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Disaster risk reduction and the limits of truisms: Improving the knowledge and practice interface

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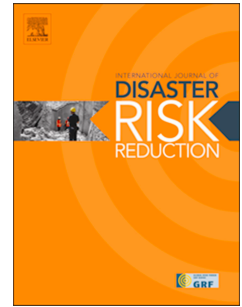
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## Disaster risk reduction and the limits of truisms: improving the knowledge and practice interface

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1 **Disaster risk reduction and the limits of truisms: improving the knowledge and practice**  
2 **interface**

3  
4 **Abstract:** Action toward strengthened disaster risk reduction (DRR) ideally builds from  
5 evidence-based policymaking to inform decisions and priorities. This is a guiding principle for  
6 the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction (SFDRR), which outlines priorities for  
7 action to reduce disaster risk. However, some of these practical guidelines conceal  
8 oversimplified or unsubstantiated claims and assumptions, what we refer to as “truisms”, which,  
9 if not properly addressed, may jeopardize the long-term goal to reduce disaster risks. Thus far,  
10 much DRR research has focused on ways to bridge the gap between science and practice while  
11 devoting less attention to the premises that shape the understanding of DRR issues. In this  
12 article, written in the spirit of a perspective piece on the state of the DRR field, we utilize the  
13 SFDRR as an illustrative case to identify and interrogate ten selected truisms, from across the  
14 social and natural sciences, that have been prevalent in shaping DRR research and practice. The  
15 ten truisms concern forecasting, loss, conflict, migration, the local level, collaboration, social  
16 capital, prevention, policy change, and risk awareness. We discuss central claims associated  
17 with each truism, relate those claims to insights in recent DRR scholarship, and end with  
18 suggestions for developing the field through advances in conceptualization, measurement, and  
19 causal inference.

20  
21  
22 **Keywords:** Disaster risk reduction; Natural hazards; Science policy interface; Sendai  
23 framework for disaster risk reduction (SFDRR)

## 24 **Introduction**

25

26 The Covid-19 pandemic, massive wildfires in Australia, California, and the Amazon, as well  
27 as other recent hazard events, dramatically illustrate the disruptive impact of disasters on  
28 countries around the world. These threats underscore the profound importance of sound  
29 evidence-based policies for disaster risk reduction (DRR) to mitigate hazard losses, build  
30 disaster resilience, and contribute to sustainable development. To this end, in 2015, the United  
31 Nations General Assembly endorsed the Sendai Framework for DRR<sup>1</sup> (SFDRR), a global  
32 successor agreement to the Hyogo Framework, which aims to reduce and avert disaster risks  
33 across the globe. The SFDRR acknowledges that these policies shall be informed by science to  
34 guide priorities and decisions, as illustrated by its first priority to “understanding disaster risk”.  
35 The scientific community has stepped up to the challenge, and DRR today constitutes a vibrant  
36 area of interdisciplinary scholarship<sup>2-4</sup>.

37 Critics have stressed that the SFDRR set ambitious goals that are unrealistic given that it is a  
38 non-binding framework. Other gaps concern limited attention to the local level, the relationship  
39 between climate change adaptation and DRR, and insufficient attention to systemic risk<sup>5</sup>. Due  
40 to these and other gaps, it has been argued that the SFDRR is unlikely to make use of cutting  
41 edge DRR science, which has led to suggestions for alternate measures to strengthen the  
42 science-policy interface in DRR<sup>6</sup>. But previous literature has also pointed to substantial hurdles  
43 that prevent further progress in knowledge production and the use of science to support the  
44 implementation of DRR measures around the world<sup>5,7</sup>. One issue is that the DRR research  
45 ‘field’ is fragmented and divided into distinct disciplines focusing on single hazards, reducing  
46 the ability to generate widely applicable knowledge to influence policy effectively<sup>8</sup>. In addition,  
47 variations in the use of key concepts and methodological approaches across disciplines pose  
48 another challenge to collective understandings and mutual learning<sup>9</sup>. Earlier works<sup>10</sup> have  
49 discussed strategies for overcoming these challenges, including, e.g., multi-disciplinarity, a  
50 holistic understanding of disaster risk management, science-sharing globally, and knowledge  
51 co-production.

52 The United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction (UNDRR), to its credit, is interested in  
53 utilizing the knowledge and practice interface to inform DRR policy and practice. This  
54 interface, as conceived by the UNDRR, consists of a close and continuous exchange between  
55 DRR policymaking and research in different fields, which is urgently needed to develop  
56 effective and durable solutions<sup>11</sup>.

