Public Empowerment Policies for Crisis Management

Experiences of and requirements for a community approach involving social groups in crisis preparedness and responses

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Public Empowerment Policies

The project Public Empowerment Policies for Crisis Management (PEP, 2012–2014) identifies best practices in a community approach to crisis resilience, and gives directions for future research and implementation, including the use of social media and mobile services, to further community resilience as a co-production of response organizations and citizens.

The project Public Empowerment Policies for Crisis Management (PEP) is a cooperation of several teams of researchers from January 2012 to December 2014. This EU-funded project is coordinated by the University of Jyväskylä and based on extensive ground work by research teams from:

- The Mid Sweden University, Sweden
- Global Risk Forum, Switzerland
- Inconnect, the Netherlands
- The Emergency Services College, Finland
- The University of Jyväskylä, Finland
(consortium coordinator prof.dr. Marita Vos).

Public Empowerment Policies enhance crisis management as a coproduction of response organizations and citizens. The project will identify best practices in the community approach to crisis resilience and give directions for future research and implementation, including the use of social media and mobile services, to further citizen response. The input of the experts in the field of crisis management and communication is a key element in pursuing the goals of this project.

The materials can freely be used by crisis response organisations, with citation. Feedback by users and researchers is highly appreciated.

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Abstract

In this report, we present the final results of our study on experiences and requirements for a community approach involving social groups in crisis preparedness and response. Included are the views of representatives of local authorities, voluntary organizations and the general public on risk and crisis management and public empowerment. First, the background and aim of the study are introduced, followed by a summary of the previous research. Next, the methods and procedures employed in the interview studies are described, along with ethical considerations. We then report and analyze the research findings as well future research possibilities.

The main results of this study indicate specific areas of importance for the understanding and development of community approaches that include social groups in crisis preparedness and response. These areas are: Collaboration, Formal and informal practices, General ability and specific competence, Dynamics between collective efforts and individual self-help, Aspects of education and empowerment, Traditional communication versus digital media, Individual involvement, and Age and generation. A general observation is also that the scope and depth of collaboration between public and municipal emergency actors and voluntary organizations differ widely depending on population density and the size and geographical characteristics of the local community. These factors seem to have most impact on how formal the collaboration between the professional and voluntary organizations is and on issues related to resources of different kinds.

We have previously reported on a study of the academic literature on community approaches involving the public in crisis management.

1. Introduction

The objective of this work package (WP2) is to clarify in depth how community approaches involving social groups in crisis preparedness and response are used, including experiences and success factors, i.e. how to connect with community needs. In this project, community approaches refers to ways in which citizens and groups might be included in the management of crises and thus facilitate more effective crisis management (see desk study D2.2. for definitions). Thus, community approaches attempt to engage the full capacity of the private and non-profit sectors, including

businesses, voluntary organizations, and the general public.

In previous risk research, the heterogeneity of the general public, with respect to how different people perceive and respond to risks and crises, has been pinpointed. Positional factors such as age and gender (see e.g. Olofsson & Rashid 2011; Olofsson & Öhman 2007; Zinn & Pierce 2002), and situational factors such as education, place of residence and having children (see e.g. Slovic 2000; Lindell & Perry 1992; Wall forthcoming), in particular, have been studied. However, few studies have yet sought to clarify in depth how community approaches can enhance public empowerment as well as crisis management. Hence this study explores individual experiences and success factors that can be incorporated in a description of how to connect with community needs and how to activate and utilize efforts within the community.

The study aims to deepen understanding of how crisis management and communication can be coproduced by building trust and creating partnership-like relations between the public and other stakeholders. It focuses on the interface between bottom-up approaches, starting from the engaged public, and the top-down approaches of traditional emergency and crisis management professionals. It explores the role of local communities in crisis preparedness and response, and ways of involving citizens in this task. It asks questions about how enablers are utilised for educative purposes in the preparedness phase, as well as for support and organization in the response phase.

The work package has a novel design, since it takes four stakeholder perspectives into consideration. This is reflected in the selection of informants and in the presentation of the results. The perspectives are those of municipal safety coordinators (or those in a similar role), members of voluntary organizations, semi-organized individuals, and non-organized individuals.

1.1 Background

The Swedish crisis management policy context

The Swedish crisis management policy context is particularly suited for this type of study since national regulations stress individual responsibility for preparing and handling crises. In order to gain a more complete picture of the present study, the following section provides some essential information on the Swedish policy context.

According to the Government bill (2001/02:158 p. 22) on societal safety and preparedness, the Swedish system for crisis management is built on the principles of responsibility, similarity, and proximity. The principle of responsibility states that those who are responsible for an activity during normal conditions are also responsible during an extraordinary event (e.g. health, education, geriatric care, and so on). The principle of similarity states that an activity, as far as possible, should be performed the same way whether during an extraordinary event or during normal conditions. The principle of proximity, finally, states that a crisis ought to be managed where it occurs and by the nearest affected and responsible individuals or organizations. Thus, primary responsibility for managing a specific crisis is decidedly within the affected local community or municipality.

The Act (2006:544) on municipal and county council action before and during extraordinary events during peacetime and times of heightened readiness, states that local and county councils shall reduce vulnerabilities and cultivate sufficient capacity

for handling such events. As local and county council resources are often very limited, the Act provides a good foundation for engaging the general public and the voluntary sector in order to coproduce safety and security.

The Act (2003:778) on protection against accidents, states that individuals are primarily responsible for protecting their own life and property. As an individual citizen, one is expected to be aware of, and prepare for, the fact that accidents and crises can occur and affect one's everyday routines. Additionally, citizens are expected to be aware that societal resources during extraordinary events must primarily be directed to groups incapable of looking after of themselves. Finally, citizens are supposed to provide for their basic needs regarding water, food and shelter, during the initial first phase of a crisis.

2. Aim

The overall goal of this study was to capture the views and experiences of societal actors from several perspectives. The focus is on local communities and their role in involving citizens, as well as the level and orientation of citizen involvement and initiatives. The aim is to explore the interface between local authorities and voluntary initiatives where the engaged public might be able to support professional actors. In other words, the study is about mapping the state of collaboration between professional actors, local authorities and the organized voluntary and non-organized public, paying attention to good examples in coproducing safety.

3. Previous research

A literature review was conducted with the aim of summarizing the research on community approaches involving the public in crisis management, and the co-production of response organizations and citizens in enhancing community resilience (see desk study D2.2). Two rounds of database search for the relevant literature were carried out: one focused on crisis communication in different communities, and the other on different kinds of collaboration in crisis and disaster management. Some of the main findings are presented below.

Perception, assessment and knowledge of risks and crises in communities are influenced by the individual's relationship with the physical and social environment (Brunsman, Overfelt & Picou 2007). Rural and urban residents evaluate crisis plans differently, and will follow action guidelines during a crisis situation differently.

Accordingly, in the preparation phase, before an emergency situation, crisis or disaster has occurred, it is important to map the different perceptions and opinions present in communities and social groups, in order to be prepared to adapt crisis communication to diverse stakeholders in the event of a crisis when immediate information is needed to avoid severe damage or harm and allow protection (Heath & O'Hair 2009). Values relating to personal responsibility and community involvement need to be included in mitigation strategies.

The literature does not go very deep into the mapping of different types of communities or social groups and their preferences concerning spokespersons or message content, which is why this could be further investigated in order to meet

the goal of enhancing community resilience. For example, rural residents might need information not only on their own safety but also that of their livestock, which is of important economic and personal value to them.

New residents might not be aware of special conditions in the area, warning systems and emergency procedures. For example, the risk of natural disasters, such as volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, hurricanes and flooding, or information and procedures in case of an emergency, such as where recommended shelters are situated.

Minority communities (such as racial and ethnic communities) are more vulnerable during crises, and display lower trust in authorities and officials (Brunsman, Overfelt & Picou 2007; Olofsson 2007b). Distrust was found to be a significant barrier to the acceptance of risk communication messages. Thus it has been recommended to make more use of existing organizations, such as churches, for communication and education. Local partnerships are valuable.

Some authors in the reviewed literature emphasized that the focus should be on people and what people can do, instead of what risks and hazards they might face (Burns & Slovic 2012). A major part of the literature stresses the importance of using pre-existing or established networks (i.e. families, workplaces, associations, organizations, congregations, etc.) when reaching out to people (FEMA 2011; López-Marrero & Tschakert 2011). People prefer to participate in collective efforts through the groups and institutions in which they normally participate, rather than through forms of collaboration created specifically for crisis and disaster management (NRC 2011; Chandra et al. 2010). Thus, collaboration between different actors should occur prior to an actual event, and the matter of collaboration does not have to focus on crises or disasters per se (Schoch-Spana et al. 2007).

Many of the existing organizations, groups and networks based on collective needs and interests could be accentuated as potential actors in crisis and disaster preparedness and response. People and networks within specific interest groups or professions with no previous connection to crisis management could be in possession of skills or material resources vitally of value in crisis and disaster preparedness and response (Aguirre 2006).

As stated in the reviewed literature, ethnicity, gender and social and economic circumstances are but just a few of the causes of discrimination in many crisis and disaster management efforts. Through capacity building and inclusive voluntary community work, processes of empowerment can be triggered. The result is an enhanced sense of community and more opportunities for co-production (Brennan 2007; 2006).

Important partnerships can be formed among groups that interact with a given population on a daily basis: Scout troops, sports clubs, home-school organizations and faith-based and disability communities are examples of networks within which relationships can be built (FEMA 2011). Thus, all members of the community should be part of the emergency management team, including social and community service groups and institutions, faith-based and disability groups, academia, professional associations, and the private and nonprofit sectors. Identifying the critical points of contact for all constituencies in the community makes communication and outreach most effective (NRC 2011).

4. Methods and procedures employed in the interview study

4.1 Strategy for locating informants

As can be noted under the acts cited above (2006:544; 2003:778), the possibilities for the general public to engage in societal crisis management is manifold. You could engage in direct efforts alongside professional actors, or you could, so to speak, cope by yourself in order to free resources for those who are more severely affected. You might be able to make a contribution as an individual, or you might be part of an organized resource group. You might be a crucial resource during an event because of your skills and competences, or because of your material means, or simply because you are the extra hands and feet that are so badly needed. However, what is stated in governmental policy guidelines as to preferred ways of functioning are often a viable starting point for the investigation and problematization of actual practices.

In this study, our specific interest is in involvement of and initiatives springing from the civil sector. Our focus is the interface between the bottom-up approaches starting from the engaged public and the traditional top-down approaches of emergency and crisis management professionals. A basic criterion for locating informants engaged in collaboration with local authorities and professionals was that they needed to belong to some form of basic organization of voluntary forces, because, as is often the case, local authorities and municipalities do not usually collaborate with engaged individuals, but with voluntary organizations. However, non-organized informants were also included in order to provide important input on aspects of motivation and potential involvement.

4.1.1 Definition of informants

In order to make certain that a multitude of perspectives would be taken into consideration, informants were defined according to four categories. The first three categories were formulated on the basis of theoretical knowledge gained through the literature review (Deliverable 2.2). When analysing the data gathered from the first round of interviews, we recognized the need for an additional perspective in order to achieve a comprehensive understanding of the challenges and possibilities within the particular field of study. Accordingly, a second round of interviews was carried out following the same strategy as the first. The additional perspective was that of the non-organized citizen. Hence the four categories of informants were operationalized as follows:

- Representatives at the local community or municipality level (safety coordinator or similar posts in the municipality)
- Members of voluntary organizations (dealing with basic forms of societal crisis management)
- Semi-organized individuals (engaged in non-traditional forms of organization, e.g. networks etc.)
- Non-organized individuals (individuals with no known involvement in organized crisis management)

By means of the first category, we wanted to clarify the scope and depth of formal and informal collaboration between local community authorities and private, public and civil organizations. In addition, we wanted to investigate the ways in which local community authorities attend to grass root initiatives, and how such initiatives are

included in the municipal emergency plan.

