

Chapter 2

Articulation of Personal Network Structure with Gendered Well-Being in Disaster and Relocation Settings

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2.1 Introduction

Social scientists have documented the role of women in natural disasters as active change agents and advocates for restoring their communities (Akçar 2001; Enarson and Chakrabarti 2009; Enarson and Morrow 1997; Hoffman 1999). Through the

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establishment of social networks, women and men negotiate their environments during the disaster recovery process in order to adapt. From social networks, however, women often take on additional roles as decision makers, change agents, and proactive responders to natural disaster in order to assist their families, and to restore their neighborhoods and the biophysical environment.

In adapting to disaster impacts, communities are forced to adjust preexisting social structures and cultural practices to the newly imposed circumstances, if only in novel forms of resistance to the disaster-induced changes (Oliver-Smith 1999). A gendered division of labor makes women both frontline responders in moments of extreme crisis and long-term caregivers to disaster-impacted family members (Dufka 1988). Disasters, like economic crises, can increase solidarity and thus women frequently act collectively when they are provided with assets like collective physical spaces (Akçar 2001).

Women can play a major role in restoring their communities through the acts of replanting crops, rebuilding houses, political organizing, and intra-community collaboration as well as participating in research-based workshops on gender, development, and disaster (Enarson and Morrow 1997). During disasters, women's caregiving roles usually expand dramatically at all stages of disaster response and, though often invisible to disaster responders, women's formal and informal networks can be central to both household and community recovery (Enarson and Morrow 1998).

Women often comprise the majority of all neighborhood associations, before and after the disaster, but the disaster often creates further socially acceptable and legitimate reasons for women to operate in the public arena. Disasters, then, can operationalize the mobilization of women and increase the visibility of the way in which women and communities cope with challenges (Akçar 2001). Women's domestic space is affected, including their house, furnitures, and articles of everyday use and hence their life, their normality, can be significantly altered. In this regard, it is argued that women participate in community activities more than men because they are generally responsible for the family well-being, and when there is a disruption in the family, they struggle to reconstitute it (Vinas 1998).

In one of our study sites, Teziutlán, Puebla, women adapted to their surroundings by using resources of the sociocultural system to create support groups and social networks, involved decision making, social change, and empowerment. This led us to explore how such informal networks and personal relationships can span social contexts and generate a variety of potential mechanisms for recovery, adaptation, and social and individual agency. Disasters increase women's collective bargaining power (rather than individual bargaining power). Ironically, disasters provide the impetus for women to influence the local agenda through their group involvement (Akçar 2001). The question is "When do these groups form effectively?" This study, therefore, looks at relationships between well-being and the structure of women's and men's personal networks and compares the differences between relocated communities and non-relocated communities.

2.2 Disaster and Relocation: Disruption in Social Structure

A disaster places demands upon the traditional structure of a society (Wenger 1978) frequently disrupting gendered divisions of labor, traditional sources of prestige, intergenerational responsibilities, and proximity to affinal, consanguineal, and fictive kin. These are the structures that help sustain worldviews and systems of meaning. At the community level, disasters refer to a condition in which a precipitating geophysical event renders the customary social structure no longer collectively defined as an appropriate guide for social behavior. In an event such as a tornado, flood, or earthquake, new daily routines and relations emerge as attempts are made to fulfill the newly imposed demands.

Relocation usually exacerbates the challenges facing society following disasters. Oliver-Smith (1991), for instance, found that siting issues are one of the most frequently mentioned causes of resettlement failure, particularly the physical layout or design of the settlement, and the distance from kin or from the old village. Relocation may also produce more stressful household conditions, including social stressors such as crowding, isolation, and disruption of relationships. Some aspects of this disruption include an inability to sufficiently maintain social relations, loss of family and friends, or ruptures in social networks.

Relocation can thus negatively impact perceived support, received support, social embeddedness, and hope for the future leading to stressful psychological situations which may result in negative mental health effects as “strangers” may find it difficult to create new support networks (Quarantelli 1985). As such, the resettlement itself may be more harmful to the survivors than is the impact of the disaster. Involuntary resettlement often involves removal from an environment in which the society has evolved traditions of behavior over decades or centuries.

