THE SHAKEN SUBURBS:

THE CHANGING SENSE OF HOME AND CREATING A NEW HOME AFTER A DISASTER

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE IN GEOGRAPHY

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Contents

Abstract

The 2010 and 2011 earthquakes in the region of Canterbury, New Zealand caused widespread damage and the deaths of 185 people. Suburbs on the eastern side of Christchurch and in the satellite town of Kaiapoi, 20 kilometres north of Christchurch, were badly damaged by liquefaction. The Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority (CERA), a government organisation set up in the wake of the earthquakes, began to systematically zone all residential land in 2011. Based on the possibility for land remediation, 7860 houses in Christchurch and Kaiapoi were zoned red. Those who were in this zone were compensated and had to buy or build elsewhere. The other zone examined within this research – that of TC3 – lies within the green zone. Residents, in this zone, were able to stay in their houses but land was moderately damaged and required site-specific geotechnical investigations.

This research sought to understand how residents' senses of home were impacted by a disaster and the response efforts. Focusing on the TC3 and red zone of the eastern suburbs and the satellite town of Kaiapoi, this study interviewed 29 residents within these zones. The concept of home was explored with the respondents at three scales: home as a household; home as a community; and home as a city.

There was a large amount of resistance to the zoning process and the handling of claims by insurance companies and the Earthquake Commission (EQC) after the earthquakes. Lack of transparency and communication, as well as extremely slow timelines were all documented as failings of these agencies.

This research seeks to understand how participant's sense of home changed on an individual level and how it was impacted by outside agencies. Homemaking techniques were also focused on showing that a changed sense of home will impact on how a person interacts with a space.

Preface

I came into my Masters writing year full of optimism and adventure. I wanted to expose the controversial zoning issues that had occurred in Christchurch after the earthquakes along with uncovering the raw stories possibly filled with corrupt leaders running the disaster recovery. Unfortunately it was quickly pointed out to me that I was not studying to be an investigative journalist. When I finally figured out what I was studying, after a meeting with my supervisor, I had to laugh a little. The focus of my thesis was home, a subject that had persisted throughout my life.

Having moved six times and living in three countries by the time I was 18, the notion of where I called home was extremely important. Living in Australia between the ages of 8 and 12, I questioned what it meant to be a New Zealander. I was surrounded by artwork of central Otago and supported the All Blacks throughout their terrible losing season of 1999 till 2001 but what it actually meant to be a New Zealander I had no idea. I spoke with an Australian accent and sang the national anthem at school assembly. If I had returned 'home' to New Zealand, I wondered if I would be accepted.

When we did return, I was 13 years old. I made it my mission to be a New Zealander as if there was one factor to add to my identity. Living in Christchurch for two years, while I cannot say I found it, I did learn about New Zealand pop culture and regained my accent. Returning to Australia when I was 15 was extremely difficult. I hung on to my newly acquired accent like a badge. I refused to change the way I said 'chance', would mention 'just a wee bit' whenever I could and refused to call a cell phone a mobile phone. My accent became a part of me as a New Zealander and, no matter how much I got teased for it, I refused to give it up.

I had decided to come back to Christchurch for university before I had left. The place held the only connection I could find to the rest of my family. My father had studied at the University of Canterbury when it had first opened on its Ilam campus and my brother had just graduated a year before I arrived. I did not have the same connection others might have to a 'hometown'. When I arrived, my first few days were spent dodging questions at the Halls of Residence of "where are you

from?" The seemingly straightforward question had me running for cover. I did not have a simple answer because unlike everyone else I could not say, "I am from [town X]." I had spent three years defending my identity as a New Zealander but was not completely accepted as one when I returned.

My connection to Christchurch was helped through my father's memories of the place. A day before I started at university he took me on a tour of the campus. As he had studied engineering, our tour focused mainly on the buildings that he had once known. The mushroom building, a lecturing block within the Engineering precinct, was one highlight of the tour. My Dad remembered it being built. I was thankful the following day because my first class at university was held in the building and I would have been lost otherwise.

The earthquakes affected my view of Christchurch in a number of ways. Suddenly this space that I was trying to make my home had been affected dramatically and would never return to its pre-disaster norm. The spaces that I had formed memories with as well as the spaces that my Dad remembered were suddenly gone. The mushroom building, for example, was one of the first buildings on campus to be demolished.

I also need to thank Karen Banwell, Lara O'Donnell, Savannah Tarren-Sweeney and my parents Gary and Shona Campbell. Thank you for reading through multiple copies of my thesis and for providing me with boosts of confidence when I needed them most. To Blair Ramsay, my wonderful partner, thank you for everything.

