



Bangladesh's vulnerability to cyclonic coastal flooding

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Abstract. In the Ganges-Brahmaputra-Meghna delta, covering most of Bangladesh, more than 165 million people live in low-lying coasts facing major extreme climatic events, such as cyclones. This article reviews the current scientific literature publications (2007-2020) in order to define vulnerability in the context of coastal Bangladesh facing cyclonic flooding. Based on this review, a new metric, called 'socio-spatial vulnerability index' (SSVI), is defined as function of both the probability of the cyclonic flood hazard and the sensitivity of delta inhabitants. The main result shows that the districts of Shariatpur, Chandpur and Barisal situated in the tidal floodplain of the Ganges-Brahmaputra-Meghna delta, are in the fourth quartile, i.e. highest category. These districts are very densely populated (from 870 up to 1400 inhabitants/km²) and exposed to inundation hazards, and host a large number of vulnerability factors. Finally, the delta's mouth was identified as a very vulnerable area to cyclonic flooding.

1 Introduction

Tropical cyclones are among the most devastating extreme natural events. When a cyclone approaches coast, it can induce an increase of sea level, called storm surge. This storm surge can cause severe flooding of vast coastal low-lying areas and leads to profound societal and economic impacts. This is especially the case for the regions surrounded by the semi-enclosed sea of the Bay of Bengal. Although the frequency of the cyclone is weaker than in Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, most of them make landfall (Balaguru et al., 2014). That, combined with low-lying and high-populated areas, causes catastrophic impacts (Hoque et al., 2019). In April 1991, for example, in Bangladesh 15 million people were affected by the flooding that followed the cyclone Gorky landfall, causing about 140'000 fatalities and 1.8 billion of dollars' worth of damage (source International Emergency Events Database: EM-DAT: www.emdat.be). The development of accurate and understandable cyclone flooding knowledge and tools is therefore crucial to define effective strategies for adaptation to these extreme events. Today, the cyclone flood risk assessments have become an essential worldwide tool to assist in setting appropriate protection measures. However, the multiplication of the cyclone flood risk assessment raises important questions about how their findings are comparable, generalizable and easily transferable to the decision-makers and communities.

In this study, we wonder, first and foremost, about the risk terminology. Although this terminology lacks uniformity between the social and the natural sciences, as well as within each one (Roberts et al., 2009), both approaches recognize that risk combines hazard, vulnerability and exposure (and sometimes coping, capacities



40 and resilience). While natural sciences emphasize hazard above all and consider vulnerability mainly from the
element at risk's physical and technical viewpoints, social sciences rather focus on structural factors that reduce
the human system capacity to cope with a range of hazards (Baum et al., 2009; Roberts et al., 2009). Vulnerability
has many facets influencing each other and may also be measured by susceptibility to loss, on physical (natural
and manmade environment), social, economic, institutional and systemic levels. Therefore, more than the exposure
45 or hazard, the vulnerability is a key for the relevance of all cyclone flood risk assessments.

Current approaches (among other: Ghosh et al., 2019; Hoque et al., 2019; Quader et al., 2017; Sahoo and
Bhaskaran, 2018) for addressing the vulnerability to cyclone flooding tend to focus on flood hazard and the other
social vulnerability patterns, but rarely integrated in an interdisciplinary framework considering interaction
50 between both (Rabby et al., 2019). Previous studies define the vulnerability of places, also called physical
vulnerability, following that the flood risk can be enhanced or reduced by changes to the natural and built
environment (Cutter, 2003; England and Knox, 2016). For cyclone flooding, topography, dikes, embankments,
roads, houses and land use can therefore influence the physical vulnerability. Moreover, although these places
might have the same probability to be flooded by cyclone, the sensitivity of people and their capacity to cope with
55 flood will be different (O'Hare and White, 2018). Therefore, in this work we considered a cyclone flood event in
this integrated and interdisciplinary framework, as the intersection between physical vulnerability and
individual/group sensitivity, resulting in the concept of 'socio-spatial vulnerability' to cyclone flood (Forrest et al.,
2020).

60 Thus, more than developing a new vulnerability concept, the novelty of our study lies in the methodological
adaptation of existing approaches, like social vulnerability index (Flanagan et al., 2011), to the specific cyclone
flooding context. In that way, we define a new metric, called 'socio-spatial vulnerability index' (SSVI), as function
of both the probability of the cyclone flood hazard and the sensitivity of inhabitants. This metric is used to identify
the areas where the largest number of the most vulnerable people are exposed to frequent cyclone flooding.

65 This study explores the potential for cyclone flood SSVI to highlight socio-spatial inequalities between the coastal
districts in the case of Bangladesh, this country being considered as one of the most vulnerable in the world
regarding extreme climatic events. In this region, 165 million people live on the low-lying land of the Ganges-
Brahmaputra-Meghna (GBM) delta and face inter alia to catastrophic storm surge floods caused by cyclone (Ali,
70 1999; Becker et al., 2020; Nicholls et al., 2018; Uddin et al., 2019). Like mentioned above, several studies have
already been carried out to assess the cyclone flood vulnerability of Bangladesh coastal areas. However, as
mentioned by Hoque et al. (2019), only two studies have proposed the production of a multi-parameter index as a
tool to characterize the physical vulnerability in the central and western part of the GBM delta (Islam et al., 2016;
Islam et al., 2015). Regarding the work of Mahmood et al., (2020), they proposed a cyclone flood vulnerability
75 assessment located on the mouth area of the GBM delta and based on the coastal vulnerability index developed by
Hoque et al. (2019). Only physical parameters such as topography, shoreline change, coastal slope (among others)
were taken into account. Therefore, here also the social dimension of cyclone flood vulnerability was not assessed.

The paper is organized as follows: section 2 gives an overview of current paradigms used in vulnerability
80 conceptualization; section 3 presents the region study; section 4 provides insights from a literature review into



how vulnerability to cyclone flooding in Bangladesh is questioning and according to what indicators; and section 5 proposes a socio-spatial index for standardizing vulnerability to cyclone flooding in Bangladesh. Finally, two sections are devoted to the discussion and conclusion.

2 Overview about the vulnerability concept and its indicators

85 In the following, we provide a necessary overview of different vulnerability paradigms in order to understand how they were defined in these past decades, and how its conceptualization can be achieved. Following the authors, it is seen either as static or dynamic, including exposure or not. Chambers (1989) initiated a formal definition as “exposure to contingencies and stresses and the difficulty which some communities experience while coping with such contingencies and stresses”. Hence, he identified two binaries of vulnerability: an external (the exposure to
90 external shocks) and an internal vulnerability (the incapacity to cope). Lastly, he suggested that it is determined by the management and accessibility of assets. Here, exposure is included but vulnerability is mainly considered as a state (Roberts et al., 2009).

The pressure and release model proposed by (Blaikie, 1994) considers that vulnerability is socially produced
95 (Menoni et al., 2012). It is defined as: “the characteristics of a person or group in terms of their capacity to anticipate, cope with, resist, and recover from the impact of a natural hazard”. It focuses on both the social and temporal dimensions of a disaster (Kuhlicke et al., 2011) and proposes that vulnerability can be reduced through people’s access to resources (Menoni et al., 2012).

