

Tending the Fire of Service: An Empirical Study of Strategies for
Integrating Volunteer and Career Firefighters

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ABSTRACT

The local fire station typically is responsible for responding first in an emergency. Emergency response in the era after 11 September 2001 is an important topic to consider. In the big picture, it is a complex web of federal and national resources that are brought to bear on a diverse set of problems. In the smaller picture, individual managers cope with pressures to provide efficient response, but a response that is embedded within the needs of the local community. In both these pictures, the tensions between individualism and nationalism are discerned. This dissertation examines these individuals at the local county level in more detail. Using grounded theory, it describes the strategies that emerged to integrate the actions of career and volunteer first responders. It finds that legacy organizational design and individual motivations are important influences on these integrating strategies. Most interestingly, it finds that the founding debate between the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists still has influence on these managing strategies. Local managers are able to blend these distinct visions of government. Each of these influences is described as they were manifested in the study interviews and observations.

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents, Captain and Mrs. George A. Heffernan. They provided a love of history and future possibilities. They are not separate, but parts of an indivisible whole, bookends to our lives.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

This dissertation discusses the important topic of emergency response with both practical and theoretical perspectives. Among the many areas within emergency response that are of interest to public administration, this dissertation began with a focus on the motivation of public sector and volunteer responders. In keeping with grounded theory, what emerged from the data was a theoretical framework concerning management strategies to integrate career and volunteer responders. The motivation of responders affected the selection of these management strategies. Also, it is theorized that organization design and visions of what emergency response means affect these strategies as well.

Before describing the methodology in more detail, this introduction will provide an overview of the importance of emergency response, the purpose of this dissertation, emergency management in the historical context of founding principles, and the way forward on navigating the information in this dissertation.

Importance of Emergency Response

Emergency response has deep roots in American history. From a public administration perspective, this policy area is multi-layered, including many cooperating and conflicting stakeholder relationships. In our Colonial period, volunteer associations were a principal method of responding to fires and other hazards of living within society. Citizens were needed to provide water from their private wells, as very few municipal water supplies were available. They relied more on their neighbors and community for assistance, rather than government.

As industrialization advanced in the late 1800's and beginning of the 1900's, the safe operation of factories was a primary concern, as accidents caused serious injuries to employees, and property. Typical of the concern during this period was the outbreak of fire at the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory on 25 March 1911. Alarm systems were poor. In addition, exits were locked shut to discourage theft. This fire invigorated communities to organize and back new safety legislation that protected factory workers. These regulations required the installation of sprinkler systems, wider exits and stairwells, and smoking and rubbish removal restrictions (Bankston, 2006; Encyclopaedia Britannica,

2009; Foner & Garraty, 1991; Naden, 1971). Knowles (2011) discusses this period as the conflagration era (1860-1940). This era was typified in the creation of technical expertise around fire safety that encompassed understanding of the effects of urbanization. This expertise relied on coordination between the construction industry, fire departments, political figures, and union officials to craft regulations and laws for fire safety.

The civil defense era (1940-1980s) and all-hazard era (1960-present) followed the conflagration era. The civil defense era emphasized the importance of preparing for nuclear attack from a foe external to the country. Again, the needed technical expertise to prepare for nuclear attack expanded to include additional disciplines and organizational form. This era forced focus on emergency response as a national issue, but continued to rely on an understanding of urbanization. Urban areas were seen as the most likely targets for attack. The all-hazard era continued to widen the aperture of coordination to include all types of disasters, whether natural, manmade, or through terrorism and cover all phases of the disaster. The complexity involved in coordinating across disciplinary and organizational boundaries present very challenging management problems (Knowles, 2011, p. 20).

Since 11 September 2001, emergency response became increasingly viewed as a national issue that requires attending to identification of roles and responsibilities. The attacks on the Pentagon and the World Trade Center were seen not so much as attacks on the cities of New York and Washington, DC, but on the nation and each U.S. citizen. Much has been written about the relationship between the national and the state levels of responsibility. Establishing the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) which absorbed the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) in 2003 created additional issues with the shift from recovery from natural disasters to recovery from acts of terrorism. In 2007, DHS reorganized again and reestablished FEMA as a major agency within DHS. The reorganization was an attempt to quell criticism about their response to natural disasters, particularly Katrina in 2005.

Yet, emergency response is profoundly local. Every day, local public managers devise strategies to respond to emergencies. These emergencies often are unpredictable and require immediate action. The hazards and risks are tied to the locality, subject to the concerns of the citizens in the local community. Local managers are called to shape what

emergency response entails and understand the constraints that are important to that response. Shaping emergency response is a continuous process that reassesses the likelihood and devastating consequences of particular disasters. Factors such as changing weather patterns, introduction of new industries and population changes are just a few examples of items that may shape the mission, roles and scope of emergency services in a particular area.

Along with the need to tune strategies to the locality, is the need to draw resources from the community. The manager must form disciplined teams that understand each other's capabilities as well as ensuring that they are trained to respond when needed. Volunteers from the local community assist career responders. Career responders don't necessarily live in the same area as where they work.

The importance of the local managers' ability to juggle the ever-changing mission, role, scope and available career and volunteer resources to respond to emergencies cannot be overstated. Managers juggle these traditional managerial aspects, along with an awareness of the particular needs of community they serve. With this broad examination of the importance of emergency response within the community, the next introductory section provides more detail on the purpose of this work.

Purpose of Dissertation

The aim of this dissertation is to develop theory based on a grounded methodology to understand the influences on local emergency managers in shaping integration strategies of career and volunteer firefighters. The proximity and close relationship between career and volunteer responders was an intriguing one. How were career and volunteer responders alike and different in their motivations? How did managers cope with the two entities? What emerged from the qualitative data was a fascinating set of seemingly dichotomous and static influences that managers were able to merge into an integrated approach. In reality, these influences were dynamic and subject to the interactions of the responders. Managers were incrementally adjusting their strategies attuned to this dynamic environment.

This work will not and cannot describe all the influences that affect strategy development. It does elaborate on three of the most interesting influences. The

motivations of the career and volunteer responders were one of the principal items of interest. In fact, understanding their motivations was the initial focus. How were these motivations alike and how were they different? Were the managers' perceptions of these motivations accurate? Most importantly, what was their story of why they would fulfill this extremely dangerous and critical function?

Using grounded theory, interviews and observations were conducted to explore the motivations to serve of volunteer and career responders. The study discovered that some foundational influences are embedded within these questions of motivations. Although there were some hunches that motivation to serve and meanings ascribe to service were important factors to emergency response, management strategies emerged from the motivational data. This emergence was totally in keeping with a grounded methodology which does not rely on crafting hypotheses to prove as the goal of the resulting study. Rather, theory emerged from the stories they told of service. Their individual stories of motivation were deeply connected to how the manager coped with both the competing and complementary nature of leading a group of career and volunteer responders.

These interviews concerning responder motivations led to the emergence of a management strategy focus for the study. A second set of questions was asked of local managers about integrating career and volunteer responders. The data from both parts of the data gathering stages revealed two other interesting elements, organizational design and vision.

Managers spoke of how they needed to cope with legacy organizations. The legacy organizations were shrouded in historical and cultural mores. The organizational designs had a great deal of influence on the strategy to integrate career and volunteer responders. This study will identify the observed organizational designs and analyze their relationship with shaping strategies.

The third element that emerged is identified as vision. It describes how emergency response is defined. Many strategic planning efforts start with a mission and vision statement. The vision of the organization is an important element in forward-thinking and binding employees to common goals. It is related to motivation in that employees buy-in emotionally to fulfilling the goals of the organizational vision.

Understanding the underlying motivations helps the manager to align the employees with making the vision a reality. In the case of emergency response, the manager may not have complete control of defining what the organizational vision is or should be. Nevertheless, the manager needs to understand how the definition and vision of emergency services influences the selection of management strategies.

The next introductory section describes two founding visions that pertain to emergency response. It is presented here because it provides a backdrop to understand the three elements of motivation, organizational design and vision rooted in our constitutional republic. It bears on the idea that emergency response is embedded within the framers' concept of a complex arrangement of federated organizations to promote the general welfare. Also, it describes the understanding of the founders that governmental powers change due to exigencies beyond definition in current context. The meaning of how emergency response is defined has and will evolve and change.

Emergency Management in Historic Context of Founding Principles

As discussed above, emergency response has a dual nature on many levels. It is both a national and local enterprise. Additionally, it is both a community and a government enterprise. Volunteers from the community respond with government supplied career responders. The dual nature of emergency response harks back to the founding debate between the Federalists and Anti-Federalists. In simple terms, Federalists sought an efficient, energetic government. People would respect government because it was sound government. It was more cost effective to address public issues with one national government, rather than multiple state governments that competed amongst themselves. Their vision of government was an energetic one in that it could establish consistent and coherent policies for all the states. It represented each citizen as an equal participant. Nationalized government would safeguard against the tyranny of faction and anarchy between the states. This quote from Federalist paper #70 describes the need for an energetic national government succinctly:

There is an idea, which is not without its advocates, that a vigorous executive is inconsistent with the genius of republican government...Energy in the executive is a leading character in the definition of good government. It is essential to the protection of the community against foreign attacks; it is not less essential to the steady

administration of the laws; to the protection of property against those irregular and high-handed combinations which sometimes interrupt the ordinary course of justice; to the security of liberty against the enterprises and assaults of ambition, of faction, and of anarchy... A feeble executive implies a feeble execution of the government. A feeble execution is but another phrase for a bad execution; and a government ill executed, whatever it may be in theory, must be, in practice, a bad government (Rossiter, 2003, pp. 421-422).

Federalists were concerned that small democracies had succeeded, but there was little evidence that a large democracy was feasible. Decision making could be unwieldy as a greater variety of interests were presented. More time would be needed for a pure democracy to come to consensus on a way forward. Deadlocks were more likely when opinions polarized. Or worse, the majority could stifle the voicing of minority opinions. Governmental action might be timid, since all views would be appeased.

This vision of government is particularly illuminated in the Federalist papers. Alexander Hamilton wrote in Number 23:

This inquiry will naturally divide itself into three branches – the objects to be provided for by a federal government, the quantity of power necessary to the accomplishment of those objects, the persons upon whom that power ought to operate... The principal purposes to be answered by union are these – the common defense of the members; the preservation of the public peace, as well against internal convulsions as external attacks; the regulation of commerce with other nations and between the States; the superintendence of our intercourse, political and commercial, with other countries... These powers ought to exist without limitation, because it is impossible to foresee or to define the extent and variety of national exigencies, and the correspondent extent and variety of the means which may be necessary to satisfy them... Whether there ought to be a federal government intrusted with the care of the common defense is a question of the first instance open to discussion; but the moment it is decided in the affirmative, it will follow that that government ought to be clothed with all the powers requisite to complete execution of its trust...it must be admitted as a necessary consequence that there be no limitation of that authority which is to provide for the defense and protection of the community in any matter essential to its efficacy – that is in any matter essential to the formation, direction, or support of the National Forces. (Rossiter, 2003, pp. 148-150).

Anti-Federalists sought a more democratic system that maintained a government close to the people through local and state supremacy. Their vision was a decentralized

government that would safeguard against the tyranny of a single sovereign. Local communities had more discretion to establish priorities aligned with their specific needs and interests. Responsibility was dispersed, but required investment in identifying mutually conceived definitions of the public good.

Although the Anti-Federalists initially argued for a strictly federated governance structure that was based on rigorous division of power, they were swayed to the mixed national and federal system described in the ratified Constitution. The Articles of Confederation were a federated scheme that proved too weak to sustain an argument for continuing with a rigorous division of power among the states. The issues with the Articles that precipitated the Constitutional Convention undermined the Anti-Federalist position that strict division of power would suffice in the long term.

The Constitutional Convention was able to merge these two distinct concepts of government, establishing a compound republic. The national government would provide the efficient and energetic force to enable coordinated actions of the nation, while upholding individual rights enumerated in the Bill of Rights. State and local governments were closer to the citizens within their community, and provided safeguards against the monarchic tendencies that they so feared. Creating legislative, judicial and executive departments within the compound republic would further protect the people through governmental checks and balances.

However, there was still cause for concern. As Herbert Storing wrote:

The task of basic lawmaking having been done, in the main successfully, the aim must be to avoid reopening the fundamental political questions which were hardly likely to be so well answered another time, and let time do its work of fostering veneration...But will the mere passage of time be enough? Many of the Anti-Federalists thought it would not, and the passage of time would magnify the difficulty of preserving the American republic, rather than overcoming it. The Revolutionary preoccupation with liberty, which may have made men forget the need for government, nevertheless had a profound effect in holding the American governments true to its ends. And the spirit of the Revolution was a spirit of dedication to the common good...The post-Revolutionary period was a time, Federalists and Anti-Federalists seem to have agreed, when men's lives, thoughts, and guiding principles were increasingly detached from the community...The Anti-Federalists saw, although sometimes only dimly, the insufficiency of a community of mere interest. They saw that the American polity had to be a moral community if it was to be anything,

and they saw that the seat of that community must be in the hearts of the people (Storing, 1981, pp. 75-76).

This anxiety for the moral community was a particularly insightful concern on a variety of fronts. First, it saw the community as more than aggregated interest. Ideas of the common good were perceived in terms of ethical values rather than interests. John Rohr described them as regime values that are deeply rooted in the moral community.

Secondly, it understood humans as subject to free will to seek their interests. They were not angels all the time. The Anti-Federalists saw detachment from the community as an invitation to seek selfish aims that had little to do with the common good. The community exposed individuals to expectations of their neighbors and associates. Thus, individuals were motivated to meet these expectations to fit into the community. They understood the countervailing forces between individual and community aims.

Lastly, it was insightful with respect to their understanding of change. They understood that the present circumstances may not continue and sought solutions that would stand the test of time. Granted, the Federalists sought the national system to centralize power and offer flexibility within their enumerated power to deal with change in threats. Yet in their way, the Anti-Federalists sought flexibility to deal with change as bound to changes in the needs of the community.

Emergency services reflect the compound republic governmental structure in every stage of preparing, responding and recovering. For example, FEMA waits for state officials to request assistance and declare an emergency exists prior to assisting. This acknowledgement of state sovereignty is a gesture steeped in the traditions of our compound republic. Additionally, many national grants are available to state and local officials to assist with preparing, responding and recovering from emergencies. Yet, the state and local governments are responsible for applying for the grants.

Likewise, local emergency managers deal with a similar governmental structure at the local level. In fact, the local structure may be viewed as a microcosm of the compound republic structure. Locally, emergency managers must integrate career responders with volunteer responders. The career responder organization mirrors the constitutional argument that an efficient governmental structure is needed that could lead

policy implementation energetically. They represent the Federalist's concept with the manager as an important leader in shepherding policy implementation. The volunteer responders reside in the local community, as a decentralized representation of that local community. The volunteer association provided membership with voting responsibilities. The association represents the Anti-Federalist's concept with the volunteers as important democratic elements of the organizational structure that are close to the citizens.

Way Forward

This brief introduction sought to arrange the palette and canvas for painting a portrait of emergency response at the local level. It explained the evolution of the fire station as an all-hazard response team as an important local element within a larger national emergency response structure. The aim of this study was stated as providing insight into the influences on fire station managers in integrating volunteer and career responders. It should be noted that the flow of this dissertation is not a good map for the progress of the study. Following the grounded methodology, the work started with gathering motivational data. Although not purely within a grounded theory methodology, some hunches that the responders' motivation would provide interesting data helped with the initial structure of the study. To continue the portrait analogy, these hunches about motivation provided a way to use a pencil to sketch an outline of the portrait. The sketch continued to fill in as this data was analyzed. What emerged from the data was the strategic nature of the daily execution. As stated earlier, describing these managerial strategies was not the initial aim of the dissertation. Analysis of the data revealed the importance of understanding the motivations of career and volunteer responders in the selection of these strategies. What emerged from the data was a captivating story that binds the present compound structures and visions of emergency response to the constitutional debate at the founding of our republic. Chapter 1 described the Federalist and Anti-Federalist concerns about what was important for good government. Chapter 5 will revisit that introductory discussions and provide a view of the debate as demonstrated with the firefighter interactions. The amazing revelation was that this linkage was not sought within the study design. It was so deeply embedded in the stories and narratives of the firefighters and their managers that it clearly emerged from the data. Thus, the methodology section describes the research design in a chronological fashion.

A literature review is included to frame the portrait within the pertinent literature, but not as a background for creating hypotheses. Starting with Chapter 4, the dissertation shifts gears a bit and describes the finished portrait. The finished portrait alludes to the three management strategies to integrate volunteer and career responders. Characteristics of these strategies are identified, as an overview of their outward characteristics. It briefly describes some of the assumptions about the strategies, and some of the benefits and drawbacks. Chapter 5 describes the management context in more detail attempting to describe the constituent elements of motivation, organizational design and vision that make up the portrait.

Chapter 5 provides pertinent quotes from firefighters that refer to these elements. Further analysis constructed these elements as influencing the color choices of the portrait of the management strategies. . Each uses quotes and descriptions of observations made from January to August 2012 to tell the story and bring these influences to life. The work then returns to the management strategies in Chapter 6 to summarize the relationship with the particular strategy in question. This chapter is foundational to explaining the analysis within the dissertation because it views the three observed management strategies through the prism of motivation, organizational design and vision of emergency response. Finally, some implications and conclusion that provide areas for future research are provided.

This dissertation will tell these stories and analyze them to reveal the interconnectedness of the founding vision of government, with that of the present execution of emergency response in one particular county in Virginia. It will build a theory that describes the influences on management strategies. These influences include firefighter's individual motivations, the design of legacy organizational structures and the vision or definition of emergency response within the organization.

Additionally, the iterative nature of the relationship of these elements where manager's actions influenced motivations and structures and vice versa emerged from the data, as well. Chapter 6 explains the reciprocal nature of these elements, to emphasize the interactions of managerial strategies, firefighter motivations, organizational design and definition of emergency response.

The next chapter will describe the two part research methodology in more detail. It will provide the questions that formed the basis of the data gathering stage. It should be noted that while the formal interviews were critical to ascertaining motivation and managers' perceptions of motivation, much of the data was revealed outside of the formal interviews. Hopefully, the richest of the observations are exposed in the descriptions. They spoke louder than words and were a foundational piece in exposing additional facets that may have been more taken-for granted.

Chapter 2 Research Methodology

This study is based on grounded theory development. The author analyzed qualitative data gathered from firefighters’ stories, behaviors and interactions with each other. The researcher asked phenomenological questions to volunteer and career firefighters working together to get at their intentions to serve. A grounded theory method was used to analyze the answers to these phenomenological questions. What emerged from this analysis were interesting patterns associated with the way that managers integrated volunteer and career responders. A second set of questions were designed based on the analysis of the proceeding interviews and observations. These questions were posed to managers for their perspectives. In this way, the data revealed patterns. The researcher attempted to remain open to possibilities in the data rather than hypothesize about what may be causes and effects at the beginning of the study. Features of the study are annotated in Table 2.1.

Study Features	
Design	Qualitative analysis of phenomenological questions using grounded theory
Population	First Interview Set- Approximately 110 Volunteer and 487 Career Firefighters serving in dual, integrated and all volunteer Fire Stations Second Interview Set –Fire Chief and 21 Fire Station Captains
Sample Size	First Interview Set – 9 career responders, 18 volunteer responders Second Interview Set- 3 Station Captains, 1 Fire Chief

Table 2.1 Study Features

The research questions were phenomenological in nature. Phenomenology may be defined as investigation of the ways in which knowledge about society through social action can mold society itself, including the fashioning of concepts for social analysis (Schultz 1967). “Phenomenology concerns the degree of ‘fit’ between the world and our concepts about the world” (Breiger, 1995). In this research, the first set of phenomenological questions attempted to reveal the intent of the firefighters. Emergency response is a very action oriented profession. Observing these actions provided a basis

for comparing perceptions of motivational influences with the actual practice of responding to an emergency. The second set of questions to the managers attempted to reveal the degree of fit between the firefighters' motivation and the manager's perceptions of those motivations.

Primarily, grounded theory was used to develop theory.. Grounded theory was developed in and associated with the field of sociology (B. Glaser, 1978; B. Glaser & Strauss, 1967; B. G. Glaser & Strauss, 2006; A. Strauss & Corbin, 1998; A. L. Strauss, 1987). It takes its name from being "grounded" in the data to reveal theory rather than starting with theoretical hypotheses and the data supporting or not supporting the hypotheses. The methodology calls for an iterative process of gathering data from interviews and observations and analyzing it for patterns and categories. Theory development was finalized when new data does not reveal additional patterns or categories. This work used this methodology, gathering qualitative data to build theory.

This study required a great investment in contextual data, in addition to data from formal interviews. It requires a delicate dance between becoming a part of the phenomenon being studied and maintaining an unbiased detachment. Data in this study was gathered using the methods described in Richard Fenno's *Home Style*. Fenno's participant observation methods may be summarized as "Soaking and Poking." "Soaking" relates to being immersed in the situation and "Poking" refers to asking questions in the interview section of the research project.

Soaking helps to understand the context of stories the firefighters tell during the interviews. The author became an administrative volunteer to soak in the environment of the fire station. For over six months, the author volunteered to visit fire stations in a particular Virginia county to train firefighters in the use of an online training program. This volunteer effort entailed group training sessions at the individual fire station, phone conferences with firefighters implementing the training program, and a coordinator meeting at the central training facility. Becoming a volunteer was a way to provide context for the interview material and a great deal of access. Career and volunteer firefighters could be observed working together beyond the one on one interview sessions. Access to individual firefighters was enhanced because email addresses and personal introduction were available to ensure equity of sample selection. Observations

and notes were the primary method of capturing data. The author gained first hand observation of the process for “becoming” a volunteer. Becoming a volunteer entails signing an agreement to abide by county standards, agreeing to be finger printed and to conducting a background investigation, and fulfilling training requirements concerning the safeguarding of personal information that may be shared while at the fire station. Additionally, the author was able to maintain some distance from the subject matter as an administrative volunteer rather than an operational volunteer. For instance, several firefighters said they would not have agreed to speak with me unless they had not known I was associated with the county in some way. Additionally, many of the less than flattering data was observed and heard within group meetings between the firefighters. Much of this data would not have been gleaned from the individual interviews alone.

The methodological stages are described in Table 2.2 below. Preliminary interviews were not audio recorded, but serve as a test case for ease of response and understanding of questions posed and answers generated. This preliminary stage provided an opportunity for refining questions and building a relationship with members of the fire stations. The preliminary interviews depended on some hunches about the possible impact of motivation, not strictly a grounded methodological step. These hunches included an intuition that motivations of career and volunteers could be compared with interesting results and that there was a reason for the distinctions between volunteers and career responders.

Methodological Stages	Purpose
Preliminary Interviews	Question refining and relationship building
First Data Collection	Create interview dataset for analysis of responders’ motivations
Data Analysis	Categorize responses for patterns in word and content. Define motivational categories and identify interrelationships between them.
Second Data Collection	Opportunity to focus on management patterns revealed in first Analysis. Completed after first data collection analysis
Data Analysis	Categorize responses and observations. Compare management perception with first data collection analysis.

Table 2.2 Methodological Stages

As indicated above, there were two parts to the formal interview process. The first part engaged volunteer and career responders in describing their motivations to serve in this capacity. The methodology provides insight into why volunteer and career responders join and why they stay. Also, it provides data to compare their motivations. The second part engaged the county managers on their strategies for managing the meaning associated with these motivations. The methodology provides insight into managers' perceptions of responders' motives as well as what significance they feel it contributes to how they manage.

This work relies on an iterative process of coding and analysis. Coding is a process of analyzing data where transcripts and observations are broken down into categories, categories are compared and they reveal concepts. Open coding is typically a line by line analysis of individual transcripts. Axial coding allows for comparison across and among incidents focusing on interrelationships. Four analytical processes occur in axial coding: (a) continually relating subcategories to a category, (b) comparing categories with the collected data, (c) expanding the density of the categories by detailing their properties and dimensions, and (d) exploring variations in the phenomena (S. C. Brown, Stevenson, Troiano, & Schneider, 2002). Selective coding focuses on relating subcategories to categories and creating relationship between the categories to build theory (Moghaddam, 2006).

Axial and selective coding formed the basis for data analysis in this study. Interviews with the responders on their motivations were documented in the author's notes on key phrases and concepts associated with observation and conversation. In many cases, conversations were difficult to record, making open coding of word by word analysis ineffective. Therefore, axial coding was used to develop categories of motivation observed in the conversations and symbols used to express meanings.

Similarly, selective coding was used to identify ways that motivations may have influenced how meanings were managed. Interviews with and observation of key managers were documented in notes. Categories of management strategies were revealed as they related to the motivational categories of the responders. These interviews indicated that there were interesting relationships between the categories that influenced these management strategies.

Firefighters who agreed to formal interviews did so voluntarily. The Independent Review Board (IRB) protocol was filed and followed for data gathering. Table 2.3 provides the set of questions posed to both volunteer and career firefighters on their motivations.

Qualitative methods included individual and group interviews, as well as observation of everyday practice. This methodology allowed for depth of study rather than breadth. The author used a small sample to create opportunities to question and to observe both career and volunteer members at each station and compare contextual factors to discover potential patterns of similarities and differences.

Three types of fire stations emerged from the preliminary data gathering. Fire stations could be categorized as three types: all volunteer, dual and integrated. A dual station operated under two separate organizations, one for volunteers and one for career responders. The dual station volunteers were managed under a Volunteer Management System operating as a non-profit 501 organization. The non-profit organization owned the property where the fire station was located. The dual station career firefighters were organized under the County Fire Department organization. An integrated station was organized as a single County Fire Department organization and the volunteers were affiliated with the County. A County volunteer coordinator managed their efforts. The methodology was based on gathering data from each of the three types of station as input to the analysis phase.

Research Question	Purpose
Why did you become an emergency responder?	The purpose of this question is to reveal meaning behind “becoming a responder.” The question was intended to solicit individual meaning assigned to service as a responder. Analysis revealed any patterns within the interview groups.
How are volunteers different from career responders in their approach to crises?	The purpose of this question is to reveal procedural, social and normative differences demonstrated through description of actions. The question was to solicit potential value framework differences underlying the language used to describe the two groups.
<p>What has the experience of becoming a first responder been like?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Who helped you learn the ropes? - What kinds of partnership helped you gain experience? - What role did others at this station play? - What kind of problems arose? - How did you handle them? 	The purpose of this series of questions is to reveal differences demonstrated through description of relationships. It attempts find out if the individuals in the two groups describe their relationships in different ways. Cooperative interactions may be revealed in how they gained experience and who the cooperating partners were. Conflict may be revealed in describing the problems that arose. The questions were to solicit stories of service over the evolving process of becoming a first responder and the description of important relationships surrounding that service.
<p>How do you handle the emotional part of your work?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Does your work make you more/less connected to your community? How? - Has your work changed the way you interact in the community, with other emergency responders or family members? Why or why not? - Have you made long lasting friendships with other volunteers, career firefighters, and community members, or those you have helped? 	The purpose of this series of questions is to reveal emotional elements of emergency response in terms of community relationship, social interactions and areas of detachment. The question was to solicit service ethos connected to the community and relationships within the group as they pertain to their value framework associated with emotion attachment.
How do you think volunteers are viewed in your community? How does that affect your work?	The purpose of this question is to reveal the relationship with the community and it is viewed as significant. The question was to solicit information to analyze with respect to connection to community value frameworks

Table 2.3 First Interview Question Set

The second part of the study delved more deeply into the management aspects of dealing with the motivations of career and volunteer responders. Table 2.4 describes the questions posed to the managers.

Research Questions	Purpose
Why do you think people became firefighters? How are volunteers and career responders different/ same in their motives? In what ways are the motivations of responders different than your motivations when you joined?	Compare perception against the findings of the first interviews
How do these motives influence the way you manage county stations? What are some examples of how those motivations affect how you manage volunteers/career responders?	Management Strategies
What are the motivations to sustain a volunteer program?	Compare perception of Career and Volunteer motivations Management Strategies
What motivations might be challenges in managing?	Management Strategies
How does the use of volunteers influence County policies?	Compare perception of Career and Volunteer motivations
What influences volunteer use? What are the goals it serves? Why?	Management Strategies
How would you characterize the history of volunteer use in the County? The future?	Compare perception of Career and Volunteer motivations
How would you define a good volunteer? How do you define a good career responder? Why are they different/ same?	Management Strategies

Table 2.4 Second Interview Question Set

Data collection for the first part of the study concentrated on the meaning that volunteers and career firefighters ascribe to their service, and observation of behavior that

demonstrates that meaning regarding their work in emergency response rather than quantifying what they believe or the extent of the similarity. Data collection for the second part of the study concentrated on the perceptions of managers concerning the use of volunteer and career responders. Appendix A lists the study subjects, providing their role, station type, and the date of the interview.

Also, this methodology allowed for analysis at several levels of analysis. The individual volunteers and career firefighters may be analyzed within their respective groups, as well as comparison between the volunteer and career groups. The locality of the fire station in the county was of interest, particularly because it represented different organizational designs of all volunteer, dual and integrated.

The second part of the study provided an analysis at several levels, also. It analyzed managers' perception of the motivations of their workers as related to the type of organizational design of the fire station. It identified how consistent these perceptions were with those identified in the first part of the study. Also, it probed the individual cognitive patterns of the managers for indication of their management strategies. These strategies were compared and categorized at the individual manager level and at the organizational design level.

Both interviews and observed events were properly documented. The interviews were taped to ensure concise analysis of content, if the subject was agreeable. Verbal consent for recording and interview were solicited prior to commencing. Taping allowed for repeated listening to wording, emphasis, and intonation. Also, notes were made during and after the interviews and observed events.

The researcher transcribed the interviews and identified themes and categories of motivation to conduct the analysis. Analysis included identifying the story embedded in the narrative and categorizing the motivations that emerged from the first interview set and observations. The analysis of the motivation data produced categories of motivations that emerged. The first analysis phase produced more questions related to the influence of the type of station to which the responder was affiliated, what vision of emergency response they sought to fulfill and how they were managed. The second data collection concentrated on the management aspects. Analysis of the second data set produced the

management strategy categories. Analysis of both data sets contributed to the building of the overall management framework.

Grounded theory recognizes that the researcher influences the choice of categories, such that:

The core categories can emerge in the sociologist's mind from his reading, life experiences, research and scholarship; [furthermore] no sociologist can possibly erase from his mind all the theory he knows before he begins his research. Indeed the trick is to line up what one takes as theoretically possible or probable with what one is finding in the field (B. Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 253).

