Australian Red Cross
THE POWER OF HUMANITY

Research report

A survey of spontaneous volunteers

Alison Cottrell
Centre for Disaster Studies
James Cook University

JAMES COOK UNIVERSITY
AUSTRALIA

CRISIS CARE COMMITMENT

Contents

Acknowledgements

The production of this report would not have been possible without support from the following:

- Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs – for funding the project
- Australian Red Cross – for project support – Julie Groome, Carol Hubert and Carla Benham
- Victorian Bushfire Reconstruction and Recovery Authority (VBRRA) – for contacting their volunteers and inviting them to participate in the survey
- Volunteering Queensland – for contacting their volunteers and inviting them to participate in the survey
- Blaze Aid – for contacting their volunteers and inviting them to participate in the survey

Summary

Australian Red Cross has undertaken a project to develop a framework for the use of spontaneous volunteers in emergencies, under the auspices of the Australian Government Disaster Recovery Committee and funded by the Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs.

The aim of the project is to enable consistent good practice in jurisdictions and agencies that choose to use spontaneous volunteers as part of their emergency management activities. For those jurisdictions and agencies that do not wish to use spontaneous volunteers, the framework offers tools to manage and redirect the anticipated influx of spontaneous volunteers. For these organisations, the aim is to prevent a drain on resources that must be dedicated to their core business.

'Spontaneous volunteers' are those who seek to contribute on impulse—people who offer assistance following a disaster and who are not previously affiliated with recognised volunteer agencies and may or may not have relevant training, skills or experience (Drabek and McEntire 2003).

Australian Red Cross engaged Dr Alison Cottrell from the Centre for Disaster Studies at James Cook University to undertake primary research into the motivations and expectations of spontaneous volunteers following the Queensland storms in November 2008 and the Victorian bushfires in February 2009 to inform the development of a draft implementation plan and associated communication strategy. This report provides a summary of Dr Cottrell's findings.

The research employed qualitative and quantitative approaches to obtain data. Qualitative interviews were undertaken with 16 people who had offered their help to Red Cross following the Victorian bushfires. In addition, invitations were sent to spontaneous volunteers to participate in an online survey by the Victorian Bushfire Reconstruction and Recovery Authority, Volunteering Queensland, Blaze Aid and Red Cross.

There were a total of 255 responses with a 93% completion rate (237).

Key findings included:

- Media coverage was the main prompt for people to volunteer (81.2% ranked it as very important or important) followed by talking with other people about the event (61.7%).
- Three-quarters of respondents (78%) offered their help within a week of the event.
- The event was very important to 68.6% in their decision to volunteer and for 22.7% it was important.
- Nearly all respondents agreed that feeling the need to do something for those who needed help was very important (86.2%) or important (11.7%) in their decision to volunteer.
- Most (61.7%) were prepared to do anything.
- Consistent with the data from the interviews, by far the majority of respondents to the survey (65.2%) reported that their volunteering offers had not been used at all.

This research has shown that the process of spontaneous volunteering has a number of points at which potential volunteers 'fall out' of the process, or feel underused within it, and many volunteers desire a sense of closure. This could be managed by ensuring that authorities are clearly articulating to the broader community that 'the situation is in hand'.

With the desire to volunteer coming in the first week of the disaster, which coincides with the peak media coverage of disasters, this is hardly surprising. Again, it suggests that authorities need to clearly articulate what they want the public to do, from the point of impact—that is, do they want to discourage spontaneous volunteers or call for them?

Introduction

When a disaster occurs, people volunteer their assistance for the aid of those affected. Broadly, this assistance can be donations of money or goods, loans of equipment, and donations of time and labour. In the 'disasters' and 'sociology' literature, these actions are described as emergent behaviour, convergent behaviour and, in the case of volunteers themselves, spontaneous behaviour. This report is based on applied social research with people who spontaneously volunteered to assist others affected by a major disaster, and who had registered formally with an agency.

Volunteering is a 'gift of time to the community and involves elements of choice' (Oppenheimer and Warburton 2000:3). Volunteering can be 'formal', that is through organisations, or 'informal', which is not through organisations and is often domestic in nature. Volunteering is very much associated with a desire to contribute to society, co-operative altruism, and reciprocity (Oppenheimer and Warburton 2000). This gift is never more apparent than in times of a disaster, when spontaneous volunteering occurs.

'Spontaneous volunteers' are those who seek to contribute on impulse—people who offer assistance following a disaster and who are not previously affiliated with recognised volunteer agencies and may or may not have relevant training, skills or experience (Drabek and McEntire 2003). Most of the academic literature on spontaneous volunteers appears to be from the sociological perspective, focusing on the types of groups that emerge, the changing nature of groups as they respond to a disaster, or how government and other organisations deal with an influx of volunteers (Drabek and McEntire 2003, Fritz and Mathewson 1957, Rodriguez et al 2006). A recent paper by Steffen and Fothergill (2009) addresses the gap in the literature from the perspective of the volunteers themselves, but it is a longitudinal study with 23 respondents. The task remains then, of developing a broader understanding of the motivations of individuals, their expectations of what they might contribute and gain themselves, expectations of the organisations and the people they seek to help, and their perceptions of the experience. This study is a move towards addressing some of these issues.

Methods

This research was initiated as an applied research activity, and as such sought to focus on issues of concern to agencies that use spontaneous volunteers. That is, theoretical research was not the objective. Therefore, an inductive approach was used to investigate the experiences of spontaneous volunteers for rapid onset events such as the Victorian bushfires in February 2009 and the Queensland storms in November 2008.

Although agencies may have a view of the experiences of their volunteers, to gain a better understanding it is necessary to start with the views of the volunteers themselves. To achieve this, a mix of methods was used for this research. A combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches used sequentially sought to identify the nature and extent of the issue under investigation (Denzin and Lincoln 2005, Hay 2005, Neuman 1997, Patton 2002).

Sample

Four agencies agreed to send emails to their lists of volunteers who had volunteered for major disasters in their area. These were Australian Red Cross in Victoria, Blaze Aid in Victoria, Victorian Bushfire Reconstruction and Recovery Authority, and Volunteering Queensland. Red Cross sent an email on 29 October to 797 email addresses, 76 of which were undeliverable. The Victorian Bushfire Reconstruction and Recovery Authority (VBRRA) sent an email in the week commencing 14 December to 809 email addresses, 117 of which were undeliverable. Blaze Aid and Volunteering Queensland also sent out emails, but have not made the numbers available.

Qualitative interviews

Qualitative telephone interviews were conducted to identify the scope of the issue from the perspective of the volunteers themselves. The telephone interviews were 15 to 30 minutes long depending on the interviewee. Interviews continued until no new themes arose. Red Cross supplied a contact list for people who volunteered in response to the Victorian bushfires. Red Cross sent out an email so that as many potential participants as possible were informed about the study. Individuals were randomly chosen from the list and telephoned, informed about the study, invited to participate and, if agreeable, interviewed. Participants were advised that the study results would be available from Red Cross. At no stage was Red Cross provided the identity of the participants. Sixteen people were interviewed by telephone. The qualitative data were analysed using theme analysis (Denzin and Lincoln 2005, Neuman 1997).

Quantitative survey

An online survey was devised using 'Survey Monkey®'. Red Cross sent out an email advertising the study and providing the web link to the survey. The three other organisations were also invited to participate in the survey. Blaze Aid, Volunteering Queensland and VBRRA sent out emails inviting their volunteers to participate in the online survey. Recruitment of participants was purposive (on the basis of having been registered as volunteers by any of the three agencies), but the sample was self-selected and anonymous. There is therefore no way of knowing how representative the sample is of the total group of potential volunteers. There were a total of 255 responses with a 93% completion rate (237).

Findings

Qualitative interviews

From the qualitative interviews, the picture of the experience of those who offered to volunteer evolved. An offer to volunteer led to one of the following:

- No response
- Response but no further follow-up
- Invitation to training but no further follow-up
- Training but no further follow-up
- Used for tasks but not related to experience or training
- Used for tasks related to experience or training.

The offer to spontaneously volunteer was prompted by a perceived need for assistance for what was clearly a very large event in terms of the number of people affected and the extent of the trauma. Some people were left wondering whether they were not really needed, and unsure about whether community needs had been met. Consequently, for several of the interview participants, the lack of response or follow-up was at the least perplexing, and in some cases left people feeling 'up in the air'—that is, there was no 'closure' for them.

