

Fear and Loathing on the Front Lines: A Look at Disaster from the First-Responder Perspective

The Regenhard Center for
Emergency Response Studies

2 October 2008

Contemporary Accounts of Disaster

- Social construction (Dynes & Rodriguez 2007)
 - First-responders: victims or villains?
 - Citizens: portrayals often emphasize actions that seem irrational, opportunistic, or even criminal
- Need for consistent definitions and clarity ...
 - Distinction between crises and disasters (and possibly even catastrophes) – change is the common element
 - Appreciation of the policy-making and leadership roles of boundary actors – those who make and implement policy

Leadership

Heifetz (1992) distinguishes between two types of change that require leadership

- Technical change
- Adaptive change

Objectives

- Contextualize disasters from first-responder perspective
- Advance emergency management as leadership work
- Improve structures, systems, and processes
- Advocate public policy that reflects experience

Approach

- Review the literature
 - Crisis and disaster management generally
 - Public sector leadership and decision-making
- Propose a way forward
 - Continued use of narrative and case studies, but
 - Grounded in a theory of action research

Literature

A growing body of work on disasters, particularly from social science and natural hazards perspectives

- Public administration: Distinctions between crises and disasters (Schneider 2008)
- Organizational theory: High-reliability organizations (Weick & Sutcliffe 2001; Bigley & Roberts 2001; cf. Perrow 1996)
- Natural hazards: Vulnerability often result from human decisions (Mileti 1999; Pelling 2003)

Literature

Little or none of it focuses on first-responders' actions

- PTSD/CISD (Roberts & Everly 2006; Everly & Boyle 1999; Paton & Flin 1999; Mitchell & Dyregrov 1993)
- RPD & ICS (Flin & Arbuthnot 2002; Bigley & Roberts 2001; Klein 1999; Flin 1996)
- Sensemaking (Weick 1993)
- Communication at WTC during 9/11 (Dearstyne 2007)
- Heroic action of USCG during Katrina (Flynn 2007)

Some Additional Sources

Human error

- Active versus latent error (Reason 1990)
- Intention & action (Senders & Moray 1992)
 - Slips
 - Mistakes
 - Memory errors
- Skill-, rule- & knowledge-based (Rasmussen 1981)
- Causes (Dörner 1989)
 - Thinking in linear time series (cf. exponential or logarithmic)
 - Thinking in simple cause-effect relationships vs complex networks
 - Tunnel vision vs “thematic vagabonding”
- Normal accidents (Perrow 1996, cf. Dörner 1989)

Some Additional Sources

Group decision problems

- Groupthink (Janis 1982)
- Bureaucratization (Dunn 2007)
- Institutional inertia and path-dependence

Some Additional Issues

- Resilience and reliability
 - Engineering resilience
 - Ecological resilience
- Reform/restructuring/renewal/rationalization
 - Structural
 - Strategic
 - Systemic (regime change)

Public Policy

Two contrasting views ...

- Focusing events bring needed attention to longstanding problems and accelerate policy-level adaptations (Birkland 2006/1996)
- Political involvement, public interest competition, and powerplays delay recovery (Picou & Marshall 2006)

Leadership

- Organizational/group perspectives
 - Private sector is dominant source of models (Van Wart 2003)
 - Theories have reflected historical conditions (Van Wart 2003)
 - Contemporary principles of public sector leadership emphasize the moral dimension and democratic values (Denhardt & Denhardt 2000; Denhardt & Campbell 2006)
- Individual Perspectives
 - Street-level bureaucrats (Prottas 1978; Lipsky 1980)
 - Street-level leadership (Vinzant & Crothers 1998)
 - Empowerment (Petter, et al. 2002)



Public Sector Crisis Leadership

- Hillyard (2000) suggests that the organizational structure should be matched to crisis characteristics
 - Crisis dimensions
 - Network characteristics
- Boin & 't Hart (2003) argue that reform leadership and crisis response differ in their requirements
 - Both involve change
 - But one involves adaptation, the other requires technical competence and decisive action

A Way Forward?

- Case studies
 - Tendency toward voyeurism
 - Need to improve the exploratory and explanatory dimensions
 - Attention to first-person narratives
 - Focus on both what is and is *not* said
 - Interview boundary actors
- Grounded theory
 - Use case studies to develop a theory of action
 - Based on loop-learning (levels of reform)

Grounded Theory of Action

- Anticipation
- Access
- Attention
- Assessment
- Action
- Adaptation

Loop Learning

- Organizational Learning (Argyris & Schön 1978)
 - Zero-loop (tool or technology)
 - Single-loop (task)
 - Double-loop (system)
- Societal Learning (Schön 1973)
 - Triple-loop (society)
- Reflective Practice (Schön 1984)

A Proposed Starting Point

	Anticipation	Access	Attention	Assessment	Action	Adaptation
Structure						
System						
Society		Street-Level Leadership				

