

THE INFLUENCE OF CRISIS
IN THE MODIFICATION OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
Elizabeth Williams Nall
1956



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by

ELIZABETH WILLIAMS NALL

A THESIS

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts
in Michigan State University

East Lansing, Michigan
1956

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Finally, this thesis is dedicated to her husband, Frank C. Nall, without whose love and inspiration this would never have been written.

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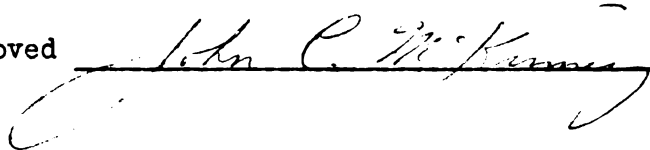
ELIZABETH WILLIAMS NALL

AN ABSTRACT

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1956

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This is a study which describes and analyzes relief activities in a disaster in terms of the theoretical schema of the social system. Disaster relief activities are viewed as components of an emergent transitional social system. Because many of the actors in this social system of disaster relief were acting in the role of association member, attention was focused upon the relation of the behavior and value orientations of association member to the organizational structure of the association. Five associations were examined, the Michigan State Police, the National Red Cross, the local chapter of the Red Cross, the Salvation Army, and the Beecher Volunteer Fire Department.

The data were gathered in Beecher Metropolitan Area, near Flint, Michigan, following a tornado which struck the area June 8, 1953. The principal method of investigation was the use of intensive interview schedules. During the two months following the tornado, 132 interviews were conducted with individuals not attached to associations and 87 with members of associations.

The methodology used was a modified version of Weber's historico-analytical method. From the organizational structure of each association was constructed a typology of expected value orientations. From the behavior reported in the interviews, the manifested value orientations of members of each association toward victims was abstracted. Differences between expected and manifested value orientations were then accounted for.

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It was found that certain organizational characteristics were associated with the relative degree of adaptability which those associations manifested in meeting the exigencies imposed upon them by the disaster situation. The characteristics which were associated with a relatively high degree of adaptability are as follows:

- (1) a hierarchy of offices
- (2) remuneration of members by fixed salaries
- (3) status-role is the primary occupation of the incumbent
- (4) members are subject to coercive discipline
- (5) members are subjected to a training process which results
in a high degree of internalization of appropriate value
orientations.

The study showed that another important factor associated with the adaptability of associations in the context of the disaster situation was the extent to which members were subjected to direct disaster impact. Although this study focused attention upon this factor it could draw only limited conclusions concerning its effects in the case under study since only one association, the Beecher Volunteer Fire Department, had members who experienced the direct effects of the tornado.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is a study of certain aspects of disaster relief activities. The specific disaster with which this thesis is concerned was a tornado which swept the Beecher Metropolitan District, a small neighborhood north of Flint, in Genesee County, Michigan. The tornado demolished an area approximately two blocks wide and two miles long, killing over a hundred people and injuring some eight hundred. Following the tornado, of course, rescue and relief operations were necessary.

During the course of these relief operations, many diverse problems developed and certain conflicts between relief associations. One of the principal problems concerned communication between associations. The Michigan State Police assumed authority for directing operations, but they were not made aware of information concerning extent of damage possessed by certain local associations such as the County Road Commission and the Flint City Police. First-aid stations set up by the Red Cross were never used because the State Police were not aware of their existence and did not direct victims to them. Misunderstandings arose between the State Police and the Sheriff's Department concerning the matter of jurisdiction in the territory. Tensions developed between the Red Cross and the Salvation Army. A great deal of hostility toward the Red Cross developed among the victims and the general public, hostility still present a year later during the annual Red Cross drive to collect funds.

A. Purpose of This Study

This thesis will describe and analyze these relief activities in terms of the theoretical schema developed by Talcott Parsons in The Social System,¹ After a discussion of the major theoretical categories the empirical case will be described and analyzed. It is the principal purpose of this thesis to demonstrate the applicability of the theoretical scheme to an important category of empirical data which heretofore has not been subjected to such analysis. Attention will be focused on the emergence of a transitional social system organized around disaster relief. This will necessarily call for an examination of the associations which were drawn into the disaster relief operations. The effects of disaster upon the structure and function of these associations will be a focus of interest. Also the roles which these associations played in the disaster relief activities will be analyzed in terms of their major structural-functional characteristics.

B. Theoretical Frame of Reference

1. The Action Frame of Reference

The concrete system of action as developed by Parsons consists of three analytically independent systems, the personality system, the social system, and the cultural system. Parsons defines the social system as "a plurality of actors interacting with each other in a situation having physical aspects, actors motivated in terms of a tendency to optimization

¹ Talcott Parsons, The Social System, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1951.

of gratification whose relation to the situation is defined and mediated in terms of culturally structured and shared symbols."²

2. Status-Role

One of the most significant units of the social system is the participation of the actor in a patterned network of relationships with other actors. This participation has two aspects. One aspect has to do with the position of the actor relative to other actors in the system. This is termed status. The other aspect has to do with what the actor does in his relations with others. This is termed role. Thus the participation of an actor in a social system is termed his status-role.

3. Variability of the Differentiated Systems

Because the concrete action system is structured about the three systems of personality, social and cultural patterning, the variability of any one of these is limited by its compatibility with the minimum conditions of the functioning of the other two. Thus the social system must be structured so that it supports the minimum functioning of the individual actors as well as a relatively stable cultural system.

The actors composing the social system must be adequately motivated to meet the requirements of the system, that is, to act in accordance with role expectations and refrain from deviant behavior. In turn, the social system must meet a sufficient minimum of the needs of the individual actors, both the biological prerequisites of the actor as organism and the security and gratification needs of the personality system.

² Ibid., p. 5.

The limiting case of an integrated social system is that in which the expressive interests of the actor, the need-dispositions toward optimization of gratification, are bound to conformity with a shared system of value standards. In the nature of the interaction process, the individual actor builds up a system of expectations relative to a given other. From the actor's point of view, some of the reactions of the other will be favorable and some unfavorable. If the normative standards in terms of which the actors are interacting are shared and clear, the individual's action conforming with these standards will then tend to stimulate favorable reactions on the part of the other. By a process of internalization of value standards, conformity with them becomes a direct mode of fulfillment of need-dispositions of the actor as well as instrumental action. This is an aspect which will be important in our later treatment of disaster.

4. Collectivity and Association

A collectivity is constituted by a plurality of actors, sharing common value patterns, who have feelings of solidarity and responsibility for the fulfillment of obligations. A collectivity having a formal set of rules and a division of labor in regard to the implementation of collective action is termed by Parsons an association. Considered as a system of roles, a collectivity may be a relational complex of either instrumental or expressive orientations or both. In the case of a collectivity in which instrumental interests have primacy, members cooperate for the purpose of attaining some future goal. In the case in which expressive

interests have primacy, members are oriented toward the immediate gratification which collective activities provide.

5. The Pattern Variables of Value Orientation

In any given situation an actor is faced, according to Parsons,³ with a series of dilemmas of orientation. Before he can act with respect to a situation, he must choose one side of each of five dilemmas. These choices determine the meaning of the situation for the actor. These dilemmas are termed the pattern variables of value orientation and are listed by Parsons as:

- (1) Affectivity -- Affective-Neutrality
- (2) Self-Orientation -- Collectivity-Orientation
- (3) Universalism -- Particularism
- (4) Ascription -- Achievement
- (5) Specificity -- Diffuseness

The first pair, affectivity -- affective-neutrality, concerns the dilemma of gratification of impulse versus discipline. Affectivity is the role-expectation that the actor may freely express affective reactions to objects in the situation. Affective-neutrality is the role-expectation that the actor will restrain his impulses for immediate gratification in consideration of other interests.

The second pair, self-orientation -- collectivity-orientation, concerns the dilemma of private versus collective interests. Self-orienta-

³ Talcott Parsons and Edward Shils, Toward a General Theory of Action, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1954, pp. 76-78.

tion is the role-expectation that it is permissible for the actor to give priority in the situation to his own private interests. Collectivity-orientation is the role-expectation that the actor is obliged, in a conflict of interests, to give priority to the interests of the collectivity of which, in this role, he is a member.

The third pair, universalism-particularism, concerns the dilemma whether to treat the objects in the situation in accordance with a general norm covering all objects in that class or whether to treat them in accordance with their standing in some particular relationship to him. Universalism is the role-expectation that the actor's response to the objects in the situation will be in conformity with a general standard. Particularism is the role-expectation that the actor will respond to the object in terms of its relationship to himself.

The fourth pair, ascription-achievement, concerns the dilemma of how to treat the social objects in a situation. Ascription is the role-expectation that the actor give priority to certain attributes possessed by the social objects. Achievement is the role-expectation that the actor give priority to the specific performances of the social objects.

The fifth pair, specificity-diffuseness, concerns the dilemma of how broadly the actor is to allow himself to be involved with the object. Diffuseness is the role-expectation that the actor will accept any potential significance of a social object, that is, the actor has obligations to the object in an indefinite number of specific contexts. Specificity is the role-expectation that the actor will be oriented to a social object only within a specified range of its relevance, that is, the obligations of the actor to the object are limited to a defined context.

6. The Concept of a Rational-legal Order

Another major theoretical category with which we are concerned in the design of this study is the concept of a rational-legal order. The basis for order in our society is the acceptance of what Weber terms rational-legal authority. This rational-legal basis of authority permeates the totality of social relationships. Weber defines authority as "the legitimate exercise of imperative control."⁷ He points out that the relation of imperative control contains a certain minimum of voluntary submission. Authority goes beyond voluntary submission on the basis of various motives and includes a belief in its "legitimacy." Rational-legal authority rests "on a belief in the legality of patterns of normative rules and the right of those elevated to authority under such rules to issue commands. Obedience is owed to the legally established impersonal order. It extends to the persons exercising the authority of office under it only by virtue of the formal legality of their commands and only within the scope of authority of the office."⁸

Insofar as an organization has formal, written rules (i.e., in Parsons' terms an association), its authority is rational-legal. This has consequences for the value orientations of actors who are members of formal organizations, or associations, for rational-legal authority entails action based upon universalistic principals. It will be shown that it is relevant to the examination of the associations analysed in this study.

⁷

Max Weber, The Theory of Economic and Social Organization, Trs. by A.M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons, New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1947, p. 153.

⁸

Ibid., p. 328.

7. The Systemic Elements of Bureaucratic Associations

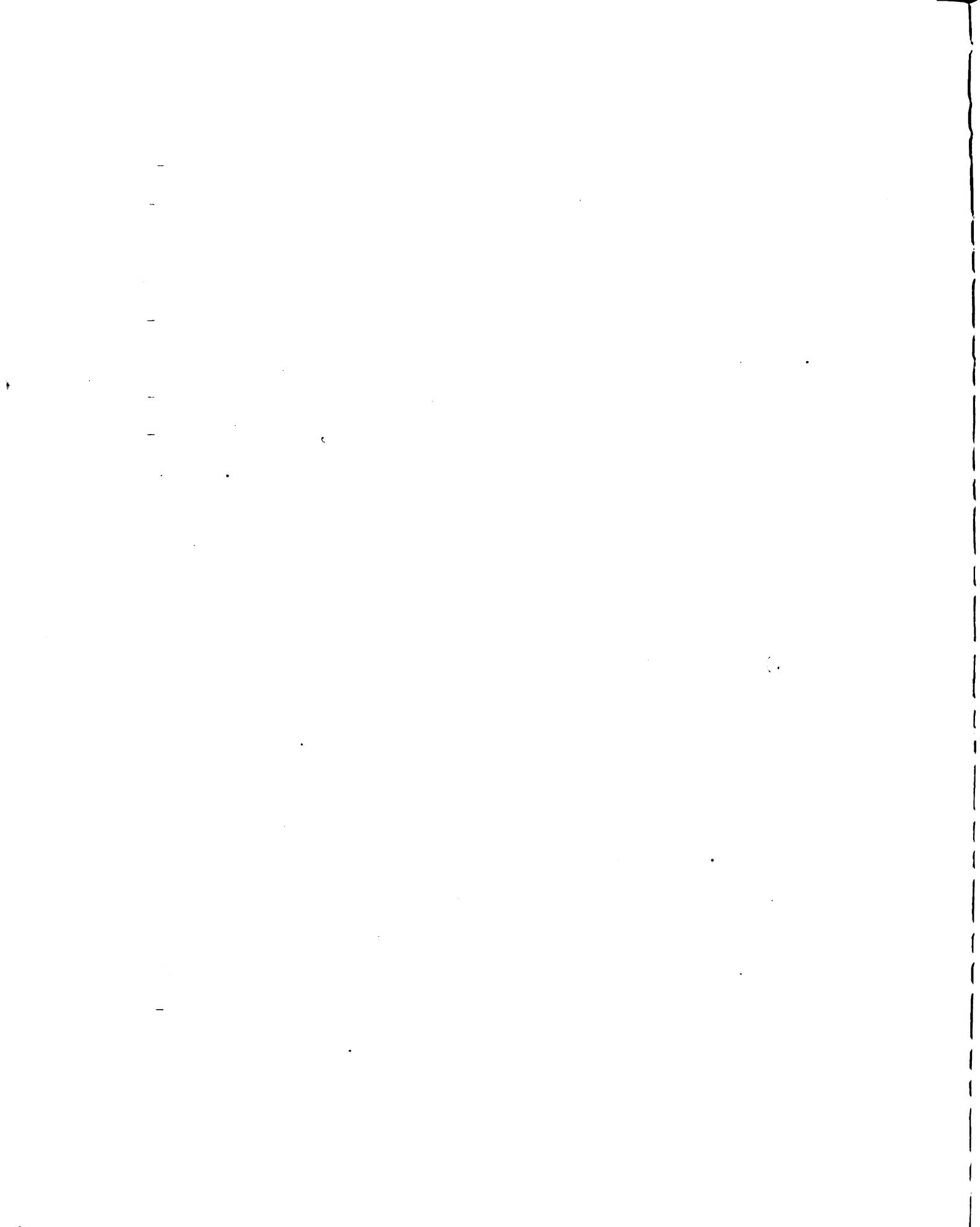
Following Weber's typological treatment of bureaucracy⁹ the systemic elements of a bureaucratic organization are:

- (a) A clearly defined hierarchy of offices is present.
- (b) Members of the association are subject to authority only in respect to the impersonal obligations pertaining to the office.
- (c) Each office has a clearly defined sphere of activity and authority.
- (d) The office is filled by a free contractual relationship.
- (e) Offices are allocated initially on the basis of achievement, that is, demonstrated technical qualifications.
- (f) The members of the association are remunerated by fixed salaries in money.
- (g) The office is treated as the sole, or at least the primary occupation of the incumbent. In consequence this status-role is for the actor crucial to his total bundle of status-roles.
- (h) It constitutes a career. There is a system of promotion according to seniority or to achievement, or both. Promotion is dependent on the judgment of superiors.
- (i) The bureaucrat is subject to strict and systematic discipline and control in the conduct of the office.

⁹ Ibid., pp. 333-336.

It follows from Weber's typological exposition of the systemic elements of a bureaucracy that the status-role of professional bureaucrat is subject to the imposition of strong negative or coercive sanctions owing to its position in a rather rigidly structured hierarchy of authority. Also, bureaucrats are obliged to live up to standards of duty which are (1) incorporated in the role in part as formal rules of the association pertaining to what is expected of the bureaucrat, and (2) incorporated in the role in part as standards of the fellow bureaucrats. Thus, any given bureaucrat is faced with the situation of having to live up to those expectancies of his role which are defined by the associations' formal rules and by his fellow bureaucrats' standards (which in the concrete interaction situation constitute role expectancies just as do formal rules.)

A wide range of role relevant action is thus relatively well defined as legitimate and constraining for the bureaucrat-actor. This range of role expectations includes both positive commitments to perform certain actions as well as positive commitments to refrain from performing certain actions. However, even in the case of the professional bureaucrat, not all concrete situations are encompassed by these formal and informal expectancies which, when accepted as legitimate, constitute normative standards, and hence the possibility of conflict in the performance of (or refraining from performance of) certain actions is implicitly present in the unfolding of any given action situation.



It becomes apparent, then, that the actor is faced with at least two sets of normative standards with which his role performance may conflict, those of the association (the formal rules) and those of his professional associates (the informal rules) and according to which his performance may be judged legitimate or illegitimate. But there exists (minimally) at least one or more additional orders of normative standards which may enter into the action situation as standards to which the bureaucrat and his associates may be committed. These orders of standards are those which are incorporated into a larger sector of the culture than that which explicitly pertains to the bureaucratic association. An example of such a standard is that of the configuration of values which is called humanism, another is that which is called democracy or democratic values. These are configurations of values which are part of the culture incorporated by the members of large sectors of the society -- if not by all the members of the society -- and they contrast in this respect with the standards of a discrete bureaucratic entity. To the extent that they imply commitment to perform or to refrain from performing certain types of actions they constrain the actor. The determination of whether or not they impinge upon the action of an actor in any given situation is, of course, problematical.

C. Definition of Disaster

In terms of the system of action, disaster may be defined as the disruption of patterned expectancies of behavior. For the purposes of this thesis, disaster will be considered a special case of crisis. Crisis is

here defined as a disruption of the social system resulting from any cause. Disaster, on the other hand, is here defined as the disruption of the social system resulting from destruction of the physical environment and/or injury or death of individual actors.¹⁰

1. Disaster and the Orientations of Actors

What we have termed disaster occurs because the orientation of the actor to the physical and social objects of his environment has been disrupted. The actor's orientation is disrupted because he perceives radical changes in the physical and social settings. Obviously, given disruption of the physical and social settings, were the actor not to perceive this disruption, i.e., were the actor living in a dream world of his own making, he would be termed abnormal. However, the extent of the disruption of the actor's orientation is determined by the extent to which the actor perceives radical changes in the physical and social settings.