The next chapter provides a literature review focused on strategic management and motivation. Although this work contains a literature review, it was not meant to lead to proving or disproving the validity of past work in keeping with a grounded methodology. It is included as an indication of what is theoretically possible. As the quote indicates, no researcher is absolutely objective. Researchers filter the information presented to them in the field with their experiences, reading, and scholarship. Some attempts to align it with the findings in the field of this study are offered in the implications and conclusions of Chapter 7.

Chapter 3 Literature Review

Overview

This chapter concentrates on the strategic planning literature and motivation literature. The strategic management section begins with the broad theories that pertain to emergency response. They speak to the theoretical base that emergency response is a cooperative endeavor with many stakeholders. Managers are called to coordinate multiple interactions that are social in nature and within institutional contexts. Emergency response is fast –paced and unpredictable, making strategic planning difficult. Particularly in emergency response, managers have social interactions within their organizations and with the citizens they serve. Volunteers arise from the community and are an indicator of how well the manager builds capacity within the community. Three key influences on strategies to integrate volunteer and career responders are discussed in this study, vision; organizational design; and motivation. The literature pertaining to vision is reviewed in the introductory section of the strategic management literature. The strategic management literature is further broken down to discuss the influences of organizational design, and motivation in distinct sub-sections.

Strategic Management Literature

Emergency response requires attention to forward-looking strategies that can deal with multiple sized disasters that occur frequently as well as rarely. As a strategic issue, it is hard to find a more complex or important issue. Emergency response is a local issue since local responders are the first on scene and follow locally developed protocols. Disasters require quick adjustments of plans, succinct requests for assistance and coordinating with other organizations to provide help. Leaders need to prepare, mitigate, respond and recover from these disasters in a highly flexible way. It requires great creativity, motivation and strategic planning (Kapucu & Van Wart, 2008).

Fire departments must maintain the quality of service, but within ever increasing pressures to reduce costs. Departments that use strategic planning with a collaborative labor-management- community process to engage stakeholders in developing effective approaches locally are applauded for their results (Thoreson & Svara, 2010).

Many theorists have engaged the topic of the obligation of public administrators to lead. Their view describes leadership as socially constructed interaction between leader and led requiring cooperation, communications, and interpretation (Behn, 1998; Kronenberg & Khademian, 2009; Pfeffer, 1981; Selznick, 1957; Smircich & Morgan, 1982). As such, context matters when leaders strive to fulfill public purposes (Belchetz & Leithwood, 2007; Weick, 1996). Particularly within a democratic republic, the public leaders' context is political, and multidimensional. The Federal system, with separation of powers and local, state, and federal governmental agents, complicates problem-solving processes. Leaders find it difficult to successfully achieve public ends to the satisfaction of all. Selznick (1957) makes a distinction between the institution from an organization, a rational, means-oriented instrument guided by efficiency. Philip Selznick provided an understanding of public administration as an institution.

Institutionalization is a process. It is something that happens to an organization over time, reflecting the organization's own distinct history, the people who have been in it, the groups it embodies and the vested interests have created, and the way it has adapted to its environment... In what is perhaps its most significant meaning, 'to institutionalize' is to infuse with value beyond the technical requirements of the task at hand (Selznick, 1957, pp. 16-17).

Leaders create the institution for social needs and purposes; it is adaptive, responsive, cooperative system that embodies public values. Public values and cooperation are key components, differentiating sharply from the depiction of leaders in business settings. The cultural values and moral commitments of a society are implanted in its institutions (Terry, 2003).

As a cooperative effort, leadership is taken as a social interaction that is socially constructed (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Scholars propose that social reality is not a fact, but is something produced and communicated, its meaning derived in and through communication. The leader creates a public value through these communications. Katz and Kahn (1966) contributed the notion of the institution as open system. In essence, the leader's role is one of dealing with the behavior of the organization. Their work examines behavior of individuals interpersonally with one another at a social psychological level, as in Karl Weick's sensemaking (Scott & Davis, 2007).

Vision is nothing without the leadership to convert it into success. Bennis and Nanus (1985) describe the reciprocal relationship of power and leadership. “Power is the basic energy to initiate and sustain action or, to put it another way, the capacity to translate intention into reality and sustain it. Leadership is the wise use of this power...” (pp. 16-17). Their interviews with ninety leaders yielded four common competencies: 1) attention through vision; 2) meaning through communication; 3) trust through positioning; and 4) deployment of self through positive self-regard and belief in a positive outcome based on the context of the task (p. 20). Successful leaders pull from their employees rather than push.

This framework for successful leadership may be described in terms of “coordinating a cooperative equilibrium in a repeated social dilemma” (Miller, 1992, p. 224). He suggests that sustained cooperation between leaders and employees is one possible outcome because of the repeated nature of the interactions. Repeated interactions indicate that trust, shared perceptions and the leaders’ political skills are relevant to successful strategies.

Like Miller, scholars use game theory as a way to explain forces of competition as well as cooperation among group of people. They see merit in understanding behavioral game theory, adding the social dimension of cooperation. Dixit and Nalebuff (2008) offer multiple case studies that describe a think ahead and reason backwards strategy.

Calls for leaders to strategically manage emergency services have become louder and more insistent since the events of 11 September 2001. Kettl (2003) maintains that the strategic problem is contingent coordination, based on flexibly creating and matching existing capacities and structures that are functionally organized to solve unpredictable problems. He emphasizes defining a minimum level of protection that meets citizen expectations; building a reliable learning system and balancing new missions with existing ones. Other authors describe the difficulties of coordinating the large national emergency management network of public agencies, private firms, nonprofit organizations, ad hoc groups, and individual volunteers that contribute to emergency management readiness. They fear that a top-down, command-and-control approach may not provide collaboration, cooperation, and personal encouragement needed to respond to these unpredictable events (McConnell & Drennan, 2006; Waugh, 2006; Waugh &

Sylves, 2002) . Other scholars agree that command and control management strategy used in the past for emergency management fail to gain the results needed. They suggest that community capacity building at the local and state levels should be the foundation of a successful strategy (Kapucu, Arslan, & Collins, 2010). They propose that communication, trust-building, and eradication of inter-agency value differences and discrepancies provides strategic elements of building a flexibility and non-traditional way of collaborating and coordinating (Kapucu & Garayev, 2011).

Some scholars look to Communities of Practice (COPs) as a useful mechanism for coordinating across different types of organizational cultures. COPs are “groups of people who share a concern, a set of problems, or a passion about a topic, and who deepen their knowledge and expertise in this area by interacting on an ongoing basis” (Wenger, McDermott, & Snyder, 2002, p. 4). COPs may provide an alternative coordination scheme to hierarchy and market based solutions. Hierarchical formations may not be politically feasible where the relationships are complex between organizations. Market-like interorganizational transactions may be inadequate to maintain accountability during a response (Roberts, 2010). COPs provide a way to construct an alternative vision of the reasons for collaboration that may be more forward-looking.

At the heart of this literature is the call for strategies that improve collaboration and transform organizations with a compelling vision (Streib, 2006). Mark Moore’s *Creating Public Value: Strategic Management in Government*, provides a method for public managers to look outward and upward rather than perpetually downward into the organization. In his view, public managers embrace problems as opportunities to view their role with a different perspective.

...Max Weber once wrote about the need for “passion” as one of the most important qualifying psychological characteristics of politicians. ...What makes the observation so interesting is that Weber combines two qualities ordinarily thought to be opposed: the psychological strength and energy that come from being committed to a cause; and a capacity for diagnosis, reflection, and objectivity that is associated with disinterestedness. Weber’s key insight is that it takes psychological energy to do the hard work of facing up to the reality of conflict and uncertainty and furthermore, to chart actions realistically adapted to the situation at hand,

however favorable or unfavorable that situation might be to one's goals. That cool, inner concentration, in the end, can and should guide the calculations of those who would lead public organizations. It describes the "managerial temperament" that is appropriate for those who would lead organizations that work for a divided and uncertain society (Moore, 1995, p. 308).

This vision of the public manager demands transformational leadership. These leaders concentrate on questions about their role in facilitating citizenship and dialogue and the moral responsibility about realizing democratic ideals (Janet V. Denhardt & Campbell, 2006). Public service is seen as managers acting on the natural desire to belong to a community and voluntarily associate with them. (Janet Vinzant Denhardt & Denhardt, 2003). This theoretical thread is akin to the Anti-Federalist position described earlier in this work. A deep chord running through this framework is the notion that good government is close to the citizens that are capable of self-governing.

The focus on public value implies different leadership actions than those taken in a business context. It calls for more inclusive political leadership in making alliances, partnerships and networks. The leader needs to be selective in nurturing the emergences of changing public value through ongoing interaction, and conserving established values that remain stable. Most importantly, a focus on public value allows public managers to ask a broader array of questions and incorporate experiences even if complex or contested (R. F. I. Smith, 2004). For the public administrator, leading is viewed as "critically challenge established meanings and influence the assignment of new meanings and the action implications of those meanings within both extant and emergent effort to influence the assignment of meaning and the action implications of those meanings" and "as the exercise of continuous parallel processes, 'constructing reality and evaluating it' (Kronenberg & Khademian, 2009). They draw on the metaphor of lightning to illuminate the possibility of sudden links that change meaning and understanding of the situation.

Similarly, Terry (2003) describes initiating and protecting leadership. Initiating leadership corresponds to strategic change and lightning events, where frames must be broken or bent. Protecting leadership corresponds to maintaining security for an institution and its "particular way of life, its culture, its values, beliefs, and interest."

Protecting leadership alludes to Selznick's institutional leader who defends the firmly established institution's integrity, values and processes.

Other works have shown that the vision of the public good is a strong force. Many scholars suggest that creating a vision is difficult. These visions are critically considered and challenged if they do not align with the individual's normative notions (Thomas & Davies, 2002). Disagreements about the public good emerge when this vision appears threatened, such as instances where privatization is considered. Public servants embody "a public service habitus, a socially constituted set of dispositions representing the internalization of a dominant vision of the universal that privileges the public good over private (selfish) interests. Through daily work practices, public servants embody and reproduce, usually subconsciously, this notion of the public good, one that seems natural to them because it agrees with the objective structures of the state (and public service)" (McDonough, 2006, p. 630).

In particular, managers have created a vision of the public-nonprofit relationship that fosters citizen participation in local service provisioning and governance. Scholars offer this relationship as a way to enhance citizen participation. They suggest that for the vision of effective citizen participation to be achieved requires a long term perspective and attention to capacity (Rathgeb Smith, 2010). However, scholars caution that a strategic perspective attending to context is important in framing the vision. They suggest considering the amount of ambiguity and conflict within relationships in fostering citizen participation (deLeon & deLeon, 2002)

Many scholars define "leadership as having a vision or agenda of one's own, coupled with the ability to articulate one's message, gain support through transactional means, and bring one's goals to fruition" in the mold of a heroic leader (Heifetz & Sinder, 1988, p. 180). Here, the leader provides answers to the public. Terry (2003) decries the emphasis as dangerous and creating what is nearly a "great man" theory of administration. Others provide an understanding of what leadership is within complex environment. In these situations, leaders may not have "the answer" to solve the problem. Their vision is modulated through dialogue of the public good during implementation (Reich, 1988).

Robert Behn speaks of “groping around” to solve problems. Behn distinguishes “groping around” from “muddling through.” “Groping around” has to do with public management devoted to the “tasks of motivating people and building organizational capacity” (p. 650). “Muddling through” emphasizes policy selection. Charles Lindblom articulated the concept of “muddling through” to address the difficulties in making policy within a rational-comprehensive model. He concludes that in order to make policy in a complex arena that the analyst rely on muddling through or “comparative analysis of incremental changes” (Lindblom, 1959, p. 244). “Groping around” is particularly relevant for lower level managers that have less to do with policy selection and more to do with implementing policy within a complex relationship of organizations.

New Public Management (NPM) views managerial success as providing more services with fewer resources. Their vision places a premium on efficiency. Yet, scholars need more evidence that the migration of command and control-oriented to results-oriented organizational structures influences managerial success in this regard. There is even less evidence that values other than efficiency are maintained in this migration. For instance, NPM appears to strip away mechanisms that were used to ensure neutrality and honesty. These mechanisms include fixed salaries, tenure and strong divisions between public and private sectors (Hood, 1991). This theoretical framework reflects the Federalist position described in the introduction of Chapter 1. Good government is sound government efficiently and competently run.

A developing theoretical approach sees managers as actively “resourcing” frameworks. Here, the manager is faced with an emerging, changing landscape. “Resourcing” is a process that emphasizes action. It builds on the recursive, mutually constitutive relationship of action and structure of Giddens’ structuration theory, and thinking of resources and frameworks (i.e. rules, frames, or schema) as elements of structure. In this view, actions create potential resources and link them with frameworks to energize them (Feldman & Quick, 2009, p. 138). It suggests that emergency management is an ongoing process of strategizing about how to energize frameworks with the necessary resources.

In short, public managers deal with complex, interconnected problems through a forward looking vision of possibilities. This strategic vision is very important within the

emergency services policy area. Managers need to consider capacity building, accountability and goal identification when creating the vision of emergency services (Choi, 2008). This requires them to build cooperative relationships for improved dialogue in discerning the public need. The fire station has traditionally been a place rooted in the community and as a source of “an inclusive system of moral obligation” (Simpson, 1996, p. 31).

This strategic management section reviews the literature that supports a complex theory to represent the managerial environment. Managers navigate this complex network of social interactions where they are infusing value, cooperating with multiple stakeholders, and dealing with behavior. They maintain a flexible capable to match capacities with circumstances and the need to create capacities to answer future circumstances. Within emergency response, matching and creating capacities occurs within the public organization, as well as within the various volunteer affiliations. This ability to match and create capacities is set within an institutional setting seen as an open system where embodied values shape and are shaped. The theory predicts that lower level manager “grope around” to build these capacities because the interactions are so complex. Policy makers tend to “muddle through” incorporating incremental changes. Additionally, NPM theory suggests that efficiency is paramount where new public service suggests that close community bonds are a necessary for sound government.

The next sub-section turns to the literature concerning the relationship between strategic management and organizational design. It examines the literature that purports a relationship that is mutually interactive and reciprocal.

Organizational Design

Smircich and Morgan (1982) see leadership as an interpersonal process that link the people in the organizational structure with the structure itself. Their efforts in seeing leadership as managing meaning is a way to move from a more routine view of leadership. Leaders no longer merely identify the structure and select occupants in the positions. They must view it as a kind of social practice. Embedded in Smircich and Morgan's concept of leadership is the concept of structuration. Anthony Giddens (1984) coined the phrase and defined it as "the structuring of social relations across time and space, in virtue of the duality of structure" (p. 376). As Perrow states, "To wrench a process such as leadership or communication free of a specific organization without considering how it is organically linked to the rest of the organization is to drain it of meaning" (Perrow, 1986, p. 158).

Scholars are aware that sensemaking and interpretation have the potential to shape organizational constructs. "Turning from a concern with one-way, determinant institutional 'effects,' most contemporary researchers are instead crafting research designs to examine the complex recursive processes by which institutional forces both shape and are shaped by organizational actions" (Scott, 2001, p. 279).

This recursive process is evident in the nature of cross sector organizational designs. Even though the public and nonprofit sectors have commonality of purpose in serving the public interest, there are organizational attributes which distinguish them. Non-profits are generally seen as more flexible, more innovative and less bureaucratic than their public counterparts (G. Lee, 2011). Within the organizational influences when responding to disasters, scholars have examined three areas: "within organized responses (emergence and reorganizing), among multi-organizational response networks, and in terms of disaster roles that are nested within organized responses and multi-organizational response networks" (Kreps & Bosworth, 2007, p. 317).

An essential part of strategic planning is incorporating human capital elements in organizational strategies. It is recognized that effective strategies are integrated with human capital elements support mission related outcomes. Human capital elements

include strategic visions, restructuring organizations and employing technology to assist human resources (United States General Accounting Office, 2003a).

This literature pertains to this study because emergency response managers work within career and volunteer organizational designs that they shape, but also these designs influence how they manage. This study supports this theoretical literature and brings to life this recursive nature of the relationship between managerial actions and the organizational structures they put in place to implement their strategies.

Motivation and Strategies

This section of the literature review provides a broad overview of the motivation literature as it addresses its relevance to organization strategies. People are the most important enabler for an agency to meet its goals because an agency's people define its character and its capacity to perform. A brief overview characterizes this literature as emphasizing the people internal to the organization. Three sub-sections address public service motivation, volunteer motivation, economic motivation and relational motivation.

Human resource strategies recognize employees vary in motivation and capability. As this quote suggests, it is important to understand employee motivation as vital to organizational performance.

The more an organization recognizes the intrinsic value of each employee; the more it recognizes that this value can be enhanced with nurturing and investment; the more it recognizes that employees vary in their talents and motivations, and that a variety of incentive strategies and working arrangements can be created to enhance each employee's contributions to organizational performance, the more likely the organization will be to appreciate the variety of employee needs and circumstances and to act in ways that will make sense in both business and human terms (United States General Accounting Office, 2000, p. 2).

Public leaders have a strategic interest in the motivations of their employees. The incentive systems that influence performance are crafted with regard to the perceived motivations. For example, surveys conducted in 2006 revealed that only one third of the federal workforce believed that their leaders generated high levels of motivation and commitment (United States Congress, 2006). The cost of recruiting, training and retaining a skilled workforce drives organizations to understand the motivations of their employees. Managers should include employees in analyzing workforce gaps,

developing strategies to fill the gaps and reevaluating and revisiting strategies to set strategic direction (United States General Accounting Office, 2003b).

Understanding and shaping motivation is a key factor in the new public service. Public service values shape organizational behavior and motivation in public administration. While there are a variety of factors that help understand motivation and values in a strategic sense, they do not necessarily have to be mutually exclusive. Within this literature, “public service values and motivations are what make public sector work exciting, worthwhile, meaningful, and satisfying. People in public service want to know they are making a difference...” (R. B. Denhardt, Denhardt, & Aristigueta, 2002, p. 440). Managers play a role in providing a good example of service values, set clear and challenging goals, and connecting with their employees to create meaningful work. Also, managers understand their own motivations. They realize that others do not always share these motivations, so it is important to translate assignments as meaningful to those doing the work.

Emergency service managers are concerned with gaps in training, qualifications and competencies because they directly affect the quality of service. Their perceptions and motivations drive their decisions and actions. “Other internal social factors, such as the role of tradition, expectations about loyalty, and beliefs about the capabilities of women in firefighting, can affect the morale, motivation, and cohesiveness of the labor force. Ultimately, the extent to which such internal and external pressures actually influence the actions of fire chiefs depends on whether chiefs perceive them and how strongly they feel about them” (Donahue, 2004, p. 724).

Of particular interest in the emergency services area is the strategic learning approach used to train responders. Volunteer and career responders are trained in classroom, training scenarios and “on the job.” Scholars have examined learning strategies and their relationship to intrinsic motivations. Three levels of learning are identified as Individual, Group and Organizational. They have categorized two learning strategies as Brokering and Buffering (B&B) and Conducting and Controlling (C&C). The B&B strategy focuses on mediating within elements of the learning network and shielding from upper level managerial interference. The C&C strategy focuses on a top-down approach that uses directives that promotes organizational learning as a priority.

Research in this area found that the B&B strategy was more successful in integrating learning across the three levels of learning than the C&C strategy. They surmised that the C&C strategy resembled audience learning where the individual could not connect the learning to local practices and managerial actions (Soekijad, van den Hooff, Agterberg, & Huysman, 2011).

Taken as a whole this motivation literature supports the view that employee motivation is important to achieving the strategic goals of organizations. Managers shape these motives creating meaningful work for employees. They model motives that are of value to the organization and reinforce these motives. They pay attention to intrinsic motives that help employees learn.

The next sub-section describes the literature specific to public service motivation. A wide variety of theoretical frameworks are discussed, as the definition of public service motivation is described in many different ways.

Service Motivation

Motivations to serve in the private, public and voluntary sectors are of keen interest to the public administration community. Najam (1996) defines the distinct personifications of Prince (State), Merchant (Private) and Citizen (Voluntary associations) as a framework to examine their “distinct institutional motivations and structural preferences” (p. 215). These personifications define the Prince as representing the majority and the Citizen representing the minority and help to analyze the public and voluntary sectors in a comparative method. Public Service Motivation (PSM) tends to focus on the public sector because that sector generally provides public services, but it is not limited to public sector alone (Wise, 2009). Perry and Wise defined PSM as “an individual’s predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions and organizations” (1990, p. 368). Their definition attempted to highlight civic duty and compassion. This early work looked at three types of motives: rational, norm-based, and affective. Also, it expounded on three propositions to focus attention on the importance of developing a theoretical framework for understanding PSM. They propose these propositions: “1) The greater an individual’s public service motivation, the more likely the individual will seek membership in a public organization; 2) In public organizations, public service motivation is positively related to individual

performance; 3) Public organizations that attract members with high levels of public service motivation are likely to be less dependent on utilitarian incentives to manage individual performance effectively” (pp. 370-371).

Revisiting the definition twenty years later, Perry, Wise and Hondegem (2010) suggest that the definition of PSM has both converged and diverged. It has converged on the notion of other-regarding behaviors as central. It diverged on particular aspects of the boundaries surrounding public missions. For instance, Rainey and Steinbauer define public service motivation as a” general, altruistic motivation to serve the interests of a community of people, a state, a nation or humankind” (1999, p. 23). Vandenabeele defines as “the beliefs, values and attitudes that go beyond self-interest and organizational interest that motivate individuals to act accordingly whenever appropriate” (2007, p. 547). Brewer and Selden define this motivation as “the motivational force that induces individuals to perform meaningful...public, community, and social service” (1998, p. 417).

Volunteer Motivation

This literature review sub-section turns to volunteer motivation. Volunteer motivation has been a prominent element of the American ethic. It has been cited as an indispensable sustainer of community life and democratic society, characterized as community-generating institutions (Ogilvie, 2004). The dictionary defines voluntarism in three ways:

1. The use of or reliance on voluntary action to maintain an institution, carry out a policy, or achieve an end.
2. A theory or doctrine that regards the will as the fundamental principle of the individual or of the universe.
3. Voluntaryism- Reliance on voluntary contributions rather than government funds, as for churches or schools ("American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language," 2009).

These definitions touch on some important elements of motivation. The first definition aligns well with the Perry and Wise definition of public service motivation,

differing in that they specifically call out “public” institutions. Other subtle differences are noted on the emphasis on voluntary action and for the intent of achieving an end. Interestingly, the second definition suggests the primacy of will over intellect that is not found in the public service description. Finally, the third definition touches on motivation in that it suggests that areas where volunteers’ motivations to serve can be counted on, governmental action for public service is not needed. Morris (2009) describes the new relationship between voluntary associations and public institutions precipitated with the introduction of New Deal legislation. Greater emphasis was placed on public funding for actions that were previously in the voluntary sector. In this study, this relationship was evident between the volunteer and career firefighters. Typically, career responders from the county picked up the slack once voluntary efforts could not effectively respond to emergencies. This back-up situation with career responders filling in the gaps of service had an impact on volunteer motivations. Volunteers were motivated to maintain their voluntary association, but this association was not necessarily tied to providing services. Publicly funded responders could be relied on to provide whether there were volunteers or not. Likewise, it did not matter to the community whether career or volunteer responded and provided service.

Alternatively, volunteer motivations could be described in terms of transactions. The net cost definition of volunteering is based on an economic concept (Wadsworth, Handy, & Cnaan, 1996). The public perception of volunteers is that they are defined as those individuals who provide a service where the cost exceeds the benefit. This perception does not rule out that the idea that volunteers gain a benefit, but does ignore a need to understand volunteer motivation for providing unpaid labor (Handy et al., 2000). Rather than internal motivation driving voluntary actions, net cost constructs focus on understanding and analyzing external costs and benefits accrued to the volunteer for their service (Handy & Mook, 2011).

Musick and Wilson (2008) define volunteering as closer to social activism, than to caring. Caring tends to limit volunteering to the domestic sphere. These scholars tend to be more concerned with motives and good reason. For instance, Wuthnow (1991) describes Jack Casey, an EMT, to demonstrate the importance of individual values. He makes a case that American volunteerism incorporates values such as generosity and

compassion, but does not negate individualistic motives. Altruistic and individualistic motives may coexist. Even if altruism is not the primary motivation for volunteers, research shows that appealing to altruistic motives is a beneficial strategy for recruiting volunteers (Burns, Reid, Toncar, Fawcett, & Anderson, 2006). Volunteer motivations appear to act in balance with many pressures. Not only are their motives dependent on internal individualistic and altruistic forces, some external forces seemed to influence their voluntary actions. Family and work pressures influence the time devoted to volunteering and the volunteer's performance (Cowlshaw, Evans, & McLennan, 2008).

Volunteer emergency responders are particularly interesting to study in terms of motivation because they work with paid responders. The mere act of registering as a volunteer does not define the volunteer. Some research shows that volunteers in positions of responsibility and with more previous training are more likely to respond to any particular incident (Groh et al., 2007). Professionalism, rather than boredom, was a motive to act. In fact, emergency squad volunteers were found to be very active and busy in other aspects of their lives. Attachment to the group and emotional rewards, instead of monetary rewards were found to more attract and sustain volunteer activities. Researchers found that volunteers are motivated to serve their local community and that they gain a sense of professionalism if they serve with more autonomy. This autonomy relies on peers in following protocols and regulating job performance (Gora & Nemerowicz, 1985).

As a whole, this volunteer motivation literature describes a multi-faceted urge to volunteer akin to public service motivation, but slightly different. Volunteers may be motivated to provide meaningful and professional service or may gain meaningful emotional rewards interacting with others who serve.

As discussed above, the public administration literature broadly describes a tension between motivation concerning economic theory and sociological/political theory. Economic theory generally is based on motivations within the private sector and the marketplace. Sociological and political theories are centered on a concept of relationship, not necessarily one of exchange. This review will examine now the literature as it relates to career and volunteer firefighters.

Economic Motivations

Fundamental to understanding the private sector premises are to understand transactions within the marketplace, and the rational decisions that actors make. Within the market, actors make decisions to enter transactions based on rational calculations of the benefit to themselves. The actors are assumed to be able to order their preferences and enter into transactions, motivated by the desire to receive these valued items.

Here, the “rational man attempting to pursue his selfish interests” (Coleman, 1986, p. 15). As Caplan explains, “Rationality in economic terms is equivocal in at least two ways. Not only has it been ascribed to both preferences and beliefs, but in each domain there is a spectrum of rationality standards, from least to most demanding. An agent’s preferences indicate how he would behave (i.e. what he would choose to do) in all conceivable situations. An agent’s beliefs indicate what probability he would assign to any conceivable situation actually being the case” (Caplan, 2000, p. 192).

A purely rational model treats context as unimportant and human cognition as uniform (Conlisk, 1996). Factors such as mood and experience are recognized as having influence, but not necessarily in economic terms.

Economic theory has developed such that it incorporates limitation in the human condition to order preferences and to have complete knowledge. Behavioral economics starts to convey the notion that social interaction is complex and simple at the same time. Here, assumptions about the rationality, self-interest and self-control are limited or bounded. While economic model assumptions and methods are foundational within behavioral economics, scholars realize that these purely economic precepts cannot be valid a hundred percent of the time.

For instance, rational analysis predicts that people care about the future, and hence save, and are more likely to save the longer their planned retirement. But psychologically inspired models that allow the possibility of less-than-100% self-control also make the above predictions and allow us to investigate the possibility that people under-save, and over-borrow, and more nuanced and important predictions such as simultaneous high savings on liquid assets and low savings on liquid assets. Rational analysis predicts that employees are more likely to quit the lower their real wages and the higher the wages available elsewhere. But psychologically inspired models that allow the possibility of some money illusion and loss aversion and fairness concerns also make the above

predictions and allow us to investigate the possibility that people are more sensitive to recent cuts in nominal wages than can be explained purely in terms of concerns for relative real wages (Matthew, 2002, p. 659).

Herbert Simon conceived of the term bounded rationality. Bounded rationality explains shortfalls in achieving fully rational processes due to the lack of knowledge and information available to an actor. Simon suggested that rationality was bounded by imperfect information, the complexity of the problems, the limited capacity of humans to process the information, the limited time available to process the information, and the many conflicting preferences for meeting an individual or organization's goals (Hatch, 1997).

Rational Choice theory grew from a political science as well as a sociological perspective. It is an individualistic view of social action such that, "The elementary unit of social life is the individual human action. To explain social institutions and social change is to show how they arise as the result of the action and interaction of individuals" (Elster, 1989, p. 13). Rational choice suggests that actors operate in an environment to maximize their utility (G. Stoker, 2004). Ostrom (1999) defines an institutional framework that goes a bit further with constructing an action arena. Individuals attempt to identify the costs and benefits in making decisions. Additionally, organizations may alter incentive structures geared your individual employees that may improve the chance of success for their particular strategy.

However, rational human choice is bounded and individuals end up satisficing rather than optimizing solutions. They discover sequentially through search processes for viable actions. While actions are goal-oriented and adaptive, only a few elements of the system are adaptive at any one time because of their approximating and fragmented character (March, Simon, & Guetzkow, 1993).

These theories support a model based on the rationalizing activities of Max Weber's bureaucracy. This view would suggest that the career and volunteer firefighters would operate in a hierarchical organization. The actions they take and their motivation for taking them would be explained in purely rational terms.

Agency theory assumed that individuals are self-interested, bounded rational and risk averse. Eisenhardt (1989) describes agency theory as:

...directed at the ubiquitous agency relationship, in which one party (the principal) delegates work to another (the agent), who perform that work. Agency theory attempts to describe this relationship using the metaphor of a contract. Agency theory is concerned with resolving two problems that occur in agency relationships. The first is the agency problem that arises when (a) the desires or goals of the principal and agent conflict and (b) it is difficult or expensive for the principal to verify what the agent is actually doing (p. 58).

Stewardship theory begins with a modified principal – agent theory. Van Slyke (2007) compared public –nonprofit relationships using agency theory with that of stewardship theory. Stewardship theory “defines situations in which managers are not motivated by individual goals, but rather are stewards whose motives are aligned with the objectives of their principals” (p. 164). He found that trust and reputation varied and suggested differing action of the manager as a result. Contextual conditions strongly influence the relationship, particularly with regard to monitoring. Variables such as service characteristics, market competition and management capacity had significant impact. He suggests that these relationships evolve. For example, agency theory may well describe the initial relationship. Once trust and reputation are built, stewardship theory may be a better fit. Further, “skills such as bargaining and negotiation, communicating policy and program goals, aligning contractor goals with agency goals, conducting oversight, providing technical assistance, and evaluating program and client outcomes are needed for contract managers to be successful at managing relationships” (p. 183).