Closure can be described as 'a desire for definite knowledge on some issues and the eschewal of confusion and ambiguity' (Webster and Kruglanski 1997:133, see also Mooney 1954). The need for closure tends to vary on the basis of cultural identity (Chiu et al 2000), the level of emotion involved (Bieke and Wirth-Beaumont 2005) and individual characteristics (Webster and Kruglanski 1997). The variation in the need for closure can be seen in the general comments about people's feelings about their experience, which could be grouped into positive, neutral or negative.

People who expressed positive views about their experience were appreciative of being able to help in any way, even if such help did not use their qualifications or skills. This view can be summed up by the statement: 'It's not about me, it's about the people who needed

help, what they needed.' One professional counsellor stated: 'If all they needed was for someone to listen then that was all they needed, and it was my job to listen.' For some people it was of no consequence whether they were used at all. There was an acceptance that either there had been enough volunteers already, or that the skills they had to offer were not needed.

Negative feelings were expressed in terms of having expectations that their offer to help would be taken up in some way, especially for those who perceived a 'call for volunteers' through the media or an agency where they were employed. Some people who felt their skills were underused expressed feelings of frustration and disappointment.

There is a clear need, then, to acknowledge that for some people, for whatever reasons, the need for closure will exist. Consequently, it is desirable to keep people informed about the need or otherwise for their volunteer efforts, while being mindful of the different stages at which they may 'fall out' of the volunteering process.

There were also a couple of people who expressed a sense of perceived disorganisation in the management of the processes—that different parts of the organisation managing volunteers were not clear on what was needed at particular locations. Others expressed a view of being sent for one purpose but really being needed for another.

This perception of disorganisation is addressed by Tierney (2001:1):

> Effective responses to community crises often look messy from the outside, but that is part of what makes them effective. The failure to understand the emergence and complexity that is typical of major disasters often results in characterizations of disaster settings as chaotic and unorganized. Critical observers may express exasperation because 'no one is in charge'—as if the activities of hundreds of organizations, thousands of small groups, and tens of thousands of individuals should be controlled in real-time by some single individual or overarching entity. These kinds of comments are often rooted in inappropriate militaristic command-and-control images of disaster management and in a mistrust of non-elites and non-experts. All such criticisms fail to appreciate the strengths of situationally-driven, problem-focused, locally-based, and improvisational response strategies like those observed in New York on September 11 and in the days that followed.

Tierney's comments suggest that it may be fruitful to make volunteers aware of the potential for a sense or appearance of disorganisation.

For some of those who expressed disappointment or frustration with not being used or used to the extent they expected, there was a tendency to be very critical of the process. A couple of these people felt they were more skilled than the staff in charge of the processes, and a desire to take charge was apparent. The interviewer was left with the sense that some people could be 'difficult' about this issue. As Cox (2000) suggests, volunteers may well be imbued with notions of maintaining their own status and the social order.

A number of the issues identified in the interviews were pursued further in the online survey, along with other issues considered important by the volunteer agencies, to determine the motivations, experiences and attitudes of the volunteers towards the volunteering process in this context.

Online survey

There were a total of 255 responses to the survey. The first response was on 29 October 2009 and the final response was on 4 January 2010. There is some evidence to suggest that agencies and their staff are cognisant of the motivations and expectations of their volunteers (Liao-Troth and Dunn 1999). Despite this, agencies wanted volunteers' perspectives, and respondents were provided several opportunities to submit their own comments. The following discussion has been grouped under three themes: the decision to volunteer, expectations of the volunteering experience, and how volunteers' offers were used.

The decision to volunteer

This section includes the prompt to volunteer, timing of volunteering, the importance of the event to volunteering, and other factors that contributed to the decision to volunteer.

The prompt to volunteer (Question 1, n=244)

For the interview participants, their workplace was the main prompt to volunteer. From the survey, media coverage was the main prompt for people to volunteer (81.2% ranked this as very important or important), followed by talking with other people about the event (61.7%) and then advertisements for volunteers (52.9%) (*see Diagram 1*). Interestingly, knowing other people who were volunteering and a call through the workplace were the least important prompts.

For those (77—31.6%) who filled in comments for the 'other' category for this question, the responses can be grouped into the following themes:

- Wanting to help—37.7% (29)

  'A wish to help people whose lives had been destroyed.'

  'Wanting to help, having useful skills, having spare time.'

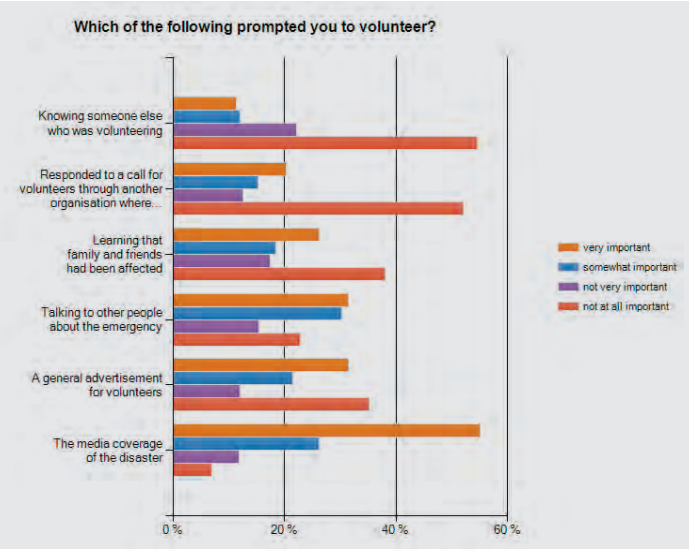

Diagram 1: The prompt to spontaneously volunteer and its level of importance

- Had the skills—26.0% (20)

  'Registered nurse with very relevant experience.'

  'I am a Community Worker who has skills and training in disaster and wanted to help.'

- Already a volunteer for either Red Cross or another organisation—14.3% (11)

  'Previously volunteered for Bali bombing, Canberra bushfires and other events.'

  'Already a volunteer member of Lions Club.'

- Proximity to the event or previous exposure 11.7% (9)

  'My own prior experience of being in a bushfire, and my skills.'

  'Lived in area so was close to fires.'

- Time available, or made available through work—10.4% (8)

  'Employer is very supportive of volunteering.'

  'I had the time. I just wanted to help. I could then and hopefully I can again.'

Some other comments made are worth noting. For example, the event became a catalyst for someone who was interested in volunteer work.

> 'Have been wanting to do community work for some time … just did not get around to it!'

Someone else wanted to help but recognised they may need training.

> 'As the extent of the disaster became apparent I wanted to help but realised that I would be most effective if I was trained or at very least a registered member of a team. So I decided it would be worthwhile volunteering so that in the future I could be deployed if needed.'

The frustrations of those wanting to help but feeling hindered were evident in a few comments:

> 'I am a … volunteer and our brigade was utilised but not on a constant basis. I was frustrated being at home on call and wanted to offer assistance rather than listening to the radio and waiting for a call-out!'

> 'I rang the local … to volunteer on the night of the bushfires because the media accounts detailed how desperate the situation was. I rang again twice some time after the event and asked to be put on the list of people wishing to volunteer in similar situations. I explained that I was sure some sort of instruction or training was required and that I would like to undertake any necessary training. Unfortunately I never heard back—until now.'

The media played an important role in attracting volunteers. Because contemporary media coverage of events reaches a large number of people, the management of issues to do with spontaneous volunteers, as for other forms of emergent behaviour, requires some thought.

The literature that is readily available on the role of the media in disasters and volunteering tends to be focused on the social construction of risk and disaster (Cohen et al. 2008, Miles and Morse 2007, Stallings 1990), perpetuation of myths about disasters (Hughes and White 2006), how media coverage can distort the impact on either a particular social group (Dynes and Rodriguez 2007) or a location (Carroll et al. 2005), recruiting volunteers and images of volunteers (Machin 2005), and managing the media itself (Auf der Heide 1989, Burkhart 1991, Scanlon et al. 1985, Eburn 2010), rather than the media's influence on volunteers per se.

Timing of volunteering (Question 2, n = 255)

Three-quarters (78%) of respondents had volunteered within a week of the event. A small proportion (11.8%) volunteered on the first day, nearly half (44.9%) within the first few days of the event, a further fifth (21.3%) within the first week, a further small proportion (9.4%) within two weeks and the remainder (12.6%) after two weeks (Diagram 2).

The timing of volunteering highlights the need for agencies to be prepared for an influx of offers within the first few days of an event.