With the second and third categories, we wanted to clarify the scope and depth of formal and informal collaboration between civil society/voluntary organizations and actors from the public and private sectors, i.e. the civil society perspective on how local community authorities attend to grass root initiatives. The organizations and individuals selected for this study are those dealing primarily with societal crisis preparedness and response, i.e. they have an explicit mission to educate its members in issues and practices of societal safety and crisis preparedness and response. However, there are also organizations that could be characterized as "interest-focused", meaning that they might comprise valuable material or human resources in situations of extreme events, but have no specific task in crisis preparedness and response. Examples of the latter could include working dog associations and boat-owner associations or motor-sport clubs. Collaboration between local community authorities and "interest-focused" groups were explored in conversations with the second category of informants. Through the second and third categories we were able to gain understanding of the perspectives of individuals engaged and organized in voluntary organizations. Through these categories, we were also able to explore connections between individual involvement in civil society/voluntary organizations and the informal "fourth sector", which is constituted by the close relations and networks of friends and family (Wijkström & Lundström 2002:7).

Through the fourth category we were able to explore the thinking of individuals with no known organized involvement in societal crisis management. Non-organized individuals provided useful input as a contrast to members of traditional organizations. Some important aspects explored in the interviews with non-organized individuals included their understanding of risk and motivational factors, along with their views on their potential involvement in societal crisis management.

4.1.2 Procedure and selection of informants

In order to obtain maximum variation in our informants' views and experiences, participants were recruited from three regions in Sweden, all of them with specific demographic and geographic challenges that can be considered to represent not only Sweden and the Nordic countries, but also similar regions throughout Europe:

- The most southern part of Sweden is in part densely populated and vulnerable due to its flat topography and relative inexperience of extreme winter conditions.
- The Stockholm area is very densely populated. Due to its central position (in terms of influence on the rest of the country), collaboration between societal actors in this region is somewhat more "professionalized" compared to that in the other regions.
- The mid Sweden area (southern Norrland) is sparsely populated. It is characterized by a mountainous terrain and an inland climate. Due to extreme climatic conditions, especially during the winter, the inhabitants are relatively experienced in the taking of weather-related precautions.

4.1.3 Contacting informants

Safety coordinators working in municipalities in the three regions were contacted and asked if they were interested in participating in an interview study concerning civil involvement in societal crisis management. After the initial telephone call, they all received an e-mail containing the following items:

- Complete contact information of the interviewer and the project coordinator.
- An information sheet about the study, based on informed consent.
- An article about the study published in the MIUN magazine Research for a Better World.[1]

Representatives of voluntary organizations dealing with societal crisis preparedness and response, i.e. the Civil Defence League[2] and the Women's Voluntary Defence Organization[3] , were also contacted and asked to circulate our inquiry in their networks. After the initial contact, they received the same information on the study as described above. Gradually, members of different regional and local sections of these organizations contacted the research group and volunteered to participate.

Direct inquiries were made to key individuals dealing with the setting up, education, and training of so-called Voluntary Resource Groups[4] (FRG). These groups commissioned by the local municipality, function as a local and regional community resource. Voluntary Resource Groups comprise ordinary citizens who want to make a contribution and support their local community under conditions of limited resources. Hence, they are summoned during times of crisis and emergencies to perform specific tasks. These tasks include managing the convergence into the area of spontaneous volunteers, securing access to food, water and shelter, and assisting professionals by performing low-skill tasks. Education and training is financed by the Swedish Civil Contingencies Agency[5] (MSB), while practical activities are operated by the local municipality and the Civil Defence League.

Semi-organized individuals, such as members of Missing People[6], SMS lifesavers[7], and Voluntary Mountain Rescuers[8], were contacted through spokespeople or contact persons of these networks and organizations. The research ethics procedure followed the same steps as described above, i.e. the official contact person circulated the inquiry in the network such that only those who wanted to participate replied to the research group.

The strategy for locating informants was guided by heterogeneity with the aim of attaining maximum variation in peoples' views and experiences. The procedures can be characterised as a mix of theoretical sampling (Corbin & Strauss 2008), purposive sampling (Jupp 2006), and snowball sampling strategies (Lewis-Beck et al. 2004). Striving for efficiency, direct contacts were made (when possible) with members and

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[1] www.miun.se/en/Research/ (click on the magazine and go to page 10-11

[2] www.civil.se

[3] www.svenskalottakaren.se

[4] www.civil.se/frg

[5] www.msb.se

[6] www.missingpeoplesweden.se

[7] www.smslivraddare.se

[8] www.fjallraddningen.se

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4.2 Design of interview guide

representatives of voluntary organizations in geographical proximity to the local communities where contacts with safety coordinators had already been established. The questions constituting the interview guide were developed by the research group. Four sets of partly overlapping guides were gradually developed in compliance with the four categories of interviewees (i.e. municipal safety coordinators, members of voluntary organizations, semi-organized individuals, and non-organized individuals). The themes covered by the four categories were basically the same, but the order and formulation of the questions differed slightly. Themes covered in the guides were, for example:

- Individual responsibility (to engage, to act, and to be prepared)
- Preparedness (including education, training and exercises)
- Collaboration (between the public, voluntary organizations, and public authorities/local councils)
- Communication (mainly between voluntary organizations and public authorities/local councils)
- The role of civil society (Should we expect civil society to be more involved, or in other ways?)
- Real-life experiences (good and bad examples of collaboration, communication, etc.)

4.3 Interview procedure

All the interview sessions were booked in advance. In the case of the safety coordinators, all had access to an office or conference-room. Interviews with members and representatives of voluntary organizations took place either in their private homes or in a room belonging to the organization. On three occasions, interviews with members of voluntary organizations took place on other premises, such as the interviewees' workplace or in a café. Interviews with semi-organized and non-organized individuals took place in a hospital conference-room, at a fire station, at the interviewees' workplaces or private homes or in a café.

4.3.1 Informed consent

All interviews began with informal small talk, and after a while proceeded into a more formal phase in which informants were asked if they had read and understood the information sheet emailed to them. If, for some reason, they had not familiarized themselves with the purposes and methods of the study, they were given a copy to read before the start of the interview. The information sheet contained the same information as informed consent. When the informant had stated that he or she understood the conditions and had signed the informed consent, the recorder was activated and the interview began.

4.3.2 Face-to-face interview

In total, 33 persons (21 males, 12 females) were interviewed for this study. The interviews vary in duration from 20 minutes to 114 minutes. Two informants preferred to be interviewed with the recorder switched off. For a schematic outline of the

interviews, see the appendix. The interview procedure followed what Johnson (2001) describes as the normal process of in-depth interviewing: "An in-depth interviewer begins slowly, with small talk (chitchat), explains the purposes of the research, and commonly begins with simple planned questions (often referred to as icebreakers) that are intended to 'get the ball rolling' but not to move so quickly into the issues of the key interview questions as to jeopardize intimate self-disclosure (or trust)." In some interviews, the conversation closely follows the script, while in others the conversation hardly touches upon the pre-formulated questions. Sometimes the informant prefers to go into matters not planned for in the interview guide. Such digressions or diversions, Johnson (2001) states, are likely to be very productive, and hence the interviewer should be prepared to depart from his or her prepared plan and 'go with the flow'. However, it is essential that the interviewer be assertive enough to return to the anticipated course when necessary, but not so rigidly as to preclude him or her from learning unexpected information (Johnson 2001).

All interviews were completed the same way they had begun; with informal small talk. Before the recorder was turned off, the informant was asked if there was anything he or she would like to add to the interview, if there was something the interviewer had forgotten or if there were any other thoughts that had surfaced during the conversation. After terminating the recording, small talk followed for a few minutes before the meeting came to an end (on a mutual decision). All meetings were held in a positive spirit, with some kind of mutual exchange. Some of the informants stated that the conversation had provided a platform for self-reflection and perhaps an impulse to look at their everyday routines with a critical eye.

4.3.3 Data collection

Interviews were recorded on the somewhat outdated format Minidisc with an external microphone (Sony ECM-MS07). The advantage of Minidisc is that the sound is digitally stored on an analogous unit. Thus, the risk of unintentional spreading of sensitive information is close to non-existent, as the interviewer is in charge of the unit throughout the process, and the unit is not, at any time, connected to a computer. The physical discs can easily be stored in a locked environment.

4.3.4 Validity

One informant, a safety coordinator who also coordinates a network of seven local communities in the southern part of Sweden[9], volunteered to involve his contacts as a reference-group to contribute further the perspective of municipal and local authority crisis and emergency management organizations. In addition, the secretary-general of the Swedish Civil Defence League, and a couple of other members of voluntary organizations, offered to provide further input to the interview study on request. According to Johnson (2001), it is common in in-depth interviewing for the interviewer to check out his or her understandings with one or more key informants. This procedure is usually called the "member's test of validity", and can be considered a form of respondent validation.

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[9] www.skanenordost.se

4.3.5 Web-based interview

In addition to the face-to-face interviews, a number of complementary web-based interviews were distributed to members of Voluntary Resource Groups in different local and regional sections. Through key people in the Voluntary Resource Group network, we were able to distribute a web-based interview consisting of five fixed and open questions regarding the members' views on motivation and involvement, real-life experiences, and examples of successful efforts. Members of the network received the same information regarding the study as described above. However, since these individuals answered anonymously (i.e. while it would be possible to contact informants by replying to their e-mails, we preferred to act merely as passive receivers of their answers), no informed consent was signed. Answering the web-based questions was completely voluntary. Some twenty members of these Voluntary Resource Groups responded to the web-based interview. Answers were provided through e-mail. When answers were submitted, the text was printed and the e-mail deleted.

A web-based interview is different from a traditional face-to-face interview in several respects. When e-mail is used as the communication tool, the interview becomes asynchronous and disembodied, i.e. all the subtle visual, non-verbal cues that can help to contextualize the interviewee in a face-to-face scenario are lost (Fielding et al. 2008). The advantages of web-based interviews (e-mail), however, are just as obvious as their shortcomings when compared to traditional interviewing procedures. The absence of face-to-face interaction and recording devices might reduce the tension and nervousness created by the formality of traditional interviews. Through the web-based interview we managed to reach some elderly informants whom we might have overlooked had we used face-to-face interviewing alone. The disadvantage of fixed questions, i.e. the impossibility of supplementary questions, was compensated for by the request to provide answers which were as detailed as possible. In addition, the asynchronous approach enabled respondents to reflect on the questions and to provide long and well-reasoned answers.

4.4 Transcription and analysis

The amount and form of the transcription depends on such factors as the nature of the material and the purpose of the investigation (Kvale 2007). In this study, we were primarily interested in factual matters, or the interview content. We were less focused on the structural, linguistic and interactional aspects of the interview conversation. Therefore, the recorded interviews were transcribed following the conventions of the basic transcription of conversational content. This means that the interviews were transcribed verbatim, from beginning to end. Contextual sounds and occurrences influencing the interviews are only briefly described, and pauses and emphases are noted, while voice quality (e.g. tone and pitch) and dialect are not. The goal of such a transcription, as stated by Bloom (1993), is to selectively reduce the data in a way that preserves the possibility of different analyses and interpretations. In other words, the goal is to provide "lean transcriptions" that allow for "rich interpretations" (Bloom 1993).

4.5 Data analytical methods

The research question guiding the design and performance of this study was intentionally wide, as one of the aims was to identify relevant areas for further

research. As was stated in the task description, the overall aim was to produce an in-depth study of the conditions of a community approach for societal crisis management in which safety and security is enhanced as a collaborative effort involving municipal and professional actors as well as the public. In this study, the public is understood broadly as local citizens residing in a specific geographical area, as well as members of communities of various kinds. For a detailed discussion on the definitions of community employed in this project, see the desk study (Deliverable 2.2).

Accordingly, one way of formulating the research question which guided the design and analysis of this study is by asking what are the enablers (intrinsic in the assembled material), for a community approach that might elevate the participation of the public in societal emergency and crisis management, and what are the challenges of such an approach? The analytical work identified three general aspects in the data set, namely the organization, communication and motivation underlying and supporting the possible existence of such an approach. The analytical process of is described below.

