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DISASTER-RELATED EMERGENT CITIZEN GROUPS:
AN EXAMINATION OF THEIR RELATIONSHIPS TO OTHER ORGANIZATIONS*

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Introduction

Citizen response to adverse or potentially adverse situations has been a growing phenomenon since the 1970's (Boyte, 1980; Henig, 1982). Issues regarding these situations may include consumerism, anti-crime, riot mitigation, the environment, and natural or man-caused disasters. In order to accomplish various tasks in regard to these various issues, grass roots social movement organizations (SMO's) are often mobilized by concerned citizens. Using data from a nationwide study we look at the relationship between one type of SMO, an emergent citizen group (ECG) in a disaster-related situation, and selected key local organizations. In this analysis, a collective behavior and organizational approach are combined. This tack allows us to analyze the ECG as it develops within its organizational set (see Evan, 1976), and even analyze the emergence of an organizational set (see Ross, 1980). Using the ECG as our focal organization we look at the dominant direction of the flow of information between it and the key organizations as a fundamental factor of influence within the issue-organization set. The consequences of the ECG's legitimacy and successes are then discussed in light of the patterns of relations or characteristics with the other members of the organizational set.

Literature Review

During the last 20 years a number of related shifts have occurred in the study of collective behavior. Previously, those involved in collective behavior analysis focused upon an individual level of analysis and social psychological orientation with some focus of the interaction within the collective behavior process.

Within these past two decades a number of works all either suggested and/or demonstrated the utility of a social organizational approach to collective behavior (Smelser, 1963; Turner, 1964; Zald and Ash, 1966; Dynes and Quarantelli, 1968; Weller and Quarantelli, 1973; McCarthy and Zald, 1973). It was from this line of thought that Zald and Ash (1966) differentiated between a social movement and the organization that develops in regards to a social movement. A logical extension of this work delineated theoretically by McCarthy and Zald (1973, 1977) and empirically by Freeman (1973, 1979), Walsh (1981), and Wolensky (1983) is that SMO's do not operate in a social vacuum, but rather, they are impacted by the social environment. Implicit with this assumption is that SMO's in turn, also may impact the social environment. Although not yet explicitly discussed in the collective behavior/SMO literature, it is obvious that much of this particular perspective of the SMO (and resource mobilization) approach is directly borrowed from an open-systems model (especially the work of McCarthy and Zald—coming from a population ecology model).

It should be added that recently, some collective behavior-oriented research from an interactionist perspective uses the emergent group as their level of analysis (as opposed to the individual) and discusses how these groups interact with its environment (Blumer, 1978; Sharp, 1981; Stephens, n.d.). Hence, despite diverse terminology from two different
approaches, there is some apparent consensus upon what is important to study at the group level. One form of agreement is that the process of emergence is a worthwhile topic. The other aspect of agreement is that the environment is a condition that may impact the chances of a group emerging, and whether the emergent group can maintain its existence once it emerges.

Like collective behavior, much of the early efforts in organizational research dealt with the social psychological traits of organizational members and the internal workings of the organization. Although the idea of organizational environment is not a new idea and can be traced back to at least Selznick (1948), it has not been until the last decade that the level of analysis has shifted from the individual to the group/organization in respect to the organizational analysis (Blau, 1960), and it has been only in the last decade or so since the importance of the organizational environment was realized. Recent works by Evan (1976), Meyer et al. (1978), and Aldrich (1982) all exemplify different variations of an "open-systems" model of organizations.

In regards to our study, we find that Evan's (1976) concepts are most relevant. The ECG's in our case serve as the focal organization. The other organizational set members are limited to three other key organizations which are potential sources of contact with the ECG. These organizational set members include the local disaster organization (e.g., civil defense, office of emergency management), the local legislative entities (e.g., office of the mayor, city council, city manager, county commissioners), and the disaster specific organization/agency (e.g., local Red Cross, flood plain commission, Corps of Engineers, state EPA).