Post-disaster settings, whether in a relocated community or not, generate different challenges for survival. In this regard, women often face new responsibilities, sacrifices, and opportunities. While both male and female adults are expected to find work to feed their families, women are also expected to immediately adapt and perform all of their previous tasks in the same efficient manner, which means still bearing, raising, and caring for their children, as well as dealing with the effects of the resettlement.

Since gender in many societies often reflect multiple social inequalities, women—whether single or married, and with children or not—may not be provided with the same benefits and resources as men, and may be left out of disaster relief programs that generally seek to support heads of the households—that is, men (Morrow and Enarson 1998). Similarly, post-disaster relief efforts and resources are often designed to honor wage labor over domestic labor, thus privileging those who earn salaries over stay-at-home caretakers (Bolin et al. 1998, p. 42). Another factor that helps to determine the outcome of a woman’s life during and after a disaster is whether or not she has a cohabitating mate. Notwithstanding the increase in domestic violence that occurs post disaster (James et al., Chap. 6), a domestic arrangement

with a male “breadwinner” offers the most security for women in this setting (Morrow and Enarson 1998).

Hazard victims experience increased anxiety levels and prolonged depression, and sometimes posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD; e.g., Ollenburger and Tobin 2008). The calming of fears of her children, feeding, nourishment of others (Bhatt 1995), and the overall performance of her traditional roles during disaster situations are an extreme extension of women’s normal expected caregiving roles in many societies (Morrow and Enarson 1998). The fact that they must keep up with their caregiving responsibilities makes it increasingly more difficult for women who are suffering from PTSD and other anxiety or stress disorders to adjust following a disaster, although it is still not clear whether men or women achieve better levels of functioning post disaster.

Although the women in our relocation study site in Ecuador did not move extensive distances, they still had to deal with mothering, educating, caring for, and raising their children in a new location, while also handling the stresses of their immediate surroundings, such as new employment. Often, men were already laborers, while women relocated from a farm community—as in our Ecuadorian sites—were obliged to make career changes by finding wage labor work or by starting a new business. Moon (2003) found that many women cope with the less than favorable conditions of paid labor by labeling it as an extension of their mothering roles. Also, instead of using daycare services or supportive friends, many mothers prefer still to carry the bulk of the responsibilities on their own shoulders, even while working full time and relying on parents or siblings for help in raising the children.

2.2.1 Methodology

We interviewed 413 people in Ecuador and Mexico face to face in a variety of settings, though typically in their home, with a structured questionnaire. In Mexico, 137 were resettled following the landslides in 1999, and 59 were evacuated but not resettled in a volcanic risk zone after eruptions in 1994 and 2000. In Ecuador, 78 respondents in three communities were evacuated but not relocated although they continue to experience ashfall, and 139 from several different villages were relocated to two resettlements after the 2006 eruptions, although initial dislocations for some people had occurred since activity had begun with a strong eruption in 1999. Initially, a well-being survey composed of 16 metrics was conducted to establish current health conditions in the various communities. To measure well-being, we employed the World Health Organization’s Comprehensive Diagnostic Inventory to capture posttraumatic stress as well as functioning due to posttraumatic stress. The Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale-20 (CESD-20) was used to determine potential depression symptoms and an ecological stress scale (i.e., household conditions; Norris and Raid 1996).

Network data were captured through interviews based on the approach of McCarty (2002) in which respondents each named 45 people with whom they were