¹⁰ This definition is similar to that on page 24 of William H. Form et al., Final Report on the Flint-Beecher Tornado. Unpublished mimeographed report, 1954, viz., "A disaster is a condition in which the established social systems of a community abruptly cease to operate." However, the definition as used in this thesis does not mean that, as stated on page 28, "disaster prevails whenever there is disjunction between the personal expectations for emergency behavior and the community fulfillment of disaster services." The logical conclusion to this definition is reached on page 120, where the statement is made, "If the organization of roles and responsibilities are adequately defined in the pre-disaster period, the effects of tremendous destructive forces will be part of a general expectancy pattern for the organization and will merely elicit a routine functioning. Under these conditions a disaster cannot occur."

Insofar as elements of the physical environment are not objects of orientation for the actor, to this extent his orientation is not disrupted. Thus in a sense we might say that, "One man's disaster is another man's routine activity."

Emphasis must be placed upon the relation between the actor's orientation to physical objects and his total orientation. Beyond providing the means for the biological existence of the organism, the physical environment provides the cues whereby the actor is oriented to other actors. This, and the fact that death and injury remove relevant actors, accounts for the fact that unanticipated physical destruction results in disruption of the social structure. In the case of any army which can sustain enormous physical losses without disruption of the social system, the social system has been organized in anticipation of physical destruction.

Disaster may be viewed as the disruption of a sector of the total social system or from the perspective of a smaller system such as a community as almost complete disintegration. In light of these considerations, disaster relief has two aspects. On the one hand, the smaller social system of the community attempts to reconstitute itself as a functioning system. On the other hand, the larger social system takes action to re-establish smooth functioning of the larger system.

2. Levels of Discussion

Disaster relief can be discussed both on the level of the social system and on the level of the personality systems of the individual

actors. That is to say, the individual actor is motivated to reduce psychological tensions by helping people or by doing his job. At the same time, these actions have consequences for the social system. Indeed, the social system in general is enabled to function by means of these motivations.

On the level of the personality system of the individual actor, participation in a social system organized around disaster relief may represent either expressive or instrumental behavior. In the case of instrumental behavior, the behavior of the individual is patterned in terms of a primacy of affective-neutrality and conformance with universalistic standards of duty. Obligations to other actors are viewed as specific ones of providing medical care and rehabilitation. On the other hand, in the case of expressive behavior, the individual is motivated in terms of the immediate gratification derived from helping the victims. This implies a primacy of affectivity in patterning behavior. In both cases collectivity-orientation holds primacy over self-orientation, that is to say, private interests are to a large extent subordinated to interests of the collectivity.

D. Constitution of a New Social System

The focus of this thesis is the analysis of the coordination of various relief activities. This coordination may be viewed as an attempt to constitute a new social system. In the nature of the case, this may be expected to be a temporary system serving as a transition back to a state of more general equilibrium. This can be elaborated further in

terms of normative systems of behavior. A disaster has been defined as disruption of a social system. This means that a situation has arisen wherein normative patterns of behavior have been disrupted. The goal of disaster relief is the reconstitution of the previously existing behavior patterns. In the meantime, however, a new system of norms must be defined.

Stated more concretely, because a disaster entails the destruction of the physical environment and the death or injury of persons, the minimal prerequisites for carrying on the ordinary routine of life cannot be met. More than providing facilities by which people live, the physical environment provides a means whereby social interaction is oriented. That is to say, physical objects may also be cultural objects serving as symbols of value configurations. For example, a house has meaning as a symbol of the feelings of affection among family members, and its destruction has, hence, meaning beyond the destruction of a physical shelter. Role expectations are organized about the physical environment. Physical objects serve as cues for appropriate responses. In a disaster, people literally do not know what to do.

A new system of behavior must be constituted in terms of the changed physical situation. Action must be initiated to rebuild the physical environment so that the previously existing routine of life can be resumed. Those actors who were injured must be cared for until they can again fulfill their obligations as members of the social system, and the dead must be cared for with, if at all possible, appropriate ritual. The organization of action within the transitional social system which emerges

following the impact of the destructive agent may be looked at in the same terms as those used to analyze any functioning social system. A necessary unit of analysis in the social system framework is the role. Thus, in examining the constitution of the transitional social system we must look for both the persistence of old patterns of role relationships and the emergence of new ones.

In the empirical case, this means that at the scene of a disaster "organization" must take place. Authority must be given to or assumed by certain actors. In some manner this authority must be legitimized. Other actors must be assigned to various status-roles, such as police to direct traffic and prevent looting, rescue workers to aid victims, and still others to clear debris.

For any social system to function, a system of communication must be established. Establishing communication has two aspects, that of a common system of symbols and that of what may be termed actual physical communication. Facilities for communication must be present, and lines of communication must be established. Indeed, by implication, without communication between actors a social system does not exist. Actors must be cognizant of what other actors are doing, and the behavior of one actor must to some degree have the same meaning for other actors as it does for himself.

Not only facilities for communication, but other facilities as well must be available as the means whereby a social system is enabled to achieve the goals of its actors. In a disaster this means not only facilities for medical treatment, transportation, etc., but often things

usually assumed as given, such as water. As well as being available, facilities must be allocated to the various actors. Allocation of facilities has important implications for the structuring of power in a social system.

Parsons used Hobbes' definition of power as "a man's present means to any future good", adding the qualification "that such means constitute his power, so far as these means are dependent on his relations to other actors." The implications for the social system concerned with disaster relief are obvious. Those actors possessing the requisite facilities will possess power, despite the claims of other actors possessing authority legitimized by the larger social system. In our discussion of a given disaster, it will be seen that in the course of the power struggle in the newly constituted social system, the authority assumed by those actors possessing certain facilities was eventually legitimized by the larger society.

A further prerequisite for the functioning of a social system is the maintenance of its boundaries as distinct from the surrounding environment, that is, social actors who are not part of the social system being established must be kept out. In the case of a disaster, this poses a special problem. The network of status-roles is in the process of being established. Identification of actors as belonging or not belonging to the system is not clearcut. The particular status-role of sightseer is the source of much difficulty.

E. Summary

In summary, then, this chapter has described in general terms the theoretical scheme of the social system. Some of the more crucial concepts have been examined:

- (1) the action frame of reference
- (2) status-role
- (3) the differentiated systems
- (4) collectivity
- (5) association
- (6) pattern variables of value orientation
 - (a) affectivity -- affective-neutrality
 - (b) self-orientation -- collectivity-orientation
 - (c) universalism -- particularism
 - (d) ascription -- achievement
 - (e) diffuseness -- specificity
- (7) rational legal order
- (8) systemic elements of bureaucratic associations

Some of the crucial points have been set forth at which disaster and disaster relief activities can be shown to be related to the larger social system in which they obtain. And, finally, a theoretical framework has been laid down for the analysis of an empirical case of an attempt to constitute a transitional social system concerned with disaster relief.

Chapter II

DISASTER ACTIVITY AND THE PROCEDURE OF ANALYSIS

This chapter will set forth the procedure of analysis used in examining the behavior of actors engaged in disaster relief activities. An attempt will be made to verify empirically the relationship between certain structural categories and behavior in a disaster situation.

The analysis of the activities of the members of the five associations with which we are dealing will proceed as follows:

- A. The systemic elements of the associations will be examined. Following Weber's characterization of the systemic typological elements of a bureaucracy, the systemic elements of each association will be set forth.
- B. The systemic elements of the various associations will be compared. These will be treated in part in terms of deviation from those characteristic of the typological bureaucracy.
- C. The logically derived typological value orientations will be examined. The value orientations of the status-role of member of an association are structured by the systemic elements of that association. Accordingly it is possible to derive the typological value orientations of members of an association by logical deduction from the systemic elements.
- D. The typological value orientations of the members of the various associations will be compared.

- E. Differential disaster impact will be ascertained. The extent to which the actor perceives disaster is dependent upon the extent to which the actor is oriented toward the physical objects which have been destroyed. Hence the extent to which the destroyed physical environment holds meaning for the actor will in part determine his definition of the situation.
- F. Actual disaster behavior will be outlined and from this will be abstracted actual value orientations. Behavior is a function (in the mathematical sense) of the value orientation of an actor as well as other variables. Consequently variations in behavior of actors holding similar value orientations must be attributed to other variables in the situation. Conformance of actual value orientations with hypothetical value orientations will not be treated as problematical. Only deviation of actual orientations from hypothesized value orientations will be treated as problematical.

Methods and Techniques

The data for this study were gathered by a research team under the direction of William H. Form, Gregory P. Stone, and Charles M. Westie. The principal method of investigation was the use of intensive interview schedules. Two interview schedules were used, one administered to members of associations and the other to individuals not attached to associations. These are presented in Appendices A and B. In addition, members of the research team compiled extensive field notes of direct observations made during the course of the investigation.

The second day following the tornado, June 10, 1953, informal interviews were conducted in the area for the purpose of formulating problems to be dealt with in the schedule. Pre-test schedules were designed, and twenty interviews were collected June 13-14. In the following three weeks 112 interviews were conducted with individuals not attached to associations. Interviewing members of associations continued until July 23, when 87 had been collected. In addition, fifteen tape recorded interviews were collected.

These interview schedules were constructed around six foci of investigation: (1) evaluation of organized rescue operations, (2) the emergence and persistence of spontaneous rescue groupings, (3) the pattern of relationships between spontaneous and formally-constituted rescue groupings, (4) role conflicts among members of spontaneous and formally-constituted rescue groups, (5) the impact of the tornado on community solidarity, and (6) social stratification aspects of rescue and rehabilitation.

The design for this thesis grew out of working with the data. Originally the thesis was intended to be a study of changes in organizational structure which had occurred as a result of the disaster. During October, 1954, the author obtained re-interviews with members of the several associations with this purpose in mind. It soon became apparent, however, that changes in organizational structure could not be studied without a base line. The development of this base line grew into the present thesis.

The first step was the examination of organizational structure. This was obtained in part from materials published by the organizations and in part from interviews. From this followed the expected value orientations.

Actual behavior of individual members was obtained from the interviews. For each organization a list was compiled of the things which members of that organization reported that they did. These activities tended to fall into a pattern for each organization. It is this pattern which is used, not the actions of any one individual.

The value orientations for each individual association member were abstracted from the interviews. Each interview was judged for each of the five value-orientations in terms of the criteria defined by Parsons.¹ For example, if the individual reported that he enjoyed helping people he was judged affective. If he was ordered into the area by a superior he was judged affectively neutral. If he reported that he took care of victims he was judged universalistic, victims being a class of objects. If he discussed in detail how he helped his brother or his neighbor, he was judged particularistic. Again, the value orientations for the members of any one organization tended to fall into a pattern.

With the categorizations thus obtained, the analysis was then carried out.

¹ Talcott Parsons, The Social System, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1951, Chapter II. Cf. also Talcott Parsons and Edward Shils, ed., Toward a General Theory of Action, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1954, Part 2.

Chapter III

THE ELEMENTS OF THE SITUATION

This chapter will set forth the systemic elements of five associations, the Michigan State Police, National Red Cross disaster workers, the Genessee Chapter of the Red Cross, the Salvation Army, and the Beecher Volunteer Fire Department. These systemic elements will then be compared. It is hypothesized that differences in the behavior of members of these associations is related to differences in the systemic elements of the associations.

The systemic elements are derived in large part from those set forth by Weber in his typological treatment of a bureaucracy, as outlined in Chapter I. Other elements have been derived from the data. An examination of the data seems to indicate that differences in recruiting and training of members have significance for their behavior and value orientations. It was also deemed important to examine the routine activities and physical facilities, as well as the relationship of each association to Beecher Community. This latter has implications for the impact of the disaster upon the association.

A. An Examination of the Systemic Elements of the Associations

1. Formal Organizational Structure

a. Hierarchy and authority. The State Police is organized as a hierarchical system of roles, each allocated certain specific authority.

Each of these roles has a title, and members wear distinctive types of clothing (uniforms) which are indicative of the role occupied. Prestige within the association accrues from the role held.¹ The duties of each role are differentiated and defined, that is, the administrative officer has specified duties which differ from the duties of an ordinary trooper.

The Salvation Army is organized as a hierarchical system of roles, each allocated specific authority. Each role has a title, and members wear distinctive types of clothing (uniforms) which are indicative of the role occupied. Because of the ideology of the association, high esteem is accorded to those individuals who most conform to the ideals held by the group, ideals of hard work, dedication, unselfishness and the like. The duties of a member of the Salvation Army are of a diffuse nature. The duties of each role are not specified, and the highest ranking officer may engage in the same activities as the lowest rank.²

The National Red Cross is organized as a system of hierarchical roles each allocated specific authority. Each role has a title, but members do not wear distinctive clothing or other symbols to indicate the role occupied. Prestige within the organization accrues from the role held. The duties of each role are highly specific, e.g., some members do nothing but social case work.

¹ Prestige is to be differentiated from esteem. Prestige attaches to the office, or status-role, whereas esteem attaches to the person. Cf. Kingsley Davis.

² Salvation Army in Michigan, Inventory of Church Archives of Michigan, the Michigan Historical Records Survey, 1942.

The local chapter of the Red Cross has a great number of differentiated roles, each having a title, but these are not arranged in a hierarchical system. Little authority is delegated to the various roles, and little imperative control exists. Prestige accrues from other roles held by each member, that is, within the organization a hierarchy of prestige exists based on the prestige derived from roles occupied in the community. The duties of each role are specific and differentiated from each other, for example, first aid instructors teach and administer first aid, Grey Ladies work in hospitals, etc.

The Beecher fire department is a system of relatively undifferentiated roles. Limited authority is delegated to the role of fire chief. The occupant of this role is elected by the other members. Obviously, in order to be elected the actor must be held in esteem by the other actors; hence his authority is based on personal influence as well as the office which he formally occupies. Esteem in the association derives from informal interaction among members, that is, esteem is based upon personal attributes of varying kinds. Although no differentiation exists among members of the association, the role of fireman has highly specific duties. When the siren blows, the firemen are expected to go to the firehouse, get the fire truck, and proceed to the scene of the fire to put it out. Interestingly enough, one other role is expected to take precedence for the actor over his role as fireman, and that is his occupational role. A fireman is "on call" at any time other than when he is at work.

b. Coercive sanctions. The extent to which coercive sanctions can be applied to a member of an association depends upon the nature of the association as well as the degree to which the status-role of association member is central to the total bundle of status-roles occupied by the actor.

Members of the State Police are subject to a high degree of coercive sanctions. Not only do they have an economic contract with the association which can be broken if they do not fulfill their duties, i.e., they can be fired, but punitive measures can be levied against them for not fulfilling their duty.

Members of the Salvation Army are subject to a medium degree of coercive sanction. Members failing to fulfill their duty can be expelled from membership, but punitive measures cannot be invoked.

National Red Cross workers hold a strictly economic contract with the association. Failure to fulfill the duties of the office may result in termination of the contract. No punitive measure beyond this may be invoked.

Members of the local Red Cross chapter are voluntary members of the association holding no contract. The only sanctions which may be invoked are informal, the only penalty which may be imposed the withdrawal of benefits accruing from the membership.

Offices in the Beecher fire department are filled by persons who voluntarily offer their personal services. Only informal sanctions may be invoked if members fail to fulfill their duties. However, these informal sanctions may be expected to be of considerable importance in constraining the member to perform the duties associated with his office.

c. Proliferation of rules and relation to other collectivities. Associations vary in terms of (1) the extent to which they operate within a proliferation of associational rules, (2) ideological and religious standards, and (3) the larger collectivity to which these standards are related and within which they are legitimized.

The activities of the Michigan State Police are carried on amidst a proliferation of formal, written rules. In a concrete action situation the member of the State Police is morally constrained to conform to a written formal rule of the association covering that situation. The value standards within which they operate are embodied in the laws of the State of Michigan and are established as legitimate within the institution of the state.

Both national workers and members of the local chapter operate within a framework of rules established by the American Red Cross. These are formal, written rules which constrain the member to act in a specified way in a specified situation. The Red Cross subscribes to generalized humanistic value standards. These are legitimized by federal, state and local governmental units.

Members of the Salvation Army operate within a minimal framework of rules. Rules of the association place broad limits upon the kind of action which can be carried on by members, but within these limits action is governed largely in terms of the ideological standards held by the members. The member of the Salvation Army is constrained to act in conformity with the rules of the association. These standards are established as legitimate within the framework of the religious association of the Salvation Army.

Action in the Beecher fire department is governed in large part by unwritten informal rules. The association is organized under a body of formal, written rules, but these do not relate in detail the operations of the association. The ideological standards of the association are not clearly formulated but in general encompass the ideal of fighting fires. These standards are legitimized by the Beecher community and the local township government, as well as by the Civil Defense Mutual Aid System.

d. The training process. New members of the State Police are subjected to intensive disciplinary instruction. Recruits live together in barracks and are subjected to a rigorous military-type routine. Besides the courses of instruction in police skills, it is obvious that, in an analytical sense, the function of the training period is the internalization by the recruit of the value orientation of the State Police trooper. As the actor performs the duties of the status-role he comes to internalize the appropriate value orientations as well as learn the skills connected with the office.

Weber defines discipline as "the probability that by virtue of habituation a command will receive prompt and automatic obedience in stereotyped forms."³ Stretching this definition further, it might be said that the State Police trooper is disciplined to respond to any unanticipated situation in the appropriate manner, i.e., without panic. This discipline is necessary in view of the functions of the State Police, that is, keep-order in various kinds of crises.

³ Weber, op. cit., p. 152.

Officers of the Salvation Army attend officers training school before going on active duty. Recruits live together, and as with any training program part of the function is that of indoctrination of the recruit with the value orientations appropriate to a member of the association. One part of the course of instruction consists in training in disaster relief.