It seems that despite the influence of the media on the overall decision to volunteer, the media did not make an impact on the timing of people's decisions to volunteer. Irrespective of whether or not the media was important to the decision to volunteer, the pattern of timing for volunteering remained very similar (Diagram 3). Importantly, the decision to volunteer overwhelmingly came within the first three days, and within the first week. This suggests that communications from authorities or agencies about whether or not volunteers are needed must commence at the same time as the emergency, and become embedded in the core messages about the emergency.

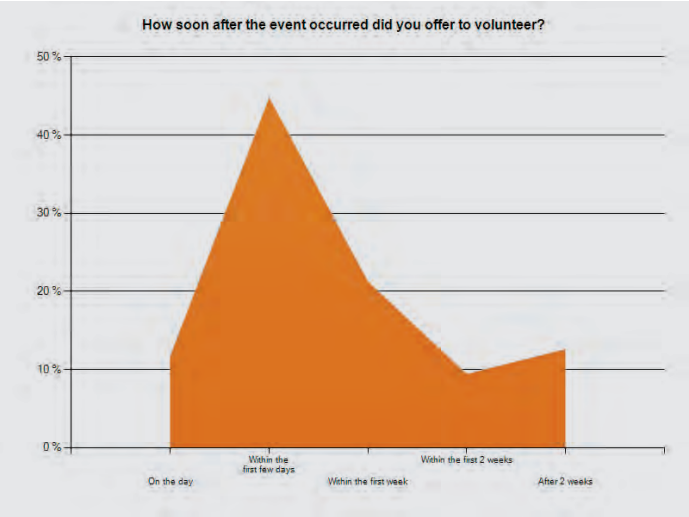

Diagram 2: The timing of the offer to volunteer by spontaneous volunteers

Diagram 3: The numbers of people spontaneously volunteering over time and the importance of the media in their decision to volunteer

Importance of the event to volunteering (Question 3, n = 255)

The event was very important to 68.6% (175) in their decision to volunteer and for a further 22.7% it was important. While this question appears to be tautological, it is nonetheless pertinent to whether the event itself was important to the decision, or whether people would volunteer whatever the event. Again, whether or not the media was important in the decision to volunteer appears to have little relationship to the importance of the event in the decision to volunteer (Diagram 4).

Similarly, Steerman and Cole (2009: 6) found no relationship between the importance of the event and demographic factors such as ethnicity, age, gender, employment status and primary caretaker status.

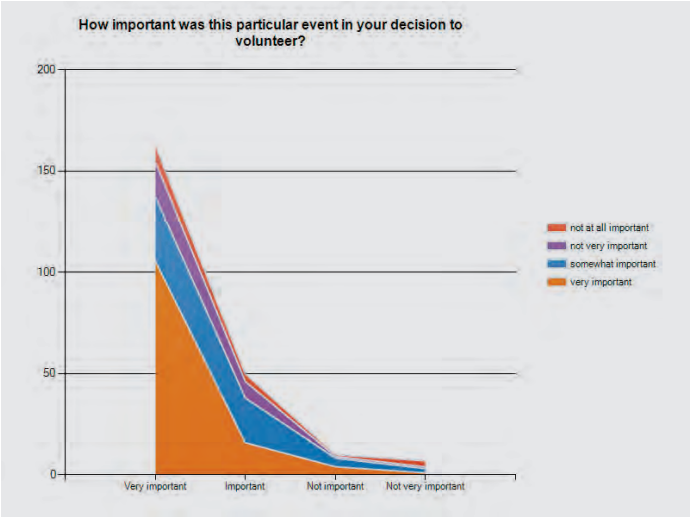

Diagram 4: The importance of the event (numbers) and the importance of the media on the decision to spontaneously volunteer

What was important about the event? (Question 4, n=216)

This question was open-ended, so the categories are derived from the data rather than being predetermined (Table 1).

For many it was the size or enormity of the event (43.9%):

> 'The extent of devastation and sheer number of people who were affected by the event.'

> 'The number of people involved, knowing there would be a huge necessity of volunteers providing many different services.'

Table 1: What respondents reported about the event as being important to their decision to spontaneously volunteer

Q4: What was important about the event? (n = 216)	%
Size or enormity	43.8
Desire to help/saw a need	25.8
Identification with the community	20.0
Had the skills to help	7.3
Previous experience of disasters	3.2
Total	100.1

Others reported a desire to help or saw a need (25.9%):

> 'People needed support and help. The normal volunteers seemed tired and exhausted and it looked like they needed help.'

> 'I could see that there would be many areas where volunteer support would be needed.'

For some it was identification with the community—this could be local or broader (20.0%):

> 'It was close to home and in the area we are closely associated with recreationally and socially.'

> 'Live local to bushfires, knew people affected, once lived in …, that house and all that I knew were burnt down.'

> 'To assist the fire ravaged members of the Victorian community.'

Others felt they had the skills to help (7.3):

> 'That I believe I have the skills that could be important in regards to child/adolescent counselling that could be utilised in trauma situations.'

> 'I am a CFA volunteer and thought I might be able to relieve someone who had worked for days.'

A small percentage cited previous experience of disaster or traumatic event (3.2%):

> 'Prior experience with bushfire. Understanding an empathy for what they are going through.'

> 'I wanted to help the bushfire victims. I was very close to being a victim in the Ash Wednesday fires.'

These responses link quite strongly to the factors agencies identified as being of interest to them in terms of what contributed to the decision to volunteer.

How important were each of the following to your decision to volunteer? (Question 5, n = 245)

Table 2 shows the options people chose from and the results.

Nearly all respondents said that feeling the need to do something for those people who needed help was very important (86.2%) or important (11.7%) to their decision to volunteer. Many also expressed the feeling that it was important to support people in need (81.2% very important and 16.6% important). Some said it was also about helping their community (49.6% very important and 25.0% important); feeling useful instead of distressed (38.7% very important and 28.0% important); feeling it was good to help people out (37.2% very important and 35.9% important); and believing that they would have felt terrible if they had not done anything to help (22.3% very important and 28.6% important).

In summary, it appears that responding to a need for help and helping those in need were the most important factors, identification with the community was next in importance, and personal feelings about self-worth and helping were third. Clearly, a number of these factors contribute to each person's motivations to help, but interestingly, the significant proportion of respondents who felt distressed as a result of the event and wanted to assist to 'take away' the distress, suggests that clear public messages and actions aimed at reducing distress are required as part of agency communications strategies. These messages should also aim to reassure people that there are plans in place, and that there are agencies with trained personnel and volunteers helping those in need.

Table 2: Important factors for the decision to spontaneously volunteer

Q5: How important were each of the following to your decision to volunteer? (n = 255) Figures are percentages					
	Very important	Somewhat important	Not very important	Not at all important	N/A
I just felt I needed to do something for those people who needed help	**86.2**	**11.7**	0.8	0.8	0.4
I have previous experience in disaster work and felt I had something to offer	20.0	8.4	13.3	8.4	49.8
I felt guilty about what had happened to the people affected	10.1	7.4	16.1	29.0	37.3
I was curious to see what had happened	1.9	2.8	9.3	43.0	43.0
I feel it is important to support people in need	**81.2**	**16.6**	1.3	0.0	0.9
To distract me from my own troubles	1.4	2.3	8.4	41.9	46.0
I would have felt terrible if I had not done anything to help	**22.3**	**28.6**	15.0	15.9	18.2
It would increase my knowledge and skills	8.2	16.4	22.4	26.0	26.9
I would feel better about myself	5.5	18.0	24.4	24.0	28.1
In return for help I have received in the past	8.0	10.8	12.7	25.0	43.4
It feels good to help people out	**37.2**	**35.9**	13.9	5.6	7.4
I live/have lived in the areas affected	10.8	6.6	8.0	20.2	54.5
I have lived in other disaster affected areas	9.2	12.0	11.1	19.8	47.9

Table continued overleaf

To help my community	**49.6**	**25.0**	7.6	6.3	11.6
To feel useful instead of distressed about what had happened	**38.7**	**28.0**	12.4	8.4	12.4
My religious beliefs	6.5	7.9	5.6	23.1	56.9

Pauline and Pauline (2009), in a review of the literature for motivations of sporting volunteers, found that volunteering is a purposeful action with a range of goals. On the basis of Clary et al. (1998), Pauline and Pauline (2009:174) identified six functional motivations:

(1) values, which address the need of volunteers to actively express their concern for those in need;

(2) understanding, which expresses the desire of volunteers to gain knowledge;

(3) social, which satisfies volunteers' need to participate in volunteer activities that are viewed favourably by significant others, close friends, or the community, or even to spend valuable time with family members and friends;

(4) career, which involves opportunities for volunteers to engage in voluntary work and gain the experience and the insight required for employment in a particular profession in the future;

(5) protective, which expresses the need of people involved in voluntary work to alleviate personal negative feelings that are associated with the functioning of the ego; and

(6) enhancement, which indicates the desire of volunteers to experience satisfactions related to personal growth and self-esteem.