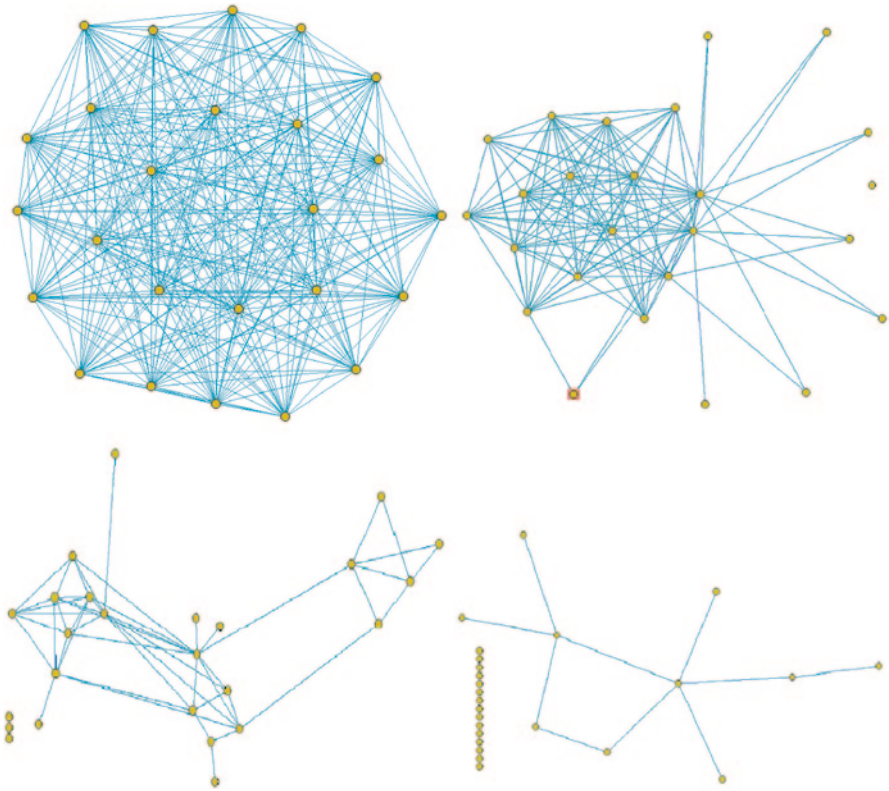


Fig. 2.1 From upper left, clockwise, are four examples of idealized graphical network types taken from our data: dense (high closure), extending (like core-periphery), subgroups (like subgroup cohesion), and sparse (low closure).

associated. A random sample of 25 individuals was taken from these 45, and the respondent was then asked a series of questions about each, including whether each of the 25 people interacted with one another a lot, a little, or not at all. This produced a network for each respondent that could have as many as 300 ties or as few as zero when the respondent is excluded from the matrix of ties. To generate graphics or network visualizations for each interviewee, we utilized EgoNet (socioworks.com and sourceforge.net). These network patterns were then coded as tight (very dense; similar to cohesive networks), extending (dense core with some peripheral nodes; similar to core-periphery networks), subgroups (notable clusters of groups of nodes that have some connections between them; similar to clear hierarchical clustering, or similar to multiple components if disconnected subgroups), or sparse (relatively few ties in the graph plus a number of isolated or disconnected nodes; similar to highly disconnected graphs). Figure 2.1 shows typical visualizations for each network type, although individual visualizations will vary. We used two coders and discussed conflicting codes when necessary in order to achieve agreement about coding for each of the four types.

Table 2.1 Gendered well-being in Mexico by resettlement status and network type

| | | | Mean # of PTSD symptoms | Mean # of functioning symptoms | Mean recent depression (CES-D) | Mean household conditions |
|-------|---------------|-----------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Women | Not resettled | Tight | 6.2 | 0.6 | 16.6 | 10.6 |
| | | Extending | 2.4 | 0.2 | 16.2 | 4.2 |
| | | Subgroups | 1.4 | 0.1 | 13.3 | 2.7 |
| | | Sparse | n/a | n/a | 12.0 | 8.0 |
| | Resettled | Tight | 9.3 | 1.0 | 16.6 | 10.6 |
| | | Extending | 7.1 | 0.5 | 20.0 | 6.6 |
| | | Subgroups | 6.1 | 0.4 | 16.8 | 8.4 |
| | | Sparse | 9.3 | 0.6 | 18.2 | 11.6 |
| Men | Not resettled | Tight | 3.1 | 0.4 | 13.8 | 6.3 |
| | | Extending | 2.2 | 0.2 | 12.5 | 6.7 |
| | | Subgroups | 0.8 | 0.3 | 12.8 | 2.3 |
| | | Sparse | 3.8 | 0.3 | 13.8 | 2.3 |
| | Resettled | Tight | 7.0 | 0.5 | 15.7 | 5.8 |
| | | Extending | 5.8 | 0.7 | 15.2 | 7.5 |
| | | Subgroups | 3.3 | 0.4 | 14.6 | 5.0 |
| | | Sparse | 5.2 | 0.1 | 14.3 | 5.3 |