Members of the National Red Cross are hired on the basis of technical training which they have already received. Little additional training is given by the Red Cross. However, members are highly trained professionals who presumably have internalized the value orientations of their professional roles. The greatest number of members of the National Red Cross are trained as social workers. They have learned routine techniques of social work which they apply in the disaster situation.

Although members of the local chapter of the Red Cross are given training in special skills, such as first aid, no formal training process takes place. Training and skills of members vary considerably. The most common kind of training for disaster participation consists of attendance at discussion groups.

An informal training process takes place in the Beecher fire department. Members meet weekly for drill, and a new member is supposed to learn what to do by watching what the old members do. He also receives some verbal instruction. Members receive some training and possess some skill in fire fighting. Some members have received specialized training in fire fighting in such institutions as the navy or courses given by Michigan State University. Knowledge received in this way by one member is communicated to the group.

e. Methods of recruitment of members. For several reasons not relevant here, the status-role of State Police trooper is considered highly desirable by many actors, so that a surplus of available recruits exists. Because of the availability of recruits, the association can enforce rigid qualification requirements, such as minimum requirements of height, weight, physical and mental fitness, as well as being male within certain age limits. During the training course, a process of selection on the basis of performance continues.

Applicants for jobs with the National Red Cross must meet certain qualifications of technical training in skills needed by the association. Because the nature of the duties of most status-roles are technical, if qualified personnel are not available, the status-roles would not be filled.

Prerequisite for membership in the Salvation Army is belief in the ideological system. However, in order to become officers, members must be able to perform in the necessary manner to pass the training course. The burden of recruitment is on the organization, that is, one of the purposes held by members of the association is conversion of persons to belief in their particular system of religious values. Thus the association is constantly attempting to expand.

There is ample reason to believe that membership in the local chapter of the Red Cross, other than certain offices which are remunerated, tends to be allocated on the basis of social rank in the community, for membership without financial remuneration is considered prestigious in the community. However, membership does not carry so much prestige that enough available personnel exists to fill the formal offices in the asso

ciation. Hence rigid exclusion of applicants on any other basis than social rank cannot be practiced. Indeed, personnel are recruited who seem to be little competent and little interested in fulfilling the duties of the status-roles.

In general, recruitment for the Beecher volunteer fire department is carried on in an informal manner. Applicants must be male and able-bodied, but no other significant qualifications are necessary for membership, except residence in the area.

2. Routine Activities

All associations carry on routine, day-to-day activities. It will be useful for the purposes of this study to differentiate between associations on the basis of the extent to which these routine activities concern disaster. Obviously, those associations which do not routinely deal with disaster differ in the experience members have had with disaster.

The principal activities in which National Red Cross workers engage are directly connected with disaster relief. In general, these activities are of a nature similar to those carried on in the disaster under discussion in this thesis. Mainly they consist in providing temporary facilities for victims and helping in rehabilitation of disaster victims. These activities are carried on in complex cooperative interaction.

The daily routine of the State Police consists of policing. The kinds of activities engaged in should be sufficiently well known so as to obviate discussion here. Obviously, contending with numerous minor disturbances and accidents is a part of the routine of the State Police

trooper, and familiarity with handling large crowds of people under often disorderly conditions is common. These activities are usually carried on singly or in pairs, although working in groups is not uncommon in some situations.

Members of a fire department deal with a specific type of disaster, fire. Aside from the weekly drill, members of the Beecher fire department carry on activities only in case of fire. When the fire siren blows, members who are in the vicinity assemble at the fire house and go out as a group to put out the fire. When this is accomplished, they disassemble. In terms of later discussion, it is important to note that these routine activities are always carried out as group activities.

The routine activities of the Salvation Army consist in general of welfare work. They run a hall where itinerant men may sleep and get meals. They do case work with families who come to their attention and refer them to the proper public welfare agencies. Further, they serve as clergy in the association, engaging in what must be termed missionary work. In time of disaster they provide emergency relief for victims and coffee and doughnuts for rescue workers. They also attempt to minister to the spiritual needs of victims of crisis and disaster. These activities are carried on both singly and in groups.

The routine activities of the local Red Cross chapter are numerous. They engage in such activities as attending and teaching classes in first aid, Grey Lady work in hospitals, and welfare work among the families of those in the armed services. They also periodically engage in discussion groups and classes concerned with participation in disaster relief. For

example, at the time of the Beecher disaster, the canteen committee had just completed attending a series of lectures on how to set up a canteen in disaster. These activities are for the most part carried on in groups, with the exception of the first aid instructors, who ordinarily work singly.

3. Physical Facilities

Any association has available a minimum of physical facilities in order to exist as an association. The differential allocation of these facilities is directly related to the differential power possessed by each association vis-a-vis the state and the people, (other actors). Possession of facilities is in itself power, and at the same time possession of power enables the association to obtain more facilities. In any given social system, however, there are defined legitimate ways of obtaining facilities, hence power, without necessarily possessing power in the first instance.

As an agency of the governmental institution of the state of Michigan, the State Police possess a large amount of facilities, such as cars and radio communications systems, useful for the purpose of establishing imperative control in an area. Furthermore, they have both the authority and power to commandeer facilities needed in an emergency. As elaborated below, the power to commandeer facilities enabled the State Police in the disaster situation to establish authority in the area.

The National Red Cross possesses a relatively large amount of money whereby it is enabled to carry on its activities. It is officially recognized by the national government as a disaster relief agency and informally recognized by a large proportion of the population. These are the means

used by the Red Cross to move directly into a disaster area and ordinarily gain the cooperation of others working in the area, as well as local governmental authority.

The above comments on the National Red Cross apply also to the local chapter, for both are part of the larger association. The local chapter possesses stores of emergency food supplies and medical supplies. They also have contracts with merchants to furnish supplies of necessities.

The Salvation Army possesses relatively few facilities. This is both cause and effect of the lack of power this association possess vis-a-vis the larger society. The association possesses no store of emergency supplies, nor does it possess a nation-wide network of specially trained disaster workers. Most important of all, it possesses relatively little money.

4. Relationship to Beecher Community

As discussed in the first chapter, insofar as elements of the physical environment are not objects of orientation for the actor, to this extent his orientation is not disrupted. Hence in this instance, when the physical environment destroyed was a large area of Beecher community, the extent to which the actor's orientation is disrupted is dependent in large measure upon the extent to which the actor is related to Beecher community, that is, the extent to which Beecher community is an object of orientation for the actor.

The State Police are organized on a state-wide basis. Some of the personnel engaged in disaster activities were stationed in the Flint area and others came from all over the lower part of the state. Those sta-

tioned in the Flint area also reside in the Flint area, but none of them lived in the Beecher community.

National Red Cross workers have no local affiliations. The association is organized on a nation-wide basis, and workers are recruited from all over the country.

The Salvation Army regards as its territory the Flint metropolitan area, of which Beecher is a part. That is to say, residents of Beecher fall within the area serviced by the Flint Corps of the Salvation Army. Although officers reside in Flint they consider themselves to some extent transients because they are subject to transfer by the national organization.

As residents of Genesee County, residents of Beecher district live within the area served by the Genesee County Chapter of the Red Cross. The Red Cross provides classes in first aid for the Beecher fire department. Some of the supplies distributed by the Beecher fire department during the disaster relief operations were furnished by the local Red Cross.

The Beecher fire department is of course local to the Beecher area. Members live in the area, and indeed eight members of the fire department (one-fourth of the total membership) lost their homes in the disaster.

B. Comparison of the Systemic Elements of the Associations

The National Red Cross, the State Police and the Salvation Army approach Weber's typological bureaucracy, whereas the local Red Cross and the Beecher fire department do not. All five associations, however, are

based on a belief in rational-legal authority.

- (1) There exists a clearly defined hierarchy of offices, or roles.

This is true of the national Red Cross, the State Police and the Salvation Army.

- (2) Members of the association are subject to authority only in respect to the impersonal obligations pertaining to the office.

This is true of all five of the associations, inasmuch as authority in each is based on rational-legal grounds.

- (3) Each office or role has a clearly defined sphere of activity and authority. This is true of the National Red Cross, the State Police, the local Red Cross, the Beecher fire department. This is not true of the Salvation Army.

- (4) The role is filled by a free contractual relationship. This is true of all five associations.

- (5) Roles are initially allocated on the basis of achievement. This is true of the national Red Cross and State Police. This is not true of the Salvation Army, local Red Cross, nor Beecher fire department.

- (6) Members of the association are remunerated by fixed salaries in money. This is true of the National Red Cross, State Police, and Salvation Army. Members of the local Red Cross and Beecher fire department do not receive remuneration.

- (7) The office is treated as the sole, or at least the primary, occupation of the incumbent. This is true for the National Red Cross, the State Police, and the Salvation Army. For the local Red Cross and Beecher fire department, the role is peripheral.

- (8) Membership in the association constitutes a career. This is true for the National Red Cross, the State Police, and the Salvation Army. This is not true for the local Red Cross and the Beecher fire department.
- (9) The bureaucrat is subject to strict and systematic discipline and control in the conduct of the office. The member of the State Police is subject to high coercive discipline. Members of the National Red Cross and Salvation Army are subject to medium coercive discipline. Members of the local Red Cross and the Beecher fire department are subject to low coercive discipline.

Besides the elements listed by Weber, certain other organizational aspects seem to be related to differing value orientations. The State Police, National Red Cross, and local Red Cross operate in terms of a proliferation of associational rules and regulations. Although members of the Salvation Army operate within a framework of associational rules, they are constrained to act in conformity with religious standards, even if this entails nonconformity with rules of the association. Members of the Beecher fire department operate to a large extent within a framework of informal, unwritten rules.

During the training process the new member of the State Police is subject to intensive discipline. Hence it might be expected that the State Police trooper would have internalized most thoroughly the value orientations appropriate to the status-role. Members of the Salvation Army also go through a training process which might be expected to result

in a high degree of internalization of the appropriate value orientations. Members of the National Red Cross do not go through a formal training process as new members of the association, but they are expected to have internalized appropriate value orientations in connection with professional training. Members of the local Red Cross and Beecher fire department undergo training in certain techniques of operation, but this training is not intended to inculcate the appropriate value orientations. Inculcation of the appropriate value orientations occurs informally.

CHAPTER IV
AN EXAMINATION OF THE TYPOLOGICAL ORIENTATIONS OF
THE ROLE OF ASSOCIATION MEMBER TOWARD THE VICTIM

From the data available it is possible to abstract a typology of patterning of value orientations for the role of member of an association toward the role of victim.

Toward a victim, the role patterning of the member of the State Police is expected to be oriented in terms of universalism, affective-neutrality, and specificity. That is to say, the victim is to be treated as one of a class of objects. Further, an actor is ascribed the status-role of victim, that is, being a victim is considered to be an attribute of the actor rather than something he achieves by performance. The victim is to be treated in accordance with a set of established rules, and the limits of the obligations of the State Police trooper toward him are defined. The State Police trooper is expected to be collectivity-oriented both to the association and to the larger collectivity of the people of the state of Michigan. This collectivity-orientation is expected even when the trooper is off-duty, such that in any role-conflict situation, the interests of the larger collectivity are expected to take precedence over his private interests. Not only is this patterning of value orientations expected on the part of the State Police member, but were he to deviate from the ideal expectancies he would be subject to punitive measures on the part of the association.

The value orientations of the status-role of National Red Cross worker are ideally expected to be universalism, specificity and affective-neutrality. Although in part ascribed, the status-role of victim is considered by the Red Cross worker primarily to be a performance on the part of the victim, that is, an actor cannot occupy the status-role of victim until he has duly registered with the Red Cross.¹ The Red Cross worker is expected to be collectivity-oriented toward the association during the time he is occupying the status-role.

The role expectancies of Salvation Army officer are patterned in terms of universalism, diffuseness and affectivity. That is to say, victims are to be treated as a class of objects in terms of a dual set of universalistic standards, the rules of the association and the religious standards. The status-role of victim is ascribed to the actor. The obligations of the Salvation Army officer are not defined in specific terms but rather in such broad terms as "helping". In the interaction of Salvation Army officer with victim, that is, when the Salvation Army officer helps the victim, he is oriented toward the immediate gratification which such activity provides. The Salvation Army officer is expected to be collectivity-oriented toward the association and toward the larger collectivity of humanity. Ideally, at any time the Salvation Army officer, in case of a role-conflict situation, is expected to put the interests

¹ Those actors not capable of registering are not officially considered as victims. For example, a corpse is not a victim, but the role of victim is achieved by the survivor responsible for disposing of the corpse.

of humanity above his own interests. Further, he is expected to put these interests ahead of the interests of the association. Although no punitive measures can be enforced by the association formally, a great many informal sanctions can be brought to bear by other members of the association.

Toward a victim the ideal type of orientation of the local Red Cross member is expected to be in terms of universalism, specificity, and affectivity. Membership in the association is considered a "hobby" and "helping" people is direct gratification of an impulse. A victim is to be treated as one of a class of objects in accordance with rules of the association. The role of victim is ascribed to an actor. The obligations of local Red Cross member to victim are clearly defined. In interaction with victim, the local Red Cross member is primarily oriented toward the immediate gratification which such activity provides. The local Red Cross member is expected to be collectivity-oriented toward the local chapter, the national organization, and the larger collectivity of humanity.

The typological role-expectation of a fireman is characterized by universalism, affective-neutrality, and specificity. The status-role of victim is ascribed to an actor. When occupying his role as fireman the actor is expected to act in the interests of the association rather than in his private interests, that is to say, he is expected to be collectivity-oriented. This collectivity-orientation is expected to the extent that he may lose his life in performing his duties. The duties of a fireman are specific in terms of fighting fires and engaging in rescue ac-

tivities associated with fire fighting. His duties are relatively well defined and limited to specific contexts. Victims are to be treated as a class of objects. In interaction with victims the fireman is primarily oriented toward the attainment of a future goal, that of putting out the fire.

A. Comparison of the Typological Value Orientations of the Members
of the Various Associations

The status-role of member of a formal organization is by definition patterned in terms of universalistic standards, the written, formal rules of the association. In this particular case, the orientation of the status-role of member of disaster relief association toward the status-role of victim, the orientation of the former is toward a class of objects, namely, victims, any actor defined in this class of objects to be treated in the same manner. The rules of the association define who is to be included in this class of objects and prescribe the treatment to be accorded any member of this class of objects.

Because of the ideology of the Salvation Army, actors occupying the status-role of Salvation Army member are further constrained by another set of universalistic standards, the religious ideology of the association. The actor occupying the status-role of Salvation Army member ideally perceives of himself as occupying a generalized role of Christian. For an actor occupying the status-role of Christian, all other actors are expected to occupy the status-role of child of God and to be treated in accordance with prescribed standards.

Status-roles in the National Red Cross, State Police, and Beecher fire department are primarily oriented in terms of affective-neutrality, that is, they are oriented toward the achievement of some future goal. Status-roles in the Salvation Army and the local Red Cross, on the other hand, are primarily oriented in terms of affectivity, that is, they are oriented toward the immediate gratification which their activities provide.

Role expectations for members of the National Red Cross, the State Police, the local Red Cross and the Beecher fire department are oriented in terms of specificity. That is, the orientation of these status-roles toward the status-role of victim are specifically defined. The status-role of member of these associations has clearly defined obligations toward the status-role of victim, no more and no less. For the status-role of Salvation Army member, however, the orientation toward status-role of victim is in terms of diffuseness. That is, the obligations of the status-role of Salvation Army member toward status-role of victim are not defined, except in vague terms such as "helping the victim."

The status-role of member of each of the five associations is expected to be collectivity-oriented when acting in the status-role of association member. However, as a consequence of the peripheral nature of the status-role of local Red Cross member or Beecher fireman, it would be expected that in a case of conflict between private interests and interests of the collectivity, that the actor would perceive of himself as acting in some other status-role.

The pattern variable pair of achievement vs. ascription is concerned with how the occupant of a given status-role is oriented toward the actor holding the reciprocal status-role, that is, is the former interested in the attributes of the latter or the performance. In this instance, does the occupant of the status-role of member of disaster relief agency perceive the status-role of victim as ascribed or achieved. In general, the former is oriented toward the latter in ascription terms. However, the status-role of Red Cross worker tends to be oriented toward the victim in achievement terms, that is, an actor does not merely possess or not possess the attribute of being a victim, but is placed on a continuum of need. In this connection may be pointed out the usefulness of the conceptual scheme which conceives of an actor as a bundle of status-roles. In this instance one of the status-roles occupied by the actor is that of Red Cross worker. As a person the Red Cross worker recognizes that an actor wandering around in a devastated condition is a disaster victim. Insofar as one is acting as Red Cross worker, however, another cannot be recognized as occupying the status-role of victim until this actor has achieved the status-role of victim by registering with the Red Cross. Further, in a situation where any action on the part of the Red Cross worker will be construed by other actors as an official action of the Red Cross, the Red Cross worker is constrained from acting in other than the interests of the association. It may also be pointed out that when the association is functioning in an emergency situation, when the role of victim of necessity must be ascribed to the actor, a separate branch of the association is formed, i.e., the local Red Cross chapter.

The above typological value orientations have been summarized in Table I.

B. Differential Disaster Impact

For members of the four associations who initiated operations immediately following the tornado, a certain level of disaster impact was common. The physical setting had not only been disrupted but completely devastated. This complete devastation should not be overlooked as a factor in the behavior and value orientation of the actors. The area was in total darkness and communication facilities were drastically reduced. Literally almost no physical objects of orientation existed.

For members of the local Red Cross, State Police and Salvation Army, the devastation was in a sense impersonal. Their perception of the situation was that this was an extremely difficult physical setting for carrying out their tasks. For members of the Beecher fire department, however, the devastation meant much more. For one-fourth of the members, their homes and families had been destroyed. For other members, the homes and families of close friends and associates had been destroyed. Thus their orientation to the physical objects destroyed was much more central to their whole structure of value orientations. Further, this was also for them the disruption of a social system within which much of their daily activity occurred, the community.