57 In our view, these efforts , albeit important and laudable, suffer from two related problems.  
58 First, the lion's share of the attention about to how to better use science in DRR has concentrated  
59 on knowledge communication strategies while comparatively less attention has been devoted  
60 to claims undergirding actual DRR policy guidance. Second, the simplified way selected claims  
61 from research are often translated into policy documents and outputs, demonstrates  
62 shortcomings in the execution of the DRR knowledge and practice interface..

63 In this article, written in the spirit of a perspective piece, we argue that strategies for enhancing  
64 researcher-practitioner dialogues in DRR need to be accompanied by more targeted efforts by  
65 the research community to identify and critically review the foundational claims and  
66 assumptions that shape the understanding of DRR issues. Thus, using the SFDRR as an  
67 illustrative case, we ask: what core assumptions guide current DRR policy and practice and  
68 what is the scientific basis of those assumptions? By spotlighting these claims, which we  
69 identify throughout the SFDRR, the objective is to interrogate and scrutinize a number of  
70 selected truisms that have been prevalent in DRR research and practice. We conclude by briefly  
71 highlighting some promising avenues that we think are crucial for advancing new knowledge  
72 and, in turn, may be better able to strengthen the DRR knowledge and practice interface.

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### 75 **Ten Truisms in the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction**

76

77 Despite advances in DRR scholarship, DRR discourse is still influenced by several core, and  
78 often oversimplified, claims, including prescribed solutions to reduce risks and enhance  
79 responses as well as common assumptions about impacts on nature and society. We describe  
80 these (over)simplified axioms, often uncritically imported from scholarship into DRR policy  
81 documents and received wisdom, as “truisms.” Some of these solutions derive from premises  
82 that are, while not necessarily wrong, surrounded by scientific uncertainty. If such truisms are  
83 simply accepted at face value, they may result in misleading policy guidance, ineffective and  
84 even counterproductive policy interventions. DRR research and practice, therefore, collectively  
85 needs to widen the perspective beyond policy panaceas<sup>12</sup> and unpack the complex, multivariate,  
86 and non-linear relationships characterizing vulnerability, risk, and response. Here we departed  
87 from the central elements of the SFDRR (Box 1) in an effort to identify and exemplify truisms  
88 about DRR and discuss ways to advance new and necessary knowledge about their associated  
89 phenomena. We have utilized the expert knowledge of our multidisciplinary team to pinpoint  
90 core principles and relevant truisms from our respective fields that manifest themselves in the

91 SFDRR. This enterprise is unavoidably subjective due to the lenses, interests, and experiences  
 92 of scholars. Moreover, what claims should be sorted under the DRR label is also open to  
 93 interpretation, given its broad definition and overlap with climate adaptation and sustainable  
 94 development agendas<sup>13,14</sup>. With these caveats in mind, we reviewed the guiding principles and  
 95 the four priorities for action of the SFDRR in an effort to pinpoint recurrent assumptions and  
 96 premises about the drivers and consequences of disasters.  
 97

**Box 1. Elements of the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk**

***Guiding Principles (Section III, p. 13-14)***

Total of 13 principles guiding the implementation of the Sendai Framework. Including, e.g., responsibilities of governments, authorities, sectors, and stakeholders (principle b), and the importance of coordination mechanisms in achieving DRR (principle e).

***Priorities for action 1-4 (Section IV, p. 14-24)***

***Priority for action 1 – Understanding disaster risk***

Measures to enhance the understanding of, e.g., vulnerability, capacity, and exposure of persons and assets.

***Priority for action 2 – Strengthening disaster risk governance to manage disaster risk***

Importance of, e.g., collaboration and partnerships to strengthening governance for prevention, mitigation, preparedness, response, and recovery.

***Priority for action 3 – Investing in disaster risk reduction for resilience***

Public and private measures to enhance economic, social, health and cultural resilience of persons and assets through, e.g., innovation, growth, and job creation.

