UC Berkeley

Working Papers

Title

Designing and emergency information system : the Pittsburgh experience

Permalink

https://escholarship.org/uc/item/31h237sn

Authors

Comfort, Louise K. Woods, Theresa R. Nesbitt, James E.

Publication Date 1989

AT458 No. 89-24 Oct. 1489 4/2/90 DESIGNING AND EMERGENCY INFORMATION SYSTEM: THE PITTSBURGH EXPERIENCE 6.0 Louise K. Comfort, Theresa R. Woods and 110 James E. Nesbitt INSTITUTE OF GOVERNMENTAL STUDIES LIBRARY MAF 19 1990 UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA Working Paper 89-24 1. 4 INSTITUTE OF GOVERNMENTAL STUDIES UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

DESIGNING AND EMERGENCY INFORMATION SYSTEM: THE PITTSBURGH EXPERIENCE

ع ۽

ŝ.

4.

Louise K. Comfort, Theresa R. Woods and James E. Nesbitt University of Pittsburgh Pittsburgh, PA

Working Paper 89-24

October 1989 Institute of Governmental Studies University of California Berkeley, CA 94720

<u>Working Papers</u> published by the Institute of Governmental Studies provide quick dissemination of draft reports and papers, preliminary analyses, and papers with a limited audience. The objective is to assist authors in refining their ideas by circulating research results and to stimulate discussion about public policy. <u>Working Papers</u> are reproduced unedited directly from the author's pages. Designing an Emergency Information System:

.' *****)

- *

٩.

The Pittsburgh Experience

by

Louise K. Comfort, Theresa R. Woods and James E. Nesbitt

University of Pittsburgh Pittsburgh, PA 15260 June 25, 1989

Submitted for publication in Tom Housel, ed. <u>Information Systems</u> and <u>Crisis Management</u> (JAI Press, forthcoming, 1990)

Executive Summary

5.15

_ \$

ł,

Achieving efficiency in disaster operations requires the informed balance of time, knowledge, energy and resources in a complex, dynamic environment. The task is inherently complex, as the organizations participating in disaster operations require differential levels of knowledge and differing types of skills. Interactive exchange of information within and between participating organizations contributes to achieving the continuous reciprocal adjustment essential to sustain the balance between the four components. Patterns of information exchange, further, shape alternatives formulated for action. In the dynamic environment of disaster operations, information, not money, becomes the primary resource for increasing efficiency.

Information plays a critical role in the interdependent, uncertain context of disaster operations. It serves as the principal means of activating differential levels of performance or adjusting reciprocal actions among the participating organizations. Disaster operations are characterized by four primary conditions. The tasks are: 1) multidisciplinary; 2) multijurisdictional; 3) multiorganizational; and 4) time-bound. Without adequate information processes, the cumulative burden of information repeatedly overloads existing human systems in disaster operations.

Increasingly, public and private organizations have sought to develop computerized information systems that meet their particular organizational needs under emergency conditions.

Several factors impede the use of organizational databases for the wider purpose of decision support to practicing emergency managers in disaster operations: 1) single agency design; 2) different terminology for the same phenomena, different types of measurement for the same processes; 3) conflict of interest between public need for information and continuing research development, and proprietary interests in maintaining trade secrets; and 4) incompatible formats in data representation and incompatible hardware.

An interdisciplinary research project to develop a demonstration model of an interactive information system in a practicing emergency management context is currently in progress at the University of Pittsburgh. Funded by the Federal Emergency Management Agency, the project addresses the problems of interactive communication between multiple organizations and jurisdictions and integration of information from multiple data bases to support coordinated action in multijurisdictional disaster operations in the Pittsburgh Metropolitan Region. The objective is to provide decision support to the respective managers participating in the multijurisdictional disaster operations process. The initial model focuses on problems involved in mitigation for technological hazards and response to chemical emergencies.

The model presents three components as an interrelated set of information processes designed to serve practicing managers in the multijurisdictional emergency management process. The set includes:

Designing an Emergency Information System: The Pittsburgh Experience

Louise K. Comfort, Theresa R. Woods and James E. Nesbitt I. <u>The Problem of Efficiency in Emergency Operations</u>

Under the urgent time constraints of disaster operations, the problem of efficiency is subordinated to the immediate needs of saving lives, protecting property and restoring community life to normal activity. In the weeks following a disaster, when costs are tallied and actions are reviewed, the efficiency of disaster operations in the use of both resources and time becomes a significant measure of effective performance for all participating organizations. As costs incurred in disaster relief, reconstruction and recovery are tallied over time, across organizations and jurisdictions, the efficiency of disaster operations becomes a primary factor in evaluating existing performance of participating agencies and designing alternative modes of disaster mitigation, preparedness and response.