Members of the National Red Cross did not arrive on the scene until some physical objects of orientation had been constructed, that is, the police had set up headquarters, and the work of clearing debris had begun.

TABLE I
 TYPOLOGICAL VALUE ORIENTATION OF THE ROLE OF ASSOCIATION MEMBER TOWARD THE ROLE OF VICTIM

State Police	Beecher Fire Dept.	Local Red Cross	National Red Cross	Salvation Army
universalism	universalism	universalism	universalism	universalism
affective- neutrality	affective- neutrality	affectivity	affective- neutrality	affectivity
specificity	specificity	specificity	specificity	diffuseness
ascription	ascription	ascription	achievement	ascription
collectivity- orientation to association and people of state	collectivity- orientation to association	collectivity- orientation to local chapter, national organization and humanity	collectivity- orientation to association	collectivity- orientation to association and humanity

Furthermore, for these Red Cross workers a scene of devastation was normal, for in one sense they see little else. Indeed, lack of physical destruction would soon disrupt their social system.

CHAPTER V
AN EXAMINATION OF BEHAVIOR AND VALUE ORIENTATIONS
MANIFESTED DURING THE DISASTER

This chapter will deal with the behavior and value orientations which were manifested in the disaster situation. The previous discussion has been concerned with the value orientations which might ideally be expected of various actors as members of associations. Following the description of manifested behavior and value orientations, further discussion will be concerned with the discrepancies between the former and that which might be ideally expected.

A close examination of the data quite clearly indicates that in terms of the way relief activities were organized, three distinct stages occurred.¹ These stages will be called, respectively, the period of spontaneous informally organized rescue work, the period of formally organized rescue work, and the period of rehabilitation. Stage I, that of spontaneous informally organized rescue work, occurred between the time of the impact, 8:29 P.M. Monday, and approximately 11:00 P.M. During this time rescue

¹ See Appendix B for schedule questions. The activities of each individual association member were separated into time intervals, e.g., arrived in area at 9:10, searched in debris for victims until 11:30, worked with canteen until Tuesday morning. After the three stages began to emerge, the activities of the members of each association were listed in three columns corresponding to the three stages. The generalizations about association activity do not include every activity of every member.

work was carried on by small groups of informally organized private individuals. Stage II, that of formally organized rescue work, occurred between approximately 11:00 P.M. and daylight Tuesday morning. At approximately 11:00 P.M. the Michigan State Police set up a command headquarters in the area, and rescue work was carried out under their direction. Stage III, that of rehabilitation, began after daylight Tuesday morning. Emergency rescue work had been complete, and further activities were concerned with rehabilitation. Daylight is chosen as the cutting point, for at this time a final search of the area was made to make certain that no more injured were still buried in the debris.

The immediate rescue work of Stage I was in large part carried out by residents of Beecher community. The tornado destroyed a narrow swath through the center of the community. People living on either side of this destroyed swath immediately rushed to the aid of those in the path of impact. By the time formal organizations had mobilized, approximately two-thirds of the injured already had been dug out of the debris and removed to hospitals. It is clear that these spontaneous rescue activities performed by friends, neighbors, and relatives residing immediately adjacent to the devastated area were of crucial significance to the relief operations. It seems very likely that had these activities not been performed the loss of life resulting from injury and exposure would have been considerably greater.

An examination of the interviews with persons who engaged in these early spontaneous rescue activities tends to show rather clearly that these persons' actions were prompted in part out of feelings of personal

ties to the victims. That is, the victims were thought of as personal friends, neighbors, or relatives. A high degree of emotional involvement in the situation was also clearly manifested by these rescue workers. That is, the outcome of their efforts to rescue victims was of great personal concern to these rescuers.

The relationships in which these rescuers stood to the victims, and the concern shown over the outcome of their actions leads to the classification of these rescue workers' value orientations in this situation as follows. A particularistic value orientation seems to have prevailed over a universalistic one. Their actions were generally classifiable as showing an affective orientation prevailing over affective-neutrality. Moreover, toward these victims they felt diffuse obligations. That is to say, not only did these rescue workers seek to get medical aid for victims, but they kept uninjured survivors in their homes, helped them find relatives, took care of uninjured children for injured parents, and in general felt obligated "to help in any way they could." And, finally, they were collectivity-oriented toward the community.

In connection with performance of spontaneous and directed relief activities it seems important to note that in addition to the operations carried on by individuals who were friends, neighbors and kin of the victims, numerous other persons not standing in any known particularistic relationship to the victims also engaged in spontaneous relief activities. That is, persons living in other parts of the city, casual passers-by, etc., joined in the rescue operations without knowing the victims, and without being ordered to do so.

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The apparently considerable extent to which "outsiders" voluntarily came to the rescue of victims and engaged in later phases of disaster relief brings into focus the importance of widely shared value standards which prompt persons to perform acts of aid. That there is consistently manifested a pattern of aid of this kind in American culture hardly needs documenting. The important point is that such value standards are universalistic type standards. The casual passer-by aids the victim because for various subjective motives he feels compelled to help. He doesn't refrain from acting because the victim is neither friend nor kinsman -- on the contrary, it makes no difference who the victim may be.

It is considered of great importance to note here this culture pattern since so much of the relief operations depended upon the work of spontaneous and voluntary relief workers. Of all the generalizable features of disaster relief operations the spontaneous emergence of the volunteer worker is probably the most sure generalization which can be made.

Within half an hour after the impact the Michigan State Police had established in the area what Weber calls "imperative control."² The

² Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organizations, Trans. by A.M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons, New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1947, pp. 152-53. Weber defines imperative control as "the probability that a command with a given specific content will be obeyed by a given group of persons." Weber goes on to say that, "The existence of imperative control turns on the actual presence of one person successfully issuing orders to others; it does not necessarily imply either the existence of an administrative staff, or, for that matter, of a corporate group. It is, however, uncommon to find it not associated with at least one of these."

basis of this imperative control was the recognition by other actors of the legitimacy of the actions of the State Police trooper. In other words, although the State Police did not legally possess authority, they were believed by other actors to be acting legitimately. In the words of one respondent, "The State Police and the National Guard were in uniform and we looked to them every day as authority, more the State Police than the National Guard, and they were organized with their radio and so forth."

Further, in a highly disorganized situation, other actors believed the State Police to be acting in accordance with a plan of operations. As one respondent put it, "At least they had the equipment to work with, they had a plan, and they carried it out. With some of the other organizations there might have been quite a lot of milling around. But they had a specific job and were assigned those and they carried them out." The idea that the State Police were acting in accordance with a plan of operations was highly exaggerated, for although the State Police did have a plan of operations for disaster, they did not follow this in the Beecher disaster.³ Their first operations were carried out independently by individual members of the organization, and only later did a complex system of cooperative interaction emerge.

Stage II, that of formally organized rescue work, has been defined as that period when rescue operations were directed by the State Police. The initial imperative control established by the State Police was fur-

³ This statement is made on the basis of interviews with officers of the Michigan State Police.

ther strengthened by their possession of power, as explained below, and established as semi-legitimate. This authority was fully legitimized by the larger society months after the event.⁴ At the time of the disaster, legitimate authority in the area was claimed by the county sheriff's office.

The power of the State Police rested in part in its possession of certain facilities crucial to the rescue operations. The State Police set up their headquarters in a small store still standing in the center of the disaster area. Telephone facilities and lighting were made available by the utility companies, cooperating with the State Police on an informal basis. Subsequently it developed that this was the only available building in the area. Thus the State Police had a monopoly over the facilities necessary for establishing authority.

Furthermore, the State Police possessed not only the physical facilities for communication with other social systems outside the area, but they possessed channels of communication with other important organizations. Through the State Police headquarters at East Lansing they were enabled to mobilize facilities, including personnel, from all over the state.

And, finally, the State Police exercised control over boundary maintenance activities. By putting a guard around the area and limiting ingress and egress, the State Police defined the territory of the emerging social system of disaster relief.

⁴ Six months after the tornado the state legislature passed a law giving the State Police complete authority in any area designated by the governor as a Disaster Area.

This has been a discussion of the associational activities of the Michigan State Police. The discussion of the behavior and value orientations manifested by individual members will be included in the discussion below.

Behavior and Value Orientations Manifested

By Members of Associations

1. Michigan State Police

A State Police trooper and an officer arrived at the scene within ten minutes after the impact in response to an accident report. Perceiving to a limited extent the seriousness of the situation, they radioed for more squad cars to be sent to the area. Their immediate perception of need was that the roads must be cleared to allow ambulances and cars bearing injured to get through to the hospitals. To this end they began to clear logs out of the road and direct traffic. Thus they performed in accordance with the ordinary expectancies of their job.

The State Police were engaging in instrumental behavior. Their activity was not concerned with the immediate gratification derived from "helping people" but was means-ends oriented. In Stage I their goal was getting victims to hospitals, and this they facilitated in accordance with the expectancies of their roles. As the roads were cleared and more personnel became available, they directed search parties which systematically combed the area looking for injured.

During Stage I the State Police officer was oriented toward the victim in terms of universalism, specificity, and affective-neutrality.

Actors were ascribed the status-role of victim and treated as a class of objects. The obligations of the State Police officer toward the victim were specific, that of removing him from the area and obtaining medical aid. State Police were oriented toward the future goal of establishing order, rather than toward the immediate gratification of engaging in relief activities.

As larger numbers of State Police personnel were sent into the area, the need for coordination of their activities became apparent. A high ranking officer was sent from the East Lansing headquarters to set up a field headquarters in the area. With the setting up of this headquarters Stage II is defined as beginning, and the definition of the situation by the State Police changed. A guard was set up around the area to prevent looting; a morgue was established to which the dead were removed; loose, movable valuables were collected in a stockpile. In other words, a complex system of cooperative interaction among members of the State Police was established.

During Stage II, although the specific content of their activities changed, the value orientations of the State Police members did not change. During Stage III, the specific content of the State Police activities changed only in that rescue work was complete, and clearing debris was left to others. The State Police continued to guard the area against looters, with the aid of the National Guard, and a rigid system of passes into and out of the area was instituted. There is no evidence to indicate nor compelling reason to suspect that the value orientations of the State Police might have changed.

2. Beecher Fire Department

Many of the members of the Beecher Fire Department were in the area when the tornado struck. The wife of one of the firemen was killed as she was telephoning members of the department to mobilize. The first action taken by most members was to assure themselves of the safety of their families. After this they rushed out into the area to help the injured or to direct traffic. Several firemen said that although they saw fires burning, they felt that their first duty was to help get the injured out.

At no time during the first night, that is, during Stages I and II, did the Beecher Fire Department work as an organization. Members worked singly, as private individuals, utilizing equipment belonging to the fire department and first-aid training received as firemen. However, their status as firemen was recognized by members of the community and hence they were accorded de facto authority in relation to organizing minor rescue operations. Volunteers from the community reported that they went to help the firemen. It is apparent that the recognition of their statuses by other members of the community functioned to integrate these persons' actions in connection with relief operations in an otherwise highly disorganized situation.

In regard to the behavior manifested by firemen, they may be considered as having engaged in expressive behavior, that is, they were oriented toward the immediate gratification which their activities afforded. (Gratification may be looked at in this instance as regaining a sense of security following the traumatic subjective experience of the tornado.) Hence

firemen were oriented toward victims affectively. Further, they manifested orientations of particularism and diffuseness. The status-role of victim was ascribed to actors. Victims were not treated as members of a class of objects, but each victim stood in a particular status-relationship to the fireman. Toward this victim the fireman felt diffuse obligations, the extent of these obligations differing with each victim.

The extent of collectivity-orientation varied with individuals and over time. The actions of several, at least three or four, did not at any time during Stages I and II evidence any collectivity-orientation either toward the community or toward the association. From the data which has been collected, no evidence can be found that any fireman manifested collectivity-orientation toward the community or toward the association so long as he felt that he personally or his family were in danger.

During the latter part of Stage II, the firemen began operating as a unit. Sometime during the night cots were set up in the fire hall for uninjured survivors, (i.e., survivors being defined as those surviving who were directly in the path of the tornado.)

During Stage III, the value orientations of the firemen were changed only in the case of collectivity-orientation. The association operated as a unit, and those firemen who did not manifest collectivity-orientation toward the association and community did not function as members.⁵

⁵ Among the respondents interviewed as unattached individuals, two individuals state that they belonged to Beecher Fire Department until the night of the tornado. No further explanations are given by these respondents.

During Stage III, a canteen for feeding victims and a used clothing distribution center were established in the fire hall. When sightseers were allowed into the area, firemen stood at corners holding out their helmets for donations. The money collected in this fashion was given to victims.

3. Salvation Army

Stage I. Within half an hour following the tornado, members of the Salvation Army had entered the area and were engaged in direct rescue work. Although in the beginning each member was working independently of other members, each of them conceived of himself as an association member. They were identified as such by other actors by means of the uniforms they were wearing. For example, they were granted free access to the area by the police.

As various Salvation Army members encountered each other in the area, a complex system of cooperative interaction began to emerge which was based on the systemic elements of the association. A system of communication by messenger was set up with the Salvation Army headquarters in downtown Flint. This headquarters served as a clearinghouse for supplies and volunteers.

During Stage II, the Salvation Army set up a canteen to serve coffee and sandwiches to rescue workers. This canteen continued during the following weeks (Stage III) to serve meals to workers clearing debris and police and National Guards in the area. The Salvation Army set up a distribution center to provide clothing and household furnishings to victims. They helped to provide temporary housing for victims.

An interesting aspect of Salvation Army operations is the dual role which members defined for themselves. Members of the Salvation Army conceived of themselves not only as rescue workers but as clergymen. For them the needs of victims were defined not only in terms of material needs but also spiritual consolation.

During Stage I the value orientations of the Salvation Army workers in the disaster situations seem quite clearly to have consisted in the configuration of universalism, affectivity, diffuseness, ascription and collectivity orientation. Their actions are classified as universalistically oriented because their attentions were given indiscriminantly to all victims. No distinction was made between friend and unknown victim. Further, the status of victim was viewed as ascribed. That is, no special performance on the part of the person having suffered personal or property damage as a result of the tornado had to be enacted before recognition of their status was forthcoming. This is a point of considerable significance in regards to the attitudes later manifested by local people (victims and sympathizers alike) toward the Salvation Army on the one hand and the National Red Cross on the other. The Salvation Army extended aid to victims merely on the basis of their having been struck by the tornado. On the other hand, the National Red Cross required that victims produce legal proof of damage and then extended aid in accordance with a highly rationalized procedure.

The Salvation Army workers seem also to have manifested a relatively high degree of affectivity orientation. This is supported by seven of the twelve subjects interviewed, but only inconclusive evidence is avail-

able on the other five subjects. Of those seven for whom it is clear that their value orientations were highly affective it is found they expressed in various manners much concern over the results of their actions. That is, they were concerned as to the lasting effect of their ministrations and they felt personally responsible for the success or failure of their actions. The most that can be said of the other five members of the Salvation Army who were interviewed is that nowhere in the interviews with them does there appear any evidences as to their having held themselves aloof from personal involvement in their interactions with victims. In general they all manifest the attitude of regarding their activities as an extension of their missionary work.

All of the Salvation Army workers' orientations in the disaster situation may be classed as manifesting a diffuse interest in the victims. For the Salvation Army worker attention to the victim was not directed to taking care of his physical needs alone, but also taking care of his psychic needs, that is, victims were given every consideration possible in regards to calming them and giving them reassurance. The organization of activities of the Salvation Army was directed toward facilitating physical and mental well-being of the victims.

The actions of the Salvation Army workers -- as partially reconstructed in the interviews -- show a high degree of collectivity orientation. Even during the first hours workers engaged in some degree of complex cooperative interaction. By Stage II there could be little doubt that the well-coordinated systems of interaction between members and the public

was a manifestation of collectivity orientation. This, of course, held for Stage III of the disaster also.

4. Local Red Cross

Data concerning the activities of the local Red Cross chapter are confused and to some extent unreliable. Interviews with certain members contradict those with other members. It seems to be established, however, that certain activities were carried on. Members of the first aid committee went into the area singly and carried on rescue activity on their own. There was no attempt at organization on the part of these members.

Three first aid stations were set up by the Red Cross which were not used to any extent. The use which is supposed to be made of first aid stations is to sort victims who are badly injured from those who can be treated on the spot, sending only badly injured victims to the hospitals. The complaint was made by a local chapter official that first aid men should have been at the hospitals for preliminary handling of injured.

Within the local chapter is a group called Gray Ladies. These women regularly work in the local hospitals providing non-medical attention for hospital patients. The night of the disaster these women went into the hospitals as an organization to provide non-medical care for victims.

The canteen committee set up a canteen within a few hours after the disaster struck. This is the activity which was praised by other rescue workers, grateful for coffee and doughnuts during the first night.

During Stage II, the type of activity carried on by the local Red Cross did not change. However, more members of the association were mobilized, and some degree of cooperative interaction emerged. In view of the

later analysis it is important to point out here that at no time did a complex system of cooperative interaction comparable to the State Police or Salvation Army emerge. Sub-groups within the association were functioning, due to the initiative of some individuals, but the total activities were never coordinated.

The local chapter set up a shelter for victims which was only used by one or two families. In this disaster most of the victims found shelter with friends and relatives living in Flint. A further service was a system of registration of dead and injured. An information bureau was set up to handle inquiries by relatives and friends of possible victims. Ham radio operators contacted local chapters in other cities to give information to persons having relatives in Flint. This registration and information system worked well and efficiently.

All these activities were carried on in a welter of confusion. Few were doing the specific tasks assigned them by the carefully drawn out disaster plans. Some chairmen of committees, for example, did not mobilize for action because they were not called by the chapter manager, as the disaster plans specified.