These economic theories lead scholars to view agencies through the lens of contract management, market and quasi-market failures, and strategic management theories to understand adaptation to environmental changes (T. L. Brown, Potoski, & Van Slyke, 2006). Agency theory would support a view of their relationship using the principal-agent rubric. This framework would suggest that either the career or the volunteer firefighters would be subordinate to the other in some fashion. Potentially, relationships could be described with a more complex arrangement of multiple principals and agents.

Brainard and Siplon (2004) contributed to the literature using two contrasting models to represent the continuum of nonprofit organizational influences. Their

economic model provides examination of large, professionally staffed nonprofits which draw on private sector principles in running their day to day operations. Marketing and competition are representatives of these principles, influencing the primary activities of fund-raising and service provisioning. Nonprofits compete for contributions and market services that are seen to help their cause. Career and volunteer firefighters might represent this model in the degree of focus on marketing and competition for resources. Certainly much of their community relationships pertain to fund-raising and provisioning services to conduct emergency response.

Economic models emphasize rationality, rather than reasoning. Rationality incorporates ideas of preference, efficiency and bias, where reasoning incorporates error. Models incorporate context, particularly with regard to the decisions that are being made. Relatively simple real world decisions facilitate the use of explicit and deductive reasoning. For simple decisions, past experience would guide the categorizing of observations. The rational decision-maker would reason that outcomes would be as previously experienced with similar actions. Other more complex decisions require induction of schemas and heuristics that are implicit and inductive (Evans, 1992). In complex decisions, the experienced, rational decision maker may decide differently than an inexperienced decision maker because they organize and store their experiences differently.

Understanding rationality in this way, experienced firefighters might make different decisions than novices for solving complex problems. Novices have less experience to draw upon and the way they organize their experiences may lead them to believe that differing courses of actions will gain them the goals they desire.

Most importantly, these economic theories would anticipate that motivations for public service were based on calculation of self-interested benefits. Considering this model, volunteer firefighters and career firefighters are motivated to respond to emergencies because it is in their interest to do so. Their response is an ordered preference that gains them an end that they desire. Justification for actions to enable the preference is accorded to personal desires and goals, rather than interpersonal guiding principles (L. Stoker, 1992)

Many scholars have noted the similarity of the impact of marketization forces on both public and non-profit sectors (Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004; L. Salamon, 1993). Of particular concern is the shift of public or non-profit agencies serving “consumers” who are not able to pay market prices . Typically, these scholars see marketization as detrimental to enhancing and maintaining civil society. While private industry firefighters did not exist in the county studied, nevertheless marketization forces were evident. For example, volunteer rescue squads voted on whether or not to charge a fee for service. One rescue squad began to charge a fee, and a second decided not to charge a fee. The second squad was concerned those donations from the community would decrease with an imposed fee and that they would promote competition with private ambulance services that might offer lower fees (Interview with Author (IWA), 15 Jun 2012). Thus, public and non-profit agencies that could serve those who could not pay was reduced and public agencies were thrown into competition with private industry based on price.

The next section describes some of the relational motivators described in the literature that go beyond market. Emphasis on market mechanisms detracts from the promoting the more altruistic motives of public service important to both government and nonprofit service (Condrey & R. P. Battaglio Jr, 2007; Ingraham 2006; J. Thompson, 2006). This literature is based primarily in the sociologic and political disciplines.

Relational Motivations

Relational motivation literature depends on an interpersonal view of motivation. Much of the Public Service Motivation literature emphasizes notions of public good and values such as duty, accountability, commitment and integrity (Needham, 2006). These values are based on ideas about the appropriate way to interact in the public square. Constitutional values such as due process, fairness, and respect of individuals’ rights are a mainstay rooted in citizen responsibility to follow the law (Gawthrop, 1998; Y. S. Lee, 1992; Rohr, 1998). Justification for actions in the public interest is ambiguous in that they may be contestable and subject to debate. In this aspect, it requires formation of a public vision of what is right and good for a community (Reich, 1988). The non-profit literature pertaining to motivation describes the importance of values, as well. Like public institutions, non-profits display motives beyond self-interest. For

instance, Brainard and Siplon (2004) introduced a second model based on relational motivations of non-profits. Their voluntary spirit model portrays individuals as public spirited and other-regarding, rather than as rational and self-interested. With this model, value is derived from linking citizens in a forum to exchange ideas and build relationships. For instance, career and volunteer firefighters would align with this model if community outreach and dialogue with the community were the primary focus.

How these social relationships develop is a central question to understanding non-profits. Non-profits are of interest because they may shed light on the development of social capital and social embeddedness (Birch & Whittam, 2008). Salamon and Anheier (1998) proposed a social origins approach to explain the role of non-profits. This approach sees non-profits as embedded in complex web of social, political and economic relationships. Viewed in this context, motivation to participate is grounded in choices about individual social interactions. These choices are bounded by historical patterns of interactions within the community. Considering these relational theories volunteer and career firefighters are motivated to respond to emergencies because of a sense of the public interest, rather than personal interests. They would hold motives based on common value sets. Their motives may be embedded within their social interactions.

Mixed Motive Literature

Various scholars attempt to integrate concepts of the economic and relational based theories. At one end of the spectrum is an integration that equates self-interest with public interest, such that the public interest is the ability of individuals to pursue their interests free of coercion (Hayek, 1960). L. Stoker (1992) conceives of a model where individuals are ethical actors, “regarding each citizen as an individual with her own unique hopes and desires who is at the same time joined with others, part of and continually giving shape to a common social and political life” (p. 376).

Relatedly, marketing perspectives have been modified to not only include competence or technical quality, but also service delivery quality. Internal organization processes are important, but so too is consumer perceptions of quality in this perspective. Authors note that internal measures of quality may be very different from consumer

perception of quality. For instance, physicians may judge a successful outcome differently than the patients or the health organizations' administrators. The patients are considered consumers of health care. Typically, patients compare their expected service in the areas of reliability, responsiveness, empathy, assurance and tangibles with their perception of the service received. Assurance is the patient's perception of their safety, security and comfort. Tangibles are the perception of the management of the health care environment. Marketing perspectives have moved to considering more than patient satisfaction and interpreting their value set other than cost. More and more, scholars are seeing the need to integrate patient outcomes in measuring quality with providers and administrators definition of quality outcomes. Each category places different emphasis on aspects of quality health care. The perception of reliability, responsiveness and empathy are based on the relationship between the provider and the patient. Overall quality may affect the perception of patient satisfaction, particular in future encounters (Bowers & Kiefe, 2002). While this formulation on patient satisfaction is valid for the medical services community, it may have validity in the emergency response arena. It would suggest that communities are primarily considered customers with regard to emergency response, but community satisfaction with relational parameter would be of focus.

Enjolras (2009) develops a governance structure around the types of transactions that nonprofits conduct: commercial, entitlement, and reciprocal. Nonprofits may be characterized by the predominance of these types of transactions where commercial aligns with predominantly market output, entitlement aligns with predominantly public resources, and reciprocal aligns with predominantly resources from voluntary efforts. In this proposed structure, the attributes of governance and sources of failure are very different for each sector. The nonprofit sector is characterized by the reciprocal transaction. Reciprocity can have negative and positive connotations. "Reciprocity means that in response to friendly actions, people are frequently much nicer and much more cooperative than predicted by the self-interest model; conversely, in response to hostile actions they are frequently much more nasty and even brutal" (Fehr & Gächter, 2000). Where the coordination principle for markets is price, the coordination principles for nonprofits are modeled as norms of reciprocity and mutual interest. Markets fail when

information asymmetries exist or public goods are involved. However, nonprofits fail when negative reciprocity damages trustworthiness and reputation (Enjolras, 2009).

Relatedly, Brown and Troutt (2004) found that emphasis on building trust relationships with nonprofits as equal partners reduced transaction costs. Unequal oversight relationships caused stress, ambiguity and uncertainty. While transaction cost theory explains the reason public sector agencies would choose to partner with nonprofits, it has difficulty in explaining why nonprofits are reluctant to partner with government (Gazley & Brudney, 2007). Overall, these studies suggest that efficiency expectations may be met in the short term through nonprofit human service delivery. However, the influence of reciprocity as a coordination principle points to the need for collaborative partnerships between public and nonprofit entities.

Brooks (2002) sums up the importance of comparisons between the public and non-profit sectors in comparing the “big questions” that face them both. Both sectors deal with complex arrangements of conflict values, dealing with multiple stakeholders, motivating people toward public purposes and measuring performance outcomes that are difficult to quantify. Effective public and non-profit sector agencies demonstrate such features as favorable relationships with their oversight authorities and other stakeholders, autonomy in operationalizing their mission, a culture linked to their mission, and public service motivation (Rainey & Steinbauer, 1999).

The motivation literature concerning volunteers specifically is rather mixed as well. Volunteers can be motivated for reasons of gaining valuable work experience, interacting with political contacts, sharing with others, or relieving boredom. Batson, Ahmad and Tsang (2002) described four motives to become involved in the community: egoism, altruism, collectivism, and principalism. Egoism represents self-interested motives; altruism represents motive to help others; collectivism represents motive to help a group; principalism represents motives to further a cause.

Even the definition of volunteer is not universal, and volunteers are a diverse group. It is difficult to describe all volunteer characteristics in one model (Cnaan & Amroffell, 1994). Age is a critical factor in categorizing motivation. For instance, family encouragement and school achievement are significant factors in teenage volunteer behavior. Scholars have concluded that while early experiences with volunteering

contribute to individuals continuing to volunteer later in life, more study is required to understand the process that teenagers undergo in becoming adult volunteers (Sundeen & Raskoff, 1994).

The events of 11 September 2001 were shown to provide motivation for volunteering to help victims in the aftermath. Yet, this uptick in volunteering did not translate to increased civic engagement. Civic engagement is broader than volunteering, encompassing participation in deliberating about how to resolve issues, interacting with others about common interests, and influencing policy formation. Although an assumed tie between increased volunteering and improved civic engagement exist, analysis of volunteer program outcomes suggests that the tie is tenuous (James L. Perry, Thomson, Tschirhart, Mesch, & Lee, 1999). Scholars find that the three factors of motivation, skills and network connections are relevant to this translation into robust civic engagement (Kirlin & Kirlin, 2002).

Most interesting is the work that finds Americans do volunteer a considerable amount of time, but usually sporadically one event at a time, and normally associated with church affiliations (E. Brown, 1999). In fact, researchers find that sustained volunteering is more of an issue than initial recruiting of volunteers (Penner, 2002). These models do not support a description of the volunteer firefighter. Volunteer firefighters work alongside career emergency responders, in sometimes risky and stressful conditions. Intrinsic rewards are found to be more substantial than extrinsic rewards (Wilson & Musick, 1999). M.M. Gonzalez provides much insight into the perceptions of volunteers in a metropolitan community. He surveyed volunteers who had at least one previous experience working with paid responders during the recovery phase of a large scale disaster. Among these volunteers, 24 percent reported feeling that they were “in the way,” another 20 percent believed they worked harder than the paid responders, and 36 percent responded that they were given assignments that did not match their skill level or training. Only 48 percent reported being assigned tasks immediately, and 60 percent indicated that paid responders were helpful (Gonzalez, September 2005).

Yet, volunteers return time and again to assist. Explaining this seeming conundrum, volunteers are touted as believing in a cause that they want to support. They

will selflessly give to that cause, even with little recognition or pay. They freely give of their time with any skill at their disposal to further that cause (Ilsen, 2012) Volunteers gain a greater degree of self-actualization than they find in their job (A. M. Thompson & Bono, 1993).

Similarly, career firefighters perform tasks for their community at great risk to their life. While they are monetarily compensated, other values may sustain their commitment to continue to act for their community. Examining career and volunteer firefighters suggests that elements of both New Public Management (NPM) and Public Service literature may help to explain the actions they take and how they articulate how and why they perform the public services that they do. Firefighters must balance proper care of their fiscal responsibilities, as well as their feelings of empathy. These fiscal responsibilities can be viewed within NPM prism that challenges managers to operate cost effectively. Viewed within public service, fiscal responsibility challenges managers to seek participation from citizens in deliberations about the use of funds. As public administrators, these professionals undoubtedly contend with conflict between values of efficiency in the use of tax dollars and values of compassion that demand assisting neighbors in trouble equitably.

Relational Motivation literature would predict that public service would be based on the relationship between and among the career, volunteer and community at large. The values of the community would be reflected in the service of the firefighters, regardless of the monetary compensation schemes.

This chapter provides some of the literature pertinent to strategy in public organizations and to motivation. Although hypotheses were not developed and tested based on this literature, a review is helpful in setting a framework of possibilities for building theory. To summarize, the strategic literature theorizes that managers are faced with a complex environment that is ever-changing. The manager plans and improvises actions to create value and accomplish goals. These actions form a dynamic relation with the structures put in place to implement strategic plans. Managers must create visions of meaningful work to motivate employees. They pay attention to employee motivations, as much as the needs of the citizens that they attempt to meet. The literature on public service and volunteer motivations extend from altruistic to self-interested models. Some

of the scholars cited propose that motivation has a very social context, in that it is grounded in motives of building relationships. Categorizing the literature as public service or volunteer indicates that findings in this study would describe differences between public servants and volunteers, yet they are very similar. Also, the literature may be categorized as economic, relational or mixed motives. This study indicates that the organizational design may influence the motivations of career and volunteer within these categories. Also, it introduces the suggestion that motivation may be quite dynamic and reciprocal.

The intended contribution of this study is to understand the dynamic quality of strategic management as it relates to vision, organizational design and motivation. The examination of managing both career and volunteer responders contributes to a neglected portion of the literature. It seeks to understand motivation and its nature within this environment. It compares the motives of career and volunteer responders and finds them very similar. It builds a theoretical framework to better examine these interrelationships in tandem. It uses a practice theory orientation to gather every day data because it is seen as consequential to understanding these relationships better and how these every day interactions reflect in the above theoretical literature.

The next chapter provides the empirical data that emerged from this study with regard to management strategies for integrating volunteer and career responders. These strategies are described in detail and offer insight into the relationship between volunteer and career responders.

Chapter 4 Management Strategies- Integrating Volunteer and Career Firefighters

Management Strategy Overview

The fire service depends in part on the integration of career and volunteer firefighters. Individual public managers for the fire service employ various strategies to integrate volunteer and career responders to ensure the quality of service is maintained. These managers affect the relationship between career and volunteer responders with these various strategies. Three management strategies to include volunteers were observed during this study. Chapter 4 provides a broad overview of the strategies observed during this study. The chapter provides an introduction to each of the three strategies that were identified through the analysis of the interview and observational data. Interestingly, these strategies were identified as part of the analysis of the answers to the first question set on firefighter motivations. The second question set was posed to the station managers to flesh out the details of the strategies. Quotes from both the first and second interview sets are used to bring to life the strategies in the words of the firefighters. The purpose of this chapter is to give a summary of some of the responsibilities of fire station Captains and introduce these three observed strategies. Certainly other strategies for integrating these two groups are plausible, but the descriptions will be limited to those that emerged from the analysis. The chapter answers the question of what the strategies look like in practice. Once these strategies are introduced, the following chapter will break down the constituent influences on the strategies in more detail. Later discussion of these influences and their reciprocal nature with managerial actions will give more detailed insight into their relationship.

Fire Station Captains are the first line managers in the fire department. They serve as the shift lead, the volunteer coordinator for the station, and are responsible for the maintenance and bringing into service of apparatus. Apparatus could be such vehicles as fire trucks, fire engines, brush trucks or ambulances. Captains are the lead of one of three shifts, with Lieutenants leading the other two shifts. Normally, the shift leads are designated to coordinate station administrative functions. These functions include budget reports, performing planned maintenance, and purchasing supplies. The

Captain is responsible for taking apparatus in or out of service, but the Lieutenants cover for the Captain when necessary.

Everyday tasks include: the initial response to incidents, scheduling watch duties, setting communications on scene, driving to the scene, establishing pump and hose operations, stabilizing for ladder operations, gaining entry to structures, establishing ventilation, determining and executing search and rescue efforts, oversee salvage efforts, overhaul area for hidden fire, and clean-up after the fire is extinguished (Don McNea Fire School, 2012). The shift lead is responsible for ensuring the responders on duty have the requisite training to complete these tasks. These tasks require a great deal of experience. For instance, the initial response to an incident requires a split second decision to select the apparatus to make the initial response based on the location, alarm type, or type of structure involved. Some of the pressures on the shift leads included having to stay current on fire safety procedures and new apparatus, maintaining training for responders, enforcing protocols that the fire chief required, arriving on scene within the established timeframes and completing incident reports during the shift. Integrating volunteer and career responders within these everyday tasks was important to successfully completing these tasks.

The managers in this study needed to understand the changes that were occurring in their service area. For example, urbanization pressures led to considering the type of skills needed and apparatus needed. Car accidents increased in highway corridors, and multi-level office building emergencies called for apparatus that could reach greater heights. The managers had pressures to stay current and watch for trends in call volume. The manager needed strategies to ensure each firefighter, whether career or volunteer, could perform the part of the task assigned. These tasks were performed in conjunction with other members of the on scene team. Understanding of team and individual capabilities and building team rapport were essential ingredients in the integration strategies.

Table 4.1 summarizes the three strategies identified, and describes them based on five categories. The categories are: career and volunteer differences, expectations, the number of volunteer and career responders assigned to a particular station, and retention/recruiting implications.

The strategies observed were based on the extent of volunteer capacity and type of involvement the managers felt appropriate for shaping volunteer and career responder's interactions. The first strategy is treating the volunteer as an equal crew member within a career team. The volunteer's capacity to serve as an equal is based on volunteer efforts serving as an additional operational crew resource. The manager shaped interactions based on equity. The second strategy is allowing volunteers to form all-volunteer crews. The volunteer's capacity to serve depends on ability to manage personal schedules and time commitments within a team context. The managers shaped interactions based on flexibility. The third strategy is building a relationship between two separate organizations. The volunteer's capacity to serve depends on whether the service is to supplement the career responders, or to assist the volunteer association in other capacities. The manager shaped interactions based on negotiation.

Strategies/ Categories	Treat volunteer like career on scene	Allow volunteers to form crews with other volunteers	Build Relationship with Volunteer Association
Career/ Volunteer Differences	Volunteers have less administrative duties than career. Volunteers lack the experience attained through 24 hour shift every 3 days.	Volunteers have administrative duties like career. Volunteers lack the experience attained through 24 hour shift every 3 days.	Volunteers have less administrative duties than career. Volunteers lack the experience attained through 24 hour shift every 3 days.
Expectation Setting	Established through formal generic position descriptions. Career monitored through feedback from shift officer. Direct feedback career to volunteer. Same uniform	Established through formal generic position descriptions. Volunteer officer monitored Greater autonomy for volunteer to choose assignment and team members Same uniform	Established through formal generic position descriptions. Fire Station Captain monitored through feedback from shift officer. Feedback to volunteer is on scene or through Board President Same Uniform
# of volunteers and career assigned to station	Tends to favor a small number of volunteers, since only one volunteer may be assigned per 3 person career shift.	Tends to favor larger number of volunteers to fulfill all crew assignments within 24 hour day availability. No career assigned to crew.	Provides a mechanism to modulate between large and small numbers of volunteers that includes career assigned to 3 shifts
Retention/ Recruiting	2-3 year retention cycle because they tend to get hired as a career Average a loss of 3 operational volunteers per year over the last ten years	6-10 Retention cycle Average a loss of 0 operational volunteers per year over the last ten years	5- 9 year retention cycle Average a loss of 2 operational volunteers per year over the last ten years

Table 4.1 Strategy Descriptions

Each of these strategies is described in more detail below. Although other strategies may be possible for integrating volunteer and career responders, these strategies were the ones that were implemented during this study.

Treating Career and Volunteers as Equals- Description

Treating volunteers as if they were career members is a powerful strategy to build team cohesion. Volunteers and career responders wear the same uniform and are required to satisfy the same physical and training requirements to demonstrate proficient competency mastery. The general public is generally unaware of any difference between career and volunteer responders. In the studied county, operational volunteers apply for volunteer positions much like the career position. These position descriptions are an important source of setting expectations. Career responders liked that volunteers were categorized as either administrative or operational. Expectations for volunteers were more clearly equivalent to public employees.

The best thing the county ever did was establish categories of volunteers. That makes it clear what is expected of the volunteer whether they be operational or administrative. It was easier to impose a professional standard on operational volunteers once they made that clear categorization. Before, all they wanted to do was sit around the station. All those metrics they asked, they asked the wrong question. They asked, “How many calls were made while you were at the station?” not “How many calls did you make?” (IWA, 6 April 2012)

The obvious distinction between volunteers and career responders is the receipt of a salary. Volunteers are not paid to respond. Yet, the salary does not bear on the operational tasks at the emergency scene that each type of responder provides. Equality between career and volunteer responders was important. It was based less on pay, and more on expectations of wearing the uniform.

A lot of these guys here are getting paid, but they are volunteers in other counties. So, we all interact and you show up on a fire scene you could not tell who was volunteer and who was paid. We all wear the same uniform, do the same stuff. One’s getting paid and the other is not. That’s the only difference. Most of these guys started out as volunteers in the county. It is a natural flow...If you were not pulling your load; they would say something to you (IWA, 28 June 2012).

Both career and volunteer firefighters earn the right to wear the uniform after intense recruit training. So, an operational volunteer has been vetted through a rigorous training program before acceptance as an equal. Differences are manifested in the amount of administrative duties that are expected of operational volunteers and promotion opportunity. Volunteers complete incident reports that they attend, but are not responsible for other paperwork. Like career responders, volunteers are subject to sanctions due to discipline issues associated with actions at the incident. Unlike career responders, volunteers and managers do not conduct formal periodic performance evaluations. Performance feedback is based on team review in informal discussions of the actions they took during each incident.

We learn from experience, a lot times you don't know what you did wrong. If someone is watching you, they will pick up on it. That is one of the main things, too. Learning from each other. If we are in the bay somewhere messing with something or pulling a call or something, they pull you aside and say, "Hey, man, do this different." It is not really formal, unless you are actually signed up for a class, it's not really formal. Just putting your hands on it, and do it wrong and fixing it. Rather than reading from a book. It is a lot easier to take it in (IWA 28 June 2012).

Career responders accept that volunteer responders are less experienced.

Volunteer responders typically cannot match the level of experience gained manning the station for 24 hours every third day. As with newly hired career responders, volunteers are mentored as apprentices in the profession.

Treating volunteers the same as career responders entails setting clear expectations for volunteers for behavior and actions on the incident scene. Employing this strategy requires documenting protocols and enforcing their use. Also, volunteer position descriptions define tasks the volunteer is expected to perform, skills they are required to maintain, and abilities they need to serve operationally.

Interactions between volunteers and career responders were based on the volunteer becoming the fourth member of a three-person career crew. The career responders wanted individual supplements to their professional crew, rather than the addition of volunteer crews.

For us [career responders] to have a fourth person on the engine is really, really important. For you to show up 15 minutes into a call with a volunteer unit and an inexperienced crew, who

may or may not perform is not so important. If the volunteers could make the mindset change to better fit the positions that would be useful to the organization, then that would be a huge step forward. But, as an independent organization, I have not seen them do that. It wasn't until I was at an integrated station where folks were saying, "Hey, this is working out (IWA, 9 July 2012). Career responders found benefit in individual contribution to the professional team organization, rather than quantity of available resources. Typically, the opportunities for a large number of operational volunteers could not be accommodated.

The volunteers at this station don't ride together. There is only one volunteer allowed per engine. So, it is not a big cluster. Not a lot of room back there. So, these guys [career responders] are here every third day for 24 hours. They are getting more experience using the stuff and responding to the calls. That's one of the reasons I changed [from all-volunteer to integrated station] is these guys are more experienced. So, I'm trying to go paid, but whether I get hired on or not, I'll still volunteer here at this county just because I think it is important to help out (IWA, 28 June 2012).

There is a trade-off with this strategy that provides more intense exposure to career responders' experience and in real scenarios, but at the expense of training a large number of volunteers. Volunteers that want this type of interaction are usually professionally motivated.

There is a double edged sword with volunteers using their experience to become career. One is we put a higher requirement on our volunteers to get credentials and certifications. Some of them look at it like, "If I am going to do all that, then that will increase my opportunity to get hired. So, they go and apply somewhere. In turn, we reward them with, "Hey, you have been a good volunteer, we are going to hire you." It is like that seed, you plant the seed, and it starts to grow. We will take you. Then, again you took away from your volunteers. So, it has turnover like that. It does create the turnover, but it is positive. They stay with the county or go to a local agency. So, it is like a little breeding ground. We lose some but then again it will draw more. So, I look at it as a window of what they can offer. There is usually a 2-3 year window before they get hired somewhere. So, that is where we capitalize on them in that 3 year window (IWA, 9 July 2012).

This quote from a dual station Captain reflects the benefits and drawbacks of treating volunteers as equals. Volunteers with professional qualifications enhance their

resumes for applying for career positions. Once they acquire these skills, usually in about 2-3 years, they leave volunteering. 15 of 136 volunteers in the study chose to only volunteer as the fourth member of a career crew. Thus, fewer volunteers could be accommodated as a fourth crew member on a three member professional crew. Additionally, trend information over the past ten years showed that volunteer numbers decreased, then increased every 2 to 3 years as described above. Unfortunately, overall the number of volunteers since 2002 has decreased an average of 3 volunteers per year. However, the data did not reveal whether the volunteer left to become a career firefighter or not.

To summarize the characteristics of this strategy, the above quotes reveal some interesting elements about treating volunteers as equals. It reveals the importance of initial comparable training to invest a sense of responsibility to wearing the uniform. It demonstrates that the salary or lack thereof is less important than operating within the team standards. There are benefits to treating volunteers as equal because it most of the interactions allow the volunteer to interact with seasoned career responders to gain experience. However, not all volunteers can experience the fourth crew member experience regularly, because only one volunteer can ride on a particular call. Additionally, not all volunteers desire to become career responders.

This strategy reflects the deep influence that the Federalist position during the founding debates still holds in shaping administrative strategies. Recall that Federalists espoused a sound government that was close to the people because it was energetic and efficient. Good government was viewed as consistent and focused on action toward coherent goals. Similarly, this local strategy focuses volunteer efforts on emulating career responders. A good volunteer is represented as one who is as efficient and competent as a career responder. Volunteers are close to the community because they provide good, professional services for them. The goal is to ensure quality service to citizens, whether performed by volunteer or career.

Allowing Volunteers to Form Their Own Crews- Description

Allowing volunteers to form their own crews is a strategy that places the most emphasis on self-sufficiency of the volunteers. Career responders do not participate in

the crew formation. Volunteers have greater flexibility on deciding with whom they serve. While volunteer crews have comparable training, they are not mandated to respond.

Career guys have more training because they are here. Every third day, they are here. From 8 to 5 o'clock, they have to train or work. So, they are constantly training and they run a lot more calls than volunteers do because they are here every third day. Sometimes volunteers will go down every couple of days and stay for a couple of hours. They put their hands on things more often and the others are talking about it. Don't get me wrong, the all-volunteer stations are trained up to par with the highest qualifications you can get. They just don't put their hands on it as much as these guys do. It is really hard to explain the difference. If they [volunteers] are at home and it is 3 in the morning and they hear that pager goes off. They listen to it, like an [clock] alarm activation. Nine times out of ten they [volunteers] won't get out of bed. With these guys [career], they are getting out of bed for it. They are going, no matter what (IWA, 28 June 2012).

As this quote indicates, getting out of bed to answer any individual emergency is a choice. This choice influences both the experiential base of the volunteer responders, as well as how the manager must deal with scheduling of available crew members. Typically, managers describe this flexibility on the volunteer side as a problem on the management side.

Now, with all volunteers, and you are a Captain coming in trying to help manage things, you feel like you are herding cats. They don't really have to answer to you. You have to say, "By the way, will you help me with this." There is no responsibility, other than courtesy. So, it has been a challenge (IWA, 9 July 2012).

Managers feel less control because they have fewer tools to enforce consistent results. Volunteers are seen as less responsibility because it is their choice to respond. Managers feel the need to rely on persuasion and modeling behavior, rather than command.

As far as volunteering, [camaraderie] has to be a must and it helps if I tell them to do something, I do the same thing. If I say we need to chop this wood, I need to be out helping them. I think that's how you get everybody together and build trust. If you don't have the money holding you there, like for punishment, I can't take

their pay away, I can't send them home. If I send them home, that is punishment for me. So, if they mess up you have to say, "Come on guys, you know...you are making it harder on me. You know what you are supposed to do. Let's see how we can make it better and do better." I think it would be easier at a career station because you are working for a pay check. If you mess up, you won't get the next raise or they make it harder on you. Here, if you make it too hard on them, they will quit. Being a volunteer on the officer level, I think is harder because I have no leverage. Except for patting them on the back and saying 'you did a great job.' That's all you have got to do (IWA, 15 June 2012).

Managers have fewer levers in enticing volunteers to respond. However, volunteers have greater responsibility for the incidents in which they respond. The County Fire Chief strictly monitors individual crew qualifications. Training requirements are similar to career training requirements, but tailored to the more off- hour schedules of volunteers.

At the all-volunteer station they had what they called Monday drills. Everybody would come down on Monday night. I was in high school at the time. So, I was going to school five days a week, going to recruit school and I have a job on top of that. I went to seven month recruit school. Recruit school is only to teach you the basics. Afterwards, you need to take even more classes to build and build what you are doing. Because all it does is keep you safer. More classes will never hurt you. So, the training was definitely draining. After recruit school, I went through EMT school. And that is so long, but the training is good. This county is about the best training you can get. They definitely prepare you for the calls. But until you go on the calls and put your hands on it, you really don't get the full effect. Until you are on the call, they can send you to all the training they want to until you actually get there (IWA, 28 June 2012).

This quote reveals both the nature of the volunteer's schedule and the importance of hand-on training as crew members. Volunteers have to work around school and family time requirements. Experiential training is an important aspect to bolster the premises learned in the upfront recruit training. Yet, scheduling of all-volunteer crew members sometimes becomes difficult with this strategy. Volunteers may schedule time they are available at the station with other volunteer members. Or, they may just come in as their

schedule dictates and sign in as available to respond. If they are able to respond depends on whether other volunteers are signed in.