The analyses of the transcribed interviews were undertaken in a collective manner by the research group, employing the approach of qualitative content analysis (QCA). This approach is generally used to interpret meaning from the content of text-based data and, hence, adheres to the naturalistic paradigm (Hsieh and Shannon 2005:1277). QCA goes beyond merely counting words, but instead examines language closely for the purpose of classifying large amounts of text into an efficient number of categories and themes that represent similar meanings (Hsieh and Shannon 2005:1277). The analysis of the transcriptions was carried out in a two-step process. In the first step, a number of themes were induced through reduction and interpretation of the material. This step was informed by a version of QCA called Directed Content Analysis, which, by means of deduction, aims at validating or extending conceptually a theoretical framework or theory. Mayring (2000), an acknowledged precursor in the use of the QCA methodology, calls this step 'deductive category application'. Deductive category application, Mayring (2000) states, works with previously formulated, theoretically derived aspects of analysis, connecting them with the text.

This implies that existing theory or research can help focus the research question (Hsieh and Shannon 2005:1281). The exploration and identification of key themes and categories reported by previous research was presented earlier in the literature review (Deliverable 2.2). Accordingly, with the theoretical knowledge gained from this review a number of themes related to the research question were developed during the coding and categorizing of the transcribed interviews. According to Hsieh and Shannon (2005:1282), the findings of a Directed Content Analysis could be presented by providing examples of coding and offering descriptive evidence of the analytic reasoning. The following section will present such examples alongside important accounts given by the informants. The second step involved what Hsieh and Shannon (2005:1279) call Conventional Content Analysis, which means avoiding the use of predetermined categories and instead allowing the categories and names of categories to flow from the data. This procedure is described by Mayring (2000) as "inductive category development" and it is employed by the analyst in order to allow new insights to emerge. Accordingly, whereas in the first step previous theory and research influenced the development of major themes, the second step meant gaining direct information from the transcripts without imposing on these data preconceived theoretical perspectives (Hsieh and Shannon 2005:1280). During the second step, the material was reanalyzed by relating each theme developed in the first step to the four categories of respondents. This procedure made it possible to produce a transparent report on the analytical procedure as well as a direct reading of the results, as can be

seen in the results section. In order to secure intersubjective understanding within the research group, a workshop on text-based analysis was arranged. In addition, the researchers took part in each other's analyses.

The major themes that emerged from the analytic process were:

- Collaboration: formal and informal practices;
- General ability and specific competence;
- Dynamics between collective efforts and individual self-help;
- Aspects of education and empowerment;
- Traditional communication versus digital media;
- Individual motivation and involvement;
- Age and generation.

These themes, elicited from the data, are presented in the following chapter. The last chapter discusses the challenges and possibilities associated with the different themes.

5. Ethical considerations

Ethical approval for this study was included in Deliverable 2.1. The Ethical Committee of Mid Sweden University had concluded that the interview study, as part of the project Public Empowerment Policies for Crisis Management, did not fall under the Act (2003:460) concerning the ethical review of research involving humans, and stipulated that in all other respects the project should be carried out according to the principles of good research practices. The decision was dated 15th of May 2012. Below the procedures concerning the storage of sensitive data, transcripts and the informed consents will be further clarified.

As mentioned earlier, the interviews were recorded on Minidisc, which allows the interviewer to retain control over the material throughout the process. The audio discs are kept in a locked environment in the Social Sciences Department at Mid Sweden University. The audio discs have on no occasion been linked to a computer.

Transcripts of the recorded material are kept in a closed password-protected environment at MIUN, accessible only to members of the research group. During transcription, the material undergoes a process of de-identification, which means that all data is stripped of information which could lead to identification of the source of the data.

The signed consent forms have been scanned and the physical originals destroyed in a document shredder. The scanned copies are stored in a closed password-protected environment at MIUN.

6. Results and analyses

A general observation is that the scope and depth of collaboration between public and municipal emergency actors and voluntary organizations differs widely depending on population density, size of the local community and geographical characteristics. These factors seem to have most impact on the level of formality of the collaboration between the professional and voluntary organizations and on various resources-related issues.

For example, small communities tend to lack resources in the implementation of new communication channels. There are also more general differences. In the mid Sweden area, for example, collaboration in crisis and emergencies seems to be based to a lesser extent on voluntary forces specifically aimed at handling emergencies. In this area voluntary resources often rely on private-public collaboration, like haulage contractors and leasing companies for snow vehicles etc.

However, the generic patterns across geographical areas outnumber the differences, and hence the following description focuses on seven generic themes; Collaboration: formal and informal practices, General ability and specific competence, Dynamics between collective efforts and individual self-help, Aspects of education and empowerment, Traditional communication versus digital media, Individual involvement, and Age and generation.

6.1 Collaboration: formal and informal practices

This theme describes the degree of formalization in collaborative efforts between the voluntary public and municipal safety coordinators. Formal and informal ways of collaboration can thus be understood as endpoints on a cline, somewhere in between which most of the interaction between the municipality and the voluntary public occurs. Formal collaboration, in the present data, means that the tasks handed over to voluntary groups are predefined and that collaborative efforts between the municipality and the voluntary public are planned, regulated and contractual. Informal collaboration, on the other hand, means that issues of insurance and economic compensation are not solved beforehand and that collaborative efforts are expected to arise ad hoc during a crisis.

6.1.1 The perspective of municipal safety coordinators

The form and degree of collaboration between municipal actors and the public varies. In the present data, it is not possible to discern any regularities or patterns regarding the size, location or geographical characteristics of municipalities in relation to the types of collaboration. The form and degree of collaboration seem essentially to depend on local history of collaboration, i.e. positive or negative experiences of previous events when collaboration has occurred. In addition, possible collaboration between municipal actors and the public seems to depend on the person currently in charge of issues of safety and security in the municipality, and the kind of resources dispersed by the municipality. Larger municipalities often foster internal collaboration among their administrative units, where each unit manages its own crisis preparedness and response. As one safety coordinator stated:

> In each office here and in each administrative unit, there is a preparedness administrator. Here you have full-time safety coordinators within the units of production, and they teach self-help, CPR (cardiopulmonary resuscitation), first aid, fire protection, and all that, that is, their staff and their managers within the respective unit, so all this education is managed within the walls of the municipality (16K: 20)

Accordingly, larger cities or communities within the same geographical area may or may not choose to engage in collaborative efforts with the organized and voluntary public. Recently, the city of Stockholm has developed formal collaboration (i.e. planned,

regulated, and contractual) with the engaged and voluntary public through the local Voluntary Resource Group (FRG). The group has been given responsibility for a limited number of specific tasks. Normally, the group is expected to practice these tasks so that they will be correctly and efficiently carried out during times of crisis. The safety coordinator involved gives his view on engaging the public as a resource in societal crisis management:

> Their only mission is to organize spontaneous and unaffiliated volunteers (…) and we also reckon that when civil society really wants to assist, well then we should offer them the possibility to do so, that is crucial, I believe. (11K: 4).

On occasions when the municipality or local council establishes connections with the voluntary public, the actual collaboration occurs between the municipality (through the local safety coordinator or corresponding official and some form of organization (such as Voluntary Resource Groups, the Home Guard, the Swedish Civil Defence League). Collaboration is sometimes formally regulated through agreements, that is, the public's mission towards the municipality or local council is defined and decided on beforehand. Those who take part in an effort initiated by the municipality are insured and sometimes also paid for their efforts.

In one particular successful instance, the two coordinators of a local Voluntary Resource Group were actually employed by the municipality in order to manage the development and maintenance of the group. In other cases, collaboration between the municipality and the organized voluntary public is far less regulated, a situation that tends to create frustration among the members of the voluntary groups in question. In the interviews, frustration was expressed over the lack of clarity in mission descriptions, faulty communication vis-à-vis the municipal safety coordinator, and sporadic or non-existing joint exercises.

According to the accounts given by the municipal safety coordinators, in cases of less regulated or a generally low degree of connection between the municipality and the target voluntary groups, collaboration is expected to arise ad hoc during a crisis. Thus, both parties would probably benefit from building long-term connections instead of merely assuming that the crisis situation itself will somehow trigger the emergence of collaborative efforts

The majority of municipalities in the present data consider the network organization Missing People an ideal model for collaboration with the engaged and voluntary public. Missing People is an autonomous, self-organizing, self-financing voluntary organization that focuses on one specific task; locating missing people. Because of its network-like structure and with primary communication channels like Facebook and texting, the organization is thus capable of rapidly mobilizing a great number of people. One member of the organization describes the ease of becoming involved:

> You sign up on the homepage as a volunteer and fill in your cell phone number and then you get a message when something happens in your area. You chose if you can come and if not you don't have to report or cancel or anything. To make it work it must be as simple as possible (27S:4).

As will be demonstrated below, this model, with its low threshold for including the public and its minimal burden on the municipal side, has attracted several safety coordinators represented in the data. In this study, Missing People is considered an organization of semi-organized individuals. Members are not involved in any

organizational activities in between occurrences. Members become active when something happens which requires mobilization. The organization is no end in itself but, as one member of a working dog association put it: "Obviously, the association is just a tool" (25S:3). Other types of organizations constituted by semi-organized individuals include the Voluntary Fire Brigade, the Voluntary Mountain Rescuers, the Swedish Sea Rescue Society, and SMS lifesavers.

As municipal resources are limited, safety coordinators often establish additional forms of connection alongside those between internal administrative units and external practitioners or voluntary groups. Examples of such, more or less formalized, collaborative efforts are voluntary organizations and networks consisting of professionals (e.g. the Voluntary Psychological and Social Care [POSOM]), employer organizations (e.g. the Federation of Swedish Farmers [LRF]), and individual actors from the commercial and business world (like carriers and shippers, taxi companies, renters of machines and vehicle owners). These examples are not exhaustive, but are all represented in the data assembled in this study.

The results of the interview study reveal both challenges and possibilities with respect to the desire of the municipal safety coordinators to collaborate with the engaged and voluntary public. Unwillingness to collaborate with the voluntary public could derive from previous negative experiences and non-existent local traditions of collaboration. Unwillingness to collaborate with the voluntary public was explained by the safety coordinators as due to structural difficulties, such as budgetary constraints (i.e. no financial incentive to develop or maintain such collaboration) or material reasons (i.e. according to the safety coordinator, the municipality or local council was already in possession of all the possible resources within its administrative units, and thus no help is needed from outside). Some safety coordinators argued that they cannot defend the increased cost of developing and maintaining collaboration with the voluntary public: "It can't be that the resources you employ demand more resources than you can produce. This risk is evident if you employ people who don't know what it is all about." (15K: 6).

In addition, unwillingness to collaborate with the voluntary public could derive from interpersonal relations. Some safety coordinators spoke about their unwillingness in a self-critical manner (i.e. personal difficulties in collaborating with volunteers) or as deriving from negative attitudes held towards volunteers and the culture of volunteerism in general. Regarding the latter, such negative attitudes are often directed towards specific individuals in the voluntary organizations of interest. People employed as safety coordinators are often familiar with people in the local voluntary sector and previous experiences of these relations have not always been positive. In several cases, safety coordinators' unwillingness to collaborate with the voluntary public seemed to be associated with a lack of knowledge and a generally sceptical attitude towards volunteers and local Voluntary Resource Groups.

This attitude is exemplified by one safety coordinator in the present study: "Voluntary groups in our northern region, so far, we have not used them to any extent here. I don't know, I intend to take a closer look at it. I want to see what they have to offer, I'm not really sure about it yet" (15K: 1).

Further obstacles presented are that municipalities cannot take responsibility for those involved in volunteer efforts. Not all individuals that choose to become involved in voluntary efforts initiated by the municipality are equipped with the necessary skills. One safety coordinator explained this problem thus: "In my view it is important to

differentiate between wanting to help and being able to help. You can't assume that people are suitable just because they are willing to help, this is something we must consider carefully" (16K: 34).