During Stage III, the members of the local Red Cross mainly served as volunteer workers for the National Red Cross. The only activities carried on by the local Red Cross were a continuation of the canteen service and a small first-aid tent. This latter provided band-aids for workers in the debris who cut their feet on nails etc. The canteens served hot meals to victims, to police and National Guard and to others working in the area.

The value orientations of the local Red Cross members remained relatively stable throughout the three stages. Local Red Cross workers were universalistically oriented to victims. Actors were ascribed the status-role of victim and treated as a class of objects. In other words, first aid men bandaged victims because they were injured, without regard as to who they might be. Members of the local Red Cross were oriented in terms of specificity. That is, each member had a well-defined task. These tasks may not have been those assigned them in the Red Cross handbook, e.g., the canteen chairman organized the canteen in the field whereas according to the rules she should have remained in the chapter house and sent a subordinate into the field. However, the tasks assumed by the members were defined in terms of specificity, e.g., the canteen chairman did not engage in other activity than setting up a canteen. The members of the Red Cross were affectively oriented in that they were primarily oriented toward deriving immediate gratification from disaster activities.

The degree of collectivity-orientation varied from member to member, although remaining the same for any one individual during the three stages. For some members the degree of collectivity-orientation was so low they did not even engage in disaster activities. Others manifested a high degree of collectivity-orientation.

During Stage III the local Red Cross continued to operate canteens as well as serving as volunteer workers for the National Red Cross. The members operating the canteen manifested the same value orientations described above. The members who served as volunteer workers for the national workers continued to be oriented ascriptively toward victims, albeit sur-

reptitiously. For example, the National Red Cross set up a used clothing distribution center manned by a member of the local Red Cross. This woman stated that although victims were sent by national case workers with requisition slips, she gave them any amount of clothes they needed.

5. National Red Cross

The discussion of the activities of the National Red Cross was well summed up by a respondent who was a member of the National Red Cross, "My job is administrative. We followed the established procedures."

Two or three members of the National Red Cross arrived on the scene the night of the disaster, but most of the members, approximately thirty, arrived two or three days later. The task of members of the National Red Cross was rehabilitation. Victims had found temporary emergency housing with friends and relatives, and the Red Cross set about to find more long-range temporary housing and to start rebuilding operations. Social case workers "set up ... people to talk to the relatives as fast as we could, tried to give them an understanding of the situation, to reassure them, that, for example, amputees are still useful, tell them that it is not as bad as it appears."

The first thing to be done, according to the director of case work, was to set up a master file of all the people. One of the major problems of the field director (the senior administrator in the area) was a shortage of the proper forms to fill out. But then, one must improvise in a disaster.

The national workers used hundreds of volunteer workers for clerical help, but they were impatient with volunteers in other capacities. "The

volunteers really cause us the most trouble. When materials or labor are volunteered we have to decide which cases need free help the most and then make all the arrangements....It's the same with used clothing that is donated. It costs more to handle than new clothes."⁶ A case worker reports, "There was an attempt to keep us from our job. The good old American public, and the lack of understanding of our disaster policies. They all had a desire to help, forgetting that the best help is to help people help themselves."

Members of the National Red Cross are professionally trained, mostly as social workers and nurses, with certain other trained technicians such as an engineer concerned with construction activities. Each member has a specific task to do in a complex, hierarchical division of labor. To each victim is to be meted out just treatment on the basis of need, a need measured in dollars and cents.⁷ National workers not only are not expected to be emotionally involved, but they are constrained to avoid emotional in-

⁶ Interview with member of National Red Cross.

⁷ Determination of the victim's need by the Red Cross is the result of a highly rational policy. The victim is assigned a "need quotient" by the Red Cross on the basis of a long, complicated process, which takes from two days to several weeks. The victim has an initial interview with a Red Cross social case worker and is given a form to fill out listing his losses. His employer fills out a form declaring his earning ability. After receiving these forms, the case worker again interrogates the victim. The case worker discusses the case with her supervisor and recommends action, not only on the basis of loss incurred but life expectancy and position on an earning curve. This recommended action must be approved by a policy committee, after which action is taken.

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volvement. In the words of one social case worker, "Now sympathy is a good thing up to a point, but it is not the right thing to get the people back on their feet."

Thus the members of the National Red Cross were oriented in terms of specificity and affective neutrality. The victim was expected to achieve the status of victim, and he was treated in universalistic terms. Members of the National Red Cross manifested a high degree of collectivity-orientation toward the association.

In order that the reader may easily compare the value orientations of these association members toward victims, the actual value orientations have been listed in Table II.

TABLE II
VALUE ORIENTATIONS OF ASSOCIATION MEMBERS TOWARD VICTIMS

State Police	Beecher Fire Dept.	Local Red Cross	National Red Cross	Salvation Army
<u>Stages I and II</u>				
universalism affective- neutrality specificity ascription collectivity- orientation toward org- anization	particularism affectivity diffuseness ascription collectivity- orientation toward family	universalism affective- neutrality specificity ascription collectivity- orientation low on part of many members		universalism affective- neutrality diffuseness ascription collectivity- orientation to people and to organization
<u>Stage III</u>				
universalism affective- neutrality specificity ascription collectivity- orientation toward org- anization	particularism affectivity diffuseness ascription collectivity- orientation toward org- anization and community	universalism affective- neutrality specificity ascription collectivity- orientation low on part of many members	universalism affective- neutrality specificity achievement collectivity- orientation toward org- anization	universalism affective- neutrality diffuseness ascription collectivity- orientation to people and to organization

CHAPTER VI
DISCUSSION OF DIFFERENCES IN BEHAVIOR AND IN VALUE ORIENTATIONS
OF ASSOCIATION MEMBERS AS RELATED TO DIFFERENCES
IN SYSTEMIC ELEMENTS AND DISASTER IMPACT

The previous chapters have described and discussed the systemic elements of the associations and their collective activities during the disaster, as well as the differential impact of the disaster. According to the procedure outlined in Chapter II, the behavior of association members can now be related to the systemic elements of the associations. Those associations having systemic elements in common should differ in behavior from associations not sharing these elements. Differences in behavior among associations sharing common systemic elements should be accounted for by differential disaster impact.

During Stage I, no association was functioning in complex cooperative interaction. This has to do in large part with the amount of time elapsing. Members of associations had to be informed of the emergency and get to the disaster. Even before this could take place, some members of each association must have been made aware that a disaster had occurred. For example, before the State Police could function as an organization, some individuals must learn of the disaster and perceive the extent of destruction. Then these individuals must communicate with other members who must then get to the disaster area.

Stage II has been defined as beginning at the period when the State Police began to function in a complex system of cooperative interaction. At this time, also, the Salvation Army had begun to operate in complex cooperative interaction. The National Red Cross also began long-distance interaction in that members in the headquarters at Saint Louis had begun to develop plans and notify workers in such places as Texas to leave for Flint. However, the local Red Cross and the Beecher fire department were not yet functioning in a complex system of cooperative interaction. Various individual members were working but not the association as a whole.

Therefore, according to our hypothesis, the State Police, National Red Cross and Salvation Army should have in common systemic elements not shared by the local Red Cross and Beecher fire department which would be expected to account for the differences. Table III is a summary of the comparisons of systemic elements. It will be noted that the State Police, National Red Cross and Salvation Army have in common these systemic elements not shared by the local Red Cross and Beecher fire department:

- (1) a hierarchy of offices
- (2) remuneration of members by fixed salaries
- (3) status-role is primary occupation of incumbent
- (4) members subject to medium and high coercive discipline
- (5) training process which results in high degree of internalization of appropriate value orientations

These systemic elements would seem to account for an early establishment of a complex cooperative interaction. In an association organized in a hierarchy of offices, one individual of high rank can initiate action

TABLE III
SYSTEMIC ELEMENTS SHARED BY ASSOCIATIONS

	State Police	National Red Cross	Salvation Army	Local Red Cross	Beecher Fire Dept.
Members subject to authority only in respect to imper- sonal obligations.....	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx
Status-role is filled by free contractual relationship.....	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx
Each office has clearly defined sphere of ac- tivity and authority.....	xxx	xxx		xxx	xxx
Hierarchy of offices.....	xxx	xxx	xxx		
Remunerated by fixed salaries in money.....	xxx	xxx	xxx		
Status-role is primary occupation of in- cumbant.....	xxx	xxx	xxx		
Membership in association constitutes a career.....	xxx	xxx			xxx
Training process which results in high degree of internalization of appropriate value orientations.....	xxx	xxx	xxx		xxx
Initial allocation of status-roles on basis of achievement.....	xxx	xxx			xxx
Member of association is subject to strict and systematic discipline.....	xxx	xxx	xxx		xxx

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840.

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100% 90% 80% 70% 60% 50% 40% 30% 20% 10% 0%

for many individuals of lower rank. This action was carried out by members of lower rank because these members are subject to coercive discipline. This coercive discipline is related to the fact that for members of these associations this status-role was their primary occupation by means of which they make their living. In other words, the local Red Cross and Beecher fire department are volunteer associations. No individual can initiate action nor are members constrained to carry out action.

Further, members of the local Red Cross and Beecher fire department do not go through a training process which results in a high degree of internalization of appropriate value orientations. The value orientation most pertinent in this connection was that of collectivity-orientation. Members of the State Police, Salvation Army and National Red Cross were oriented toward the establishment of a complex system of cooperative interaction. As far as is known, no member of these associations spent three hours driving around the disaster area sightseeing as did some members of the local Red Cross.

The local Red Cross and Beecher fire department have in common the same systemic elements. However, they differed in the degree to which they achieved complex cooperative interaction. This can to a large extent be accounted for by the differential disaster impact. As discussed previously, members of the Beecher fire department experienced a greater degree of disorientation.

Value Orientations

Both expected value orientations and those manifested during the disaster by association members have been described and discussed. These are summarized in Table IV. The differences between expected and manifested value orientations remain to be accounted for.

The low degree of collectivity-orientation manifested by the local Red Cross and the Beecher fire department has been discussed in relation to the systemic elements.

The other discrepancy manifested was by the Beecher fire department in terms of the pairs of universalism -- particularism, affectivity -- affective-neutrality, and specificity -- diffuseness. This can be summed up by saying that Beecher firemen did not act in the role of fireman during Stages I, II, and III of the disaster activities. Their failure to act in the role of fireman is accounted for by several things. The status-role of fireman was peripheral to the total bundle of status-roles held by the member of Beecher fire department. In a crisis situation he would be expected to act in a status-role more crucial to his total bundle of status-roles.

Although not acting in the role of fireman, members of the Beecher fire department did act within the expectations of a role peculiar to members of this association. That is, beyond its function as a fire department, the Beecher fire department was defined as a community men's club and served as an integrating factor in the community. Thus firemen served as leaders of informal work groups and became a focus of community integration during rescue activities.

TABLE IV

COMPARISON OF EXPECTED VALUE ORIENTATIONS WITH VALUE ORIENTATIONS MANIFESTED
IN DISASTER ACTIVITIES BY ASSOCIATION MEMBERS TOWARD VICTIMS

| State Police | | Beecher Fire Department | | Local Red Cross | |
|---|---|---|--|---|----------------------------------|
| Expected | Manifested | Expected | Manifested | Expected | Manifested |
| universalism | universalism | universalism | particularism | universalism | universalism |
| affective-
neutrality | affective-
neutrality | affective-
neutrality | affectivity | affectivity | affectivity |
| specificity | specificity | specificity | diffuseness | specificity | specificity |
| ascription | ascription | ascription | ascription | ascription | ascription |
| collectivity-
orientation
to associa-
tion and
people | collectivity-
orientation
to associa-
tion and
people | collectivity-
orientation
to associa-
tion | Stages I, II:
collectivity-
orientation
to family
Stage III:
collectivity-
orientation
to associa-
tion and
community | collectivity-
orientation
to associa-
tion | low collectivity-
orientation |

TABLE IV Continued

| National Red Cross | | Salvation Army | |
|--|--|--|--|
| Expected | Manifested | Expected | Manifested |
| universalism
affective-
neutrality
specificity
achievement
collectivity-
orientation
to association
and humanity | universalism
affective-
neutrality
specificity
achievement
collectivity-
orientation
to association
and humanity | universalism
affectivity
diffuseness
ascription
collectivity-
orientation
to association
and humanity | universalism
affectivity
diffuseness
ascription
collectivity-
orientation
to association
and humanity |

It is within this role definition of member of a men's club that members of the Beecher fire department acted during Stage III of the disaster activities. That is, ordinarily a fire department would not be expected to set up a temporary housing unit, serve meals, distribute clothing nor solicit funds for relief. These activities were carried out in part by the Woman's Auxiliary. The fact that a Woman's Auxiliary was organized supports the definition of the association as a men's club, for the Woman's Auxiliary in no way functions in connection with fire fighting activities.

Further differentiation between the activities of associations, as will be discussed more thoroughly in the following chapter, can be accounted for by the characterization of an association as an instrumental or expressive complex. As discussed in the first chapter, a collectivity, considered as a system of roles, may be a relational complex of either instrumental or expressive orientations or both. In the case of a collectivity in which instrumental interests have primacy, members cooperate for the purpose of attaining some future goal. In the case in which expressive interests have primacy, members are oriented toward the immediate gratification which collective activities provide.

The Michigan State Police is an instrumental complex, that is, an association organized for the purpose of achieving certain goals held by the members, or by members of the larger collectivity. The State Police is organized for the purpose of using force to enforce the power of the political institution of the state of Michigan.

The National Red Cross is an instrumental complex organized for the purpose of disaster relief. The local Red Cross is a relational complex of both instrumental and expressive orientations. The association is formally organized as an instrumental complex. However, individual members in general seem to be primarily oriented toward the immediate gratification which collective activities provide. This gratification seems to be of two kinds. In other than disaster situations the association functions as a social club. As one first aid instructor reported, "First aid is my hobby. Other men go fishing; I do first aid work." The gratification derived from disaster activities is best expressed in the words of a canteen worker interviewed, "As far as I'm concerned I have enjoyed my work with the Red Cross all the time. Just the satisfaction you're helping."

The Beecher fire department is primarily an instrumental complex which incidentally functions as an expressive complex. Members belong primarily because they feel a need for fire protection in the community, but they also derive immediate gratification from collective activities. The fire hall formally serves as a place to store equipment, but informally it serves also as a men's club where members can "hang around and shoot the breeze."

The Salvation Army is primarily an expressive complex with secondary instrumental purposes. Members belong to the association because of the immediate gratification derived from collective activities.

CHAPTER VII
AN ANALYSIS OF DIFFERENTIAL EVALUATION
OF RELIEF AGENCIES BY VICTIMS

It will be the object of this chapter to examine the differential evaluation of relief agencies by victims of the disaster. Attention will be focused principally upon the attitudes manifested towards the Red Cross.

In part, the reasons for focusing attention upon the Red Cross are that unexpectedly strong negative attitudes toward this association developed in the course of disaster relief activities even though this association was objectively the one which contributed the greatest amount of time, energy, and funds to the rehabilitation of the community. On the other hand, the data available allows of considerably less detailed treatment of attitudes toward the other associations.

This chapter, then, will describe some of the features of the interaction situation involving victims and associations in an attempt to bring out those aspects which appear significant within the theoretical frame of reference adopted by this study. It is recognized from the outset that all ex post factum analysis yields knowledge which is at best only suggestive of further hypotheses. This function in itself seems sufficient to justify the present examination of disaster data.

Responses to direct questions concerning attitudes toward the several disaster relief associations plus statements in response to other questions has allowed the construction of Table V. This table shows a tabulation of

categories of attitudes held by respondents toward the disaster relief associations. It also shows the extent to which no attitudes were manifested in the available data. Statistical tests as to the significance of these responses cannot be made because the sampling method was not random in a technical sense.

TABLE V
EVALUATION OF FORMAL ORGANIZATIONS BY VICTIM RESPONDENTS

| | Red
Cross | Salvation
Army | State
Police | Beecher
Fire Dept. |
|------------|--------------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| Positive | 38 | 51 | 28 | 45 |
| Negative | 40 | 0 | 8 | 1 |
| Neutral | 13 | 11 | 21 | 12 |
| Ambivalent | 11 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| No Mention | 13 | 53 | 58 | 57 |
| Total | 115 | 115 | 115 | 115 |

It is to be noted that Table V gives only a gross final tabulation of types of attitudes manifested toward the several associations. It should be emphasized here, however, that the extreme hostility toward the Red Cross was not expressed until approximately three weeks after the disaster. See Table VI. The Red Cross was praised for its work during the disaster and immediate aftermath. Hostility began to be expressed when the Red Cross began to assist in rebuilding houses and undertaking general rehabilitation activities. A remark made by a respondent and typical of the unfavorable attitudes held by persons in the community might be quoted as an illustration here. This respondent, when questioned about

TABLE VI
EVALUATION DURING FOUR TIME PERIODS OF FORMAL ORGANIZATIONS
BY VICTIM RESPONDENTS

| | Red
Cross | Salvation
Army | State
Police | Beecher
Fire Dept. |
|--|--------------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| Interviews taken 2-7 days after disaster | | | | |
| Positive | 3 | 1 | 5 | 5 |
| Negative | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Neutral | 3 | 1 | 3 | 3 |
| Ambivalent | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| No Mention | 5 | 10 | 4 | 4 |
| Total | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 |
| Interviews taken 8-14 days after disaster | | | | |
| Positive | 12 | 11 | 4 | 8 |
| Negative | 4 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Neutral | 1 | 1 | 3 | 0 |
| Ambivalent | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| No Mention | 4 | 10 | 14 | 14 |
| Total | 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 |
| Interviews taken 15-21 days after disaster | | | | |
| Positive | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Negative | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Neutral | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Ambivalent | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| No Mention | 0 | 3 | 2 | 3 |
| Total | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| Interviews taken over 21 days after disaster | | | | |
| Positive | 21 | 37 | 14 | 25 |
| Negative | 33 | 0 | 7 | 1 |
| Neutral | 6 | 7 | 14 | 8 |
| Ambivalent | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| No Mention | 5 | 38 | 37 | 38 |
| Total | 72 | 72 | 72 | 72 |

his feelings in regard to the Red Cross, had this to say, "If you want to get me mad just mention the Red Cross. They gave so much money to so-and-so, but they wouldn't give any money to the guy across the street because he had insurance."