It varies month to month how much I actually come. It depends on my work schedule. Sometimes I come twice a week or once a month depending on my work schedule (28 June 2012).

With all volunteers considering their work schedules, coordination is a problem. In particular, daytime hours typically show reduced volunteer availability. Additionally, the county required volunteers to respond from the station, where in the past they were allowed to respond from home. For example, a volunteer may want to sign in for as available at midnight on Friday night. Unless at least two other volunteers want to come in at that time and be available for calls, the station will not show as available to respond at the central dispatch.

Interactions are more limited between career and volunteer members with this strategy, particularly on scene. Volunteers have less ability to learn from career members because they do not respond as one crew. The interactions between crew members are the salient ones for effective on scene response. These interactions require a very close association. However, the association is between the volunteers. The association is particular meaningful between the volunteer crew members.

We all had duty crews and we would put together a shift like this. The guys we were really close with. It is kind of the same thing in a way. Because the volunteers don't respond from home anymore, so you have to be at the station with a crew to run the call. So you would get to spend time with them like here. If you didn't, you would never go to the call (IWA, 28 June 2012).

Allowing volunteers to form their own crews entails greater administrative burdens on the volunteers. The career firefighters completed most of the paperwork when the volunteer was the supplemental fourth crew member. With this strategy, volunteers had to complete all the appropriate administrative functions such as incident reports, monthly reports, metrics, and financial reporting.

It's just more ...more politics involved. It's just that there is a lot more red tape. I guess that's because everybody is sue-happy. And make sure you cover your..., you know, dot your I's and cross your T's. Now, it takes you longer to do the paperwork than run the call. Even if it's a little call. It's a whole lot more a job than a

passion, shall I say? It is sad to say. Times have changed (IWA, 15 June 2012).

Additionally, allowing volunteers to form their own crews requires many volunteers to sustain the strategy. Volunteers are needed to cover all the team positions, but on varying schedules.

Volunteers are needed in all sorts of capacities. Some just come down and maintain the grounds once a week. Others provide the operational functions running the calls. If you fit in, you come and spend time at the station and help with anything that needs to get done (IWA, 24 February 2012).

The trend data in the studied county for the past ten years showed that twice as many volunteers were assigned to volunteer crews as those assigned to integrated crews. These volunteers stayed on average 6-10 years as operational volunteers. The county was neither gaining nor losing volunteers on average during this period of time. However, the data did not reveal how many of these volunteers were operational or administrative or how active the volunteers were within their volunteer association.

To summarize the characteristics of this strategy, the above quotes describe a very flexible and self-reliant orientation toward the use of volunteers. This strategy reflects the deep influences of the Anti-Federalist position of the founding fathers. In the introduction, the concept of the importance of decentralized representation was discussed as an Anti-Federalist premise. Government was close to the community because the citizens participated in government. When volunteers form their own crews, they have a great deal more flexibility in responding to the calls that they conceived as a good to which they wanted to contribute. Volunteers were more responsible for administrative duties, in keeping with a self-governing premise. Additionally, more volunteers are needed to sustain a self-governing organization with the attendant increase in the range of ideas that constitute the public good. Volunteers have more responsibility for the less glamorous aspects of providing for the public good such as completing paperwork. Even though there were more responsibilities that volunteers fulfilled, the range of tasks enticed more volunteers to contribute to even minor roles in an effort to help the association.

Building Relationship with Volunteer Association- Description

Building a relationship with a separate volunteer organization is a powerful strategy for flexible work assignments across a partnership. The manager is challenged to negotiate performance of emergency services in conjunction with a nonprofit volunteer corporation. Managers are responsible for assets and resources under their cognizance and for integrating the corporation assets and resources appropriately. By-laws govern the corporation's operations, but the county manager serves on the Board of Directors. Managers communicate at the organizational level rather than the individual level. For instance, managers will communicate training schedules to the corporation President in order to coordinate across the organizations.

We kind of work with each other on it. I cannot tell them, "Hey you will be here Thursday afternoon", but I can ask that you let me know in advance. So, when you are riding, I can plan some stuff around it. I can let them know when some training is going to be. If you want to be part of our air pack breathing Day, you are more than welcome to come in and we will take you down there (IWA, 9 July 2012).

The By-laws reflect the same operational position descriptions of the county volunteer system. The positions are described as volunteer firefighters, EMS Only and Operational Support.

Volunteer Firefighters are front-line operational members who are cross-trained and certified to perform both firefighting and emergency medical services duties. These members may participate as part of a functional firefighting crew and operate within an immediately dangerous to life and health (IDLH) environment.

EMS Only Volunteers are front-line operational members who are trained and certified to perform EMS duties only, and may practice according to their level of EMS certification and sanctioning by the operational medical director (OMD). These members may not operate in an IDLH atmosphere.

Emergency Operations Support Volunteers are members who are neither trained nor certified to perform front-line firefighting or emergency patient care duties but may fulfill various support functions at incident scenes outside IDLH atmospheres and hazard control perimeters. Such volunteers may not operate or be within

IDLH atmospheres ("By-Laws of the Bon Air Volunteer Fire Department," 2012).

All these volunteers are voting members of the volunteer association. The members of the volunteer association elect the Board of Directors, and remove a board member by majority vote. A three-fourths vote is required to amend the by-laws, override a board of directors' decision, or remove the volunteer coordinator. A majority vote of the Board of Directors is required to remove a member ("By-Laws of the Bon Air Volunteer Fire Department," 2012). They passed a criminal background check and physical, and complied with any and all training or certification requirements that may be issued by County Fire & EMS for such position. They have been approved by the District Chief or Volunteer Coordinator to serve in such a capacity.

On scene career officers still directed volunteers and career crew members alike at an emergency scene, but other issues were addressed through the volunteer corporation President.

I think the only conflict here on the career side would be if a volunteer came here and was supposed to be qualified and they weren't qualified. I think that would be a problem. Once in a while they identify somebody that is not ready. It does not create problems where they say, "This person can't ride until they do this." Whatever it is, they let the head of the volunteers know "This is what happened." Not in a bad way, just to let everyone know what happened. They're really good at this station to work with the volunteer association. Be more as one- They've said that's not the case at all the stations, but it is here. They want help and don't like "Oh you're a volunteer" at all. (IWA, 19 April 2012)

As this quote indicates, issues are funneled through the corporation President. This communication may be a source of conflict. Managers and on scene officers have less sense of control of the individual volunteer. The root of the conflict is that the individual volunteer had an identity as a firefighter when part of an emergency response, but also had an identity as a voting member of a corporation. Career managers were uneasy when the corporation member appeared as the dominant identity.

Individual volunteers elect the corporation board members and can amend their by-laws with a three fourths vote of those in attendance of a duly convened meeting. Thus, volunteers had a great deal of influence on every day operations. They created the

rules of engagement for how they would associate with each other and with the county fire department. Career managers have to emphasize communications to make it work. That means influencing the content of the corporation by-laws to reflect career expectations and communicating to hammer out differences.

I think this station does a phenomenal job with the combination station. I think we do a phenomenal job because we have open communication. I think that us as a volunteer company we expect a lot of volunteers and we expect them to be trained to the level of the career people. We expect them to follow the exact same roles as the career people. If you asked most the career guys here, that most of us [volunteers] do that and therefore they do not have a problem with many of us on the engine. We're pretty much the same as another career person. We have a good relationship with the captain here. We have a good relationship with all the lieutenants on each shift and so I really feel like this station- it's very good. It's a good system and it works, but we constantly have to be talking to each other. There are always bumps in the road, then you talk to them and hammer out certain things but once again it is talking (IWA, 12 April 2012).

As indicated, managers place a great deal of emphasis on relationships and communications. These relationships are reciprocal in setting expectations, but also hearing the individual needs of the volunteers. Managers need to understand the particular volunteer motivation in order to set expectations.

I do see ones that come in and say, "I just want to help people, but I see it morph into they're seeking a career. Which is OK, but I like people to be open and honest with you. "Hey, what are your goals?" Be a volunteer or move up as a career, you know. It doesn't matter to me, but I would manage them differently. I would like to know instead of pretend that they are not looking to have a career and pretend not that they are going to stay a volunteer. In between the lines, their overall goal is to go career. Not that it really affects me but I like to know because it may ...I may not teach you differently, but I know what expectations to have. I would use stories, this is what happened to me, how I transitioned. With the volunteer, I tell the same story but I know not to get on this long tangent about the decisions I had to make to get promoted or not ...I like to know at least what your goals are, but no hidden agendas (IWA, 9 July 2012).

This quote alludes to the changing nature of the motivation. Volunteer motives change and the career managers must stay attuned to these changes. Managers modify

their approach as they grasp the volunteer's intent. Also, it suggests that motives are shaped by the interactions with career responders.

With this strategy, volunteers built separate relationships with career responders and with the other members of the volunteer corporation. For example, the volunteers and the county firefighters held separate meetings and some social events. The fire station had three 24 hour shifts with county firefighters assigned. However, volunteers had a choice once they had joined the volunteer corporation. The volunteer could join a career crew or forming a crew with other volunteers. However, the career responders have the choice to accept a volunteer on their crew, also.

I've seen it in station over the years, some of the volunteers and career would hardly talk to one another. Or the career would say, "He's not riding with me. He can go ride another unit." You don't see that here at all. We have had small issues in the past, when it is not a good fit. It just is not a good fit and then they move on. There are some people that fit better in an all-volunteer organization because they don't like some of those...the hierarchy, and having to answer to career officer agendas (IWA, 9 July 2012).

Under this strategy, issues of fit are handled more at the organizational level. The manager needed to be able to work with individual volunteers, but also interact closely with the corporation President. Their relationship was based on their ability to integrate the distribution of work, manage financials and manage personnel across the two organizations. Additionally, the corporation President provides strong mentoring skills that the career manager can draw upon.

They all taught me, so I can't say that there was like one person. I mean, we do have the volunteer chief he's now the President. Abe [not his real name] has been phenomenal. He has been a great mentor throughout the whole process as well. He certainly ... If I were to name one individual, I would say Abe has been a huge mentor but on the same side I mean I the career people are just fantastic and fabulous but it's a two-way street you have to be willing to work (IWA, 15 June 2012).

The trend data for volunteers that are subject to this dual management strategy show they are the most numerous. During this study, 83 out of 136 volunteers have elected to volunteer as part of a volunteer corporation formed at a station with career

responders assigned. Like the volunteers at integrated stations, dual stations are losing two more volunteers than they gain if averaged over the past ten years. Although individual reasons for volunteer resignations were not available, the possible reasons are: 1) hired as a career responder; 2) no longer physically capable; 3) change in available time to volunteer; 4) moved from the local area; or 5) removed as members. .

In summary, these quotes describe the cross-organizational focus of this strategy. The career manager leaves the recruiting of volunteers to the association. The manager partners with the volunteer corporation to set expectations and serves as another supervisory point of reference for discussions of motivation and expectations. Managers describe a very dynamic environment. Volunteers need to articulate their motivations clearly, so managers can provide an experience that fits. These motivations can change as volunteers experience and interact with both career and volunteer responders. Volunteer actions can fit into a variety of roles that are either tempered through the interaction with career responders or are separate from career crews. Managers have increased communication responsibilities at the organizational level and a greater amount of choices in placing individual volunteers. However, managers have more constraints because the volunteer association is a stakeholder in the station operation. This strategy is probably the most difficult for a manager because it attempts to merge both the Federalist notion of energetic, efficient government, with the Anti-Federalist notion of self-governance. The manager tends to feel conflicted about allowing participation on a flexible schedule, but still maintaining quality service to citizens.

Management Strategy Details

This section summarizes the underlying assumptions upon which the strategies are based, the goals the strategies serve, and drawbacks and benefits of their implementation. These strategies are viewed as levers that the manager may use to influence career and volunteer integration and relationship. As such, the descriptions, assumptions upon which the strategies are based, the goals the strategies serve, and drawbacks and benefits of their implementation are based on the manager's perspective. The manager discussed expectations and motivations to serve prior to employing a particular strategy.

Treating Career and Volunteers as Equals

Assumptions

Managers make certain assumptions about why volunteers would want to be treated as career responders. They assume that a good volunteer is one who is motivated to serve as a career responder. These volunteers use their experience as a stepping stone to career status. The manager relies on the volunteer to establish a reputation as a reliable resource because it will be an important component on the career application.

Secondly, the manager assumes that career resources are available to cover emergency response needs and that volunteers are supplemental resources. This assumption allows treating the volunteers as additional resources rather than minimum resources. Therefore, the manager is not concerned as much with the volunteer-organizational fit because the career resources are assigned to cover emergencies during any particular shift.

Thirdly, the manager assumes that volunteers are rewarded through favorable comparison with career responders. Volunteers want to be asked to serve on particular shifts with crew members that welcome their assistance.

For most of the volunteers here, one of the highest compliments that we can be paid is for career guys be like “can you ride with me can you do this because they have the confidence in you. Probably the highest compliment that I can be paid is that a career person knows that I can do something (IWA, 15 June 2012).

Fourthly, the manager assumes that similar recruit school training and understanding of the documented protocols will allow quicker team formation. Dealing with an emergency is an intricate combination of team efforts, individual skills, and calm, collected and quick response. If the volunteer is treated like an equal, those team bonds must be based on confidence that a particular volunteer can contribute.

Lastly, the manager assumes that the lack of a salary for the volunteers’ efforts is not a source of conflict. Some misunderstandings are possible with setting very similar expectations for salaried and volunteer responders. The public could misread the need

for salaried employees who are paid to do the same tasks as volunteers. Volunteers in turn could display attitudes toward some salaried employees questioning their expertise. In this case, the manager assumes that conflicts between volunteers and career responders may be resolved based on adherence to protocols.

Goal

The goal of this strategy is to create a small professional team that can respond to both fire and emergency medical calls during a particular shift. Volunteers emulate career responders. The goal is set on current call loads that emphasize efficiently and effectively responding within the three shift framework. The strategy acts upon the team composition level, where individual volunteers and career crew members interact. Thus, the strategy's goal is to influence relationships between individuals as equal members. The manager relies on setting expectations for individuals to treat one another equitably.

Benefits and Drawbacks

The benefits of treating volunteers like career responders are numerous. The clear benefit for both career and volunteer responders are that expectations for performance are clear and consistent. While fitting into particular teams is still an important component of effective emergency response for both career and volunteer alike, team cohesion is as strong as teams composed of only career responder team members.

Career members rely on the similar exposure to training and operational protocols to feel assured that volunteers are capable and competent. Although volunteers lack the experience level of career responders, volunteers are able to ask pertinent questions of career staff to gain understanding through story telling. Career members tend to appreciate volunteer interest and want to share their experiences. Career responders are grateful that the volunteers asked them questions, as it acknowledges their expertise. Also, it allows career responders to stay up on the latest protocols and refresh them on what worked in the past.

In particular, the strategy benefits adherence of safety standards across both the career and volunteer responders. Career responders understand their responsibility to be good role models and enforce safety measures for themselves and the crew. For example,

responders are prohibited from riding on the running boards, responders must suit up prior to leaving the station, and all must wear their seat belts on the emergency apparatus. Equal treatment provides a standard that is expected from all on the team.

Some of the drawbacks deal with the return on investment of training the volunteer to the level of the career responder. Training costs can be upwards of fifty thousand dollars per volunteer. Volunteers that match well with this strategy tend to want to use the volunteer experience as a stepping stone to career status. Their training makes these volunteers attractive to the local county as well as other locations as a rich hiring pool.

Typically, volunteers who are professionally motivated leave within two to three years. They may be hired within the locality that they volunteered or another locality. The influx of volunteers sometimes does not match the times that there is a gap in volunteer resources. Additionally, they may volunteer at multiple county locations to increase their chances of getting hired at any location. Volunteering at multiple locations tempts volunteers to only serve the minimum requirement of 24 hours per month. They lose continuity with the particular station staff and can seem less reliable.

One of the major drawbacks is that this strategy appeals to a small set of volunteers. Few volunteers are physically capable of performing firefighting tasks, have the time to devote to completing the firefighting and emergency medical training, and the motivation to volunteer in a professional sense.

Table 4.2 provides a summary of the details for the strategy of treating volunteers as equal to career responders.

Strategy 1	Treat career and volunteer responders as equals
Assumptions	Emphasis on equal training is important for equal treatment.
	Volunteers are motivated to serve to gain recognition as “just as good as a professional.”
	Team formation can be quickly established when protocols are understood and practiced.
	The lack of pay for completing the same training and role does not cause conflict.
Goals	Maintain a small professional all-response team that is efficient and effective.
Drawbacks	Creates a 2-3 year cycle to refresh volunteer pool. The volunteer completes extensive training and is hired by others or the county.
	Volunteer pool tends to be smaller.
	Less emphasis on civilian roles during incident.
	Concern for Return on Investment for high training costs that are not guaranteed to be used in the locality.
Benefits	Volunteers under same training and safety standards.
	Volunteers exposed to career mentoring.
	Builds team cohesion.

Table 4.2 First Management Strategy Details

Allowing Volunteers to Form Their Own Crews

Assumptions

This strategy depends on a close relationship between the volunteers and the community which they serve. The manager assumes volunteers are representative of the local citizens. As such, the volunteers are assumed to know the community and its needs. For example, volunteers may be more aware of new subdivisions and streets in the area. Career responders may rely heavily on GPS systems that have not been updated yet. There is an assumption that community relationships will serve as additional communication pathways. Small business owners may be neighbors with the volunteers, providing the volunteer with perhaps greater insight into fire and safety needs or communicate tips for fire prevention.

A major assumption is that training and gaining credentials in emergency response is adequate in building in experience learning. This assumption is particularly relevant to volunteer officers. Volunteer officers may have completed their training and met qualification. Yet, their experience base is typically as crew members.

Volunteer officers are particularly influential in forming these all-volunteer crews. This strategy places importance on the volunteer officer to perform and lead the crew. It assumes that they can inspire crew members to act with them, without directed assignment. While the officer is seen as in charge at the scene, a volunteer member is not required to act with any particular individual. The volunteers may drop out of a particular crew membership if it does suit their desires.

Goal

The goal of this strategy is to maximize volunteer participation with flexible arrangements that allows them to support local needs self-sufficiently. It keeps the response to emergencies as close to citizens as possible. Volunteers from the community know the citizens and their needs because they live in the community. Volunteers are seen as a representative subset of the community. The goal of organizational relationship is to maintain a link between citizens and those who respond to their needs.

Benefits and Drawbacks

The benefits of this management strategy are focused on the volunteers. The volunteer opportunities are expanded in how they may volunteer, particularly compared to the strategy of treating volunteers as career responders. Volunteers may provide administrative support to the volunteer corporation. They may help with school and training programs for the community. Operationally, they may act as a responder with an all-volunteer crew.

Each volunteer has voting privileges within the volunteer corporation. The officers are elected from the volunteer membership. The nine member Board of Directors is made up of three from the membership at large, three of the four administrative officers and three county operational officers, one of which is the County Fire Chief or the county volunteer coordinator. Volunteer members have a sense of ownership with the station governance structure based on democratic voting procedures.

Financially, volunteer corporations raise money through donations. These donations benefit the county because they support the purchase of resources for the volunteer crew. Resources such as fire trucks and uniforms are purchased through donations. Purchases made with donations need not be covered within the county budget.

Drawbacks are from several categories. Many administrators doubt that volunteer crews can be self-sustaining. They believe the assumption about volunteers having strong ties to their community is a legacy vision of community. While historically volunteers were instrumental in providing the impetus for building fire station and advocating for specialized equipment, they have less influence now. Some administrators suppose that volunteers have little time outside their job and family responsibilities to connect with the community outside of fire station duties.

Table 4.3 provides a summary of the strategy to allow volunteers to form their own crews.

Strategy 2 Allow volunteers to form their own crews with other volunteers	
Assumptions	Training will accommodate limited experience base.
	Crews can be formed without county influence.
	Available status may be communicated to dispatch.
Goals	Maximize volunteer participation with flexible arrangements that allows them to support local needs self-sufficiently.
Drawbacks	Experience level of volunteers may not be sufficient to maintain needed competencies.
	Locale may not have the volunteer base or financial base to meet firefighting physical requirements, training competencies, asset maintenance and numbers of responders.
Benefits	Maintains donations as a financial instrument along with county budget.
	Volunteers have greater flexibility in the roles they can fulfill.

Table 4.3 Second Management Strategy Details

Building Relationship with Volunteer Association

Assumptions

Managers make some different assumptions about why they build a relationship with the volunteer corporation. They presume that volunteers are motivated differentially. Some volunteers aspire to career status, but others do not. Many volunteers want to join for the esprit de corps of the group or the excitement generated from responding to a call. The manager needs to investigate these different motives, assisting volunteers to find the right fit for them.

I came in only interested in fighting fire. I didn't even think of running EMS calls until it transitioned on me. I never got a grasp on what motivates the person from not doing it at all to just, "I want to try that." But I also learned in school about the changing of our culture and the changing of the work history of our employees, where you used to stay in one organization for a lifetime like your parents did. To where now you transition – statistics show that a lot of people don't stay with one organization more than 7-8 years. They want to try something new. Is that the different generations, the GEN-Xers, Y'es and all? I don't know (IWA, 28 June 2012).

As this quote indicates, managers cannot assume volunteers have the same motives as they do. Managers need to assume this variation will be more difficult to manage. Volunteers are a transient resource. They assume the volunteer corporation will draw more volunteers that are motivated in different ways, and will move on to different aspects. The career manager is interested in operational volunteers while on scene, but not other volunteer efforts.

The coordination issue of volunteers is more difficult in this situation. Typically, there are more volunteers who want to provide more varied support. The manager assumes that delegation of volunteer management to the corporation will help manage this transient quality. It allows for the manager to concentrate on volunteer integration on scene. The volunteer corporation monitors the volunteer's progress on gaining and keeping credentials current.

Beyond delegating overall volunteer coordination, the manager assumes that the volunteer corporation will be able to maintain a strong link with the local community. The fire station becomes symbolic of two different visions. One vision is that of

professionally run emergency services. The other is one of community center where citizens participate in meeting community needs. Practically, a strong link to the community provides additional financial support through donations.

If the relationship between the two organizations is a good one, the fire station can realize efficient operations that include superior assets and personnel. The manager assumes that the community will be influential through the volunteer corporation.

Goal

The goal of this strategy is to integrate career and volunteer efforts across two separate organizations. The manager maintains a close partnership between career and volunteer organizations to increase flexibility in professional operational response and administrative functions. This strategy allows professional service while maintaining a close bond with the local community. Managing across two organizations adds to the flexible character of this strategy. This strategy acts upon the organizational level of interaction and the individual level. The manager acts at the organizational level to integrate assets and financial decisions. The manager interacts at the individual level with the volunteer during particular emergency incident.

Benefits and Drawbacks

The benefits of this management strategy are focused on merging volunteer flexibility with county professionalism. They benefit in three major ways. The volunteer opportunities are expanded in how they may volunteer, even above those of forming all-volunteer crews. Operationally, they may act as a responder with an all-volunteer crew or as a supplemental member of a career crew. Volunteers provide all the necessary positions within the volunteer corporation.

The second major benefit is that the volunteer corporation shares the responsibility of providing emergency services with a career staff. There is less pressure on the volunteer corporation to provide 24 hour coverage with volunteers who have a myriad of different time commitments.

Lastly, the manager assists the volunteer corporation with maintaining effective policies and procedures. Typically, the county manager is a member of the

Board of Directors. This position gives the manager a separate communication and influence mechanism. Again, volunteer members have a sense of ownership with the station governance structure based on democratic voting procedures of the corporation. This sense of ownership benefits the manager in that volunteers tend to focus their volunteer efforts at the particular station.

The county benefits from the expansion of the financial base needed to operate a particular station. Donations to the volunteer corporation allow purchase of specialized equipment that may be specific to needs in a particular community.

Major drawbacks are associated with the dual nature of the organizational governance structure. The manager may feel less in control of assets and resources. The volunteer corporation has the ultimate responsibility for monitoring training, ensuring volunteers are attending meetings and volunteers are exposed to the latest policies and procedures. If the relationship is difficult to build or the manager lacks communication skills, the partnership between the two organizations is strained.

The manager may have qualms about allowing volunteer crews to operate alone, perhaps requiring over responding. Over responding would mean that both career and volunteer units would respond, even when one is sufficient.

Additionally, the manager will likely have responsibilities associated with being a member of the Board of Directors. Typically, these Board meetings are on held at times most convenient for the volunteer membership. They are usually held at a time when the career staff is not on shift and in the evenings.

Managers are particularly concerned with some of the accountability issues associated with the two separate organizations. For example, the quote below indicates that managers were uncomfortable if the President of the volunteer corporation wanted responsibility for direct discussions with the volunteer, particularly if they had not reached agreement on the proper course of action to pursue with the volunteer. He refers to an integrated station where there is no volunteer corporation in which to negotiate.

Probably my most difficult challenge of integrating with volunteers was when I was just a station Captain at an all-volunteer station and we only pulled a couple of hours during the day. The interesting thing was that when we would run into some issues, the volunteer Captain would say, "You all are just here during the day, don't worry about it. We will worry about it. Don't worry about

one of my guys because you are here only a few hours. You let me worry about Timmy [not his real name] and what he has been doing.” It is awkward. Once you have an integrated station that it is expected to integrate like here, it just makes it a whole lot easier. For example, the volunteers came in and staffed an engine last night. We had been running calls all day, and they came in and ran 3 calls during the night that I did not have to run on my engine. I was like Wow, thanks! I am not worried about them running a call that I might miss (IWA, 28 June 2012).

The strategy to build relationships at the organizational level can be awkward as described above. Managers want to feel in control of their resources without intermediaries. Of the three strategies discussed in this chapter, building relationships at the organizational level was described as the most difficult and prone to conflict. Table 4.4 provides a summary of the strategy to build a relationship with the volunteer association.

Strategy 3	Build Relationship with Volunteer Association
Assumptions	Career officer on scene can incorporate volunteers from a separate organization.
	Adherence to operational protocols may be monitored by the volunteer association.
	The volunteer association can maintain place identity as a partner with the county personnel.
Goals	Maintain a close partnership between career and volunteer organizations to increase flexibility in professional operational response and administrative functions.
Drawbacks	Dual organizational structures may increase conflicts over such items as assets, discipline, and monitoring of training.
Benefits	Maintains donations as a financial instrument along with county budget.
	Volunteers have greater flexibility in the roles they can fulfill.

Table 4.4 Third Management Strategy Details

Appendix B provides the strategic plan created in 2010 to address some of the issues with integrating volunteer and career responders. It articulates some of the benefits that arise from using volunteers, the challenges and some of the risks. The plan was constructed after in depth review of the history of the county, and of other counties that were attempting to integrate volunteer and career responders. Although the interviews and observations of this study were completed prior to viewing the strategic plan, the plan aligns well with the findings. Additionally, the fire chief described the strategy as evolutionary rather than revolutionary. Evolutionary changes required more patience, but did respect firefighters' need to accept change and provide services in a different way than they had in the past.

In this chapter, three strategies used to integrate volunteer and career responders were described. The three strategies were treating volunteers as equals to career

responders, allowing volunteers to form their own team, and building relationships with the volunteer organization. The descriptions of the strategies were presented as an overview of their characteristics using quotes from the study to reveal the outward shape of the strategies. It describes briefly the influences of the founding premises of the Federalists and Anti-Federalists that underpin these strategies. The chapter provides a description of the assumptions, goals, benefits, and drawbacks.

The next chapter begins to peel away the outer layer of these strategies and describe the underlying influences on their selection.

Chapter 5 Management Context

Context Overview

Three management strategies that attempted to integrate volunteers in the county Fire and Emergency Medical services were described in the previous chapter. It is important to understand the integration of volunteers and career firefighters because their integration ultimately affects the quality of service delivered to a community. This chapter attempts to understand these three strategies through examining the factors that influence their selection. Figure 1 depicts some of the factors that influenced the selection of a particular strategy.



Figure 1 Management Context

As depicted in Figure 1, budgets constrain managers in meeting community needs. These constraints on emergency managers are manifest in the purchase of apparatus and in how they design organizational structures. Several different types of apparatus are used to respond to an emergency and are outfitted with specialized equipment for particular types of emergencies. The apparatus in this county includes

brush trucks, medic trucks, air utility trucks, fire engines, foam truck, scuba rescue truck, tanker trucks, and pick-up trucks. Budgets constrain the use of the apparatus, as well as their purchase. For instance, the manager may set protocols about which apparatus will respond first. Likewise, budgets constrain organizational design. Funding limits the number of people on a team and the number of teams, for example. Also, county established protocols, the type and numbers of emergency apparatus, and individual manager's perceptions are important factors that lead to the selection of a particular integration strategy. In the studied county, 65 emergency apparatus are available to cover 446 square miles of suburban, urban and rural areas and serve a population of more than 318,000 citizens. 16 of the emergency apparatus are volunteer assets. 487 career and approximately 136 active volunteer personnel operate out of 20 fire and 8 rescue stations. All these facts are important to consider in managing emergency service delivery. Nevertheless, this work focuses attention on some of the other factors that proved interesting during the data collection and analysis phase. Figure 2 depicts the factors that will be discussed in more depth in chapter 6. They are highlighted in bold print.