Consequently, whether there is any collaboration at all between a municipality or local council and the voluntary public depends to a great extent on the interpersonal relation between the person responsible for local community safety and the representative(s) of the organized and voluntary public. Safety coordinators who express a strong willingness and ambition to collaborate with the voluntary public on issues of emergency management are often the same individuals who have already established stable and on-going relations with various voluntary resources affiliated with the municipality. Furthermore, in most cases these safety coordinators have defined beforehand the specific mission or task to be undertaken by the voluntary resources. One safety coordinator described the way of working in this way:

> At present they have received two projects from us to work with. I attended one of their meetings where we brought up the example of water security. And then they were given the assignment to get back to me, at the town hall, and tell me what could be their contribution in this area. (…) As far as I have heard, historically, from my predecessors, collaboration between the municipality and the local voluntary organizations has functioned well, and I believe that is the reason we have the organization we have. (10K:5)

Occasionally, a safety coordinator would express ideas on how the voluntary public might be harnessed as a resource without the compulsory need of being organized in the traditional sense. One safety coordinator proposed the following:

> Well, there should be some kind of municipality-based volunteers, or whatever you'd like to call them. People who are not connected with organizations or associations, but affiliated with the municipality or local community, that is, the municipality or local community is provided with a form of volunteerism which belongs to the municipality or local community. Whether they are called volunteers or something else, that's not important. (16K: 26)

The form of voluntary resource alluded to by this safety coordinator corresponds closely to the specific organizational form of Missing People, described above. The system presently in use, local Voluntary Resource Groups as a way of channelling the voluntary public's willingness to become involved in societal crisis management, is mainly based on the traditional forms of organizational structure such as found in civil defence organizations.

6.1.2 The perspective of organized volunteers

From the perspective of the voluntary sector, unwillingness to collaborate is present in this data only in instances where the municipality or local council seems to nurse an ambition to replace already employed personnel with unpaid volunteers. Accepting assignments on these premises, volunteers argue, would be to devalue the very notion of voluntary involvement. A recurring example is that of a municipality offering tasks or assignments with no obvious relation to the societal strain caused by a crisis or extraordinary event. One member of a Voluntary Resource Group stated:

> I know of a municipality asking their FRG (Voluntary Resource Group) if they would go out and take care of the community's senior citizens in the event of a manpower shortage in nursing homes for example, but they thought it wasn't really their job. (…) We are not supposed to cover up for manpower shortages in the municipality; it's not the right… if it's not a matter of crisis so to speak. I mean, it would be a different thing if there was an influenza epidemic or something like that. (1F:11-12)

On several occasions, the members of voluntary organizations expressed the wish that municipalities would be more open to various forms of collaboration. Municipal representatives are sometimes perceived as a bit fearful and narrow-minded in their understanding of how the involved and voluntary public could contribute to societal crisis management. Accordingly, safety coordinators (and thus the whole municipality or local council) might be perceived by voluntary groups as standoffish, refusing to acknowledge them as a serious partner. In the following quotation, one member of a Voluntary Resource Group discusses what one ought to expect from a somewhat progressive municipal safety coordinator:

> A broad-minded municipality with an ambition to think widely and, furthermore, some freedom of action and will to improvise, I believe, is the best way for doing this work well. And, in addition, not being afraid of the public, I mean, not being afraid of receiving help. Let's say you have put together a local FRG (Voluntary Resource Group) and you think 'well, we've got this now, so…', I mean, open your eyes and don't be standoffish. Try being open-minded and open to sensible help. (6F:15)

According to various members of voluntary organizations, the unwillingness of municipal representatives to engage in collaborative efforts is manifested by insufficient information and communication as well as irregular or non-existent joint exercises. One member of a Voluntary Resource Group emphasised the fact that municipalities are for contractual reasons bound to hold regular joint exercises:

> It is often stated in the contracts between a Voluntary Resource Group and a municipality that the municipality is responsible for initiating and carrying out joint exercises, but this happens all too seldom, as a matter of fact, never. (7F:6)

The unwillingness of some authorities to involve the voluntary public in collaborative efforts by was mainly seen by the latter in terms of unused possibilities to contribute to societal safety and security. The members of voluntary organizations described various ways in which the public could be a resource in societal areas where no collaboration has currently been established. They often perceived themselves to be neglected or not listened to by municipal representatives. One member of a Voluntary Resource Group described this feeling of exclusion: "They should come down here and visit us and see what we actually do and what we know. This is likely to be one reason why it often fails." (8F:3)

Municipal representatives in turn also perceived themselves as not listened to. Several safety coordinators in the present data called attention to what they saw as a paradox: obstructive governmental guidelines and regulations regarding collaboration between the public and the civil sector, while at the same time municipal autonomy and self-governance providing for adaption to local circumstances. One safety coordinator expressed disillusionment at not being asked what needs he might have before efforts are initiated:

Whenever inquiries on voluntarism are initiated, it is from the voluntaries' point of view. The question is never posed from municipalities to the organizations, what municipalities actually want is not considered. It kind of comes from above, and so they say 'this is what we're offering' instead of first asking the municipality what it actually wants, and then modelling something after that. (16K: 8)

Accordingly, difficulties in the interface between the public and the civil voluntary sector could be understood as an opposition between the self-governing municipality on the one hand and the voluntary sector in alliance with governmental authorities on the other.

6.1.3 The perspective of semi-organized individuals

As mentioned earlier, municipals often foster internal collaboration among their administrative units, where each unit manages its own crisis preparedness and response. One informant employed in the public sector and who in his spare time is an involved member of a working dog association confirmed the view that many everyday crisis managers are fostered within the framework of their workplace:

It is all so well-organized nowadays, in the workplace you get education in CPR (cardiopulmonary resuscitation), you practice crisis management in connection with workplace reorganizations, fire drills and so on (…). Working in the public sector, it is more or less included in your work, these basic risk preventive measures, and also that you do preventive work related to accessibility and disability. (25S:2)

As was also mentioned earlier, municipal actors and professionals like the Rescue Services and the Police often establish additional forms of collaboration due to limited internal resources. Accordingly, within the multitude of voluntary groups prepared to assist the official crisis managers, it is possible for issues of demarcation and legitimization to arise. In other words, each organization aims to appear a bit more professional than others. One member of a working dog association says the following:

Here you have all these checkpoints in order to sort out people that don't really fit in or don't fulfil the criteria. Just sending a bunch of people out in the woods, well what happens then if they find a dead person or suchlike, perhaps you suddenly have one more to locate and save. (24S:3)

Another person, a member of the Voluntary Mountain Rescuers, says that:

We are more professional compared to, for example, Missing People. I don't know if they provide any education or such, or if they just show up and do what they do. We are expected to know a lot, and we provide the appropriate education. (30S:10)

Accordingly, depending on the orientation of the voluntary organization, issues of professionalization and legitimization, as well as mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion of potential members can arise and influence the collaboration between the public and the civil sectors in both positive and negative ways.

6.2 Specific competences and general abilities

This theme describes the dynamics between municipal safety coordinators' needs and voluntary organizations' expectations regarding tasks and assignments that can be managed by others that the municipality itself. The voluntary public could adjust their activities to the predefined needs expressed by the safety coordinator while simultaneously describing various areas where they could serve as an important resource during times of societal strain.

6.2.1 The perspective of municipal safety coordinators

Both municipal safety coordinators and members of voluntary organizations express the possibility of, and need for, the voluntary public to be active across a wider spectrum of societal services. The voluntary public might potentially be utilised as a social resource in the local community in times of crisis. This could mean, for example, acting as a complementary resource in child and elderly care during extended periods of strain or managing logistical issues during acute evacuations. One safety coordinator stated the following on the potential use of the voluntary public as a social resource: "We don't have a paramilitary organization, because we're not interested in that (…), we don't have that need. Rather, our need is in the area of psychosocial care, the soft values, fellow human being, those things." (10K: 5).

The data gathered in this study have one particularly successful case, in which the coordinators of a local Voluntary Resource Group were officially employed by the municipality for the purpose of developing and maintaining the group. This particular municipality's long tradition of collaboration with voluntary groups has fostered productive interpersonal relationships between those representing the municipality and those representing the voluntary public. The safety coordinator involved describes the range of competences within "his" Voluntary Resource Group:

> We do have a Voluntary Resource Group, which we can use in different situations. In this group there is a wide range of competences, everything from legal experts to carpenters, to computer technicians to, well, a wide range of societal competences. And the idea is that we are able to use these in different situations, with their knowledge, everything from communication to computers, to reduce and simplify the process during a crisis. (10K: 4)

Notwithstanding, both the members of the voluntary public and the municipal safety coordinators represented in this data sought to define what could or should not be included in such an assignment. Dementia care, for example:

> … for that, you shouldn't use voluntary forces. I'm rather thinking of situations when a crisis is a fact. Situations in which people who are weak are likely to become even weaker, and then we have all these demented people living alone… (16K: 31)

There is also the risk of misuse when the voluntary public is expected to perform a societal service which is normally paid work, or to perform tasks with no obvious relation to societal strain or a crisis: "First they dismiss people and then they use volunteers and sign contracts with them and provide for economic compensation…" (16K: 33). Accordingly, both safety coordinators and members of the voluntary public talk about the possibility of doing things beyond the planned, regulated, and

contractual tasks prescribed by the municipality or local council safety coordinator. However, the tasks included in the assignment must not overlap, or replace, the basic societal services provided by existing and employed personnel. The assignment in question must include tasks emerging as a consequence of especially stressful events and crisis situations which demand extraordinary resources.

6.2.2 The perspective of organized volunteers

The members of voluntary organizations emphasised that, in order for their involvement to stay alive, they need to be assigned a basic quota of concrete and recurrent tasks or areas of responsibility. One safety coordinator stated:

> This is a problem, how you maintain the organization. What do you do in the meantime, when nothing happens? Many of these people are real enthusiasts, they really put their backs into this, they live with it around the clock you know, and then… nothing happens. (16K: 34).

Examples of such recurrent tasks include managing the distribution of fresh water supplies in the event of water contamination or prolonged power failures, staffing "safety spaces" (i.e. specific locations to be used as meeting places and information centres during major events), and organizing spontaneous and unaffiliated volunteers. According to some safety coordinators, tasks such as those mentioned above are often handed over to the voluntary organizations owing to the lack of municipal resources in those specific areas. At the same time, handing over these tasks could be seen understood as an easy way of satisfying the demand of civil society to be included in the work of societal crisis management. A safety coordinator said the following about the tasks handed over to the voluntary public within his jurisdiction:

> I have some specific tasks that the municipality cannot handle by itself; the costume is too small to staff perhaps 15–20 safety-spaces. We have no resources for that. On this matter I let the volunteers in to manage communication and contact with, for example, old people's homes out there in the different neighbourhoods. (…) People must be able to go somewhere, to inform so that we, back here, don't sit in 'management darkness', but we know what's happening in our neighbourhoods" (18K: 8).

In turn, from the perspective of the volunteers more and varying tasks would be desirable, but at the same time, not to the extent of replacing the regular crisis management. Many members of voluntary organizations expressed a wish to be called upon more often and during other types of situations. One member of a voluntary organization stated:

> It is just your imagination that puts the lid on. If you started to think about it, I believe you would find, well everywhere actually, that is, within the public sector, in the municipality, and then there is the County Council, and health and, I mean, the possibilities are actually infinite. (6F:8)

The same person then develops and concretizes her ideas on how the voluntary public could be better utilized as a more extensive societal resource:

> What I'm talking about here is endurability, not just rather limited situations like fires and the like, but also completely different situations, when there is

a prolonged crisis. Then I can see voluntary resource groups and the public as relevant relief for the whole community. Imagine a prolonged task with specific personnel, of course they will get tired after a while, they can't just go on. Imagine then if the municipality could bring in people from the voluntary resource groups, then you would increase endurability in the municipal management, or child-care, or elderly-care. Because, you know, those serving around the clock… where are the kids supposed to be, and then we have to supply food, people need to eat, drink, sleep…" (6F: 7)

Another member of a voluntary organization said the following about the rather narrow view taken by municipalities (and as a result, the local safety coordinators) on how to use the public as a resource:

They think 'accident', they think 'train crash with consequential release of toxic gas' and 'chemical spillage' and so on. But they don't think about everything around these events, these other things, and in a way perhaps that leads to them not using these resources [i.e. the public] in the right way. (7F:3)

To sum up, the fusion of safety coordinators and organized volunteers' perspectives reveal a broad spectrum of needs and wishes, or, alternatively, of challenges and possibilities. Two distinct views emerged on the nature of the assignments to be handed over to the voluntary public by the municipality. On the one hand, both municipal safety coordinators and members of voluntary organizations reported the need for basic and continuing tasks or areas of responsibility that the voluntary public can be invited to manage in order to channel their will to participate and to maintain their involvement. On the other hand, most members of voluntary organizations and a few more progressive municipal safety coordinators saw a possibility for the voluntary public to be active over a wider spectrum of societal services, such as child and elderly care, in times of crisis.