This confirms that there are diverse and multiple motivations and goals for volunteers which need to be taken into consideration when planning for the use of volunteers, or communicating with them at the moment of disaster or emergency. The results from this research project seem to suggest that for spontaneous volunteers, motivations that predominate relate to values of caring for others. This may be different from volunteering in a non-disaster context. Indeed, Clary and Synder (1991) and Clary et al. (1998) suggest that the interaction between the context and the individual need to be considered, not simply individual motivations.

Similarly, Batson et al. (2002), in identifying motives for community involvement more generally (Table 3), also stressed the multiplicity of motives and warned that a separate focus on one will be to the detriment of other motives, and lead to the loss of volunteers. These different motivations can also conflict with each other, and particular ones may predominate at different times.

Table 3: Four motives for community involvement

Motive	Ultimate goal	Motive strength(s)	Weakness(es)
Egoism	Increase one's own welfare.	Many forms; easily invoked; powerful.	Increased community involvement relates to the motive only as an instrumental means or unintended consequence.
Altruism	Increase the welfare of one or more other individuals.	Powerful; may generalise to group of which other is a member.	May be limited to individual for whom empathy is felt; increased community involvement relates to the motive only as an instrumental means or unintended consequence.
Collectivism	Increase the welfare of a group or collective.	Powerful; directly focused on common good.	May be limited to ingroup.
Principlism	Uphold some moral principle (e.g. justice)	Directed toward universal and impartial good.	Often seems weak; vulnerable to rationalisation.

Source: Batson et al. (2002:434).

These multiple motivations may operate in concert or in opposition, and the predominance of different motivations at different times may make life much more complicated for agencies. These motivations may also have an impact on the type of work volunteers are prepared to undertake.

Expectations of the volunteering experience

What people were prepared to do

A number of activities were nominated for people to choose as the type of work they wanted to do (Question 6, n = 240). Most (61.7%) were prepared to do anything. Around half (50.8%) wanted to do cleaning up; food preparation was preferred by 45.8%, and driving around by 36.7%. Emotional support for those affected was nominated by 35.4%. Nearly a third were interested in building and reconstruction (31.3%) and animal rescue (30.0%), and the remainder nominated recreational activities (27.9%), counselling (13.8%), health-related activities (14.6%) and translation (2.5%).

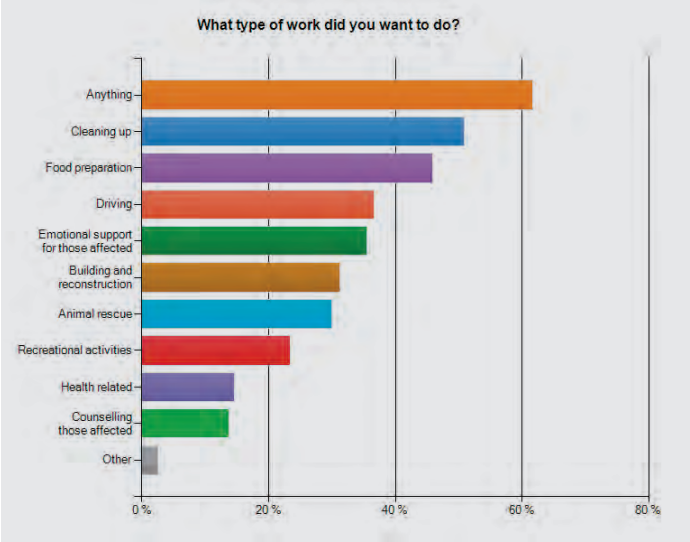

Diagram 5: The type of work people expected to do when they spontaneously volunteered

Over half of the respondents (55.4%) reported that what they wanted to do was related to their qualifications or work experience (Question 7, n = 242).

When people expected to be used

Respondents expected to be used 'whenever' (34.3%), within a few days (26.4%), straightaway (23.4%), or only if needed (15.9%) (Question 8, n = 239) (Diagram 6). The opportunity for extra comments was provided, but only 11 comments were made and no real patterns were apparent.

How much people were willing to work

Over half were willing to work more than eight hours a day (58.0%), others four to eight hours (39.5%), and only a few (2.5%) wanted less than four hours (Question 9, n = 238) (Diagram 7).

The largest group was available to volunteer indefinitely (42.8%). Others were available for more than a couple of weeks (25.4%), up to a couple of weeks (19.9%), and up to a week (11.9%) (Question 10, n = 236) (Diagram 8). Over half (53.8%) did not have a current police check (Question 11, n = 240), but only 6.7% reported having been asked about having a police check (Question 12, n = 238).

How volunteering efforts were used

Consistent with the data from the interviews, by far the majority of respondents (65.2%) reported that their volunteering efforts had not been used at all. (Question 13, n=227). Only a small proportion felt their skills had been used appropriately (9.3%), or well used for the situation (13.7%). The remainder felt they had not been used as well as they could have been (7.0%) or felt underused (4.8%).

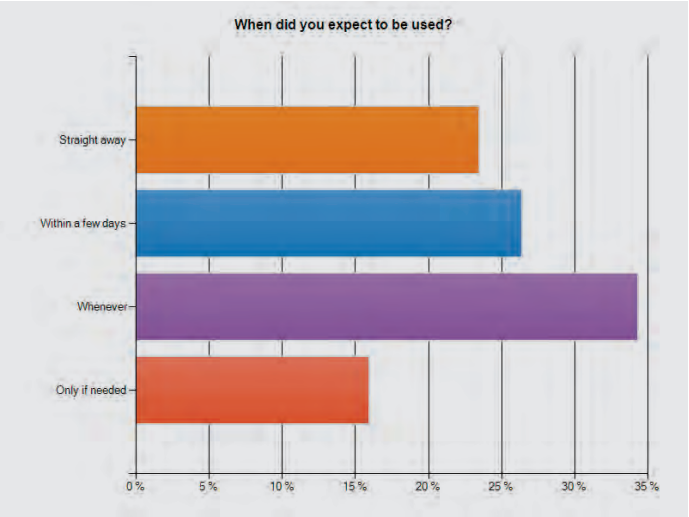

Diagram 6: When spontaneous volunteers expected their efforts to be used

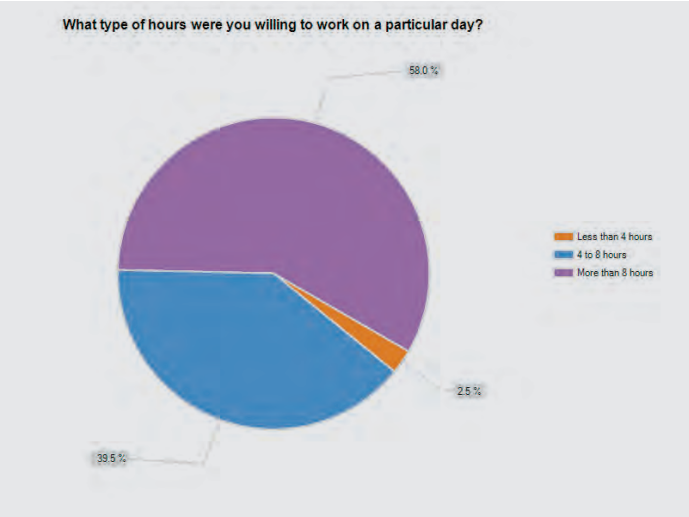

Diagram 7: The hours spontaneous volunteers were willing to work

Comments on this question (92 in total) included:

A matter-of-fact description of what happened in neutral language (25.0%):

> ‘I was not needed.’

Some volunteered in other ways (8.7%):

> ‘found my own way to the fire zone through a friend. Fire survivors I met said they appreciated someone older, with life experience who actually could listen to their stories without turning away as government volunteers were doing as it was often overwhelming for them.’

Some described what they could have done (16.3%).

Some understood the difficulties organisations face in these situations or were very accepting of the role they eventually played (11.9%):

> ‘I understood why not and really appreciated the email explaining why. I would have felt upset if there had been none. So considering what you were working with and then to reply to my email was touching.’

> ‘This did not impact me the slightest; it was not about me, it was about the requirements of the job at hand.’

