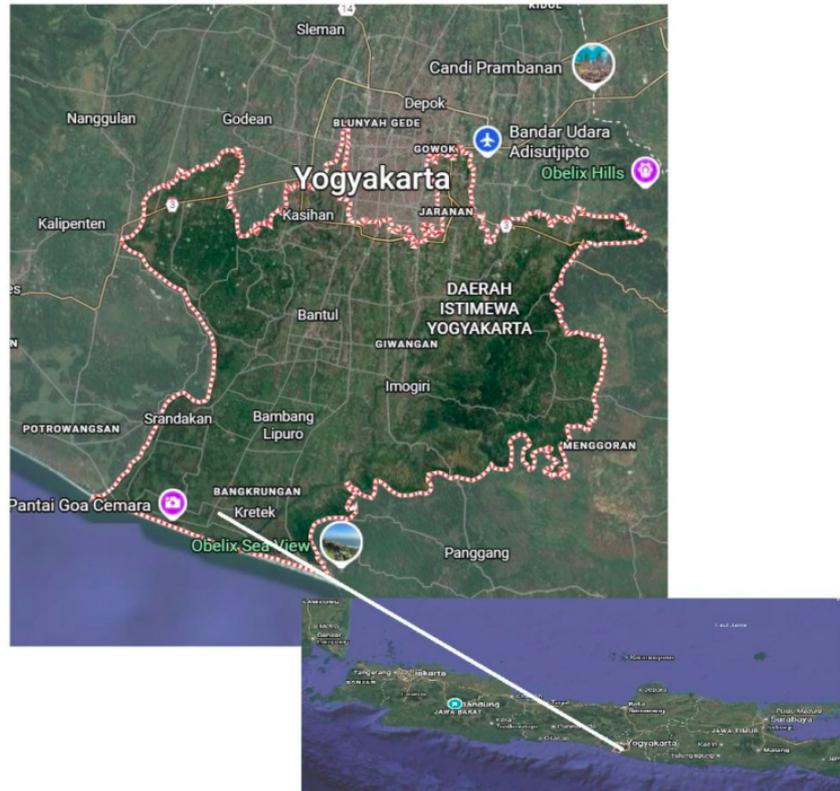


Figure 1: Study location: Bantul Regency, Indonesia. The region sits in a highly volatile multi-hazard zone bordered by the Indian Ocean to the south and intersected by the active Opak Fault.

The focal organization, Daya Annisa, emerged in 2005 from grassroots collective initiatives among women engaged in micro-enterprise. It operates as a non-formal, community-based organization grounded in locally defined needs, prioritizing social solidarity over formal state-registered institutional hierarchies. Its activities encompass livelihood support, disaster preparedness and response, and community capacity building embedded in everyday practices. The coastal hamlets of Parangtritis (Figure 2) serve as a critical observation site due to the dense proximity of settlements to hazardous coastlines and environmentally sensitive areas.

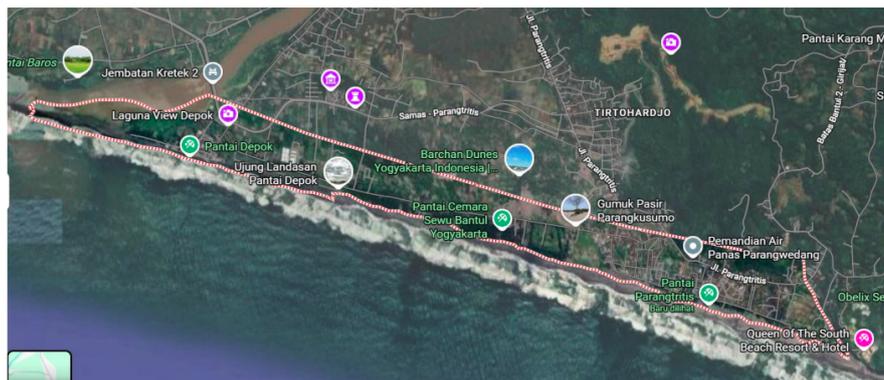


Figure 2: The Parangtritis Coastal Area, highlighting the dense proximity of settlements to hazardous coastlines and environmentally sensitive sand dunes (*Gumuk Pasir*).

Data were collected through two primary qualitative methods: in-depth interviews (IDIs) and focus group discussions (FGDs). Semi-structured IDIs were conducted with key informants directly involved in disaster management and women’s empowerment, including core members of Daya Annisa ($n = 4$), women beneficiaries representing diverse livelihood backgrounds ($n = 10$), Regional Disaster Management Agency (BPBD) representatives ($n = 2$), and local government officials involved in community development ($n = 3$). FGDs involved approximately 20 women living in disaster-affected areas of Bantul Regency, capturing collective experiences and community-level dynamics.