100 Further developed by (Wisner et al., 2004), the model includes a sense of progression into the vulnerability, which gradually evolves according to: root causes (the unequal distribution of power and assets), dynamic pressures (the society characteristics, such as population density and growth) and unsafe conditions (situations evolving as its expression when the hazard occurs). This model conceptualizes it as a process, but it underestimates the exposure in the risk equation (Roberts et al., 2009). Vulnerability as a dynamic process was additionally developed by
105 Birkmann, (2006) in the BBC model which incorporates coping capacity into the vulnerability of the risk equation. It also distinguishes between its social, economic and environmental components (Romieu et al., 2010). However, his model does not integrate physical vulnerability as impacting the social aspects. In most of these models, it is emphasized how it is a dynamic concept that does not only include socio-demographic characteristics.

110 Vulnerability is also the results of human interactions and networks and it may change across time. De Marchi and Scolobig (2012) argue that the vulnerability of social systems is derived from characteristics of individuals, groups, but also from institutions. For those reasons, later authors offered to characterize its various components according to its associated people and threatened assets. In addition, these authors adopt a systemic perspective in which they distinguish between the individual and the institutional components of social vulnerability in order to explore their
115 interactions. Individual vulnerability stresses the perceptions and attitudes impeding people from preparing and coping sufficiently in case of disaster. However, institutional vulnerability implies that agencies and services may paradoxically weaken the overall capacity of a specific system to deal effectively with disasters (De Marchi and Scolobig, 2012). For example, the authors demonstrate how the presence of structural devices (barriers, dams and embankments) can lessen the perception of risk and mislead to a “symbol of complete safety”. This institutional



120 vulnerability leads to a situation where the bigger the defense system is, the greater the impression of
invulnerability increases. This effect is well known in the literature as “safety paradox” (Burby, 2006; Ferdous et
al., 2020): increasing levels of flood protection can generate a sense of complacency among the protected people,
which can reduce preparedness, thereby increasing vulnerability.

125 Therefore, to assess vulnerability level, classical indicators are often social inequality indicators, such as: *age*,
gender, *household composition*, *employment*, *income*, *educational level*, *ethnicity*, *race* (Blaikie, 1994; IPCC AR5,
2014). Other socio-economic indicators are added by the United Nations Organisation and the World Bank, such
as: *gross domestic product (GDP) per inhabitant*, *human poverty index (HPI)*, *inflation rate*, *population*
130 *characteristics (density, growth, life expectancy at birth, illiteracy rate)*. These classical indicators of vulnerability
may lack explanatory power and so this type of parameters using quantitative data should be discussed and put
into perspective with qualitative indicators (Kuhlicke et al., 2011). Indicators relying only on census data lack its
full understanding because they do not take into account people’s perceptions and culture of risk, norms, traditions,
beliefs and behaviors. Its other social dimensions, like “the ability of individuals and communities to cope seems
to depend also on some intangible aspects, which can be described by terms such as energy, vigor, vitality, strength,
135 courage, nerve, fortitude, and their antonyms” (De Marchi and Scolobig, 2012). Those aspects shape people’s
vulnerability, together with personal, contextual and material conditions.

As mentioned above, according to disciplinary approaches, the physical and social dimensions must be studied
together and fit within a territory. This spatial dimension then appears unavoidable to assess vulnerability
140 (Mazumdar and Paul, 2018). Its spatial dimension enables, from a local to a national level, to define specific
adaptation or mitigation strategies for each region, through the identification of hot spots, and to use the map as
means of communication to meet the decision-makers’ needs. As mentioned by Mazumdar and Paul (2018),
vulnerability is specific according to population, factors and locations. This is why we have chosen to assess the
vulnerability to cyclone flooding through a socio-spatial vulnerability index (SSVI), a tool that enables both
145 quantifying and mapping its levels. Socio-spatial vulnerability takes into account social conditions and measures
the resistance or resilience of populations to a hazard; at the same time, it integrates the potential exposures of
these same populations in particular territories (Cutter et al., 2003; England and Knox, 2016; Forrest et al., 2020;
O’Hare and White, 2018). Thus, we consider the vulnerability in a structural perspective (Hufschmidt, 2011) and
where “exposure”, i.e. the spatial intersection of flood hazard and population density, is included as one of its
150 components.

3 Region study

Bangladesh is situated between India, Myanmar and the Bay of Bengal. This country is one of the most vulnerable
countries in the world regarding extreme climatic events. The entirety of coastal Bangladesh is under 10 meters’
elevation (Becker et al., 2019) and is highly populated with a mean of 1’240 people per km² in 2018 (World Bank,
155 2018), which increases its exposure to coastal floods. Though people of the deltas have learnt how to live with
periodic coastal submersion, they face numerous constraints like ground instability because of fluvial alluvium
and subsidence, insalubrity of swamps, and ground salinity, which compelled the population to adapt its cultural
activities like planting new rice varieties (Ali, 1999) or shifting from rice cultivation to shrimp farming.



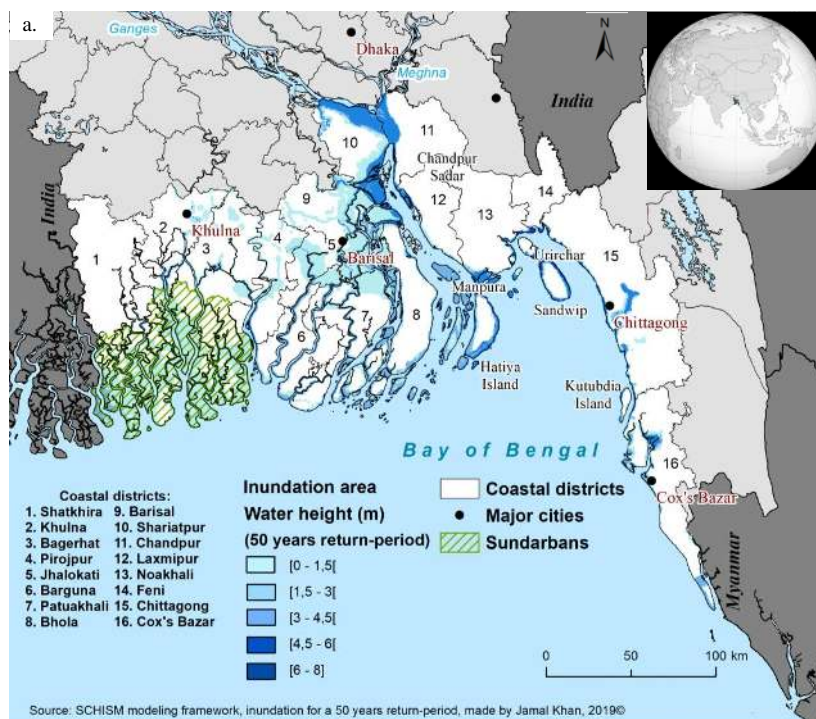
160 Since 1960s, Bangladesh has a widespread system of embankments and polders (land surrounded by
embankments), which initially improve agriculture and water level management (Brown et al., 2018). However,
as these earthen embankments systems were built for tidal flooding - without considering storm surges – they were
not able to protect from extreme case of cyclonic flooding. Besides, due to a lack of maintenance, most of coastal
embankments nowadays are partially or completely eroded (Younus and Sharna, 2014). In 1972, a Cyclone
165 Preparedness Program (CPP) was created by the Bangladesh’s government to prepare weather forecasts and
disaster warnings (Paul, 2009), whereby cyclone shelters were erected as multi-storey buildings – for example, in
the form of “School cum Cyclone Shelter”, to promote education as well as serve as shelter during storm-surges.
Flood hazards challenge the high and growing population density, where the majority of urban Bangladeshis live
in the main cities (Dhaka, Khulna and Chittagong; Fig. 1.a), which all contend with flood hazards. Floods threaten
170 people’s lives and assets, but can also damage livelihoods, agriculture and impact almost all socio-economic
activities. Storm surge flooding in Bangladesh resulted in the greatest global death toll over the last century, such
as the Cyclone Gorky in 1991, causing about 140’000 fatalities (Nicholls et al., 2018). In the previous decade, the
floods triggered by cyclones Sdir in 2007 and Aila in 2009 caused thousands of fatalities (Ahmed et al., 2016;
Paul, 2009) and displaced many others. In order to reduce people affected by cyclonic coastal flooding, a number
175 of risk assessment studies (among other : Mallick et al. 2017; Quader et al. 2017; Hoque et al. 2019) have been
conducted in this region to determine which actions should be prioritized for policy makers to implement.