> ‘I believe that those coordinating were probably overwhelmed by the offers and had enough people.’

Some were disappointed (13%):

> ‘I did not even receive a reply to my offer of volunteering and some months later I received a follow-up email as if contact had been made.’

A few expressed frustration (9.8%):

> ‘wasn’t used in the end as there were too many volunteers already used and my services weren’t needed … the administration of this was not very good however. I guess given the circumstances, that is understandable. In times of crisis though, the clockwork should be immaculate at the very least. That is my opinion. Thanks.’

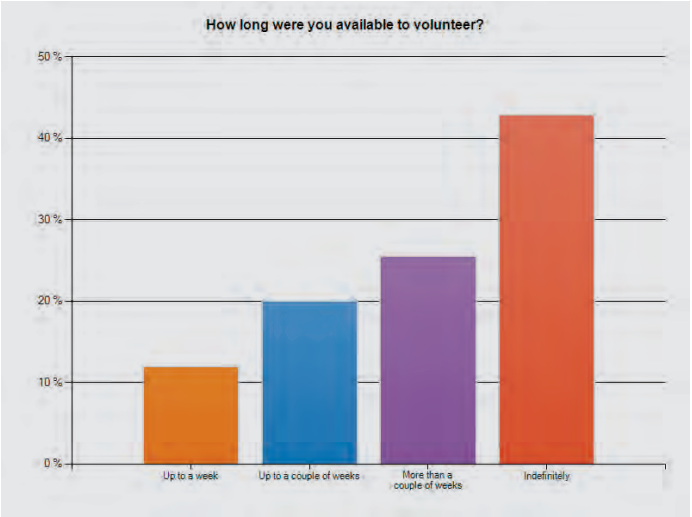

Diagram 8: The availability of the people who spontaneously volunteered

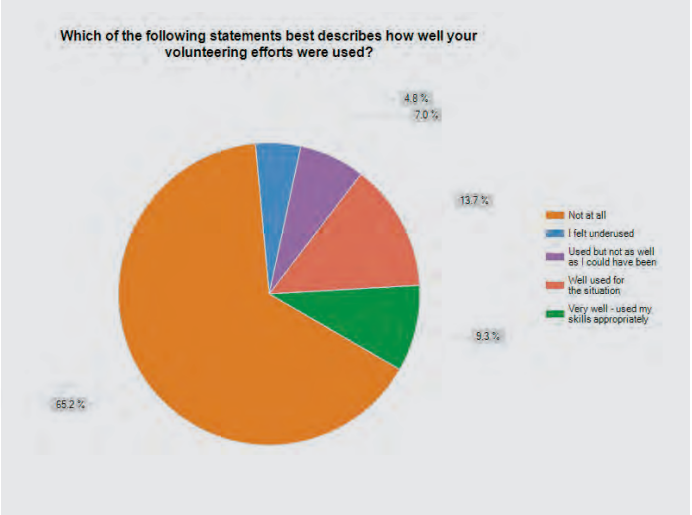

Diagram 9: How well spontaneous volunteering efforts were used

Some looked to the future:

> 'I wasn't used in the disaster that triggered my decision to volunteer. However I am about to do a training course with the agency I contacted and they may use me in the future.'

How people felt about not being used (Question 14, n = 165)

The responses (165) to how people felt about not being used, how they felt about it at the time, and how they feel about it now (Question 14) are categorised in Table 4. More than 40% were quite unhappy and over 30% were not upset about not being used.

Table 4: How spontaneous volunteers felt about not being used for the event

Q14: How do you feel about not being used? (n = 165)	%
Positive that there was such a response and still willing to help out in the future	7.3
No problems	23.6
Disappointed, but still happy to help out in the future	3.6
Disappointed, but guess there were enough volunteers etc	17.6
Disappointed, hurt left out, unhappy disheartened	21.2
Frustrated, helpless	13.3
Irritated, annoyed, upset, angry	7.5
Other	5.9
Total	**100.0**

Comments on this question included the following.

Positive that there was such a response and still willing to help out in the future:

> 'Still prepared to turn out at a minute's notice.'

> 'I'd still be quite pleased to volunteer/ take any training necessary/ get a police check, etc.'

No problems:

> 'I feel that I have a lot to offer, and my services were not used, but that is ok, as they would have contacted me if required.'

> 'Felt that I was not needed and probably was not qualified being a stay at home mum.'

Disappointed, but still happy to help out in the future:

> 'I expected that offers of practical help would be taken up, I would still like to help.'

Disappointed, but guess there were enough volunteers etc:

> 'Work part time and was willing to help with basically anything needed … felt skills were underutilised but it was about others not my need to help.'

> 'I felt disappointed that I was not needed at the time. This was OK, so long as there was enough help provided.'

Disappointed, hurt, left out, unhappy, disheartened:

> 'I felt my information was never read, or not by anyone at a level to realise what was on offer. I feel a large resource was wasted.'

Frustrated, helpless:

> 'I felt I could have been useful in a number of different ways … I did understand the chaos of the situation and the organisational problems posed by hundreds of volunteers; however I thought it inappropriate that "volunteers" were requested to and given a site to register but then being knocked back with no interest being shown in offers to help in "any way at all". How do I feel about it now? Wondering if there is any use in volunteering at all.'

> 'My feelings not relevant. I was frustrated though, seeing all the cracks people were falling through.'

Irritated, annoyed, upset, angry:

> 'I felt that applying to the [agency] was a waste of time. I was ready to do whatever was needed, and my offer was just noted, then ignored. I still feel very angry that even now, there is still so much to do in the affected areas, but I still have not been asked to do anything.'

> 'Not satisfied with [agency]. Will not apply to them again. Still annoyed to this day.'

The situation led to one person at least reflecting on volunteering:

> 'I thought people were desperately needed to help sorting out donations etc. It was mentioned in the media, interviews etc, But I was not contacted which surprised me. Now I understand that it could have been chaotic having a lot of people randomly assisting. I probably won't spontaneously volunteer in the future.'

These findings are consistent with those of Pauline and Pauline (2009) and Clary and Snyder (1991) that when the volunteer experience matches their motivations for helping, people express correspondingly high levels of satisfaction with volunteering, and strong intentions to volunteer in the future. This suggest that agencies should be mindful of the need to assign tasks that are aligned with people's motivation. Given the multiplicity of motivations that are possible and the time frame for processing spontaneous volunteers in a disaster setting, this is highly problematic. Perhaps one solution is to make volunteers more aware of the constraints of the situation by targeted communication strategies that acknowledge the potential for mismatch between skills, motivations and actual volunteering opportunity.

How people felt about the induction process

The greatest proportion felt their induction was professional, very clear, very informative and very helpful (39.%) (Question 15, n = 123). A further 11.4% felt the induction was adequate but did not add to what they already knew. Twenty-two percent felt the induction was basic. For 2.4% the induction was basic but did not prepare them for what they needed to do, and 25% felt the induction was inadequate. There were only 15 comments and these varied from positive to negative. There was insufficient information to provide any trends.

In summary, nearly half did not feel confident about the induction.

There was a clear tendency for those who volunteered and had not been used to be more critical of the induction process (Diagram 11).

Type of support people expected

In response to the question on the type of support volunteers expected (Question 16, n = 125), a little over half (56.8%) expected regular contact with a supervisor. Meals (40.0%) and training were the next most mentioned (36.0%). Accommodation (16.0%), transport (16.0%) and telephone access (9.6%) were also mentioned. Only a few (4.0%) expected internet access. In the 44 comments to this question, 56.8% of respondents said they did not expect any support, and the remainder commented mainly on contact with the organisation and follow-up training. Three people mentioned support/debriefing. There were only two comments about personal comfort.