6.2.3 The perspective of semi-organized individuals

As mentioned earlier, municipal representatives' unwillingness to collaborate with the voluntary public in societal crisis management was often explained in economic terms (i.e. no financial incentive available to develop or maintain such collaboration) and existing material resources (i.e. the municipality or local council are already in possession of all the resources they need in the different administrative units, and thus no help is needed from outside). This view was confirmed by a member of a working dog association, who had been involved in several collaborative efforts between semi-organized individuals, municipal actors, and crisis management professionals:

To some extent it is problematic to connect voluntary forces with professional actors (…). If civil society is to be included then the local administration must be ready to pay for the type of organization demanded in order to organize the participation of voluntary forces. (25S:6)

Another explanation for the unwillingness of municipal representatives to collaborate with the voluntary public was, as mentioned earlier, that the task of holding regular joint exercises is experienced as too burdensome. One effect of this, also seen in the present data, is the frustration felt by members of voluntary groups over the lack of clarity in assignment descriptions and faulty communication with the municipal representative. However, some voluntary organizations undertake their own crisis

preparedness exercises without the involvement of municipal actors. Some semi-organized individuals, who are not engaged in traditional organizational maintenance, have found alternative ways to keep their voluntary involvement alive. One member of a working dog association says that:

> There are competitions for example. When we had finished our education I thought about the possibility of never going out on a real assignment, an earthquake for example, so then I have to find something to do in the meantime that drives me to continue training and keep my dog in top condition, so I started to compete instead. (24S: 12)

Still, many semi-organized individuals with specific competencies argue that the resources they can provide are too often neglected. The person quoted above expresses a feeling of not being trusted by the professionals:

> I think that they, the police, aren't very good at using our competence, they should call on us more often, because we're here, we educate, we train our dogs, we are competent, but sometimes I think that the police don't trust our ability. (24S:9)

Just as some progressive safety coordinators nurture ideas of how to harness the resources of the voluntary public in a wider sense, so too do some semi-organized individuals. The challenge is to create low thresholds for joining forces and to channel both general and specific abilities. One semi-organized individual shares some ideas on how to recruit people with various competencies:

> Perhaps people could list somewhere what kind of resources and competences they have and that could be of some use; you have a nurse off-duty here and perhaps a fireman off-duty there, and perhaps someone with a working dog, so that you have a few groups of volunteers and then you call them to see if people are available. (27S:11).

6.3 The dynamics between collective efforts and individual self-help

This theme describes different understandings of what could be the most appropriate and efficient tasks for the voluntary public to carry out in times of crisis. Collective efforts and individual self-help can be understood as endpoints on a scale, where most tasks exercised by voluntary groups occur somewhere in between. That is, during a crisis people tend to both manage themselves in order not to burden professional crisis managers and engage in collective efforts in order to facilitate the work of professional actors. Collective efforts are thus performed by organizations of forms, from traditional civil defence organizations to contemporary network organizations like Missing People. Individual self-help is often taught within these organizations as part of general crisis preparedness abilities.

6.3.1 The perspective of municipal safety coordinators

The paradigm of command and control in emergency and crisis management in the strict sense requires that people follow the instructions of professionals and that the public, as far as possible, avoid interfering in order to let the professionals manage the situation. The paradigm of public participation, on the other hand, requires that

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the engaged and voluntary public is utilized as a resource working alongside or on the periphery of professional emergency personnel. Presently moving towards the paradigm of public participation, however, both implies that citizens have some knowledge of how to manage themselves until the most acute problems are solved. One safety coordinator stated the following of the importance of civil preparedness:

> I believe that if a major event were to occur and put a lot of strain on the municipality, well, if you have citizens with civil preparedness, who are educated, then it will make it much easier for the municipality to handle the masses flagging for help. (10K: 10).

The traditional view of command and control was clearly visible in the present data. As mentioned before, a few safety coordinators expressed a somewhat more progressive view on the possibilities of utilizing the public as a complementary resource in societal emergency and crisis management. Nevertheless, most municipal representatives, and several members of voluntary groups, continued to reproduce the view that the most effective role for the public is staying out of the way of the professional actors.

6.3.2 The perspective of organized volunteers

Traditional civil defence organizations like the Swedish Civil Defence League and the Swedish Women's Voluntary Defence Organization provide a framework for education in, and practice of, both collective efforts and individual self-help. However, the regrowth of these organizations has slowed and recruitment strategies that remain based on continuous activity in a specific organization are in acute need of modernization. However, voluntary involvement in societal crisis management nevertheless seems to be flourishing. One member of a local Voluntary Resource Group said the following about the future of traditional ways of organizing volunteer work in crisis management:

> There can't be any gatekeeping in this kind of work (…), you have to be very open and inclusive and embrace the fact that anyone can help (…), and I believe it will change, this traditional way of working in organizations and associations and so on, it will dissolve as an effect of our new ways of communication… (1F:10)

Thus the dynamics between individual self-help and collective effort was evident in the accounts given by organized volunteers. One representative of a voluntary organization stated:

> Primarily you have to make sure you manage yourself as far as possible, and act in a way that doesn't hinder those responsible for managing the crisis or emergency or whatever it could be (…). Then there are always those who, in addition to managing themselves have the capacity to help others, primarily your close family of course, but often also significantly wider circles than that. (3F:1)

Accordingly, the view that ordinary people ought to act in ways that do not hinder those responsible for managing the crisis persists. Some members of voluntary organizations seem to foster an almost reactionary understanding of the public's role in societal crisis management:

> Situations could arise where the public has no function whatsoever. I mean, during a blackout, or interruption in water supply, or a fire, or a train derailment, or

whatever it might be, what can the public possibly do in these situations except stay away?… (4F:5)

Luckily, as stated before, people are often capable not only of managing themselves but also of helping others. What it is then important to address is how to elevate the voluntary public to the level of professional actors, that is, how does one make societal safety a matter of coproduction between the voluntary public, municipal representatives and professional actors?

6.3.3 The perspective of semi-organized individuals

It is probably no more than common sense to state that people are most likely look after their close circle of family, friends and neighbours in the case of a major event. One semi-organized individual, for example, said the following: "If there is a major malfunction in society you probably look after those closest to you, friends or neighbours, so, it's not that you attempt to solve anything over there." (20S:6). At the same time, the pro-social involvement of many individuals goes far beyond their closest circle. One member of Missing People emphasises the connection between involvement and education:

> Those who are more engaged, and also that you might have a certain competence, and you are confident in yourself and your family and so on, it's really good they get involved in a Voluntary Resource Group for example, because then you have the possibility of getting education and training before something actually happens. (29S:9)

6.3.4 The perspective of non-organized individuals

Accordingly, from the perspective of municipal safety coordinators it is desirable for the public to engage in collective efforts. However, being able to help yourself and your closest circle before the arrival of professional help is regarded as even more desirable. Organized and semi-organized individuals also share this perspective. For those who engage in collective efforts, the challenge could be to integrate education and training into their everyday routines. A non-organized individual in the present data, that is, a person not associated with any network or organization dealing specifically with emergency preparedness and response, has found her own way of fitting involvement into her everyday routines. She is part of a network of parents, walking the city streets during weekend evenings in order to make them safer for the local community youth: "Then you're in the midst of it in a way, then, you're part of it in a way, being a parent of a child of that age." (19A:4).

6.4 Aspects of education and empowerment

One way of elevating the voluntary public to the level of professional actors is to make sure people are educated and properly trained. This theme highlights some aspects in the present data regarding the importance of education and training.

6.4.1 The perspective of municipal safety coordinators

As mentioned earlier, larger cities might not see the benefit of collaborating with the voluntary public, as they often consider the municipality to already possess all the resources needed during a crisis. In addition, emergency and crisis management is taught and practised within the separate administrative units by in-house preparedness administrators and safety coordinators. Nevertheless, many safety coordinators or similar professionals see a need to educate the public in societal crisis management. One municipal safety coordinator said the following about her task of informing the public:

> We have some training regarding fire prevention and protection, and it's kind of logical to have some training on societal crisis too, because the people of today are ignorant of these things, what to do, how to do it, how to take care of yourself, and this goes especially for people in urban areas.(17K:1).

At the same time, some safety coordinators emphasise the importance of consistency between what is taught by municipal actors and, for example, voluntary organizations. The Swedish Civil Defence League, for example, has traditionally taught basic civil preparedness in elementary schools. One safety coordinator said the following about such educational efforts:

> All the forces available that can be utilised in education and competence development and individual self-help, all that is very positive. But at the same time it's crucial that these educational efforts don't contradict municipal policy (…), that's highly dangerous, if they go out there teaching things that are not in agreement with our knowledge. (16K: 28).

As mentioned earlier, some municipal safety coordinators experienced a paradox in the presence of strict regulations governing work tasks: such regulations could conflict with people's sense of autonomy. Even if a municipality claims to have all the possible material resources needed in-house, it might not be permitted to use them due to a lack of relevant training and certificates. For example, one safety coordinator says that:

> There are new regulations from the Swedish Work Environment Authority saying that in order to use chainsaws and similar tools you must have this or that specific education. So we can't… now it takes professionals to do those things" (17K: 7).

6.4.2 The perspective of organized volunteers

As stated before, education and training is often provided within the framework of voluntary organizations. As can be observed in the present data, many organized volunteers are enthusiastic about learning basic emergency management skills, but they also see it as an important task to educate people with no organizational connections. Two members of a voluntary organization spoke about the low awareness of individual responsibility, knowing what to do and how to act in times of crisis:

> Citizens need to become aware of the fact that they have a responsibility, and they also need help with the right tools to be a responsible citizen, that is, it must be as easy as possible to do the right thing. (3F:3)

Our municipality wants us to work in a preventive manner, so we are here to educate local citizens about this, because today people are not aware of these things, how to act because it may take long, several days at worst, before help arrives. So people have to learn what things should be stored at home, so that's what we work on. (1F:4)

Another organized volunteer emphasises the individual self-development made possible through involvement within the framework of an organization:

You get to learn a lot about your own local community and you get to learn about, well, these practical things, and then also how to approach people in different situations and so on. (1F:3)

6.4.3 The perspective of semi-organized individuals

Not only do organized volunteers learn how to manage themselves in case of a crisis, but semi-organized individuals in the present data also talk of education in terms of empowerment. That is, knowing what to do and how to do it when necessary. One semi-organized person saw a high level of self-reliance as a consequence of previous education and training:

If I happened to be on site during a traffic accident or something like that I would just jump right in because I know what to do, so with this background many of us would surely come forward and help since we have the training. (24S:2)

The same argument for learning CPR (cardiopulmonary resuscitation) was put forward by several organized volunteers and semi-organized individuals: "If someone's having a heart failure around the corner and you don't know about it there's not much you can do, but if you knew about it of course you would get there as fast as you could." (26S:4).

6.5 Traditional communication versus digital media

The interviews with safety coordinators, organized volunteers, and non-organized individuals reflected the transformation in the means of communication during events and crises away from traditional channels and ways of making contact to the new digital landscape of communication characterized by a multitude of digital communication platforms such as mobile phones, internet web pages, and social media. The interviewees' perceptions reflect the dynamic tensions of the opportunities and challenges that exist in both the traditional and new forms of communication.