Recent progress in hydrodynamic modeling for the GBM delta showed that to accurately reproduce patterns of
cyclonic coastal flooding, several parameters are essential as accurate bathymetry and topography, inclusions of
180 dikes, well-tuned bottom roughness, and forcing the model with accurate representation of the cyclonic wind and
pressure fields (Khan et al., 2020; Krien et al., 2017). Using this robust hydrodynamical modelling schema, Khan
et al. (2019) provided probabilistic cyclonic flood hazard maps over coastal GBM from a dataset of statistically
and physically consistent synthetic cyclone events (Emanuel et al., 2006). We presented in Figure 1.a the cyclonic
flooding level with a 50-year return-period estimated from Khan et al. (2019). This means that at a particular
185 location in the GBM, the reported flooding height, due to cyclonic flooding, is expected to be observed on average
once in 50 years. This type of metric aims to anticipate the cyclone flood occurrence and its consequences in order
to alert the inhabitants and put in place effective strategies. In dark blue on Figure 1.a, one observes the places
which are exposed to flooding with the most extreme heights, up to eight meters from the mean sea level at the
junction between the Ganges and the Meghna rivers. All the coastal islands areas are exposed to a 1-in-50-year
190 flood, though the biggest ones, such as Hatiya, Sandwip, and Kutubdia islands are not totally exposed to the
cyclonic inundation on their total area. For these large coastal islands, the presence of dykes makes a very large
gradient in inundation hazard. Along almost all the coastline, blue colors are darker - excepting the South of
Laxmipur district - meaning that the embankments and their polders behind are strongly exposed to the inundation.
This directly threatens the houses settled by the dykes as authors underlined (Alam and Collins, 2010).

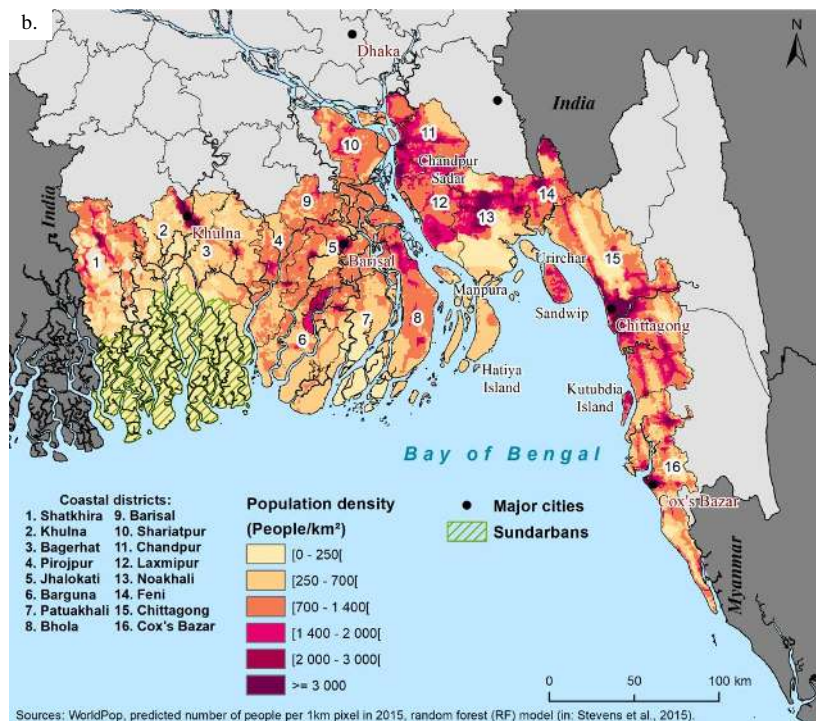
195 In addition to lots of places exposed to flooding with the most extreme heights, the population is aggregated around
the main cities of the South: Khulna, Barisal, Chittagong and Cox’s Bazar, as well as on big islands such as
Sandwip and Kutubdia island (Fig. 1b). While the area in the southwestern coast, behind the Sundarbans forest is
not very populated, compared with other parts of the delta, the districts of the central and east coasts are much



200 denser, such as in the Chandpur Sadar upazila (sub-district) at the mouth of the GBM delta. In Khulna, the water height is lower but still significant when crossed with the high population density. In Shatkhira and Khulna, the west coastal districts, population density is lower but as the people of this area is highly nature resources-dependent, the flooding of the Sundarbans increases the vulnerability of the people in the area.



205



210 **Figure 1: Study area : a) cyclonic inundation level with a 50-year return-period estimated from a large number of hydrodynamic simulations (Khan et al., 2019). This means that at a particular location, the reported flooding height, due to cyclonic surges, is expected to be observed once in 50 years. b) population density in coastal districts of Bangladesh.**

4 Assessing vulnerability to cyclonic coastal flooding in Bangladesh from a literature review

4.1 Methodology

215 To define and assess the vulnerability to cyclonic coastal flooding in Bangladesh, a literature review was conducted. This review was limited to peer-reviewed articles published between 2007 and December 2020. The analysis period started in 2007, taking this year as a turning point in terms of developments of vulnerability frameworks. Indeed, in 2007, the Fourth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) set the significance of vulnerability social factors over the international research community. This review excludes non-peer-reviewed articles, in the aim to obtain a state of the art's review of the current knowledge
220 extracted from scientific literature only, to make sure of high scientific quality standards in the selected articles (Räsänen et al., 2016). Finally, only English-written literature was included in order to keep references that can be widely read, to enable reproduction, and to deepen this review. The search engines used for the review are Google Scholar, ISTEEX, Science Direct, Scopus and Web of Science. The following search sequence used in the electronic databases includes the hazard, the area of study and key words related to vulnerability: ("*coastal flood**" OR "*sea-level rise*" OR "*Storm surge*" OR "*Cyclonic storm*" OR "*Disaster risk reduction*") AND ("*Bangladesh*" OR "*Brahmaputra delta*") AND ("**vulnerability*" OR "*human exposure*" OR "*coping**"). Those terms were searched for in the titles, abstracts and keywords of the articles (see Appendix A1 for more details on the strategy used). From this research, 49 publications were kept for this review (see Appendix A2- A4).



4.2 Summary of the literature analysis

230 The first result shows the universities behind the analyzed articles: 85% of the studies were conducted by Western
or Asian scholars. Only seven articles were directed by Bengali nationals, and the rest is made from a cooperation
with Bengali. Amongst the authors' disciplines, the applied sciences are overrepresented with 26 articles
(especially in the field of disaster risk management), followed by the humanities and social sciences and, finally,
the natural sciences.