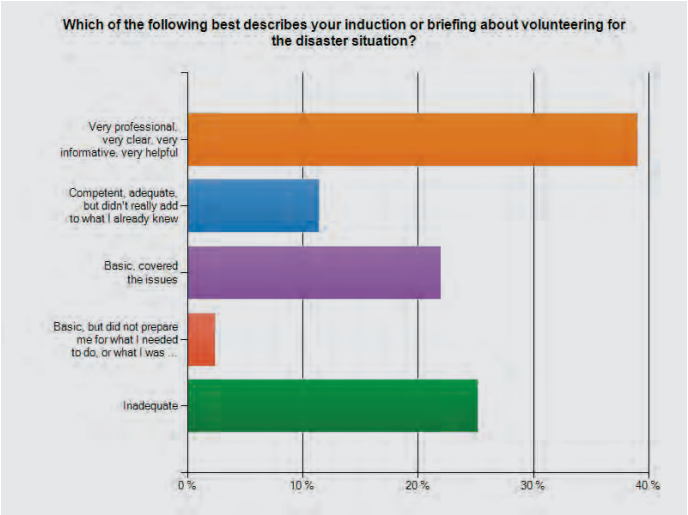

Diagram 10: Attitudes about induction for those spontaneously volunteering for a disaster situation

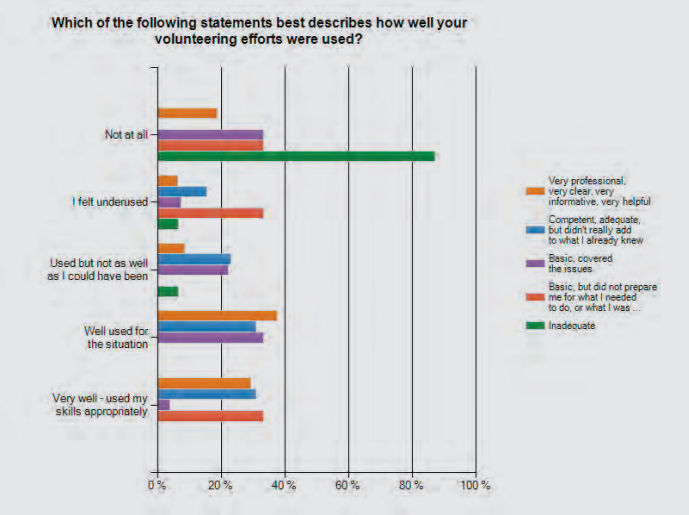

Diagram 11: How well the spontaneous volunteers felt they had been used and their attitudes towards the induction process

Choice of organisation

On the question of which organisation they had volunteered for and why (Question 17, n=195), approximately half (51.3%) of respondents had volunteered for Red Cross only, 15.9% for Blaze Aid, and 21.6% for a variety of other groups such as St Vincent de Paul, Country Fire Authority, and local agencies. A further 6.7% volunteered for Red Cross plus another group, and 21.5% for groups other than Red Cross. Nine people (4.6%) volunteered for several agencies. Although the question asked why they had volunteered for that particular group, few answered the question.

Highlights of volunteering

There were 78 people who commented on the highlights of volunteering (Question 18). Most were pleased to be making a difference or having the satisfaction of helping (44.9%). For others, it was meeting people, both those affected and those who helped (30.8%). Some people commented on feeling appreciated (11.6%) and a few commented on feelings of community spirit (7.7%), with the remainder (5.1%) making 'other' comments.

Challenges of volunteering

Only 74 people commented on the challenges of volunteering (Question 19). These related to dealing with other people's grief (25.7%), personal feelings about family, personal comfort, covering costs of travel etc. (24.3%), logistics of the tasks (20.3%), organisational or people dynamics (14.9%), keeping on top of it all (9.5%) and 'other' (5.3%).

Past volunteering

In terms of past volunteering (Question 20, n = 205), the most common response was generally helping out in the community (48.8%), followed by 'depending on what is happening in my life at the time' (42.0%), sporting and other community organisations (37.6%), other welfare organisations (22.4%) and a family tradition (16.6%) (Diagram 13). Only a few (9.3%) reported only volunteering for events like disasters, and religious beliefs did not figure highly (6.3%).

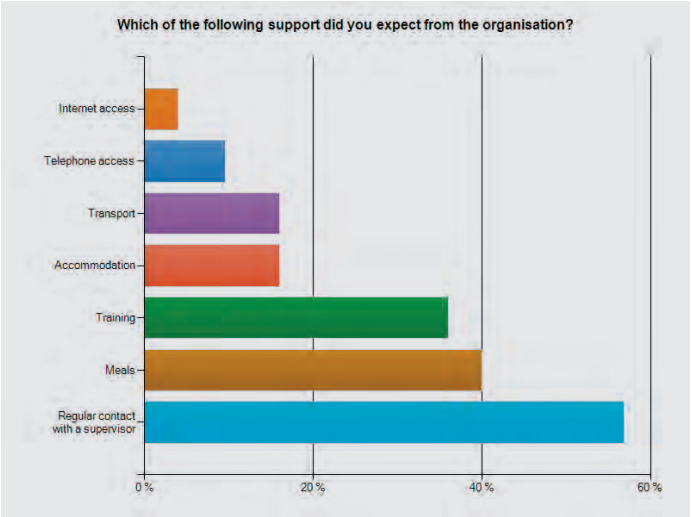

Diagram 12: Expectations of support of those who spontaneously volunteered

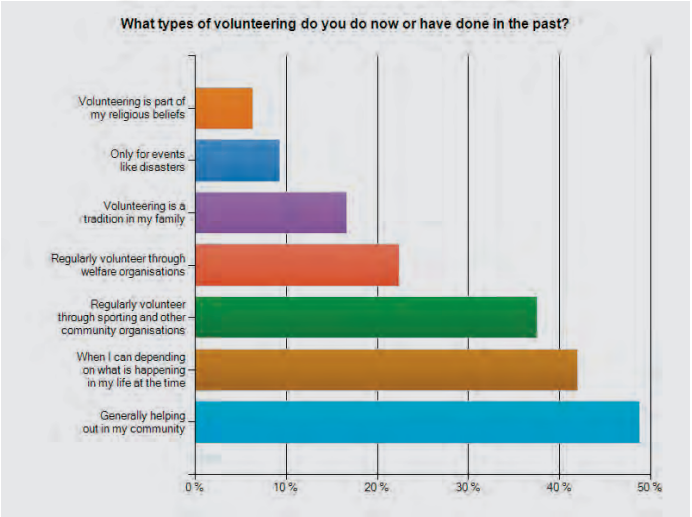

Diagram 13: Types of volunteering undertaken in the past by spontaneous volunteers to the disaster

The type of volunteering undertaken in the past appears to have little relationship to the importance of the event to the decision to volunteer, timing of volunteering or how well used they felt. The importance of the event to their decision to volunteer was greatest for those for whom volunteering is part of a family tradition (70%) and those who generally help out in the community (65%).

The type of work people wanted to do (Diagram 14) was not clearly related to previous volunteering activities.

In terms of the hours per day people were willing to work, those who regularly volunteered through welfare-type agencies tended to be more willing to volunteer for longer days. Those who were available to help out depending on what was happening in their lives, as part of religious beliefs, or only for disasters, were equally as likely to opt for four- to eight-hour days or longer days (Table 5).

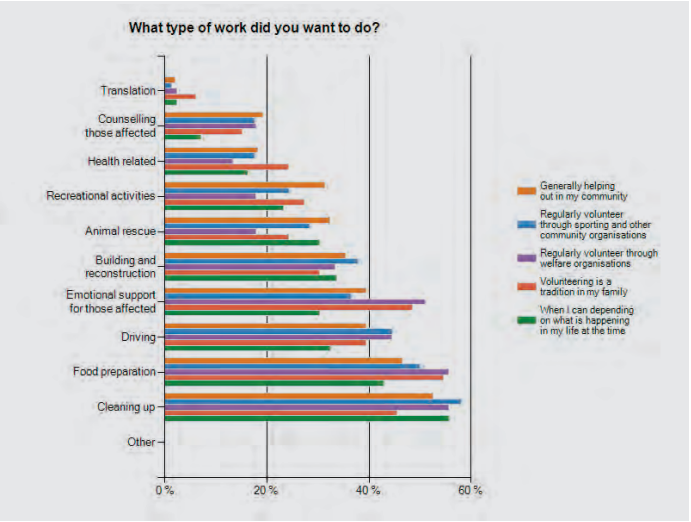

Diagram 14: Type of work spontaneous volunteers wanted to do by type of past volunteering

Table 5: Types of past volunteering and the hours willing to work in a day (Row percentages, n = 201)

Type of hours willing to work on a particular day				
	Less than 4 hours	4 to 8 hours	More than 8 hours	Number
Types of past volunteering				
Generally helping out in my community	0.0	33.3	66.7	99
Regular sporting volunteer	0.0	36.0	64.0	75
Regular welfare volunteer	4.4	22.2	73.4	45
Volunteering is a family tradition	3.0	36.4	60.6	33
Whenever I can depending	2.4	47.0	50.6	85
Volunteering is part of my religious beliefs	0.0	50.0	50.0	12
Only for disasters	0.0	50.0	50.0	18

Those who regularly volunteered through welfare agencies were more likely to expect to be used ‘whenever’.