***Priority for action 4 – Enhancing disaster preparedness for effective response and to “Build Back Better” in recovery, rehabilitation and reconstruction.***

Efforts to prepare response and recovery ahead of disaster by, e.g., integrating DRR into development measures

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100 Specifically, we set out to link the guiding principles (section III), including responsibilities  
 101 and suggested practices for reducing disaster risk, and each of the four priorities for action  
 102 (section IV) to central themes in DRR research. This resulted in the identification of ten selected  
 103 areas related to forecasting, loss, conflict, migration, the local level, collaboration, social  
 104 capital, prevention, policy change, and risk awareness. For example, among the 13 Guiding  
 105 principles in the SFDRR (principles 19a-m, p. 13-14), nine make references to five of the claims  
 106 highlighted in this study, including: Collaboration reduces disaster risk (19b,d,e); The centrality  
 107 of the local level (19i,f); DRR has become more proactive (19j); Disasters open opportunities  
 108 for policy change (19k); and Social capital enhances resilience (19d). Table 1 details these links  
 109 truism respectively. The ten truisms are not exhaustive, although they represent a selection of  
 110 core topics central to the SFDRR and the DRR literature. Some of these claims (e.g., calls for

111 collaborative approaches for reducing disaster risk) are explicit and directly linked to  
 112 established streams in the academic literature. In contrast, other claims (related to, e.g.,  
 113 forecasting and conflict) are more broadly defined and loosely coupled with specific research  
 114 areas in the DRR field. Several claims (e.g., ‘social capital enhances resilience’) are limited to  
 115 one area of the SFDRR, whereas, others receive broader recognition across several areas (e.g.,  
 116 ‘collaboration reduces disaster risk’). Figure 1 visualizes linkages between each truism and the  
 117 SFDRR elements.  
 118

<b>Table 1: Linkages between truisms and Sendai framework segments</b>	
<b>Truism</b>	<b>Sendai Framework segment</b>
Multiple hazards can be dependably forecasted	Priority 4: Enhance disaster forecasting and early warning
Knowledge of disaster losses is increasing uniform	Priority 4: Involve relevant institutions to review disaster preparedness plans (33a); promote cooperation of diverse institutions in reconstruction (33i)
Natural hazards lead to armed conflicts	Priority 2: Promote cooperation around shared natural resources (28d)
Natural hazards trigger migration flows	Priority 2: Local authorities work with migrants in disaster risk management (27h)
The centrality of the local level	Guiding principles: Risk drivers have local characteristics (19i), empower local actors (19f) Priority 1: Ensure use of local knowledge (24i); Priority 2: Local strategies (27c) and capacity (27c); empower local authorities (27h); Priority 3: Cooperation between scientific entities and private sector networks (31c); Priority 4: Strengthen evacuation capacity of local authorities (33m)
Collaboration reduces disaster risk	Guiding principles: Shared responsibility (19b), society engagement (19d), coordination (19e); Priority 1: Share experience, lessons, practices (24g); enhance collaboration (24o)