Achieving efficiency in disaster operations requires the informed balance of time, knowledge, energy and resources in a complex, dynamic environment. This balance is difficult to attain, and even more difficult to maintain over the changing phases of disaster operations. Experienced disaster managers seek this balance by using 'heuristics,' or rules of thumb drawn from cumulative experience with previous disasters or familiarity with similarly uncertain conditions (Kahneman, Slovic and Tversky, 1974). The task is inherently complex, as the organizations participating in disaster operations require differential

levels of knowledge and differing types of skills. Yet, coordinated action depends upon the integration of these levels of knowledge and skills by multiple participants, sequentially and concurrently, in order to achieve a collective community response. The interactive exchange of information within and between participating organizations becomes central to achieving the continuous reciprocal adjustment essential to sustain the balance between the four components. Further, the patterns of information exchange shape the alternatives formulated for action. Given the demands of balancing time, knowledge, energy and resources in disaster management, information, not money, becomes the primary resource for increasing efficiency in disaster operations.

. 11

Ą

The characteristics of information as a resource merit attention in studying processes of community interdependence, because they generate differing types of professional organization and individual contribution to collective action. Information, as characterized by Harlan Cleveland (1985, pp. 186-187), public executive and educator, is "expandable, transportable, diffusive and shareable." Further, because it enables the formulation of more efficient alternatives in community action, it is possible, under some conditions, to substitute information for material goods or to lessen the collective demand upon finite physical and vulnerable biological resources (Cleveland, 1985, p. 187.) These characteristics make the consideration of informa-

respective communities. Since information is inherently "leaky," that is, not easily controlled, the design of an information system to serve this community goal is critical to constructive action.

II. Information as a Primary Resource in Disaster Operations

Information plays a critical role in the interdependent, uncertain context of disaster operations. It serves as the principal means of activating differential levels of performance or adjusting reciprocal actions among the participating organizations. Developing systematic processes for the search, synthesis and dissemination of information to multiple decision-makers during disaster operations allows the adjustment of informed action to the changing needs of the disaster environment. Consequently, establishing an appropriate information system is fundamental to professional disaster management. Timely. accurate, easily accessible information drives the disaster operations process (Comfort, 1988a.) Without it, disaster managers may miss important opportunities for corrective action or lose control of their coordination processes (Turner, 1978.)

Information requirements for disaster management recognize four primary characteristics of the disaster operations process. It is, first, multidisciplinary. That is, the professional skills and knowledge required for appropriate action in any major disaster include, at minimimum, technical, organizational,

ł

system can serve to integrate appropriate responses for the municipality.

Finally, information in disaster operations is time-bound. That is, information may decay, in accuracy, utility or relevance to the multiple participants in the disaster operations process, over time. Consequently, the search for information is necessarily continuous, and its utility to disaster managers requires that it be verified and updated, with dated information removed from the current operational knowledge base to an historical file. Confronted with threatening events, disaster operations personnel determine actions under urgent pressures of time. If accurate information is available, they will use it. If not, they may be compelled to act on the basis of limited information, reasoning that no action is worse than uninformed action when lives and property are at stake. In logical terms, they are reasoning both "in real time" and "against time," (Dodhiawala, Jagannathan, Baum and Skillman, 1989: 79) on the basis of changing information and dynamic conditions of disaster operations.

Without adequate information processes, the cumulative burden of information repeatedly overloads existing human systems in disaster operations. Under these adverse conditions, human cognitive processes are likely to err and performance among interdependent organizations drops (Comfort, 1985b). The discrepancy between actual performance and system values compels a reexamination of existing information processes for both

ş

designed, several factors impede their use for the wider purpose of decision support to practicing emergency managers in disaster operations.

