

The individual's ability to prepare: What significance does this have for the total defence and societal safety?

A study of how citizen preparedness is related to municipal emergency preparedness planning

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SVF-3920 Master Thesis in Societal Safety

Word count: 23 052



Abstract

The world is changing. Some things get better while others get worse. We live in a vulnerable society and societal safety is something that both occupy most of us and is a safety factor in our everyday life. The authorities are responsible for societal safety, but it is also a responsibility for each of us to create common safety and an individual sense of security. The societal safety work is governed by the overriding principles of equality, proximity, responsibility and cooperation. The principles will ensure the best possible prevention and management of crises but are criticized for creating a fragmented preparedness in a society based on ministerial rule and local autonomy. Nevertheless, the future will not wait for us to solve this issue and we are facing a world that is far more complex than we can possibly imagine. Therefore, authorities have recognized the need to utilize all resources of the society. This also includes the individual. The Directorate for Civil Protection in collaboration with city of Oslo have in this context developed a campaign to raise awareness of how citizens can better prepare should a critical situation arise due to the race with climate crisis, extensive technological development and an increase in global political instability.

Citizen preparedness is as complex as the complexity we surround ourselves with. This study has therefore focused on the various elements of a society that affects citizen-preparedness, from a government perspective. With the aforementioned background as a point of departure, the purpose of this study is to investigate *how citizen preparedness is related to municipal emergency preparedness planning* in light of the campaign “you are part of Norway’s emergency preparedness”.

The thesis concludes that the work on citizen preparedness is arguably not satisfactory. However, there are many factors that underlie this conclusion which needs to be accounted for and reflected on as the features municipalities are facing are reaching new peaks every day. First and foremost, citizen preparedness has reappeared again after the fall of the Soviet Union, in a more modern and vulnerable world. Furthermore, it is about the technological breakthroughs that affect our lives both for the better, but also for the worse. At the same time, we have institutional factors that prevent us from interacting across the range of actors operating in our society. And this is just the tip of the iceberg because social processes also influence how municipalities can best possibly enhance citizen preparedness.

Acknowledgement

During my research process I have had the opportunity to work with a number of people who all deserve my wholehearted gratitude. First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisor Reidar Staube-Delgado. I am forever grateful for the professional support and motivation you have provided me throughout the process, regardless of whether it was after office hours or during the weekends. This thesis is accomplished because of you.

I would also like to extend my sincere gratitude to all of the informants whom have contributed attentively at short notice. Your input has had a great impact on my thesis.

My fellow students also deserve my sincere appreciations. Thank you for the countless hours of coffee drinking, laughter and piles of complaints. Your presence has been of utter importance to me. Good Luck!

To my family and friends, thank you for keeping me sane.

Tromsø, June 1th 2019

Daria Salehi

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1 Introduction

Despite the Norwegian wealth and high rankings on international indexes, the population is not exempted from the impending climate crisis and the expansion of high-risk technological development. In fact, there are no country, community, nor individuals that are immune to this unidentified dark cloud lurking behind the horizon. Because that is precisely what it is – a future the world cannot predict. Coinciding with progressive technology and a rapid climate change, society is also speeding up its development, and the global political landscape is getting increasingly sophisticated. These changes and challenges bring with them emerging consequences that must be confronted with a modernised understanding of preparedness because 21st-century societies cannot be managed by 20th century systems. Despite an otherwise gloomy future, hazards can be prepared for, responded to, and recovered from – to an increased degree (Haddow, Bullock & Coppola, 2017). Therefore, emergency managers do have tools available at their disposal. It is, however, a matter of applying them correctly.

As security is connected to several of facets of our lives, it becomes an essential element of our society. In political science, the role of government is based on and defined by the concept of political legitimacy, that is citizens acceptance of the authority of a political system to govern them. The term citizen has an inherently political meaning that implies a certain type of relationship between the people and the government. Hence, one of the governments primary responsibilities is to ensure the safety and security of its citizens and the integrity of the territory. Equally, citizens share responsibility for their personal protection by taking protective actions against harm that may occur (Donahue, Eckel & Wilson, 2014). Citizen preparedness is, therefore, a tool that can be applied in order to make proactive decisions.

The complexity of society is increasingly reaching new tipping points. With the rapid development of society, as well as internal and external stresses, the modern state now has a large area of responsibility to manage. Besides, Norway is an elongated country with significant weather-exposed areas, small towns and larger urban cities. Like other countries, the Norwegian authorities have also realized that they are unable to withstand stress on their own. At the same time, we have seen a change of generation in the country. The “younger” population has grown up in an entirely modern country that apparently appears to be robust, where situations that requires some degree of awareness of their own safety in critical situations may have stagnated. Crisis usually never occur at a convenient time, and like Ulrich Beck (1992), many have realized that dangers are inevitable in today’s society. We do, indeed live in a society

surrounded by risks (Beck, Nielsen, & Eriksen, 1997). This development has perhaps led the state to not necessarily being able to protect us any longer, and that we must to a greater extent, take part of the responsibility ourselves. However, was the state ever equipped to provide a total defence? Perhaps the state is merely being honest by saying that they cannot guarantee safety in the first 72 hours.

As a result, governments are encouraging the public to prepare. The encouragement applies to both our neighbouring country, Sweden, which recently also published a leaflet encouraging citizen to be “prepared for war” and also the Federal Emergency Management Agency in the United States which has a rather long history in advising the population to prepare. However, why is individual preparedness important for authorities and society as a whole? Well, since harms are experienced at the individual level, they must also be mitigated at that level too, and whom else is better equipped to take care of their own needs than the individual themselves. Also, by encouraging citizen to become self-sufficient, government agencies can redirect their attention to the most vulnerable population and also to a broader post-crisis restoration. However, this is a problematic area where we embark on deep waters and can ask ourselves whether the state waives its responsibility for the individual. After all, the states primary responsibility is indeed the protection of its citizens.

With this as a backdrop, the purpose of this study is to investigate *how citizen preparedness is related to municipal emergency preparedness planning*. Therefore, this thesis takes into account how four municipalities enhance citizen preparedness and how this is incorporated into emergency preparedness planning. Managing crisis in the past has solely been attributed to the response organisations and authorities in charge of this activity. However, extensive research throughout many years, along with authorities have realized that crisis cannot be managed in isolation.

Natural hazards have severely affected our well-being and safety in the past and will also be a significant challenge affecting our future. Citizen preparedness has therefore received increased attention the past couple of years, and several countries have realized the need for new strategies and increased funding for research into how citizens as a resource within their nation-state can be strengthened. This approach has amplified as the world is continuously growing in complexity, and public authority does not have the resources to deal with extreme events alone, which can quickly lead to paralysis of institutions. Citizens can contribute to or otherwise influence throughout the whole emergency management cycle.

This growing awareness among authorities is also visible in Norway. This awareness was evident in the population survey Epinion performed on behalf of The Norwegian Directorate for Civil Protection (DSB) in 2017, where less than half of the respondents answered that they had thought through which dangers, accidents and challenges that could occur within their homes (DSB, 2018). As such, the authorities have had to initiate action in order to change this gloomy picture of an unprepared population.

1.1 Delimitation

In order to answer the problem statement within the framework established for this thesis, certain delimitations has been accounted for. The implications of the demarcation imply that subjects within the research theme have not been accounted for. However, this does not affect on how the task has been carried out as the delimitation has been appropriately conducted in order to answer the purpose of this study.

This research investigates citizen preparedness from a government perspective as municipalities are obligated by law to conduct a holistic and systematic work towards societal safety and emergency preparedness. Further on, municipalities have the general and primary responsibility for safeguarding the populations' safety and security within its geographical boundary. Researching from a population perspective requires far more resources and time then what I have had at my disposal.

An emergency preparedness agency is ideally divided into three levels: tactical, operational and strategic level, as well as a fourth level, namely the political one (Lunde, 2014). The political aspect is inevitable as political decisions and resource allocation in the form of economy are decided on at this level and thus have an effect on the emergency preparedness work. Further on, this thesis will base the concept of emergency preparedness on the strategic level in accordance with DSB's definition (further elaborated in chapter 2.1). However, Hovden (2012, p. 15) also define the level of strategic management, which I consider as relevant for this thesis as the "... Management should establish a strategy process to develop both short and long-term goals". This particular sentence is of utter importance because fostering knowledge requires effective long-term goals. The backbone of this thesis is based on the "preparedness phase" as described by Alexander (2002a). It is, however, important to emphasize that the phases cannot be separated from each other as knowledge of preparedness must be seen in relation to the other

phases. This delimitation implies that the focus is on the planning and coordination that takes place at a strategic level within the emergency preparedness cycle, and not on an operational level when the incident has occurred.

The theoretical delimitation is written within the framework of a narrative presentation of conditions that influence whether enhancing citizen preparedness is possible. This is conducted through extensive research on factors that influence a holistic approach towards enhancing citizen preparedness. Public security and preparedness are comprehensive domains and involve both natural and intentional risk. The main focus in this research will be crises that directly concern natural hazards, such as storm, flood and significant fire, and their consequences, as this is more appropriate in a Norwegian context.

1.2 Structure of the thesis

This research constitutes seven different chapters, and the content of each chapter are elaborated in the following:

Chapter one - Introduction: this chapter puts forth the arguments of the purpose of this study. Also, clarification of delimitations and the structure of the thesis is illuminated.

Chapter two - Context: This chapter will elaborate on the emergency preparedness framework, i.e. a brief explanation of emergency preparedness as a concept, Norwegian national emergency preparedness principles, municipal emergency preparedness obligations and citizen preparedness in light of the campaign “You are part of Norway’s emergency preparedness.

Chapter three – Literature review and theoretical framework: This chapter is conducted as narratives with four main categories with the intention of settling the theoretical framework: *Mind the gap...or Maze?; Institutional conditions that both reduce and increase vulnerability; Social processes that affect vulnerability; The Holy Trinity of security, state and freedom.*

Chapter four - Method: Account for the choice of research design, method, selection of case and informants, document analysis and interview, application of thematic analysis and finally, eight criteria for qualitative quality.

Chapter five - Analysis: A document analysis of official emergency preparedness documents has been carried out to form the basis for further analysis. The application of three thematic categories will present the empirical evidence conducted through interviews.

Chapter six - Discussion: Three constructed narratives are accounted for by applying the literature review that forms the theoretical framework, along with results from the empirical material, will be further discussed.

Chapter seven - Concluding remarks: Arguments for conclusion, implications, limitations and proposal for further research will be presented as the final chapter of this research.

2 Context

In order to give a detailed description of which part of the municipal emergency preparedness work, this thesis focuses on, it will be expedient to account for the concept of emergency preparedness shortly. A description will also be accounted for of the principles for national societal safety and preparedness in Norway before municipal obligation -mainly by law- are presented. In conclusion, the concept of citizen preparedness will be elaborated in light of The Norwegian Directorate for Civil Protection (DSB) campaign launched in 2018.

2.1 Emergency management

A crisis can be prepared for, responded to, and recovered from – to an increased degree. Emergency management is the profession and academic discipline that assumes and is tasked with performing these crucial functions (Haddow, Bullock & Coppola, 2017). Emergency management is often described in terms of phases and is based upon four distinct components: mitigation, preparedness, response and recovery (Alexander, 2002a). The vital aspect in this context is that the phases are mutually interdependent and must not be understood as a linear process with an end station, but instead applying continuity as a critical factor.

The Emergency Management discipline views preparedness as the set of activities undertaken in advance of an incident that enables effective response and faster recovery (Alexander, 2002a). However, the concept of emergency preparedness has several approaches, in which understanding of the concept depends on, among other things, which point of view one has, which business one belongs to and which perceptions one has (Hovden, 2012). As such, emergency preparedness can be defined as “*measure to prevent, limit or deal with the undesirable extraordinary event*” (Engen et al., 2016, p. 280).

DSB (2015, p. 10) defines emergency preparedness as “*planning and preparation of measures to limit or manage crises or other undesirable incidents in the best possible way*”. A crisis is in this context understood as an event that potentially can threaten important values and impair the municipalities ability to perform essential functions. Municipalities are therefore dependent on proper preparedness before such events so that the consequences of such impacts can be reduced because residual risk will always exist. Furthermore, DSB (2015) applies emergency preparedness as a term for overall societal safety and emergency preparedness work. Therefore,

strategic and long-term planning is a necessity in order to reduce the consequences of a future crisis.