Following the reasoning of the frame of reference of this study, attention is drawn to the explicit and implicit aspects of actors' role-expectations. In this case we are concerned with what actors in the status of victim (and sympathizer) expected from the Red Cross, and on the other hand what actions the Red Cross worker expected to perform vis-a-vis the victim.

Of the two sets of role expectations (both in terms of expectations of self performances and of others' performances toward self) those of the Red Cross worker we may safely contend were relatively clear, precise, and complex. The National Red Cross worker's role expectations vis-a-vis the victim are necessarily structured by the rules and regulations of that association. The performances of an actor occupying this role must in the long run conform to these rules. Put another way, the National Red Cross worker must conform to a complex set of standards based on a rational-legal order.¹

The victims' role expectations, on the other hand, seem to have been neither clear nor precise, and above all essentially simplistic. That

¹ An example of this may be quoted from an interview with a member of the National Red Cross, "Volunteer work groups, and offers of free building materials slow us up because it all has to be processed and used according to greatest need. I'm almost finished with the estimations now and getting started on the disbursement."

the victims' (and their sympathizers') expectations² of their own and the Red Cross' performances, in connection with rehabilitation, should diverge so drastically in character from those of the National Red Cross is not difficult to understand. (In fact, it would pose a more perplexing problem to try to account for victims' expectations had they been of similar character to those of the Red Cross.) Of first importance in regard to the character of the victims' expectations of the National Red Cross is their lack of experience in dealings with disaster relief agencies. Few of the respondents had ever experienced any similar situation, and there is no compelling reason to suspect that any considerable number of other persons of Beecher had had such experiences. Thus, we find a large number of people who have experienced a socially (and physically) dislocating situation and who, as a result, were faced with the problem of achieving some degree of re-equilibrium in their daily lives. They had not had personal dealings with the Red Cross, and, hence, their expectations in regard to receiving rehabilitation aid from this organization were unclear and imprecise.

An examination of the attitudes expressed by victims indicates that their expectations of the Red Cross may be classified as of a diffuse

² Several typical examples of comments by respondents follow:
"People will be skeptical about the Red Cross. They haven't helped the way people thought they would. They keep passing the buck from one official to another."
"The Red Cross is not living up to national standards. They should do away with Red Tape."
"I believe the Red Cross failed the people in so far as immediate need was concerned. After all these people lost their homes, relatives and everything. They needed help right then not two weeks later when they finally got it."

character. There is indication that they expected the Red Cross to make moves immediately toward rebuilding destroyed and damaged personal property. It was expected that evidence of destruction or damage was obvious and was sufficient to warrant immediate and indiscriminate action on the part of the Red Cross. That is, it seems that the actual destruction or damage of personal property which was so evident to those who had suffered or witnessed the tornado was felt to be sufficient justification for receiving immediate aid from the Red Cross. It is hardly unusual that little thought seems to have been given by these people to the legal and equitable standards to which the procedures of dispersal of Red Cross funds had necessarily to conform.

The principle source of information from which the expectations of the Beecher people were derived seems to have been the publicity circulated annually in connection with Red Cross fund drives. According to the interviewees' notions of what was expected from the Red Cross it appears that they were impressed that the relationship between Red Cross and victim typically takes the form of a diffuse and particularistic orientation. Whether or not the publicity of the Red Cross actually does emphasize the establishment of a diffuse and particularistic relationship with the disaster victim is not of concern to us here. The fact that persons in Beecher community (and doubtless in many other places) did have expectations of this type is, however, of great importance. Its importance to us here is derived from the situation following the disaster in which varying degrees of animosity were expressed toward the Red Cross for following highly rationalistic practices in the dispersal of funds to disaster victims.

(See fn. 7, Chapter V, p. 64, in which procedure for establishing "needs" and priorities of victims is discussed.)

In reference again to Tables V and VI, victims did not differentiate between National Red Cross workers and local Red Cross workers in their evaluation of Red Cross activities. If the respondent had encountered the Red Cross during Stage I or II, the term "Red Cross" meant to the respondent the local Red Cross. If the respondent had encountered the Red Cross during Stage III, the term "Red Cross" could mean the local Red Cross, the national Workers or both. Only two respondents clearly differentiated between the local and national, expressing approval of the local members and hostility toward the national workers. Thus during the period immediately following the disaster when the local Red Cross was engaged in meeting relief needs the residents of Beecher praised this association's activities. Quite clearly, the value orientations of the local Red Cross members may be classified as universalistic and specific. Any and all persons suffering from the effects of the disaster were accorded equality of attention, and as many of the victims' needs were met as was possible.

At this point some discussion should be made concerning the pattern-variable pair of specificity--diffuseness. Specificity--diffuseness has to do with the value orientation of an individual role in a collectivity. That is to say, the total activity of a collectivity may be diffuse, but a complex division of labor exists such that the task of any one individual is specific. For example, the local Red Cross and the Salvation Army during the early stages of the disaster in a broad sense performed the

same kinds of activities. However, each member of the Red Cross performed a limited number of tasks, whereas each member of the Salvation Army carried out all the tasks in the range of activity of the association. This has consequences for the orientation of the victim to the collectivity. If he went to the Red Cross, he had to deal with several members, each concerned with a limited aspect of the victim's needs. If he went to the Salvation Army he dealt with one member concerned with many aspects of his needs. Thus the victim tended to feel that the Salvation Army workers were more sympathetic toward him, that the Salvation Army workers regarded him as a person.

This feeling of the victim was further intensified by his dealings with the national workers during Stage III. Although specifically oriented, the local Red Cross workers were oriented with a primacy of affectivity, whereas the national workers were affectively neutral. To the victim, this meant that whereas he felt that members of the local Red Cross were personally interested in helping him the National Red Cross workers took the attitude of doing a job and were disinterested in the victim as a person. Victims complained that while they waited in lines to register, National Red Cross workers laughed and joked as if they didn't care that people had died. Further, although it has been contended that both National and local Red Cross workers' value orientations throughout the various stages were classifiable as collectivity-oriented toward the association of the Red Cross, it would seem that collectivity-orientation in this direction differed for local and national members.

Secondly, it should be noted that although the value orientations of both local and national members of the Red Cross were clearly universalistic throughout all stages of disaster relief, yet a radical difference existed in the kind of universalistic value standards in terms of which Red Cross activities were oriented. During Stage II victims' needs were treated as essentially equal, i.e., all victims rated equal amounts of aid in terms of food, clothing and temporary housing. Evidence of need at this stage (II) was more or less accepted on the basis of overt criteria and victims' verbal requests. During Stage III universalistic standards likewise prevailed in the Red Cross orientation to victims. However, the kind of universalistic standard changed. In Stage II it involved a simple assessment of need in terms of overt criteria and verbal request by the victims. In Stage III the value standard changed to one involving a complex assessment procedure in terms of covert criteria and it prescribed formal written statements of need. This was linked with a complex prescribed procedure for evaluating victims' needs as a prerequisite to disbursement of Red Cross funds.

The final pattern variable pair of achievement--ascription remains to be examined. During the early stages of the disaster the local Red Cross provided medical care, food and shelter. The National Red Cross, although providing some temporary care, primarily engaged in rehabilitation activities. The local Red Cross members were ascription oriented in that they allocated aid to victims according to the manifest attributes of

injury or lack of food or shelter.³ The National Red Cross workers were achievement oriented in that they allocated aid to victims not according to such manifest attributes as loss of property or injury to person but in accordance with a complicated evaluation procedure for determining degrees of needs of victims. The victims' need was not based on amount of loss but upon ability of the victim to replace his loss by his own efforts. For example, although two people might each have lost a house, that is, although each possessed the attribute of loss of property, it was not upon this attribute that the Red Cross based its evaluation of need. The need of the victim was determined by his ability to rebuild without aid, that is, the amount of insurance he possessed, his credit rating, and his potential life earning ability.

Initially, victims appeared to be surprised and dismayed by the achievement orientation of the National Red Cross. Victims expected that the role be ascribed to them on the basis of possessing the attribute of being struck by the tornado. In other words, the victim had lost his house and expected the Red Cross to give him the money to rebuild. Victims found it difficult to understand that the National Red Cross workers did not evaluate their needs on the basis of possessing the attribute of loss of

³ This activity on an ascribed basis was possible because of the resources available. In a situation where a scarcity of resources prevailed, these resources would of necessity be allocated by means of an instrumental criterion of efficiency. For example, in a situation where medical resources were highly limited, aid might be given on an achievement basis in that those most severely injured might be given more aid or those who had the greatest chance of recovery might be given more aid. Cf. John Hersey, Hiroshima, New York: Bantam Books, 1946, pp. 64-65.

property but upon performance by the victim before and after the tornado, i.e., his performance in accumulating insurance and credit rating before the tornado and his potential earning ability after the tornado.

Not only does it appear to have been disruptive to the victims' expectations that the Red Cross should be oriented toward them in achievement terms, but they found further objectionable the nature of the achievement standard adopted by the Red Cross. For the Red Cross achievement was defined negatively, that is, the less the victim had in the way of property, credit, and earning ability, the more "need" the victim achieved. On the other hand, it is implicit in the victims' statements⁴ that they themselves tended to define achievement in positive terms. That is, the more a victim had achieved, especially in regard to the holding of property insurance, the more he should be rewarded. Many victims felt that to give proportionately more aid to those without insurance was to penalize the man who had carried insurance.

A suggestive line of inquiry would be the extent to which the value orientation of the victim in his relationship to the Red Cross is conditioned by his position in the instrumental complex, that is, his occupation. The logical expectation would be that value orientations developed in occupations overflow into other sectors of the actor's activity. Studies

⁴ Excerpt from interview, "Red Cross and Red Feather people would not help a single man who had lost home because he had a bank account. People have to wait till the Red Cross workers fill out all those papers and decide how much the people should get. I don't go for that stuff. The money belongs to the people anyway. They helped a Mexican family right away. They got a better home after the tornado than they ever had before. I don't know why they got one so quick."

of Red Cross activities in other disaster areas seem to indicate that the occupational level of the disaster victim is significant in the modification of Red Cross activities. The account of activities in a "better" residential neighborhood struck by disaster, where the victims were mostly business executives, shows that the victims organized a committee which defined Red Cross activities. This is also related to the power possessed by the victims, and the resources he possesses for rebuilding. A community of Arkansas sharecroppers is in a far less favorable position as far as taking action to modify Red Cross policy than is the community composed of business executives.

A. Evaluation of Other Associations

Thus far we have focused our attention on the Red Cross because of the hostility manifested toward the association by victim respondents. On the other hand, the question might be posed in reverse, that is, why did the victim respondents manifest positive evaluations of other relief agencies.

First, it should be noted in Tables V and VI that the Red Cross did not receive fewer positive evaluation responses than other agencies, if the ambivalent evaluation category is included. This latter category encompassed interviews in which one or more positive evaluations were made. There is no evidence that, if interviewers had been instructed to probe for negative responses to other agencies, these would not have been reported. For the three agencies other than the Red Cross, approximately half the respondents in each case (not necessarily the same res-

pondents) did not mention these agencies, whereas for the Red Cross almost every respondent mentioned the Red Cross.

Since roughly the same amount of positive evaluation is manifested toward all relief agencies, it would seem that what must be accounted for is the hostility manifested toward the Red Cross and the lack of hostility manifested toward the other three agencies. The previous discussion has been an attempt to account for the hostility manifested toward the Red Cross. The following discussion will attempt to account for the lack of hostility toward the other three associations.

Certain comparisons have already been made between the Red Cross and the Salvation Army concerning the pattern variable pair of specificity--diffuseness. It will be remembered that this is precisely the pattern variable pair in which the orientations of Salvation Army members differed from local Red Cross members, national workers further differing in terms of the ascription--achievement pair and the affectivity--affective-neutrality pair.

It would seem from the available evidence that the evaluation of the activities of associations by respondents was related to the expectations of the respondents in regard to a particular association. For direct relief associations such as the Red Cross and Salvation Army, victims seemed to have expectations of a relief worker oriented in terms of diffuseness and ascription. Insofar as the member of an association manifested these orientations, the victim evaluated the association positively.

This general statement of expectations would seem to be borne out by the evaluation of the State Police. Members of the State Police mani-

fested the same value orientations as did members of the National Red Cross, except for the ascription--achievement pair. However, these orientations conformed to the expectations of the State Police held by victims and hence were given positive evaluation. That is to say, nobody expected the police to direct traffic with a diffuse orientation.

The case of the Beecher fire department is different from the other three. Soon after the tornado, legends began to appear concerning the heroic efforts of the firemen during the disaster. Although this is not to decry the efforts of certain firemen, no evidence appears of efforts more heroic than those of others on the scene. It would appear, however, that firemen were more visible to respondents. That is, if the respondent saw five men working, four of whom were strangers and one a fireman, the respondent tended to remember that he had seen a fireman working. Moreover, the legendary heroism of the fire department seems to have fulfilled a function in community integration following the tornado.

B. Summary

In summary, then, we may say that the evaluation by respondents of an association depended upon the extent to which the members of an association met the expectancies of the victim. In particular, the animosity toward the Red Cross seems to be related to the fact that the expectations of the Red Cross worker concerning his own role and that of the victim role were clear, precise and complex whereas the role expectations of the victim were unclear and simplistic. Moreover, the value standards governing disbursement of Red Cross funds diverged radically from the standards held as legitimate by the victims.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study has been to describe and analyze relief activities in a disaster in terms of the theoretical scheme of the social system. Disaster relief activities were viewed as components of an emergent transitional social system. Because many of the actors in this social system of disaster relief were acting in the role of association member, attention was focused upon the relation of the behavior and value orientations of association member to the organizational structure of the association.

The systemic elements of five associations were examined. These systemic elements were derived in large part from those set forth by Weber in his typological treatment of bureaucracy. It was found that the National Red Cross, the Michigan State Police and the Salvation Army approached the typological bureaucracy. The Salvation Army differed from the National Red Cross and the State Police in that each office or role of the Salvation Army does not have a clearly defined sphere of activity and authority nor are roles allocated initially on the basis of achievement. The local chapter of the Red Cross and the Beecher Volunteer Fire Department, on the other hand, are volunteer organizations. These associations do not consist of a clearly defined hierarchy of offices or roles. Each office does not have a clearly defined sphere of activity and authority. Roles are not initially allocated on the basis of achievement. Members

of the association are not remunerated by fixed salaries in money. Membership in the association does not constitute a career for the member, but on the contrary the role is peripheral to the total status-role bundle of the members. Furthermore, members are subject to low coercive discipline in the performance of role expectations.

Besides the elements listed by Weber, certain other organizational aspects seem to be related to differing value orientations. The State Police, National Red Cross and local Red Cross operate in terms of a proliferation of associational rules and regulations. Although members of the Salvation Army operate within a framework of associational rules, they are constrained to act in conformity with religious standards, even if this entails nonconformity with rules of the association. Members of the Beecher fire department operate to a large extent within a framework of informal, unwritten rules.

The member of the State Police and of the Salvation Army undergoes an intensively disciplined training process which results in a high degree of internalization of the appropriate value orientations. Members of the National Red Cross do not go through a formal training process as members of the association, but they are expected to have internalized appropriate value orientations in connection with professional training. Members of the local Red Cross and Beecher fire department undergo informal training processes.

From the data available it is possible to abstract a typology of patterning of expected value orientations of the status-role of association member toward the status-role of victim. The member of the State Police

is expected to be oriented toward the victim in terms of universalism, affective-neutrality, specificity, and collectivity-orientation both to the association and to the larger collectivity of the people of the State of Michigan. Further, an actor is ascribed the status-role of victim. Not only is this patterning of value orientations expected on the part of the State Police member, but were he to deviate from the ideal expectancies he would be subject to punitive measures on the part of the association.

The National Red Cross worker is also expected to be oriented toward the victim in terms of universalism, specificity and affective-neutrality, but the status-role of victim is primarily achieved on the part of the victim. The Red Cross worker is expected to be collectivity-oriented toward the association. No punitive measures can be taken against the actor for deviation from these expectancies.

The role expectancies of the Salvation Army officer toward the victim are patterned in terms of universalism, diffuseness and affectivity. The status-role of victim is ascribed to the actor. The Salvation Army officer is expected to be collectivity-oriented toward the association and toward the larger collectivity of humanity. Ideally, at any time the Salvation Army officer, in case of a role-conflict situation, is expected to put the interests of humanity above his own interests and those of the association. Although no punitive measure can be enforced by the association formally, a great many informal sanctions can be brought to bear by other members of the association.

The role expectancies of the local Red Cross member are in terms of universalism, specificity, and affectivity. The role of victim is ascribed

to an actor. The local Red Cross member is expected to be collectivity-oriented toward the local chapter, the national organization, and the larger collectivity of humanity.

The role-expectation of a member of the Beecher fire department is characterized by universalism, affective-neutrality, and specificity. The status-role of victim is ascribed to an actor. He is expected to be collectivity-oriented toward the association and the community.

However, as a consequence of the peripheral nature of the status-role of local Red Cross member or of Beecher fireman, it would be expected that in a case of conflict between private interests and the interests of the collectivity, that the actor would perceive himself as acting in some other status-role.

Also important in the analysis of activities was the differential disaster impact on each association. For members of the local Red Cross, State Police and Salvation Army, the devastation was in a sense impersonal. Their perception of the situation was that this was an extremely difficult physical setting for carrying out their tasks. For members of the Beecher fire department, however, the devastation meant much more. For one-fourth of the members, their homes and families had been destroyed. Thus their orientation to the physical objects destroyed was much more central to their whole structure of value-orientations.