235

The methodologies used in half of the studies are mixed methods, using both quantitative (e.g., surveys) and
qualitative data (focus group discussion and key informant interviews, for example). Inductive approach (bottom-
up) was used in three quarters of the articles, explaining that most of the studies were done at a small scale -
villages and unions – to study some aspects of population vulnerability. While still more than half of the studies
240 used surveys (structured questionnaires), five articles used the Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) method to
allow the participant to fully participate even if they were illiterate (Ahmed et al., 2010; Ahsan, 2017; Shameem
et al., 2014).

Most of the authors touch upon vulnerability in their articles, but surprisingly, not all give a definition of it, often
245 taking the concept for granted. Among the studies defining the theory upon which they grounded their research,
three articles define what they consider is vulnerability. First, for Mallick et al. (2009), "*vulnerability to disasters
refers to the inability of a society and its people to withstand adverse impacts from multiple stresses to which they
are exposed. It has two sides: an external side of risks, shocks, and stress to which an individual or household is
subject; and an internal side which is defenselessness, meaning a lack of means to cope*". Second, Quader et al.
250 (2017) mention "*three main characteristic groups of social vulnerabilities (dimensions), namely the socio-
demographic and economic characteristics of the population, their access to basic facilities and the proportion of
physically or ethnically marginalized people*". Then, Ishtiaque et al., (2019) define vulnerability "*as the degree or
extent to which a system is likely to be exposed and sensitive to a hazard, and the capacity of that system to adapt
to the effects of climate impacts*". However, those definitions do not have a lot in common but are complementary.
255 Therefore, those results show how little consensus exists on this concept in this region.

Finally, this literature review enables us to outline below the vulnerability factors' main characteristics discussed
in the articles (physical and systemic infrastructures, social and economic aspects). Some authors agree that in the
coastal zone globally, but especially in Bangladesh, it is imperative to consider both physical and socio-economic
260 factors in defining vulnerability (Miah et al., 2020; Mullick et al., 2019; Uddin et al., 2019).

4.3 Identifying vulnerability indicators

4.3.1 Physical and systemic infrastructures

4.3.1.1 Infrastructures: Road, cyclone shelter, embankment and communications facilities

According to the authors, the lack of proper **road** communication networks and transport infrastructure is an
265 important factor of people's vulnerability to cyclone disasters. In the coastal area, roads are not uniformly
distributed (Rabby et al., 2019), most of them are narrow, unpaved and made of dirt tracks, since they often mark
boundaries for crop fields (Alam and Collins, 2010), and embankments are also used as roads. During the rainy



270 season, they are destroyed and the mud makes any physical mobility difficult (Saroar and Routray, 2010). The
lack of road infrastructure is particularly important when authorities should disseminate the early warnings before
a cyclone (Paul, 2009), but they are mainly inaccessible to motorized vehicles. When the hazards are imminent,
roads in good shape are needed for the population to travel to reach the protective shelters (Kulatunga et al., 2014).
Finally, after the cyclone, developed road communication networks enable effective evacuation and rescue during
post-disaster relief operations (Hossain, 2015). Hence, it is concluded by authors that remote areas rarely get
emergency assistance (Mallick et al., 2017).

275 Situation of the **shelters** are studied by many authors, showing how the long distances to reach them, the lack of
infrastructure facilities, and their deterioration is an issue to the nearby households when they have to decide to
find shelter or not. Proximity, poor hygienic condition (Kulatunga et al., 2014), lack in communication means and
delivery of sanitation and drinking water (Saha, 2015) are some example for additional reluctant aspects for many
280 of the families. People are also reluctant to take refuge in shelters because they are suspicious of cyclone alerts,
but also because they are afraid of having all their belongings stolen. There is also a memory loss of the past events
impacts (Ishtiaque et al., 2019). If each shelter can accommodate approximately 1000 people (Mallick and Vogt,
2011), they are often insufficient to host the dense population living in the area, not uniformly distributed on the
territory or are also too far from the houses in need (Alam et al., 2020; Hossain, 2015;). The distance to a shelter
285 may considerably increase the vulnerability of the people if they decide to walk to one (Alam and Collins, 2010).

The **embankments** are often in very bad maintenance, including the sluice gates (Younus and Sharna, 2014).
Embankment failure can also induce problem with drainage congestion and water logging (Mullick et al., 2019).
Those coastal walls are also breached on purpose to be penetrated by pipes that fill the basins of shrimp farms
290 (Hossain, 2015).

It is worth noting that in the small island polders there is no **electricity** and, in remote areas, it is harder to find
hospitals or clinics as well as available doctors, because they are located mainly in big towns and cities (Garai,
2017; Islam et al., 2014b). Those aspects definitely decrease people's coping capacities.

295 **4.3.1.2 Houses: Material and emplacement**

Houses' materials and emplacement are the main criteria of the household's vulnerability. Four main kinds of
dwelling houses may be described in coastal Bangladesh. The *pucca* houses are the most solid and permanent
houses, made of brick and concrete, they are very rare and held by wealthy households. The *semi-pucca* buildings
are made of semi-permanent material in the sense that they have a floor of mud, brick or cement, but their walls
300 are bamboo mats or timber and the roof of corrugated iron (CI) sheets. The *kutcha* houses have floors made of
mud; the walls are bamboo, sticks or straw; and the roof made of paddy (rice) or wheat straw (Islam and
Walkerden, 2015). Finally, the *jhupri* houses are mainly huts or made of CI sheets. *Semi-pucca* houses are not
cyclone resilient, but *kutcha* and *jhupri* houses are organic-made structures totally vulnerable to this hazard (Miah
et al., 2020; Parvin and Shaw, 2013). In the majority of the rural studies analyzed in the literature review, most of
305 the houses are *kutcha* houses (Ahsan and Warner, 2014; Akter and Mallick, 2013; Younus and Sharna, 2014).
Houses' material fragility is accentuated by their settlement place: the more the villages are isolated and scattered,
the more they are vulnerable.



Moreover, there is a dreadful situation when houses are settled along the embankments: they face huge casualties
310 and damages with strong winds and waves, or in case of any breach of dykes (Hossain, 2015). This also happens
for people living out of the dykes: when their living places remain flooded in the days and weeks following a
cyclonic inundation, people take shelter on embankments, building tent-like huts (Garai, 2017; Mallick et al.,
2011). The main reason explaining people's choice to install on embankments is because they are the major public
spaces owned by the government along the coast which have become the last area above sea level not privately
315 owned where displaced people can construct settlements (Alam and Collins, 2010).

4.3.1.3 Water: Salinity, sanitation and drinking water

Saline intrusion due to cyclonic inundations is a serious problem highlighted by the coastal population, both for
food and sanitation. Because of the lack of embankments' reconstruction after cyclones such as Aila in 2009,
saline water intrusion was still a problem one year later (Mallick et al., 2011). **Salinity** is especially dreadful for
320 arable land, where farmers have to wait many years before restarting rice cultivation (Ahsan and Warner, 2014;
Ishtiaque et al., 2019; Mallick et al., 2017; Rabby et al., 2019).

Many authors highlight that after cyclonic inundations, **sanitation** facilities are particularly challenged. The first
main problem is the drinking water supply, which is disrupted and becomes scarce (Alam et al., 2017; Younus and
325 Sharna, 2014). Polluted by waste or animal carcasses (Hossain, 2015), as well as human feces due to the lack of
sanitation (Parvin and Shaw, 2013), the water is often contaminated by water-borne diseases like diarrhea, or even
cholera and typhoid (Ahsan and Warner, 2014).