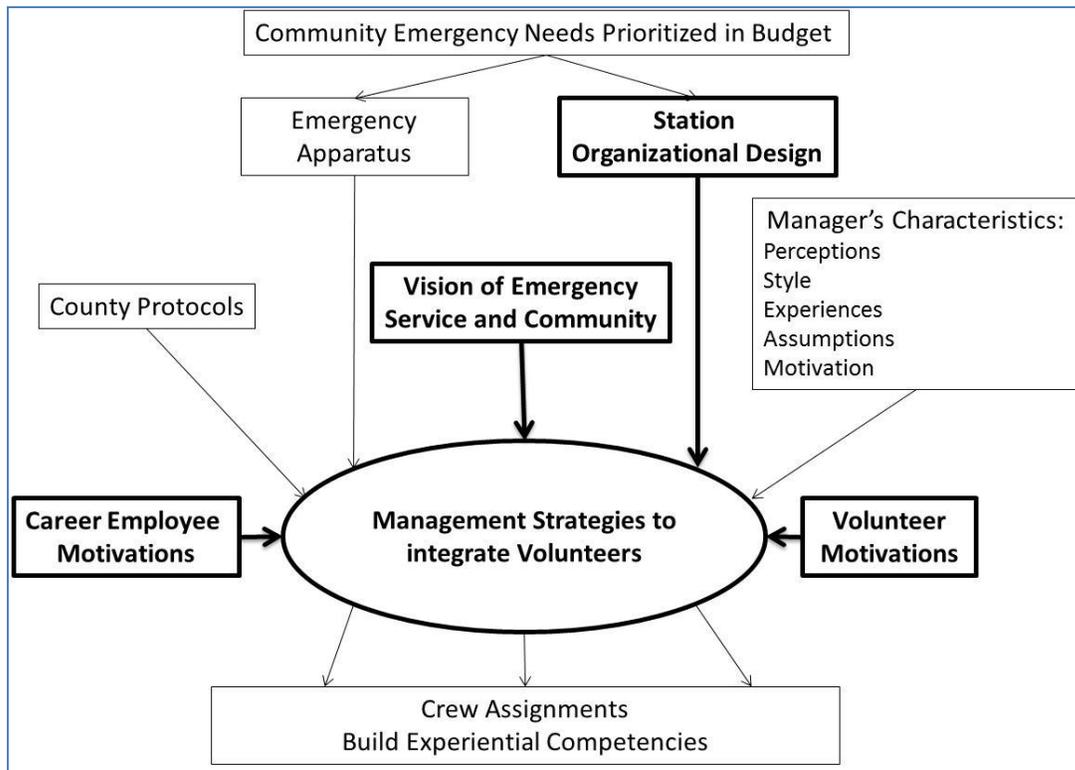


Figure 2 Management Factors of Interest

Focus on these factors is important because the delivery of emergency services is tightly integrated with how we understand volunteers, service motivation and the community. The original intent of this study was to understand and compare career and volunteer firefighters' motivations. It sought to compare them and to tell their story of service. Yet, in the conduct of the interviews the management strategies used to integrate volunteer and career efforts proved an important aspect of emergency service delivery. These management strategies were: 1) Treating volunteers as if they were career firefighters; 2) Building a relationship between the volunteer corporation and the career administration; and 3) Allowing volunteers the flexibility to form their own crews. The intent now of this study is to understand volunteerism as manifested through these management strategies. It will examine this manifestation as it is filtered through these three management strategies. Each will be described in terms of the influence of service motivation, organizational design and the tightly coupled visions of what defines community and emergency service. Each of these influences is described in more detail below.

Competing Visions

An important aspect of managing public services is creating a vision of how the organization is defined. This vision creates understanding of what public goods should be produced. Managers used this vision to innovate around how to produce these goods. The vision is useful in recruiting and retaining people who want to see this vision materialize.

This study identified two public visions of emergency services. Interestingly, they reinforce Sandel's thesis that tensions within visions or public philosophies are implicit in our practices and institutions. He argues that democracy's discontent is the loss of civic engagement and sense of community. Democracies require this connectedness to community for self-government to flourish (Sandel, 1996). One vision, based on community assistance, is rooted in a historical vision of neighbor helping neighbor during emergencies. The other vision, based on professional assistance, is rooted in a vision of experts dealing with emergencies. The characteristics of these two visions are described in Table 5.1.

Visions/ Characteristics	Community Provided Assistance	Professionally Provided Assistance
Principal Motivators	Community camaraderie Helping their community Excitement	Shift camaraderie Helping clients Job security
Degree of Flexibility of participant	High – Participate when desired Complete tasks from any location as desired Tasks are not structured around position descriptions	Low- Participate in assigned shift and doing assigned tasks at a specific station Task are structured around position descriptions
Degree of Flexibility of Organization	Low- Dependent on capabilities of members, ability to recruit from local community.	High- Career staff may be shifted to address personnel gaps, hire additional resources as budget dictates, structure work arrangements as needed
Measure of Success	Feeling that effort helped someone	6 minute response time Adherence to established protocols
Degree of Connection	High- Relationship with community members and fire association	High – Relationship with shift and profession
Compensation	Strong relationships	Strong team relationships Pay and Benefits
Training Requirements	On the Job	Extensive Fire/EMS/Safety/HIPAA
Administrative responsibilities	Limited to Call reports	Extensive paperwork such as call reports, time, training, budgeting, planning, maintenance Highly standardized protocols for response
Challenges	24 hour Call Coverage Maintaining expertise within community/organization Maintaining adequate membership Maintaining diversity of organization Stress Management Time management skills of responders	Budgetary Pressures Maintaining expertise within organization Routinization Maintaining diversity of organization Stress Management

Table 5.1 Competing Visions

The first vision places responsibility on citizens who are self-reliant and are able to socialize with each other to provide public goods, in this case emergency services. It suggests that citizens want to be involved in public service and desire to contribute to society (R. B. Denhardt & Denhardt, 2000). This vision relies less on specialized expertise, but on the immediate actions of citizens who are near the emergency event. This vision sees benefit in flexible arrangements, based on personal relationships with other citizens. Responders decide when and if to respond. Their willingness to respond is based on their balancing of priorities and commitments. Assignments are not dictated, but rather subject to peer pressure and internal motivation to complete a task. It sees public service as an important part of community development. As such, it is akin to the Anti-Federalist vision of decentralized government. Citizens are closest to the ramification of problems and are instrumental in solving them.

The local fire station has traditionally provided the impetus for “the fraternity of the fire House” to define communities. The fire station symbolically integrates the community, practicing the teamwork and camaraderie of social events foundational to community identity (Simpson, 1996).

The second vision places responsibility on public administrators to manage emergency resources efficiently and effectively. This vision does rely on specialized expertise. It sees benefit in structured arrangements, that are reliable and reproducible. This vision relies on personal relationship, too. These relationships are formed within the emergency crews for effective teamwork, however. The organization dictates assignments based on competency to ensure the professional vision is fulfilled. It sees public service as an important service provider to clients. This vision is akin to the Federalist position. Professionals are needed to provide efficient services that place a high premium on competence rather than discussion.

Organizational Design

The county analyzed demonstrated three distinct organizational models. These models may be identified as All-Volunteer, Dual, or Integrated organizations. The next section describes the characteristics of each of the three organizational models and summarizes their characteristics in Table 5.2.

All-Volunteer Organizational Model

The dominant vision of this organizational model is that the purpose of the responders is to assist their neighborhood community. Their service not only provides for the emergency tasks that may be required, but the fire station itself provides an important sense of community cohesion.

Flexibility is the key concept that drives this organizational model. There are multiple examples of flexibility within this model. First, operational responders must sign in and volunteer for a minimum of 24 hours a month. These 24 hours may be consecutive or not, depending on how the volunteer wishes to manage their time. A responder may sign in as available at the station for an equipment unit that is not operating. This means that if a call does come in, the responder can choose not to respond. All-volunteer stations are open to citizens to use the rooms for social gatherings as well as taking first aid classes. Children and spouses of volunteers are welcome at the station to come while volunteers are signed in as available.

Organizational Design/ Characteristics	All- Volunteer	Dual	Integrated
Sources of Conflict	Vision differences Degree of discretion Asset ownership Person-Organization Fit	Coexistence of two different visions of emergency services personnel management responsibility Dependent on personal relationship between Station Captain and Volunteer Board President Person-Organization Fit	Person-Organization Fit Difference in experience level for the “same” job
Expectations	Fire Chief sets 24 Hours per month Respond from station as crew Participate in All-Call	24 hour shift at station every 3 days Volunteers – participate in 80% on assigned shift, 20% on shift of choice for 24 hours/month at the station Volunteers crew if credentials met Participate in All-Call	24 hour shift at station every 3 days Volunteer will meet Fire Chief expectations: - 24 Hours per month - Respond from station - Participate in All-Call
Officer Selection	Elected Officers	Competency based promotion criteria Elected Officers	Competency based promotion criteria
Financial	Association Owned Station and Assets Donations	County Owned Station Association and County own particular Assets Donations County budget apportioned	County Owned Station and Assets County budget apportioned to Station Association may support
Relationship Career/ Volunteer	Career see all-volunteer organization as less capable, less reliable and hanging on to past vision	Based on motivations/goals of volunteer (e.g. Apprentice if professional motivated) Volunteers appreciated if reliable and motivations understood	Fourth Crew member-Interactions primarily with career responders, Volunteer seen as apprentice

Table 5.2 Organizational Characteristics

Volunteer responders have flexibility in what type of position they will serve in. As long as they meet all the physical and training requirements, they may serve in the following positions:

- Firefighters—Front-line operational members who are cross-trained and certified to perform both firefighting and emergency medical services duties.

- Junior Volunteer Firefighter – Members who are 16 and 17 years old and have limited emergency response duties.

- EMS only– Front-line operational members who are trained and certified to perform EMS duties only, and may practice according to their level of EMS certification.

- Emergency Operations Support – Members who are not trained or certified to perform front-line firefighting or patient care emergency duties but may fulfill various support functions at incident scenes (Ramsay, 2010).

Unlike the career organization positions, the all-volunteer model positions allows for responder choice. The all-volunteer organizational member may gain certification for only Emergency Medical, where the career responder must gain certification in both firefighting and emergency medical. Typically, members trained in Emergency Medical only would join the volunteer rescue squad and not the volunteer fire department.

The All-Volunteer model contains an organizational structure that is governed by its by-laws. Typically, these by-laws are flexible in that roles, responsibilities and minimum requirements may be updated periodically with the members' consent (VolunteerFD.org, 2012). In the case of all-volunteer stations in the county studied, the business and operational roles are separated. The volunteer Fire Chief is elected separately from the Association President and officers. The volunteer Fire Chief responsibilities are primarily concerned with daily operations and schedules. The County Fire Chief and County EMS Chief have the ultimate responsibility to set direction and policy concerning firefighter training, certification and protocols. The association's officers are concerned with the business aspects of scheduling association meetings, collecting donations, budgeting, asset purchase and managing funds.

The all-volunteer organizational model tends to attract groups of friends who join together. The flexibility of this model with the choice of time periods spent firefighting are conducive to existing friends and social connections using the fire station as their forum for social contact. Volunteers who make a living in a separate profession tend to entice their buddies to volunteer, too. For example, those firefighters interviewed for this study described their interest in joining as a group. This organizational model provides a method to accept all in the group at one time. Although they must complete all the training and demonstrate competence prior to joining, the group may complete the training together or apply as an associate member without operational responsibilities. This creates a positive pressure on the group members to succeed and help each other.

Additionally, this organizational model strives to fit the individual into the social structure of the organization. Crews are formed spontaneously as volunteers make themselves available. This spontaneity creates fit issues that are different than the issues surrounding dictated assignment. Individuals may tend to form teams with their friends, or with those whom they feel comfortable. Their training provides an understanding of the specific protocols that are necessary, and aids quick team formation. However, this organizational model continually renews the team formation process because the crews are formed more spontaneously.

Many volunteers have full or part time job responsibilities. Typically, night time and weekends are easier time to have a full crew to run calls. In the county studied here, there are two all—volunteer stations. Each station needed to supplement their efforts with a daytime career crew sometime in the past. At the time of this study, both stations were designated as all-volunteer with no career staff associated with their station.

Depending on the personal relationship and leadership of the volunteer and the county Fire Chiefs, career firefighters may view the all-volunteer organization as unreliable, difficult to manage, and less capable. Much of this perception stems from the flexible nature of the model. For example, on-the-job training is not as often because volunteers cannot sustain a 24 hour every third day shift.

Integrated Organizational Model

The dominant vision of the integrated organizational model is professional assistance. This vision sees firefighting more of a machine. Calls come in and the firefighters respond according to pre-directed protocols.

Regimen is the key concept that drives this model. There are multiple examples of regimen within this model. First, operational responders are assigned to one of three 24 hour shifts. The fire station Captain leads one shift with two Lieutenants that lead the other two shifts. Typically, three firefighters are assigned to each shift. Although the two Lieutenants do not report to the station Captain, they do coordinate extensively with one another. Each officer reports to their Battalion Chief for personnel matters. The station officers agree to apportion various tasks to be completed routinely on each of their shifts. For instance, budget reports may be prepared on A shift, preventive maintenance on equipment on B shift, and supply inventory on C shift. The station Captain is responsible for the shift assignments, the personnel evaluations of shift personnel, station volunteer coordinator, and manages the equipment at the station. Integrated stations may be used for some public functions such as CPR training agreed upon in advance. These stations usually have requirements for visitors to check into the office and firefighters escort visitors while there.

Integrated station responders must complete both firefighting and emergency medical training to fill the position of firefighter. They may not train as emergency medical only. Day shift positions are available to firefighters under some circumstances. Usually, these are county administrative positions. For most operational firefighters, these positions are available when they are injured, ill or pregnant. Operational firefighters may supplement full time employees in these administrative positions temporarily.

Each of the station officers are promoted into these positions founded on meeting competency-based criteria. The candidates are judged on performance, and test scores. In the county studied, the Fire Chief governs the policy of the county. He delegates station responsibilities to four battalion chiefs, each with five stations to implement the county policies.

The fire station Captain serves as the station volunteer coordinator. Volunteers are identified at the county level. The county volunteer coordinator discusses the various volunteer opportunities with the volunteer. If the volunteer continues to show interest, the coordinator sets up a background investigation at the police headquarters. The volunteer completes a security investigation form and is fingerprinted. Once this investigation is completed satisfactorily, the coordinator assesses the fit of the volunteer with their desires to use their volunteer position as a stepping stone to career status. If the volunteer expresses a desire to eventually serve in a career capacity, the coordinator will set up an interview with an integrated station Captain.

Unlike the all-volunteer organizational model, integrated crews are regimented and formally assigned. Career crews will always have three career members assigned. Even when a volunteer is included on the crew, they ride as fourth member. No more than one volunteer ride on a call with the crew at a time. The fire Captain, acting as the station volunteer coordinator, requires them schedule their 24 hour per month of operational volunteering in advance. The Captain monitors that the volunteer completes the required 24 hours per month, their training completion and their performance as the fourth crew member. Although not formally evaluated, career members discuss volunteers and how well they fit into the organization. The volunteer builds a reputation that is a consideration for advancing into a career capacity.

This study found that the volunteers within the integrated organizational model tended to have other jobs that were part time or flexible in nature. This allowed them to serve there 24 hours per month in a one shift time period, rather than a few hours here and there. Their on-the-job training was from career professionals. Less interaction was evident with other volunteers, as only one volunteer could ride as fourth member. Although the volunteer could elect to run only emergency medical calls, often the station Captain would advise them to gain experience in firefighting. This advice was particularly true when the volunteer expressed a desire to become a career responder.

The relationship between career and volunteer members within this organizational model was observed to be quite close. Career responders enjoyed passing their knowledge to volunteers. Volunteers who were motivated to become career responders had a captive professional crew to answer their questions, tell their experiences and to

show them how to operate in real situations. Many career members expressed their appreciation for the volunteer's assistance as a fourth pair of hands and "for reigniting the gleam in their eyes for the profession."

Dual Organizational Model

The primary vision of the dual organizational model is professional assistance, with community assistance as secondary. This organizational model relies on the relationship between the career staff organization and the volunteer association organization. Each organization brings its own unique characteristics from the integrated and all-volunteer models, respectively. How well they coexist determines the character of the dual organizational model.

Synergy is the key concept that drives this model. Two organizational entities interact and their combined effect may or may not be greater than the sum of each entity's contribution. There are multiple examples of how synergy is important to this model. Some of these examples include relationships, budgeting and strategic vision setting.

Dual stations offer multiple ways for volunteers to interact with career responders. Career members of the dual station are assigned similarly to the integrated station. For example, the firefighting engines were assigned three career firefighters. In this study, dual stations also had an ambulance crew of two assigned. From the volunteer perspective, there are more choices associated with a dual station organization. Volunteers were required to spend 80% of their 24 hours per month assigned to one shift. 20% of their time could be spent on a different shift. This gave them an opportunity to work more closely with one shift to form a team, yet still be exposed to other members of the station. A few items were like the all-volunteer station model. Non-operational volunteers were welcome at the dual station and often served as volunteer association secretary and treasurer. The non-operational volunteers supported the business aspects of the volunteer association and completing financial and operational monthly reports. Additionally, the flexibility of when the operational volunteer tallied the 24 hour per month requirement within the 80/20 split was comparable to the all-volunteer model. Most Emergency Medical only volunteers were assigned to volunteer rescue squads or dual stations. As with the all-volunteer model, volunteers must complete the initial

training requirements and pass all the required physical and academic training prior to becoming an official member of the volunteer association. The volunteer who completed the initial training and join the volunteer association could join a crew of volunteers or continue assignment as a supplement to a career crew.

Managers paid attention to these relationships. It mattered to them how the two organizational entities interacted because their combined efforts were needed to effectively operate. With the visions being set by two separate organizations, relationships can be quite conflicted. Although none of the dual stations told current stories of conflict, they did cite past conflicts and hearing stories of other locations with much conflict. For example, one volunteer spoke of fist fights in the parking lot over ownership of particular station assets. Others described budgetary conflict when one organization felt the other owed monetary compensation for particular services. Dual stations in this study maintained that conflict was not an issue currently. They attributed the lack of conflict to the ability of the career fire station officers to get along personally with the volunteer association officers. They were able to work together on various items such as budgeting, personnel management and uses of the station. Synergy in budgeting was crucial to ensuring assets were properly acquired and maintained. For example, if the volunteer association wanted to add an ambulance crew to the station, the county had an interest in whether or not that was a needed resource at the particular station. If the county felt it was not necessary, they might negotiate with the volunteer association to budget for different apparatus or other use. An additional example is the appreciation that some career responders expressed about the willingness for the volunteer association to fund conference attendance that was beyond the county's budget.

The county station Captain would discuss volunteer's performance issues with the volunteer association President. They would come to an agreement on the best approach to address the issue. Typically, the volunteer association was responsible to correct, unless it was a mistake on the emergency scene. On the scene, the shift officer had full responsibility for the performance of the team. The volunteer association took follow-up actions, discussing them with the specific volunteer.

Two different visions of what emergency services mean could be a source of conflict, also. The county station Captain and the volunteer association have to negotiate

on various items that these two visions generate. For instance, the professional service model does not value the stations use as a social gathering place. Their vision emphasizes speedy response and call load coverage. Volunteers' vision included community and family cohesion. Volunteers with this vision would more likely bring their children to the station during their assigned or for volunteer social functions. The volunteer association would need to negotiate with the station Captain on scheduling the station and for appropriate responsibilities for family and friends who may want to visit the station.

In each case, a good relationship between the volunteer association and the county station Captain was an essential ingredient in effective management of the station. Depending on the motivation of the volunteer, career responders appreciated the volunteers' help if they fit into the organizational culture. Career responders accepted the volunteer as a fourth crew member if the volunteer was professionally motivated. If they were motivated to volunteer solely as a way to give back to their community by helping others, the career responders appreciated the assistance and expected that experience had not seasoned their actions. With the requirement to meet initial training requirements prior to joining, career responders had a benchmark for the capabilities of a volunteer that was not professionally motivated.

Motivation and Meaning

Three primary motivational categories were identified with the interview and observational data collected. Each of these motivations had tangible symbols that meant something to firefighters. These motives were at times in conflict or reinforcing. At times, one motive was in tension with another motive within the individual. Additionally, motivational tension was expressed between volunteers and career responders. The three categories of motivations that were embedded in my empirical data include:

Professional Camaraderie/Stepping Stone- The relationship between volunteers and career responders was based on a motivation of viewing the volunteer as an apprentice in the career progression. Volunteers were motivated to use volunteering as a stepping stone to a paying job. Fitting in to the group and trust has meaning for this motivation.

Helping Others- Both volunteers and career responders were motivated to help others in need. Contrary to some of the literature, this motivation was based on individual assistance rather than at the community level. Otherness had meaning for this motivation.

Excitement- Both volunteers and career responders were motivated to serve because of the excitement of the profession. They love the alarms, the flashing lights, the speed of the vehicles and the adrenaline generated by stress. The thrill of responding had meaning for this motivation.

Each of these three categories will be described in the subsections below. A narrative of each category illustrates the individual motivation's characteristics and describes elements of the relationship between and among career and volunteer responders. The narrative in the words of the responders will highlight differences and similarities between volunteer and career responders in the description.

Professional Camaraderie

The category of professional camaraderie is composed of two complex elements. It incorporates meanings that are both tied to expertise and collaboration. Becoming a first responder requires a great deal of skill, particularly in this county where both emergency medical services and firefighting proficiencies are required of all career responders. The stories of professional motivation are slightly different for career and volunteer responders. One particular narrative encapsulates the professional element of this category from a career responder's perspective.

There are not really neighborhood answers to questions anymore. Professionalized services are required. Changes had to be incorporated to be able to do that. Less and less people were able to drop everything and answer a call with two incomes and those kinds of things. People's expectations were higher for the kind of service they wanted. We had two seventeen year olds who were volunteers, fully accredited, who answered a call in their street clothes and in their own pick-up truck. The newspapers ran the story and the county got a black eye (IWA, 19 January 2012).

This story reveals a tension between the professional motivation and the compassion motivation. It shows that the meaning of “Good Samaritan” might be quite different for the giver and the receiver of help. The giver must look competent as well as be competent.

Career responders are professionally motivated as a way to distance themselves from volunteers. Gaining experience is important.

Any monkey can roll a hose. It takes a lot more to be a professional firefighter. You have to have a feel for it. They can't teach it to you in school. All the training we take, but we seldom use the book way. They teach you to count doing CPR, but you really use your own breathing to do it correctly (IWA, 19 April 2012).

This illustration displays a certain amount of conflict between career and volunteers. In some instances, volunteers are viewed as second class citizens who have to pay their dues. They are volunteers because they have not measured up in some way to demonstrate professional prowess. Because volunteers serve when they want to serve, their service is considered supplemental. For instance, at least 3 career responders are assigned to one of three shifts. Volunteers supplement these crews to gain experience. In many cases, they assist with non-technical items such as bringing pillows and blankets or caring for children that were not injured. Integrated stations go a step further, and set professional standards for both career and volunteers alike. All must measure up to the standards, or they do not continue. Wearing the same uniform symbolizes attaining a high degree of professionalism.

Both new career responders and volunteers are given more mundane responsibilities to gain professional status to which they aspired. In the integrated station, less experienced responders were given duties to purchase the groceries, maintain the books on the house fund accounts for meals, and prepare the meals. In the all- volunteer station, new volunteers in training status swept the floors. Administrative volunteers ran required monthly training reports.

However, the motivation to distance themselves from volunteers is not necessarily negative as second-class citizen characterization implies. Most career responders used the volunteer system as a pathway to their current job.

Volunteer first before deciding to make it your career. It will give you an eye opening experience as to what it's like every day. It really lets you know if this is something you'd like to do as a career (Chesterfield County Fire and EMS, 2012).

The professional motivation ties the career responders to the operational volunteers. Operational volunteers are seen as apprentices and volunteering is a stepping stone to career status. Although apprentice status is primarily a second class status, it has a growth component that gives a perspective that first class status is attainable. Operational volunteers can become professional responders, receiving the same training as the career responders.

They don't want to sit at a desk. I had at least four students in my class who are volunteers here. Three are already accepted and one of them has a full-time job and kids and he still does this. He would like to get a career position. It is a stepping stone for him to be a career firefighter - the younger ones hope to become career but for me I don't ---there's no chance because of my age, it doesn't matter though. I'm enjoying what I do (IWA, 12 April 2012).

Integrated stations require both career and volunteer responders to become accredited in both emergency medical and firefighting competencies. In dual and all-volunteer stations, this requirement is somewhat relaxed. Volunteers at these types of stations can choose one of the competencies as part of their training. More volunteers are associated with stations that allow the choice than the integrated stations that do not. In the context of professional camaraderie, this desire to choose between the two shows that firefighting and emergency medical services may have very different motivations to belong to the individual groups.

Volunteers who are motivated to use volunteering as a stepping stone have professional camaraderie as a distinct motivation. Both professional and camaraderie elements are identifiable. Professional connotes the need to excel at the skills required and demonstrate competence. Camaraderie connotes

establishing a trust relationship with the professional group. Career responders establish strong mentoring roles with the volunteers who show potential.

Senior firefighters mentor volunteers who fit in. They can see who has potential and groom them to become professionals. I was fortunate in that a senior firefighter took me under his wing and showed me how things were done (IWA, 24 February 2012).

Fitting in as a volunteer requires demonstrating reliability. Training responders costs around fifty thousand dollars to provide all the necessary training to gain both emergency medical and firefighting competencies. From the volunteer's perspective, career responders invest in them if the volunteer is professionally motivated.

Good volunteers are reliable and have a good attitude. They spend a lot of time when you're a volunteer as well training another volunteer. You want them to be able to learn what you're training them and also want them to stay around. You spend all that time just like an employer. You spend all that time and they go somewhere else or whatever. It is the same for volunteers but that their time is almost even more valuable because they're volunteering it and then they take it to help someone else and they don't want them to leave. They want them to be reliable to show up and help out do whatever they said they were going to do (IWA, 19 April 2012).

Volunteers have many other commitments. They seek flexibility in giving their time when it is convenient for them to help. Many volunteers work 40 hour weeks, have families, and other time commitments. Volunteering can be difficult under these circumstances. Managing time and schedules requires discipline and knowing when to say "No."

I wanted to do that so I do it. What my schedule allows me to do because I volunteer for a lot of things and sometimes I think I should get a full-time job instead...(laughing) get paid. But I don't want it to interfere with my kids either I can do it while they're in school. I want the flexibility to do something to help out but also make my own hours. So, I don't want to be on a schedule per se. I still have deadlines and things I have to get done. I'm committed – I do what I tell them I'm willing to do and make those deadlines. I take it serious but don't want them to say you have to come in this day or whatever (IWA, 19 April 2012).

Many career responders see that volunteers are motivated to enter their ranks as professionals. The professional motivation provides a focus for their interactions. Operational volunteers who contribute to the mission are prized and continue on to join the professional ranks.

Volunteering is less about community service, but rather learning job skills and becoming known in the Emergency Management system. Volunteers want to have a resume entry and are looking for a career position. The economic times right now make it difficult to get a lot of volunteers because they need to bring home a paycheck (IWA, 19 April 2012).

Interestingly, volunteer and career responders share this instinct to help others. In some cases, this shared motivation creates tension.

Here in the county, they trained volunteers the same as the career people. Volunteers don't just jump on the truck and don't know what they are doing – riding along. They should know what they're doing because they have had the same training. One is doing it out of the goodness of their heart and not that others aren't too. It's just one is volunteering and one's getting paid (IWA, 19 April 2012).

Often, career and volunteer responders talked about getting paid in the context of professional motivation. The notion of apprenticeship provides a justification for not paying volunteers with similar training as career responders. Training and experience hold different meanings. Professional motivation provides an impetus for gaining the experience required for career aspirations and in turn, getting paid.

Professional camaraderie can blur the lines between volunteer and career responders. In the county studied, some officers in the all-volunteer stations were career responders outside the county. They are motivated to volunteer to gain managerial experience. Typically, these responders are not officers at their career location. As a volunteer, they may be elected as the chief or lieutenant at an all-volunteer station.

I don't see much difference in my motivations in the volunteer and career capacity. It is a difference in the role. I enjoy the pride of ownership I feel as a volunteer officer. I have contributed to

leading an organization and want to see it last. I want my volunteer station to be the last all-volunteer station in the county (IWA, 24 Feb 2012).

The practice of career responders volunteering elsewhere is frowned upon within the broader profession, although no career responder in this county referred negatively to it. Outside the county, career responders believe it suggests that volunteer officers have not gained the experience of a career officer. Again, the use of volunteer activities as a stepping stone to career positions is valuable to some career responders in gaining professional leadership experience. They may be considered second class officers since they have not gained the experience as a career responder.

Interestingly, one of the all-volunteer stations gloried in their stereotypical view as less than professional. They created a logo for their station, “The Misfits.” They commissioned an artist to draw up a caricature that was less than flattering. It was projected on their training room wall that is seen immediately upon entering the station. Also, in their computer office, a picture of the three stooges on a fire truck with a caption, “Why send one stooge, when you can send 3” is featured prominently on the wall. This volunteer identity alludes strongly to the recognition that career responders are professional and volunteers can only aspire to supplemental support.

Camaraderie

The element of camaraderie is distinct from social group in that it is relationships built for purposeful coordinated action. As a volunteer put it:

I don't spent a lot of time at the station just talking. I come in and do my thing, say hello, and leave (IWA, 19 April 2012).

Some volunteers hope to network with career officials to become known. Yet, the need to work in concert with at least two fellow responders requires more than social skills.

Well, when we work together, the firefighters/EMTs, you work with each other and work with the volunteer management, they

have to work with the career people and we have an open house that brings everybody together. .. The thing is that it's good to have somewhat limited because everybody is so busy you know if they're career they may not want to be up here. If they're a volunteer, they're working full-time and the last thing they want to do is turn around and go back to the station. They don't act like that; they just have other things to do (IWA, 19 April 2012).

The traditions of the Firehouse have long demonstrated the importance of camaraderie and fellowship. Many fire stations resulted from community societies that banded together for the public good. Citizens would gather daily to discuss the issues of the day. Volunteer fire stations were an outgrowth of the citizens acting on the spread of fires as a danger to their community. Once these fire stations were built, the fire station became the meeting place for the community.

I don't think she [my wife] had any sense of what the job was about. She was pretty much caught up in the basic syndrome everybody else has- you play checkers, you slide down the pole, you wash the Dalmatian kind of thing. She's never expressed fears about the job (D. Smith, 1988, p. 269).

Playing checkers is emblematic of the social context of the community providing for itself in emergencies. Fire Societies were social forums for meeting these needs. For instance, Richmond, Virginia recorded its first major fire in 1781. Benedict Arnold's troops burned forty to fifty buildings in the city that year. They relied on citizen bucket brigade with water from private wells to fight the fire. It was not until 1816 that the Richmond Fire Society was formed. Members paid dues and were required to bring two buckets, two bags, and a bed socket key with them to answer an alarm. Two dollar fines were assessed to members who were absent and one dollar for missing an inspection. The City Council reorganized the Volunteer Fire Department, but it:

Did not suffice to change the fire department from social groups of enthusiastic young men who sang and cheered enroute to fires and who were so intense in their rivalry that they were sometimes no doubt unjustly accused of starting the blazes in order to be first on the spot (Cappellmann, 1931, p. 5).

Interestingly, Richmond did away with the Volunteer fire department in 1858, and introduced a salaried employee system to replace it. A municipal water supply project started being used in 1844, so there was less reliance on water from individual property owners' wells (Cappelmann, 1931).

Thus, the motivation of camaraderie is somewhat of a double-edged sword. Responders chafe at the social stereotypes of hanging out at the fire station, but relish the bonds forged with their team members. The next section examines camaraderie as it pertains to volunteers. Camaraderie pertaining to career responders follows.