6.5.1 The perspective of municipal safety coordinators

Two major problems in crisis communication mentioned by the safety coordinators were the limited resources available for communication, particularly in small municipalities, and difficulties in reaching out to people: "resources for informing people are scarce in a small municipality" (17K). The solution to this problem may lie in giving mutual assistance:

The other municipalities have very small organizations when it comes to communication management, and our municipality has a very large organization

when it comes to crisis communication, and it has been discussed extensively how you can support each other in a crisis in a smaller community. (18K)

However, even where communication resources are adequate, people still need to find the information. According to one safety coordinator:

> Well I think that you are too isolated, and gather very much and very good information in some places, but the ordinary citizen, I don't think that if I was an ordinary citizen I would go to [the website] krisinformation.se and look, and your safety, well there is as much information as you like, but how can I make people find it? /…/ 90 per cent don't know that krisinformation.se exists. (13K)

The comment 'we are too isolated' refers to the tendency to create information dissemination structures that citizens who are not prone to search for this type of information have difficulty finding. This quote clearly illustrates the tension between the new opportunities provided by the website used by the authorities for crisis information in Sweden, www.krisinformation.se, and the challenge of making it publicly known and used.

According to the safety coordinators, spreading crisis information to groups whose resources are described as "weak", for example people who do not speak the official language, who are newly arrived in the country, or are living under difficult circumstances or in poor conditions, is particularly difficult. To reach them you need to communicate in a language that is understandable: 'easy Swedish' (14K) and find alternative ways of contact, other than the mainstream communication channels. Safety coordinators are aware that there are differences in how elderly and younger people use the traditional and new digital media:

I was lecturing for PRO, or some other senior citizen organization, and I asked how many had access to the Internet, it was five out of 50 who had, and of those using the Internet daily, it was one maybe two. And we put much of the information on websites, but how do we reach people? (17K).

The same problem, to reach out, exists regardless of the communication channel, and personal networks continue to be one of the most important ways to communicate:

> /…/ it's still friends or someone you know that you get information from, even if you're an immigrant or newcomer, you may get information through somebody else /…/ and the radio, if someone listens and they know someone living there (17K)

The safety coordinators mentioned that it might be difficult to know about the informal networks of organized volunteers: 'it is difficult to find informal communication channels to volunteers who might be able to help' (17K).

Although the opportunities offered by the new digital media are extensive, they are not generally used; in particular the elderly do not using them to any greater extent, although this could rapidly change. Digital communication channels are also more vulnerable than traditional communication channels, because they are dependent on a well-functioning electricity supply. During natural disasters, for example, when the power supply is cut off, mobile phones as well as web sites could be affected.

6.5.2 The perspective of organized volunteers

The interviewed representatives of volunteer organizations mentioned that traditionally, during stable periods when there are no events or crises, they meet with the safety coordinator of the municipality a couple of times a year. These personal meetings create a good relationship, which is a prerequisite for acting quickly and effectively during a crisis situation: "we meet with the safety manager, several times a year actually. We have a really good dialogue and, yes, so that we can call him all the time." (1F).

In a crisis situation, the crisis alert comes from the municipality, which then calls the contact person of a volunteer group. This person then disseminates information through the volunteer network. This is often a rather loosely connected organization, which is summoned through a traditional telephone list. Some comments indicated that these lists are controlled and updated at intervals, in other instances the lists are old, or no lists at all exist. Personal communication through the network is critical to the assembly of volunteers:

> [a volunteer group is] in most municipalities, and to some extent even here, a loosely connected thing which is, at best, if communication is working, called when needed, if people can free up their time, and that can possibly be useful. (4F)

Traditional crisis information is also disseminated through the radio. One of the interviewees mentioned that their radio, which does not run on electricity, but can be hand-cranked, is checked monthly.

Just like the safety coordinators, the volunteers mention that crisis communication with the public is resource demanding, according to one interviewee, but very important:

> Information to and from the public is a resource-demanding task, but also usually mentioned as the most important for successful crisis management, the more you know about what is happening, the easier it is to act, and if you do not know, if you have little information, you are heading for speculation and rumours" (2F)

Recruitment to the volunteer group is also frequently based on personal communication, often using personal networks: like invitations to 'soup meetings', interaction during markets, and public speeches. Personal meetings are supplemented by leaflets with information. However, traditional means of communication, such as brochures and information materials were perceived as difficult to distribute: "we have really good material, but it doesn't reach out, nobody takes one and starts reading." (7F).

These traditional means of communication were contrasted by the interviewed volunteers with the new digital communication channels, which provide new opportunities but also create challenges. The way volunteers and other organizations work will see change:

> …these old ways of working in associations will loosen up more and more, based on the fact that we communicate in completely different ways nowadays and it's easier to get into contact with people, you can text on the mobile phone, and call, like Missing People has an incredible, built an incredible communication with both Facebook and mobile text-lists, and works in a very interesting way. (1F)

The interviewee contrasts the example of the new organization Missing People, which can easily assemble large groups of people through their new digital communication channels, with the volunteer organization, which communicates in a more traditional way:

> We were very backwards actually, we had our Excel sheets with phone numbers to people and were calling everybody /…/ it feels rather outdated now really, so we should revise our ways of working /…/ and we don't have a website to speak of, so, we're really behind, there is much to be done. (1F)

One of the problems in the modern information society, replete with messages, advertisements and communications from different actors, is that it can be difficult to communicate crisis information, even when using the new digital media. As one of the organized volunteers said:

> …it's difficult today to be visible in society, there's a terrible buzz, so it's difficult to reach out, we have tried through local newspapers and we have a new modern website and have a lot of information there, but we're never seen, or, the management don't spend money on the best media, that is TV and commercial radio channels, because the seconds are so expensive. (9F)

Volunteer organizations do not have the resources to buy commercials on radio or TV, which would reach a large audience.

6.5.3 Semi-organized volunteers

The semi-organized volunteers seem to have made the transition into the new digital world. All of the interviewed volunteers who are called when there is a crisis, for example searching for missing people, or rescuing people in the mountains, mentioned the use of mobile phones. For example, the members of Missing People register their phone on the organization's website, and get a text message when there is a crisis situation:

> …and if you have registered on the website for voluntary searches and filled in your mobile phone number and everything you get a text message when something happens in your district, and then you choose if you can come, and if you can't come you don't have to worry, so you don't need to cancel or anything, because it's supposed to be as simple as possible to work. (27S)

The management team is in continuous contact with the police, to verify that the person really is missing, and coordinating the search, in order to not get in the way of the police investigation. They have a closed Facebook group:

> …the management team gets information earlier, and continuously, so Facebook, they have a group of their own /…/ where they share information about characteristics, and you attach a photo of the person who is missing, and eh all the information you can get from the relatives that could be of use during the search. (29S)

When the person is found, they contact SOS Alarm and the team leader on their mobile phones. Some of the interviewees mentioned that they take care to instruct members that they are not allowed to spread information about the search through digital media

such as Twitter, blogs or Facebook. There had been no problems of that sort, according to the interviewees. Those who volunteer are very responsible individuals, who take their task seriously.

Interviewees working for the mountain rescue team, are also sent a text message:

> …then you get a, I got an alarm text message, you have a system called rapid reach, and then you get a text and a synthetic voice telling you what has happened and then you go there. (30S)

The rescuers have to report how long they estimate it will take to arrive at the meeting point, and the person who is closest is assigned a leading role:

> …we had additional training that was really good, eh, yes, but then you choose the one who, most often the person who reported in the shortest time and then you call, they call that person and say that you're the rescue leader. (31S)

The leader can select the team according to what is judged to be needed for that particular situation, for example being physically fit, technical skills, and also how individuals work together as a team:

> …we are different and have different skills, sometimes you want someone who's really capable of repairing a snow mobile, because you think that it could be, it could take a long time or be difficult, or another time you need someone in good physical condition. (31S)

The mountain rescuers are also in close contact with the police, who are responsible for this kind of crisis situation. If needed, the police also provide support in the form of debriefing sessions, particularly when there have been casualties.

Mobile phones may also be used to track the people who are closest, for example when someone has a heart problem:

> …they send the alarm to all resources /…/ in Stockholm you send to the fire brigade, police, and ambulance, /…/ at the same time an alarm is sent to SMS lifesavers if there is one, within a distance of five hundred meters. (26S)

In the text message that is sent, specific information is needed: there is always a hyperlink to Google maps, with an exact reference to where the heart attack is, and other information needed, such as the address, the name on the door if it is in an apartment, and the door code if the door is locked. These mobile phone alarm systems and routines work very well, according to the semi-organized volunteers. They are easy to use, and very fast.

6.5.4 Non-organized individuals

The non-organized individuals hardly talked about crisis communication at all during the interviews. Some had heard about Missing People, and had seen their information on the Internet. In a crisis situation, they seem to rely on those who are professionally trained, and listen to them: "I would rely on other people having thought about how to act in a situation like that, because I haven't, I just rely on those existing routines." (22A). In the an emergency, it is preferable to have information that is

easily accessible, such as a short list with important points to follow, one interviewee stated. This was reinforced by two more interviewees who said, "You can never get too much information on how to prepare, or how to act" (21A), and "the type of help people needed was knowledge, what to think about, how to act" (23A). The last quote referred to experience in a real situation when the water supply was contaminated, and water needed to be boiled.

However, it seems like the non-organized, "ordinary" citizens, are not thinking about or preparing for crisis situations. They seem rather ignorant of where to search for information, and are passive in their approach, should a situation arise. The most common response would be to dial 112 in an emergency situation (23A).

6.6 Individual motivation and involvement

Individual involvement was an essential theme in the data. The interviewees talked about this as well as their own drive to engage in voluntary crisis management, and also about other people's involvement. People in general were described as prepared and interested in contributing, but at the same time difficult to get formally involved in the traditional organizations for voluntary crisis management. That is, there is a great desire to be involved among people, but this it is difficult to organize formally. In the interviews many statements about one's own and others' motives for engaging in voluntary crisis management were made.

The interviewees mostly spoke about involvement based on their experience of the usefulness of involvement, for example regarding education: "I got involved to be able to make a contribution, in case there was a need – but hoping there would be no need – to get some kind of basic education that's useful." (6F). Although this example is related to one individual's personal involvement, educational aspects were also central when talking about what motivates others to become involved in voluntary organizations for crisis management.

In addition to this perspective based on interest in specific knowledge and the learning of new skills, the intrinsic need of being important for society was also apparent in the interviews, as here: "I think that everybody seeking this longs for something, even myself, though people have a need to be of importance in some kind of context, and make a difference" (2F).

Finally, social aspects of involvement were found, but social motives were less obvious in the interviews. An example of a social drive for involvement is found in the next quotation: "You make friends, I can't walk around town without saying hello to ten people who are more or less is involved in this, and I think that's fun, and they think it's fun." (9F). Mostly, social motives appeared in the data when the interviewees were talking about 'others'. That is, personal involvement was presented as rational in contrast to how other people described the drive to become involved in voluntary crisis management.

6.6.1 The perspective of municipal safety coordinators

The safety coordinators tended to perceive people in general as capable, prepared and helpful:

I think that you shouldn't underestimate the drive of people, the drive of the individual. If anything happens, people handle a lot of problems by themselves, more than people in general can imagine. In case of a crisis, they handle it; they gather their groups together in the district. (15K)

Although lay people, organized or not, are considered important in crisis management, their involvement did not form a main part of the interviews with the safety coordinators. However, when they talked about involved people, the interviewees mostly pointed out the need for organized volunteers. While the safety coordinators argued that volunteers are needed in the event of a crisis, they indicated that handling a great number of non-organized people is a hard task, as emerged in the following quotation: "I do think that we might need help from involved people, I definitely think we might, and that you could organize them, somehow, in that case." (13K).

The need of volunteer involvement channelled through formal organizations was emphasized in safety coordinators' talk about contracts. In the data, formal contracts were found to be an important aspect of how volunteer involvement is handled by civil servants. However, formal contracts are also seen as problematic. One of the safety coordinators argued that it is possible to sign formal contracts with, for example, snowmobile clubs – but that that kind of contracts loses its meaning if the municipality does not have time and resources enough to maintain good relations with the specific club or organization: "There is always a need for involvement from both sides." (13K).