Drinking water is also contaminated by saltwater intrusion, which is a serious problem for most the families that
330 use pond springs (Das et al., 2020; Ishtiaque et al., 2019; Shameem et al., 2014). Besides failures in access to
sanitation and clean water, households are significantly disrupted, even times no electricity after a cyclone (Aker
and Mallick, 2013), which can be an issue for communication purposes and economic recovery. It is worth noting
that in the small island polders there is no electricity at the first place.

4.3.2 Social and cultural factors

A significant indicator influencing people's vulnerability is **education**. It was shown that less educated people
were less able to understand the disaster forecast and to foresee the appropriate materials and food to store in case
of evacuation (Paul and Routray, 2011). The analysis of the literature review establishes that five main social
groups are particularly vulnerable during cyclonic inundations: **women, children, elderly, disabled people** and
religious minorities (Das et al., 2020; Mullick et al., 2019; Rabby et al., 2019). Firstly, in customary social order
340 in Bangladeshi rural areas, men are usually the heads of household, being the ones who decide how to prepare the
family for a cyclone, where to take shelter and if to eventually evacuate from the house (Ahmed et al., 2010).
Traditionally, women take care of family resources and have to wait for their husbands the consent to go to a
protective shelter (Alam and Collins, 2010; Kulatunga et al., 2014). During the cyclone and post-disaster, large
families (more than 10 members) are considered as more vulnerable, in the sense that elderly, children and people
345 with disabilities are considered to be dependent people, for the evacuation as well as in the recovering phase
(Hossain, 2015; Quader et al., 2017). Generally, women have less access to incomes and assets because social



norms limit their advocacy in the public sphere, although they can get access to microcredits offered by NGOs to support their recovery. Nonetheless, authors pointed out that financial relief is often distributed to particular religious, political and social groups, neglecting women, poor and religious minorities, a situation that mainly gives advantage to the supreme social class (Mallick et al., 2017); this social class, in rural zone, corresponds to the wealthy persons who regularly become elected representatives in the local government (Mallick et al., 2011). However, some NGOs emphasize that policies aimed at improving infrastructure to reduce vulnerability must be accompanied by a policy of sensitizing populations to the disaster in order to reduce illiteracy, poverty and increase livelihoods (Ishtiaque et al., 2019).

Beyond these social indicators, other cultural and/or political variables are mentioned in the literature. For example, despite the Cyclone Preparedness Program, many critics were found in the literature about the early warning system's effectiveness, either because of its dissemination or its understanding. The first problem in the preparedness phase is the population's access to the alert, since a large part does not have access to a **radio**, the communication dissemination remains poor (Ahsan and Warner, 2014; Mallick et al., 2011; Paul and Routray, 2011; Saha, 2015). Moreover, several researchers noticed the surprise of the population at the arrival of the cyclone disasters because they failed to understand the warning systems (Mallick et al., 2017; Younus and Sharna, 2014). Other authors also report people are indifferent to the weather forecast because they use their own traditional forecast methods through indigenous signs (Hossain, 2015; Rakib et al., 2019). Therefore, signs in the environment (wind directions, clouds, sea birds and insects' behaviors) are used instead to perceive impending hazards (Garai, 2017). When the information of the early warning has been effectively transmitted to the people and they are aware of the imminent hazard, many scientists underline the population's resignation that a cyclone is God's will. They regard disasters as "common events" (Kulatunga et al., 2014) since they happen frequently. In case of total flooding and destruction, people may end up having to move to another place. Nonetheless, authors observed that if people can temporarily move out of their village, they do not consider permanent relocation as alternatives (Ahmed et al., 2016). Some authors argued that the polders "create a false sense of security" (Sultana, 2010) and therefore increases people's vulnerability (Ishtiaque et al., 2017). This feeling of security can also diminish the efficiency of a cyclone warning system. In addition, authors note that memory loss from previous extreme events can be observed (Ishtiaque et al., 2019).

4.3.3 Economic factors

Some labor categories, tied to the coastal economic development, are more vulnerable to cyclones, namely rice farmers, fishermen, and shrimp farmers. Cyclones particularly affect cultivated lands and fishing facilities, often leading to extreme poverty for the people who cannot practice their job anymore (Mallick et al., 2017). Shrimp farmers are especially concerned with this problem, where a quarter of them suffered more damages than agricultural farmers after cyclone Aila in 2019 (Ishtiaque et al., 2017). The expansion of shrimp farms in Bangladesh, especially in the West and East coasts have raised a certain number of issues both for the people and for the environment. This culture has been developed mainly in the three last decades because of its great potential of exportation, bringing back value from foreign currency, until it became one of the most important sectors in the country especially concentrated in the coastal zones of Khulna, Satkhira, Bagherhat and Cox's Bazar (Ahamed et al., 2012).



Finally, to conclude this diagnosis, let us stress that according to Uddin et al. (2019), the variables of population density, poverty and geomorphology (coastal and flat/low-lying country face to sea level rise) will be the most aggravating factors of future vulnerability. This literature review allows identifying main characteristics to assess the vulnerability. While from a theoretical point of view, it can be defined on the basis of all these physical, socio-cultural and economic indicators, its spatial component is still not addressed and the interrelation between a population and its territory of life is not analyzed or taken into account here. Yet, the spatial distribution of its different components (physical, socio-cultural and economic) enables defining its level for a territory. This is why the index approach was chosen because it allows synthesizing all this information into a single variable and mapping it.

5 A socio-spatial vulnerability index

To identify places that are highly vulnerable to cyclonic flooding hazard, we focus on 16 coastal districts, the district being the spatial unit of reference (Fig. 1a). There are two popular approaches to construct vulnerability index: the variable reduction and variable addition. The first one is an inductive approach, a large set of variables is used, assuming that they have potentially more or less influence (i.e. weight) on the index calculation. Principal Components Analysis, although fairly complex, is often used to estimate these weights to assign to each indicator (Cutter et al., 2003; Das et al., 2020; Quader et al., 2017; Uddin et al., 2019). On the contrary, the variable addition is a deductive approach, where only variables have been determined as influential in previous studies are added (with equal weights). We chose to apply this simple method, from the vulnerability factors highlighted by our literature review, to determine the SSVI.

5.1 Methodology

From the literature review (section 4) three components based on local experts' knowledge are highlighted: physical and infrastructures, socio-cultural and economic components. Like explained above, exposure is included in the vulnerability, a fourth component is added, cyclone protection and exposure.

The calculation of SSVI is based on the methodology developed by Flanagan et al. (2011). To construct it, each of the variables selected was ranked from highest to lowest vulnerability degree. A percentile rank was then calculated, by using the formula $\text{Percentile Rank} = (\text{Rank}-1)/(\text{N}-1)$ where N is the total number of data points, for each district over each of these factors. In addition, a percentile rank is calculated for each of the four components or domains (adapted from Flanagan et al. (2011)), defined as (1) socioeconomic status, (2) household composition and disability, (3) Housing & Infrastructures and (4) Cyclone Protections and Exposure, based on a sum of the percentile ranks of the factors comprising that domain (see Appendix C for full methodology). Finally, an overall percentile rank for each district is calculated as the sum of the domain percentile rankings and defined as the SSVI. The interpretation of the SSVI is as follows: for example, a district being in the 85th percentile (0.85 ranking), it means that 85% of these districts are either below, or equal, to that particular district regards to SSVI.