First, the data bases were designed largely for single Disaster operations necessarily involve agency purposes. multiorganizational and multijurisdictional processes. Consequently, no single data base serves the comprehensive need for decision support for coordinating multijurisdictional disaster operations. Second, the data bases frequently use different terminology for the same phenomena, different types of measurement for the same processes. These discrepancies may generate misunderstandings and delays in communicating needs and new information between relevant organizations and to the public. Third, with some proprietary data bases, there is an awkward conflict of interest between public need for information and continuing research development, and proprietary interests in maintaining trade secrets that inhibits the free exchange of information among multiple organizations needed in time-critical disaster operations. Finally, data bases, developed independently of one another, are frequently characterized by incompatible formats in data representation and incompatible hardware that limit sharing of information as needed for a multijurisdictional emergency management information system. The problem of integrating differing public and private data bases to serve as decision support to practicing disaster managers is under study

managers participating in the multijurisdictional disaster operations process. In concept, the model may be extended to all hazards, although the initial model focuses on the problems involved in mitigation for technological hazards and response to chemical emergencies.

The focus on technological hazards was selected for several First, the 1988 oil spill in the Pittsburgh region reasons. vividly demonstrated the need for interactive information processes between jurisdictions and, within jurisdictions, between organizations with emergency responsibilities. In an interdependent metropolitan community, active coordination of public, private and nonprofit actions was critical during the 1988 disaster operations as emergency responders sought to contain the emergency and restore the community to normal functioning (Comfort, Abrams, Camillus, Ricci, 1989.) Second, federal legislation under the Emergency Preparedness and Community Right to Know Act (Superfund Amendments and Reauthorization Act, Title III) of 1986 requires that communities develop local plans for the mitigation of risk and management of operations in the event of chemical emergencies. Consequently, this current legal requirement compels both public and private agencies to assess risk as well as capacity for response to chemical emergencies in their respective communities. Finally, but importantly, public and private managers with emergency responsibilities in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County have voluntarily formed a Mutual Aid Council (PAMAC) to address shared

solve a general problem. It consists of three major elements: 1) knowledge bases, which are maintained as separate and independent units; 2) a blackboard data structure, which serves as the shared database for problem-solving accessed by all participating units, comparable to a "situation board" maintained in strategic military or business operations; and 3) control procedures, which direct the sequence of steps in processing information and maintain the focus of the problem-solving process (Zadeh, 1986.) These procedures are activated in response to information processed by the system.

This design allows solutions to a shared problem to evolve from interaction among multiple organizations and other knowledge sources through a common representation of the problem, mutual adjustment in coordinated action and systematic updating and feedback of information among responsible actors as problemrelated events progress in time. As the situation changes, participating organizations acting as knowledge sources, respectively, update their reports, communicating critical information to the set of participants through the blackboard. By this means, all participating organizations have access to the most current, complete information available on the status of the problem. This global situation report may, in turn, trigger independent actions by specific organizations as they interpret the current information in terms of their own responsibilities and vulnerabilities to risk. Separate organizational actions, respectively, are reported back through the shared database or

conditions or events that have substantive community impact or legal mandate. The control procedures will specify which knowledge bases participate in the jurisdictional problemsolving process under what conditions, the equivalent effect of activating the municipal emergency plan.

The purpose of the blackboard is to create a working database for managing a given disaster. Consequently, it draws information from multiple knowledge sources, but only that information relevant to action for the event in progress.² It is essentially a "situation board" to which information is contributed opportunistically from differing knowledge sources in a goal-driven search for solutions to problems generated by a given event. That is, the blackboard seeks to create the capability of applying the right information at the most opportune time in problem-solving strategies (Dodhiawala, Jagannathan, Baum and Skillman, 1989: 78.) Alternatives for action may be crafted from information available from multiple knowledge bases or organizations accessed through the jurisdictional blackboard and transmitted, in turn, to the appropriate participants. Further, use of the blackboard raises the level of information available to the multiple participants in the disaster operations process, so they may adjust their own actions in a more timely, appropriate manner to the dynamic sequence of events.

². The blackboard concept of problem solving draws from the theory of problem solving presented by Allen Newell and Herbert A. Simon in their book, <u>Human Problem Solving</u> (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1972.)

٠.