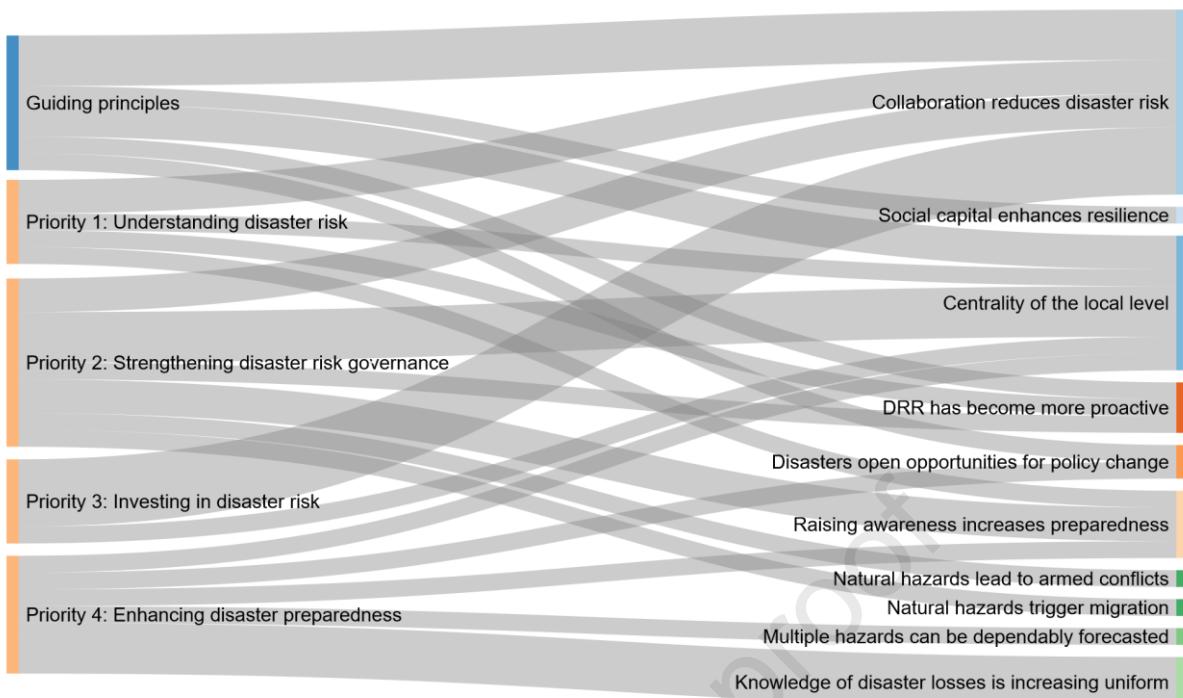
	<p>Priority 2: Strengthen coordination forums (27g); foster local coordination (27h)</p> <p>Priority 3: Coordination between financial institutions (31d); cooperation between health authorities and stakeholders (31e); collaboration and capacity-building to protect productive assets (31f); among public and private stakeholders to enhance the resilience of business (31i)</p>
Social capital enhances resilience	Guiding principle: Inclusive participation, civic leadership, voluntary work of citizens (19d)
DRR has become more proactive	<p>Guiding principle: Addressing risk factors is more cost-effective than response and recovery (19j);</p> <p>Priority 1: Promote a culture of prevention (24f);</p> <p>Priority 2: Formulate public policies to address prevention (27k)</p>
Disasters facilitate opportunities for change	<p>Guiding principle: Build Back Better after disaster recovery to reduce risk (19k);</p> <p>Priority 4: Use opportunities in the recovery phase to develop risk reduction capacity (33j)</p>
Raising awareness increases preparedness	<p>Priority 1: Strengthen public awareness (24m);</p> <p>Priority 2: Foster public awareness-raising (27a); public awareness campaigns (27g);</p> <p>Priority 4: Establish community centers to promote public awareness (33d)</p>

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**Figure 1 | Illustration of research focus areas within the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction (SFDRR) guiding principles and priority for action areas.** Links show the connections between the SFDRR guiding principles and priority for action areas (left-hand side) and prescriptive DRR claims (right-hand side). Flow width indicates the absolute number of SFDRR principles and priorities linked to each claim, with greater width representing links to more principles and priorities (links detailed in Table 1). Diagram created using SankeyMATIC.

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### Multiple hazards can be dependably forecasted

136 The SFDRR promotes multi-hazard forecasting and early warning systems. Yet, while most  
137 natural processes underlying multiple hazards are relatively well understood, reliably  
138 forecasting them is far from possible. This is true even when using forecasting very broadly to  
139 span deterministic and probabilistic forecasts at multiple timescales, as well as plausibility  
140 predictions for long-term future scenarios. Indeed, while uncertainty estimates and other  
141 scenario-imaging techniques may aid in delineating an envelope of possible but unlikely future  
142 events, it is chimeric to believe that these may capture the full range of physically allowed  
143 occurrences (see Glantz, 1998<sup>15</sup>, and Street and Glantz, 2000<sup>16</sup>, for a discussion of unexpected  
144 environmental events). The list of natural processes that we can observe, but cannot reliably  
145 forecast, is very long<sup>17,18</sup>. It is also the case that most of the so-called “natural hazards” cannot  
146 be considered exclusively natural. Human societies increasingly influence floods<sup>19</sup>,  
147 landslides<sup>20</sup>, droughts<sup>21</sup>, wildfires<sup>22</sup>, heatwaves<sup>23</sup>, and earthquakes<sup>24</sup>.

148 Moreover, compound events often generate the most severe impacts, due to a unique  
149 combination of drivers and/or hazards (e.g., strong wind and heavy rainfall). Even by  
150 attempting to account for the complex interdependencies between climate drivers and/or  
151 multiple hazards, the occurrence of compound events is only partly foreseeable<sup>25,26</sup>. To better  
152 support and inform policy and decision-makers involved in DRR, there is a need for a  
153 continuously updated synthesis of the scientific knowledge of multiple hazards. Specifically,  
154 the boundary between what we (still) do not know and cannot forecast and what we can forecast  
155 with some (quantifiable) uncertainty shifts rapidly as the underlying science progresses, and  
156 only a concerted and continuative effort by the relevant research communities can produce a  
157 policy-oriented up-to-date evaluation of this boundary.