Members of the National Red Cross did not arrive on the scene until some physical objects of orientation had been constructed. Furthermore, for these Red Cross workers a scene of devastation was normal, for in one sense they see little else. Indeed, lack of physical destruction would soon disrupt their social system.

The disaster relief activities were perceived of as taking place in three stages. Stage I was the period of spontaneous informally organized rescue work, Stage II was the period of formally organized rescue work, and Stage III the period of rehabilitation. From the behavior manifested by members of the five associations, actual value orientations have been abstracted. Since behavior differed during the three stages, in some cases the actual value orientations changed.

The value orientations of the State Police did not change during the three stages, although the content of their activities changed. During Stage I they worked individually and in pairs, and in the later stages they functioned in complex cooperative interaction. The State Police officer was oriented toward the victim in terms of universalism, specificity, and affective-neutrality. The victim was ascribed the status-role. At all times the State Police officer manifested a high degree of collectivity orientation.

At no time during Stages I and II did the Beecher fire department function as an organization. Members worked singly, as private individuals, utilizing equipment belonging to the fire department and first-aid training. Firemen may be considered as having engaged in expressive behavior, that is, they were oriented toward the immediate gratification which their activities afforded. (Gratification in this instance was regaining a sense of security following the traumatic subjective experience of the tornado.) Hence firemen were oriented toward victims affectively. Further, they manifested orientations of particularism, diffuseness, and ascription. Each victim stood in a particular status-relationship to the

fireman. Toward this victim the fireman felt diffuse obligations, the extent of these obligations differing with each victim. The extent of collectivity-orientation varied with individuals and over time. No evidence is found in the data that any fireman manifested collectivity-orientation toward the community or toward the association so long as he felt that he personally or his family were in danger.

During Stage III, the value orientations of the firemen were changed only in the case of collectivity-orientation. The association operated as a unit, and those firemen who did not manifest collectivity-orientation toward the association and community did not function as members.

Members of the Salvation Army manifested the configuration of universalism, affectivity, diffuseness, ascription and collectivity-orientation. Ascription of the status of victim is a point of considerable significance in regards to the attitudes later manifested by local people toward the Salvation Army on one hand and the National Red Cross on the other. The Salvation Army extended aid to victims merely on the basis of their having been struck by the tornado. On the other hand, the National Red Cross required that victims produce legal proof of damage and then extended aid in accordance with a highly rationalized procedure.

Data concerning the activities of the local Red Cross chapter are confused and to some extent unreliable. Interviews with certain members contradict those with other members. At no time did a complex system of cooperative interaction comparable to the State Police or Salvation Army emerge. Sub-groups within the association were functioning, due to the initiative of some individuals, but the total activities were never coor-

minated. During Stage III, members of the local Red Cross served as volunteer workers for the National Red Cross.

The value orientations of the local Red Cross remained relatively stable throughout the three stages. Local Red Cross workers were universalistically, affectively and specificitically oriented toward the victim. Victims were ascribed the status-role. The members who served as volunteer workers for the national workers continued to be oriented ascriptively toward victims, albeit surreptitiously. The degree of collectivity-orientation varied from member to member, although remaining the same for any one individual during the three stages.

The discussion of the activities of the National Red Cross was well summed up by a respondent who was a member of the National Red Cross, "My job is administrative. We followed the established procedures." Members of the Red Cross were oriented toward the victim in terms of specificity, affective-neutrality, and universalism. The victim was expected to achieve the status of victim. That is to say, an actor was not officially a victim in the eyes of the Red Cross until he had registered with the Red Cross. All members of the National Red Cross manifested a high degree of collectivity-orientation to the association.

The behavior and value orientations of association members were next related to the systemic elements of the associations. During Stage I no association was functioning in complex cooperative interaction. This is because Stage I is defined as that period of time before association members had arrived in the area in numbers large enough to function in complex cooperative interaction. During Stage II, however, the State Police

and Salvation Army began to function in a complex system of cooperative interaction. The National Red Cross in the headquarters at St. Louis began to develop plans, and workers in such places as Texas were notified to leave for Flint. However, the local Red Cross and the Beecher fire department were not functioning in a complex system of cooperative interaction.

It was found that the State Police, National Red Cross and Salvation Army have in common these systemic elements not shared by the local Red Cross and Beecher fire department:

- (1) a hierarchy of offices
- (2) remuneration of members by fixed salaries
- (3) status-role is the primary occupation of the incumbent
- (4) members are subject to coercive discipline
- (5) training process which results in a high degree of internalization of appropriate value orientations

These systemic elements would seem to account for an early establishment of a complex cooperative interaction.

The differences between expected and manifested value orientations were then accounted for. The low degree of collectivity-orientation manifested by the local Red Cross and the Beecher fire department is related to the systemic elements. For members of these associations the role of association member is peripheral to their total status-role bundle. Members are not constrained by coercive discipline to manifest collectivity-orientation.

The other discrepancy manifested was by the Beecher fire department in terms of the pairs of universalism--particularism, affectivity--affective-neutrality, and specificity--diffuseness. This can be summed up by saying that Beecher firemen did not act in the role of fireman during Stages I, II and III of the disaster activities. The status-role of fireman was peripheral to the total bundle of status-roles held by the member of Beecher fire department. In a crisis situation he would be expected to act in a status-role more crucial to his total bundle of status-roles.

Although not acting in the role of fireman, members of the Beecher fire department did act within the expectations of a role peculiar to members of this association. That is, beyond its function as a fire department, the Beecher fire department was defined as a community men's club and served as an integrating factor in the community. Thus firemen served as leaders of informal work groups and became a focus of community integration during rescue activities.

An analysis was made of the differential evaluation of relief agencies by victims of the disaster. Unexpectedly strong negative attitudes toward the Red Cross developed in the course of disaster relief activities even though this association was objectively the one which contributed the greatest amount of time, energy and funds to the rehabilitation of the community.

Responses to direct questions concerning attitudes toward the several disaster relief associations plus statements occurring in response to questions not directly concerned with attitudes were tabulated. Certain biases in the collection of the data should be noted. Interviewers

probed specifically for evidence of hostility toward the Red Cross, and certain respondents were selected for interviewing because they were known to have a high degree of hostility to the Red Cross.

Roughly the same amount of positive evaluation was manifested toward all five associations. However, in addition, the Red Cross (national and local were not differentiated in the interviews) received as many negative evaluations as it received positive evaluations. Almost every respondent mentioned the Red Cross, whereas in the case of the other associations, approximately half the respondents (not necessarily the same respondents) did not mention these associations. Thus there is no evidence that, if interviewers had been instructed to probe for negative evaluations of other agencies, these would not have been reported.

Since roughly the same amount of positive evaluation is manifested toward all relief agencies, it would seem that what must be accounted for is the hostility manifested toward the Red Cross. It would seem from the available evidence that the evaluation of the activities of associations by respondents was related to the expectations of the respondents in regard to a particular association. Members of the State Police manifested the same value orientations as did members of the National Red Cross, except for the achievement--ascription pair. However, these orientations conformed to the expectations of the State Police held by victims and hence were given positive evaluation. That is to say, nobody expected the police to direct traffic with a diffuse orientation.

For direct relief associations such as the Red Cross and Salvation Army, victims seemed to have expectations of a relief worker oriented in terms

of diffuseness and ascription. In particular, the animosity toward the Red Cross seems to be related to the fact that the expectations of the Red Cross worker concerning his own role and that of the victim were clear, precise and complex whereas the role expectations of the victim were unclear and simplistic.

There is indication that victims expected the Red Cross to make immediately moves toward rebuilding destroyed and damaged personal property. The principal source of information from which the expectations of the Beecher people were derived seems to have been the publicity circulated annually in connection with Red Cross fund drives. Varying degrees of animosity were expressed toward the Red Cross for following highly rationalistic practices in the dispersal of funds to disaster victims. This is related to the achievement--ascription pair of pattern variables. The local Red Cross members were ascription oriented in that they allocated aid to victims according to the manifest attributes of injury or lack of food or shelter. The National Red Cross workers were achievement oriented in that they allocated aid to victims not according to such manifest attributes as loss of property or injury to person but in accordance with a complicated evaluation procedure for determining degrees of needs of victims. The victim's need was not based on amount of loss but upon ability of the victim to replace his loss by his own efforts. Initially, victims appeared to be surprised and dismayed by the achievement orientation of the National Red Cross.

Victims further found objectionable the nature of the achievement standards adopted by the Red Cross. For the Red Cross achievement was

defined negatively, that is, the less the victim had in the way of property, credit and earning ability, the more "need" the victim had achieved. On the other hand, it is implicit in the victims' statements that they themselves tended to define achievement in positive terms. Many victims felt that to give proportionately more aid to those without insurance was to penalize the man who had carried insurance.

Another factor involved in the hostility is the pattern variable pair of specificity--diffuseness. The Red Cross and the Salvation Army in a broad sense performed the same kinds of activities. However, each member of the Red Cross performed a limited number of tasks, whereas each member of the Salvation Army carried out all the tasks in the range of activity of the association. This has consequences for the orientation of the victim to the collectivity. If he went to the Red Cross, he had to deal with several members, each concerned with a limited aspect of the victim's needs. If he went to the Salvation Army he dealt with one member concerned with many aspects of his needs. Thus the victim tended to feel that the Salvation Army workers were more sympathetic toward him, that the Salvation Army workers regarded him as a person.

A. Conclusions

Much of the discussion in this thesis has focused on formal associations organized in part or in whole expressly for the purpose of disaster relief. That is, they are associations which function in at least one respect only in situations where the social system is disrupted. Hence, such associations must incorporate in their structure some means for

adaptation to unstructured situations. Certain organizational characteristics have been found to be associated with the adaptability of associations in unstructured situations.

It must be kept in mind discussing the conclusions of this study that generalizations from one case study can only be limited in scope. In the present case disaster struck only a quite limited sector of a social system, i.e., only a part of the residential district of Beecher. Beecher itself is, in all senses other than legally and politically, but a small segment of the social system of the city of Flint. Destruction of this residential district did not effect the sources of livelihood of the victims nor their access to such facilities as hospitals. Thus, volunteer rescue workers were enabled to rescue victims owing to two circumstances. First, the proportion of casualties was relatively low, so that enough people remained uninjured to be able to carry out rescue work. It seems likely that, had the number of casualties exceeded the number uninjured, rescue work could not have been carried out so rapidly. Second, medical facilities such as hospitals, doctors and nurses were not disrupted. Had these been destroyed, victims could have received little aid.¹ The role of direct relief agencies such as the Red Cross and Salvation Army is to provide actors with such essentials as are necessary to keep the actor alive as a biological organism. During a disaster the means whereby victims normally procure necessities has been disrupted. Relief agencies form an alternate means of providing necessities and keeping actors alive until normal means have been restored.

¹ This is brought out in contrast to such holocausts of destruction as the bombing of Hiroshima.

It must be kept in mind that these associations themselves are subject to disruption. The most complete disruption is that case wherein the association members themselves are directly involved with the disaster. Few conclusions can be drawn from this thesis concerning the effects of disaster impact upon the comportment of persons engaging in disaster relief activities since only the members of one association, the Beecher fire department, experience the direct effects of the tornado upon themselves, their close relatives and personal property.

Associations not subject to high disaster impact are still subject to disruption in that the total situation is unstructured. The association must be internally structured in such a manner that the members of these associations do not feel that for them the situation is unstructured. That is to say, each individual must have internalized a series of responses which might be termed "role expectations in a disaster." The crucial systemic elements here seem to be a medium or high degree of coercive discipline and a training process which results in a high degree of internalization of appropriate value orientations. That is to say, the appropriate role responses must not only exist on paper but the actor must have undergone a discipline training process such that the appropriate responses are automatic.

Certain individual members of volunteer associations tend to manifest a high sense of duty which appears to be less collectivity-orientation to the association than it is collectivity-orientation toward people in general. In other words, these individuals manifest a high degree of need-disposition to help people in distress. This may or may not result in the operation of a complex system of cooperative interaction.

Further, the association must be structured in such a way that members can form a complex system of cooperative interaction. This means among other things that communication among members must be maintained, both in a physical sense and in the sense of channels of communication. Channels of communication are directly related to a hierarchical system of offices. When no one individual has the authority to initiate action to other actors, a complex system of cooperative interaction cannot exist. It is possible in an association not formally organized in a hierarchical system of offices for one individual to assume imperative control. However, no assurance exists that this will happen. Nor, indeed, is there absolute assurance that an actor possessing authority will initiate action.

Concerning the emergent transitional social system, it would seem that one of the chief problem areas is again communication, not only in the two senses mentioned above but in the sense of shared meaning. First, the means of physical communication have been disrupted. Since this is not pertinent to the problem of this thesis, it will only be mentioned in passing. Second, channels of communication must be established. The various associations must communicate with each other as well as with unattached individuals (volunteers). In part this can be structured before a disaster occurs, but in part this must emerge as the transitional social system emerges. Third, the actors in the transitional social system must have a common system of shared meanings. The behavior of an actor must have the same meaning for other actors that it has for the behaving actor. It is in terms of a lack of shared meaning that a large part of the hostility and misunderstanding apparent in the Flint disaster resulted.

B. The Role of the Sociologist in Disaster Study

Disaster in the common sense meaning of the term would seem to be an important focus of study for the sociologist in at least two respects. First, in that disaster relief and civil defense are problems facing society, the sociologist may contribute findings of a practical, applied nature. These contributions would be such that only a sociologist could make. The psychologist, for example, can contribute findings concerning individual behavior during crisis, but the study of all the individuals concerned in a disaster does not add up to a study of the social system involved. And since the problem of disaster is in the final sense a problem of social organization, it would seem that the sociologist is indispensable.

Second, in that disruption of a social system may expose its workings, the study of disaster may add to a general theory of human behavior. To undertake the sociological study of disaster qua disaster, however, constitutes a prime methodological error. Disasters, as they occur among societies, are accidents, that is, they occur as the result of forces external to the social system. Consequently they cannot logically be subsumed under any laws of society. Disaster does not constitute a class of sociological phenomena; disaster in the sociological sense of the term is an analytic concept defining a general state of a social structure or process.

The occurrence of disasters among societies may legitimately be considered of sociological interest only insofar as the problem is conceived of as the disruption of social processes or social structures. The pro-

cesses or structure disrupted in the society (and the physical objects upon which the society depends) then become the object of sociological interest -- not the state of disruption itself. Such an approach to the study of disasters is methodologically sound and is at least headed in the direction of formulating the laws according to which social processes or structures conform. It is apparent, then, if the argument is correct, that there can not be a methodologically legitimate field of sociological study which investigates disaster qua disaster.

On the other hand, the study of disasters has sociological relevance in that the sociologist is provided with the opportunity to observe what happens to given social structures or processes under varying conditions of disruption. Eventually the sociologist might be able to make generalizations about various categories of social systems under varying conditions of disruption.

Since this thesis was formulated (in large part implicitly) on the foregoing assumptions, it follows that the method of analysis adopted by it might lead eventually to an understanding of forms of social structures rather than to an understanding of disaster qua disaster. It seems clear, then, that little can be said about disaster in general as a result of this study. On the other hand, some tentative conclusions have been drawn above concerning the relationship of organizational structure to members' performance in disaster relief activities in the case of the Beecher tornado disaster.

This conclusion is by no means limited to disaster studies, but should hold for a wide range of other research undertakings in the field of sociol-

ogy. Furthermore, although the formulation of this thesis and the analysis of the empirical materials served to direct attention to this conclusion, the extensive significance of this methodological point did not become clear until an attempt was made to summarize the results of the method and the analysis.

C. Comments on Theory and Procedure

This study has attempted to apply certain concepts developed principally by Talcott Parsons and Max Weber to the analysis of a complex social phenomenon, i.e., disaster relief activities following destruction by a tornado. The sector of Parson's theory of the social system which has been put to greatest use was the pattern variables typology. On the other hand, Weber's concepts of the structural criteria of a bureaucracy were also used. In addition to Weber's criteria of bureaucratic structure, certain other criteria were selected as theoretical categories appropriate for the analysis of basic systemic components of associations.

No considerable claims are made by this study to the development or modification of the theoretical schema adopted for use here. These were not the objects of the study. It is felt, however, that some importance may be attributed to this undertaking in reference to the theory in that it constitutes a first attempt to apply this schema to this range of empirical data. To the extent that this application of Parson's and Weber's theoretical categories has been accomplished successfully the study has aided in giving a firmer base to the status of these schemas as useful conceptual tools in sociology.

The pattern variables schema served adequately for the purposes of this study as a systematic typology for classifying the value orientations of persons engaged in disaster relief activities. The use of this typology was especially advantageous in that it obviated the development of ad hoc concepts dependent upon the single empirical case under study. Further, by focusing upon the value orientations manifested by the actors rather than the content of the actors' behavior it was possible for analysis to proceed in terms of generalized instead of individualized categories. Hence, one of the prime methodological prerequisites of scientific investigation was adhered to throughout. Although the method of analysis used in this study does not employ directly the data regarding the content of persons' actions (it employs the typological categories) it was nevertheless dependent upon a knowledge of the content of actors' behavior in order that their value orientations could be abstracted.

That the study consisted in a post factum analysis of the data imposed various handicaps upon the kind of analysis which was adopted. Of considerable importance to the decision to undertake what constituted a qualitative method of analysis was the nature of the sample. The sample data did not meet the requirements of random sampling technique, and hence statistical generalizations from this sample were obviated. This circumstance was of great importance in the decision leading to the use of a modified version of Weber's historico-analytical procedure.

A second important handicap imposed by the post factum status of the analysis was that the materials relating to actors' value orientations had to be "dug out" of questionnaires through a procedure of examining the whole.