Information, in the context of this study, is an organizational resource of influence and a desired (if not necessary) condition for effectiveness in organizational goal attainment. Viewing dyadic, triadic, and/or quadric relationships of information flow between disaster issue organizational sets permits an analysis of directed influences in the context of the two-step process (Lazarsfeld et al., 1944; Katz, 1957) only with organizations as the unit of analysis; but also recognizes that there are complexities beyond the two-step hypothesis in terms of organizational consequences as a result of the information networks (a point eluded to by Rogers, 1962:213-214). Focal organizations (ECG's) generally perceive a need for information from other organizations from which they can refine their goals and pursue a course of action to attaining those goals (Quarantelli, 1983). Consequently, the importance of information to the ECG is vital to its future endeavors of effectively influencing actions taken by authoritative or responsible organizations to resolve the disaster-related problem.

Emergent Citizen Groups in Disaster-Related Situations

The existing body of knowledge pertaining to emergent citizen groups strongly imply that certain characteristics are worthy of attention in the disaster-related situation. Theory of collectivity asserts that during a small community crisis, grouping is often attributed to an
aggregate of mutually influenced individual responses to immediate needs which become secondary to institutionalized response organizations in larger scale disasters (Barton, 1969); however, the processes of organizing, even to the level of institutionalizing, during non-emergency periods (pre- and post-disaster) have not been addressed. Hence, organizing behaviors resulting from perceived or post-disaster impact assessments offer a perspective for preparedness that could amend the notion of the individual response scenario for large or small disasters in future emergency periods.

In 1981, a nationwide study of cases involving emergent citizen groups was initiated by the Disaster Research Center. The first step in the research process involved an extensive systematic search of available sources and resources, including research literature, popular literature, state/local disaster officials, elected officials, extension agents, media organizations, disaster organizations, academic institutions, and professional colleagues. Extensive effort was devoted to excluding highly formal or institutionalized disaster organizations from the study sample; and including localized (non-institutional) informal disaster group structures.

The execution of this first step was fruitful. Utilizing criteria for selection of cases based on the work of Dynes (1974), the location and identification of a large number of emergent citizen groups was made. Secondly, criteria using the types of disaster agent (natural/technological), types of disaster event (e.g., earthquake, flood, landslide, nuclear waste, toxic waste), nature of the disaster group (pre- and post-disaster), and location (e.g., rural/urban, U.S. geographic region) were applied to select fifty cases for study. Field teams from the Disaster Research Center utilizing a structured interview schedule and guide, visited the selected case sites and interviewed a cross-section of members, leaders, non-members, agency personnel, elected officials, and the media, in an effort to formulate a comprehensive, detailed accounting of the groups. In addition, an extensive amount of documents and testimony was collected from respondents and resource facilities (e.g., local libraries, agency offices, group offices).

Examination of the community level case reports on emergent citizen groups in this study revealed a rather common structure of organizations encountered in each case study. Namely these include the local legislative entity (elected and/or appointed policy-makers), the generic disaster organization at the local level (e.g., civil defense, office of emergency services, disaster management office), and the agent-specific organization responsible at the local level (e.g., U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, State Environmental Protection Agency, Flood Plain Management Commission, Red Cross, Public Health Agency). Analyzing the established network patterns of the grass roots (Focal-ECG) organization with the three identified organizational types involved in the disaster-related issue at the local
level provides the opportunity to determine commonalities and differences with respect to an informational-flow organizational-set network for each case, and between the cases in the study. In turn, the occasion to generate typologies which can be discussed in terms of situational and organizational or strategic conditions will be availed. This level of analysis provides substantive insights of interorganizational relation phenomena and will contribute to a greater understanding of community organizational environments.

The Sample

Twelve cases from the original fifty cases were selected for this exploratory study. The selection was done on the basis of those cases which the authors had direct experience in the data collection processes, thus economizing on the amount of time needed to research less familiar cases in the NSF/DRC study. A cursory examination of other case study reports from the fifty cases revealed that any of the cases could have confidently been utilized in this analysis. Table 1 provides the descriptive features of the sample cases used in this study.

Methodological Considerations

As a unit of analysis, the local Emergent Citizen Group (ECG) or grassroots Social Movement Organization (SMO) may be viewed as an important dynamic of structural social interaction from two basic positions. First, the ECG/SMO constitutes a normative vehicle for collective social action at the community level. Second, the ECG/SMO represents an organizational type or status which occupies a place in the typology of organized types or systems. Although the review of literature indicates an emerging school of thought which enjoins perspectives of collective behavior and organization phenomena, tests of such belief constructs have not been systematically conducted heretofore.