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### 160 **Knowledge of disaster losses is increasing uniform**

161

162 One aim of disaster risk reduction is to prevent future disaster losses, and one of the Sendai  
163 framework's overarching goals is to substantially reduce disaster risk and losses by 2030. The  
164 framework sets measurable targets related to this goal. During the last decades, official reports  
165 repeatedly announced that reported disaster losses, including fatalities, people affected, and  
166 economic damages, have increased<sup>27</sup>. While losses have indeed increased in absolute numbers,  
167 other studies suggest that global and regional average disaster losses have remained constant or  
168 decreased after normalization (accounting for increases in population, economic activity, and  
169 wealth), pointing to a potential reduction in overall vulnerability<sup>28-30</sup>. Yet, these global or  
170 regional averages may conceal local vulnerabilities. For example, in some areas, disaster losses  
171 are increasing faster than damage reduction can be achieved<sup>28</sup>. Comparing spatial and temporal  
172 trends of disaster losses is also impeded by the lack of standardized procedures for monitoring  
173 and collecting disaster loss data between or even within countries<sup>8</sup>. Thus, to meet future global  
174 targets in disaster risk reduction—including measurable indicators of disaster losses—the  
175 collection, analysis, and management of disaster loss data need to be better differentiated and  
176 carefully contextualized.

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### 179 **Natural hazards lead to armed conflicts**

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181 Natural hazards are often portrayed as a driver of war, violence, and destruction. For example,  
182 the conflict in Darfur in Sudan in the early 2000s was declared the first “climate war,” and  
183 reports attribute the ongoing Syrian conflict to a devastating drought<sup>31,32</sup>. However, global  
184 headlines at times have moved beyond the academic evidence. There is indeed evidence that  
185 suggests natural hazards tend to increase rather than decrease the risk of armed conflict.  
186 However, where natural hazards play a role, they tend to be a contributing factor, rather than  
187 the main driver of internal armed conflict<sup>33,34</sup>.

188 Similarly, while disasters may shape diplomatic efforts to end conflict, their impact tends to be  
189 short-lived and comparably minor<sup>35,36</sup>. Collectively, research points to low economic  
190 development, reliance on agricultural livelihoods, as well as the political and social  
191 marginalization of affected groups as conditions that moderate the natural hazard - armed  
192 conflict link<sup>37-39</sup>. Governance is crucial, too. Where political institutions are weak, disputed, or  
193 corrupt, their capacity to efficiently to handle grievances and disputes following droughts is  
194 hampered<sup>37,40</sup>. Many open questions remain, however, in particular concerning future changes.  
195 Two areas in urgent need of further study are compound effects from different hazards and  
196 assessing future climate change impacts<sup>41</sup>.

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### 199 **Natural hazards trigger migration flows**

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201 Large numbers of people are predicted to be displaced by natural hazards in the coming decades.  
202 Recent assessments indicate that Sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia, and Latin America could see  
203 more than 140 million people move within their countries’ borders by 2050 without climate  
204 action<sup>42</sup>. However, there is great uncertainty about these figures as migratory decisions are  
205 usually complex processes shaped by the evolution of other non-environmental factors such as  
206 economic, political, and social drivers<sup>43</sup>. Environmental factors contribute to migration, but  
207 their effect generally operates through other socioeconomic factors such as the search for  
208 improved living standards. In that sense, natural hazards can be cited as the main driver for  
209 migration, which is rooted in historical inequalities between groups on national and  
210 international levels<sup>44</sup>. Actual figures will also depend on climate change scenarios and  
211 adaptation strategies, significantly reducing the expected number of climate migrants<sup>45</sup>.  
212 Consequently, some scholars have called for a more careful framing of migration as a strategy  
213 that enhances communal resilience<sup>46</sup>. By moving outside of risk areas and accessing labor  
214 markets in new destinations, migrants can also remit money home, which has also been shown

215 to contribute to household poverty reduction<sup>47</sup>. In addition to further studying these  
216 relationships, it will be equally important to further investigate instances when people are  
217 unable or unwilling to move away from exposure to natural hazards.