2.2 Principles of national societal safety and emergency preparedness

If municipalities in Norway ought to obtain necessary preparedness planning, they will be dependent on extensive collaboration between actors across sectors with distinctive responsibilities. Additionally, the division of responsibility and roles among the actors must be clearly stated. In connection with this, four fundamental principles underlie the foundation of all societal safety and emergency preparedness work in Norway: the principle of responsibility, equality proximity and cooperation (Ministry of Justice and Public Security, 2011, p. 39). The principles ought to facilitate the unambiguous division of responsibility in the emergency preparedness work and, regardless of the level of government planning, these four principles steer the preparedness efforts in Norway.

The *principle of responsibility* requires that the authority, department or agency which is responsible on a daily basis for an area, is also responsible for necessary preparedness preparations in this area. The *principle of equality/similarity* explains that if, for example, a municipality is to handle an unwanted event, the organization must be as close as possible to the organization one operates with daily. The *principle of proximity* means that crisis management must take place at the lowest possible level at the organizational level. The *principles of cooperation* demand that the public authority, private enterprises or government agency have an independent responsibility to ensure the best possible cooperation with relevant actors and agencies throughout the emergency management cycle (Furevik, 2012, p. 36; Engen et al., 2016, p. 283).

2.3 Municipal emergency preparedness

According to Norwegian Parliamentary White Paper No. 17 (Ministry of Justice and Public Security, 2001-2002), consideration of safety and emergency preparedness should be a central part for all societal planning in Norwegian County Council and municipalities. The justification for this is that in order to reduce vulnerability, conscious planning is required. Also, "*Norwegian municipalities are both limited geographical areas and institutions that, through*

political and administrative processes, must safeguard the interests of society" (Aven et al., 2004, p. 84-85). Municipalities ought to implement state policy, safeguard the interests of the residents and coordinate their activity with local business. When incidents occur, they do in fact strike within a municipality.

Preparedness planning is governed by the Act of Municipal Emergency Duty, Civil Protection and Civil Defence (Civil Protection Act) from 2010. The Act does not distinguish between large or small municipalities, economic consideration, competence, population, risk picture or complexity. The law sets the same requirements for all municipalities.

The purpose of this Act is cf. §1:

" To protecting life, health, environment, material values and critical infrastructure using non-military power when the kingdom is at war, when war threatens, when the sovereignty or security of the kingdom is at risk and undesirable events in peacetime" (Civil Protection Act, 2010).

In October 2011, a regulation on municipal emergency preparedness was issued, which is enshrined in the Civil Protection Act. This regulation provides supplementary rules on the municipal emergency preparedness obligation. The purpose of the municipal emergency preparedness obligation is cf. § 1 (2011):

«To ensure that the municipality safeguards the safety and security of the population. The municipality must work systematically and holistically with societal safety across sectors in the municipality, with a vision to reduce the risk of loss of life or damage to health, the environment and material assets”.

2.4 Citizen preparedness

Our modern society with all its innovation is not only making our daily life more comfortable, but it is also increasing our vulnerability. As the technology has most certainly passed us, the news is often characterized by a crisis, and the weather is turning warmer, wilder and wetter, some individuals are perhaps feeling discharged from responsibility (Olsen, 2018). The overall loss due to natural hazards reveal the necessity to acknowledge the risk and make people aware of and prepare to live with risk and respond adequately should they face extreme events

(Birkmann, 2006). This also specifies the critical role the public plays in national emergency preparedness.

Citizen preparedness can reduce the negative consequences of disasters and ensure that citizens can take care of themselves and their families during the first 72 hours in the aftermath of disasters. It is thus essential to ensure that the knowledge of individual preparedness is high among the population (Donahue, Eckel, & Wilson, 2014). Therefore, enhance citizen engagement in preparedness is of utter importance. The emergency management cycle is planned for by experts, but the general public will experience the devastating harm caused by a disaster. Hence, the need to prepare (Alexander, 2002a)

2.4.1 Citizen preparedness in Norway - “You are part of Norway’s emergency preparedness”

In autumn 2018, DSB published a campaign and brochure titled “you are part of Norway’s emergency preparedness”. The brochure advises Norwegian residents what to do in case of a crisis, which was sent to every household in the country. The main message of the campaign is that we should all prepare and plan to be able to survive for three days if a crisis occurs. The goal of the campaign is to increase people’s knowledge, awareness, and understanding of what each of us should prepare for in order to reduce our vulnerability. The purpose is, thus to communicate the need for citizen preparedness.

During preparedness or war, Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation (NRK) has a duty to ensure that information from the government reaches the population. This responsibility has been established both in the Act on Broadcasting §2-4 and Regulations on the activities of the Norwegian National Broadcasting Service under emergency preparedness and in war. It is therefore not surprising that NRK, in cooperation with DSB, made sure to get the theme on the agenda through a public relations race following the publication of the campaign and the brochure. In the podcast "72 hours" the host talks to well-known Norwegians about their relationship with citizen preparedness. To promote the podcast, a movie was produced where the “P3 Morgen” hosts were challenged at a mall to shop for what they thought they would need in order to survive for 72 hours (NRK, 2018; Gullblyanten, 2018a). In addition to this, the host for the NRK series “Innafor” barricaded herself, completely unprepared, inside her

apartment to see how well she would manage 72 hours with no preparation in advance (NRK, 2018b).

The backdrop of the campaign is due to several factors. Amongst them is the pressing matter of climate change, where extreme weather can lead to loss of critical infrastructures such as electricity, water and mobile networks. The changes in geopolitical matters also have a fair share of “blame” for why Norway has to modernize the total defence by reminding the population of certain precautions (DSB, n.d.). The brochure, therefore, informs residents what kind of commodities to always store at home in case of an emergency. According to DSB (n.d.), a prepared and knowledgeable resident will better cope with a crisis in opposite to those who have not.

However, citizen preparedness is only the first step towards reaching a prepared society. Without a culture of communal engagement, preparedness becomes an individual endeavour. Imagine a country full of preppers stacking all the canned food for themselves. A country would perhaps descend into a social Darwinism instead of being able to organize itself aided by the efforts of its residents efficiently. Household preparedness and collective action are thus vital for national security. As Elisabeth Braw framed it; “*We need to adjust our mentality from bowling alone to bowling together*” (Swedish public service television, 2019).

3 Literature review and theoretical framework

In this chapter I will present what will constitute the theoretical framework for this research. The chapter is organized according to four thematic headings based on four narratives that is directly related to each other in relation to citizen preparedness. The aforementioned is represented by complexity and therefore it is necessary to account for those factors that influence citizen preparedness, from a governmental perspective. Also, citizen preparedness has once again established itself in a more modern Norway. The need for a more comprehensive theoretical framework is therefore necessary.

3.1 Mind the gap...or maze?

Societal safety is a political, ethical and moral assessment where scientific knowledge can only help us to a limited extent. The benefits of good security and preparedness must therefore always be considered against other values and benefits we place high in society, such as openness, democracy, personal freedom and creativity (Olsen et al., 2007). We have more knowledge, but less understanding and contradictory relations to social responsibility. Technology reduces risk but it is also the source for new dangers. It simplifies life, but also makes it difficult. Communication have increased dramatically, but the sense of community has been reduced (Andersen & Sørensen, 1992). We are skeptical of state interventions, but still want greater protection. Our interest for the interaction between technology, environment and values is motivated by ambiguities in technological development (Andersen & Sørensen, 1992). As the emergency management field grows and evolves, it does so in the face of a warmer climate and a proliferation of new technologies. This leads governments around the world to continually review their emergency management practices in the search of better understanding risk, threats and vulnerability as crisis present authorities with new knowledge and learning opportunities.

What is risk? The question itself is relatively difficult to answer - there are so many ways in which risk is perceived and understood. There are several perspectives for risk. Risk defined as probability and consequence has been the dominant understanding of risk, while in recent times there has been a change in the course where the focus on risk is consolidated in understanding of the concept events/consequences and uncertainty (Aven & Renn, 2009). Ambiguity is therefore an inherent function of the concept risk.

Emergency management is the profession and academic discipline that assumes and is tasked with performing important functions in order to handle the ambiguity of risk (Haddow, Bullock & Coppola, 2017). This is conducted through important function described in terms of phases based upon four distinct components which has to be seen in relation to each other; *mitigation, preparedness, response and recovery* (Alexander, 2002a). In 2017, natural disasters caused an overall loss of US\$ 340, equivalent to NOK 2,9bn (MunichRE, 2018). These numbers reveal the necessity to acknowledge risk and make people aware of and prepared to live with risk, and to respond adequately should they face extreme events (Birkmann, 2006). Better understanding and adaptation of prevention and preparedness measures are therefore vital (Staupe-Delgado & Kruke, 2017). Measures to reduce vulnerability require new knowledge and a better overview, and action needs to be taken in a broad field to be effective. The dilemmas arise from the fact that political goals and developments in the technological systems fail to keep up with each other (Engen et al., 2016). Even though science, technology and inter-organizational learning is imperative in managing crisis in all its phases, it is in fact argued that other aspects of the academic research field should also be applied when preparing, responding and recovering from a crisis (Dynes, 2002). As such, emergency personnel must expand the horizon and include other disciplines that will be important in the work on emergency preparedness, and also citizen preparedness.

We speak of a crisis when a threat is perceived against the core values or life-sustaining functions of a social system, which requires urgent remedial action under conditions of deep uncertainty (Rosenthal, Charles & 't Hart, 1989). They differ in scale, scope or complexity from the standard contingencies that have occurred in the past and for which they have prepared. A full-scale crisis presents policy makers with dilemmas that have impossible-choice dimensions: everybody looks at them to 'do something', but it is far from clear what that 'something' is or whether it is even possible without causing additional harm. This is a two-sided problem. On the one hand, we have a situation on whether the work on preventive crisis management was good, while on the other hand it evolves around how well it seems to be. The reason for this is that no one cares about a crisis until it has revealed itself as there is a general low commitment in the pre-crisis phase. No one sees the resources used to prevent crisis from occurring. This is only visible when the crisis ascends. Paradoxically, the post-crisis phase has even been named a "brutal audit" of an organizations structure, system, procedure and management styles (Wilkinson, Armstrong & Lounsbury, 2017). We can in this way see the aftermath of crisis as a way to change the formal established structures.

How can technological development processes contribute to a more effective and safer society, but also new threats and risks? Our society is continually confronted by new threats and challenges by rapid development within technology characterized by complexity, such as biotechnology, information technology, digitalization and artificial intelligent, to mention a few. This development has led our society to be more dependent on advanced technology, and it affects us on all levels in society. We do indeed live in a vulnerable world and may be affected by floods or airplane crashes depending on where we are (Bijker, 2009). Our institutions, such as family, may be eroded by individualization, and some argue that our cultures are being attacked by immigrants. Perhaps internet is even expanding the gap between interpersonal relations. You might even return home after visiting the hospital with a multi-resistant bacteria infection or lose your money to someone who stole your credit card information. However, vulnerability is not exclusively associated with physical violence, nor only by natural disaster (Bijker, 2009). Vulnerability affects humans, technical systems and social networks. We can therefore say that vulnerability is inherently political whether explicitly or implicitly present on the political agenda.

As vulnerability is a characteristic of a system-be they technological, ecological og social, it is also important to highlight that vulnerability is not a specific characteristic, but rather a generic one (Bijker, 2009). This is especially illuminated in an elongated country such as Norway with small villages and urban city's, high mountains and deep valleys, long distances and short distances. Today's modern societies are technological, and all technology are cultural (Bijker, 2009). Consequently, technological development strengthens the structure of society at the same time as modern technological societies are inherent vulnerable. As Charles Perrow (1999) argued, accidents are normal in complex and tightly knit technological systems.

Technological progress has helped double life expectancy, eradicated diseases, enabled flight and global communication. Vulnerability has to be understood in context of both positive and negative effects. Technology has arrived and it is constantly expanding. In order for societies to survive, learning, innovation and flexible reactions to potential threats are necessary.