In order to take the collective behavior/organizational construct one step further, this study will examine emergent citizen group case level data by employing an organizational-set networking framework (Dynes, 1974; Evan, 1976) based on information flows. Extensive studies of primarily economic-oriented corporate organizations conducted by Evan (1976) establishes the configurations of the analytic model. The following illustration depicts the ideal typology of organizational-set network arrangements:

I
(Wheel)

II
(All-Channel)

III
(Chain)

-where: A equals the Focal (ECG) organization.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ECC Initials</th>
<th>Disaster Issue/Event</th>
<th>Community Size</th>
<th>Membership Size</th>
<th>Year Emerged</th>
<th>Manifest Goal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D.F.C.</td>
<td>Flooding</td>
<td>1,090</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>Influence action toward replacing a destroyed flood diversion groin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.C.E.C.</td>
<td>Earthquake</td>
<td>23,000</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Develop and implement an earthquake preparedness and action plan with a large subdivision.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.A.C.E.</td>
<td>Toxic Wastes</td>
<td>35,041</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Close-down an existing toxic waste disposal site and have the area cleaned-up.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.R.A.W.A.</td>
<td>Landslides</td>
<td>480,000</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>Influence local government to study slide prone areas and take protective action through zoning.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y.C.C.C.</td>
<td>Toxic Wastes</td>
<td>11,000</td>
<td>326</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Stop a local industry from discharging toxic wastes into a domestically used stream.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.C.F.</td>
<td>Flooding</td>
<td>105,000</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Influence the government to purchase homes within a flood plain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.W.B.V.</td>
<td>Flooding</td>
<td>125,000</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>Participate in the clean-up and mitigation of a major flood.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.E.N.A.</td>
<td>Tornado</td>
<td>35,000</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Assist a neighborhood in recovery.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.U.N.</td>
<td>Radioactive Wastes/Mining</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Prevent the development of uranium mining at a local site.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.A.P.O.N.E.</td>
<td>Toxic Wastes</td>
<td>125,000</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Prevent the use of an existing landfill for toxic wastes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.C.C.</td>
<td>Toxic Wastes</td>
<td>120,000</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Close an existing toxic waste site.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The linkages which form the network relationships between the Focal Organization and the remaining organizations in the set poses a particular methodological problem. Specifically, Evan (1976) asks: "Can we construct an index that would yield a 'co-efficient of interconnectedness' of elements in an organization-set...and hence, decision-making autonomy...that would discriminate not only among the three simplified organization-sets shown (in the previous illustration) but also among other possible configurations?" Undoubtedly, the isolation of comprehensive and adequate factors to constitute a generic index presents a formidable task for those concerned with complex organizations. However, the analytic model may not be so problematic when applied to emergent or less functionally complex organizations at the remote community level. Such reasoning is derived from the empirical evidence that the majority of ECGs in disaster-related situations tend to aspire to a singular issue "action-demand-response" type of goal; and that such goals are more or less dependent upon information as a resource to facilitate some type of politically-oriented solution activity.

Thus, this study explores the notion that interaction between the Focal (ECG) organization and other relevant organizations at the local-issuse level is best illustrated by the patterns of the organizational information networks. To wit, these patterns reflect levels of influence, goal attainment effectiveness, and probable strategy for the ECG activity under normative societal conditions.

Once the network configurations are established for the sample cases, a classification analysis will be applied via a resource-dependence schema (as discussed in the following section). In turn, the next level of analysis will examine classification types by organization and environmental dichotomous variables: Rural/Urban, Natural Disaster/Technological Disaster, Pre-Disaster/Post-Disaster, and Conflict/Consensus in their behavioral pattern.