People were offered the opportunity to make other comments (Question 21), and 75 did so. Comments covered feelings about volunteering (57.3%), organisational issues in the volunteering effort (22.7%), feeling that agencies were not interested in them (13.3%) and being glad to be given the opportunity to provide feedback (6.7%).

Despite the many negative comments of those who were not used, the following comment indicates the value of following up with potential volunteers:

> 'Red Cross sent out an email and contacted people personally after the event, explaining why they were unable to utilise everyone who volunteered. I thought this was a very good thing to do, and it really made me want to volunteer for the service in another capacity, though in the end I didn't because I was soon to leave overseas. But I do think that the way the organisation provided personal feedback and explanations was very, very good.'

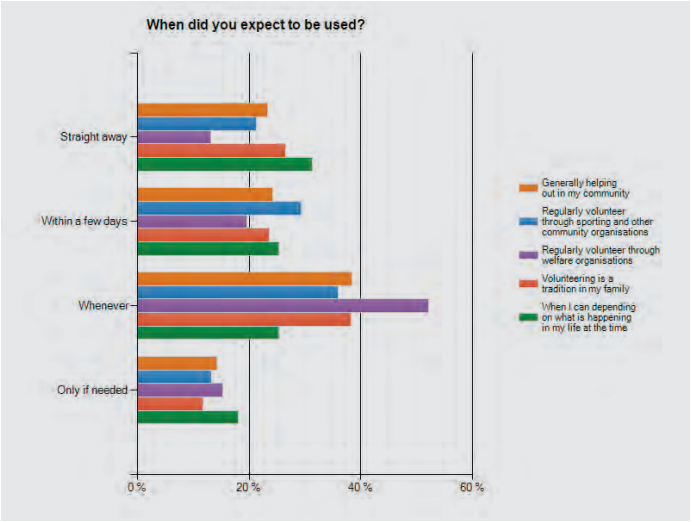

Diagram 15: When spontaneous volunteers expected to be used and their previous volunteering experience

Discussion and conclusion

Helping and caring are normal parts of the social relationship that build reciprocity and social capital. The helping and caring that goes beyond family is considered volunteering. Volunteering can be informal in the general community or formal through organisations. The people who spontaneously volunteer in a disaster context through organisations may have experience with a range of different types of formal and informal volunteering. These different volunteering experiences appear to have little influence on the motivations and expectations of spontaneous volunteers. The predominant behaviours and motivations in the everyday context may well be different from those in a disaster situation. The context of a disaster may mean that altruistic behaviour and motivations are predominant, particularly in the early phases of an event. As an event plays out, it may be that over time, initial high levels of altruism decline as the volunteering effort becomes routinised.

This research has found that the process of volunteering has a number of points at which potential volunteers 'fall out' of the process, and many volunteers desire a greater sense of closure than they have experienced. There were people who did not feel it necessary to know the status of need for volunteers, but most did seem to be at least perplexed by why they were not used in a situation that created an apparent need. This could be managed by ensuring that authorities are clearly articulating to the broader community that 'the situation is in hand'—that is, that there are plans in place and these plans are practised, that it might seem chaotic to the outsider but this is integral to the nature of disasters, and that agencies recruit, train and practise volunteers for these type of events regularly.

At each of the points where people 'fall out' of the volunteering effort, it is important that organisations recognise the need to inform people of the status of their volunteering offer in order to provide this sense of closure. Because the need for closure varies with the context, people and cultures, further investigation as to how to most effectively and efficiently undertake this is warranted.

The media appears to be the main source of information and prompting for people to volunteer spontaneously for a disaster, but does not appear to influence the motivations and expectations of volunteers. With the greatest desire to volunteer coming in the first week of the disaster, which coincides with the peak media coverage of disasters, this is hardly surprising. Again, it suggests that authorities need to clearly articulate whether or not they want public involvement and, if so, what they want the public to do and what spontaneous volunteers should reasonably expect.

The qualitative interviews and open-ended responses to the online survey also showed that there can be some people who might be difficult to manage in the sense of having skills they feel should be used, or feeling that they know better than the organisations they have sought to volunteer through. It may not be possible to always satisfy these people's needs. They do, however, appear to be a very small minority.

Overall, the motivations of spontaneous volunteers can be seen to be positive and related to altruistic motives of helping and caring and being community oriented. There is no doubt that other motives that might be better described as self-concerned rather than other-oriented apply as well, but to a lesser extent.

Although the purpose of volunteering for disasters is primarily to meet the needs of those in the community who have been affected, it is still necessary to be mindful of the needs, motivations and expectations of those who volunteer to help. This study has gone some way towards demonstrating that the extent of negative feelings for formal spontaneous volunteers is limited. The study has also identified the main locus for dissatisfaction as being a need for a sense of closure. In these ways, the study provides useful information for agencies about the motivations, experiences and expectations of spontaneous volunteers, to assist with practical measures to address these in future.

References

Auf der Heide, E. (1989) *Disaster response: principles of preparation and coordination*. St. Louis, MI: C.V. Mosby Company.

Batson, S.D., Ahmad, N. and Tsang, J.-A. (2002) Four motives for community involvement. *Journal of Social Issues* 58(3):429–45.

Bieke, D. and Wirth-Beaumont, E. (2005) Psychological closure as a memory phenomenon. *Memory* 13(6):574–93.

Burkhart, F.N. (1991) Journalists as bureaucrats: perceptions of 'social responsibility' media roles in local emergency planning. *International Journal of Mass Emergencies and Disasters* 9:75–87.

Carroll, M.S., Cohn.P., Seesholtz, D.N. and Higgins, L.L. (2005) Fire as a galvanizing and fragmenting influence on communities: the case of the Rodeo–Chediski fire. *Society and Natural Resources* 18:301–20.

Chiu, C., Morris, M.W., Hong, Y. and Menon, T. (2000) Motivated cultural cognition: the impact of implicit cultural theories on dispositional attribute varies as a function of a need for closure. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 78(2):247–59.

Clary, E. and Snyder, M. (1991) A functional analysis of altruism and prosocial behavior: the case of volunteerism. In M. Clark (ed.) *Review of personality and social psychology*: *vol. 12. Pro-social behaviour.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications. Pp. 119–48.

Clary, E., Snyder, M., Ridge, R.D., Copeland, J., Stukas, A.A., Haugen, J. and Miene, M. (1998) Understanding and assessing the motivations of volunteers: a functional approach. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 74(6):1516–30.

Cohen, E., Hughes, P. and White, P. (2008) The media and the fire services: dealing with conflicting agendas. In J. Handmer and K. Hayes (eds) *Community bushfire safety*. Melbourne: CSIRO Publishing. Pp. 103–12.

Cox, E. (2000) The 'light and dark' of volunteering. In J. Warburton and M. Oppenheimer (eds) *Volunteers and volunteering*. Sydney: Federation Press. Pp. 140–9.

Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S. (2005) *The Sage handbook of qualitative research methods*, 3rd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Drabek, T.E. and McEntire, D.A. (2003) Emergent phenomena and the sociology of disaster: lessons, trends and opportunities from the research literature. *Disaster Prevention and Management* 12(2):97–112.

Dynes, R.R. and Rodriguez, H. (2007) Finding and framing Katrina. In D.L. Brunsma, D. Overfelt and J.S. Picou (eds) *The sociology of Katrina*. Blue Ridge Summit, PA: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. Pp. 23–34.

Eburn, M. (2010) Media access to emergencies: command, control or co-ordination? *Australian Journal of Emergency Management* 25(1):13–17.

Fritz, C.E. and Mathewson, J.H. (1957) *Convergence behaviour in disasters: a problem in social control.* National Research Council Disaster Study #9. Washington DC: National Academy of Sciences.

Hay, I. (2005) *Qualitative research methods in human geography*, 2nd edn. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

Hughes, W.P. and White, P.B. (2006) The media, bushfires and community resilience. In D. Paton and D. Johnston (eds) *Disaster resilience: an integrated approach.* Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas. Pp. 213–23.

Liao-Troth, M.A. and Dunn, C.P. (1999) Social constructs and human service: managerial sensemaking of volunteer motivation. *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations* 10(4):345–61.

Machin, J. (2005) *Volunteering and the media: a review of the literature*. Institute for Volunteering Research and the Voluntary Action Media Unit, United Kingdom.

Miles, B and Morse, S. (2007) The role of the media in natural disaster risk and recovery. *Ecological Economics* 63:365–73.

Mooney, C.M. (1954) A factorial study of closure. *Canadian Journal of Psychology* 8:51–61.