As such, emergency management consist of a wide range of areas which must be accounted for. However, it is not an easy task for emergency response personnel to embark on and consistent work is therefore necessary.

3.2 Institutional conditions that both reduce and increase vulnerability

Society is affected differently by vulnerability and can be exposed to both unintentional events such as natural disasters, intended events such as sabotage, and various events in a gray zone between them (Aven, Boyesen, Njå, Olsen & Sandve, 2004). According to Kruke, Olsen & Hovden (2005), complexity and mutual dependency is a feature of events in technological and social systems. Systems affect and depend on each other, and the built-in vulnerability of the systems will affect society's ability to handle the events. Unwanted events can have ripple effects far beyond the system they have encountered, so that single events can affect multiple social functions simultaneously and quickly propagate to other sectors and / or systems.

It may perhaps seem unnecessary to discuss the dynamics of vulnerability in relation to Norway, as one may argue that the Nordic countries are the least vulnerable countries in the world due to the welfare system (Arcanjo, 2018). Whether or not a country appears to be robust or not, the paradox of what comprises the concept of risk in relation to unwanted incidents is that one can never be sure whether essential societal functions will be able to withstand stress and how much. Risk is in itself a term that constitutes the future, and one cannot simply predict the exact course of an event in the future. For example, flood risk assessment cannot be based on historic data as these evaluations must be based on expected changes in the climate. Therefore, vulnerability in relation to institutional organizations (i.e. governance) in a country such as Norway has to evolve around whether its current framework can withstand challenges in the future to changes in society due to drivers such as climate change, urbanization, globalization and technology (Arcanjo, 2018). Hence, adaptability may be fruitfully analysed in connection to vulnerability and decision-making processes.

Norway scores quite well in factors that determine adaptive capacity (O'Brien, 2006, p.50). A society's capability to handle climate related consequence are closely related to institutions, resources, cooperation and information. Institutional arrangements dictate social and political acceptability of different policies, they structure worldviews, and they determine the provision of resources for investment in technological innovation and social change. Therefore, adaptation is just as much about basic societal processes (structures and processes in society) of institutional and socio- economic nature, as it is about technical concepts and solutions (Lisø, Kvande & Time, 2017). This implies a need for a cross-sectoral interaction in the face of emergency preparedness work.

Scenarios for climate change in Norway also indicate an increased incidence of extreme weather. Along with a warmer climate, intense rainfall over parts of coastal Norway will also increase. We must prepare for increased precipitation, with consequent increased load on the water and sewage systems, more water damage to buildings and infrastructure, more landslides and more flood damage. Obtaining the necessary knowledge, methods and tools for implementing the solutions is of the utmost importance for a safe, sustainable and cost-effective development of the Norwegian society (Hauge, Almås & Flyen, 2016, p. 12).

A central issue for safety work lies in the tension between the principle of responsibility and the principle of cooperation. The former stipulates that each government council controls its sector and has constitutional responsibility and competence within its area of authority, while the latter sets requirements for precisely cooperating across the traditional sector lines. These two principles are sometimes demanding to attend to at the same time. This is quite evident as the principle of cooperation across sectors and agencies are still criticized after the July 22 report (Rykkja, et.al., 2012). This implies that institutional conditions are in fact vulnerable as principles for national societal safety and emergency preparedness are somehow contradicting.

The capacity of a community to be aware of challenges in order to enable planning to deal with challenges depends on the existence of an institutional capacity in the management and organizations of the regions or the municipality. Studies also show that individuals with a great commitment and expertise have been important to the local community (Amundsen, Berglund & Westskog, 2010). Access to professional competence and financial basis for implementing adaptation measures is also of great importance for institutional vulnerability. However, risk awareness may be reduced in an event-free time prior to a disaster (Reason, 1998). As such, citizen preparedness must be seen in the context of the municipalities ability to foster measures that will and can strengthen citizen preparedness.

Institutional conditions must be accounted for in the context of citizen preparedness precisely because society is built around these systems, and citizens operate in conjunction with these.

3.3 Social processes that affect vulnerability

Societal safety is not just a matter of politics, management and planning. It is also about how we as individuals and groups can perform in different situations (Engen, Kruke, Lindøe, Olsen, Olsen & Pettersen, 2016). In contrast to some sociological theories that emphasize that modern society has led to individualization (Bauman, 2000; Beck, 1992; Beck-Gernsheim, 2001; Giddens 1991), there are several indicators that point to an increasing interest in common needs and solutions. This emerging trend can to some extent be referred to as "new collectivism" or a "culture of sharing" (Turner, 2004; Davis et al., 2010; Kiessling, 2013). This trend has been facilitated by innovative use of information and communication technology (ICT) and social media (Linnell, 2014, p. 68). However, it does not reject the strong flow of social theorists who consistently emphasize the strength of the collective, because public (individual and collective) desire to participate in societal safety is indeed a strong force for the nation's total defence. In fact, there has been a change in the public sphere that was previously rooted in institutions that were territorially bound in society, to a public sphere consisting of media communication systems and internet networks (Linnell, 2014, p. 68). An example of this may be how a local problem discussed in the municipal government can quickly develop into a nationwide phenomenon due to a post on twitter, Facebook or articles in online newspapers. Technology has changed the mobilization of various collectivities and can actually facilitate prosocial behavior, although prosocial behavior is influenced by cultural factors (Linnell, 2014, p. 68).

Societal safety addresses the measures taken by all sectors of society (public, civic, private) to maintain the safety of society. Society is not only a passive object to be protected, but also an active producer of what to protect. The community must therefore be seen as a potential manufacturer of security (Linnell, 2014, p. 68). However, we can also see society as a manufacture of disasters due to the underlying historical/political/economical/cultural disaster risk creation processes. Focusing on strengthening community resilience is therefore important. Nonetheless, the community is a dynamic entity. People can engage in interactions to achieve common goals, but each go their own way when these goals have been achieved. Aguirre (2006, p. 1) defined resilience as "*the physical, biological, personality, social and cultural system's ability to effectively absorb, respond, and recover from an internally or externally induced set of extraordinary demands*". Drawing on this general definition we can define resilient communities as "*communities and individuals who leverage local resources and skills to help in an emergency, in a way that complements the emergency personnel*" (Linnell, 2014, p. 69).

Hence, the individual and collective efforts are therefore understood as the ambition to maintain and strengthen social security (Linnell, 2014, p. 69).

Understanding the community as a safety provider appears appealing from a political perspective as it disregards a top-down approach. At the same time, a rigid understanding has been manifested at the national level for the general population as a resource where various frameworks have been developed to include this resource. Thus, a bottom-up approach has taken root and has been considered a necessity in the shift from civil defense to societal safety (Linnell, 2014)). However, military forces have been proved to be quite fruitful in critical situations. Thus, it evolves around incorporating command structures into the general civil protection administration (Alexander, 2002b). As a result, local authorities must take upon them more responsibility than expected as the population in their geographical area must now be considered as a potential strength in a potential risky situation. A further challenge for local authorities is that participation in non-governmental organizations and in civil society has changed in Western societies. While people show great willingness and desire to help their fellow human beings, it is no longer desirable to commit to non-governmental organizations for the sake of social affiliation only (Linnell, 2014). The spirit of voluntarism is a strong force and also a rigid cornerstone of the Norwegian society. As such, this is a valuable capital that should not be taken lightly, and emergency personnel should perhaps redirect their attention towards this force and how this can be applied in the context of citizen preparedness.

In much of Europe, the development of political guidelines for a strengthened public unity under a given crisis situation is different. In today's society, crises are seen as a long process rather than one that focuses only on warnings and early responses. However, some have said that slow onset disaster is no such things as all disasters are slow-onset when appropriately placed within a vulnerability and political context (Kelman, 2010). There are many actors involved and preparedness requires attention at the local, national and international level. Therefore, there is an increasing need for an approach aimed at including more and different sectors of society, but the coordination between sectors, national and local authority as well as citizens is still a challenge to be addressed (Rykkja, et.al., 2012). Another aspect that has to be taken into account is that policymaking does not always lead to changes at ground level, which must also be taken into account in the context of campaigns aimed at changing public behavior. This lack of understanding cannot be taken lightly, as a society's total defense is based on engagement across sectors.

Contrary to previous assumptions about population behavior in the face of a crisis, research has revealed that emergency managers cannot cope with crises alone, and that citizens' behavior can actually affect prevention, preparedness, response, and recovery (Vos et al. 2014). An extended collaboration that includes citizens in all phases of emergency preparedness is therefore important. During a given critical situation, it will not be possible to reach out to all those who are affected, and citizens' behavior - influenced or unaffected by a crisis- will therefore be very important as they will have to act as first responders (Kruke, 2015). Making sure that residents of a given municipality are equipped with appropriate skills will definitely improve their ability in such a role. This will thus be decisive for the strengthening of the total defence and societal safety work as such.

While research has challenged the so-called panic myth, cooperation with the public will be difficult as individuals make decisions based on their own perception, rationality and interests. It is therefore necessary to understand preparedness with an integrated approach in all phases of a crisis, with the aim of building self-efficacy among the public (Engen et al., 2016, p. 307). However, research shows that those who are affected and randomly present are actors who are in a position to save lives immediately after an acute crisis has occurred.

3.4 The Holy Trinity of state, security and liberty

The public debate on the appropriate balance between security and freedom reached a new peak after the September 11th terrorist attack in America. The massive explosion of technological development, the increase of concerns regarding global warming and the development of a right-wing populist mindset have not stopped the debate. These are only few of several factors which once again has brought the debate regarding security and freedom on the agenda, which in turn has resulted in an increased focus on whether or not the relationship between states government and citizens are affected. Nevertheless, this is not a new concern in the modern world as the balance between freedom and security has always been a matter of debate within the field of political philosophy. Freedom, safety and the state are mutually interdependent elements of our world. The existence of the executive power of the state cannot simply be dismissed for the sake of absolute freedom, nor can individuals dismiss the responsibility which lie upon them as they are in fact citizens of the state. The balance between terms such as freedom and security are quite fluid and is as such interpreted on the basis of the needs the public discourse perceives as important at the given time. Understanding the terms and the relationship between the state and the citizens are thus dynamic.

Liberalism is one of the political ideologies that has strongly influenced the development of western countries since the 18th century (Simonsen, Sterri & Berg, 2019). However, no matter which approach we choose in an attempt to define and explain the broad flow of ideas that can be identified with the concept of liberalism, we inevitably encounter one key word that gives liberalism a recognizable and clarifying content; freedom. What does it mean to be liberal? This is a question that has to do with our identity. Specifically, it is about which societal values we value the most, the values we want to characterize the society we live in, and which values we will give to our descendants. As the relationship is based on values the individual considers important in a given period, it can quickly be assumed that philosophers from more than 400 years ago do not have much relevance for today's society which represents very complex conditions. For Thomas Hobbes, the state of nature represented nothing less than a battleground – a permanent state of emergency that was characterized as “*solitary, nasty, brutish, and short*” (Sætra, 2014, p. 181). As a solution, Hobbes believed that citizens should renounce their right to rule over themselves and entrust power to a common ruler. It is important to bear the history in mind as Hobbes lived in an England on the verge of civil war during the 17th century (Sætra, 2014). While Thomas Hobbes envisioned the state of nature as a rather dramatic existence, John

Lock and Jean-Jacques Rousseau took a different stand on this matter, which also represents the improving standards of living in both England and France during the 17th and 18th century. The former believed that people were fundamentally good and envisioned the state of nature as dominated by reason and tolerance, but insecurity ruled due to lack of settled laws enforced by an indifferent judge. Hence, the necessity of a social contract. For Rousseau, the state of nature was characterized as noble and the existence of equality between the people. The need of a social contract was however inevitable due to the corrupted mind of the natural man -by property, agriculture and science. The time span that characterizes the thoughts of Hobbes, Lock and Rousseau indicates the different periods in which they lived. They all frame a more authoritarian form of governance compared to today's modern democracies, and also suggests three different approach in how the term liberty is to be understood. However, the basic idea representing all three is that society involves a compromise in which certain individual freedoms has to be given up for the sake of security. Nevertheless, the security perspective contributed by Hobbes, Lock and Rousseau can be useful for understanding the state as a citizen's security guarantor. Despite the fact that it is more than 400 years since the publication of their writings, the perspective is highly relevant. The state's task of providing citizens security remains one of the most central duties for governments, especially after the surge of terrorist attacks in the western world after year 2000, the expansion of technological development and the speed of natural hazards that the world is confronted with.