Volunteer Camaraderie

Intriguingly, the volunteers display less camaraderie than the career responders. The All-Volunteer stations in the county researched in this work could be characterized as a fragmented social context. Their need for flexibility provides them less opportunity to serve consistently with one another in regularly scheduled shifts.

There is a lack of continuity in your meetings with other volunteers because everyone's on a different schedule so you might meet someone and they tell you some interesting things and then you don't see them for a couple months depending on which schedule you're on and they're on (IWA, 12 April 2012).

As a non-profit organization, the by-laws were very structured. For instance, monthly meetings were conducted using Robert's rules of order. Minutes were reviewed and seconded. Old business and new business reports were presented with little conversation. New volunteers and visitors introduced themselves and asked to give a short summary of their background. The following comment illustrates the rigidity of the meeting.

I think we could do a better job personally to be more welcoming to newcomers you know – my first time here people were talking and I didn't know who did what. I said something [to the board president] but they said we are not going to go through introductions every time, "I'm the president, I'm the vice president... You are just going to have to pick it up along the way." But the first couple times you come, you know, you don't know who this person is or really what they're talking about and you give your little spiel but no one's really- we could do a much better

job I think of welcoming people who are interested. Personally, I think to make them feel “yeah we would love to have your help” (IWA, 20 February 2012).

This rigidity speaks to the professional aspects diminishing the camaraderie element within this motivation. Following the by-laws was important in establishing a professional aura for the volunteer officers, but at some cost to the interest of establishing social bonds.

Another influence on professional aura of volunteers concerned the county policy on being available to respond to emergencies. The county restricted volunteers from responding to emergency calls from home. The county required that they had to be at the station to sign in as available. This policy had mixed meanings for volunteers and career responders. Volunteers were now only on call from the station, so they would need to spend more time at the station if they wanted professional experience. This time at the station enhanced camaraderie some for those volunteers who were reliable, however. The career responders knew who would be available more readily and what their capabilities were.

Meals at the fire station have special meaning for the element of camaraderie. Stations with career responders typically cooked and served 3 meals a day. A house fund was kept and those who ate donated money to partake of the meal. All-volunteer stations were less likely to have a house fund for providing meals at the station, so volunteers did not eat together regularly. This lack of interaction at meal time was a deterrent to bonding with other responders in a family type of event.

However, another element of family was evident. It was typical for all-volunteer stations to have multiple family members belong to the same volunteer station.

My family members are avid volunteers as well—my wife, sister-in-law, and brother-in-law are all association members ((Chesterfield County Fire and EMS, 2012).

In these cases, volunteering was an extension of the social bonds of family. The trust relationship was built primarily outside the fire station.

Additionally, volunteers at all-volunteer stations did not describe a motivation for camaraderie as part of a civic community. Camaraderie with neighbors in their county was not mentioned as a motivation. Community social events tend to be traditional events, like annual fire prevention week Open House, or quarterly dinners. Also, classes such as Cardiopulmonary Resuscitation classes continue to be held at fire stations.

Camaraderie for Career Responders

The motivation of camaraderie for career responders was embedded in their conversations and actions. In contrast to the all-volunteer stations, integrated and dual stations have a rich social relationship linked to the professional mission.

It's truly a brotherhood and sisterhood of people who want to work together for a common good. I haven't found that anywhere else in my life...I've never experienced that type of bonding between people (Chesterfield County Fire and EMS, 2012).

Stations with career responders maintain a house fund and eat together regularly. They serve in one 24 hour cycle every three days. This cycle provides a consistent social framework in which to build a trust relationship. The fire station usually has a large kitchen and responders eat together at assigned seats. A large room with sofas and a TV are used during evening hours waiting for a call. This room is called a Day room, a holdover from the Volunteer Fire Department days. During these 24 hour cycles, responders live and work together.

I know career members, I assume it's the same for volunteers, but on the career side they have people work together will get to know each other and when they go out on a call, and they automatically know this one is doing this. They know how to work together. It takes a little bit of time to trust each other, I mean not in the complete sense but just like how we can work together and once they have been together, get it down. This one grabs this, this one grabs that, and they know what they are doing. Somebody new you have to figure out (IWA, 19 April 2012). Many career responders describe their camaraderie as something unique.

I realized immediately, even going to a slow company, that although firefighters are strangers on the onset, they become very close very quickly. It has a tremendous impact on your life,

whether you want it to or not. Do I live here, or do I live there? But I live both places, split equal time. It's not like going to a factory and filling up a cardboard box with something, then putting tape on it and sending it out the shipping door, and you can't wait to get out of there. This is totally the opposite (D. Smith, 1988, p. 270).

Later in this dissertation, the motivation of excitement is described. Dealing with the attended stress of these exciting, risky and life threatening events provides the context for extraordinary camaraderie.

Responders are a very tight group and they rib each other a lot. Nobody but a responder can know what it is like. It is mostly to reduce the stress to say that it doesn't matter that much. It was a way to relieve that posttraumatic stress disorder, much like war veterans (IWA, 16 March 2012).

Responders are exposed to sensory things that bind the profession together. They feel, see, hear and smell unforgettable events.

Firefighters, as a group, are different from other people. It's true of the volunteer fire department I'm involved in...It's the camaraderie, a tightness. I think the thing that brings you together is not the lives you save, it's the fatalities that you see together. Most firemen can handle an adult fatality. But the one that gets everybody is the death of a child. Most firemen are family men, and they can relate. In both the volunteer department and the paid city one, there have been times when I have come home emotionally drained and have actually just sat down and cried, because things were beyond my control. Firemen need to be in control of a situation...It's not bravery, it's a matter of fortitude, a little intelligence, with guts mixed in. And then once in a while it gets you, because you can't handle it (D. Smith, 1988, pp. 103-104).

Meaningful Symbols of Professional Camaraderie

Part of the strength of the Emergency Services is the richness of its history and traditions. These traditions and symbols of their long history contributed to sustaining a professional camaraderie motivation. As noted above, the layout of modern fire house hold many similarities to those stations of the past. Day Rooms, truck bays and kitchens all continue to hold a central place. Certain items have changed, however. This county still had stations with a fire pole, but they were roped off and not used. Bunks rooms gave way to single rooms to accommodate the assignment of the responder on duty. Some training rooms

were large spaces for physical training and for community meetings, but used for storing equipment and providing a space to access computer based video and written training. Additionally, this county had a public safety training center, shared with the police force. Since budget cuts have hit training programs, this centralized training approach adds to camaraderie across the different stations and ensures that the training is professionally consistent.

Each fire station has a logo to demonstrate their unique qualities. Yet, all use a version of the Maltese cross within their individual logos. The Maltese cross is symbolic of the knights of St. John who fought the Saracens during the Crusades. The Saracens used fire as a weapon of war.

The Maltese cross is a symbol of protection. It means that the firefighter who wears this cross is willing to lay down his/her life for you just as crusaders had sacrificed their lives for their fellow man so many years ago. The Maltese Cross is a symbol of honor signifying that he or she works in courage...a ladder rung away from death (Rhodes, 2006, p. 62).

The Maltese cross is an emblem that embodies the professional camaraderie spirit of responders. When they wear their uniform with the Maltese cross it reminds them of their peers and they are motivated to honor those that have come before them.

Other traditions such as those contained in the firefighter funeral services are also important to binding responders together. Funerals typically feature the playing of bagpipe and bell tolls. The stations in this county memorialized fallen brethren on their website and with framed pictures hanging prominently in the station. These traditions are particularly moving in the annual events surrounding the 9/11 Memorial service.

While 9/11 mementos were apparent at many of the stations, it was not a topic that was not mentioned specifically. The responders who die that they knew are truly never forgotten. The camaraderie forged is particularly strong because of these losses. Their fates are tied.

When one company looks bad, everybody looks bad, and people's perception of us goes down. I try to be professional as I can, because that's the way it should be. We should be good. It's the greatest job in the world. Probably because of the men you

work with, the camaraderie. It's like a family, and you're with them as much as you're with your own family. Sometimes more (D. Smith, 1988, p. 309).

Professional camaraderie is a motivational category that joins this sense of ensuring the public perception is one of professionalism. If one acts inappropriately, it reflects poorly on all. It is not an individual attribute for the responders, but tied to all in the profession. Their camaraderie is focused on bolstering each other's professional demeanor and gaining experience within the knowledge of the group.

These interviews evidence a dynamic between managerial strategies and motivation. The overall strategy for citizens to receive the same service from volunteers as career responders may interact with the professional camaraderie motive. It suggests volunteers have strategies to fulfill a goal to be hired as a career responder. Volunteering is an avenue to attain that goal. Managers will cooperate with the fulfilling these personal goal, as it fulfills their goal of providing professional services.

Helping Others

The next category of motivation is helping others. It proved to be a very complex category. In many cases, this motivation can be in tension with the professional camaraderie and excitement motivations. This tension can be reinforcing or conflicting with the other motivations. Many factors affected the expression of this motivation, such as gender, how long they had served, operational or administrative, and whether or not they were a volunteer or a career responder. Additionally, this motive was particularly important to emergency medical responders, although firefighters voiced this motivation as well.

In the county researched, the policy was that all responders would be qualified as both emergency medical responders and firefighters. Dual management stations, those stations with both county administered career responders and volunteer management system responders, allowed volunteer responders to choose one skill set over the other. As noted in the professional camaraderie section, the volunteers associated with dual stations had the most volunteers. This observation would lead to a conclusion that choosing between firefighter and Emergency medical skills was a factor in volunteering.

This motivational category defined a cultural distinction between the two groups of professionals. Helping others was an across the board response from those responders who joined primarily to administer emergency medical care. When the responders joined primarily to fight fires, the responses were mixed throughout the three categories of helping others, professional camaraderie, and excitement.

The following sentiment was typical of emergency responders' motivational base in this category:

I like giving comfort because when we go to them, it's the scariest moment of their life...it's a wakeup call for how quickly things can go wrong. My most powerful experience as a volunteer was saving a man's life. To know that someone was going to go home, it was such a great feeling. It's really uplifting (Chesterfield County Fire and EMS, 2012).

More female responders said they were motivated to help others. Many operational female volunteers were emergency medical responders and this motivation was primary for them. Camaraderie was secondary and excitement hardly mentioned.

Conversely, most male responders talked about helping others as secondary to the excitement motivation. They were motivated to join the profession for the excitement, but felt good about helping others after they have helped them. As they gained experience, the majority of seasoned responders said their motivation changed over time. While still exciting, their motivation for continuing to serve was balanced with a desire to maintain camaraderie and help others. For instance, a male volunteer considered volunteering after he had been helped:

I was inspired to help others and not sit on the sidelines after my life was affected by a personal tragedy (Chesterfield County Fire and EMS, 2012)

Both male and female volunteers would describe serving as giving back. There was a notion of reciprocity – I was helped, so I should help others. They expressed a desire to give back to the responder profession rather than the specific individuals after receiving help themselves. Many volunteers expressed this motivation from the perspective of receiving a good feeling about themselves.

You have to learn to give back. Find something you love doing and give it to others. If you have a talent-share it (Chesterfield County Fire and EMS, 2012).

Some indications are that helping others is entwined in the profession, although some responders are not comfortable with expressing it. Coverage of the year anniversary of the devastating tornadoes in Alabama on 27 April 2011 was replete with career first responders expressing the motivation to help others is part of their profession:

You can ask any fireman in America why they want to be a fireman – it's to help people. It's a great feeling. ("CBS This Morning- Interview with David Wilder," 28 April 2012)

We were all at work. Several of my paramedics had come into work just to help out that day because we knew the weather would get bad and the tornado basically hit within 3 or 4 blocks of our base ("CBS This Morning- Interview with Debbie Blake," 28 April 2012).

I was there until about 2:30 in the morning; she let me go. We had some other paramedics come in to cover for us because she knew that my house was in an area that had been heavily devastated. I still did not know what I had to go home to...Still in the process of rebuilding. We physically moved in December 14th. We were out for 7 ½ months ("CBS This Morning- Interview with Sandy Graham," 28 April 2012)

This discussion shows how the desire to help others is sometimes stronger than the desire to care for your own needs. Over and over, emergency medical responders voiced this motivation without reservation. Yet, another view demonstrates the ambiguity attached to this motivation within the firefighting profession.

You get suspicious when people tell you that they want to fight fires to serve humanity. Helping people is a by-product. After you are a firefighter for a while, it becomes instinct in any situation to help people because that is what you have been trained to do. I don't think most of us get involved in the fire department for that motive. We do it because we love the fire department and we love firefighting (D. Smith, 1988, p. 319).

Interestingly, the motivation to help people was not linked to a particular locality or community. Most volunteers selected the station that they served based on convenience rather than community affiliation. That is, it was closer to their home or work location rather than the station served a particular community or neighborhood. For instance, one volunteer discussed how she had called 911 for help:

I don't know if they were career or volunteer. They could have been volunteers for all I know.I felt like I had used, had to call them for help and I could help them. Not by becoming a firefighter or EMT, but to come in and help support them helping other people. I am not sure if this station responded or not (IWA, 19April 2012).

Helping others provides a generalized base of motivation, as well. It is general from the aspect discussed above in that it need not be giving back to those specific individuals that helped them. Also, it is general from the aspect of skills and tasks that fall under help.

Even if you're not saving a life, you can help calm a parent taking a child to the hospital. It could just be holding a hand and making someone feel better in that moment of need (Chesterfield County Fire and EMS, 2012).

This statement is typical of the sense of individual to individual help characterized by this motivation. In other words, this motivation drives the responder to answer any call for help. The general characteristic of this motivation can cause conflict with the professional camaraderie motivation. As described above, teenagers in a pick-up truck are motivated to help others. In their eyes, any help is good help. Yet, the motives of other responders may be to present a professionally competent face to the public. The teenagers would be seen as giving responders a poor professional reputation. The trappings of professionalism allude to a more instantaneous recognition that the helper can be trusted.

Likewise, combining the motives of excitement and helping others can be detrimental when associated with inexperienced responders. Their excitement and impulse to help may interfere with team efforts, when they attempt to give immediate short term assistance.

Describing this motivation as broad in scope does not mean that it is particularly locality based. When asked about how the community might view their service as a responder, many associated community interaction with programs such as the annual Fire Prevention Week Open House or Cardiopulmonary Resuscitation classes. Even when probed on

the nature of their relationship with their community, the responses did not contain a clear concept of community as a particular group.

I have broadened my view the community.... I'm not just a passive resident. I hear a siren and I start to wonder what is going on more than before...I saw people running out of Kroger's and I start to wonder why (IWA, 12 April 2012).

The articulation of this motivation was reminiscent of Robert Putnam's work *Bowling Alone*. While their identity as a responder is tied to the social capital invested in their professional camaraderie with each other, it does not appear to spill over into a civic identification. Putnam (2000) describes this social capital as bonding rather than bridging. Bonding tends to reinforce exclusionary behavior, forming tight groups. Bonding is contrasted with bridging. Bridging is inclusive in that it is a mechanism to go outside the group for information diffusion (p. 22-23). The below quote illustrates the bonding nature of the interactions.

Nothing is more significant in terms of community service than helping people out on the worst day of their lives (Chesterfield County Fire and EMS, 2012).

Although community service is mentioned, it is in the context of helping individuals. The motivation to help others does not bridge the community outside the pairing of victim and helper. Also, underlying the comment is the significance volunteers attach to bonding with the internal group of helpers. They bond over the shared feeling that they have made a difference. The relationship with the victim ends once they complete the response.

Additionally, volunteers and career responders were mixed in how they came to serve as a responder. Many career responders, particularly firefighters, had family or close friends that were firefighters and it was expressed as honoring their heritage.

I love the job, I really love it. So does everybody in the service. In this day and age, you don't get to do many things that help people out. It's the most gratifying feeling that I know of. I believe it comes from my parents. My father has been helping people for a long time. He's seventy-seven years old, and he still works six days a week. .. He doesn't need the money, he does it to do people favors. He keeps the shop open because he feels there's

a need for his services. It's the motivation that keeps him going. I believe that I inherited that, to a certain degree, from him (D. Smith, 1988, p. 310)..

Others came to the profession later in life. One volunteer summed up the nurture side of entering the profession this way:

I think the main reason is I grew up in South Florida where we had a lot of hurricanes and by doing so you see first-hand tragedies and disasters and I used to volunteer down there. I volunteered at the emergency room at a Hospital and I took care of people in the waiting room not as a nurse or anything just as a volunteer (IWA, 12 April 2012).

A more atypical route to career responder was expressed as:

I came by firefighting in a unique way, starting as a police officer first. The police tended to be negative and cynical about the people they served and it carried a lot of stress with the person. It carried over into their family life. Firefighting is much more positive in the way that you helped people. We are not law enforcement, so even criminals will put down their gun to get some help (IWA, 16 March 2012).

It did not matter who the person that needed help was or what they had done. They would help, regardless. Many volunteers expressed this motivation as a lifestyle choice of supporting others in every aspect of their life. They were motivated to teach their children and act as a good role model for life lessons:

I volunteer for other things and when I say to my neighbors I'm volunteering at the fire station and what I'm doing they think it is great. Once in a while, I volunteer at church, too –somebody thought I was the pastor then they thought I was a firefighter. (Laughing) Hey, I'm just a volunteer. I am not the head person anywhere...they do say that it's great, very supportive, but nothing else. Also, I want my kids to see it's a good thing to volunteer because I want them to volunteer when they get older. When I was working full time, I volunteered but for work-related things, but they're still volunteer. My husband used to tease me that "You know you can get paid for that, I'm like "Yeah, I know"...he used to joke about it but it is all about helping out. Some things you get paid for, some things you just help out (IWA, 19 April 2012).

Administrative and emergency medical responders were quick to respond with helping others as their main motivation. Firefighters seemed to grow into this motivation over time.

Being in the fire department has changed my life. I'm a little more committed to helping people. It's good being in the fire department, it

makes you more responsible. I really never thought I would be a family person, but I am now. A lot has to do with the fire department. You're always training, so your mind is steadily working. It's not like a dead end. You're always got to move forward and take one day at a time (p. 311).

Expressing the motivation of helping others seems to generate discomfort for Firefighters. They express it as an internal motivation, which victims or the public need not acknowledge.

A nurse is someone I relate to a fireman, because you're always helping somebody. A fireman should never expect to get a pat on the back, you just give yourself a pat on the back when you do a good job. That makes you feel good. (p. 312)

Many of these stories of helping others depict the dynamic quality of this motivation. It drives responders to learn a variety of skills in order to help. It sustains them through some of the more mundane tasks that need to be accomplished, as long as the tasks help someone. It is not specific to a group or locality. Although many emergency medical responders readily admit this motivation to help others as important to them, many firefighters admit that they came to this motive after serving in this profession.

Meaningful Symbols of Helping Others

Like the Maltese cross associated with the fire service, the Star of Life is associated with the emergency medical service. It is seen on ambulances and medical equipment. The Star of Life consists of six bars with the staff of Asclepius in the center. The six bars symbolize detection, reporting, response, on scene care, care in transit, and transfer to definitive care. Asclepius' staff is the symbol for medicine and healing (Rhodes, 2006). At the root of this symbol is the act of caring for others without regard for why or who needs help. This motivation has meaning for responders in the general nature of the emergencies to which they attend. For instance, fire apparatus is outfitted with medical equipment, and other items that are not necessarily needed for fires. The Fire Departments keep water rescue equipment in case they are called to help victims of boating accidents. As with the "Cat in the Tree" scenario, responders are motivated to help anyone for any reason.

While helping others may be seen as always beneficial, it can have disruptive meaning. It can be inefficient and redundant. For instance, two responders will interfere with one another putting an oxygen mask on a victim at the same time. Additionally, every call is an opportunity to help and causes potential conflicts about priorities. If responders attend to a minor incident, will they delay arrival at a major incident?

The motivation to help others is a complex one for volunteers and career responders. It is a source of stress in that helping others does not always result in a successful conclusion. They take deaths hard and feel they did not help enough. Managing within this motivation means dealing with priorities. It means ensuring responders deal realistically with their abilities to help.

Excitement

Both volunteers and career responders were motivated to serve because of the excitement of the profession. They love the alarms, the flashing lights, the speed of the vehicles and the adrenaline generated by stress. The thrill of responding had meaning for this motivation.

Most people try to avoid stress in their daily lives. CareerCast found that firefighters were the second to enlisted soldiers in having the most stressful job. Their methodology ranked each profession in eleven categories. These categories included competitiveness, physical demands, hazards encountered, own life at risk, life of another at risk and meeting the public (CareerCast.com, 2012) . Emerson highlighted the ten most stressful jobs from this ranking and elaborated on the source of stress for firefighters as:

With tightened public budgets leading to cuts in services such as fire and police departments, firefighters throughout the country are being asked to do more with less. That means the stakes have only gotten higher for a job that already faces life-threatening situations multiple times a day for relatively little pay (2012).

These perspectives tend to describe jobs to avoid or that are undesirable. Yet as Goodrich argued, firefighters must have a love of stress. He described good and bad stress to try and understand this conundrum. The description of good stress includes items like exercising. Responders describe their motivations in terms of good stress such as:

When “firefighting” as an occupation or an avocation is mentioned, it is spoken, using very positive adjectives to describe it. For instance:

“I love what I do”.

“It’s not a job; it’s a calling”.

“It’s the best job in the world”.

“I get a rush when we are at a job”.

“I’m happiest when I’m with my crew”.

“We are a family; a brotherhood”.

“There’s nothing like it”.

When a firefighter talks about it, there is excitement in their eyes, a smile on their face and a mouth that won’t run out of things to say about a job that defines them as a person...

[Bad Stress] could be sleep deprivation, the many obstacles getting to the scene, being shorthanded, critical injuries requiring swift decisions, deceased victims, a Mayday call or anything pulled from Murphy’s playbook are just some of the bad stuff that plays out every day in this country.

Add crappy pay, the threat of loss of jobs or the loss of health benefits as you fight cancer during your” retirement” and I have to wonder if the good outweighs the bad.(Goodrich, 2012)

The descriptions of motivations within this study align well with the concept of good stress.

It takes a lot of work and commitment, but in the end it’s rewarding and fun (Chesterfield County Fire and EMS, 2012).

Many operational volunteers and career responders spoke of the thrill of serving in this capacity as the source of what drew them to the profession in the first place. As one career responder put it:

I joined the firefighters to ride the trucks. I’m not much for a desk job (IWA, 22 March 2012).

This feeling was typical of career and volunteer responders. Anticipating and preparing for action were important to them, instead of writing reports or working at a desk:

I volunteer for the adrenaline rush and the challenge (IWA, 20 April 2012).

Several mechanisms of the job add to this adrenaline rush. The quickness of the response necessitates speed. There is immediacy about this profession that heightens this sense of excitement.

I had a neighbor that was a police officer when I was a kid. I found the sirens and the cars and the lights and all to be very exciting (IWA, 16 March 2012).

The lights and sirens add to the atmosphere of tension. In addition, firefighting and emergency medical service tasks are very strenuous and require strength and skill. Much of the tasks are for the young. For instance, many experienced responders sustained injuries from lifting patients and had to go on light duty until they healed.

I injured my shoulder on the job and have surgery the last one part of this month. I'm very much action oriented but I have to stay on administrative duties to get well. I couldn't help if I were hurting and cannot do my part. I would put people in danger if I am not at full capacity. I know that when I get squared away physically that I will be raring to go. It's okay to have to do administrative details for now (IWA, 16 March 2012).

Even with injuries, the draw of the excitement in responding to emergencies was in the forethought of their action. The excitement is not just about getting emergency calls, but about the exciting variety of incidences that might need a response.

I like the spontaneity of it you never know what will happen from day-to-day it is totally unpredictable work and I like that aspect. I like being prepared no matter what is going to happen (IWA, 12 April 2012).

However, this motivation has different tensions associated it as well. Many more mundane tasks that are vital to perform are less valued, nevertheless.

It is all about putting out the fire that 15 minutes worth of the excitement of the blaze in going to the blaze and putting it out in using your instincts and what it took to counter the monster (IWA, 6 April 2012).

This concentration on what is exciting can translate to the generation of bad stress due to lengthy periods of inactivity or administrative duties. Responders have many tasks other than the "15 minutes" of an incident. They must perform classroom and on the job training. They must maintain their professional credentials, so they are prepared.

Particularly important, firefighters must document actions and filing incident reports. Other actions associated with clean-up services after an emergency are not exciting, either.

It is what we call overhaul services such as sucking up all the water after putting out the fire, and pulling up the carpeting that had been damaged so that it doesn't reignite after smoldering. Those kind of cleanup efforts after the blaze is out and in safeguarding it while it is still smoldering those kinds of things. We receive a lot of pressure from private industry to conduct those services once insurance will pay for them. We would much rather have the excitement of the blaze and would rather leave it to private industry and private industry wants their nickel wants to be able to charge for providing those services and being paid by insurance companies for completing these services (IWA, 6 April 2012).

Responders that are motivated primarily by excitement have a more difficult time following through with these routine tasks. Retention suffers in some case.

I'm contemplating leaving mostly because of the administrative workload. It takes away from the exciting work of why I joined. (IWA, 26 April 2012)

This tension between the motivation for continually searching for the exciting and challenging and the motivation for professionalism that requires documentation, checklists and adherence to standards can be difficult.

We have had a hard time with introducing IT and computer training in the past. Firefighters are active people and they much rather be doing something (IWA, 31 January 2012).

Recent budget cuts have required less active training and generation of real-life drill scenarios. Regulations such as those concerning safeguarding of patient information require more time watching presentation slides on expectations. In some cases, stations will respond to emergencies where they may not be needed.

"Oh, great there is fire, are we going?" We get mostly EMT calls at this station, so we like to respond to fires. It's exhilarating (IWA, 16 March 2012).

Having additional responders that may not be needed is doubly a hazard where volunteers are involved. As supplemental responders, they respond as available.

Volunteers don't have to do anything they don't want to do – they are a lot slower in responding to county policy dictates. If it does not interest them, they won't do it (IWA, 24 February 2012).

The motivation for doing the exciting is prevalent within the volunteers, particularly the volunteer firefighters. In essence, those volunteers that do respond have chosen the incidents that they will support. Volunteers are less likely to spend a great deal of time on submitting incident reports.

The motivation for excitement is also in tension with professional camaraderie. Junior responders anticipate sharing in the camaraderie of joining in this exciting work.

When I joined, there were enough volunteers that the junior volunteers could only watch. It made it even more exciting to have the anticipation of helping out after a year of waiting (IWA, 24 February 2012).

Junior responders learned to temper the excitement they felt in order to fit in. While excitement can cause individuals to do rash things in the heat of the moment, waiting and watching seasoned responders heighten the excitement to do respond correctly.

Excitement is both beneficial and a detriment. Individuals that deal with stressful duties with a view of excitement seem drawn to this profession. In the interviews from this study, individuals reserved anxiety reactions until after events. They relished the spontaneity of emergencies, not knowing what they would be doing the next moment. They embodied the fight rather than flight reaction. This reaction is beneficial from the stand point of managing responsiveness to all types of emergencies.

Excitement can also be disruptive. Unexciting tasks are relegated to the back burner. Particularly for volunteers motivated by excitement, there is less ability to balance giving opportunities for exciting work with establishing professional reputation. Volunteers are less malleable and respond as they desire.

They do not have to respond when they do not want to respond. On the flip side, they can respond even if they are not needed.

Meaningful Symbols of Excitement

The alarms that go off have meaning for those motivated by excitement. Alarms generate the anticipation of whether or not a second alarm will call additional units for back-up response. While the sound of an alarm causes stress for most people, responders use the stress to set an emergency atmosphere. Once the alarm does go off, vehicles equipped with sirens and lights continue to build on this excitement. The sirens and lights are symbols of speed and priority. Other drivers must give way to an ambulance in an intersection, for example.

The number of alarms is also particularly symbolic. Increasing number of alarms indicate that more resources are needed to contain the incident.

There are many not so obvious symbols of excitement. For instance, award ceremonies that recognize bravery have meaning for responders. Citations and awards are proudly displayed at the fire station. In the county studied, bravery is advertised with character, integrity and teamwork as important values. Displays of bravery have meaning for responders. They recognize that these responders will fight rather than flee from an emergency incident.

Other symbols of excitement are tied to the excitement of being included in the group.

I joined the firefighters when I was 19 years old. My buddy was a firefighter and got to wear red boots, and I really wanted a pair of those red boots! (IWA, 24February 2012).

These red boots symbolized the excitement of being a firefighter. It displays the person wearing them as an outstanding individual who is part of a special group that does exciting things.

Thus, the excitement motivation has different meanings for volunteers and career responders. For volunteer and career firefighters, excitement had much to do with why they became firefighters. They enjoy the good stress that it generates. It influences them to do perceived heroic acts, which is both beneficial and detrimental. Beneficial in that many tasks that firefighters do are risky to their own safety. When well trained and equipped, taking some risks helps to save lives. Yet, excitement can cause firefighters to

take very risky actions that only endanger themselves as well as the original victims. This motivation must be managed in a way that neither instills fear, nor condones rash behavior.

For emergency medical responders, this motivation tends to be tied with helping others as the primary motivator. Less typically will excitement cause them to risk their own life, but does affect their ability to administer medical care quickly in a coordinated fashion.

This motivation is quite complex. It seems to be a necessary motivator for dealing with the type of stress encounter within this occupation. Responders need to enjoy spontaneity and the adrenaline rush they get from responding. Yet, it may be the cause of unwarranted risky, impulsive behavior. Responders rarely have time to consider the consequences fully prior to taking action.

This chapter has attempted to reveal the influences on management strategies to integrate volunteer and career responders. It suggests that the vision of what emergency response entails is an important influence. Two dominant visions were detected in this study that related to the founding debate of the Federalists and Anti-Federalists. Secondly, this chapter described organizational models that influence selection of these strategies. Three organizational models were described that managers inherit when they become a station Captain. Finally, this chapter described three motivational categories that influence selection of these strategies.

The next chapter returns to a description of the three strategies, but now describes them in terms of these three important influences.