218

### 219 **The centrality of the local level**

220 It is an article of faith among many practitioners and scholars that the local level should be a  
221 central, or even the primary, focal point for DRR, community resilience, and crisis  
222 management. Guided by the conventional wisdom that “disasters begin and end at the local  
223 level”<sup>48</sup>, in most systems, disaster management is organized according to the “principle of  
224 disaster subsidiarity”<sup>49</sup>. This practice is guided by the belief that local authorities are best  
225 situated to plan for and manage emergencies in their geographical area. Advocates of  
226 community resilience also emphasize the importance of local knowledge and expertise for risk  
227 assessment and argue that the capacity for disaster mitigation and resilience should be at the  
228 local level<sup>50-53</sup>. The Sendai framework acknowledges the centrality of the local level in its  
229 guiding principles and targets, stating that “it is necessary to empower local authorities and  
230 local communities to reduce disaster risk, including through resources, incentives and decision-  
231 making responsibilities, as appropriate” (p.13). While it is clear that the local level is important  
232 to the all-of-society approach to DRR recommended by Sendai, there is a lack of well-founded  
233 research on what the appropriate default relationship between the local and other levels should  
234 be<sup>54,55,56</sup>. Forging agreement about when higher authorities should get involved, what form their  
235 involvement should take, and how they should relate to actors at lower levels of authority is  
236 challenging and requires more systematic research if meaningful guidance is to be provided for  
237 making this work in practice.

238

### 239 **Collaboration reduces disaster risk**

240

241 The SFDRR recognizes that effective DRR requires collaboration among diverse public and  
242 private stakeholders. It points to the state’s leading responsibility for DRR along with an “all-  
243 of-society” approach, including coordination across sectors, jurisdictions, and levels of  
244 authority. Scientific literature similarly elevates the merits of collaborative governance,  
245 involving multiple stakeholders working together to define and address transboundary  
246 problems<sup>57</sup>. However, the literature also recognizes barriers to realizing this ideal, including  
247 difficulties to build institutions to sanction self-interested behavior<sup>58</sup>. DRR has several features

248 that challenge collaboration. First, in the absence of clear performance benchmarks,  
249 collaborative effectiveness remains diffuse, subjective, and difficult to measure<sup>59</sup>. Second, it  
250 can be challenging for organizations to justify short-term economic, organizational, and human  
251 capital investments in joint efforts to address long-term, low-probability problems<sup>60</sup>. Indeed,  
252 there are examples of multi-stakeholder DRR projects that succeed in establishing broad  
253 participation and joint commitments, but challenges remain to, for instance, involve grass-root  
254 organizations and achieve integration with climate adaptation initiatives<sup>61–65</sup>. Third, DRR is a  
255 field dominated by experts, with limited public insight and interest, and low political conflict,  
256 which provides few incentives for collaboration to redress minor harms and mobilization for  
257 tackling low-probability, high-consequence events<sup>66</sup>. Fourth, effective DRR involves balancing  
258 preparedness for specific contingencies with an ‘all hazards’ approach covering any possible  
259 event<sup>67</sup>. These features complicate the identification of relevant stakeholders and create a  
260 complex ‘ecology’ of overlapping collaborative arrangements, creating coordination problems  
261 across networks<sup>68</sup>. The complexity of these arrangements and their relationships increases  
262 further if one takes into account that vulnerability is shaped by a variety of long-term processes  
263 associated with poverty and risk<sup>69</sup>. Enhancing understanding of these polycentric arrangements  
264 and their associated drivers and outcomes is an essential avenue for future research.

265

266

### 267 **Social capital enhances resilience**

268

269 A number of the SFDRR’s guiding principles and objectives, such as inclusive participation,  
270 community resilience and mobilization, and enhancing social safety nets at the community  
271 level, recognize the value of social capital. Social capital consists of social networks and  
272 relationships among individuals<sup>70</sup>. Empirical research identified that, in the face of disaster,  
273 social capital can increase individuals’ access to physical and social resources and can speed  
274 up community recovery<sup>71</sup>. This association has sometimes been framed as social capital  
275 strengthening community resilience. Consequently, some NGOs have called for the systematic  
276 inclusion of social capital in resilience projects<sup>72,73</sup>, and it has been embraced as a “missing link  
277 to disaster recovery”<sup>74</sup>. However, while access to social capital can strengthen resilience for  
278 some, a lack of social capital can be a driver of vulnerability for others, as has been rightfully  
279 and repeatedly stressed by multiple scholars<sup>75,76</sup>. Existing networks are often not accessible to  
280 the most vulnerable, and social inequality puts some groups at a disadvantage, preventing them  
281 from building beneficial networks<sup>70</sup>, which can lead to discrimination against marginalized