In loving memory of Karin O'Donnell

(1961 – 2013)

Who proofread my first University assignment which started me on this journey. Five years on her lovely daughter has proofread this; my [potentially] last assignment.

List of figures

List of tables

Chapter 1: Introduction

The impacts of the earthquakes of 2010 and 2011 in Christchurch, New Zealand, are being assessed by a large number of social researchers. However, with the systematic zoning of land as unsafe and the consequent dispersal of communities, the devastating effect of losing a home as a result of governmental procedures has so far been largely missed. This thesis will examine how residents' of Christchurch sense of home have been impacted by both earthquake damage and a lack of agency created by overarching government organisations as well as insurance company policies. The focus of the research covers three scales of home from an individual household, to the engagement within a community and neighbourhood, to feelings and practices of belonging within a city. The purpose of this introductory chapter is to review the susceptibility of the ground to earthquakes under Christchurch's eastern suburbs and the satellite town of Kaiapoi, the two research areas used within this study. Alongside this, the community's underlying vulnerability to a hazard that was present before the earthquakes will also be explored. The governmental response to the earthquakes will then be examined to show the context within which this research took place. From this position, the research questions are defined from which the argument of this thesis was created. The introduction will end with an assessment of what the following chapters will include.

1.1 Christchurch and Kaiapoi before the earthquakes

Christchurch has a long history of residential growth and development. Through a number of processes throughout Christchurch's history, vulnerable communities susceptible to hazards have been created. Vulnerability, within this context, refers to the ability of a group or a person to anticipate, cope with, resist and recover from the effects of a natural event (Wisner & Luce, 1993, p. 143). Susceptibility, on the other hand, refers to the predisposition an area has to a potential hazard. In order to understand the dramatic impact of the earthquakes on residents

it is necessary to explore the context of environmental susceptibility and social vulnerability in which they have occurred. Within this research the focus will be on the eastern suburbs of Christchurch (using the boundaries of the proposed 2013 Christchurch east electorate, a voting zone used for general elections) and the satellite town of Kaiapoi. These areas are shown in Figure 1.

Legend
- Study Boundaries
- Central City
- Avon Heathcote Estuary
- 2006 Christchurch Census Area Units
- Hagley Park
- Pacific Ocean
- Christchurch City Boundary
- Wider Canterbury Region
- River

Kaiapoi

Eastern Suburbs

N

0   2.5   5   10 Kilometers
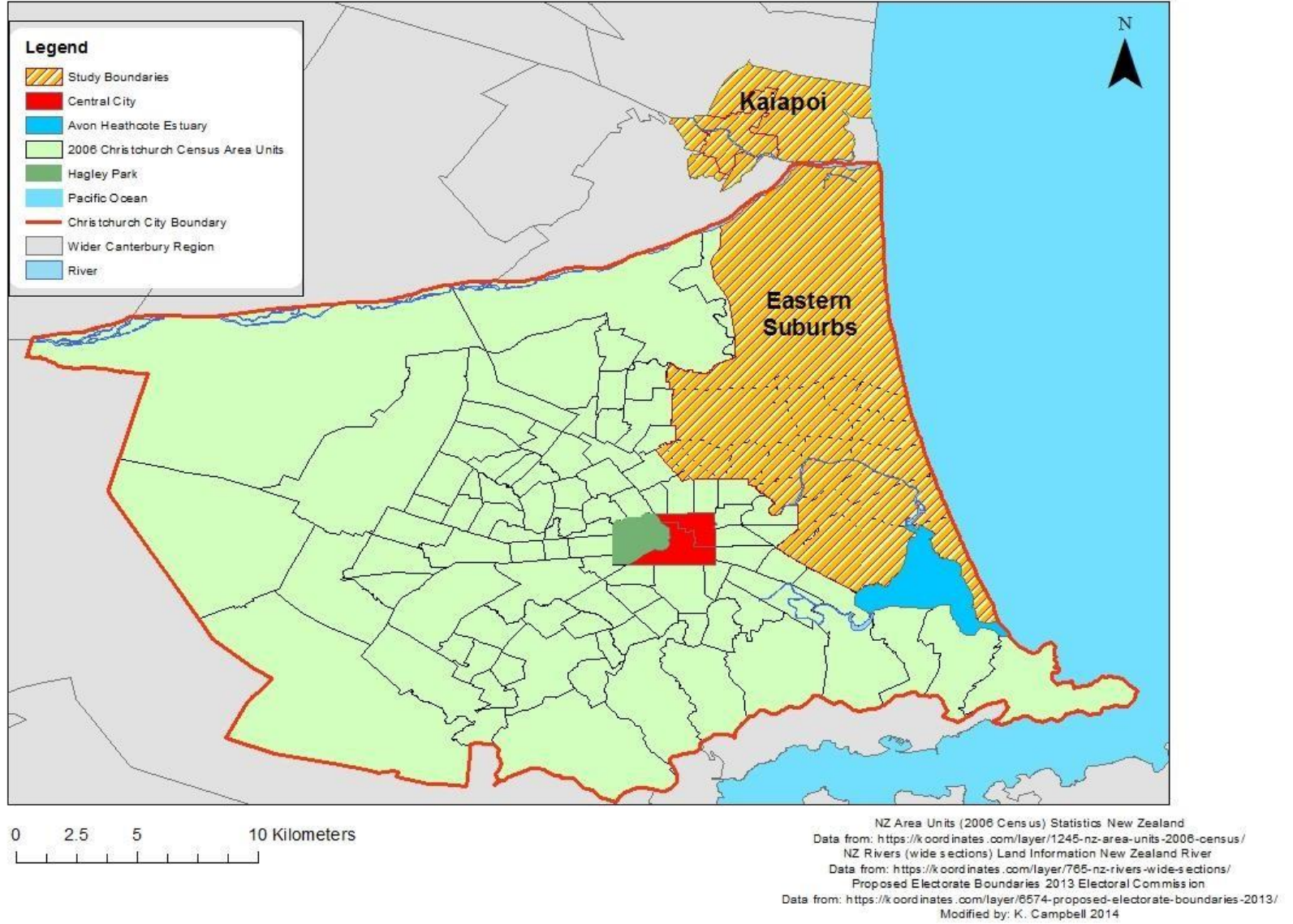
Figure 1: Study locations: Kaiapoi and Christchurch east (map created in ArcGIS by researcher).