Operationalization of the Resource-Dependence Schema

The primary assumption of the resource-dependency schema concept is that organizations are viewed from an "open system" perspective, and as such, the environment does not force the organization into situations where no choice of strategy is possible (Hall, 1982:318). Simply, an ECG does have alternatives when making decisions with respect to how it is going to deal with the tangential organizational environment. The ideal type in the resource-dependency model would be illustrated by the "wheel" configuration of the organizational set typology. From the organizational-set typology the "wheel" configuration basically represents organizational autonomy. However, from the resource-dependency perspective, the "wheel" configuration represents a demonstrated strategy or circumstance based on certain structure arrangements which involve the hierarchy and composition of members (internal and external power arrangements), assessment of competition or product diffusion needs/demands (in the case of the ECGs, the product would be in terms of information resources), and the autonomy for freedom and flexibility to change in order to utilize available information networks for goal attainment. In sum, the hypothesis states that the propensity for effectiveness and goal attainment for the ECG is increased.
if its information network with other organizations predominantly reflects the "wheel" configuration.

Presentation of the Analysis

In the illustration below, and on following pages, the "wheel" configuration is utilized as the ideal structure of analysis. The sample ECG case is considered the Focal organization, and other organizations in the set are designated in general terms (e.g., "Civil Defense" is the term used for all local disaster agencies, whether they are actually called that or not). The arrows in the organizational-set illustrations indicate the direction of the flow of information between the entities. Darkened arrows indicate the primary, or most important channel of information as perceived by the respondents from the ECGs. The \((RDS=\,\)) is simply a quantification of the number of information resource inputs garnered by the ECG. The higher the number (from 0 to 3) the greater, hypothetically, the information resource base of the ECG; and the higher its propensity for goal attainment.

Case #1: H.E.L.P., an ECG which was formed to prevent the development of a hazardous waste landfill.

The organizational-set information network tends to resemble the "wheel" configuration. The primary information network was established between the ECG and the State E.P.A. H.E.L.P. attained its goal, which in effect, was to cause authorities to act in their behalf and prevent the development of the landfill.

Case #2: D.F.C., an ECG which was formed to initiate some action toward replacing a destroyed flood diversion groin.

This organizational-set information network does not resemble the "wheel" configuration. However, the key information linkage between the ECG and the county commission proved to be an adequate enough resource for the ECG to realize its goal.

Case #3: F.G.E.C., an ECG which was formed to develop and implement an earthquake preparedness and action plan within a large subdivision.
This organizational-set information network does not resemble the "wheel" configuration. The key information linkage between the ECG and the Red Cross enabled the attainment of this organization's goal, which in turn, was conveyed to the other entities in the set.

Case #4: F.A.C.E., an ECG which formed to close-down an existing toxic waste disposal site and have the area cleaned-up.

```
City Council
   ↓
F.A.C.E.  
   ↑
   State E.P.A.

(RDS= 1)
```

This organizational-set information network does tend to resemble the "wheel" configuration. Again, the key information linkage between the ECG and the State E.P.A. was adequate enough to insure goal attainment for the ECG.

Case #5: S.R.A.W.A., an ECG which was formed to influence local government to study landslide prone areas and take protective measures through zoning restrictions.

```
County  →  City Council
       ↓          
S.R.A.W.A.  
       ↑          
       Regional Planning
        ↓          
Civil Defense

(RDS= 3)
```

This organizational-set information network exemplifies the ideal-type "wheel" configuration. Although goal attainment appears that it will be realized in the near future, as one of the oldest ECG cases in the study, it has exhibited a number of set backs which members and leaders attribute to bureaucratic red-tape and double-talk.

Case #6: Y.C.C.C., an ECG which was formed to stop a local industry from discharging toxic wastes into a domestically used stream.

```
City Council
   ↓
Y.C.C.C.  
   ↑
   State E.P.A.

(RDS= 1)
```

This organizational-set information network closely resembles the "wheel" configuration. However, the primary information resource for the ECG was with the State E.P.A. The goal of the ECG appeared unattainable in the initial activities of the organization, but since they've developed the linkage with the E.P.A. it now seems certain that they will achieve it.
Case #7: C.C.F., an EGG which was formed to persuade the government to purchase their homes within a flood plain area.

This organizational-set information network exemplifies the ideal-type "wheel" configuration. This EGG has also experienced a great deal of delay and frustration in the bureaucratic system, but it appears that they will soon attain the goal they had set.

Case #8: F.W.B.V., an EGG which was formed to participate in the clean-up and mitigation of a major flood.

This organizational-set information network exhibits the predominant characteristics of the "wheel" configuration. The organization is relatively young, but it appears that it will achieve its goal.