Chapter 6 Analysis of Strategic Interactions

This chapter turns to linking together the three management strategies described in Chapter 4 with the interesting influences on these strategies described in Chapter 5. Mark Moore (1995, p. 292) suggests that managers implement strategic changes with a combination of planned and improvised actions. Appendix B highlights some of the planned action. Among these planned changes were implementing a systems approach to service delivery, defining the role of volunteers more clearly. Perhaps analyzing the relationship between strategy and these three influences of motivation, organizational structure, and vision may help to understand the improvised actions managers take. Chapter 5 described the visions of how to conduct emergency services, the three legacy organizational designs, and the volunteer and career responders' motivations as important elements that influence the selection of these strategies. Interestingly, these influences displayed properties that suggest that they are conditioned by their interactions. In turn, these interactions are shaped by the selected strategy. In this chapter, the intent is to examine each of these influences in conjunction with the strategies to describe this reciprocal property in more detail. Table 6.1 summarizes the relationship between the three observed management strategies and the elements of interest in this study.

Strategies/ Elements of Interest	Treat volunteer like career on scene	Allow volunteers to form crews with other volunteers	Build Relationship with Volunteer Association
Vision	Professionally Provided Service	Community Provided Service	Professionally and Community Provided service are Integrated
Organizational Design	Dominant strategy in integrated station Supplemental crew member treated as career in dual station Recruit school provides baseline professional training for all- Volunteer station	Not present in integrated station Negotiated between Fire Station Captain and Board President Dominant strategy in all- volunteer station	Not present in integrated station Depends on relationship between fire station Captain and Board President Not present in all- volunteer station
Motivations	Professional camaraderie between career as mentor to volunteer Helping volunteers learn the ropes to better help the community Channeling help to priority items Catch the Excitement of new volunteers	Professional camaraderie based on competition between career and volunteer entities Volunteer crews help others in a more diverse array of responses. Less interaction between career and volunteer responders, so career responders have less opportunity to renew excitement motive	Professional camaraderie between career as mentor to volunteer mixed with professional competition Helping volunteers learn the ropes to better help the community Catch the Excitement of new volunteers

Table 6.1 Strategic Influences

Vision

Two visions of how to define emergency services were described in Chapter 5. The first vision is community provided and sees emergency services as citizens' responsibility to their community. Citizens are good neighbors that help each other. Citizens express needs and wants through social relationships. This vision aligns with the Anti-Federalist type of vision for government. The second vision is professionally

provided and sees emergency services as a business. Citizens are clients. These clients express needs and wants as 911 calls for assistance. This vision aligns more with the Federalist vision of government.

Treating volunteers like career responders is influenced by the professionally provided emergency service vision, or Federalist type vision. As indicated in the quote below, professionalism is valued more than community participation.

Of course, it is a business; it is a business like anything else. We will teach you to do the job, we won't have super high expectations because you are not here 24 / 7 but we will have enough expectations that you will behave professionally and you perform to the minimum standard that you are trained to do... If you are here for the community aspect, be it barbecue, Easter egg hunt, bingo, or what have you and a lot of people have that traditional sense of what the fire department is about, if you want to be a part of that, then I need to direct you to a different station. It is not personal. If you are not here for that, then I can maybe meet your need at this station. But if your expectation is that and you are here, you are going to be disappointed. I don't want that to be a misconception from the start (IWA, 29 June 2012).

It is clear those managers who use this strategy ascribe to the professionally provided service and will accept volunteers based on their similar vision of emergency services. Yet, the strategy to treat volunteers and career responders as equals contributes to the solidification of the Federalist type vision at a particular station. As they are treated as equals, the drive to conform to centralized professional standards is apparent and less focus on the decentralized democratic vision.

In contrast, allowing volunteers to form crews with other volunteers is influenced by the community provided vision, or Anti-Federalist type of vision.

All in all, they are down here to help the community. My community is this town. I've been here thirty years. If somebody calls down here and their basement is flooded, years ago we would put the pump in the back of a pick-up truck and 3 or 4 guys would go pump it out. Somebody call for help, we go. That is just the way we are down here. Which is good. Anybody in the community need anything...table, chairs, they borrow them. Somebody needs help with their car, they bring it down here, or we go to their home and try to fix it. Refrigerator, TV, whatever, it's like a clubhouse. Brother and sister kind of thing...(IWA, 15 June 2012).

This quote emphasizes a decentralize concept to emergency response. These managers allow volunteers to form crews ascribe to a community provided service, envisioning emergency services in a broader context of any type of assistance that they may be able to provide. This strategy influences the vision that the volunteers embrace. The volunteers embrace the vision since this strategy allows autonomy of actions. They respond to a greater range of problems, such as fixing refrigerators in this example. This strategy influences flexible interactions among the volunteers represented through their choices concerning crew affiliation and which calls for assistance they make. Building relationships with the volunteer corporation tends to understand both visions of emergency service. The quote below reflects the need for managers using this strategy to be open to the possibility of fulfilling either or both visions.

I see more of them volunteering because they see it as something they want to do as a career versus the volunteers of my father's age who were like, "Look, I have a career; I just want to help my community." It is the give and take of "How much time to I spend away from my family and staying up most night and then going to my job. I don't think the demands on us are more, it is just the frequency of calls on us at night keep you up a little more at night. Nobody wants to go to work tired and worn out at their other job. We have a few here who have established careers, one is a lawyer, one is a housewife, and another is a salesman. They don't have the aspiration of becoming a career firefighter. I see more young people coming in trying it [as a career], and older individuals coming in who want to give back to the community (IWA, 29 June 2012).

Managers who use this strategy understand that two visions can coexist within emergency service provisioning. Conflicts between volunteer and career responders were more prevalent, perhaps because of the stark contrast of working within these two competing visions. This strategy influenced the vision of the station to accept a compromise approach to shaping the organizational vision.

This contrast in the understanding of what emergency response is or should be alludes to a coordination problem for managers. The coordination problem relates to providing solutions to repeated social dilemmas that are more efficient. Miller (1992, p. 233) suggests that solutions to coordination problems "Involves the personal characteristics and shared perceptions of the actors involved, the political skills of

organizational leaders and the constitutional resolution of the ultimate political problems of power sharing in organizations.” While the two visions or perceptions described in this study were evident, professionally provided services was a dominant force. The Fire Chief communicated a professional perception within his strategic plan to foster a shared perception. The plan gave a bow to the benefit of volunteers as tied to the community. Yet, the working level firefighters bought into an ultimate transition to professionalize services. The volunteers did not appear to build alliances between the individual volunteer corporations in strategizing to further their vision of community-provided services. This dilemma can best be described as a normative dilemma of what good government ought to be. It pits the Anti-Federalist concept of participating citizens as the aim of good self-government against the concept of efficient government. This study identifies the political context and normative dilemmas, but was not able to characterize the features without further research. Thus, the management strategies shaped the vision of the station, even as strategies were influenced by them. While the Federalist type vision of professional competence was dominant in the strategy to treat volunteers as equal to career responders, the Anti-Federalist type vision of close ties to the community was an important underlying premise. Allowing volunteers to form their own crews displayed the Anti-Federalist vision as more prominent. Yet, the professional vision was impressed upon the community vision as the county attempted to realize their goals. The county planned strategically to impress this professional vision with their goal to have career and volunteer responders as indistinguishable to citizens. Yet, the three observed strategies blended professionally and community provided services in captivating ways. Allowing volunteers to form their own crews served the community-provided vision to the greatest degree. Providing volunteers with recruit training served the professionally-provided vision, as well. Likewise, treating volunteers as equals served the professionally-provided vision. Volunteers were incorporated in professional teams as an integral member. Building relationships with the volunteer corporation seemed to balance the two notions of good government the most.

Yet, the analysis suggests that the vision of community provided services was somehow short changed. Heavy managerial emphasis on professionalizing volunteers overlooked other possibilities with community-provided services. While the county

supported various administrative roles for volunteers, very few supported integrated stations or at the county level. This suggests that other conceptualizations that emphasize community participation would strengthen emergency response initiatives as a whole.

In summary, this section provided a description of this study's analysis that revealed this reciprocal quality of the relationship between strategy selection and the two competing visions that hark back to the founding debate between Federalists and Anti-Federalists. Also, it suggests that managers are able to blend attributes of professionally and community provided services. Perhaps other ways to blend professionally and community provided visions are possible.

Organizational Design

This section will describe a similar reciprocal quality of strategies to the organizational design. Each of the management strategies tends to align with a particular type of organizational model within the county that was studied. The three organizational designs were integrated, dual and all-volunteer. The integrated design featured the volunteer as a supplemental fourth crew member of a three –man career crew. It most closely aligned with the treating volunteers as equals. The dual design featured both a county career organization working with a volunteer corporation. This design most closely aligned with the strategy to build relationships. The all-volunteer design featured an organization that was operated by volunteers, where the Fire Chief oversaw the way in which volunteers could respond. This design most closely aligned with allowing volunteers to form their own crews.

However, treating volunteers like career responders was present in all the organizational models within this county. The County Fire Chief was influential in steering this strategy throughout the county regardless of organizational type. Appendix B provides the strategic plan for providing county emergency services. The Fire chief made it clear that the strategy was an incremental and evolutionary plan to professionalize volunteers. It was constructed with an overall goal that a citizen would receive the same service whether a volunteer or a career responder provided service. To that end, professionalizing volunteers through a strategy of treating them as equals was the preferred strategy.

Analysis from this study revealed the dynamic relationship between action and structure when viewing this strategy as managerial action. Treating volunteers as equal affected the organizational designs of these stations. It required the manager to design organizations that incrementally exposed volunteers to increased professional interactions with career responders. When all-volunteer stations were self-sustaining and required less career responder support, county training standards were increased to an equivalency with career training requirements. This training needed to be fulfilled prior to acceptance in the volunteer organization. Still, the interactions with career responders were minimal at all-volunteer stations. As the all-volunteer station became less self-sustaining, dual station designs allowed more volunteer and career responder interactions. Prerequisite training requirements remained, with experiential interactions with career responders increased. Under this design, career responders were likely to treat volunteers as equal because they responded with them on an individual basis or as they coordinated across supplemental crews. As county fire stations were built in locations where there was no volunteer organization or a volunteer organization with diminished membership, integrated station designs shaped volunteer and career interactions. This design featured the greatest exposure of the volunteer to experiential interactions with career responders. Accordingly, volunteers were treated as equals because of the interactions as a trusted fourth crew member.

This section turns now to the strategy of building relationships. This strategy was dominant for a dual fire station.. While there were only two all-volunteer stations in the studied county, they did not attempt to build a relationship with each other. They were competitive with one another for recruiting volunteers, however. Similarly, integrated stations had no affiliated volunteer organization in which to build a relationship. Thus, this strategy influenced the choice of a dual station design. Strategic actions influenced organizational structures and interactions within those structures, even as these structures influenced managers to select the strategy.

Finally, this section turns to the strategy of allowing volunteers to form their own crews. Allowing volunteers freedom to form their own crews was dominant at all-volunteer stations. This strategy was particularly intertwined with the all-volunteer organization design. Historically, this design was how community's responded to their

emergencies. The tradition of treating volunteers autonomously was deeply rooted in the fire service. Reliance on volunteers required an organizational design that was flexible and allowed participation based on the voluntary commitments of members of the community. So, managerial actions were more decentralized allowing for development of the more flexible all-volunteer design. Likewise, the flexible design restrained managers from taking a more dictatorial approach to the actual scheduling of volunteer time.

Conversely, this strategy of allowing volunteers to form their own crews was not used at integrated stations. The design of an integrated station was premised on the fourth crew member concept. Thus, the integrated design precluded this managerial action.

The dual station design demonstrated a mixed nature that reflected aspects of both the integrated and all-volunteer design. The volunteer corporation and the County provided resources for the dual station. Typically, county responders were assigned to a volunteer station once the volunteers could no longer sustain EMT and fire response. Career managers were challenged to fill gaps where volunteers did not have the capacity to respond. The County influenced the volunteer corporation at dual stations to budget for specialized equipment and form or sustain volunteer crews that were complementary to county resources. Again, the dual station design influenced managers to accept volunteer capacities to form sustainable crews even as allowing volunteers to form their own crews influenced the nature of the dual design.

With all these organizational designs, the volunteer had the ultimate choice to serve at a particular type of station. The interactions between the career and volunteers were deeply connected to the type of organizational design employed at the fire station. Thus, this section describes in more detail how the organizational design reinforced the strategies even as strategies defined the organization. The next section describes the motivational relationships with the strategies.

Motivations

All the strategies share the influence of career and volunteer responders who are motivated by professional camaraderie. Fire station Captains know how to work with those motivated by professional camaraderie. The quote below indicates that the

strategies that managers selected were influenced by the motivation of the responders, whether career or volunteer.

If their motivation is to come in at 8 o'clock every morning, do the minimum job during the day, go to bed 8 o'clock and get up the next morning, I will have to manage that person differently whether it is to move them to a project that they are interested in or put them with somebody who is a little more conscientious for peer pressure to perform at a different level. You treat everybody differently no matter volunteer or career. It is much easier when you have people motivated for the right reasons to come in and over perform. It is harder when you have a slug, stuck in it for the paycheck. Most of them are in it to get experience. And that is an easy motive to meet (IWA, 29 June 2012).

This quote talks about the right reasons. The right reasons appeared to be gaining experience stemming from professional camaraderie motives. This motive displayed a reciprocal relationship with managerial actions and organizational structures. For instance, volunteers who were treated as equals tended to have the professional camaraderie motive. It was difficult to parse out which came first, creating a mutually supporting relationship. Likewise, the integrated organizational design focused professional experiential interactions that reinforced this motive. Additionally, the Federalist vision of professional and sound governmental response was connected to this motivation. Responders, whether career or volunteer, were motivated to meet citizen expectations for efficient, quality service.

From this discussion, it may appear that managers would want to maximize the motive of professional camaraderie. Yet, it appeared that managers tried to balance the professional aspects with helping others. Maximizing professional camaraderie might provoke more competitive interactions among firefighters. The motive to help others, however, provided the managers a foothold in emphasizing cooperative interactions. Thus, firefighters were observed helping other firefighters to learn the ropes.

Also, the professional camaraderie motivation points to the strategies of volunteers, as well. Volunteers had goals to become a career firefighter at any location where there was an opening. Managers showed a willingness to cooperate with fulfilling these goals, if they were honest about what their goals were. Ultimately, it fulfills their

stated goal that citizens are provided the same quality of service whether volunteer or career responders provide it.

The motive to help others in need is shared by career and volunteer responders as well. Managers are concerned with strategies that provide a means to temper the stress that may accompany this motivation. As the below quote indicates, the motive of helping others generally signals the need for the manager to address increased stress levels of responders. Also, the career manager attempts to limit the scope of help to within county protocols.

I think the career staff has a pretty well-defined expectation of what their limits are for being able to help somebody. You know we operate within protocols; we have a few options if people need extra help. We have a general understanding that we did not cause the problem and we cannot always solve the problem. It does not take folks to long who are altruistic or new to the organization to figure out, people call us for everything. And you will be personally upset a lot, if you think you can fix everything. [Volunteers] see that example set by the career side. They have to figure out for themselves what they can do, their limitations. They pretty much have a model here. Probably the time I see it the most is when they first come in and they tell me “I want to help people” (IWA, 29 June 2012).

This quote indicates that the manager actively monitors consequences of this motivation. Here, the manager sets limits on the types and scope of protocols. They train responders in seeing their role as initial part of problem solving, rather than as the cause. They are the initial helper, but not the only one. Additionally, career responders enjoy helping volunteers learn the ropes. Their interactions are reciprocal in that volunteers gain from hearing from experts, but career responders are uplifted with the ability to help volunteers. The above quote indicates that the motivations change emphasis as responders gain experience. The responders typically stated that they started to help others. Particularly in the case of the strategy that treated volunteers as equals, volunteer motives tended to put professional camaraderie ahead of helping others. The motive to help others was so ingrained across the organizational design; it was difficult to discern the relationship between this motive and structure. It appeared to be connected more

with the scope of help that each organizational structure allowed individual responders to contribute.

Similarly, the excitement motive had a complex relationship with structures and managerial actions. As this quote suggests, the interaction between career and volunteer responders is beneficial in reigniting the excitement motivation in career responders.

A lot of your career guys still have the motivation, but will pretend that they don't have the gleam in their eye. With the volunteer coming in, it will come back. They will ask questions. They will keep you up until midnight just asking questions. That is fun to deal with, sometimes. With all career station, you may have everybody going to bed at 8 o'clock. Even the rookies are not asking questions after 9 o'clock because they are just falling into the normal routine of things. I like having that spontaneity of the volunteers who say, "Hey CAPT, I've got a question for you." I still like that (IWA, 9 July 2012).

Managers channel the excitement motivation to focus responders to get excited about performing jobs at which they excel. In chapter 5, quotes from firefighters about the excitement motive described how risk taking was very attractive to them. They summed up the difference with ordinary people as, "most people run out of a burning building" (IWA, 16 March 2012). Nevertheless, excitement can be a risk to the firefighters. Appendix B shows the benefits, challenges and risks of volunteer fire companies. Two risks pertain to the motivation of excitement. The first risk is the use of red lights in volunteer's privately owned vehicles. This practice played on the motivation of excitement, but put the volunteer, the public and county at great risk. The second risk is the practice of at-will response. This practice promoted "freelancing" that played on the motivation of excitement that was conducive to volunteer's working outside of accountability systems. Thus, the excitement motivation represents the need for managers to balance the positive and negative aspects of this motivation. It creates a dilemma for managers that pits short term goals against long term goals (Miller, 1992). In this case, the short term goal is on the part of the responder who seeks the momentary thrill of responding with a long term goal of the manager to supply meaningful, but dangerous work as safely as possible.

You need enough perspective here to recognize that while the lights and sirens are fun or cool looking and they add to the

excitement that is not what you are here for. If you are here to drive fast and push people off the road and get them out of the way, then that is dangerous. It is like anybody, I don't think it is a volunteer or career thing. If I have somebody who is motivated to do this job or parts of this job for various reasons and that will get them moving up in the organization, then I will help them get there. Like I have someone who is an excellent instructor, but they are new to the organization. We need to get him into the training division at some point. I'll encourage him to take classes or try to get him on as an adjunct instructor (IWA, 29 June 2012).

As indicated above, excitement tends to be tempered and channeled to more professional aspirations. Managers recognize that excitement is a natural motivator in wanting to be part of emergency response and it requires managers to help the responder modulate this reaction. Managers felt greater ability to temper this motive with the treating volunteers as equals. This strategy established clear protocols to downplay excitement that created risk, but still capitalized on the positive aspects that relied on firefighter to enter dangerous situations.

Each of these three motivational categories is important to consider in pursuing an integration strategy. Professionally motivated volunteers tend to want to be treated like career responders and gain experience. Volunteer motivations are conditioned by the strategies used to integrate them with career responders and by the organizational structures they act in. Responders, whether volunteer or career, need to set limits on their perception of how much they will be able to help. Finally, all responders have some love of the sirens and fast pace of emergency response. Managers use the three management strategies to modulate this excitement toward productive efforts. Treating volunteers as equals allows volunteers to learn from the career responder in controlling dangerous aspects of this motivation. Allowing volunteers to form their own crews provides a method for them to get excited about their autonomy in taking actions. Building relationships with the volunteer corporation provides both career responder modeling and the opportunity to form autonomous crews.

Chapter 4 introduced the three management strategies for integrating volunteer and career responders that were observed and distilled from analyzing interview data. Chapter 5 described three interesting elements that appeared to have a relationship with which strategy was selected. This chapter attempted to pull together these two chapters

and describe the three strategies in terms of these influences more directly. Also, it suggests that the nature of the relationship between strategies, structures, motivations and strategic visions is quite dynamic and reciprocal. Each element influences the others and is influenced as organization evolves.

Chapter 7 Implications and Conclusion

Implications

The preceding chapters introduced three strategies that were observed to integrate volunteer and career firefighters in their efforts to respond to emergencies. Other strategies are no doubt possible, but these three strategies were manifest within the data collected in the study. Chapter 5 described some of the interesting influences on these strategies, motivation, organizational design and vision. Chapter 6 attempted to situate the strategies within the complex interactions of these influences. This chapter will address what implications can be drawn from the work, where potential future research might be suggested, and concludes with the theoretical and practical contribution of the work.

Throughout this study, there was a strong implicit sense that these motivations, organizational design and visions were institutionalized within the county. As discussed in Chapter 2, Selznick described institutionalizing as a process that binds the history of the people and structures together. Richard Scott (2001) builds on Selznick's foundation to provide great insight into understanding institutions that might not be outwardly expressed. He explained the resiliency of institutions because of their social structures. Scott described the cultural-cognitive, normative and regulative pillars of institution that provide meaning and stability. This stability was not without change processes, but tends to be incremental.

In this study, institutionalizing was a process beneath the surface in the socialization process, organizational designs and visions of what emergency response meant. These elements were inherited from the past. For instance, the socialization process surrounding team formation has a long history within the firefighting community. Vestiges remain of shared meals and consistent team assignment with the same crew members that provided a stable environment for every day routines. Organizational designs were handed to each fire station managers with little discretion to seek different ways to organize. They honored the past because it provided the stability of the institution, but it constrained them from creating new ways. Governance structures were represented by the three organizational designs that were observed. The designs were

described as all-volunteer, integrated and dual. All-volunteer and dual stations supported community outreach. Volunteers were actively solicited and members were engaged in running the corporation. Integrated stations left most of the volunteer recruitment to the county or volunteer corporation. They did not seek actively a close neighborhood relationship, but saw citizens as clients to serve in the best way possible. The integrated stations tended to limit relationships to bonding between professionals, be they volunteer or career responders. The apparent reluctance to incorporate the community had a great deal to do with their professional reputation and meaning of what it meant to be a professional. They sought detachment to shield themselves from feeling too much. It provided them with the resiliency needed to attend to future calls for assistance.

Secondly, this dissertation started with the notion that comparing the motivation of volunteer and career responders would shed some light on important aspects of public administration. The motives of professional camaraderie, helping others and excitement were identified as shared motives between volunteer and career responders. Both volunteers and career responders wanted to serve the public in meaningful ways. The implication to the public administration literature is that public service motivation does exist, that it can be managed and that it may be fragile. Public service motivation was visible in the desire to help the public at some risk to themselves, and they were motivated to serve in a professional manner. Responders wanted to uphold a professional reputation and were excited about doing meaningful work. These motives were managed. The study revealed that managers pay attention to the motives of the responders and shaped their actions accordingly. For instance, they treated volunteers as equals when they displayed professional camaraderie. Managers and other responders interacted with novices to teach them the ropes and advise them on how to maneuver through the required stepping stones. Yet, it was somewhat tenuous. Reshaping volunteers to second-class professionals had consequences. Fewer volunteers could sustain the workload and time commitment of this heightened expectation.

While this study did observe much similarity between volunteer and career responders' motivations, this study was not able to discern how the motives of volunteers and the motives of career responders interacted. The implication as to why they are similar is that salary considerations do not play a major factor in recruiting and retaining

responders. Additionally, this study suggested that managers were very interested in understanding the motivations of volunteer and career responders. The implication was that the three focal motivational categories of professional camaraderie, helping others and excitement were strong factors in pursuing management strategies. The strategy of treating volunteers as equals was strongly tied to the professional camaraderie motive. This connection implied that this strategy self-selected responders with a professional camaraderie motive. Additionally, it implies motivation maybe conditioned by structure, interactions within these structures and bound by shared vision.

The next implications are drawn from the theoretical orientation of practice theory with a focus on the action-structure dynamic. “Practice theory argues that everyday actions are consequential in producing the structural contours of social life” (Feldman & Orlikowski, 2011, p. 1241). The action-structure dynamic calls attention to the flexible, emergent and reciprocal quality between action and structures. “Governance structures are constituted through actions even as they constrain and enable these actions (Feldman, Khademian, & Quick, 2009, p. 126).

The managers’ actions in the form of implementing strategies can be viewed as one type of interaction for creating and recreating governance structures. While the emergency management organizational structures are somewhat hierarchical on paper, the interactions of the station manager with the individual responders and the interactions among the responders constitute these structures. Volunteers made choices about what type of organizational structure they will serve. Their motives influenced construction of their own strategies to attain their goals. While the managers interviewed felt limited discretion in changing the organizational design at their particular station, they did suggest that volunteers move to an organizational design that suited their individual motivation. In a real sense, these organizational structures demonstrated a reciprocal nature with actions as the managers strived to create fit between responders and organizational structure. This dynamic quality suggests that managers were actively and continuously strategizing, seeking fit between organizational design, motivation, and vision in implementing their strategies.

This work also points to a theoretical orientation of analyzing motivation as similarly dynamic. Motivations appear to be conditioned by organizational structures and

interactions with other responders and with the manager. For instance, the integrated organization with the volunteer as the fourth crew member appeared to support volunteers with a professional camaraderie motive. Volunteers typically entered with a motive to help others, but recognized a professional motivation once they started interacting with the manager and other responders. Responders described their motivations as changing over time and with continued interactions. Managers and responders sought to fit the individual's stated motives within an organizational design that was mutually beneficial.

Additionally, this work discovered some key elements that bring the action-structure dynamic to life. Many factors influence the integration strategy that managers select. Some of the interesting elements that were related to the integration strategy were the vision of what emergency services were and how they should be delivered, the inherited organizational design and the individual motivations of the responders. This discovery has both theoretical and practical implications. Theoretically, it implies a relationship between management strategies, organizational visions, organizational designs and motivations that provide greater understanding in their selection. Practically, it implies that other emergency response managers outside this study may want to consider the effects of these elements in tandem when setting strategic direction. For instance, an innovative blend of professionally and community provided services that emphasized community provided services might lead to different organizational designs, affecting the motivations of firefighters. Managers might not feel locked into these three strategies.

Understanding the dynamic relationship between some of the legacy elements and management strategies is important. Managers choose incremental strategies that consider inherited visions, organizational structures and motivations. Again, these incremental strategies are typical of institutional setting in that they maintain stability even while introducing small changes. Leaders understand these relationships and seek to transform their organization slowly. They make the best of given circumstances, realizing that each of these elements affects the strategy.

This study found a great deal of similarity between volunteer and career responders' motivations. The motivations seem to change over time for both volunteer

and career responders. Although there was an economic component to the motivation, it appeared to be secondary to the observed motivational categories of professional camaraderie, helping others and excitement. Volunteers, who aspired to salaried positions, did so once they confirmed that the work satisfied these other motivational categories. Career responders stated that their salary provided them with financial security, but the love of the profession was an important motivator to stay. The implication is that responders have found a way to make “the ethos of work...less brutally competitive and more ecologically harmonious... A less frantic concern for advancement...would make it easier...to be full participants in the workplace without abandoning family life” (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, & Tipton, 1996, p. 288). There was an indication that motivations were conditioned by structures and interactions, perhaps in ways to create this harmony. For instance, integrated station structures attracted more professionally motivated responders because of the increased interactions with seasoned responders. The implication is that the integrated design influenced the increased the number of responders’ motivated by professional camaraderie, even as this motive was an influence in creating the design. In other words, the integrated station could not sustain a volunteer base if volunteers did not have a motive to be a professional.

This study described two competing visions of emergency response; community provided and professionally provided services. They are threads that hark back to our founding. Anti-Federalists saw the importance of sustained community connectedness at the local level as a central governing arrangement. Citizen participation in self-governing was a vital The notion of the neighbor helping neighbor in emergencies is a legacy of vital civic participation. Federalists were interested in energetic and consistent government. Professionally -provided emergency service is a legacy of energetic government. The study described how these threads were evident in each of the three organizational designs, but could be the source of conflict. Conflict was particularly evident at dual stations, where both community-provided and professionally-provided services were supported. Additionally, this study found that managers tended to cope with inherited boundaries that limited their actions. The three strategies depended on a legacy of these two visions. Community-provided assistance was married to the all-

volunteer crew strategy. Professionally-provided assistance was married to treating volunteers like career responders strategy. Building relationships between organizations was the only strategy that attempted to marry these two threads together in a meaningful way. Yet, it was the least favored. Building relationships attempted to sustain an energetic response provided by professionals that was attached to the community via a local volunteer association. Managers spoke of the difficulties working within a framework of division of power. Though clearly difficult, dual station managers were able to blend professionally and community-provided services in one consistent way. This one way was to emphasize volunteering as an operational firefighter. Managers in this study perceived that they had limited discretion. This theoretical framework suggests that discretion in shaping the vision of emergency services may be much greater than perceived. It implies that managers should be more open to possibilities in shaping vision in selecting management strategies. Other ways to blend how services are provided may be possible. Bridging strategies might consider a vision of community-provided services that places less emphasis on operational roles. A greater number of volunteers might engage in providing services if other roles were offered, for instance.

Managers may need to create transformational visions to sustain management strategies that honor the attachment of the community. For example, Moore (1995) suggested the police department might enlarge their mission from crime control to include crime prevention, fear reduction, and crisis response (p.218). Similarly, this fire department concentrated on consistent service to citizen once they dialed 911. They might consider different strategies and organizational forms that would broaden their community interactions. These community interactions could help identify safety problems before the need to dial 911.

Organizational models were inherited manifestations of competing visions of how to provide assistance. The interviews in this study described organizational design as constant and unchanging. Yet, in this formulation the organizational design is seen as holding an important relationship with managerial strategies, reinforcing certain firefighter motivations and underpinning the meaning of emergency response. The implication is that organizational models do influence strategies, but strategies influenced multiple organizational designs typical of the action-structure dynamic.

Some of these implications about the influences of the key elements on management strategies are summarized in Table 7.1 below. Strategic management was deeply embedded in an institutional setting and displayed a strong sense that motivation, organizational design and notions of shared visions were influential elements. They influenced strategy selection, and changed due to social interaction even as they provided stability within institutional processes.

Implications	
Strategic Management	<p>Strategic management operated within an implicit sense of institution. Inherited elements of organizational design, historical visions of the fire service and social connectedness of the firefighter bolstered this sense. Implies that institutional theory would help understand tensions between stability and change.</p> <p>Strategies as managerial actions displayed a reciprocal relationship with organizational structures and responders' motives. Implies that strategies are evolving with structures and motives. Thus, managers are continuously strategizing.</p>
Motivation	<p>Public service motivation exists, can be managed, but is not boundless.</p> <p>Motivation may have a dynamic quality displaying influences on both actions and structure. In turn, it may be influenced by actions and structures, as well. Career and volunteer motivations are similar, implying their interactions affect them.</p> <p>Individual's motivations change over time from initial to sustained service.</p> <p>Economic considerations are secondary motives, with salary seen as stable income for career responders. Managers seek to understand individual motivations to select integration strategy, implying a relationship between strategy and employee motivation</p>
Vision	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Emergency service delivery is tightly integrated with the vision of the community and those who volunteer for their community. - Creation of new blends of community and professionally provided services are possible. <p>This element was a touchstone for understanding the founding debate about what good government should look like.</p>
Organizational Design	<p>Inherited organizational design drives management strategies.</p> <p>The integrated organizational model in particular could represent a recursive process that affected the professional camaraderie motivation of volunteers.</p>

Table 7.1 Implications

Further Research

This work provides analysis of interview and observational materials in new and interesting ways. The qualitative data was grounded in the practice of public administration. Some of the many questions that need further research include:

1. Why are volunteer and career responders' motives so similar? How do their interactions affect these deeply personal motivations?
2. How does this study translate to other counties, other states, and other nations?
3. How much variation is there in the perceptions of managerial discretion in integrating volunteers and career responders?
4. How are the strategies to integrate public and private sector emergency services influenced by vision, organizational design and motivations?
5. How might the construct of *strategizing*, as an action-based, evolving process help to open possibilities for innovative strategies?
6. How do the political skills of the managers, career or volunteer, seek solutions to power-sharing?
7. How do managers address the normative aspects implied in the multidimensional nature of community and professionally provided services?