Italicized numbers indicate the lowest score (best well-being) and bolded numbers indicate the highest score (worst well-being) for a single network type (e.g., tight) for a single measure (e.g., PTSD symptoms). When two numbers are the same or similar, more than one number might be bolded or italicized for a given network type
PTSD posttraumatic stress disorder, CESD-20 Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale-20

2.2.2 Results

The results focus on personal networks and the relationship between these networks and gendered well-being. Average levels of reported posttraumatic stress symptoms, reported functioning problems due to posttraumatic stress, depression symptoms, and potentially stressful household conditions are examined through a comparison of the four network types. We make these comparisons in each context—resettled women, resettled men, non-resettled women, and non-resettled men. Then we present the distribution of these types of networks among the different context combinations in order to understand what kinds of networks predominate.

2.2.3 Well-Being by Network Type

Table 2.1 summarizes the difference between settled and non-settled men and women for each of the four network types across four different scales for the Mexico sample, while Table 2.2 does the same for the Ecuador sample. For each of the four scales in the columns, higher numbers indicate worse conditions. In Mexico, interviews took place 7–8 years after the onset of the most recent large eruption and

Table 2.2 Gendered well-being in Ecuador by resettlement status and network type

| | | | Mean # of PTSD symptoms | Mean # of functioning symptoms | Mean recent depression | Mean ecological well-being |
|-------|---------------|-----------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Women | Not resettled | Tight | 8.3 | <i>1.3</i> | 11.5 | 10.3 |
| | | Extending | 8.1 | 1.7 | <i>11.2</i> | 11.0 |
| | | Subgroups | <i>6.3</i> | <i>0.9</i> | 7.6 | 9.7 |
| | | Sparse | <i>8.0</i> | <i>0.5</i> | 10.5 | 7.0 |
| | Resettled | Tight | <i>9.0</i> | <i>1.4</i> | <i>12.3</i> | <i>11.2</i> |
| | | Extending | 8.7 | <i>1.4</i> | <i>17.0</i> | <i>11.9</i> |
| | | Subgroups | <i>8.6</i> | 1.4 | <i>15.9</i> | 9.5 |
| | | Sparse | <i>12.0</i> | 2.6 | <i>15.6</i> | 8.4 |
| Men | Not resettled | Tight | <i>6.5</i> | 1.5 | <i>7.1</i> | <i>7.6</i> |
| | | Extending | <i>6.5</i> | <i>1.5</i> | 12.4 | <i>7.1</i> |
| | | Subgroups | <i>7.5</i> | <i>1.7</i> | 11.3 | 9.5 |
| | | Sparse | <i>8.0</i> | 1.5 | <i>7.0</i> | <i>14.5</i> |
| | Resettled | Tight | <i>7.7</i> | <i>2.1</i> | 8.3 | 8.1 |
| | | Extending | <i>9.4</i> | 2.5 | 13.9 | 11.0 |
| | | Subgroups | <i>7.9</i> | <i>1.5</i> | 11.6 | <i>8.4</i> |
| | | Sparse | <i>9.5</i> | <i>2.3</i> | 9.8 | <i>4.8</i> |

Italicized numbers indicate the lowest score (best well-being) and bolded numbers indicate the highest score (worst well-being) when considering resettled women, resettled men, non-resettled women, and non-resettled men for a single network type (e.g., tight) for a single measure (e.g., PTSD symptoms). When two numbers are the same or similar, more than one might be bolded or italicized for a given network type

the landslides, while in Ecuador interviews took place about 4 years after the largest two recent eruptions, and 1 year after the people moved into the resettlement housing. In each table, numbers that are italicized indicate the lowest score for the column and the particular scale item, while bolded numbers indicate the highest. For example, the number 16.6 is bolded in the first row because it is the highest mean depression score for networks labeled “tight.” The number 4.2 in the second row is italicized because it is the lowest score among networks coded as “extending.”