The qualitative data analysis followed a multi-stage process: familiarization with transcribed material, thematic coding guided by sensitizing concepts drawn from SRT, and synthesis using a SWOT framework. The

use of SWOT in this study requires clarification. Rather than treating SWOT as a managerial diagnostic in its conventional sense, we deploy it as a structured heuristic for distinguishing internal organizational capacities from external structural conditions, read through the lens of SRT. In this reinterpretation, organizational “strengths” correspond to forms of collectivized reproductive labor power; “weaknesses” map onto the structural devaluation of that labor within existing institutional arrangements; “opportunities” register openings within the state’s legitimation gaps; and “threats” index forces of accumulation and policy regimes that erode the conditions for social reproduction. This theorized use of SWOT permits systematic organizational assessment while maintaining analytical coherence with the study’s critical framework. Data triangulation was employed by comparing information across the different categories of informants to strengthen the credibility and trustworthiness of the empirical findings.

4 Results and Discussion

The empirical data demonstrate that women associated with Daya Annisa do not participate as passive recipients of formalized DRR programs. Instead, they actively embed disaster preparedness into routine social reproductive labor. Information on hazard risks, evacuation routes, and emergency procedures circulates continuously through weekly religious study groups (*pengajian*) and financial pooling gatherings (*arisan*) (Figure 3). By integrating preparedness into these familiar social spaces, risk awareness becomes normalized as a dimension of daily life rather than an externally imposed, episodic state mandate. This integration cultivates adaptive capacities incrementally through routine, ensuring that the community maintains high responsiveness to the continuous environmental stress that defines the region. The coastal geography of Bantul and Parangtritis is particularly unforgiving, characterized by recurrent multi-hazard exposure driven by tectonic volatility and dynamic coastal geomorphology. Building resilience through daily social reproduction ensures that communities do not depend on formal institutional infrastructures that consistently fail under geological stress.



Figure 3: Women participating in routine *arisan* and *pengajian*. These informal settings serve as highly organized spaces for localized data production and grassroots social resilience.

Read through SRT, the significance of these gatherings extends well beyond information dissemination. What occurs in *arisan* and *pengajian* is a process of collectivization: individually, each woman performing care work operates in relative isolation within the household, her labor invisible to both the state and formal disaster governance structures. When these women gather, they transform private reproductive labor into collective organizational infrastructure. This transformation carries a specific historical resonance. Federici [12] argued that the enclosure of reproductive labor within the private household was a precondition for capitalist accumulation, accomplished through the systematic destruction of communal forms of social reproduction. The gatherings organized by Daya Annisa women effectively reverse this enclosure: they re-establish communal reproductive labor as a basis for governance. The *arisan*, in particular, combines financial pooling with social coordination in a form that simultaneously addresses economic precarity and collective preparedness. These are not casual social events that happen to include disaster information; they are organized spaces where the collectivization of reproductive labor produces a form of grassroots governance that operates parallel to, and often in the absence of, the state.

A vital yet frequently invisible contribution of these women lies in their systematic community-based data recording practices. Participants routinely document localized demographic information, specifically identifying the residences of vulnerable populations, including children, the elderly, and disabled individuals, in direct relation to their immediate neighbors. Unlike aggregated national datasets that are often outdated or lack granular spatial context, these locally mapped records are continuously revised through daily social interaction and caretaking networks. This data labor functions as an integral component of inclusive preparedness, making vulnerable groups visible within local risk governance frameworks. Knowing precisely who requires assistance and who lives nearby enables rapid, socially embedded response mechanisms during emergencies. From the perspective of FPE [26, 23], this practice constitutes counter-hegemonic knowledge production. The Indonesian state maintains centralized databases on population and hazard exposure, but these datasets are typically produced through periodic census exercises and remote sensing technologies that cannot capture the granular, relational, and temporally dynamic character of neighborhood-level vulnerability.

The women of Daya Annisa produce knowledge through fundamentally different epistemological means: through embodied daily presence, through the relational labor of caregiving that generates intimate familiarity with each household’s composition and needs, and through social interactions that update this knowledge in near-real time. This grassroots data production challenges top-down disaster governance not merely by supplementing formal datasets, but by demonstrating that the most operationally effective vulnerability mappings are generated through the very social reproductive labor that formal institutions systematically devalue. The state’s inability to match this data resolution is not an accident of insufficient technology; it is a structural consequence of governing populations through abstract, aggregated categories rather than through the relational knowledge embedded in daily care work.