Case #9: S.E.N.A., an EGG which was formed to help a neighborhood recover from a tornado aftermath.

This organizational-set information network tends to exhibit the characteristics of the "wheel" configuration. The organization had little difficulty in attaining its goal.

Case #10: S.U.N., an EGG which was formed to prevent the development of uranium mining at a local site.
This organizational-set information network formed a triadic "wheel" configuration. The ECG was able to attain its goal with little problems in the process.

Case #11: C.A.P.O.N.E., an ECG which was formed to prevent the operation of utilizing an existing landfill for toxic waste disposal.

```
City Council
               C.A.P.O.N.E.
               ↓    ↓    ↓
               Civil Defense
               State E.P.A. (RDS= 2)
```

This organizational-set information network formed a triadic "wheel" configuration. The ECG did attain its intended goal without many problems.

Case #12: D.C.C., an ECG which was formed to influence responsible agencies to close an existing landfill which was handling toxic wastes.

```
City Council
               D.C.C.
               ↓    ↓    ↓
               Civil Defense
               State E.P.A. (RDS= 2)
```

This organizational-set information network does not resemble the "wheel" configuration. Although the ECG established an information resource base with the local government and the State E.P.A., they were unsuccessful in attaining their goal.

Table 2 presents the cases in a summary fashion along with their classifications in terms of the dichotomous variables discussed on page 6.

Findings and Summary

The findings presented reveal some points of interest regarding the organizational-set "wheel" configuration based on information networks, the development of the organizational-set, consequences of the organizational relationships, implications of/for ECG strategies, and observations concerning organizational roles.

As might be expected when basing empirical data on an ideal typology and categorically controlling for the types of organizations in the set, only two of the cases strongly resembled the "wheel" configuration; however, five other cases tended to favor this type of organizational-set. From a perspective of actual autonomy, these seven cases varied significantly. The reasons for such variation are speculative, but factors of socio-political dominancy and technical information control by non-focal organizations, in conjunction with the nature of the disaster issue and the voluntary desire of the organizations in the set to become exchange linkages, probably account for some of the differences between cases. Additionally, one must be
Table 2: Classification and Summary Information Regarding the Emergent Citizen Group Cases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ECG Initials</th>
<th>Disaster Agent</th>
<th>Disaster Period</th>
<th>Location (rural/urban)</th>
<th>Behavioral Pattern</th>
<th>Goal Attained</th>
<th>RDS Score</th>
<th>Primary Linkage Organization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H.E.L.P.</td>
<td>Tech.</td>
<td>Pre</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>Consensus</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>State E.P.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.F.C.</td>
<td>Natural</td>
<td>Post</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>Consensus</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>County Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.G.E.C.</td>
<td>Natural</td>
<td>Pre</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Consensus</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Red Cross</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.A.C.E.</td>
<td>Tech.</td>
<td>Post</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Conflict</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>State E.P.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.R.A.W.A.</td>
<td>Natural</td>
<td>Pre</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Conflict</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Regional Planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y.C.C.C.</td>
<td>Tech.</td>
<td>Post</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>Consensus</td>
<td>Probable</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>State E.P.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.C.C.</td>
<td>Natural</td>
<td>Post</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>Consensus</td>
<td>Probable</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>City Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.W.B.V.</td>
<td>Natural</td>
<td>Post</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Consensus</td>
<td>Probable</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>City Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.E.N.A.</td>
<td>Natural</td>
<td>Post</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Consensus</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Local Disaster Flood Advisory Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.U.N.</td>
<td>Tech.</td>
<td>Pre</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Conflict</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Local Recovery Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.A.P.O.N.E.</td>
<td>Tech.</td>
<td>Pre</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Conflict</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>City-County Officials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.C.C.</td>
<td>Tech.</td>
<td>Post</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Conflict</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>City Council</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
cognizant that the focal organization (ECG) is generally perceived as non-institutional, and therefore, a less legitimate form of organization for implementing governmental actions. As indicated by the case diagram, the degree of autonomy does actually increase with each exchange linkage, primarily because these linkages represent some level of recognized need and/or influence between the organizations. However, we also noted that the levels of efficiency and efficacy for the focal organizations (ECGs) were hampered when maximum autonomy was attained. The apparent reason for this was attributed to the fact that organizational roles, responsibilities, and authorities became more "muddled" and dysfunctional for the less-complex ECG.