282 groups in post-disaster aid distribution<sup>71</sup>. However, research pursuing more critical approaches  
283 to social capital has not yet received sufficient attention from DRR policymakers and NGOs.  
284 To enable DRR practitioners and scholars to take advantage of the critiques of social capital, a  
285 better empirical understanding is needed about building inclusive social networks that actively  
286 help vulnerable and marginalized groups access the benefits of social capital for disaster  
287 resilience while not harming them.

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### 290 **DRR has become more proactive**

291

292 Several policy documents in DRR argue for a paradigm shift from response-driven approaches  
293 (*managing disasters*) to integrated approaches (*managing risk*)<sup>77-79</sup>. Concurrently, a large body  
294 of research has shown that response-driven measures do not only often lead to negative effects  
295 for the environment and high maintenance costs, but they can also backfire in the long term, for  
296 instance, by enabling population increases in hazardous locations<sup>80</sup>. Yet, evidence suggests that  
297 reactive measures still remain the favorite option for decision-makers as well as the local  
298 population affected by disastrous events<sup>81</sup>. For example, after a flood event, repairing,  
299 strengthening, and raising levees are more popular than, e.g., relocating people living in flood-  
300 prone areas. “Once structural protection is built, development tends to increase behind it,  
301 amplifying motivation for its continuation”<sup>82</sup>. We argue that one obstacle to achieving the  
302 paradigm shift toward proactive measures is that the actual benefits of integrated approaches,  
303 which aim to reduce social vulnerability and risk, are still to be fully demonstrated. Hence, more  
304 research is needed to uncover the benefits of integrated approaches.

305

306

### 307 **Disasters facilitate opportunities for change**

308

309 The SFDRR portrays disasters as opportunities to draw lessons and build resilience by  
310 integrating DRR into development and “build back better.” Moreover, popular wisdom holds  
311 that decision-makers will engage in learning, fix problems, and take action to avoid mistakes in  
312 the future. The transformative potential of disasters is also emphasized across several research  
313 fields. However, studies also suggest that disruptive crisis events feed defensive behavior,  
314 reaffirm pre-existing orders, and implementation gaps<sup>83</sup>. Recent work involving 85 countries  
315 indicates that natural hazard events are unassociated with efforts to strengthen DRR<sup>84</sup>.



316 Meanwhile, this research area requires more robust empirical research. Disasters have the  
317 potential to build pressure for change, raise public consciousness of risks and response gaps,  
318 and provide legitimacy for governmental decision-making. Yet, learning, policy change, and  
319 institutional renewal depend on several intermediate factors, including advocacy, power,  
320 agenda-setting, framing, blaming, and accountability<sup>85,86</sup>. Learning and change have also been  
321 attributed to repeated events that gradually build public pressure for policy-makers to “do  
322 something”, and single high-magnitude events whose impacts on society cannot be ignored<sup>87</sup>.  
323 But repeated events may also plunge societies into a vicious circle of recovery actions, which  
324 inhibit long-term proactive measures<sup>84</sup>. These insights mainly derive from single or  
325 comparative case studies using different conceptions of learning and change, which constrains  
326 cross-case comparison. Systematic empirical research is needed to get a better overview of  
327 patterns of stability and change across cases and scales.

328

329

### 330 **Raising awareness increases preparedness**

331

332 Public campaigns to raise risk awareness are a central focus of the SFDRR. It is often assumed,  
333 also in policy documents<sup>88,89</sup>, that awareness-raising campaigns translate into adopting  
334 precautionary measures. In contrast, a large body of research in risk perception has shown that  
335 the interplay between risk awareness and preparedness is rather complex<sup>88-96</sup>. Wachinger et  
336 al.<sup>89</sup> reviewed several studies and found that higher levels of risk awareness were not  
337 necessarily associated with higher levels of preparedness. Numerous factors come into play,  
338 including actual losses related to the direct experience of extreme events<sup>90,91</sup>, trust in authorities  
339 and experts<sup>92</sup>, and levels of social capital<sup>93,94</sup>. While these studies have advanced our  
340 understanding of the complex interplay between risk awareness and preparedness, they were  
341 based on single surveys in the wake of major disasters. Only a few studies have analyzed  
342 changes in both awareness and preparedness over time<sup>97-99</sup>. As a result, it remains largely  
343 unknown how and to what extent risk communication and other awareness-raising actions can  
344 help reduce disaster risk. More longitudinal studies are needed to unravel this complex interplay  
345 and better inform the public awareness campaigns such as those advocated by the SFDRR.