The security of the society and the freedom of each individual are fundamental values in a democracy. How then is it possible to protect these values simultaneous, and is there a contradiction between protecting security and individual freedom? This raises the question on whether or not there is a tradeoff between security and liberty. To some degree liberty requires security, but you cannot be free if you are constantly restraint in every corner of your life. As the primary task of the state is to protect the citizens safety it is necessary to gain control over conditions that can threaten our security, both internally and externally. It is rather wrong to assume that liberty and security are on the opposite side of each other. Freedom without security is of little use, while security without freedom is undesirable. Such a view would perhaps imply that freedom and security should not be referred to as a dilemma, but a matter of balancing the values we hold in high regards (Engen et al., 2016, p. 374-379).

In line with history, we can also see changes in the relationship between the state and individual within emergency preparedness. Civil defence emerged as a product of wartime, and during the

Cold War, the concept gained a rather gloomy character (Alexander, 2002b, p. 210). To draw short lines from a rather long and substantial history, civil defence can be interpreted as a mechanism to protect the state against its own people. It is a potential tool for coup d'état. As a counterpart to civil defence, civil protection grew due to increasing disasters such as earthquakes, floods and traffic accidents (Alexander, 2002b, p. 210). However, the debate has evolved around whether modern civil protection should exclude military forces from crisis management. This is a reality with modifications as it is basically about redefining the military's role during such events, because the military has been found to be very fruitful in critical situations.

After the terrorist attack on September 11th, the debate on security has again arisen between whether it is necessary to reinstate civil defence in dealing with disasters. A reversal to a more authoritarian approach in managing and controlling citizens will affect the network of civilian response, as we must reapply the knowledge of that consequences of disasters can only be successfully reduced by enabling the individual to take responsibility of their own safety (Alexander, 2002b, p. 212-213). Therefore, disasters are as much about democracy as it is about security. Because, if governments restrict the individual's ability and right to take care of themselves through the implementation of systematic measures in order to control them, there will no longer exist a balance, as security without freedom is not desirable.

In conclusion, it is about recognizing that there is a covenant, but the aforementioned is balancing on a knife's edge and the road to failure is rather short. Our democracy cannot afford such mistakes in the face of an uncertain world that requires collaboration between both the state and individual in order to survive the uncertainty we ourselves have created.

4 Method

This chapter will present the method applied to collect and process data in this thesis. The purpose is to justify the methodological decisions made throughout the research process. The chapter includes the choice of research design, research method, data source and choice of analytical approach. Finally, the quality of the research is presented by applying eight quality criteria for qualitative research. The study has a qualitative design and is a study of four municipalities' enhancement of citizen preparedness in accordance with the Directorate for Civil Protection (DSB) campaign "you are part of Norway's emergency preparedness". The empirical foundation of the research consists of telephone interviews with respondents employed in the emergency management department in each municipality. Further on, the empirical material will be portrayed in accordance to the framework of thematic analysis. The informants have been sent the questions in advance before the interviews were conducted by telephone. The interviews took place between April 1th and April 17th.

The project is reported to the Norwegian Centre for Research Data and is conducted in accordance with the Norwegian Data Inspectorate.

4.1 Justification of research method

This study is of a qualitative nature. An important goal of the qualitative approach is that it provides a deeper understanding of social phenomena (Thagaard, 2013). With qualitative method one can get a description of and explore social actors' opinions and interpretations (Blaikie, 2010). As stated in my problem statement, the purpose of this study is to investigate how citizen preparedness is taken into account by municipalities, and whether or not improvements have to be facilitated. To uncover this, an in-depth understanding of how municipalities are handling this is required. Thus, an intensive qualitative research design is appropriate for this study.

A research design can be understood as a recipe for how to carry out a research project in order to go from questions to answers (Blaikie, 2010). It should include all choices made in the work, as well as justification for these choices. Furthermore, the research design deals with the process that connects the problem statement, empirical data and conclusion. The goal is a design that ensures that the problem is illuminated and answered in a logical and credible manner (Blaikie,

2010). According to Ghauri & Grønhaug (2010), the choice of research design should be based on how well one understands the problem that underlies the research.

4.2 Case study design

Many points out that it is a problem that there is no common and clear understanding of what a case is. Nevertheless, common to all the definitions is that they emphasize that there is an in-depth study of one or a few research units (Jacobsen, 2015, p. 97; Halvorsen, 2009, p. 105; Blaikie, 2010, p. 186). Selection does not take place with a view to generalizing, but for analytical purposes (Halvorsen, 2009, p. 105). The units that are studied can include anything from an individual to a phenomenon, and are not limited to observation (Yin, 2003; Gerring, 2004). However, social science is rarely interested in a single individual (Jacobsen, 2015, p. 98). This research has therefore chosen municipalities as units to investigate.

Case studies have several advantages such as a detailed description, understanding and depth. The essence is that one tries to gain a holistic understanding of the phenomena one examines (Ringdal, 2001). Case study is suitable for studies of complex processes where it is a large information base that requires a multitude of research methods to obtain all the information in a satisfactory manner (Grønmo, 2004). This can be one of the reasons for why case studies are often used as a methodical approach in studies of phenomena in a societal safety context (Boin et al., 2005). My case is complex and cannot be separated from the social context in which it is located. It is also useful to have a flexible approach to methods that can provide a broader and more comprehensive understanding.

4.2.1 Criteria for identification of case

Citizen preparedness has just recently become an area of priority for DSB. I have chosen to investigate this from a government perspective as investigating this from a population perspective requires far more time and resources than what I have at my disposal. The theoretical justification for investigating citizen preparedness from a government perspective is that municipalities has the general and basic responsibility for safeguarding the populations safety and security within its geographical areas. Additionally, by law such as the Civil Protection Act and Regulation on Municipal Emergency Preparedness, municipalities are

required to ensure that they work on societal safety and emergency preparedness in a holistic and systematic manner.

The selection of the municipalities was strictly based on Statistics Norway infographics of the hundred most populous municipalities in the country, i.e. a strategic selection. Strategic selections are defined by Thagaard (2013) as a selection where the researcher chooses participants for the research project based on characteristics that are strategic in relation to the problem statement. As a starting point for the project the plan was to investigate municipalities in northern Norway, but due to limited actors who fell under the selection criteria, i.e. Statistics Norway, I saw it as necessary to change the course to a nationwide strategy. This approach turned out to be significantly in favor of my thesis as it gave me the opportunity to gain insight into citizen preparedness on an urban level. The municipalities that have been chosen as cases in this study are Drammen, Bergen, Oslo and Baerum. I will further elaborate on anonymity in sub-chapter 4.2.2. However, it is important to stress that these municipalities are under no circumstances organized in a strategic manner in.

4.2.2 Criteria for identification of informant

My informants are employed within the emergency preparedness department in five different municipalities. The selection of my informants is not chosen for a strict comparative manner, but rather as a means to comprehend the complexity of the term citizen preparedness and obtain their views on this matter. Another factor is the fact that Norway is an elongated country with different necessities and resources. It would therefore not be expedient to follow a strict comparative approach as this would not be meaningful due to the different geographical location of the municipalities and also due to economic factors. However, some comparisons will be highlighted as some of my questions are directly related to strategic planning of incorporating citizen preparedness in municipal planning. Nevertheless, anonymity will be maintained.

I have interviewed four informants which can be described as information rich units. Furthermore, the informants are from four different municipalities demographically spread in southern Norway. These informants have been chosen strategically because of their qualifications in relation to their position in the department and also because of their knowledge of citizen preparedness. Additionally, all four informants are employed in the emergency

preparedness department in their respective municipalities. Due to the sake of anonymity, their specific role within the emergency preparedness department will not be accounted for in this research project. Anonymity means that it should be impossible to connect stated information to the individual's identity. Since this research has a small number of informants, the requirement for anonymity will increase considerably. Therefore, the position of the informants in the emergency preparedness department in each municipality will not be accounted for (Jacobsen, 2015, p. 51). Anonymity is also important in order to ensure participation and trustworthy dialogue on challenges in the municipal work as outspoken challenges are not often received in a positive manner in any organizational scenery.

4.3 Data collection

Interviews are suitable as a data collection method when relatively few units are examined and one wants to gain an understanding of the actor's opinions and interpretations (Blaikie, 2010). A semi standardized interview guide has been applied as this type of structure allows flexibility and dialog. Another embedded advantage of semi standardized interview is that topics that are not thought of in advance can be addressed by the informant. In addition, a semi standardized interview allows me to skip questions the informants answer unsolicited (Berg & Lune, 2012).

Due to the informants' different geographical location, limited project resources and the informants hectic schedule, I decided to conduct all interviews via telephone. The interviews lasted between 30-45 minutes. Due to the time pressure, I wrote an email to potential informants with an explanation of the situation. This turned out to fall in my favor as one of my informants emailed other municipalities encouraging them to contact me.

4.3.1 Document analysis

According to Bayers, Braun, Marshall and De Bruycker (2014, p. 176) documents should be applied as much as possible in interview projects. The reason for this is because documents increase the validity of the interviews and help cross-validate and interpret the evidence from the interviews.

In order to strengthen the validity of the research, both secondary and tertiary data has been applied as the foundation for the document analysis (Blaikie, 2010, p. 161). The applied tertiary

data material in this study is a position paper of the HomeRisk-Project. The secondary data material constitutes White Papers on societal safety and important webpages. As the data material applied in this study is produced and published independently of this master thesis, it is a valuable supplement to the empirical basis of this study (Bryman, 2016, p. 546). Both the secondary and tertiary data material is available for the public.

4.3.2 Telephone interviews

There are several advantages by using telephone interviews in opposite to face-to-face interviews. First and foremost, it is cost efficient and allows the researcher to interview people in a wider geographical area (Chapple, 1999, p. 78; Sturges & Hanrahan, 2004, p. 109). Secondly, it allows the interviewee to be in a familiar setting which will decrease the pressure and a feeling of greater sense of anonymity, which has been of utter importance in this study as the subject in this thesis is first and foremost relatively new in a Norwegian context and also because anonymity will enable the barrier of speaking freely (McCoyd & Kerson, 2006, p. 399; Sweet, 2002, p. 60). Thirdly, there are no quality differences between data collected by phone versus face-to-face interview (Novick, 2008). All advantages also carry with them disadvantages. This may be that the researcher loses the opportunity to interpret the interviewees attitude and facial expression. Telephone interviews tends to be shorter than face-to-face interviews which can hamper the retrieval of in-depth detailed information (Brinkmann & Tanggaard, 2015; Irvin, Drew & Sainsbury, 2012, p. 101). In my case I was not dependent on detailed formulation from my informants, but rather an insight into their opinions on my problem statement. Based on this and also the geographical distance, personal interviews were too expensive. Thus, phone interviews would be much more beneficial for my project.

4.3.3 Interview guide

As mentioned in chapter 4.3, a semi standardized interview guide has been applied in the process of collecting data. General questions were selected in advance which would allow informants to talk more openly about each question in order to make it more of a conversation rather than following a strict guide. Research has shown that one can retrieve more information by keeping the interviews more like a normal conversation (Thagaard, 2013, p. 107). This way of interviewing can lead the informants to contribute with inputs on aspects that the researcher

has not taken into account, and vice versa (Thagaard, 2013). For example, while speaking freely and openly in a conversation with one informant in relation to one of the questions, we ended up with a measure that the person would bring forth in a meeting with other emergency preparedness personnel as a necessary action in order to make the inhabitants of that municipality aware of the citizen preparedness campaign so that it does not “die out” – a form of strategy to maintain the mindset of individuals on their own preparedness.

In order to facilitate a transparent and open interview process, and to give the informants an opportunity to prepare, the interview guide was sent to the informants in advance, as this helps to ensure the quality of the data. Also, reading the questions in advanced was desired by few of my informants when asked unsolicited. The reason for this was that the informants could then make some thoughts and ideas about what the conversation would be based on. Citizen preparedness is once again on the agenda for the first time after the Cold War. It is therefore necessary to initiate a thought process and prepare the informants on what the term entails.