5.2 Data and sources

From the literature review, 17 variables were identified to assess the level of vulnerability of each coastal district (Fig. 2). The representativeness of each variables, defining the four components, is characterize according to the frequency they were cited in the literature review. The frequencies are in the range of 12% (Minorities) to 47%



425 (Education), and the median is ~27% (Children), i.e. 13 studies about the 49 considered (for more details see
Appendix B).

All the data considered here are freely available, accessible online and given at district scale. These data come
from different national sources such as the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (2011 and 2014 surveys) and from
430 international sources such as the World Bank. Full details of the data used are in Appendix D.

To describe the **Socio-economic status**, two variables are used: *poverty rate* which corresponds to percentage of
total of poor comprising both lower and upper the poverty line; and *education rate* which corresponds to
percentage of children who have more than 10 years of school (Alam et al., 2017; Islam et al., 2014; Isthaque et
435 al., 2019).

The **Household composition and disability** domain is characterized by 5 variables (Alam et al., 2020; Isthaque
et al., 2019; Rabby et al., 2019): *Age 14 or younger (%)* and *age 60 or older (%)* (ages 14 and 60 are chosen as
limits according to Akter and Mallick (2013)) correspond to addition of categories between ages 0-14 years and
440 categories above 60 years, respectively and expressed in percentage, *female rate (%)*, *disability* represents the
percentage of disable people per district and *religion*, described by percentage of Muslim and percentage of
religious minorities included Buddhist, Hindu, Christian and other (Akter and Mallick, 2013; Das et al., 2020;
Garai, 2017; Isthaque et al., 2019; Rabby et al., 2019; Roy and Blaschke, 2015).

445 The third domain, called **Housing and infrastructures**, includes percentage of *houses made of organic materials*
(kutchra and jhupri that are structures totally vulnerable to coastal flooding (Parvin and Shaw, 2013)), *unpaved*
road corresponds to percentage of length of road that are not paved, *access to electricity, mobile and sanitary*
(toilet with water and sealed) represent the percentage of population which have access to these infrastructures,
unsafe drinking water represents percentage of population which have not access to safe drinking water (unsafe
450 drinking water corresponds to all spring water that are not coming from the tap or from tube wells) and then
number of hospitals per district (Ahsan and Warner, 2014; Das et al., 2020; Isthaque et al., 2019; Islam et al.,
2014a).

The last domain is **Cyclone protection and exposure** and is described by three variables: *dykes and embankments*
455 (Alam et al., 2020; Hossain, 2015; Rabby et al., 2019) which corresponds to the length of dykes and embankments
into each district, *shelter capacity* computed by the difference between the shelter capacity (number of people)
and the number of people present within a one-kilometer radius of the shelter; and then, *exposure* corresponding
to percentage of people per district concerned by the cyclonic inundation with a 50-year return-period (Fig. 1). As
we have seen above (section 3), this cyclonic inundation probability, resulting from hydrodynamical modeling,
460 integrates components as topography, bathymetry, slope, dikes, embankments, soil roughness and vegetation,
which allows to indirectly integrate the physical vulnerability in the SSVI. Although authors proposed population
density as a variable to characterize the vulnerability (Ahsan and Warner, 2014; Isthaque et al., 2019; Kulatunga
et al., 2014; Miah et al., 2020), none used the population density actually affected by cyclonic floods.

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Figure 2: Socio-spatial vulnerability index scheme (adapted from Flanagan et al. 2011)

5.3 Socio-spatial vulnerability index to cyclonic flooding mapping

470 Figure 3 presents the SSVI. We deduced that the inhabitants of the districts at the mouth of the GBM rivers, i.e. Chandpur, Shariatpur and Barisal, and Bagerhat in the west coast, where the SSVI is in the highest category, are more vulnerable to cyclonic flooding relative to other districts. It appears clearly that these districts are very densely populated, poor, with a low percentage of high school completion and extremely exposed to the inundation hazard with insufficient cyclone protections. However, this analyze does not mean that the population of other

475

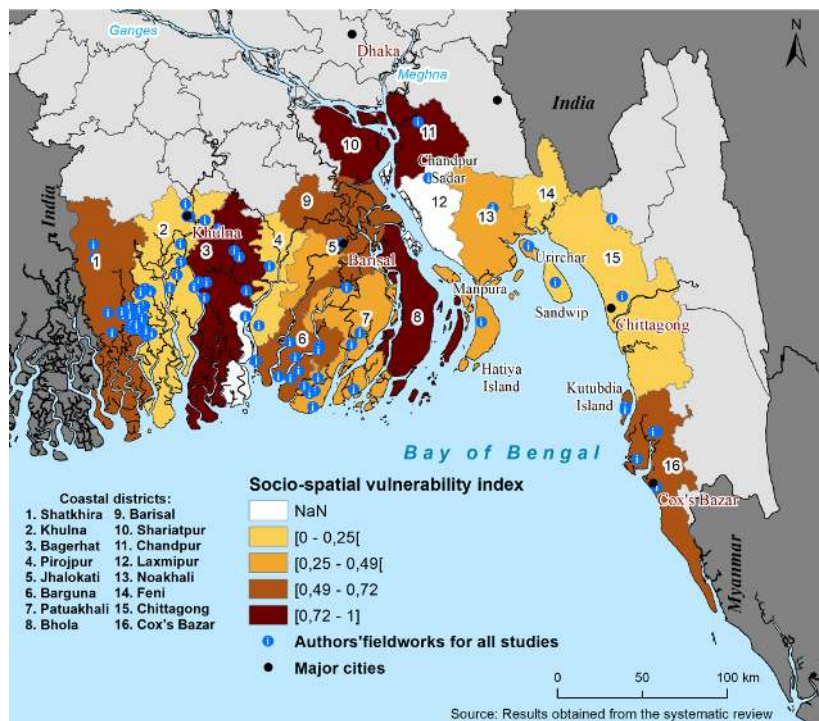


Figure 3: Socio-spatial vulnerability index to cyclonic flooding and location of case studies upon which are based the articles included in the literature review.

For the districts that appear the least vulnerable according to the index (Fig. 3), the *Cyclone protection and exposure* domain is the one that appears the most critical for these districts, as example, Feni, Khulna, Pirojpur and Patuakhali (Fig. 4). Then, it would appear that the *Household composition and disability* domain is the most vulnerable domain for the district where the vulnerability level is moderate (Borgona, Shatkira). And for the last two most vulnerable districts (Chandpur and Shariatpur), the 3 domains *Socio-economic*, *Household composition and disability* and *Cyclone protection and exposure* have very high values, exceeding 0.8.