6.6.2 The perspective of organized volunteers

Contracts appeared as a central theme among the organized volunteers as well, if not as central as in the interviews with the civil servants. In the interviews with the organized volunteers, formal agreements are, on the one hand, seen as a promise, and on the other, as a constraint. One of those committed to an organization for voluntary crisis management saw formal contracts as a problem when it comes to involving people:

I think you can feel things are demanded of you when reading this contract (…). These demands that you have to fulfil, you should get approval from your employer for example… (9F).

Contracts are also discussed in the next quotation. However, here the speaker finds the absence of formal agreements regulating involvement to be important:

You have a will to contribute, but then that you're not forced to, there aren't any contracts controlling where you have to go, or that you have to contribute in an actual incident, because sometimes it's not the right thing to do for some reason. (6F).

Involvement was an important theme in the interviews with the organized volunteers. They expressed pride in their involvement in volunteer crisis management, and most specifically in involvement channelled through the organization they are already involved in themselves. With respect to their own drive to commit to organizations for voluntary crisis management, several perspectives emerged. The interviewees described possibilities for education as one important motivational aspect. Through their involvement in these organizations they acquire knowledge and learn valuable skills.

Furthermore, the network was seen as important. In the data, it was argued that that the variation in the competences of volunteers is an essential reason to remain involved. The broad array of competence is described in the following quotation, where the speaker describes who gets involved in the organization: "The competence among our volunteers is just amazing! From an autistic guy that knows everything about civil defence, to professors, and surgeons, and…" (2F).

Although "competence" was fundamental in the interviews, social aspects also emerged. The importance of the network is described mostly as a social function: "We talk about work and private life, then you buy a house and so on, and I had no idea about this, but you get a bonus experience that is a side effect of listening to your friends." (6F). The social aspects are not limited to the network within the organization. From a broader perspective, social aspects also seem to be a relevant aspect of involvement. Being defined as a volunteer in crisis management appeared as a central theme describing people's involvement. In the next quotation, an example of the importance of identity is made concrete; this person would like a pin testifying to his/her organizational involvement: "It would be nice if there was some kind of…, if you could put some kind of sign on your lapel showing your organizational involvement." (4F). However, while involvement was an essential aspect mentioned in the interviews with the organized volunteers and they spoke about a great number of involved people, they also described how they struggle when it comes to motivating more people to become involved in t voluntary work.

6.6.3 The perspective of the semi-organized

In this group, the emotional aspect seemed to be more central than in the other two groups of lay people, viz. the organized and the non-organized. Here, emotions were used to describe the motive for becoming involved in organizations such as Missing People and SMSlifesavers. These people spoke about the feeling of doing good, as in the following quotation:

> But, it's that you're helping, that it makes a difference for the person who is exposed, or whatever you are fighting for, it might be the environment as well, but that you feel that you're doing good. (27S).

Furthermore, involvement refers not only to the emotional aspect of doing good, but also to being important, feeling that your skills are useful: "And then, most of the time there is no one else who can [do it], and then you feel quite competent." (30S).

Another perspective on involvement found in the interviews with the semi-organized individuals´ concerns experience. In the data, personal experiences appeared to be an essential part the willingness to become involved in civil crisis management. One of the interviewees describes why he became interested in crisis management in this example:

> Well, the reason is actually that if any one of the members of my family disappeared, then you would think that everyone in the whole world should go out and search. Well, one disappeared, one man got lost, who my sister knew, this was in the spring of 2012. (28S).

With respect to other peoples' motivation, their experiences were also perceived by the interviewees as essential drivers of their participation crisis management:

If you have experienced a family member disappearing, then you might join Missing People, or if you have a grandparent with cardiac arrest, you might join SMS lifesavers, you find some kind of emotion, you get a strong sense of meaning --- (26S).

In these examples, rather dramatic experiences are mentioned as a reason for personal involvement. However, even experiences from everyday life were seen as central in this group, as in this example:

Because I grew up with forestry and farming, nature has always been a playground for me, I thought it would be interesting to learn more. (…) At the moment, I'm involved in the voluntary crisis management group, and in a rescue group, I'm also involved in SMS lifesavers. (…) It's because I have this background, that I'm good at searching. (29S)

Focusing on one's own safety as a problem regarding volunteer crisis management conducted by semi-organized individuals was described in various ways in the data.. However, there the willingness to manage the situation remains, but not through your own actions: "So, to go between in a very threatening situation, between people, that is to go between on your own. Maybe then take a step back and call the police, but I shouldn't go between by myself." (20A).

6.6.4 The perspective of the non-organized individual

The difficulties of motivating people to become involved in voluntary crisis management emerged clearly when the interviews with non-organized individuals were analysed. As one of the interviewees put it, in answer to a question about possible reasons for becoming involved: "I haven't thought about that, actually. Of course, it's valuable that people become involved in that kind of situation, or in that kind of organization, but, well, it isn't anything I've thought about." (19A). Furthermore, the relevance of volunteer involvement is questioned: "…at the same time, I think that it's really wrong when the society puts its trust in organizations that haven't got people who get paid, when it doesn't don't contribute." (23A).

However, although the problems regarding involvement were mostly discussed by the non-organized, motivating aspects were also brought up. As one of the interviewees pointed out, people's involvement can be related to their interests: "I can imagine that the mountain... What was it called? Moderator: Erm, mountain rescue service. That there's an interest in mountain walks as such." (22A).

Education, one of the main themes in the interviews with the organized volunteers, was also an important theme, even for the non-organized group. However, in this group the question of education was more one of a perceived lack of education, knowledge and skills. As one of the interviewees responded to a question about the extent of personal responsibilities: "It's hard, but somewhere you have to draw the line, you haven't even got experience or education regarding different crisis situations." (19A).

An important aspect regarding the motivational factors for non-organized individuals, as well as among the semi-organized individuals (above), thus seemed, to be their own safety. Although both these groups take part in crisis management activities, neither the employed nor organized voluntary engaged people expressed any worries about their own safety. Rather the opposite, that – thanks to their education, knowledge and skills

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– their involvement in crisis management make them feel safer. The quotation below illustrates how personal safety appeared in the interviews with the non-organized group:

> If it was during the night, and I was by myself, and it was a threatening situation … maybe you shouldn't make yourself known, but observe the situation from a hidden place, to decrease the risk for yourself. But if it was during the day and there were a lot of others there, yes, but even then, you should be standing in a crowd, I think. (19A).

Finally, despite the fact that one's personal safety was described as central factor in promoting or hindering involvement in the data , the safety of one's own and others' children seemed to be even more important. When asked about what they connected with risk, one of the interviewees spontaneously gave the following answer: "I think about my own children, above all." (22A). This quotation illustrates how crucial an aspect of volunteer crisis management children appeared to be: "I would shelter the kids, and then I would stay behind the corner of the house with the children." (21A). Later on in the interview, the informant continued: "What might happen to my children is that it could be traumatic, and that's not what I want, which is why I would probably protect them first, and then have another look at the situation." (21A).

While children's safety seemed to promote involvement among the interviewees, the material shows that the non-organized individuals saw themselves as more involved than other people: as one of the interviewees put it: "There are a lot of self-centred people out there, without doubt, who would rather stay at home on Saturday evening, drink wine and have a great dinner." (21A).

6.7 Generation and age

The last theme differs from the other themes as it concerns an individual characteristic, namely age. Age emerged as a central theme in the data. When the interviewees, regardless of whether they were civil servants, volunteers or non-organized individuals, talked about age, their choice of words often highlighted age from a functionalist perspective. Young people are emphasized as capable and strong while older people are described as a generation that no longer has much power or influence. Furthermore, young people are described as difficult to reach and to involve as volunteers, since they are perceived as busy, with their families or with their work. In the descriptions of young people's work and interests, the interviewees talked about technical interests, often in terms of 'computer' and 'IT systems'.

6.7.1 The perspective of municipal safety coordinators

When the safety coordinators talked about age, they discussed their need for support from older volunteers even if they were seen as vulnerable. It might even be argued that age does not matter much, as one of the civil servants commented: "I want to know that I have about twenty people, from any organization, that can give a hand. Who they actually are, doesn't matter." (13K). However, a more common way of viewing age and generation among the safety coordinators was that volunteer organizations do a better job when they include people of different ages:

Despite various professions, there is a variation when it comes to age, and that's great too. We have…, I think the youngest is about twenty, and the oldest one is a bit over 70, and that's great! (10K)

In the interviews with the safety coordinators, children, young people and older people were the groups especially seen as vulnerable and in need of special care. A child was seen as needing constant care. They can get lost and disappear; therefore they need to be watched, all the time. Young people were described as uncontrollable and vulnerable in a social manner. The interviewees were worried about parties, sports and the risk of young people being attacked, especially young women who could be raped. The safety coordinators also discussed their worries about older people, whom they think might wander away from sheltered accommodation and get lost or robbed. In the event of a crisis, older people were seen as vulnerable to disturbances in the infrastructure as they are especially sensitive to cold and dehydration but also to lack of services, such as daily care.

6.7.2 The perspective of organized volunteers

Vulnerability and age was also a central theme among the organized volunteers. As in the interviews with the safety coordinators, the volunteers also discussed groups they felt to be especially vulnerable. In this group, as also among the civil servants, children, young people and older people were seen as those in most need of care in the event of a crisis. When asked about the worst possible crises, children were the most often mentioned group:

> The worst feeling is if anything were to happen where children are involved, so I think that worst thinkable scenario should be a huge accident involving many children or youth, more than anything else. (1F).

Even when talking about their own experiences, situations including children were often mentioned, as in the following quotation:

> It wasn't long ago when the boiler stopped working here and it was below minus 20 degrees outside and the pipes where broken. When something like that happens, and there are children in the house, who should have hot soup and that kind of stuff. I mean, someone needs to come to the rescue quite quickly. (4F).

Although children were the group that emerged as most valuable in society, the elderly were the group the volunteers talked about the most in relation to their tasks in crisis management. In the following quotation one of the volunteers describes elderly care in the event of a power failure:

> Power failure is the worst thing that can happens to a municipality like ours, because in that case we lose heat, power, the sewage disposal system, district heating, air conditioning, depending on the season. A lot fail, and most elderly people here have alarm devices that will breakdown, because they are connected to telecommunications, and I don't know if that will be working anymore. But they do breakdown when the battery dies. Then, I don't know if the receivers… So then you have to do the rounds to all the elderly people. And also, if it's cold, the elderly run the risk of being dehydrated quickly, and so on, being worried and so forth. Then we need to reinforce the care for the elderly, provide food, and just go see how everyone is doing; "are you still alive?", "was it not possible to call

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someone?" (2F).

Similarly to the safety coordinators, the organized volunteers talked about the elderly as a group where people disappear: "We had two instances here in our municipality, where elderly people disappeared from their homes, and both of them where found deceased a few days later" (7F). Furthermore, the volunteers claim that they could have made a difference, if anyone had asked them to:

> This resource has never been taken into account, and I think that in one of these cases it's really tragic, because this particular person was found just five hundred meters away from home, and I think that's a big failure. (…) There are so many volunteers who could make a crucial difference, so it didn't have to go so wrong, like when those who wandered off from the home for the elderly and died when they weren't found in time, it makes me really frustrated. (7F).

However, among this interviewee group vulnerability is perceived in relation to ideas not only about how to take care of the young and the elderly in the event of a crisis, but also about who is able to make a difference. When the interviewees talk about voluntary involvement and crisis management they often distinguish between us and them. This distinction is at its most obvious in the case of older people. When older people are included in the stories, they often are defined as someone else, somewhere else, as in this example:

> Problems regarding age are seen as a general problem in voluntary work, but in the interviews this means a general problem in other kinds of organizations, not in the organization where the interviewee belongs. I think we have a surprisingly low mean age, even though everyone isn't a young person, but even so, our mean age in the organization is surprisingly low. I know several municipalities where a lot of them are, basically, pensioners. (7F)

However, despite the preference for young people and young adults in voluntary organizations, older people are also described as important. In the present interviews, older people are described as people one can trust, and elderly people are appreciated for their experience, especially if they have had a military career. That is, older men are especially appreciated by the other volunteers. When talking specifically about the strengths older women bring to the organisation, one in particular was often cited; the value to the group of their secretarial skills and other services, as in this quotation: "I do have some older ladies who take on this particular role, if anyone has to write really legibly and slowly, and they are about 80 years old, and that's an important task." (2F). Furthermore, older people are often found as supplements in these voluntary organizations. The existence of a great number of pensioners meant to the interviewees that can always be confident that there will be enough people when needed. At the same time, however, the interviewees were worried about the health status of their older members.