From the resource-dependency perspective the focal organizational (ECG) in the "wheel" configuration of the organizational-set essentially relied upon one key input linkage; usually with the agent-specific organization. We found that this exchange activity was not generally a consequence of the organization's strategy, but rather, a result of attaining little initial satisfaction or attention from the other organizational types in the controlled set. As illustrated by all but one of the ECG cases, a singular key information resource was all that was truly necessary for goal attainment. The ECG's information output was generally based on the key input resource, but illustratively demonstrated a much more dynamic element in the organizational-set arrangement. In effect, the orientation affixed to a goal-producing organizational-set for the focal organization (ECG) was principally expressed by some type of political process. The key linkage organization with the ECG represents the advocacy entity and legal authority for action-response, while the ECG represents the public interest for action-demands.

In sum, the organizational-set approach, when applied to emergent citizen group cases, offers an analytic perspective from which collective behavior phenomena can be examined in an organizational framework. The degree of utility for this approach however, should take into account the fact that autonomy (for which the model/typology was originally intended) is perhaps a matter of less concern to ECGs, than is the initial establishment of extra-organizational linkages or non-material resources. Thus, employing the typology from a resource dependency perspective seems to have greater merit. With respect to the disaster-related nature of the phenomena, and the selected organizations, a rather surprising outcome which appeared was the relatively minor relationship between the focal organizations (ECGs) and the Civil Defense or Emergency Services Agencies. There were no key linkages between the ECGs and these types of agencies in the cases studied. Further, there were three cases where the Civil Defense/Emergency Services Agencies were not networked with any of the organizations in the set-model and four cases where the Civil Defense/Emergency Services Agencies were solely input relationships (no output from the CD/ES Agency to any other organization in the model set). Further study would seem appropriate with respect to identifying the reasons or rationale which seemingly causes these types of local disaster-related organizations from involvement in local pre- and post-disaster situations or issues.

The findings with respect to the classified dichotomous variables produced one substantive corollary; namely, the relation between the disaster
agent, the location of the ECG, and the behavioral pattern of the ECG. The data show that the technological disaster agent, precipitating an ECG in an urban location, is exclusively associated to conflict behavior patterns in the ECG's interactions with other organizations. Absence of conflict behavior was noted in all of the natural disaster agent situations, and in the two technological disaster agent situations found in rural settings. Two popular explanations for this finding express possible reasons, but again, further examination into this issue may uncover more specific logic. The first explanation involves the act of God versus the act of man argument which implies that blame, when focused on a person or group of persons, can generate directed actions between social parties (often such action is instituted in, or results in conflictive behavior); whereas, blame associated to God or nature involves a situation between a victim or victims and an uncontrollable or incorporeal power... a single party condition which prohibits direct recourse from any means of organized behaviors. The second explanation, which is partially interdependent upon the first, attributes organizational conflict behavior to the organizational culture (Evan, 1976; Olsen, 1976). This notion assumes that the behavior of organizations is normative (rather than functional) in the context of a complexity of factors: member's value and attitude orientation, media influence, tolerance of the organizational environment within a specific area, and so forth. Recent studies indicate that such organizational cultures do differentiate between rural and urban sectors, and that disaster agent issues can influence organizational culture change from the accommodative behavior structure to the conflict behavior structure (Green, 1984).

The implications of this exploratory study for future research are many. We feel that the emergent citizen groups in disaster-related situations represent a viable example of local collective behavior/social movement phenomena, and as such, have provided a strong case for examining the phenomena in the context of the organizational approach. In future studies we would tend to advocate the appropriateness of the resource-dependency schema for the organizational-set approach, over such notions as power or influence relationships. This rationale takes into account the fact that emergent citizen groups, whether simple-goal oriented or complex-goal oriented, are initially dependent upon establishing a non-material resource base with some other organized structure. In turn, the implications for a longitudinal study of this relationship could generate a clearer understanding of institutionalizing processes of social organizations, the relevance of change in organizational-set configurations or exchange factors over time, and strategic factors which affect successes or failures in such organizations.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
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