346

347

### 348 **Conclusion**

349



350 Scientists and practitioners are in agreement concerning the importance of evidence-based  
351 policymaking for effectively reducing disaster risks around the world. However, the previous  
352 discussion around how to make effective use of science in DRR has mainly focused on ways to  
353 communicate knowledge. In contrast, less attention has been devoted to the substantive claims  
354 that guide action. Here we highlighted ten examples of “truisms” representing established  
355 claims within DRR policy discourse and briefly reviewed the available scientific evidence  
356 behind each claim. This is unavoidably a highly subjective endeavor. Yet, the objective was not  
357 to provide an exhaustive list of topics and questions backed by a systematic literature review.  
358 Instead, we aimed to pinpoint vivid examples of assumptions that have established themselves  
359 as departure points in DRR policy. For this work, we utilized the Sendai framework as a  
360 prominent DRR policy product to examine ten detected truisms from across the social and  
361 natural sciences that informed the document, but there are certainly other sources that could be  
362 consulted for the same purpose.

363

364 We argue that the DRR research field should identify prioritized research directions, linkages  
365 between knowledge areas, and ways to cope with the difficulty of transcending topics and  
366 disciplines to address this bias. The challenges of conceptualization, measurement, and  
367 causality also must be addressed. Several research areas exemplified here – the interplay of  
368 hazards and non-environmental drivers of migration and conflict, pathways from risk awareness  
369 to preparedness, the interplay of hard and soft measures, and drivers of collaboration –  
370 recognize the complexity of the processes leading to specific outcomes. Identifying and  
371 studying these complex relationships, including interaction effects and multiple causal  
372 pathways to the same outcome<sup>100–102</sup>, are important avenues for gaining new insights about  
373 drivers and consequences of disaster risks. These steps convey a general ambition to abandon  
374 overly simplistic and predictive models in favor of approaches that acknowledge more dynamic  
375 complex systems and unanticipated effects<sup>12</sup>.

376

377 Several critical DRR phenomena need greater conceptual clarity, including, e.g., prediction,  
378 collaboration, social capital, and disaster loss. Other concepts, such as prevention and response  
379 performance, have clear normative implications, which often manifest in debates around  
380 alleged successes and failures<sup>103</sup>. These dimensions deserve conceptual development and  
381 empirical assessment. Future work should also explore relationships between DRR and  
382 associated policy areas, including climate change adaptation and urban planning. Advances in  
383 measurement should accompany these efforts. This is partially linked to developing better data,

384 e.g., to monitor trends in disaster losses across scales<sup>104</sup>. Efforts to address these data issues  
 385 also require greater transparency concerning methods for normalizing impacts in relation to,  
 386 e.g., economic development, wealth, and historical patterns of hazard exposure<sup>30,105,106</sup>.

387  
 388 Strengthening the science-policy interface in DRR is a bidirectional process involving  
 389 individuals in both the scientific and practitioner communities that actively engage in forward-  
 390 looking dialogues to identify what knowledge is needed to inform responses to urgent policy  
 391 challenges<sup>107</sup>. This is illustrated, for instance, by growing practical recognition of connected  
 392 events in risk assessment methods and planning, which has been accompanied by increased  
 393 scientific attention to compound effects of multiple drivers<sup>25,26</sup>. In addition, we hope that more  
 394 research to identify and address truisms about DRR will advance and add nuance to the  
 395 understanding of phenomena determining disaster risk. However, it is essential to recognize  
 396 that the knowledge base will still be preliminary, fragmented, and, at times, even contradictory.  
 397 This demands researchers and practitioners strive for a common understanding of scientific  
 398 uncertainty<sup>7,108,109</sup>. Another crucial insight concerns the practical reality of DRR governance,  
 399 where policy-makers prioritize certain kinds and sources of information and draw on emotions,  
 400 beliefs, and habits to make decisions quickly<sup>110</sup>.

401

402

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**Declaration of interests**

The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

The authors declare the following financial interests/personal relationships which may be considered as potential competing interests:

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