In addition to these population groups, families were discussed by the organized volunteers. They are considered to play an important role for young people. According to the interviewees, young people are more likely to prioritize their family, instead of engaging in voluntary crisis management. However, families were discussed in neutral terms, as important and highly prioritized. Families were seen as important for young men as well as for young women, and hence were not a gender-related issue in this data.

Even though the organized volunteers were aware of the importance of the family in the lives of young people, children were perceived as a problem. The interviewees spoke about how children constitute an obstacle to organized voluntary work because they need care. Having children means that it is difficult to know if the parents can make it and be able to carry out voluntary work in a crisis situation. Despite this concern, the interviewees expressed high expectations of their members. In the following quotation, one of the organized volunteers reports how people make a distinction between an exercise and a real crisis:

> Once a semester, or once a year – it depends on when we offer our courses – we use the last lecture to practice the alarm chain. Regardless of whether the volunteers are able to come or not, we call them all to get statistics, but also to identify numbers and such. And everyone answering the phone, is asked the question: "Will you come if it's real? Yes or no?" "Would you if it was 'real'?" Then we get some really high values. Maybe, not that many actually turn up, but a great many would have come if it was a real crisis, because then they could have arranged childcare or left a sick child with a neighbour, or something would have been arranged. (2F)

Furthermore, children and youngsters are seen as a prioritized group for recruitment. The volunteers claim that it is important to visit schools to distribute information, that way young people could be engaged in voluntary crisis management and become interested in involvement with the specific organization. However, in the interviews the volunteers describe that they find it difficult to visit schools; when asking to visit, they are mostly are prevented as mentioned here:

> It takes too much time away from regular school work; they haven't got the time to let us hold a lecture or two. You are able to – we have tried to visit the university – and yes, you are able to visit, but first of all, they want to be paid, and secondly, you have to do it after the last lecture of the day. So, no, there's no point, because then you have to offer something really, really interesting. So, it's very hard. (8F).

The organized volunteers are also interested in having more young people in their organizations, but they find them difficult to recruit. When talking about these problems, they defined young adults as a special group with specific characteristics. For example, young adults were seen as motivated by computers and other technological devices, and as having a low level of commitment; they were perceived to be interested in events (compare with how Missing People organize their work), but not interested in signing contracts or reserving free time for voluntary work. Furthermore, young adults were reported to be busy. Instead of volunteering, they work, spend time with the family, their computer, or practising sports, or – as one of the interviewees expressed it: "They work full time, they have children and a house, and things like that, they have no time left over to spend here." (9F/1).

As can be seen, the data highlight how age is discussed as an issue of who is desirable and who is potentially vulnerable as volunteer material. Overall, the interviewees expressed a clear preference for voluntary organizations whose members spanned all age groups. The rationale for this point of view is on the one hand based on the democratic that everyone is equal and everyone has skills and knowledge that are useful. On the other hand, everyone is needed from a more functionalist point of view: there will only be enough people in the organization if everyone is included. However, from both the democratic and a functionalist points of view, the interviewees were

in favour of the inclusion in voluntary organizations not only of all age groups, but also other groups in society, for example disabled people and people with a foreign background, for example asylum seekers, as in these examples:

> You can have an organization based only on pensioners, they do have a lot of advantages, they're not working, they are often available, also, they have a great deal of life experience and might have broad competence, while youngsters are more often busy, they have appointments, they're raising a family, and so on. (9F/2).

6.7.3 The perspective of the semi-organized

Age was not often explicitly discussed in the interviews with the semi-organized individuals. When age was mentioned, it was from a functionalist perspective similar to that expressed by the organized volunteers:

> But I think the younger ones are a bit more keen on, as I said before, you're a bit hot-headed, you're kind of like 'come on now, we can make a difference here', it's a bit more Baywatch when you're 20 than when you're 50. (31S).

Rather than specific ages, the importance of specific life stages emerged in the data. For example, being a parent on the one hand reinforces the willingness to engage in crisis-prevention activities (28S) while on the other it hinders participation in organized volunteer crisis management: "You do it [become involved] when there is time. Which I didn't have when my children were young, not a chance. (…) Later on, when there was time, I felt that it would be fun to be a bit active and do something." (27S). However, even these parental aspects of parenthood were not foregrounded in the interviews. Personal experiences from one's youth were also mentioned in the data.

6.7.4 The perspective of the non-organized

The question of age and life stages was highlighted by the non-organized individuals as well. When asked about the possibilities for formal involvement in any volunteer organization, the question of age – or rather life stage – emerged as an important theme. The non-organized people with responsibilities for children, reported finding it difficult to prioritize volunteer work, as shown in the following quotation: "Right now it might not be the right time, with three children at home, it's a bit busy sometimes." (19A). Responsibility for one's children was described as preventing participation in volunteer work. "If you were in another [life situation], it's hypothetically possible, when the children are grown up, and they aren't as dependent on you as today…" (22A).

What we see here is that their perception of the priorities of young adults (that is, family life)was the most central reason offered the non-organized group by for not becoming joining a voluntary crisis management organization. Furthermore, the importance of family life was also manifested in their own crisis management. When it comes to their own children – and sometimes other children – they take risk-avoidance actions, as can be seen here:

> Well, then you do several small preparations for the kids, such as catches on the knife drawer, locks on the windows, lattice doors, childproof electric wall sockets, the list goes on. (20A).

7. Concluding remarks and suggestions for future research

The aim of this study was to explore the interface between local authorities and voluntary initiatives where the engaged public might be able to support professional actors. Seven major areas were identified; Collaboration: Formal and informal practices, General ability and specific competence, Dynamics between collective efforts and individual self-help, Aspects of education and empowerment, Traditional communication versus digital media, Individual motivation and involvement, and Age and generation. In this last chapter, suggestions are given for further research in each of these areas, as along with some concluding remarks.

7.1 Suggestions for future research

Suggestions for further research on collaboration: there is definitely a need for further organizational studies on the interface between municipals, professionals and the voluntary public. There is also a need to develop new forms of joint training exercises in ways that are not experienced on the part of the municipality as burdensome.

Suggestions for further research on formal and informal practices: as was mentioned earlier, both municipal safety coordinators and members of voluntary organizations felt that there was need for the voluntary public to be active across a wider spectrum of societal services. To realize this objective, further investigation would be needed in two areas in particular: first, on the present and potential use of ICT as a tool for the recruitment, development and maintenance of the voluntary public, and second, at the intersection between municipal representatives and the voluntary public. What would be an appropriate social platform for these actors to optimize their possible interaction?

An additional suggestion for further research regarding collective efforts and individual self-help is to explore the possibilities and develop new ways of converging and integrating basic crisis management and self-help in the everyday activities and routines of people, some of which were mentioned above. This would be valuable because, as was shown in the literature review (Deliverable 2.2), people tend to become involved in already existing and available networks rather than entering into or creating new networks and organizations for the purpose of maintaining societal safety and security.

Due to the importance of preparing for and supporting public empowerment during crises in order to mitigate the severity of their impact and increase resilience, we suggest that future research in the field of traditional communication versus digital media should continue studying the developments in communication technology and their potential for use in crisis communication by non-organized, semi-organized, and organized individuals as well as by public authorities and municipalities. Personal networks are important in crisis communication, and new technology supports personal communication in these networks. New possibilities are created to reach out to and gather together people, as well as disseminate information not only by authorities, but by individuals themselves. However, previous research on the different resources and habits of citizens in a heterogeneous society characterized by multi-ethnicity, social and educational gaps and the ability to use the new communication technology shows that municipalities are not fully aware of and thus not making optimal use of these new possibilities. Moreover, new and hitherto unknown challenges may arise that demand preparation. It is thus also important to continue studying in detail the role of safety coordinators, who prepare for and manage crisis communication in the digital networked society.

Suggestions for further research on individual motivation and involvement include a deeper the understanding of how different organizational forms interact with volunteer involvement. There is also a need acquire more knowledge about how various degrees of formalization influence the will of individuals to commit to volunteer crisis management.

Last, we suggest further research into how it is possible to create involvement across the generations. The present participants, regardless of whether they were professionals or lay persons, all agreed on the importance of including people of different ages in volunteer crisis management. However, current knowledge on who become involved in volunteer crisis management is insufficient; therefore we need statistics on a societal level describing volunteer involvement in various groups in society, not least with respect to age.

7.2 Concluding remarks

From the perspective of safety coordinators and local authorities, some of the obstacles to the development of relations with voluntary forces found in this study are that (a) sometimes all conceivable resources are located within the public/municipal emergency organization, i.e. voluntary forces are perceived as superfluous, and (b) some public/municipal safety coordinators hesitate because organizing voluntary forces takes too much time and energy. From the perspective of the voluntary sector, many members expressed frustration because of poor communication. Local voluntary organizations need to know what they can do for their community, but the council is often reluctant to assign relevant tasks. In order to receive funding, local voluntary organizations are required to hold regular training exercises according to specific scenarios. Most of the voluntary organizations noted the need to carry out these exercises together with public/municipal safety coordinators and local emergency management actors, but reported that such collaborative exercises are practically non-existent.

A major theme that emerged during the majority of the interviews was the gap between the personal responsibility to protect one's own life and property, as expressed in Act (2003:778) above, and the too often unused task-force of engaged and voluntary citizens. This theme can be summarized by the slogan voiced by a local VRG in the mid Sweden area: "It is one thing to manage yourself in vulnerable situations, but something completely different to also be able to help others" (http://frg.skelleftea.org).

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Appendix

Schematic outline of in-depth interviews on community approaches involving the public in crisis management

No.	Date	Role of interview	Sex	Region	Minutes
01	13-02-21	Safety coordinator	Male	Middle	114
02	13-03-18	Safety coordinator	Female	South	66
03	13-03-18	Member of vol. org.	Male	South	59
04	13-03-19	Safety coordinator	Male	South	47
05	13-03-19	Member of vol. org.	Male	South	55
06	13-03-20	Safety coordinator	Male	South	40
07	13-03-21	Member of vol. org.	Female	South	54
08	13-03-22	Member of vol. org.	Male	South	68
09	13-04-08	Member of vol. org.	Female	North	40
10	13-04-10	Safety coordinator	Male	North	59
11	13-04-11	Safety coordinator	Male	North	49
12	13-04-29	Safety coordinator	Male	North	46
13	13-05-14	Member of vol. org.	Male	Middle	86
14	13-05-14	Safety coordinator	Male	Middle	50
15	13-05-15	Member of vol. org.	Male	Middle	60
16	13-05-16	Member of vol. org.	Female	Middle	45
17	13-05-16	Member of vol. org.	Female	Middle	72
18	13-05-17	Safety coordinator	Male	Middle	75
19	13-10-18	Non-organized	Female	North	51
20	13-10-22	Semi-organized	Male	Middle	37
21	13-10-23	Non-organized	Female	Middle	21
22	13-10-23	Non-organized	Male	Middle	29
23	13-10-23	Non-organized	Male	Middle	40
24	13-10-24	Semi-organized	Female	Middle	32
25	13-10-25	Non-organized	Male	Middle	38
26	13-10-25	Semi-organized	Female	Middle	49
27	13-10-26	Semi-organized	Female	Middle	40
28	13-10-26	Semi-organized	Male	Middle	35
29	13-10-28	Semi-organized	Male	Middle	36
30	13-10-30	Semi-organized	Male	North	49
31	13-10-30	Semi-organized	Male	North	59

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