Neuman, W.L. (1997) *Social research methods*, 3rd edn. Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.

Oppenheimer and Warburton 2000.

Patton, M.Q. (2002) *Qualitative research and evaluation methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Pauline, G. and Pauline, J.S. (2009) Volunteer motivation and demographic influences at a professional tennis event. *Team Performance Management* 15(3/4):172–84.

Rodriguez, H., Trainor, J. and Quarantelli, E.L. (2006) Rising to the challenges of a catastrophe: the emergent and prosocial behavior following Hurricane Katrina. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 604:82–101.

Scanlon et al 1985.

Stallings, R.A. (1990) Media discourse and the social construction of risk. *Social Problems* 37(1):80–95.

Steerman, C. and Cole, V. (2009) Recruitment and retention of Red Cross disaster volunteers. *Australasian Journal of Disaster and Trauma Studies* 2009(1). http://www.massey.ac.nz/~trauma/issues/2009-1/steerman.htm. Last accessed 10 March 2010.

Steffen, L.S. and Fothergill, A. (2009) 9/11 volunteerism: a pathway to personal healing and community engagement. *Social Science Journal* 46:29–46.

Tierney, K.J. (2001) *Strength of a city: a disaster research perspective on the World Trade Center attack*. Social Science Research Council. http://essays.ssrc.org/sept11/essays/tierney.htm. Last accessed 12 March 2010.

Webster, D.M. and Kruglanski, A.W. (1997) Cognitive and social consequences of the need for cognitive closure. *European Review of Social Psychology* 8(1):133–73.

Annex A: Tabular results of survey of spontaneous volunteers

Q1: Which of the following prompted you to volunteer? (n = 244) Row percentages	Very important	Somewhat important	Not very important	Not important at all
The media coverage of the disaster	55.0	26.2	11.8	7.0
Responded to a call for volunteers through another organisation where I am a member	20.3	15.3	12.4	52.0
A general advertisement for volunteers	31.4	21.5	12.0	35.1
Learning that family and friends had been affected	26.3	18.4	17.3	38.0
Knowing someone else who was volunteering	11.4	11.9	22.2	54.5
Talking to other people about the emergency	31.4	30.3	15.4	22.9

Q2: How soon after the event occurred did you offer to volunteer? (n = 254)	%
On the day	11.8
Within the first few days	44.9
Within the first week	21.3
Within the first 2 weeks	9.4
After 2 weeks	12.6
Total	**100.0**

Q3: How important was this particular event to your decision to volunteer? (n = 255)	%
Very important	68.6
Important	22.7
Not important	5.1
Not very important	3.5
Total	**100.0**

Q4: What was important about the event? (n = 216)	%
Size or enormity	43.8
Desire to help/saw a need	25.8
Identification with the community	20.0
Had the skills to help	7.3
Previous experience of disasters	3.2
Total	**100.1**

Q5: How important were each of the following to your decision to volunteer? (n=255) Row percentages					
	Very important	Somewhat important	Not very important	Not at all important	N/A
I just felt I needed to do something for those people who needed help	86.2	11.7	0.8	0.8	0.4
I have previous experience in disaster work and felt I had something to offer	20.0	8.4	13.3	8.4	49.8
I felt guilty about what had happened to the people affected	10.1	7.4	16.1	29.0	37.3
I was curious to see what had happened	1.9	2.8	9.3	43.0	43.0
I feel it is important to support people in need	81.2	16.6	1.3	0.0	0.9
To distract me from my own troubles	1.4	2.3	8.4	41.9	46.0
I would have felt terrible if I had not done anything to help	22.3	28.6	15.0	15.9	18.2
It would increase my knowledge and skills	8.2	16.4	22.4	26.0	26.9
I would feel better about myself	5.5	18.0	24.4	24.0	28.1
In return for help I have received in the past	8.0	10.8	12.7	25.0	43.4
It feels good to help people out	37.2	35.9	13.9	5.6	7.4
I live/have lived in the areas affected	10.8	6.6	8.0	20.2	54.5
I have lived in other disaster affected areas	9.2	12.0	11.1	19.8	47.9
To help my community	49.6	25.0	7.6	6.3	11.6

To feel useful instead of distressed about what had happened	38.7	28.0	12.4	8.4	12.4
My religious beliefs	6.5	7.9	5.6	23.1	56.9

Q6: What type of work did you want to do? (n = 240)	**%**
Counselling those affected	13.8
Emotional support for those affected	35.4
Health related	14.6
Translation	2.5
Building and reconstruction	31.3
Cleaning up	50.8
Animal rescue	30.0
Driving	36.7
Food preparation	45.8
Recreational activities	23.3
Anything	61.7

Q7: Was the work you wanted to do related to your qualifications or work experience? (n = 242)	%
Yes	55.4
No	44.6
Total	**100.0**

Q8: When did you expect to be used? (n = 239)	%
Straight away	23.4
Within a few days	26.4
Whenever	34.4
Only if needed	15.9
Total	**100.0**

Q9: What type of hours were you willing to work on a particular day? (n = 238)	%
Less than 4 hours	2.5
4 to 8 hours	39.5
More than 8 hours	58.0
Total	**100.0**

Q10: How long were you available to volunteer? (n = 236)	%
Indefinitely	42.8
Up to a week	11.9
Up to a couple of weeks	19.9
More than a couple of weeks	25.4
Total	**100.0**

Q11: Did you have a current police check? (n = 240)	%
Yes	46.3
No	53.8
Total	**100.0**

Q12: Where you asked whether you had a current police check? (n = 238)	%
Yes	6.7
No	93.3
Total	**100.0**

Q13: Which of the following statements best describes how well your volunteering efforts were used? (n = 227)	%
Not at all	65.2
I felt underused	4.8
Used but not as well as I could have been	7.0
Well used for the situation	13.7
Very well—used my skills appropriately	9.3
Total	**100.0**

Q14: How do you feel about not being used? (n = 165)	%
Positive that there was such a response and still willing to help out in the future	7.3
No problems	23.6
Disappointed, but still happy to help out in the future	3.6
Disappointed, but guess there were enough volunteers etc	17.6
Disappointed, hurt left out, unhappy disheartened	21.2
Frustrated, helpless	13.3
Irritated, annoyed, upset, angry	7.5
Other	5.9
Total	**100.0**

Q15: Which of the following best describes your induction or briefing about volunteering for the disaster situation? (n = 123)	%
Very professional, very clear, very informative, very helpful	39.0
Competent, adequate, but didn't really add to what I already knew	11.4
Basic, covered the issues	22.0
Basic, but did not prepare me for what I needed to do, or what I was exposed to	2.4
Inadequate	25.2
Total	**100.0**

Q16: Which of the following support did you expect from the organisation? (n = 125)	%
Meals	40.0
Transport	16.0
Accommodation	16.0
Telephone access	9.6
Internet access	4.0
Training	36.0
Regular contact with a supervisor	56.8

Q20: What types of volunteering do you do now or have done in the past? (n = 205)	%
Generally helping out in my community	48.8
Regularly volunteer through sporting and other organisations	37.6
Regularly volunteer through welfare organisations	22.4
Volunteering is a tradition in my family	16.6
When I can, depending on what is happening in my life at the time	42.0
Volunteering is part of my religious beliefs	6.3
Only for events like disasters	9.3

National Office
155 Pelham Street,
Carlton VIC 3053
Tel +61 3 9345 1800
Fax +61 3 9348 2513

ACT
Cnr Hindmarsh Drive
and Palmer Street,
Garran ACT 2605
Tel 02 6206 6000
Fax 02 6206 6050

NSW
159 Clarence Street,
Sydney NSW 2000
Tel 02 9229 4111
Fax 02 9229 4244

TAS
40 Melville Street,
Hobart TAS 7000
Tel 03 6235 6077
Fax 03 6231 1250

VIC
23-47 Villiers Street,
North Melbourne
VIC 3051
Tel 03 8327 7700
Fax 03 8327 7711

WA
110 Goderich Street,
East Perth WA 6004
Tel 08 9225 8888
Fax 08 9325 5112

NT
Cnr Lambell Terrace
and Schultze Street,
Larrakeyah NT 0820
Tel 08 8924 3900
Fax 08 8924 3909

QLD
49 Park Road,
Milton QLD 4064
Tel 1300 55 44 19
Fax 07 3367 7444

SA
207-217
Wakefield Street,
Adelaide SA
Tel 08 8100 4500
Fax 08 8100 4501

www.redcross.org.au