A large number of bolded numbers are associated with resettled women of all network types. In contrast, a large number of italicized scores are associated with non-resettled men. Different network types did not seem to be associated with much variation in well-being except that subgroups and sparse networks showed much greater well-being for non-resettled men than did the denser networks (i.e., tight and extending networks are typically denser). Otherwise, resettled men fared somewhat worse than did non-resettled women. For men in resettled sites, sparse networks generally were associated with the better well-being scores perhaps suggesting that these men are branching out into new networks in order to access resources and support (and thus people within a person’s network do not tend to know one another).

In general, there are several major patterns related to gender and resettlement status in Mexico:

1. Networks comprised of subgroups are associated with the best or next to best mental health and household conditions scores in all four groups.
2. Networks comprised of subgroups in non-resettlement settings for both men and women are associated with relatively good mental health and household conditions compared to women and women in resettlement settings.
3. Tight networks are associated with the poorest mental health and household conditions scores—or next to poorest scores in a few cases—for both genders in both resettled and non-resettled settings.

In Ecuador, resettled women also reported lower well-being than did non-resettled men and women and resettled men, and depression symptoms in particular were much higher for them than for other men and women (Table 2.2). Nonetheless, resettled women with non-sparse networks generally reported the lowest problems regarding the ability to function with day-to-day responsibilities. Otherwise, resettled men experienced relatively poor well-being primarily related to how well they thought they were functioning in light of the posttraumatic stress symptoms they were experiencing. Thus, although their posttraumatic stress was not particularly high compared to non-resettled men and women, their ability to function was more of an issue for them. Non-resettled men and women generally experienced intermediate or better well-being scores, with little overall difference between them, as seen in Table 2.2.

Again in Ecuador, several broad findings associated with gender and resettlement status are apparent:

1. Tight networks are associated with relatively good well-being scores for non-resettled men compared to other men and women.
2. Extending networks tend to be associated with worse well-being scores for both resettled men and resettled women.

For women in resettled sites in Ecuador, mental health was worse in sparse networks. However, sparse networks were associated with better household conditions for these women. For women in non-resettled sites, subgroups appear to be the most psychologically protective network type, although sparse networks are not far behind—especially for household conditions. For men in resettled sites, extending networks are consistently associated with poorer well-being scores. For men in both non-resettled sites and resettled sites, tight networks generally have better well-being scores. However, resettled men in sparse networks reported the best household conditions compared to other men and women.

2.2.4 *Distribution of Network Types*

The distribution of social network types in Ecuador and Mexico by gender and by whether people were resettled or not is shown in Tables 2.3 through 2.6. After presenting the distribution of network types, the association of network types with social support and well-being is explored. The four network types were tight, extending, subgroups, and sparse.

Table 2.3 Distribution of network types by gender, country, and resettlement status

| | | | Tight network (range 26–62%) | Extending network (range 10–29%) | Network w/subgroups (range 16–41%) | Sparse network (range 0–26%) |
|---------|---------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|--|--|------------------------------------|
| Mexico | Not resettled | Female (<i>n</i> =34; total 100%) | 35 | 15 | 41 | 9 |
| | | Male (<i>n</i> =25; total 100%) | 44 | 24 | 16 | 16 |
| | Resettled | Female (<i>n</i> =95; total 100%) | 28 | 18 | 40 | 14 |
| | | Male (<i>n</i> =42; total 100%) | 26 | 29 | 19 | 26 |
| Ecuador | Not resettled | Female (<i>n</i> =36; total 100%) | 50 | 22 | 28 | 0 |
| | | Male (<i>n</i> =42; total 100%) | 62 | 10 | 29 | 0 |
| | Resettled | Female (<i>n</i> =77; total 100%) | 31 | 27 | 35 | 6 |
| | | Male (<i>n</i> =62; total 100%) | 48 | 24 | 21 | 6 |