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document rather than by examining responses to any given series of questions. On some occasions this procedure necessitated the drawing of inferences on the basis of indirect evidence as to the nature of an actor's value orientation. Obviously, the drawing of inferences at this stage of analysis adds considerably to the tentative nature of later findings in that it runs the risk of introducing errors which become additive the further the analysis proceeds.

D. Some Practical Considerations

It would seem that for an association to function in a complex system of cooperative interaction during a disaster, the association must be organized in terms of certain systemic elements. The most important of these seems to be an intensive training process which produces a high degree of internalization of appropriate value orientations. This can be pointed out and underlined in terms of associations organized for purposes of disaster relief, particularly in connection with Civil Defense.

If volunteer associations are to be organized for disaster relief or civilian defense it would seem that an intensive training program must be maintained. This raises other difficulties in terms of coercive discipline. It is not clear that coercive discipline can be maintained in an association in which membership is peripheral to the total bundle of status-roles held by the actor members. Further, it is not clear that such coercive discipline is compatible with other values held by members of this society, that is, individual freedom and democracy.

Moreover, it appears from the evidence that the most effective emergency rescue activity was carried out not by members of associations but by unattached individuals. This rescue activity could perhaps be made more effective by more widespread training in first aid, etc., but to discount volunteer activity, informally and spontaneously organized, is to overlook a major aspect of the functioning of American society.

E. Hostility to Red Cross

Concerning the findings of Chapter VII in connection with the animosity displayed toward the Red Cross, certain comments can be made. Some suggestions for averting this animosity will be made, and certain consequences of following these suggestions pointed out.

Since the major portion of animosity occurred as the result of the frustration of the victims' expectations of Red Cross activities, this might be remedied by Red Cross publicity conveying in a realistic manner the nature of Red Cross activities in meeting victims' needs during rehabilitation. The Red Cross might make clear the evaluation procedure used for determining the amount of aid given victims.

Certain objections to this can be raised. First, such publicity might tend to reduce the funds collected by the Red Cross. Second, such publicity might not succeed in structuring the expectations of victims so as to be in line with the Red Cross evaluation standards.

One course of action could be adopted by the Red Cross which might tend to minimize friction and which does not appear to be disruptive of their social system as organized. National workers could be trained to

adopt a more "personalized" attitude toward disaster victims. For example, physicians not affectively involved with patients still manage to retain a "bedside manner" which gives the patient reassurance in time of crisis.

However, it seems likely that rancor and disappointment on the part of many victims might be expected to prevail under the most favorable circumstances. It is unlikely that in any situation would there be no griping. Further, comparatively speaking, hostility in the Flint area was not great. In other disaster areas, near-riots have occurred.¹

¹ Cf. Roy A. Clifford, The Rio Grande Flood, A Comparative Study of Border Communities in Disaster, unpublished mimeograph report, 1955.

APPENDIX A

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Location of Interview_____

[illegible]

GENERAL SITUATION

PART I

1. What happened to you in this tornado? _____

a. How did you first realize something was wrong? _____

b. Was this before the tornado struck? _____ No.

_____ Yes. How long before? _____

c. What were you doing at the time? (Probe for situation) _____

d. Where were you at the time? Home () Other (Place): _____

Distance from home: _____

e. Who were you with? Family (); Relatives (); Friends (), Co-Workers (); Specify family members, relatives, etc.

Other _____

f. Did you think you were personally in danger? Yes (); No ();

Other _____

Why? (Why not?): _____

g. What did you think might happen to others? (Probe for specific others)

ACTION UNDER THREAT

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PART II

3. What was the first thing you did when you realized there was something wrong (or that there was a tornado? (Probe for why): _____

What did you do then? (Probe for why): _____

4. Was there any (other) time when you were confused and found it hard to decide to do one thing rather than another? Yes (); No (); Other _____

What were these things and what did you decide to do? _____

Why did you do that? _____

5. Was there any thing you ought to have been done but that you kept to yourself.

Yes (); No (); Other: _____

What was it: _____

(continued on next page)

Why? _____

PART III

DEPRIVATION AND ACTION TOWARD LOSS

6. What was the first thing you did when the danger passed? _____

7. Were you injured? Yes (); No (); Other _____

IF YES: How badly were you injured? _____

What was done for you? _____

By whom? _____

How soon? _____

How could your treatment have been improved in any way to reduce physical discomfort and nervousness? (Explain) _____

8. Did you leave the area before Tuesday evening? Yes (); No ().

IF NO: Why did you stay in the area? _____

IF YES: At about what time? _____

If yes, continued

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Why? _____

What did you do in the mean time? (before you left or were removed)? _____

How soon did you return? _____

What was the main reason you came back? _____

Did you leave the area at any other time before Tuesday evening? Yes ();

No (). When? _____

PROBE FOR ACTIVITY DURING EACH TIME AND PROBE FOR REASONS:

9. Was anyone else close to you injured or killed? (SPECIFY NUMBERS)

(1) No one: _____

(2) Family: (State relationships) _____

(3) Close friends: _____

(4) Acquaintances: _____

9a. On Monday night did you find out that anyone close to you (family, friends, acquaintances, neighbors) was injured or killed?

WHO? (SPECIFY)

EXTENT OF INJURY

WHAT WAS DONE FOR THEM

WHO HELPED HIM

(1) _____

(2) _____

(3) _____

(4) _____

(5) _____

(6) _____

(7) _____

(8) _____

(9) _____

(10) _____

(11) _____

)

()

10. Did you happen to do anything (else) in the way of rescue or relief work before Tuesday night? Yes (); No (); Other _____

IF NO: Was there any particular reason why you didn't? _____

IF YES: What did you do? (SPECIFY AND PROBE FOR WHY) _____

Who worked with you?

(NUMBERS)

_____ No one

_____ Family members _____

_____ Friends _____

_____ Acquaintances _____

_____ Strangers _____

_____ Organizations _____

IF WITH OTHERS: How did you happen to get together?

Who decided what to do? (How) _____

Do you remember anything about any conversations you had? What was said?

If informant worked with others:

How long were you together? _____

How do you think your group could have done a better job? _____

11. Did you see anybody (else) working in the area? Who were they? (Specify relationships, names, and addresses.)* _____

12. In general, what do you think about what the various organizations did in helping people around here? (INTERVIEWER, HAVE INFORMANT IDENTIFY ORGANIZATIONS) _____

13. In general, what do you think about what the people in the area did in helping others around here? _____

* Anybody else: (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR BOTH FORMAL AND INFORMAL ORGANIZATIONS) _____

14. Was your home damaged? Yes (); No (); Other

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- a. How badly? _____ No damage
_____ Limited damage
_____ Heavily damaged, but repairable
_____ Totally destroyed

15. What other losses have you suffered as a result of the tornado? _____

Anything else like (other) personal losses? _____

PART IV

SOCIAL EFFECTS OF THE TORNADO

16. How would you say you came out of this experience, as far as any loss is concerned, in comparison with the other people in this area? (SPECIFY REFERENCE GROUPS) _____

17. Who were the first people you had a chance to talk this whole thing over with? _____

When was that? _____

Can you remember what was said? What was it? _____

18. Did you make any new friends or acquaintances as a result of the tornado?

Yes (); No (); Other _____

IF YES: How did this happen? (Specify names and addresses) _____

Do you think these acquaintances will continue: Yes (); No ();

Other _____

19. In situations like this some people often do things, that disturb us or that we don't like. What were some of these things, and who were the people?

20. Do you think this tornado will make any change in who is important in the community? Yes (); No (); Other _____

IF YES: How? _____

21. Do you think there are any people or groups who will gain or lose standing or respect in the community as a result of this tornado? Yes (); No ();

Other _____

IF YES: What people (groups)? _____

Why: _____

22. In general what do you think will happen to your community as a result of the tornado? _____

23. Do you plan to continue living in this community? Yes (); No (); Other

Why (Why not)? _____

IF NO: Where do you plan to go? Address: _____

Why do you plan to go there? _____

24. How long did it take (or will it take) for you and your family to resume your usual daily routines? _____

25. Do you think the community of Beecher should be:

() incorporated as a part of Flint

() incorporated as a separate town

() unincorporated

Why do you feel this way? _____

Did you feel this way before the tornado: (IF NO: ASK HOW?) _____

26. What have you learned as a result of this tornado that would be helpful to you or to others in case of another disaster like this? _____

OBTAIN THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION FOR THE PERIOD PRECEDING THE TORNADO

1. What year did you move to Beecher (or this area)? _____

2. Where did you live before moving to the area? (IF IN FLINT, GET ADDRESS) _____

_____ (Town) _____ (State) _____ (Population)

3. Why did you move here rather than somewhere else? _____

4. When you think of your neighborhood:

about how far north does it go? _____ (name of street)

about how far east does it go? _____ (name of street)

about how far south does it go? _____ (name of street)

about how far west does it go? _____ (name of street)

5. How did you decide on these boundaries? _____

6. Where do most of your close friends live? _____ -125-

Are they mostly in or outside of the Beecher district? _____

7. Were you married or single before the tornado?

_____ Married

_____ Single

_____ Widowed

_____ Divorced

_____ Separated

8. Who contributes (Contributed) the most money to the family income?

_____ Respondent

_____ Others: Who? _____

9. What is your (his, her) job called? _____

10. What kinds of things do you (does he, does she) do on the job? _____

11. When did (or will) the chief wage earner in your family return to work? _____

12. Where does (did) he work? _____

(Get exact address or location)

How far is that from your home? _____

Does anyone else contribute to the family income? (SPECIFY): _____

What does he (she) do? _____

13. Do you belong to any organizations, lodges, or clubs?

-126-

| | Names | What proportion of the meetings do you attend? |
|-----------------------------------|----------|--|
| <u> </u> Yes: What are they? | a. _____ | _____ |
| <u> </u> No | b. _____ | _____ |
| | c. _____ | _____ |
| | d. _____ | _____ |

IF MORE THAN ONE ORGANIZATION IS MENTIONED: If you could only belong to one of these organizations, which would you choose? _____

14. Are there other organizations, besides those given above, which are mainly for the people in the Beecher District?

 No

 Yes: What are they:

Do you belong?
Yes No Other

| | | | |
|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| a. _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| b. _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| c. _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| d. _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |

15. Are there any organization that you've thought about joining since the tornado? Yes (); No (); Other _____

IF YES: What Are they:

| |
|----------|
| a. _____ |
| b. _____ |
| c. _____ |

Why? _____

1

16. How much schooling do you have?

___ No formal education

___ Some grammar school -----

___ Some high school

___ Completed high school

___ Some college

___ Completed college

___ Other: Specify _____

17. How often do you go to church or religious services?

___ Never goes

___ Once a week or more

___ 1-3 times a month

___ Less than once a month

___ Other: Specify _____

18. What religion do you consider yourself?

___ Protestant: Specify _____

___ Catholic

___ Other: Specify _____

20. Do (did) you own or rent your home?

Own _____

Rent _____

No, of rooms _____

Basement _____

APPENDIX B

Interviewer _____ -129- _____

Time of Interview _____

Respondent _____

Organization _____

Title _____

MICHIGAN STATE COLLEGE DISASTER STUDY

RAPPORT QUESTIONS:

1. Did you personally suffer any loss as the result of the tornado?
 - a. Would you mind telling me about it:
(Kinship-Friends; Death-Injury; Material)
 - b. Did you feel that you or anyone close to you was in danger from the tornado?
 - c. Did you know any of the tornado victims personally?

ACTION INITIATION:

2. When did you first know something was wrong: (PROBES: Now (means), When (Time); Where (location of respondent); Who (specific person))

-2-

3. Who did you try to get in touch with first. (PROBES): Who then (establish order)

| Who | Why | When | How | Results |
|-----|-----|------|-----|---------|
|-----|-----|------|-----|---------|

4. Who contacted you to ask for your help?

a. At what time were you contacted? (date - time)

b. What was the first thing you did then?

5. Did you take part in getting your group started? (How)

6. What were the problems in getting into action?

7. What time did you get to the tornado area? (Date and Time)

NEED DEFINITION

8. What was the situation in the tornado area when you got there? (PROBES):
(Injury-Traffic-Debris-Rescuers-Order (physical-psychological))

a. What did the people in the area need most when you arrived on the scene?

b. What else did they need?

c. What did you feel had to be done right away?

ACTION

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9. What were you able to do about the situation?

a. (PROBES): What did you personally do at the disaster scene?

b. What else did you do?

10. Did you work with other people?

(1) Who were they?

(2) For how long?

11. Did you see any injured persons?

(1) What was the nature of their injuries?

(2) Did you do anything for them? (what)

12. How long were you in the tornado area?

a. When did you leave the area? Why?

b. Did you go back? (When, Why)?

c. When did you take a break? (eating, sleeping, rest)

13. How were your activities on the scene of the disaster directed?

PROBLEMS

14. What did you want most when you first saw the job that was necessary?

15. After you worked at the scene for a while did your ideas of what you needed change? (Why?)

16. What were your 3 major problems? (List) PROBES: (ask for each)

-134-

Problem (1)

a. What was done about it?

b. Who did this?

c. Could it have been done better? (How)?

Problem (2)

a. What was done about it?

b. Who did this?

c. Could it have been done better? (How)?

Problem (3)

-135-

- a. What was done about it?
- b. Who did this?
- c. Could it have been done better? (How)?

Problem (4)

What was done about it?

b. Who did this?

Could it have been done better? (How)?

17. Now looking back, what would you say was your toughest problem?

a. Why was it the toughest?

18. Did any problems arise in dealing with various kinds of people?

(What were they, When did they occur)

a. What kinds of people were difficult to deal with?

19. Do you think you had sufficient equipment and supplies for your work?

20. Was there any time when you found it hard to decide to do one thing rather than another.

IF YES: a. What were these things?

b. What did you decide to do?

c. Why did you do that?

21. Was there any time that you had a good idea but didn't follow it up?

IF YES: a. What was it?

b. Why didn't you follow it through?

22. Do you feel satisfied that you did the best job you personally could do? ⁻¹³⁷⁻

a. Why do you feel that?

23. If you were called on again would you do anything differently in your rescue work than you have done this time? What?

24. Do you feel you were given sufficient direction or supervision?

25. Do you feel that you were given too much direction?

26. How do you feel about the part your organization played?

27. How do you think that other people felt about the part your group played in the disaster?

a. Did some other people feel differently?

28. In what way do you think this experience has effected or is likely to effect your organization?

29. Were there any things that you felt were not being done properly?
- a. By your organization?
 - b. By other organizations?
 - c. Did you see any cases of injured people being treated in a careless way?

MOTIVATION AND TRAINING

30. (IF RELEVANT) Why do you think you were selected to be called to Flint?
31. (IF RELEVANT) Was this a voluntary action on your part?
32. What were you doing when you were called on to aid in the disaster?
- a. Did this rescue work interfere with your normal life?
 - (1) If yes, how?
33. Have you had any other experience with a disaster?
- (a) What kind of a disaster was it?

34. Did you have any idea what the disaster would be like or was it different from what you expected? (IF DIFFERENT: How; better; worse; why better - worse)

35. What training or skills did you make the most use of in your work here?

a. Where did you get this training?

b. When was this training given?

36. What kinds of training do you wish you had had in order to do this job?

a. Where could one get this training today?

b. Where would this training be offered?

c. Who should have this training?

INTER-ORGANIZATION RELATIONS

37. What organizations were already there when you arrived?

a. Were there any organizations not there which you think should have been there?

b. Were there any organizations there which you think should not have been there?

38. What were the other organizations doing?

39. What kinds of problems were they having?

-111-

Did you see any:

What kinds of problems did they seem
to have?

- a. Local police
- b. Local Civil Defense People
- c. Local city government officials
- d. Public Utilities Companies
 - (1) Telephone men
 - (2) Electric Co. Linemen
 - (3) Gas Co. men
- e. The First Department (Flint, Beecher or Mt. Morris)

f. Private companies (Michigan Trucking Co., GM, etc.)

g. State Police

h. State Civil Defense Organizations

i. The National Guard

j. State government officials

k. The Red Cross

l. The Salvation Army

m. Any other groups: (doctors, nurses, ambulance, highway dept.)

n. Volunteers working

40. What recommendations would you make to your organization for the handling of disasters like this in the future?

Did your organization work out any new or change any old relations with members of other groups on the tornado scene? (Formal or informal)

a. What were they?

b. Why were they changed?

c. How do you think they will work out?

44. Do you expect that some of your relationships with groups that you work with will change as a result of this experience?

a. Should they change?

45. Were there any noticeable sore spots between groups working on the scene? Illustrate.

IF NO, SAY, ("I mean, were there any situations where friction could have developed.")

46. When did your organization arrive?

a. When do you believe your organization should have arrived?

b. Who directed your organizations activities?

47. What are the major purposes of your group?

a. Were your activities at the disaster in accord with these purposes?

48. Had your group had any other experience in a disaster?

a. What kind of a disaster was it?

49. Did your organization have any plans for dealing with an emergency like this?

IF YES: a. What were these plans?

b. Who prepared these plans?

c. Do you feel that these plans worked as they were expected to work?

IF YES: (1) In what way?

IF NO: (1) How did the operation differ from the plan?

(2) Why didn't the plans work as they were expected to work?

IF NO: d. Would plans have helped?

50. How many people are there in your group? (Local and State)

a. How many local members responded?

b. How many from throughout the state responded?

(1) Where did they come from?

51. Did you have any volunteers working for you or with your group?

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IF YES: a. How did you get them?

b. How many did you get?

c. Who were they?

d. What did you have them do?

e. How did it work out?

f. Did you have any problems in using them?

IF YES: What were the problems?

Age _____

Sex _____

Occupation (if unknown) _____

How long have you been a member of your
organization? _____

Religious affiliation _____

Education _____

Special Training _____

Residence
Address _____

No. of members in family _____

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