A Layered Knowledge Base for Multijurisdictional Emergency Management

	<u>Public Agen</u> FEMA USCG EPA	Associations of Private Busine CMA Chamber of Con	Red Cross,
<u></u>		State Jurisdiction	
PEI	<u>lic Agencies</u> MA DER NNDOT	Associations <u>of Private Businesses</u> Ben Franklin Partnership	Associations of Non- <u>Profit Organizations</u> Red Cross, State

Public Agencies CEMA Maintenance Police Fire Councils of	Associations of Private Businesses Greater Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce; Allegheny Conference	Associations of Non- <u>Profit Organizations</u> Red Cross, County Level
Government		

Municipal Jurisdiction

<u>Public Agencies</u>	Private Corporations	Non-Profit
DPS	<u>And Businesses</u>	<u>Organizations</u>
Public Works	Mobay	Hospitals,
Water	Westinghouse	Churches
Planning	USX	Schools

Organizations Listed are Illustrative Only

Thu June 29, 8:59 am

Figure 3

Unix System

DISASTER PROGRAM COORDINATOR'S MENU

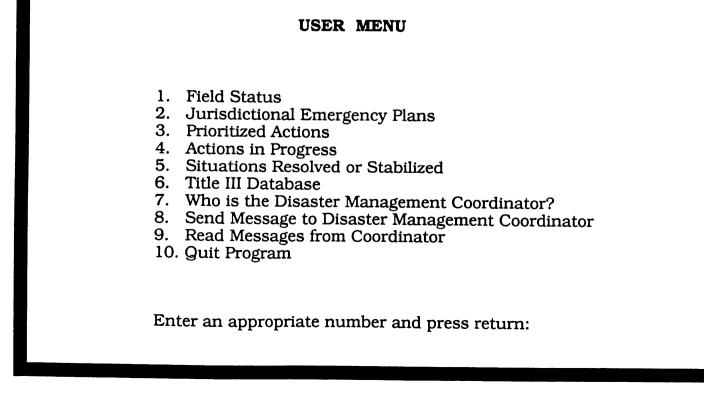
- 1. Field Status
- 2. Jurisdictional Emergency Plans
- 3. Prioritized Actions
- 4. Actions in Progress
- 5. Situations Resolved or Stablized
- 6. Notification Directory
- 7. Decision Support Programs
- 8. EPA E-Mail
- 9. CAMEO Program
- 10. FEMA IEMIS Simulation

- 11. NOAA Geographic Database
- 12. CHEMTREC Chemical Database
- 13. Title III Database
- 14. CAER
- 15. PEMA EIS
- 16. ORSANCO Bulletin Board
- 17. Send Message to User
- 18. Read Message from Users
- 19. Assign New Coordinator
- 20. Quit Program

Enter an appropriate number and press return:

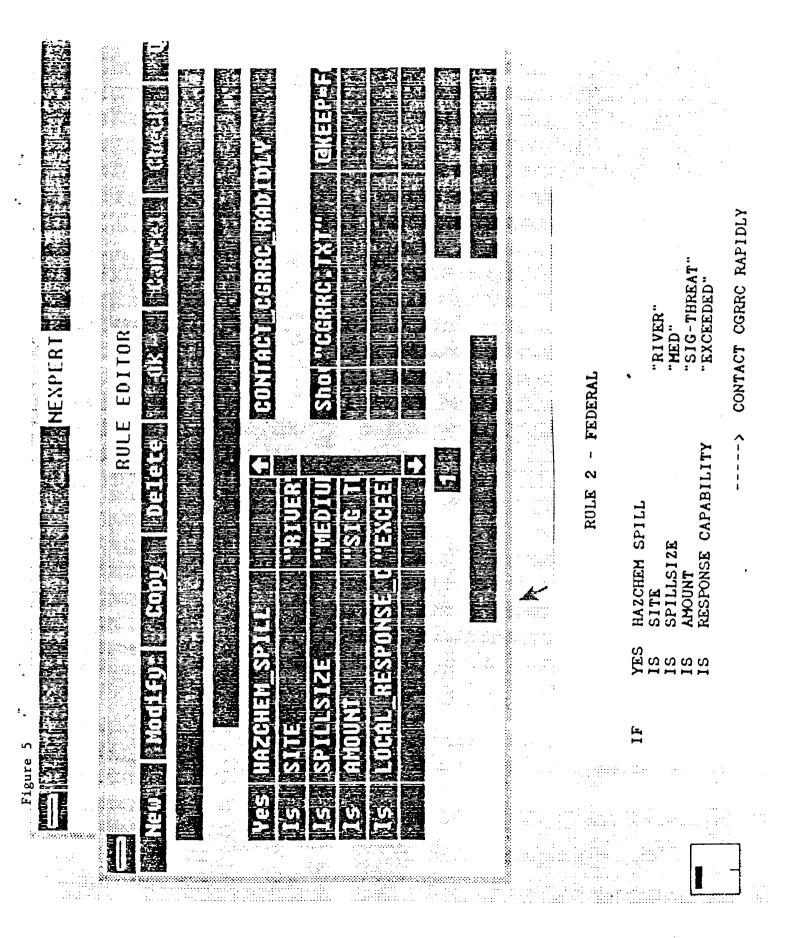
Unix System

Thu June 29, 9:03 am



designation of sequence and accessibility to certain types of information in the problem-solving process. For example, certain types of information may be labeled "public" and accessed by all users of the blackboard. Other types of information may be designated as "private," and accessed only by designated users at designated times. Dated or inaccurate information may be deleted from the blackboard under specified conditions, or a time limitation may be placed on information reported to the blackboard, warning users to revalidate that information against pos-sible changes after a certain period of time. (Zanconato, 1988) These features will aid decision-makers in the difficult tasks of dealing with sensitive information in a public arena and in coping with changing information in a dynamic environment. Α succinct summary of the blackboard framework, drawn from the work of Penny Nii (1987: 43-44), is included in Appendix A.

The second component is the spatial representation of information assembled from the blackboard onto computerized maps of designated areas. This component is currently in development. We are exploring ways to use the mapping capacity of the Integrated Emergency Management System (IEMIS) within the blackboard architecture to allow the transfer of information from the blackboard to designated geographic areas on the computerized maps. The capacity to represent complex information visually to multiple users simultaneously will likely increase the common understanding of the evolving disaster events. In turn, this shared understanding is likely to facilitate informed action,



These three components, operating in reciprocal relationship, constitute an interactive intelligent spatial information system (IISIS) that is designed to provide support to practicing decision-makers in the interjurisdictional emergency management process.

<u>_</u> 3

IV. <u>Design Principles for the Interactive Intelligent Spatial</u> <u>Information System</u>.

Six principles underlie the design of this interactive intelligent spatial information system (IISIS), intended for application in the complex, multijurisdictional context of disaster management. These principles are:

- 1. To utilize existing knowledge bases and information systems where possible
- 2. To facilitate the functional integration of diverse knowledge bases in disaster management
- 3. To maximize accessibility to any organization that has legitimate emergency responsibilities and authorized users, as well as flexibility in the system's capability to meet the respective user's information needs
- 4. To maximize portability across both hardware and software
- 5. To increase the content and exchange of information among emergency managers in multiple organizations and jurisdictions participating in the dynamic emergency operations process
- 6. To maintain an open-ended research, development and

tions to maintain internal information processing on their own systems.

Functional integration of information also derives from the practical approach of building on work already in use and linking existing systems to serve specific purposes under designated conditions in emergency management. Integrating data around emergency functions follows from the practical requirement of designing action within the constraints of available resources In practice, disaster managers may need to build and time. response actions to emergency conditions across organizational and jurisdictional boundaries. This task is facilitated if the information involved is organized by function in the global database. For example, the practical matter of accounting for costs incurred by personnel and equipment used in a given response action, usually maintained by organizational and/or jurisdictional units, can be tabulated by disaster function, with subtotals calculated by jurisdiction and organization. Allocation of resources, a major task of disaster coordinators, can be greatly facilitated across jurisdictional and organizational lines with the utilization of a community-wide knowledge base and information-processing system.

Accessibility to multiple users is essential as the disaster escalates to broader jurisdictions and more organizations become involved in response operations. Flexibility in application allows the role of disaster coordinator to move up and down the jurisdictional levels, while the information processes designed

face processes between existing data bases in graduated sequence as disaster operations escalate and de-escalate will be scheduled in the next phase of project development.

Second, the function of search and retrieval of information on hazardous materials developed from data collection processes required by SARA Title III may be facilitated by this interactive information system. Title III databases are maintained at the county jurisdictional level in Pennsylvania, but they may be easily accessible to municipal, state and federal jurisdictions via this interactive information system. Important in establishing its usability across organizational and jurisdictional boundaries will be the definition and acceptance of a common set of terms and measurement standards in the management of hazardous materials emergencies.