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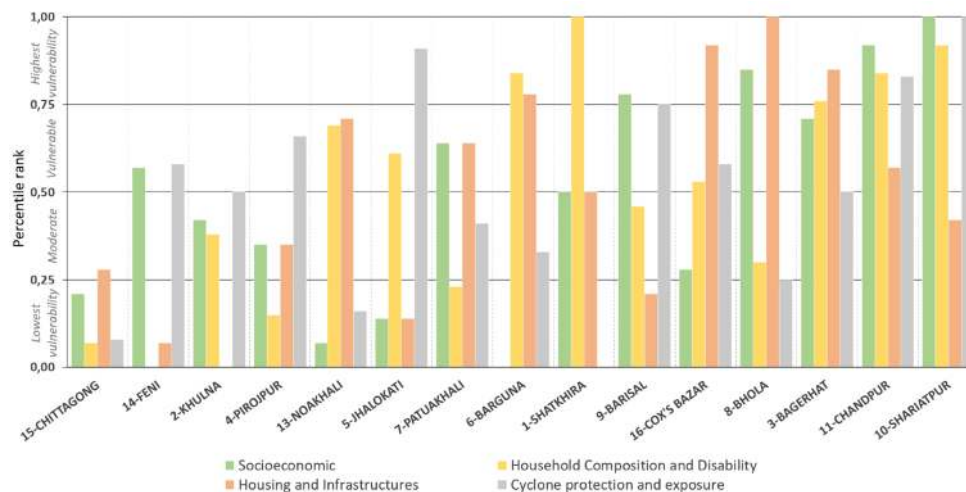


Figure 4: contribution of each domain to the socio-spatial vulnerability level.

6 Discussion

6.1 Main findings and contributions

490 Although, considerable effort has been made in Bangladesh, as shown in the literature review (section 4), to
 understand patterns of social, economic and environmental variables that render inhabitants more or less
 vulnerable to cyclonic flood, much less effort has been spent to consider the socio-spatial vulnerability. This study
 provides a methodology and an integrated index, called ‘socio-spatial vulnerability index’ (SSVI), for assessing
 the ways in which socio-spatial vulnerability to cyclonic flooding is distributed across the coastal territory. This
 495 new metric is a function of the probability of the cyclone flood hazard and the sensitivity of inhabitants.
 The SSVI shows that an interdisciplinary approach is needed to take into account the full complexity of the
 definition of vulnerability. The exposure of the population to the risk of cyclonic flooding must be integrated into
 vulnerability assessment, which distinguishes our approach from research dealing only with coastal vulnerability
 or social vulnerability (Hoque et al., 2019; Rabby et al., 2019). We showed that there are uneven geographical
 500 distributions in cyclonic flood vulnerability in Bangladesh; and that these different geographical patterns seem
 linked to distinct types of physical and systemic vulnerability. The SSVI map can help to show where there are
 higher concentrations of sensitive people to cyclonic flood and therefore where actions and which actors are best
 able to deliver efficient support to mitigate the disaster level that will inevitably accompany cyclone landfall.
 However, we saw also that vulnerability for people nature-dependent to the Sundarbans Forest was
 505 underestimated. Moreover, in this prawn farming region, it is amplified by the illegal or forced occupation of land
 often lead to violence, and by intensive, potentially hazardous, and poorly paid working conditions, especially for
 women (Ito, 2002; Paul and Vogl, 2011). Nonetheless, specific populations as the one living in slums or Rohingya
 refugees are under-represented in our study (Alam et al., 2020; Swapan et al., 2020). In the same way, it should
 be noted that there are a lot of new proxies of social, environmental and economic dataset (social network, mobile
 510 phone, satellites) that would allow estimation of the SSVI over finer geographical resolution to better represent
 the cyclone flooding vulnerability.



6.2 Limits of the research

A significant limitation to this work is the approach intrinsically used in this literature review: the exclusion criteria left out the analysis of grey literature to focus solely on peer-reviewed articles. By doing so, we excluded reports from local NGOs in Bangladesh that could bring to light new elements only known at the local scale after a long period of time. Nonetheless, we obtained a clear view of what is done throughout scientific articles in terms of coastal vulnerability. Additionally, we obtained 42 out of 49 analyzed articles which involved either Western or Asian scholars likely to assign concepts to Bangladesh that would normally work only into their own foreign country. Thus, the outcome of socio-spatial vulnerability is defined mainly from a Western perspective, because the majority of the articles included Western researchers. Moreover, bias in results the top-down approach used in this paper results from an aggregation of data from studies that used different methodologies. Consequently, this bias could happen since by aggregating the data, we lost some accurate information and perhaps considered a concept defined with the same word but conceptualized differently between different studies. Another issue raised with the top-down approach is the absence of local community participation in this assessment. This feature is necessary to give a complete validity to such an evaluation, by taking into account people's opinions and perceptions about their own vulnerability (Rakib et al., 2019; Sattar and Cheung, 2019). It is also through their participation that possible solutions and strategies of adaptation to disasters may appear and be formulated (Pouliotte et al., 2009).

7 Conclusion

In this article, we defined vulnerability to cyclonic flooding in coastal Bangladesh based on the scientific literature publications (2007-2020). This enables both to test scientifically the research procedure to assess the socio-spatial vulnerability and to state the coastal places in Bangladesh which are under studies or which lack of attention, in order to steer forward researches where need is identified for coastal population. The mouth of the Ganges thus appears to be a relatively little studied area, although it is very exposed to cyclonic flooding and vulnerable due to the density of the population (Chandpur and, to a lesser extent, Shariatpur).

Thus, we argue than a better knowledge on the socio-spatial vulnerability can help sensitive classical cyclone flooding vulnerability analysis that tends to consider that groups or communities are equiprobably exposed to the hazard in a given spatiality. Consequently, we define a 'socio-spatial vulnerability index' (SSVI), as function of both the probability of the cyclonic flood hazard and the sensitivity of delta inhabitants. Through this index, we quantify and map levels of this vulnerability. SSVI is also a new methodology to highlight socio-spatial inequalities between the coastal districts of Bangladesh, by considering social, physical and infrastructural aspects of vulnerability. The concept is thought in a systemic and interdisciplinary framework, considering this vulnerability aspects from social and natural sciences and their interactions between both. With this index and through its different components, we can better reveal why some groups or communities, at the districts level in case of our study, are more vulnerable to cyclonic flooding, and could be also slower to recover than others.

At final, we identify places the most vulnerable that are understudied, opening to consider differently the coastal area for State, NGOs and OIs to prioritize their Preparedness and Recovery programs. Climate change could increase the intensity and frequency of tropical cyclones in the Bay of Bengal, therefore access to appropriate cyclonic flood hazard, from hydrological modelling efficient tools, is a key parameter to predict the future socio-spatial vulnerability patterns.



Acknowledgments

This work was financially supported by the French research agency (Agence Nationale de la Recherche; ANR) under the DELTA project (ANR-17-CE03-0001). We acknowledge financial support from CNES (through the
555 TOSCA project BANDINO) and Embassy of France in Bangladesh. The CERG-C Program of the University of Geneva is thanked for providing the expertise and the framework to carry out this project.

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755 **Appendix A1: search strategy used to identify studies for inclusion (adapted from Alderman et. al., 2012).**

keywords in the title or abstract	Key words relating to flood disasters [hazard]		Key words relating to social vulnerability [outcome]
	Coastal flood*/-ing		(Social) *vulnerability* (index / assessment)
Words used for the research	Sea-level rise	AND	Human exposure
	Storm surge		Coping* (capacities)
	Cyclonic / tropical *storm		Key words relating to the area of study
	Disaster risk reduction		Brahmaputra delta
			Bangladesh
Search engines used	Google Scholar, Istex, Scopus, Science Direct		
Limits	[Date of Publication: 2007–2019; Abstract Available; English Language; Peer-reviewed articles]		

Alderman, K., Turner, L. R. and Tong, S.: Floods and human health: a systematic review, *Environment international*, 47, 37–47, 2012.