In the development of the interview guide I have been concerned with facilitating the guide in such a manner so that the informants could describe and elaborate their knowledge in a thoughtful process rather than a “rehearsed” conversation reflecting government papers. The interview consists of eight questions which was sent out to the informants prior to the interview. In addition to these questions, I had also made some follow-up questions depending on the informant’s answers, and whether there was a need to steer the conversation the right way. Nevertheless, the interview guide was not of a detailed nature because my intentions were to get the informants to elaborate on a concept that is rather new in our everyday agenda.

4.4 Choice of analytic tool

A thematic presentation of the collected data is a flexible and useful tool that can provide rich and detailed, yet complex production of data material. This is a procedure that is rarely recognized even though it is diligently used in qualitative methods (Braun & Clark, 2006, p.4). Nevertheless, such analysis consists of identifying, analysing and reporting patterns within data (Braun & Clark, 2006, p.79). In this project, a six-step guide has been applied to develop a thematic analysis of the data material. However, certain decisions have to be accounted for prior to the analytic process, such as what counts as a pattern/theme (Braun & Clark, 2006, p. 82). The key is not dependent on whether the theme is quantifiable, but a matter of capturing

something important in relation to the overall research question (Braun & Clark, 2006, p. 82). As a point of departure, an inductive thematic approach is applied where coding of the material is conducted without trying to place it into a preexisting frame. Lastly, the six-step guide has to be understood as an ongoing process rather than a linear approach, and is as following (Braun & Clark, p. 87):

1. Familiarizing yourself with your data
2. Generating initial codes
3. Searching for themes
4. Reviewing themes
5. Defining and naming themes
6. Producing the report

4.4.1 Thematic analysis

As a starting point, one has to be familiarized with the collected data as the foundation of the analysis is constructed in the first phase. This ought to be conducted by repeated reading of the material and an active search for meanings and patterns (Braun & Clark, 2006, p. 82ibid). All data was collected by the researcher via telephone interviews with four informants at a time that suited the informants best. My interview guide had a semi-structured form which made it easier to categorize and get an overview of the collected material. As data need to be in a written form to be able to proceed with thematic analysis (Braun & Clark, 2006, p. 82ibid), extensive notes were taken during the interviews as no recording was used. The interviews were read separately, and at several occasions I read them together in order to retrieve information related to the problem statement.

The second phase involves generating initial codes. This was first done during the interviews as I noticed particular topics that was emphasized during the conversation. Thereon, I read thoroughly through all the interviews, marked the interviews in different font colors and finally, I assigned all the answers under the right question. By doing this it was easier to compare and also see patterns in the answers that could be extracted as potential themes.

The third phase begins by sorting the different codes into the potential themes. Essentially, by analyzing the codes and how the codes may be combined, overarching themes will be created.

When overarching themes are identified, the process then evolves around the fourth phase, namely reviewing them, in order to ascertain that the themes are suitable in relation to the data material and also to code any additional data within themes that has been missed.

When the themes are reviewed, one has to define and name them. At this point of the process, adjustments of the themes have to be accounted for so that they capture the essence of what constitute the themes, as well as identifying the story each of them expresses. Naming the themes also has to be concise so that an immediate understanding of what the theme constitute comes forth for the reader.

The thematic headlines applied in this research is: Application of Multiple Channels, Knowledge and Responsibility, Municipal Deficiency.

4.5 Quality of the research thesis

The quality of scientific research has traditionally been measured based on the two criteria's reliability and validity. However, several researchers argue that these criteria are not relevant quality assessments for qualitative research and consider them better suited for the assessment of quantitative research (Walby & Luscombe, 2017, p.540; Guba, 1981, p.78; Tracy, 2010, p.838). There have been various suggestions for other measurements that can be applied to assess the quality of qualitative research, such as credibility and transferability (Guba, 1981, p. 80). The quality of this study will be assessed in accordance with Tracy's (2010, p. 840) eight criteria for qualitative research. These will be further elaborated in the following.

The first criteria for evaluating the quality of my research is whether the topic that is relevant, timely, significant, interesting and evocative constitutes a good qualitative research. A topic with the aforementioned characteristics is often prioritized in academia, but they can also be of social relevance due to the political climate or controversy in social debates. A *worthy topic* has a "pedagogical authenticity" (Tracy, 2010, p. 840). One can say that this thesis constitutes these characteristics as citizen preparedness is a topic that has received much attention the past couple of years, especially in light of the major campaign hosted by DSB and Oslo municipality. It is also important to highlight that citizen preparedness in light of municipalities responsibility has also reached attention beyond the Norwegian boarder. Amongst other, Sweden have focused a great deal on citizen preparedness and the European Union has also invested in several projects that consistently address this matter. Another aspect that highlights the

contemporary feature of this topic is what Ulrich Beck portray as a risk society, namely the constant focus on being safe and secure in a world that is growing in complexity every day.

The second criteria involve in whether the qualitative research is characterized by complexity and abundance. This can be seen through a rich content in the project from theories, data and context. Then one looks at the amount of data, whether the content of the data is suitable for what is studied and analysis tools (Tracy, 2010, p. 841). This task has primary sources, though relatively few. Although citizen preparedness is not a new phenomenon in itself, this is a topic that has received very little attention in the Norwegian context and there are not many studies on this. Therefore, smaller data sources can give the task a *rich rigor* (Tracy, 2010, p. 841). The analysis is composed of thematic categorization and concept development, which is a well-known method for processing data (Grønmo, 2016, p. 266).

By being honest about the research process, thorough explanation of how the data is collected and what has been the goal of the task, the third criteria, “*sincerity*”, will be achieved.

The fourth criteria compromise on whether *credibility* can be achieved through a thick description that presents the facts in combination with an interpretation of the meaning behind the conditions in a larger context (Tracy, 2010, p. 843). By first presenting what citizen preparedness entails and then presenting a theoretical framework that puts the concept in a larger context, a thick description will have been achieved. Throughout the research consistency has been of great importance as citizen preparedness is context dependent.

Resonance compromise of how the research influence the audience emotionally, through empathy and identification (Tracy, 2010, p.244). Citizen preparedness is a topic that affects the whole population. The reason for this is that citizen preparedness is in fact a matter which has to be dealt with by each individual, but also other actors within a nation-state. A certain degree of responsibility should therefore be felt.

There are several ways to evaluate the *significance* of a research, by for example whether or not the research has given new knowledge, improved practice or generate ongoing research (Tracy, 2010, p.845). The research topic explored in this context has received little attention in Norway and evaluations on how we as a country can better enhance citizen preparedness to achieve a holistic framework which strengthens the Norwegian society is still a matter of debate which has to be further investigated. I hope this thesis can inspire further research and discoveries which at the end of the day will matter for the future of our safety in an increasingly

complex world. Therefore, one can say that the sixth criteria for the quality of the research is reached.

Ethics are important when conducting interview and storing sensitive data as well as anonymization. Interviews are conducted in this thesis, but no recording was used during the interviews. Also, all informants will be anonymized in this thesis as their employment are directly connected to a specific section in the municipalities, namely the emergency preparedness section. Furthermore, this research is conducted in accordance within ethical guidelines one should follow when writing a master's thesis. The project is registered at the Norwegian Centre for Research Data.

By *meaningful coherence*, Tracy (2010, p. 848) explains that one must achieve the stated purpose, application of practices that espouse well with theories and paradigms, and finally, connect the theoretical framework with research focus, methods and finding. The main goal of this criteria is that there must be a consistency throughout the research. This is partly explained in the method chapter, where the purpose of the thesis is carried out in accordance with the methodological choices and the theoretical conditions

Through these eight quality criteria, the credibility and validity of this task is discussed and justified. In summary, this has been an exciting study of a phenomenon with a rather low dedicated attention in a Norwegian context after the end of the Cold War, until now. This is also a topic that has not been of interest to previous master's theses. The reason for this may be that it has not been a much spoken of topic in the public debate, which in turn leads to less financial support for research-related projects. However, it is a topic that is undergoing strong development in several countries. In addition, the European Union has dedicated large figures to projects involving citizen preparedness, while the Federal Emergency Management Agency in USA has had this on the agenda for many years. It is important to take into account that this is also a matter of cultural and geographical condition. A country such as Norway is not as exposed as for example the United States or other Asian countries, for many reasons. At the same time, it is also about how the institutions are founded, and the relationship between state and individual also plays a major role. I hope this research can be of interest for future theses as citizen preparedness is a phenomenon that is of great importance for the future due to rapid changes in our society.

5 Results

This chapter will present the findings I have obtained from various documents on legislation, and from in-depth interviews with four municipalities, which were conducted in April 2019. First and foremost, legislation and regulations which form the foundation of emergency preparedness work will be presented before I embark on specific areas within the law that either describe or take into account the term citizen preparedness, in light of societal safety and emergency preparedness. A detailed description of laws and regulations will not be the main task of this analysis, but I consider it necessary to briefly illuminate the rather short history of societal safety in Norway in order to understand why perhaps citizen preparedness has not been a matter of systematic consideration. The second part of the analysis will present findings from the interviews which is structured according to the thematic framework as elaborated in sub-chapter 4.3. How and why these themes are chosen is elaborated in the aforementioned sub-chapter. The order of the themes is random and thus has no implications for the research.

5.1 Document analysis

It is crucial to see how laws and regulations have changed and evolved over time, as changes in legislation, government or organization are often typical after major crisis situations. Among other things, we can see that there have been several public documents addressing societal safety, including white papers to the parliament that are directly related to this issue (Throne-Holst, Slettemeås, Kvarnlöf, & Tómmason, 2015).

5.1.1 Government documents and webpages

The following White papers are important documents, even though they take into account issues that the government wants to inform the Parliament about. The reason why these are important is because they propose future government policies, report on public sector activity within a specific sector, and provide detailed information beyond what is presented on websites or in draft resolutions (Throne-Holst et al., 2015). An example of this continues change in how societal safety is evolving is the development of the fourth national emergency preparedness principle in White paper no 29, namely coordination. Another important aspect of the

aforementioned White paper is the emphasise on how relevant public reports ought to be followed.

- White paper no 17 - Societal safety: The Road to a Less Vulnerable Society (Ministry of Justice and Public Security, 2001-2002)
- White paper no 39 – Societal safety and civil military cooperation (Ministry of Justice and Public Security, 2003-2004)
- White paper no 22 – Societal safety, cooperation and collaboration (Ministry of Justice and Public Security, 2007-2008)
- White paper no 29 – Societal safety (Ministry of Justice and Public Security, 2011-2012)

The Norwegian risk regime exclusively related to societal safety and emergency preparedness indicates that risk and vulnerability over time are constantly changing, increasing in complexity and spans over cross-sectoral lines. This development leads to an increased need for cooperation and coordination of efforts within emergency preparedness and crisis management, but also increased delegation of responsibility (Throne-Holst et al., 2015). Through crisis management, coordination and emergency preparedness, regional and local levels have been given more responsibility. It is clear that communication has become a more central theme, both between the authorities and the public sector, and between the government, the public sector and citizens.

The aforementioned public documents address the citizens/household very sporadically, which I will explain further in the next sub-chapter. However, there are two websites that specifically address citizens/households in terms of both preparation and crisis situations which are both developed and managed by DSB (Throne-Holst et al., 2015).

- [Kriseinfo.no](http://kriseinfo.no)
- Sikkerhverdag.no

The web portal kriseinfo.no is a resource base for communication of both permanent and information related to specific events. If the government perceives and claims that an event will have an impact on the population, it will be published here. The purpose of the website is to provide a complete picture of what is happening, what the individual ought to do, and what the government actually does. It provides information on what people can do before a crisis, during a crisis and after the crisis is averted. This portal is quite important to mention as the government

applies this portal to communicate information to the public (Throne-Holst et al., 2015). However, the emerging question that arise is whether citizen actually is aware of this portal and whether it can withstand situations such as when electricity falls out. With the increase use of internet in mostly all aspects of our everyday life, it is also important to highlight that as of today, Kriseinfo.no has 14 704 followers on Facebook, while Sikkerhverdag.no has 4563 followers. The former corresponds to 0,27% of the total Norwegian population as of first quarter of 2019, while the latter amounts to 0,08% of the total Norwegian population (Statistics Norway, 2019a). This is a rather small number of followers when 80% of the Norwegian population between the age 16 and 79 uses social media (Statistic Norway, 2019b).