During actual disaster events, the everyday responsibilities of women for care and household provisioning scale rapidly into collective crisis management. Following the 2006 Yogyakarta earthquake, formal communication channels and state aid logistics were severely disrupted across the Bantul graben [17]. The empirical data show that women were consistently among the first to organize temporary cooking spaces, secure clean water, and distribute critical survival resources. Their trust-based social networks facilitated the rapid circulation of practical survival information regarding aid distribution points and supply availability, effectively replacing fractured institutional systems. This pattern is consistent with the dynamics Illner [15] describes: when formal capitalist markets and state infrastructures collapse, the burden of sustaining human life falls entirely onto localized and informal networks of social reproduction. What the data from Bantul underscore is the scalar continuity between routine and crisis. The women who organized emergency food distribution in 2006 did not acquire a new skill during the earthquake; they extended the social reproductive labor they performed daily, including cooking, provisioning, and coordinating care, into a context of acute urgency. The apparent “spontaneity” of community response that state narratives celebrate as *gotong royong* is, in fact, the product of long-accumulated organizational capacity built through years of collectivized reproductive work. As Bowen [6] documented, the state has historically appropriated the language of mutual aid to obscure the labor that sustains it. In the post-2006 context, the same dynamic operated: the state’s rhetorical celebration of community solidarity served to naturalize, and thereby render uncompensated, the massive expansion of women’s reproductive labor that actually kept people alive during the weeks and months when state services were absent or inadequate.

In the longer term, women contribute to disaster resilience through highly temporal livelihood strategies that bridge economic gaps during post-disaster recovery. While male household members typically seek stable long-term employment following catastrophe, women initiate short-term and informal income-generating activities: local trading, agricultural wage labor, and selling home garden produce. These activities secure immediate cash flow during the uncertain transitional period of reconstruction. The necessity for such strategies is dictated in part by the physical geological reality of the region. The Bantul graben, filled with thick, young volcanic deposits from Mount Merapi, significantly amplified ground motion during the 2006 rupture of the Opak Fault and produced extensive liquefaction and infrastructural collapse [4]. The resulting devastation of the local economy required highly flexible recovery mechanisms. Describing these strategies solely as “adaptive,” however, risks obscuring the structural relations they instantiate. The gendered division of post-disaster labor is not a neutral allocation of comparative advantages; it is a mechanism through which disaster recovery itself reconstitutes patriarchal economic relations [10]. Formal reconstruction economies, typically funded by international aid and state budgets, channel resources toward male-dominated sectors such as construction and infrastructure. Women are structurally pushed into the lowest-return, most precarious economic activities. As Adams [2] documented in the post-Katrina context, the retreat of the state from adequate reconstruction creates a gap that women’s informal labor fills, effectively subsidizing the state’s withdrawal through uncompensated reproductive and economic improvisation. In Bantul, the same dynamic operates. Women’s post-disaster micro-trading is not merely a coping strategy; it is the gendered mechanism through which the costs of geological hazard are externalized from the state and the formal economy onto women’s labor. Recognizing this dynamic requires reframing post-disaster livelihood strategies not as evidence of women’s resilience in the celebratory sense often deployed in development literature, but as evidence of the structural conditions that force women to absorb economic shocks that adequate state provision would otherwise mitigate.

An organizational assessment of Daya Annisa exposes significant internal capacities alongside severe structural constraints. These dynamics are articulated through participatory capacity-building sessions and disaster-related volunteer activities (Figure 4).



Figure 4: Disaster-related volunteer activities and participatory capacity-building sessions demonstrating the polycentric disaster governance model at the grassroots level. These sessions encompass knowledge transfer and disaster awareness briefings, participatory vulnerability and capacity mapping, presentation of community-identified mitigation strategies, and the solidification of organizational networks and volunteer coordination.

In terms of internal capacities (the “strengths” dimension of the SWOT framework), Daya Annisa exhibits high social cohesion, adaptive programming, and targeted outreach to structurally marginalized groups. The organization supports female-headed households in vulnerable coastal areas (*kampung janda*) through tailored micro-loans and skills training that formal banking institutions typically deny on account of collateral requirements. These capacities are not incidental organizational features; they are direct expressions of collectivized reproductive labor power. The social cohesion enabling rapid emergency coordination is built through years of shared caregiving, communal gathering, and reciprocal economic support. The adaptive programming that allows the organization to shift between livelihood support and disaster response reflects the flexibility inherent in reproductive labor, which by its nature must respond to changing and unpredictable needs.