Third, standards for continuing the research and development of an interactive information system need to be defined, discussed and accepted by the organizations with responsibilities for local emergency response operations. These responsibilities include those defined in law, as well as those accepted voluntarily by community organizations as part of responsible participation in the community (Turner, 1978.)

Standards intended to support optimum flexibility in the development of an interactive community information system need to establish public, relational data bases that are: 1) non--proprietary; 2) non-machine dependent; and 3) capable of integration. These standards encourage the organization of the

hazardous materials in our communities is a critical factor in the development of community emergency preparedness.

In complex environments, key actors regress to a mean of common understanding before they are able to coordinate their actions effectively. This phenomenon, which Comfort (1988c) has observed repeatedly in disaster environments and termed the "criterion of regret," has a dysfunctional effect upon disaster operations if serious discrepancies exist between participating organizations in reference to shared tasks. While the common goal of saving lives drives action in disaster operations, clear functions provide the basis for integrating action across disciplinary, jurisdictional and organizational lines. Designing an interactive information system with two-way patterns of communication and opportunity for reflection, feedback and redesign is a primary means for developing this common base of understanding essential to timely, appropriate action in disaster operations.

An interactive information system serves to structure organizational action through establishing the sequence and content of information exchange. For example, practicing decision makers seek to achieve a common understanding of shared tasks through heuristics of experienced judgment. They intuitively calculate the proportional difference from the mean understanding of the collective goal for each actor in the disaster operations process and increase the information flow to that actor accordingly. The appropriate use of information technol-

private affairs.⁵ Organizations that are able to learn from previous emergencies and continuing experience with hazardous. materials are better able to achieve the informed balance between time, knowledge, energy and resources requisite to increasing efficiency in disaster operations.

۰. **ب**

. <

The IISIS model, carefully developed and implemented, can contribute to the development of a "policy organization" (Meltsner and Bellavita, 1984) directed toward the continuing development of mitigation and preparedness for chemical emergencies. Such a 'full-time policy organization,' drawing its 'part-time membership' (Meltsner and Bellavita, 1984:) from interested professionals with responsibilities for emergency management in public, private and nonprofit organizations, does not establish a separate hierarchy of administration for emergency management. Rather, it incorporates emergency functions into the set of continuing commitments for responsible participation in an interdependent, metropolitan community.

REFERENCES

Argyris, Chris. 1982. <u>Reasoning</u>, <u>Learning</u> and <u>Action</u> (San Francisco: Jossey Bass.)

Cleveland, Harlan. 1985. "The Twilight of Hierarchy: Speculations on the Global Information Society." <u>Public Administration</u> <u>Review</u> 45, no. 1, (1985): 186-187.

⁵. Robert Reich presents the concept of 'illusion' in economics in a thoughtful article in <u>Foreign Affairs</u>, 1987. Essentially, this concept refers to economic conditions or relationships that, unnoticed, seriously affect economic growth or stability.

Intergovernmental Cooperation Program, Greater Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce. 1989. <u>Pittsburgh-Allegheny County Mutual Aid</u> <u>Council</u>. Pittsburgh: PA.

1. ··· ·

Kahneman, Daniel, Paul Slovic and Amos Tversky, eds. 1982. Judgment under Uncertainty: <u>Heuristics and Biases</u>. New York: Cambridge University Press.

McCann, C.A., M.M. Taylor and M.I. Tuori, 1988. " ISIS: The Interactive Spatial Information System." <u>International Journal</u> of <u>Man-Machine Studies</u> 28 (1988): 101-138.

McLoughlin, David. 1985. "A Framework for Integrated Emergency Management." <u>Public Administration Review</u> 45, Special Issue, (January 1985): 165-172.

Meltsner, Arnold and Christopher Bellavita. 1984. The Policy Organization. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

Newell, Allen and Herbert A. Simon. 1972. <u>Human Problem Solving</u>. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Nii, H. Penny. 1980. "An Introduction to Knowledge Engineering, Blackboard Model and AGE." Heuristic Programming Project Report #HPP-80-29. Stanford, CA: Stanford University.

Nii, H. Penny. 1986. "Blackboard Systems: The Blackboard Model of Problem Solving and the Evolution of Blackboard Architectures. Part One." <u>The AI Magazine</u>, Summer: 38-53.