While kriseinfo.no are more directed towards the whole emergency management cycle, sikkerhverdag.no focuses largely on what type of commodity households should implement to improve their safety. This includes encouragement related to both situations that can appear on a domestic level and external hazards such as extreme weather. It seems perhaps rather strange that the portal advises on tips and checklist for the household, but this is, however, an important way to remind households of their own preparedness – be that whether you are living alone or with others (Throne-Holst et.al., 2015). Another aspect that is necessary to emphasize is that there are no figures for whether households follow these tips or whether private safety measures have been accounted for. Regardless of this, after the campaign was launched Epinion commissioned a new survey on behalf of DSB, where the number from the first survey was now adjusted. As the survey was carried out rapidly after the campaign was published, it is no wonder this figure has been adjusted (Throne-Holst et.al., 2015). The important factor is whether people follow these advices in one, two or several years from now. A long-term strategic plan is therefore much needed as behaviour does not change over the course of a few months.

5.1.2 The concept of citizen preparedness in public documents

Households and individuals are addressed differently in White Papers, draft resolutions and Bills, official Norwegian reports, laws and regulations, guidelines and procedures, as well as in official public websites. Household and individual are approached in different ways and play different roles depending on the document or the website's focus (Throne-Holst et al., 2015, p. 34). The population is referred to in the White Papers as a collective entity, i.e. as the population, while in other contexts it is referred to citizens who demand that public sectors can

handle complex crisis situations. For example, In White Paper No 22 (Ministry of Justice and Public Security, 2007-2008, p. 30) it is stated that “*the population expects that the responsible authorities will ensure that they are prepared to face consequences*”. This is also evident in White Paper No 29 (Ministry of Justice and Public Security, 2011-2012, p. 44) that “*the population expects the public sector to handle complex and demanding crisis*”. Citizens are also considered units that need "protection" (Ministry of Justice and Public Security, 2003-2004, p. 7, 29; Ministry of Justice and Public Security, 2001-2002, p. 26). This means that they are considered potential victims of crisis situations. In other respects, citizens are referred to as recipients of public information regarding crises and how such information is to be consulted (Ministry of Justice and Public Security, 2007-2008, p. 14, 20, 26). Individuals and households are given a more active role through information from DSB. It is pointed out that DSB's role is to ensure that individuals become responsible citizens. At the same time, they are referred to as "knowledge units" in the sense that DSB works to strengthen understanding of risk in the population. This also means being prepared for unexpected events (Throne-Holst et al., 2015, p. 34). In the Civil Protection Act, ‘protection’ is emphasized where citizens are regarded as potential victims. While citizens take on a passive role, there is also a more active approach to the individual - as a resource. An example of an active role is the requirement that citizens should support evacuation work and provide transport and shelter by public authority requirements. Another example that clarifies the active roles of citizens is that citizens not only behave responsibly towards others, but also towards themselves by taking proactive measures (Throne-Holst et al., 2015, p. 34). The implication of the abovementioned documents and webpages has illuminated a rather inconsistent approach to the population.

In conclusion, the historical evolution of safety work in Norway, and the overall risk regime is crucial to account for in order to understand the statutory provisions that guides the emergency preparedness work in Norway, as citizen preparedness needs to be seen in conjunction with this. After all, changes should occur at this level.

5.2 Interviews

As part of the research, semi-structured interviews with four emergency preparedness personnel have been carried out in four different municipalities. Even though the municipalities are located in different geographical areas and also differ in size, population, income and stresses from risks, the purpose of this is to uncover any challenges and dilemmas the municipalities are facing regarding citizen preparedness, and how they work towards changing people's awareness.

5.2.1 Applying multiple channels through strategic planning

When reviewing one of the questions regarding long term planning within the municipality in relation to the citizen preparedness campaign, there was quite remarkable difference between the municipality. One of the informants points out the necessity of accessibility of information provided by the municipality and further elaborates that municipalities should also to a greater extent use social media as a mean of reaching out to the population. The reason for why the informant highlights the need of using more modern channels was justified by the following statement:

“We believe that we can reach more citizens than what traditional channels can. However, news articles were also published in the local newspaper” (Informant #1).

In addition, the informant stated that they have periodically along with the country governor made statements in the media related to the fact that the citizens must plan and safeguard themselves in relation to previous events that have led to larger areas having lost power for a longer period.

I quickly perceived throughout the interviews that I had to weigh up whether or not I would go on with this particular question, as it was relatively difficult to get a more concrete answer from the informants. One of the reasons for this is that one of the informants did not have a concrete answer to their long-term planning, other than that it is mentioned in necessary contexts during meetings with the whole emergency preparedness department in the municipality. Therefore, some adjustments were made spontaneously in the conversation towards knowing whether the municipalities had developed strategic plans to strengthen citizen preparedness and what kind

of mechanisms they applied to spread the message. Authorities will work on maximum capacity when a crisis occur, and the role of a prepared population can be crucial for the successful management of a crisis. A recurring pattern among all the informants is the use of social media and the municipality's website as a tool to reach out to their citizens.

Amongst the informants, one particular informant stood out as the person in question directly referred to implementation and reflection of citizen preparedness in their comprehensive ROS analysis. The informant also pointed out a quite important factor in regard to campaigns in general:

“Campaigns usually deteriorate after a while. It is hyped up when first launched, and then forgotten about after a few months. People need to be reminded of their responsibility to prepare, and therefore, it is important that information is sent out on a regular basis” (Informant #2).

And this is in fact exactly what happened. As mentioned in chapter 2.4.1, DSB launched a rather large PR run-up after the publication of the brochure, with direct broadcasting from Tønsberg, podcast and an episode on citizen preparedness in the series ‘innafor’. To my knowledge there has not been any follow up on this matter from the Directorate after the aforementioned announcements. Further on, the informant clarified that citizen preparedness needs to be included in the overall crisis communication work of the municipality. Unfortunately, there were no precise information given on whether a strategic plan was conducted, or how they might follow this up. However, the use of Facebook and the municipal website was mentioned at several occasion as an instrument in feeding out information to the public.

Another informant had a different approach to how the municipality could spread the message to their citizen and whether strategic planning was on their agenda:

“It is a long-term project, but we have nothing concrete about how this should be followed up right now. We will definitely take up the message once something happens, whether it becomes a storm, etc., that we re-promote this message, a low-threshold approach. Push out the message on SoMe when relevant. In the long run we have thought about certain activities, but nothing concrete” (Informant #3).

The interesting aspect about this excerpt is the resuming of the message when something happens, which is in contrary to what preparedness initially means, namely, to prepare in advance to reduce potential damage. Despite this, the person in question pointed out that the municipality had initiated various activities during various “lunch hours” to promote the message. As the informant emphasize:

“it will be difficult to, for example, have stands in the streets or shopping mall to inform people” (Informant #4).

Which is understandable, because there may not be many whom have time to spend 10 minutes in an otherwise hectic everyday life to learn, no matter how important the message is. However, it is much more effective to gain knowledge between the interaction of individual.

These statements can thus be interpreted as that none of the municipalities have established a concrete, long-term strategic plan for how the message can be sustained for a long period. After all, what is the point of a campaign that nobody remembers. It is also quite interesting that the municipalities have only distributed the message through Facebook and the municipality's website. We may perhaps take for granted that there are still many individuals in Norway that does not have access to internet. Also, the campaign was not received by all households in Norway, as initially stated by DSB, because the delivery service that was hired to distribute the brochure thought it was an advertisement, thus not delivering the brochure to those mailboxes with the stamp “no commercial”. This is precisely one of the contents of a dialogue I had with one of the informants, the necessity to convey the message so that it is visible, at all time, even beyond the prime time of the marketing. Recent figures from Statistics Norway (2017) reveals the necessity of applying other channels, as every fifth Norwegian between 67 and 79 years does not have internet, which makes up a total of 200 000 Norwegian. It thus seems like this is launched as a one-time campaign and hence drowning in the media flood. Also, a quick search on Facebook revealed that the proportion of likes on the respective municipalities official pages was far less than the actual inhabitants in their municipalities. However, many factors do indeed have a role to play in regard to “likes” and “followers” on the municipalities official Facebook page.

5.2.2 Responsibility and knowledge

As the results from Epinion illuminates, people are not sufficiently prepared for a crisis. In order to understand why the reason for this may be, I was interested in understanding why we rely on authorities in assisting us even though it is well known of that resources and capacity do not measure up to the possible damage a crisis may cause. Also, what do this say about the general lack of knowledge we have about our own preparedness? As one of the informants diligently phrased

“The signals nationally are on the verge that the government will take care of you from cradle to grave” (Informant #2).

Repetitive words that fortified itself after reading the interviews were the terms responsibility and awareness. It turned out that the informants had all different understandings of what the aforementioned meant in relation to citizen preparedness. What is interesting is that general municipal emergency preparedness, especially with the emergency preparedness principles as a basis, is solely understood on the same basis. This can of course be justified by the fact that the framework is statutory. Understanding the concept of responsibility thus proves to be more diffuse seen in the context of citizen preparedness, as described in the document analysis / context.

“The municipality is tasked with communicating what kind of responsibility you have in order to take care of yourself in a crisis, I believe is based on the Civil Protection Act under which the municipality is responsible for the population's safety and security within its geographical boundaries. But there is a crossing point here that must be taken into account. For the municipality has a responsibility to make people aware also, people have a responsibility to listen to what is said” (Informant #3).

Among other things, it appears from one of the informants that the responsibility lies with the municipality, without explicitly referring to the Civil Protection Act. However, the interesting aspect of this is that the person in question also states that the municipality is responsible for those who are visiting the municipality:

*“The municipality has a responsibility for all the inhabitants who live in the municipalities and for everyone who is present and **visiting** the municipality at any time” (Informant #1).*

Does the municipality have an overview of everyone who resides within the municipality's boundaries - considering those who only have a postal address stated at a particular municipality, but reside somewhere else? And what about tourists staying in the municipality? In Schengen, for example, there is no need for a visa to vacate in Norway. Their arrival will therefore not be registered. This is in fact a quite important matter that needs to be address as all of my cases are typical tourist cities and student cities.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the importance of improving and increasing individual awareness is also a matter of concern which constantly appeared in the conversations with the informants. Awareness in this context involves in ensuring that all individuals has good enough knowledge of what can happen and how you as an individual can better cope with the complexity a certain situation brings forth.

“Like much else in the world, I do not think there is an optimal solution to how this can be solved, where everyone has the storerooms full of everything needed for a crisis, but it is perhaps more about raising awareness because the resources are there, they just need to be activated” (Informant #3).

Society's total readiness and ability to handle events is dependent on how good the individual is to both take care of themselves and in helping others. The idea that it is only the authority's responsibility to deal with the effects of crises can act as an obstacle to community participation. By educating the public, awareness of the dangers and risks can be reduced, which in turn can cause society's involvement to become more likely (Chou & Wu, 2014).

“There is not enough capacity in the public sector to meet the expectations of the general population in crisis situations. Therefore, the campaign is important because it creates an awareness in the population because society must prioritize and assist those who need it the most” (Informant #4).

“We have achieved a lot if the population is aware of that they have a responsibility for themselves, know how warning takes place, and

know where they can find information. The fact that residents have things at home as advised is of course an important goal, but raising awareness is an equally important aspect of this. The populations must take personal choices when warnings are a reality” (Informant #3).

As can be seen from the informant’s statements, the municipalities have different points of view on matters concerning responsibility and awareness. The exact reason for this is perhaps difficult to point out without a more comprehensive study which includes more factors, but the results do construct a reality consisting of -to some degree- a form of insufficient understanding of what citizen preparedness entails.

First and foremost, the individual’s area of responsibility is a more orderly area for the municipalities to navigate in. Although provisions within citizen preparedness are enshrined in the Civil Protection Act, it is, however, done at an overall level. It must also be questioned whether individuals are actually aware of this lawful obligation.