The structural constraints facing the organization (the “weaknesses” dimension) include severely limited financial backing, heavy reliance on a small pool of active leaders, and notable gaps in formal administrative documentation. Interpreted through SRT, these constraints are not organizational failures in any straightforward sense. They are symptoms of what Fraser [13] identifies as the crisis of care: the systematic tendency of capitalist societies to depend on social reproductive labor while simultaneously undermining the material conditions necessary for that labor to be sustained. The chronic underfunding of grassroots women’s organizations reflects the structural devaluation of reproductive labor within existing political-economic arrangements. The documentation burden, similarly, is not a neutral administrative requirement; it is a mechanism through which donor institutions and state agencies impose the logics of formal accountability onto organizations whose primary mode of operation is relational, embodied, and embedded in daily life. The demand that grassroots organizations translate their work into the language of logframes, indicators, and measurable outputs subordinates the logic of social reproduction to the logic of institutional governance, penalizing organizations precisely for the qualities—namely informality, flexibility, and embeddedness—that make them effective.

External conditions present both openings and threats. Increasing international recognition of gender-responsive DRR, exemplified by the Sendai Framework, creates institutional space for organizations like Daya Annisa to claim legitimacy and resources. At the same time, the persistent tendency of disaster policy to operate through

short-term, project-based funding cycles threatens the sustainability of organizations whose effectiveness depends on continuous, long-term community presence. The geological permanence of the threat posed by the Sunda Megathrust and localized fault systems means that the demand for reproductive labor in disaster governance is itself permanent. Addressing this structural mismatch between permanent need and episodic funding requires a fundamental reorientation of how disaster policy values and compensates the labor on which community survival depends. Despite these constraints, the work of Daya Annisa demonstrates that grassroots disaster governance is constituted through social reproduction. The geological volatility of the region forces the Javanese social system into continuous adaptation. Daya Annisa mobilizes the historical autonomy of Javanese market women to coordinate and restructure the community during disruptions. The resilience of the Bantul community rests directly on the uncompensated care work and flexible economic improvisation of women, confirming that what is conventionally labeled “community resilience” is, at its material base, gendered reproductive labor.

5 Conclusion

The theoretical and policy stakes of this analysis converge on a single structural contradiction: the Indonesian state, and disaster governance regimes more broadly, depend materially on women’s social reproductive labor for community survival under geological duress, yet systematically refuse to compensate, institutionalize, or even formally recognize that labor as governance. Addressing this contradiction demands three concrete shifts in disaster policy: long-term, flexible funding mechanisms calibrated to the continuous temporality of reproductive preparedness rather than the episodic project cycles that currently burden grassroots leaders with administrative demands designed for formal bureaucracies; official integration of community-generated vulnerability data into local and regional risk assessment, acknowledging that the relational knowledge produced through daily care work captures dimensions of exposure that centralized datasets structurally cannot; and the institutional inclusion of grassroots women’s organizations as autonomous decision-making actors in disaster governance, not as implementers of externally defined agendas or as beneficiaries of empowerment programming, but as entities whose labor constitutes the material base of collective survival.

This study’s extension of SRT into disaster governance, its theorized reinterpretation of SWOT as a lens on the structural conditions of reproductive labor, and its historicization of *gotong royong* as a site of gendered state extraction open several avenues for further inquiry: comparative analysis across MHEs to test whether the patterns identified in Bantul are structurally generalizable, longitudinal tracking of grassroots reproductive labor under chronic environmental stress, and closer examination of internal differentiation within women’s organizations along lines of class, age, marital status, and household composition that this study’s data could not fully resolve. What remains non-negotiable, however, is the analytical starting point: until disaster policy ceases to treat the uncompensated labor of women as a free subsidy for state withdrawal and begins to treat it as the essential public infrastructure it actually is, the structural contradiction at the heart of community resilience in geologically volatile regions will persist.

Author Contributions

Conceptualization, A.P.H. and W.T.d.V.; methodology, A.P.H.; software, S.H.S.H.; validation, A.P.H. and S.H.S.H.; formal analysis, A.P.H. and S.H.S.H.; investigation, A.P.H.; resources, A.P.H. and W.T.d.V.; data curation, A.P.H.; writing—original draft preparation, A.P.H., S.H.S.H., and W.T.d.V.; writing—review and editing, A.P.H., S.H.S.H., I.P.A, F.K., K.A.S, S.L.N., and W.T.d.V.; visualization, A.P.H. and S.H.S.H.; supervision, I.P.A, F.K., K.A.S, S.L.N., and W.T.d.V.; project administration, A.P.H.; funding acquisition, A.P.H. and W.T.d.V. All authors have read and agreed to the published version of the manuscript.

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Conflicts of Interest

The authors declare no conflicts of interest.

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