Appendix A2: Selected articles for the systematic review

Search engines	Total selected articles	Significant articles	Non-significant or redundant
Google Scholar	66	28	38
Istex	39	10	29
Scopus	24	6	18
Science direct	21	5	16
Total	149	49	101
Total selected for analysis		49	



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Appendix A4: Guiding question details

880 1) [WHO]

Although inclusion criteria established the research only upon peer-reviewed literature, it is specified if they are academic or non-university researchers by mentioning their home institution. The disciplinary backgrounds give the academic outlook of the authors involved in the research, and is defined according to the author's affiliated working department or faculty.

885 2) [WHERE]

The spatial scales address the locations where the vulnerability assessments were made across Bangladesh. Firstly, they report if the assessment takes place in rural, urban or a mixed environment. Secondly, they specify the scales: divisions, namely a region or, Zila which are districts; Upazila (thana), namely sub-districts, or unions, which are a gathering of two-three municipalities, or finally, if the analysis takes place at the household scale.

890 3) [WHEN]



The temporal scales of assessment refer to the hazard. The authors either consider a short- term period by focusing on a specific event like a cyclone, or a longer period, which could encompass a wider phenomenon, such as sea-level rise.

4) **[HOW]**

895 The theoretical approach used by the author should reveal the definition given to the vulnerability. For example, some authors refer to IPCC 2007's definitions or to 2014's definitions. Methods to assess vulnerability refers to the study design used by the authors. We distinguish quantitative (indicator-based, spatialized data, impact modelling), qualitative (interviews, participatory approaches, open surveys) and mixed methods (including both index and qualitative case studies).

900 5) **[WHAT]**

The scheme of the vulnerability categories encompassed a broad definition of vulnerability, including eventually a reference to what the authors could mean by social, human or people's vulnerability. We distinguish then between aspects and definitions of physical and systemic vulnerabilities.

905 **Appendix B: Citation frequency in the literature review of the selected variables (B.a) and coastal districts (B.b).**

B.a	Total	% (n=49 studies)	B.b	Total	% (n=49 studies)
Education	23	47%	Khulna	18	37%
Shelters	22	45%	Satkhira	17	35%
Female	20	41%	Barguna	13	27%
Houses materials	19	39%	Cox's Bazar	12	24%
Dykes - embankments	19	39%	Bagerhat	11	22%
Poverty	17	35%	Patuakhali	11	22%
Drinking water	16	33%	Pirojpur	7	14%
Road	14	29%	Chittagong	7	14%
Children	13	27%	Barisal	7	14%
Population density	12	24%	Noakhali	6	12%
Sanitary access	10	20%	Jhalokati	5	10%
Disability	9	18%	Bhola	5	10%
Electricity access	8	16%	Lakshmipur	5	10%
Mobile access	8	16%	Feni	5	10%
Elderly	7	14%	Chandpur	4	8%
Hospital	7	14%			
Minorities	6	12%			



Appendix C: Socio-spatial Vulnerability Index (SSVI) to cyclonic flooding methodology

The Socio-spatial Vulnerability Index (SSVI) database comprises 17 variables, 4 themes and 16 districts. The calculation of SSVI is based on the methodology developed Flanagan et al. (2011) and presented by below:

910

Tier 1: For each of the 17 variables (*Poverty, Education (above 10 years of school), Age 14 or Younger, Female rate, Age 60 or Older, Disability, Religion, Houses made of organic materials, Unpaved roads, Access to electricity, Access to mobile, Access to sanitary, Unsafe drinking water, Hospitals, Dykes and embankments, Shelter capacity and Population density exposed to flooding*):

915

Rank the values from lowest to highest vulnerability degree
 Calculate percentile rank (PR) for each district: $\text{Percentile Rank} = (\text{Rank}-1)/(\text{N}-1)$, where N is the number of districts. The district with the highest vulnerability degree for a specific variable will have a PR score of 1, and the lowest vulnerability degree will have a PR score of 0.

920

Tier 2: For each of the 4 thematic domain (*Socioeconomic, Household Composition and Disability, Housing and Infrastructures and Cyclone Protections and Exposure*):

Sum the PR of variables by domain
 Rank the values from lowest to highest vulnerability degree
 Calculate PR for each district

925

Tier 3: Overall SSVI
 Sum the PR of the 4 thematic domains
 Rank the values from lowest to highest vulnerability degree
 Calculate PR for each district

930

Example of interpretation: If a district is in the 80th percentile (0.80 ranking) for the SVI, then 80% of the districts are either below or equal to that particular district regards to SSVI.

Appendix D: Map layer' sources and description used to cartography

935

Map layer description	Details	Sources
Bay of Bengal map	Delimitation Bay of Bengal	Marine Gazetteer Placedetails. Indian Ocean/ IHO Sea Area. marineregions.org
Bangladesh map	Administrative units: borders (admin_0), divisions, districts, upazilas (admin_4)	DIVA GIS DATA
Ganges-Brahmaputra-Meghna rivers	Major rivers in Bangladesh	Humdata, OCHA
Sundarbans map	Delimitation Sundarbans	ZHANG Haiying, NIU Zhenguo, LIU Chuang, SHI Ruixiang. Sundarbans Wetland in 2015 (Bangladesh) [DB/OL]. Global Change Research Data



		Publishing & Repository, 2015. DOI:10.3974/geodb.2015.01.14.V1. / http://www.geodoi.ac.cn/WebEn/doi.aspx?Id=214
Hospital location	Health sites in Bangladesh	Humdata, healthsites.io
Population density	Predicted number of people per square kilometer, represented by pixel. Estimated using the random forest (RF) model as described in Stevens, et al. (2015)	The most recent data were found on WorldPop (2015), aware that the data could differ from the reality, this source remains currently the most recent data available to map this density.
Coastal flooding map	For a 50 years-return period	Made by Jamal Khan, model (Khan et al. 2019)
Embankments location	Coastal embankments in Bangladesh	Bangladesh Water Development Board
Cyclone shelters location	Points of shelters in coastal Bangladesh	geodash.gov.bd
Level of poverty	Percentage of people living under the poverty line	Zila level povmap estimates, 2010 from The World Bank, World Food Programme and BBS
	Total of poor comprising both lower and upper the poverty line	
Paved and unpaved road	Paved or unpaved road	District wise Length of Road by Road Classification in 2018 under RHD (in KM), p.258 from Statistical Year Book Bangladesh 2018, 38TH EDITION
Cyclones shelters	shapefile inventories 3777 shelters to protect the coastal population from the cyclones and their capacity	available on geodash.gov
Religious minorities	Indicator aggregates religions such as Buddhist, Hindu, Christian and other. The official statistics inventory migration from urban areas to urban and rural areas on the one hand, from rural areas to rural and urban places on the other hand.	Aggregated from BBS Online Census 2014
Unsafe water	The takes into account all spring of water that are not coming from the tap or from tube wells, they can come from simple wells, canal rivers and ponds.	Aggregated from BBS Online Census 2014
Education Level	More than 10 years of school	BBS Online Census 2014
Age years group	Addition of categories between ages 0-14 years	
	Addition of categories above ages 60 years	
Disable	Total disable people per district	
Sex	Gender (male or female)	
Type of structure (houses material)	House materials: JHUPRI, KACHA TINSHAD, SEMI-PUCCA, PUCCA, OTHERS_houses structure, Weak housing	
Toilet facility	Access to toilet facilities	
Mobile	Access to mobile	