The picture is more nuanced in terms of raising awareness of citizen preparedness. For how can the municipalities achieve good enough awareness? As can be seen from the interviews, this is an area taken rather little into account and thus needs more thoughtful reflection. When questions about how measures to raise awareness of citizen preparedness should possibly be implemented, there were no concrete feedback in the dialogues with the informants. This indicates that the municipalities still have a long way to go, since no one could refer to concrete measures on how awareness of the population can change over time. It is however possible that the response from the informants may be due to other conditions. Awareness raising is about changing behaviour, and this will take time. It is therefore important that the municipality initiates concrete plans for how this can be achieved. However, this is also a matter of a political issue as changes must occur at the top level.

Based on this, we can ask ourselves, among other things, whether the municipalities have enough insight into what the concept of citizen preparedness entails, both in terms of research and how other countries have progressed to achieve the best possible result. It is in fact up to each municipality to stay academically updated on pressing matters. In addition to this, it is very surprising that none of the municipalities mentioned education as an alternative tool to increase the individual's preparedness. Safety and security are two concepts that have no intentions of leaving anytime soon. The terms are an inevitable part of our lives. Incorporating

this into the education system can be a potential opportunity for Norway. This, of course, will have its advantages and disadvantages in terms of how "frightened" people become, but fortified in such a system can ensure that lessons are under controlled circumstances.

5.2.3 Municipal deficiency

A repeating pattern that quickly became visible in all the conversations I had with the informants was that the informants had a rather abstract approach to citizen preparedness. It was often difficult to get the dialogue on the right path and on several occasions, I had to disregard some questions as the answers were repetitive. At the same time, the informants often questioned several of their own statements, such as when questioning long-term planning of awareness raising of citizen preparedness, informant # 4 had no answer as to whether a long-term plan was under consideration. However, the informant pointed out that the matter is discussed in meetings with the rest of the emergency preparedness team if anything should be followed up. The aforementioned informant also did not comment on one of the questions that dealt with how the municipality can ensure that the population has the best possible knowledge about citizen preparedness. In conversation with informant # 2 regarding the same question, we actually realized that the doctor's office within the municipalities should be equipped with posters of the brochure so that the patients can read it while they wait. Informant # 1 and # 3 repeated themselves by rather referring to what they have done, not how this can be done in the future.

DSB encouraged municipalities to adapt the campaign locally by informing about local conditions such as special challenges and/or resources, meeting places and warning routines. One of the questions in the interview was thus directly related to this. Essentially, I had expected that all the informants had taken this into consideration, and that the question would be unnecessary, but it turned out that local conditions referred to by the DSB were not taken into consideration by any of the municipalities.

In summary, the salient findings from the proceeding sections suggest that citizen preparedness is a relatively new phenomenon among the municipalities, where the goal should be to strive for the best possible practice that will shed light on the importance of citizen preparedness.

The document analysis shows that citizen preparedness is a more nuanced area for the municipalities. While established legislation sets the framework for, among other things, a

holistic approach to societal safety with the elaboration of comprehensive risk-and vulnerability analysis in all municipality, citizen preparedness is consolidated within a framework that is rather blurry without clear guidelines. Findings from the interviews support this as the informants' approach is relatively unclear and basically relies on either the municipalities' statutory obligations of safeguarding the inhabitants within their geographical boundaries, or hypothetical formulations on the concept of citizen preparedness.

Building on these observations and reflections the next chapter aims to draw out more general insight connected to the purpose of this study and the theoretical framework.

6 Discussion

In this chapter I intend to discuss my empirical findings in relation to the theoretical framework applied in this research. The chapter is structured according to three main themes that will answer the purpose of the research.

First and foremost, I will argue and reflect on the complexity of citizen preparedness as illuminated through the results. Citizen preparedness, like much else, is only one of many factors that must be taken into account in the preparation and efficiency of the emergency preparedness work. Secondly, reflections on the relationship between citizen preparedness and societal preparedness will be clarified. They must be understood in relation to each other as they are both two interdependent entities. The last theme will contemplate on the relationship between the total defence and citizen capacity.

6.1 Needle in a haystack

As accounted for in the literature review, there are many aspects that must be taken into consideration when one wants to look at what citizen preparedness really entails. The reason for this is that today's individual lives in a system that is operated by far more mechanisms than we can see with our naked eyes. Our thoughts are governed by the underlying impulses we receive from friends, family, workplace and news, among others. The world is so big, but at the same time so small, and national borders have become meaningless in the face of a climate that does not show mercy for neither the poor nor the rich. The advancement of technology has created vulnerability we cannot control, but only adjust thereafter. Preparedness measures are therefore important to understand, and in order to do so, knowledge and broad overview is required (Staupe-Delgado & Kruke, 2017). Our life is as ambiguous as the ambiguity of risk (Aven & Renn, 2009). Municipal management of emergency preparedness is therefore surrounded by a complex system that requires careful approach in order to stand firmly as we face the future.

The range of factors that must be taken into account was a prominent phenomenon in my results. Not noticeable in such a way that it flowed over with information, but rather the lack of understanding of what constitutes citizen preparedness in a broader academic understanding. The director of DSB, Cecilie Daae, stated in advance of the development of the campaign that *"we will not print a separate brochure, but we will use social media and other channels"* (Paust,

2018). It is quite noteworthy that DSB initially had a desire to distributing the campaign through social media when the official Facebook pages of Kriseinfo.no and Sikkerhverdag.no respectively have 0,27% and 0,08% followers of the total Norwegian population, when 80% between 16 and 79 years utilize social media.

Among other things, it is established in the literature review on risk communication that both conventional and unconventional channels should be applied when one wants to communicate risk, (Chagutah, 2009). After publishing the campaign, the media flourished with news articles in both national and local newspapers as well as on social media and on TV. As accounted for in the results, social media and the municipalities website are widely used as a tool in promoting the campaign. However, a quick search on their official Facebook pages shows, among other thing, that roughly 1/10 of their inhabitants follow the municipalities Facebook page, which is quite little compared to the number of inhabitants. The exact numbers will however not be accounted for any further due to anonymity. Nevertheless, it must be taken into account that these followers can share the particular posts about citizen preparedness further, but this is difficult to account for.

According to research it is in fact stated that risk communication messages one wishes to convey must be repeated over time (Janoske, et al., 2013; Wood, et al., 2012), which indicates that long-term strategic planning is important when communicating risk to the public. Other studies have also suggested that the message is repeated, verified and provided by official sources on various channels (Mileti & Fitzpatrick, 1992; Tierney, Lindell, & Perry, 2001). What happened to the media coverage after the massive media storm? The study also found different response on this matter as some of the municipalities had no further activities planned regarding the resumption of the campaign and its content, while one of the municipalities were planning on a new round of coverage next fall. The lack of repetition of the citizen preparedness message contradicts the aforementioned literature as it is clearly emphasized that in order for a message to manifest itself it must be repeated several times.

The results illuminate a rather abstract approach to citizen preparedness. The basis for this assumption is that it seems like it is only the campaign itself that appears as a well-thought-out product, and not the systematic citizen preparedness work that must exist in order for the future citizen preparedness to be better than today's. It appears that there are no long-term strategic decisions that are decided upon regarding how this can be reached. The interesting aspect of citizen preparedness is in fact how one can strategically work towards enhancing it, so it

becomes a part of the actual preparedness – as the campaign is indeed promoting that each individual is actually a part of the emergency preparedness in Norway. Perhaps the reason for this might be a lack of concrete guidelines on how to proceed on a subject that is inherently complicated, as citizen preparedness has not manifested itself in regulations such as the overall preparedness work has (Throne-Holst et al., 2015). However, it cannot be unheard of that the message in the campaign as a whole was quite clear and concise, in opposite to Sweden which published a whole booklet. A message with the aim of conveying risk to the public should be both concise and clear (Janoske et al., 2013).

With the advancement of technology, today's individuals have the opportunity to enlighten themselves far more than before the internet. At the same time, the technology has also paved the way for impact and awareness through unconventional channels. Climate activist Greta Thunberg is a prime example of how awareness through Instagram and Facebook have created a massive movement of youth who strike and demonstrate, all over the world. How does a 16-year-old youth manage to create such a great propensity and awareness of the climate crisis, while raising awareness of the population to take advice and guidance on the exact same crisis seems so difficult? It appears from the study that the municipalities situate great emphasize on raising awareness of their citizens. In fact, research has accounted for that educating citizen can create awareness and reduce the potential consequences that may prevail during a crisis (Chou & Wu, 2014; Amundsen, Berglund & Westskog, 2010). However, raising awareness requires far more of an effort than creating publicity within a given timeframe. If people do not worry about a crisis, it will be difficult to raise awareness on citizen preparedness. As the un-rocked boat of James Reason (1998) persistently explains, awareness can be reduced in advance of a disaster if the period ahead of the crisis has been event-free. Thus, it remains to be seen whether municipalities see the purpose of long-term planning of awareness raising as a necessary tool to promote the message in the future.

Citizen preparedness is a needle in a haystack fighting a struggle for attention against other important political issues, such as the unnecessary use of plastic, the march against toll and the fight for merging counties. What matters is what is on the political agenda and in the media that determines what gets the most column space. It is therefore important to keep the message alive. Because, there will always be social concerns that require far more space than of other important news, and it is up to each municipality to ensure that the awareness of the campaign and the awareness of the citizens do not stagnate, alongside high political involvement. How

this labyrinth can be solved is a matter that will always occupy the public debate when it first appears, but whether citizen preparedness will be politically rooted on the same level as societal preparedness remains to be seen. After all, we live in a society where crises of larger dimensions are relatively rare and the curse of preparedness is that no one cares before the crisis has actually occurred (Rosenthal, Charles & 't Hart, 1989). Is it such that we want to wait for the next crisis before embarking on this problem? Citizen preparedness, therefore, remains unsolved.

6.2 Citizen and societal preparedness as mutually dependant

What do you want the government to protect you from? Life is full of risk. Even when you follow the rule you are at risk. More security comes at a price. The price of our liberty. The reason for this is that the more we wish the government to protect us from the less control we have on our own life because we at some point entrust our lives to another entity, namely the government. It can therefore be argued that we no longer have security either because someone else is in control of that. However, it is important to stress that security does not merely imply surveillance and police. It is also about safe roads, safe hospitals, proper education and functioning kindergarten. This leads us to the social contract. The aforementioned is the process where everyone in a political community agree to the states authority and thereby limiting their freedom. In return, the state will protect their universal human rights and security/safety. Responsibility in this context is highly relevant. It is a term that is widely discussed within many different schools but constitutes very diffuse boundary. Who can really determine the interface between public and private, between vulnerable and not vulnerable- who really needs help the most? Who is responsible for you? Ultimately, we are all part of a machinery that must interact in order to survive.

As accounted for in my findings, there are not only great differences and similarities in how the informants relate to citizen preparedness in light of the campaign, but there is also some degree of uncertainty as to what the concept of citizen preparedness itself implies. And this is what compose the problematic element of what constitutes the fundamental work within emergency preparedness, namely how risk can be reduced. Risk is a term that is wrapped in ambiguity (Aven & Renn, 2009), and ambiguity requires interaction across the broader lines of society. Collaborating across the broader lines is always easier said than done, because on the paper, grandiose verdicts and grand changes can scoop anyone up in the clouds. This uncertainty of what the concepts entails my possibly be due to the lack of concrete regulation, or guidelines

of what citizen preparedness should perhaps entail from a municipal standpoint. As highlighted in my findings, the general societal safety work is relatively new in Norway. The Civil Protection Act did not come into force before 2010, and in October 2011, a regulation on municipal emergency preparedness obligation was issued, which is enshrined in the Civil Protection Act, where supplementary rules on the municipal emergency preparedness obligation are specified. The interesting aspect in this context is the relationship between legal provisions and what DSB encourages municipalities to follow. In relation to the campaign, DSB did in fact encourage municipalities to adapt the campaign to suit local conditions such as accounting for meeting places for their citizens if something ought to happen. To my knowledge, this is not accounted for by the municipalities. The effort has rather been on ensuring that the campaign can be understood by those who do not speak Norwegian.