Table 2.4 Most frequent network types, combining gender with resettlement status in each country

| | Tight network | Extending network | Network w/subgroups | Sparse network |
|-------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Lowest frequency | Mexico-resettled women and men | Ecuador-not-resettled women and men | Mexico men | Ecuador-not-resettled women and men |
| Highest frequency | Ecuador-not-resettled men | Mexico-resettled men | Mexico women | Mexico-resettled men |

As shown in Table 2.3, sparse networks are the least common and tight networks are the most common, although the Mexico sample does have a higher number of sparse networks. This is partially an artifact of the sample as the Ecuadorian villages are much smaller than the Mexican study sites. Although there is some variation in the percentage of networks in each of these sites, there seems to be surprising uniformity within each network type.

The next three tables are drawn from Table 2.3 in order to capture the relative predominance of each gender by context (country and resettlement type) for each network type. Table 2.4 indicates that networks might not be just a predictor or cause of certain aspects of well-being. In fact, networks seem to be part of a feedback loop owing to the pressures of extreme events. In Mexico, networks comprised of subgroups appear to be most frequent for women and least frequent for men, regardless of settlement type. Otherwise, the other three network types all have notable differences in frequency in relation to settlement status. Mexico-resettled men have the highest number of sparse networks and the lowest percentage of tight networks when compared with others. Similarly, non-resettled Ecuadorian men have the highest frequency of tight networks. Notably, as shown in Tables 2.3 and 2.4,

Table 2.5 Most frequent network types for each gender, by country and resettlement status

| | Tight network | Extending network | Network w/subgroups | Sparse network |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Women lowest frequency | Mexico resettled | Mexico not resettled | Ecuador not resettled | Ecuador not resettled |
| Men lowest frequency | Mexico resettled | Ecuador not resettled | Mexico not resettled | Ecuador not resettled |
| Women highest frequency | Ecuador not resettled | Ecuador resettled | Mexico | Mexico resettled |
| Men highest frequency | Ecuador not resettled | Mexico resettled | Ecuador not resettled | Mexico resettled |

Table 2.6 Predominance of each gender per network type in a country, by resettlement status

| | | More likely to have tight network | More likely to have extending network | More likely to have network w/ subgroups | More likely to have sparse network |
|---------|---------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|------------------------------------|
| Mexico | Not resettled | Male | Male | Female | Malet |
| | Resettled | Both | Male | Female | Male |
| Ecuador | Not resettled | Male | Female | n/a | n/a |
| | Resettled | Male | Female | Female | Both |

One gender cited is higher by 10% than the other gender for that case

we see that women have only one network type where they are the extreme—in Mexico, they have the highest percentage of subgroups—but have low frequencies similar to men for tight networks in resettled Mexico and in not-resettled Ecuador.

Besides finding out when women are more likely than men to have a certain network type as in Table 2.4, we are interested in when females in each country are more or less likely than males to have a certain network type. In Table 2.5, we show which country and settlement status has the highest and lowest occurrence of a network type separately for females and males.

It is clear from Table 2.5 that the context (i.e., country by resettlement status) in which the lowest percentage and highest percentage of tight networks and sparse networks occur was the same for men and women. Women and men both had the lowest percentage of tight networks in the Mexico-resettled subsamples while the lowest for sparse network for both men and women in Ecuador were for non-resettled. The inverse is the case for the highest for each of these two contexts, with the Ecuador-not-resettled sample being the highest for tight networks, and the Mexico-resettled sample being the highest for sparse networks. This suggests that higher density occurs in the Ecuador-not-resettled samples and lowest density occurs in the Mexico-resettled sample.

In Table 2.6, we can quickly see which gender is more likely to have a certain type of network. Curiously, each country seems to have consistency between the genders, in that resettlement does not tend to predict which gender will have which kind of network—both resettled and non-resettled in a country are often the same gender as the most likely to have a certain kind of network.

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