This study involved in depth research of the fire stations in one county. Although it was clear that the motivations of volunteer and career responders were very similar, this work could not pinpoint why they were similar. Clearly, the volunteer system fed the career system to some extent. Yet, it is not clear that this relationship between the two systems was the overriding influence. Additionally, it was not clear if this similarity was due to the particular locality. Interviews in other counties, states and nations would provide much greater insight into the influences of vision, motivations and organizational design. It would be particularly interesting to analyze the perceptions of discretion that emergency service managers have about how they integrate their human resources for whom they are accountable.

This study did not examine the relationship between the public and private sectors with regard to integrating these resources. Some interviews touched on the competitive nature of the public and private sectors' relationship. There were some indications that the relationship between the public and private sectors is based on decisions about public sector motivations concerning exciting work. For example, outsourcing unexciting work like clean-up functions was routine. Additionally, economic considerations pertaining to insurance coverage appeared to play a part in what work the private sector petitioned to do. Of note is the favored strategy to treat volunteers as equals. Appendix B provides many benefits to accomplishing their goal of delivering comparable service no matter whether provided by a volunteer or by a career responder. How this goal may impact the relationship with the community and make emergency services more vulnerable to outsourcing of front line work are aspects that were not studied. These factors would be particularly interesting as further research topics.

Relatedly, the scope of this study did not include an in-depth examination of some of the political aspects. Moore (1995, pp. 151-159) describes some of these political aspects as diagnosing who can help support policies, advocating so that policies are backed and adopted, mobilizing support, framing issues, and waiting for favorable moments. Further research should investigate these aspects more fully to understand both the career and volunteer managers' actions and capabilities within political management.

This dissertation identified the competing visions used to mobilize both career and volunteer firefighter. It found that the professionally-provided vision dominated the community-provided services, although both visions could be blended in a cooperative way. This identification of multi-dimensional forces on perceptions of what emergency response means could be framed as a normative dilemma. Clearly, the county wanted a professional reputation, no matter whether the service was provided by a career or volunteer responder. Yet, the benefit of using volunteers to sustain close ties to the community was somehow hampered. Volunteers were seen more as apprentices, not as a bridging mechanism to the citizenry. A dilemma formed around meeting the short term gain of having well-trained professionals to answer 911 calls with a more long term goal of perpetuating a sense of citizen participation to achieve a goal of robust self-governing.

The normative question is what ought to be the objectives for using volunteers. Further research could tease out these apparent tensions of public service that this study identified around this question.

Finally, this study examined one county over a specific eight-month period. The finding that traditional visions and inherited organizational models influenced management strategies points to the importance of historical and cultural influences. Future research should examine these integration management strategies over time. A longitudinal study might provide a way to analyze strategies as an ongoing action of *strategizing*. In the future, it will be important to understand how historical and cultural influences change and transform over time. Understanding how well and when these influences may adapt to new and different circumstances is important, as well. Creating public value takes strategic vision formed with an understanding of these vital influences. Most importantly, future studies that view the manager as actively and continuously energizing frameworks could increase our understanding of interactive nature of the relationship between motivation, organizational design and vision.

Conclusion

This chapter has described some of the implications and areas that require future research. This dissertation has contributed to the public administration field in a number of ways. There are several theoretical as well as practical contributions of this study. These contributions concentrate on the importance of managers of understanding the influences of motivation, vision and organizational structures in creating public value. This work supports practice theory and the importance of viewing the interactions of actions and structure as dynamic. Dynamic in that actions and structures are entities that create an interactive system. The study viewed strategies as managerial actions and organizational designs as structures. It suggests that organizational visions had deep roots in the Federalist and Anti-Federalist arguments for good government. It supports the view of the managers as creating value through planned and improvised actions. It also suggests new avenues of research. These new avenues lead to examining motivation as they affect the action-structure dynamic.

Of particular interest is the discernible effects of concepts that were debated during the American founding. Federalist notions of professionalism in government were powerful in affecting responders' motivations, their organizational structures, and how they defined emergency services. The Anti-Federalist notion of citizen involvement in self-government is evident, as well. Connectivity to the community was a key benefit for the use of volunteers as they increased surge capacity. Yet, integrating these notions play out at the local level like it did in creating the compound republic itself. The compound republic attempted to balance powers among the local, state and national government. Also, it attempted to divide power between the legislative, executive and judicial branches. The U.S. Constitution blended these notions of an energetic, centralized government with the decentralized notions of self-government and individual rights. Similarly, volunteer and career responders operate in a setting that balances community participation with professional, centralized assistance. Professionalizing volunteers for greater efficiency decreased the risk of errors serving the public. However, fewer volunteers are able to serve at these very high standards. Participation of volunteers ensures a close connection with the local citizenry. These three integrating strategies studied here, blended these visions in discernible ways. Perhaps there are ways to blend them to incorporate citizen participation more fully.

Public administration literature tends to describe the Federalist and Anti-Federalist concepts in the separate literature of new public management and new public service respectively. As such, this empirical study suggests that principles of the new public service and the new public management literature are simultaneously manifest at the local level. Most heartening, is that local managers are able to blend them in such workable ways to satisfy strategic needs.

In practical terms, this work provides suggestions to other fire chiefs and county boards that are struggling with the integration of volunteer and career responders. It describes three concrete strategies and elements that influence them. Inherited elements may cause managers to implement strategies incrementally. This is a typification of Behn's "Groping Around." Table 7.2 below provides a summary of the theoretical and practical contributions of this work on these areas of public administration inquiry.

Theoretical Contributions
Supports Practice Theory and the action-structure dynamic.
Analysis of the relationship between motivation, organizational design and vision help to understand the action-structure dynamic.
Points to motivation as similarly dynamic in shaping interactions and organizational structures. Supports theoretical perspective that motives can be managed as well as influence management strategies.
Describes the deep current effects of the Federalist and Anti-Federalist debate that still flow in every day interactions between career and volunteer emergency responders.
Practical Contributions
Provides information to fire chiefs and county board members in other counties of possible strategies for integrating volunteer and career responders.
Demonstrates that inherited considerations may constrain strategic choices to incremental changes.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The vision of emergency service delivery is tightly integrated with the vision of the community and those who volunteer for their community. - Creation of new visions that blend community and professionally provided services may be possible
Understanding individual motivations may be helpful in selecting an integration strategy.
Individual's motivations change over time from initial to sustained service. Managers may periodically interact with responders about any changes in their motives. They should be aware that organizational structures, visions and actions may condition motivation.
Economic considerations are secondary motives for volunteers. A stable income for career responders was an important incentive to continue as a responder.
Managers might consider the dynamic interactions within a particular fire station, rather than understanding the organizational structure as static.

Table 7.2 Contributions

Mark Moore suggests that public managers create public value through the use of innovative methods of strategic management. Understanding, forming and articulating a vision are important parts of creating public value. This work suggests that managers create public value through their understanding of motivations and the influences of

organizational design as dynamic rather than as constant. Further, it suggests that these factors matter to strategic management. These factors are particularly interesting to managing across the public and voluntary sectors. Most importantly, it suggests that individual managers make a difference in the delivery of quality emergency services. The strategies they employ to integrate volunteer and career responders have a great deal to do with creating public value. This work concentrated on three main integrating strategies, treating volunteers as equals, building organizational relationships and allowing volunteers to form their own crews. These three strategies show variation in how the managers conceptualize and understand the influences of vision, motivations and organizational design. It demonstrates that managers are not stuck with a one size fits all approach and have the flexibility to create value if they understand the influences that warrant the selection of an individual strategy. Actions and interactions are important. They are situated in a dynamic and complex environment that evolves.

Returning to the portrait analogy provides a fitting end to this leg of the journey. A completed portrait captures the subject for a brief period of time. The artist, the subject and the environment are changed with their interactions. The artist's style may change. The subject ages and takes in new experiences. Even at the same locality, the environment has subtle changes in light and shadow. This realization that the portrait is a mere static representation of the subject should not be a deterrent from examining the portrait in trying to understand the subject. Likewise, the narrative here about the integration of volunteer and career responders can only tell their story at a particular point in time. However, it is hoped that the work's ability to hint at these dynamic and colorful interactions will prompt further research into this exciting area.

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Appendix A – Profile of Study Subjects

Code	Type	Station Type	Date	Length
A	Career	County	Monthly From Jan-Jul 2012	About 2 hours each
B	Career	Integrated	19-Jan-12	2 hours
C	Career/CAPT	Integrated	3-Feb-12 and 29-Jun -12	2 hours and 1 hour
D	Career	County	Monthly From Jan-Jul 2012	About 2 hours each
E	Volunteer	Dual	10-Feb-12	30 Minutes
F	Volunteer	Dual	19-Apr-12	30 Minutes
G	Career	Dual	16-Mar-12	1 hour
H	Volunteer	Dual	12-Apr-12	30 Minutes
I	Volunteer Chief/Career Elsewhere	All-Volunteer	24-Feb-12	1 hour
J	Volunteer	Dual	15-Jun-12	1 hour
K	Volunteer	Dual	20-Feb-12	1 hour
L	Volunteer/Career Elsewhere	All-Volunteer	24-Feb-12	15 Minutes
M	Volunteer	All-Volunteer	24-Feb-12	1 hour
O	Volunteer	Integrated	15-Mar-12	1 hour
P	Career	Integrated	22-Mar-12	1 hour
Q	Career	Dual	6-Apr-12	1hour
R	Career	Dual	19-Apr-12	15 Minutes
S	Volunteer	All-Volunteer	26-Apr-12	1.5 hours
T	Volunteer	All-Volunteer	20-Apr-12	15 Minutes
U	Career	Dual	20-Apr-12	15 Minutes
W	Volunteer	All-Volunteer	20-Apr-12	15 Minutes
X	Career	Dual	20-Apr-12	15 Minutes
Y	Volunteer	All-Volunteer	26-Apr-12	1.5 hours
Z	Career	Integrated	28-Apr-12	15 minutes
AA	Volunteer	Dual	2-Jun-12	2 hours
AB	Volunteer	Dual	2-Jun-12	2 hours
AC	Volunteer	Dual	2-Jun-12	2 hours
AD	Volunteer Chief	All-Volunteer	15-Jun-12	2 hours
AE	Volunteer	Integrated	28-Jun-12	35 Minutes
AF	Career/CAPT	Dual	9-Jul-12	2 hours
AG	Career Fire Chief	County	27 Aug 12	1 hour

Table A-1 Profile of Study Subjects

Type	Number of Subjects	Population
Fire Chief	1	1
Station CAPT	4	20
Both Career and Volunteer	1	Unknown
Career (Total)	10	487 (18 Stations)
County	2	
Dual	4	
Integrated	4	
Volunteers (Total)	15	136 Active (15 Stations)
All Volunteer	5	38 (2 Stations)
Dual	8	83 (7 Stations)
Integrated	2	15 (6 Stations)

Table A.2 Summary of Interview Characteristics

Appendix B Strategic Plan

Service to the Citizens: The primary mission of both career and volunteer members is to serve the citizens and visitors of the county. When a citizen or visitor dials 911, he/she should expect the same level of quality service regardless of the members who answer the call, whether they be career or volunteer.

Systems Approach to Service Delivery: The county EMS is a comprehensive emergency response system, which provides an array of advanced fire and emergency medical services to a growing population within a large geographic area. Deployment of resources must be executed in a planned, organized manner.

Risk Management: Deployment, service delivery, emergency and non-emergency operations must be executed in such a manner that risks to county EMS members and the public are effectively managed.

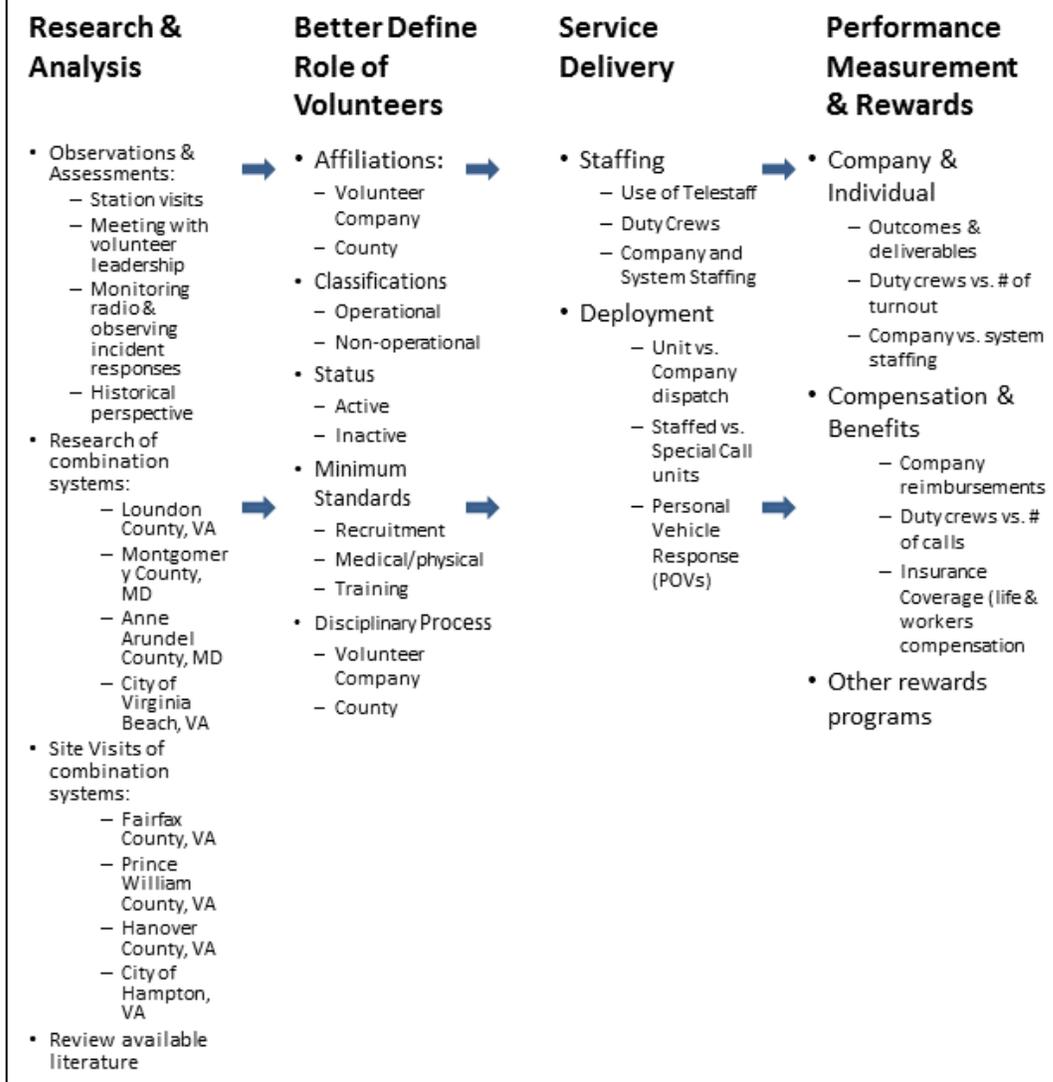


Figure B1 Guiding Philosophy (Source: Planned Improvements of Combination Systems-Version 10/10/10) Used with Permission of Chief Senter, Chesterfield County Fire and EMS, Chesterfield, VA, 2012

Benefits

- **Periodic Increase of On-duty Staffing**
 - Individual volunteers often help bring minimum staffing on career fire units to optimal level of 4 personnel
 - Volunteer duty crews frequently staff additional fire units in the County EMS system
 - Volunteers staff and deploy support units when needed (i.e. tankers and brush trucks).
- **Increased Surge Capacity During Emergencies & Severe Weather**
 - Volunteer recalls allow additional fire units to be staffed for response to major emergencies or severe weather, or to cover areas of the county left open by county response of other units
- **Connectivity to Community**
 - Volunteer fire companies are historically rooted in the communities they serve and have a close connection with the citizens who live in the communities
- **Recruitment of Career Firefighter**
 - Comprehensive training programs and opportunities to gain experience serve as excellent recruitment tools. Many current career firefighters started out as volunteers.
- **Use of Volunteer Owned Facilities**
 - As county EMS began adding career staff in late 1960's, it was not necessary to build new facilities until years later. Career firefighters were assigned to stations owned by volunteers; many are still in operation today.

Figure B2 Assessment of Benefits of Volunteer Fire Companies

Source: Planned Improvements of Combination Systems-Version 10/10/10)

Used with Permission of Chief Senter, Chesterfield County Fire and EMS, Chesterfield, VA, 2012

Challenges

- **Inconsistent Staffing**
 - Volunteer turnout and staffing of fire units is contingent upon individuals' availability, given work & family demands
 - At the time of alarm, there is often uncertainty as to turnout and response times of volunteers to staff frontline and support units.
- **Increased Training Requirements**
 - Increased number and complexity of services (i.e. fire suppression, EMS, Hazmat, technical rescue, terrorism) require more in-depth initial training.
 - Many new candidates fail to complete volunteer recruit school; failure/drop-out rates have been as high as 50%.
 - Many volunteers are unable to regularly attend in-service training sessions to receive refresher and update training.
- **Maintenance of Skill Proficiency**
 - Many volunteers cannot commit the time necessary to achieve and maintain skill proficiency.
- **Limitations of Volunteer Owned Facilities**
 - Mostly outdated facilities that are inadequate for modern emergency equipment & 24/7 staff; facilities not located in best strategic locations.
- **Resistance to Change**
 - Tradition and emotion often override the objective need to change procedures and service delivery models over time, to keep up with the dynamic and increasing demands.

Figure B3 Assessment of Challenges of Volunteer Fire Companies

Source: Planned Improvements of Combination Systems-Version 10/10/10)

Used with Permission of Chief Senter, Chesterfield County Fire and EMS, Chesterfield, VA, 2012

Risks

- **No Minimum Academic or Physical Standards**
 - Lack of testing or pre-screening of academic or physical ability results in higher failure rate in volunteer recruit academy. Firefighters who do not have adequate physical ability or fitness place themselves, other firefighters and the public at risk.
- **No Annual Medical Examinations**
 - All new volunteer applicants receive a comprehensive medical exam, but there is no requirement for an annual exam similar to that for career firefighters. 50% of firefighter line-of-duty deaths are the result of heart attack, stroke & physical stress/overexertion.
- **Volunteer Deployment Practices**
 - Allowing unstaffed front-line units to be marked “In-service” at all times results in delay or under-deployment of effective firefighting force at time of alarm.
 - Company vs. Unit deployment practices often result in over-deployment of resources. Payment per call encourages over deployment.
 - Emergency responses by volunteers using red lights in their privately owned vehicles places volunteers, the public and county at extreme risk.
 - At will response promotes “freelancing” outside incident command and personnel accountability systems.
- **Inconsistent Procedures and Practices**
 - Variation in practices throughout county and lack of enforcement of existing policies and procedures threatens firefighter safety and quality of service delivery.

Figure B4 Assessment of Risks of Volunteer Fire Companies
Source: Planned Improvements of Combination Systems-Version 10/10/10)
Used with Permission of Chief Senter, Chesterfield County Fire and EMS, Chesterfield,
VA, 2012

Appendix C - Researcher's Notes

A methodology that uses interviewing to collect data can be difficult. This appendix includes some of my experiences with planning the approach to interviewing, getting access to responders, conducting the interviews, and analyzing the information in the interviews. It is an attempt to explain the decisions made and why they were made. Also, it tries to show how balance between preparation and flexibility is key to employing an interview methodology. Patterns in the data, such as the connections between motivation and strategies, emerged that were not apparent prior to the study.

Preparation is important for ensuring consistent data is identified, but should not be so rigid that it pre-determines the results. Flexibility and openness help to see paths and possibilities that are not discerned. Yet, too much flexibility creates a lack of focus. Combining these two items in just the right way was a daily concern throughout the study.

First, my personal style is one of preparation. The IRB protocol favors preparation in reviewing the questions that will be asked and who will be asked. It was a learning experience to form open structures to the interview protocol in planning for this study. One technique to build this open structure was to form a mantra, "Listen." Listening to responses and following up with a question to elaborate on the response was critical. For instance, several responders mentioned the word community in their response. When asked what they meant by "community," they had different meanings. Some responders meant the town, some meant their neighbors, and others meant citizens who called "911." These different meanings provided a deeper understanding and put the meaning into the subject's context rather than the author's. So, it was very important to consider the interview as more of a dialogue. Preparation had to include ways to reveal the meaning of the dialogue from the subject's perspective.

Second, access to subjects for a research study is challenging. The researcher wants to fairly extend invitations to participate. Also, the subjects must be fully aware of their participation and research objectives. For this study, I searched internet websites for information on fire departments that combined both volunteers and career responders. The county that I choose from this search created an impressive website for volunteers to

apply, but also for citizens to know more about the fire department. They provided contact information for the fire chief. I emailed the fire chief and introduced myself and a brief description of the research study. I asked to speak to him about it, providing phone numbers and an email address. He immediately forwarded to his volunteer coordinator and tasked him with following up with me and support me as necessary. It took several attempts to follow-up with the volunteer coordinator. We eventually met and he offered to take me to lunch at one of the fire stations. The coordinator suggested that I follow up with the fire station Captain to see if I would be permitted to ride on a call. Understandably, the station Captain did not agree because of the liability of having a rider who would be observing rather than actively assisting with the emergency. I asked if the Captain would allow me to volunteer at the station to gain access to the responders. The answer was that there was no position available at the station for a non-operational volunteer. Gaining access to responders was looking bleak at this point! The volunteer coordinator saved the day, though. He asked if I would be willing to talk with a contractor that was implementing a software program for training. I agreed, and we structured a plan to introduce the software program at various stations in the county. The volunteer coordinator wrote a letter to the fire station Captains to introduce me to them. He explained that I was writing a research paper about volunteer and career motivations and helping with the training implementation. The plan was for me to contact the training coordinator at each station, give them an overview of the software program's features, and suggest they set up a training session with each station volunteer. I could approach them in person to participate, and gather contact information. This approach ensured the volunteer coordinator was not a gatekeeper in accessing subjects and seemed more effective than a cold introduction via email or phone.

The next step was contacting the training coordinators. At integrated stations, the training coordinators were career responders. We set up workshops for these responders to introduce them to the software. At the two all-volunteer stations, the volunteer Captain appointed a volunteer to provide the training administrative support after we explained the software features. Dual stations had both a volunteer and the station Captain responsible for training. These dual station Captains attended the career workshop and then provided the name of the volunteer that would maintain the software and perform

the administrative functions. Once named, I met with them to explain the different functions, provide a user's guide that I helped develop and answer any questions. Interactions with the training coordinators took 3-4 months. I met other members of the fire station, career and volunteer responders attending these meetings. I met two days per week with members of the fire stations from January to September 2012. I interviewed the fire station Captains and Fire Chief from June to September 2012 after the IRB protocol was revised to focus on them. The three strategies discussed in this dissertation emerged from the analysis of the responder and manager discussions.

I was upfront about my interest in writing a paper when I met the responders. I asked to meet with them again for the interview or asked for contact information. Two people refused immediately. One person agreed to be interviewed and provided an email address, but then never replied. I sent three emails as follow-up, but took the non-response as an indication that he was not really willing to discuss. Sometimes, it is difficult to know when to keep pushing or drop the contact. I chose not to push further in this case.

The next step was to train the individual volunteers. I thought that these training sessions would allow the greatest access to firefighters. I could approach more of them in person about participating. I was planning to interview as many as 5 volunteers and 5 career responders at each type of station. Unfortunately, none of the stations wanted assistance with training the individual firefighters. I was left with asking those responders that I did meet to participate. Additionally, I sent emails to others at the stations who I had not met. I was careful to use the IRB template, but I included a reference to the county volunteer coordinator. Several replied, indicating that they would have ignored the email if it had not contained the reference to the volunteer coordinator by name. I assumed this provided a much needed air of legitimacy to the request. Adding his name could have influenced subjects to show a positive perspective on their interactions within the fire department. Interestingly, no managers asked to read the paper or asked me what I found out. I was prepared to let them read it and provide any comments, but let them know I had final approval on the content. It was important to prepare for this question because you establish the paper as your work., but are open to review to make it better.

Also, I had access to all the fire stations in the county at any time. Volunteers are provided access and a badge. The fire department completed a background check for me to become a volunteer. I could go to the station at any time. I held all the interviews at the station because I had the chance to observe others while I was there. Just dropping in without an appointment was uncomfortable and I was always asked why I was there. Integrated stations escorted me while I visited, but dual and volunteer stations were more relaxed. Thus, I was limited to the number of interviews I did with volunteers at integrated stations. I had less of an opportunity to meet them and fewer volunteers in that population.

Career responders were reluctant to talk with me. They never indicated why specifically. It seemed that the reluctance was because I was not an operational volunteer, so there was not a job-related reason to speak with me. Also, they considered time on shift as work time, not time to discuss motivation.

The volunteer coordinator graciously gave me a volunteer polo shirt with the county logo on it. I wore this shirt for every visit to the fire stations. I considered both the advantages and disadvantages. The advantages were that I was considered a part of the firefighters, and was not challenged as an outsider. Although an administrative rather than operational volunteer, I still appeared to belong. The disadvantages were that I could be seen as a county agent. I felt wearing the shirt was better than not. I used my IRB script in my email contact and read it prior to the interview to ensure they understood that I would not pass information to county administrators. Additionally, I did not tell stories from others that I interviewed. I thought this was very important to establish trust.

Third, conducting the interviews with a tape recorder had benefits and drawbacks. The benefits included reproducible data to replay for tone, exact wording and to identify what was not said. I purchased speech recognition software to assist with transcribing the interviews. For the most part, this recognition software was more trouble than it was worth. In the end, transcribing the interviews through listening to the recording over and over again burned the data in my memory. When I started writing I could almost hear each responder speaking the words. However, it took a great deal of time to transcribe the recording. When I was not able to use the recorder, I took notes during the interview

and recorded my impressions and key quotes as soon afterwards as possible. Twice the recorder failed to record, but I took notes for all the interviews in case that did happen.

Although I had very good response to my requests for interviews and felt they were open about providing their insights, I did not interview anyone who quit firefighting. The study population was of current firefighters, so their experiences were positive. The observations of firefighters interacting with one another were important for gauging some of the negative aspects. For example, I learned a great deal about who spoke to each other during meals, and how meetings were conducted.

Likewise, researchers using this type of methodology tend to highlight the positive. I, too, found it difficult to see negative aspects. I don't know if this hesitancy stemmed from a sense of loyalty to the new social group, or there is a natural inclination to see the positive. I will admit that many seemingly negative observations did not make their way to this dissertation. Not because they were negative, but because their meaning could have been interpreted many ways. Typically, negative comments during interviews could be clarified for meaning. Observations were more difficult to get clarifying data on their meaning. For example, I met three volunteers for a meeting at a dual station. The contractor had asked about eating dinner at the station after we provided the training, because we planned to meet from 5 to 7 pm. I never saw a reply, so I assumed we were eating at the station. When we arrived, the career responders were making dinner. We went through the training material in about two hours, working at the conference table that served as the dining table. Yet, the career responders hardly interacted with the volunteers. The volunteers mentioned that it smelled good, and then we dispersed. Analyzing this vignette, you could interpret it many ways. Without knowing more about their interactions, the interpretation would be guess work. Observations, like this one, were difficult to analyze because the opportunity to clarify meaning was missed. I reminded myself many times to continue to ask why.

Finally, I was surprised how data analysis was such a continuous process throughout the data collection, as well as after collecting the data. For instance, I had initial analytical categories that emerged from the first interviews. The interviews began with responders from an integrated station. At the time, I did not understand there were different types of stations. I wrote memos describing these initial categories. These

categories were heavily weighted toward the professionally provided services and treating volunteers as equals. The stories took on the complexion of dealing with change, while still enmeshed in tradition. Citizens were “clients,” where community meant the social interactions within the professional group. It suggested rather linear progression of community provided, to a mix of community and professionally provided to fully professionally-provided approach to emergency response. Once interview data was collected at the dual and all-volunteer stations, a more complex relationship emerged. It is helpful to realize the fluidity of interpretations during the data collection. It was much more exciting to look at the data as it was collected. It did not seem so overwhelming, and it helped to compare key concepts as they emerged. The next interviews were enhanced because you questioned parts of responses in ways that were connected to the other interviews.

Employing this methodology is intriguing. Working with the data provides some “Ah, ha” moments. For example, I was busily coding the motivations of the firefighters and I noted the consistent nature of the responses. In particular, I started to see patterns within the professional camaraderie. Quotes referred to starting with a sense of wanting to help, but changing to a more professional motive. I started at an integrated station and progressed to a dual station. Then, the all-volunteer stations did not show this pattern. All-volunteer responders kept the helping others and excitement motives. I surmised that there might be some type of relationship between managerial actions that was somehow tied to the organizational design of the station. I was curious about the managers and how they considered motivation. Also, I observed different interaction patterns between career and volunteer responders at the stations. I thought the managers might help illuminate those interactions.

On a general note, gathering data through an interview and observation methodology is a great deal of fun. People were surprisingly open about why they became firefighters. Those subjects that agreed to talk with me really wanted to help me understand. Not only is the interviewing enjoyable, but so is the analysis. Starting to see patterns is really exciting. I tried to interview responders from a particular station close together. This afforded the opportunity to see influences of the organizational design and

interactions that were similar. Scheduling did not always work out, so flexibility was key.

Hopefully, these notes will help you in creating flexible preparation and ways to become an outside insider. Prepare your questions, but don't forget to keep asking why. Think of it as an adventure to discover new things. Most of all, realize that most people enjoy talking about their work and want to help you understand why they are passionate about it. Tapping into that passion will help a great deal in gathering your data.