The authorities are unable to control all aspects of the individual's life. At some point, the individuals must help to secure themselves. The challenges we face every day in our society can be equated with a play that will never end. It is scientifically proven that the climate is in dramatic change, or rather in crisis as diligently phrased by The United Nations Secretary General, António Guterres (Carrington, 2019). Technology is exceeding all expectations, hybrid occurrences paints a gloomy picture of the battlefield and security policies are changing quite rapidly which can be seen with President Trump in power as he sets forth either a trade war with China through a twitter tantrum or sanctions on Iran.

Technological and social systems are represented by complexity and mutual dependency as single events can affect social functions concurrently and quickly propagate to other sectors and systems (Kruke, Olsen & Hovden, 2005). All levels of society are exposed to vulnerable situations and vulnerability may affect individuals and the society as a whole (Bijker, 2009). For example, many households are critically dependent on power supply, and the consequences can be enormous if the access fails. The vulnerability of society can also be aggravated by mutual interdependence between different sectors. Telecommunications and power supplies are an example of this. Therefore, society's total preparedness and ability to handle events is dependent on how good individuals are to both take care of themselves and in helping others. The idea that it is only the authority's responsibility to deal with the effects of crises can act as an obstacle to community participation. By educating the public, awareness of the dangers and risks can be reduced, which in turn can cause society's involvement to become more likely (Chou & Wu, 2014). Society is an equally significant contributor to the production of security

measures as the individual. Simultaneous, society and individuals are also the origin of the vulnerability that exists in our society (Linnell, 2014, p. 68). In other words, it is important to aim for a strategic approach which advances the cornerstone of the Norwegian society. A culture of preparedness has always been a part of the Norwegian tradition. Therefore, the spirit of voluntarism should be better fostered.

A weakness of our system is that hazards in Norway are largely handled sectoral (Rykkja, et al., 2012, p. 3). It may be difficult to interact across sectors - vertically and horizontally - when there are no concrete guidelines on how this can be conducted appropriately. The relationship between the principle of responsibility and principle of cooperation is precisely what this entails. While the former is about the responsibility of each ministry, the latter deals with cross-sectoral collaboration (Rykkja, et al., 2012). Detecting hazards is thus difficult. The complexity that lies upon us like a black cloud effecting our everyday life cannot be treated alone, as our society is situated in a limbo where societal safety and state security are no longer separated. Preparedness do indeed require attention throughout the society. In fact, inclusion of more and different sectors is a necessity (Kelman, 2010). The individual aspect is also included in this consolidation of force. In fact, it has been accounted for that individual behaviour can affect all the phases of the emergency preparedness work. Inclusion of citizens regardless of whether they are affected or not by a crisis will therefore be very critical as they often act as first responders (Vos, et.al., 2014; Kruke, 2015). However, this is solely dependent on the established institutional capacity in the management of the municipality (Amundsen, Berglund & Westskog, 2010). Nonetheless, a persistent challenge with such collaboration is how to coordinate the various sectors, including the individuals.

It is rather distressing that citizen preparedness is not strongly rooted in municipalities. When no one has a consistent approach to how this can be solved, it becomes a rather large imbalance. How then can we expect individuals to interact with knowledge and awareness and also follow guidelines when institutions themselves are conceivably unable to interact across various sectors? It is however important to account for economic conditions as this largely regulates how resources are allocated. Nevertheless, this is not a situation the municipalities can solve by themselves as this is a matter of question that needs to be dealt with on a higher political platform.

What if the time for change has arrived? A change that thrives on systematic collaboration – between institutions and also between individuals? In light of safety, there is always a debate

on a holistic interaction across sectors to be better prepared for tomorrow. The same should be applied for individuals. However, cooperation can be solved by better collaboration, but it can create new problem that needs to be addressed (Rykkja, et al., 2012, p. 13). Therefore, there is no such thing as utopian perfection as the goal should be to strive for the best possible solution.

6.3 Total defence and citizen capacity

Norway is facing a diverse and complex threat and risk picture, and the ability to handle the consequences we have produced is more important than ever. The overall national preparedness work is compromised by what we refer to as the total defence in which consist of state security, societal safety and individual security (Norwegian Ministry of Defence & Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Security, 2018, p. 12-13). Is it possible to consider the capacity of citizenry in light of these three levels which are relentlessly striving for the development of a robust and resilient country? The brochure “you are part of Norway’s emergency preparedness”, after all, reflects the authority’s recognition of the increased importance of civilian capacity in securing the state.

State security has traditionally been connected to the defence of its territory. It can also be challenged through political and military pressure on Norwegian authorities as well as through more limited attacks. However, these lines have become blurry in light of the complexity that prevails over us. Hidden electronic warfare is among one of several modern methods applied in an attempt to paralyze a country. During Trident Juncture and as recently as of 2019, GPS jamming was reported in Norway from foreign state power. This will not only be a challenge for military activity, but also a threat to civil aviation as well as health and police services. As a result, this will affect citizens as much as it will affect the armed forces. Thus, a potential conflict is not only a matter of winning a fight by applying military means. This type of warfare can take place within the information sphere, in economics and finance, culture and in cyberspace. All these arenas are subjected to human interaction in their own respective ways. Nevertheless, citizens are thus more vulnerable than before in the face of state powers fighting in a sea of various battlefields. It will only be fair to raise awareness among citizens of the various threats they face in different situations. Threats may appear innocent in light of the various means that are applied, but the reality is far from an innocent game. How then is it possible for citizens to apply their capacity as a part of the Norwegian preparedness in the face

of an unknown future consisting of not only state powers operating in unknown waters, but also a climate crisis which is knocking on our doors without revealing its actual implications.

The emergence of new challenges has led to exposure of new dangers to the social structure of the society. This includes non-state actors, challenges related to increased dependency on and vulnerability in critical infrastructure, social processes that effect vulnerability and the climate crisis. As a consequence, an increased emphasis has been placed on societal safety which evolves around ensuring the security of key functions which will in turn contribute to protection and safeguarding of the civilian population. However, several incidents suggest that the population will have to take greater responsibility for their own safety as snow and landslides occur every year where rural communities become hard to reach. Closed roads are also a problem as this will, for example, prevent the ambulance from reaching out to those with the greatest need, regardless of whether it is a larger crisis, avalanches or landslides. The matter regarding GPS jamming can, as previously mentioned, also cause as a threat during peace which can result in life threatening events by for example disturbing the GPS signals of the air ambulance services. This can be caused by both external actors as well as private persons which use GPS jamming for various reasons.

Individual security evolves around protecting the individual in which human rights and the right to life and personal safety are at the centre. These are fortunately factors that are strongly rooted in the Norwegian democracy. However, the question remains in whether personal safety can be achieved when there exists a mountain of factors that we neither know about nor can control.

The core of citizens' capacity is ultimately important. If scarce societal resources and crisis management capacities ought to be applied on the population and other matters that are most at risk at a given situation, the unaffected population should be adequately equipped and prepared.

7 Concluding remarks

The purpose of this study has been to investigate citizen preparedness in Norway based on the campaign "you are part of Norway's emergency preparedness". The purpose of this study is carried out by investigating how municipalities enhance citizen preparedness through municipal emergency preparedness planning. The discussion is carried out based on interpretations of the data material and the theoretical framework. The aforementioned lays the foundation for the conclusion.

Based on the results of this study, the enhancement of citizen preparedness has arguably not been satisfactory. In sum, contributions of this thesis may, in broad strokes, be stated as three main findings. First and foremost, it is necessary to foster awareness of citizen preparedness, both among citizens and within municipalities. We cannot wait for a crisis to strike us before we understand the importance of this. Secondly, it is potentially necessary with the preparation of regulations to create a rigid framework that both municipalities and citizens can and must adhere to. Last but not least, the spirit of voluntarism, which constitutes the Norwegian society, should be better fostered and implemented in a systematic matter, on a micro level.

There are several factors that influence the municipalities management of citizen preparedness. The more extensive lines are always about the interests and obligations of decision-makers from the top level of the government because this is where changes will occur in terms of laws and regulations. However, citizen preparedness has received increasing attention in the past two decades in hazard-prone areas, but other countries have also realized the need to raise citizens' awareness in the face of an unknown future. Citizen preparedness is not a new phenomenon in Norway as the term had a vital significance during the war, but it is new in the sense that we now live in a more modern society with several actors operating in a complex system. Therefore, as important citizen preparedness is in the framework of municipal responsibility, it is equally essential to frame the responsibility on individuals, because societies total defence and ability to handle crises is entirely dependent on how good the individual is to both take care of themselves and also help others.

The insufficient regulation on how to proceed with citizen preparedness may perhaps affect the future work on how citizen preparedness is both framed by the government and population, but also the lack of systematic long-term planning can have potential implications for the consequences we will face. In a wilder world without specific predictions for what the outcome

will be, it is extremely important to have a plan. Although plans often cannot take into account the uncertainty of the future, they do, however, guide us to better cope in crises.

Perhaps it is time for a debate on whether preparedness, on a general basis, should be incorporated in our education system in order to create a culture of preparedness. The aforementioned will perhaps contribute to raising awareness among citizens and at the same time, not prevail as crisis maximation from the government. It may rather appear as a regular aspect of our everyday life.

7.1 Implications

Based on findings from the results, some recommendations for further work on citizen preparedness efforts will be elaborated. One suggestion is that citizen preparedness as a phenomenon must be strengthened (or grounded for) in the municipalities efforts towards increasing citizen preparedness. It is necessary for municipalities to acquire further knowledge on the subject in order to make the best use of the resources in their respective municipalities. Whether this is through updates on social media or other strategic tools is a choice the municipalities themselves have to take based on their internal circumstances that must be accounted for. This can in turn lead to the municipality's inhabitants being prepared to take care of themselves, so that resources can be redirected to the most precarious situations in a given crisis. It is not about performing grand exercises that involve all concerned actors as this is impossible, but rather changes in attitudes.

Municipal emergency preparedness is statutory. If citizen preparedness is framed even stronger within crisis rhetoric, it will perhaps raise awareness on the topic and create pressure for political action. If one manages to establish regulation of citizen preparedness in light of municipal emergency preparedness, it may potentially have an effect on the population by confirming how critical citizen preparedness is and that individual actions along with national emergency preparedness work can have an effect. It will perhaps appear as a more manageable situation if the citizens are aware of how they, in fact, are valuable assets.

7.2 Limitations

Since this is a study of a phenomenon that is relatively new in a modern Norway, this research has certain limitations. The understanding of what citizen preparedness entails needs time to settle, both for citizens, municipalities and the state as such.

The fact that the term is “novel” considering how new the campaign is may have led to the fact that one has not had the opportunity to acquire sufficient knowledge of citizen preparedness. This applies both to me as a researcher and to my informants. It is therefore feasible to conclude that the study has insufficient data basis. The research is however based on interviews and official documents which suits well with the purpose of this study, regardless of the limitations. Nevertheless, a study with a more complex empirical data basis will be far more fruitful as this can provide a better knowledge and status-quo on citizen preparedness within a municipal context, as well as challenging political aspects of the issue.

7.3 Further research

The focus on citizen preparedness is evidently a new strategy from DSB and therefore also new for municipalities. Indeed, it needs time to manifest itself in the overall emergency preparedness work. It would therefore be fruitful to conduct future studies on this to see whether municipalities have had a chance to settle a more comprehensive strategy on citizen preparedness.

DSB has conducted a population survey that forms the basis of the campaign, and also one after the campaign. However, it would be very interesting to carry out a more comprehensive quantitative survey that maps people's understanding of citizen preparedness now that the campaign does not have much media coverage around it. Indeed, media storms do boost awareness. The interesting aspect of the campaign should rather be whether citizens has taken the message into consideration in two years from now, or even ten. At the same time, it would also be very fruitful to conduct such a survey with key emergency preparedness actors in Norway to map how the term is perceived by those who work daily with it. This may possibly help the understanding of how the development of citizen preparedness in the Norwegian society can be conducted in the future.

If citizen preparedness gets a foothold at a higher political level, it may be interesting to expand the data base with qualitative interviews with key decision-makers.

Since this term encompasses the entire population and thus spans multiple sectors, it will also be useful to look at other organizations that operate daily in countries in need of assistance due to climatic conditions or war. These organizations have a lot of knowledge that can prove useful. After all, the goal should also be cross-sectoral cooperation in fostering knowledge and experience.

8 References

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