Nii, H. Penny. 1986. "Blackboard Systems: Blackboard Application Systems, Blackboard Systems from a Knowledge Engineering Perspective." The <u>AI Magazine</u>, August: 82-106.

Shrivastava, Paul. 1987. <u>Bhopal: Anatomy of a Crisis</u>. Cambridge, MA: Ballinger Publishing Co.

Simon, Herbert A. 1969, 1981. <u>The Sciences of the Artificial</u>. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Turner, Barry. 1978. <u>Man-made Disasters</u>. London: Wykeman Publications, Ltd.

Zadeh, Lotfi. 1986. "A Simple View of the Demptster-Shafer Theory of Evidence and its Implication for the Rule of Combination." <u>The AI Magazine</u>, Summer: 85-90.

Zanconato, Roberto. 1988. "BLOBS -- An Object-Oriented Blackboard System Framework for Reasoning in Time." R. Engelmore and T. Morgan, <u>Blackboard Systems</u>. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley: 335-346.

88-11 THE UNITED STATES AIR TRAFFIC SYSTEM: INCREASING RELIABILITY IN THE MIDST OF RAPID GROWTH Todd La Porte THE REAGAN PRESIDENCY AFTER SEVEN YEARS 88-12 Eugene C. Lee (moderator) 88-13 THE IOWA CAUCUSES IN A FRONT-LOADED SYSTEM: A FEW HISTORICAL LESSONS Nelson W. Polsby MODERNIZATION OF THE U.S. SENATE 88-14 Nelson W. Polsby AMERICAN DEMOCRACY IN WORLD PERSPECTIVE AND WHAT TO DO ABOUT IT 88-15 Nelson W. Polsby 88-16 THE ARROGANCE OF OPTIMISM Martin Landau, Donald Chisholm FROM CRISIS TO COMMUNITY: THE 1988 OIL SPILL IN THE PITTSBURGH 88-17 METROPOLITAN REGION Louise Comfort, Joel Abrams, John Camillus and Edmund Ricci et al. 88-18 TECHNOLOGY AND ADAPTIVE HIERARCHY: FORMAL AND INFORMAL ORGANIZATION FOR FLIGHT OPERATIONS IN THE U.S. NAVY Gene I. Rochlin and Energy Resources Group 88-19 INSIDE JAPAN'S LEVIATHAN: DECISION-MAKING IN THE GOVERNMENT BUREAUCRACY Brian Woodall and Nobuhiro Hiwatari THE DECAY OF FEDERAL THEORY 88-20 S. Rufus Davis 88-21 INFORMATION NETWORKS IN INTERNATIONAL DISASTER ASSISTANCE Louise K. Comfort 88-22 THE LOGIC OF UNCERTAINTY: INTERORGANIZATIONAL COORDINATION IN INTERNATIONAL DISASTER ASSISTANCE Louise K. Comfort 88-23 CRISIS AS OPPORTUNITY: DESIGNING NETWORKS OF ORGANIZATIONAL ACTION IN DISASTER ENVIRONMENTS Louise K. Comfort 88-24 ENVIRONMENTAL ETHICS IN CALIFORNIA Carolyn Merchant 88-25 COLD TURKEYS AND TASK FORCES: PURSUING HIGH RELIABILITY IN CALIFORNIA'S CENTRAL VALLEY Todd R. La Porte and Ted Lasher BRUCE KEITH'S ALMANAC: PATTERNS OF VOTING IN CALIFORNIA 88-26 Bruce Keith 88-27 LOCALITY AND CUSTOM: NON-ABORIGINAL CLAIMS TO CUSTOMARY USUFRUCTUARY RIGHTS AS A SOURCE OF RURAL PROTEST Louise Fortmann 1989 89-1 AMERICAN IDENTITY AND THE POLITICS OF ETHNIC CHANGE Jack Citrin, Beth Reingold, Donald P. Green 89-2 UKIAH, 1904: A MODEST FOOTNOTE TO THE HISTORY OF THE COUNCIL-MANAGER FORM OF MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES Randy H. Hamilton 89-3 THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON: AN AMERICAN PERSPECTIVE Eugene C. Lee, Frank M. Bowen 89-4 LONDON 2001 Peter Hall