Kaiapoi and the proposed Christchurch east electoral were chosen as the study areas based on a preliminary study completed in 2012. This study, completed as part of an honours year, interviewed residents in the red zone (explained in detail later in the chapter) of Kaiapoi and the eastern Christchurch suburb of Bexley. Kaiapoi was chosen as it is within the Waimakariri District Council jurisdiction which, as explained further in the chapter, led to a discourse that Kaiapoi was the "forgotten town" (*The Press*, 4 July 2011). Bexley, on the other hand, was chosen because the entire suburb was red zoned and, within the preliminary study, the loss of the neighbourhood was investigated.

The current study expands on that research. The TC3 and red zone have been chosen for investigation, to examine how residents from one zone interact with residents from the other. The methodology explains how and why changes to these boundaries were made.

Examining the history of Christchurch and Kaiapoi shows the pre-existing environmental susceptibility to hazards. The eastern suburbs of Christchurch were developed sporadically over time, and were affected by changing environmental and planning legislation. While some suburbs had already been established, it was after the Second World War that the city's expansion in the east began in earnest (Connolly, 2013; Wilson, 2012a). Development, in this time, was limited between the industrial zones of Linwood (near of the central city) and the coastal area of New Brighton due to sand dune ridges restricting growth (Webster, 1975). Kaiapoi, on the other hand, has a long history of growth with the area being settled by Europeans in the mid-1800s (Wood, 1993).

Christchurch and Kaiapoi have a history of environmental hazards and flooding was a common occurrence for early settlers (Rice & Sharfe, 1999). The Waimakariri River was known to shift, often due to high rainfall, to an alternative route (Rice & Sharfe, 1999). At the time of European settlement the river lay to the north of Christchurch, however, it had previously shifted without warning to alternative outlets into the Avon-Heathcote Estuary and Lake Ellesmere/ Te Waihora (shown in Figure 2) (Pawson, 2000). The river deposited unconsolidated sediment, creating the delta

on which Christchurch east is now located, while Kaiapoi lies on the Waimakariri River old northern branch. It was understood in the mid-1800s that a sudden change in the Waimakariri River's course could cause harm to the newly built city. Despite this, it was the popular view at the time "that the river should not be allowed to interfere with the work of building a city" (Pawson, 2000, p. 74). The river was and is currently 'controlled' through engineering works.

Alongside this, the sand dunes that caused restrictions to growth of the eastern suburbs came from the prograding coastline created by the delta as shown in Figure 3. Six thousand five hundred years ago the land on which New Brighton is now settled was 10km off the present coastline (*The Press*, 2011). Prograding of the coast resulted in swampy, unstable and unconsolidated land being created. The unstable gravels that the river had already laid down mixed with old sand dunes was land prone to liquefaction in earthquakes. The susceptibility to liquefaction will be discussed later.
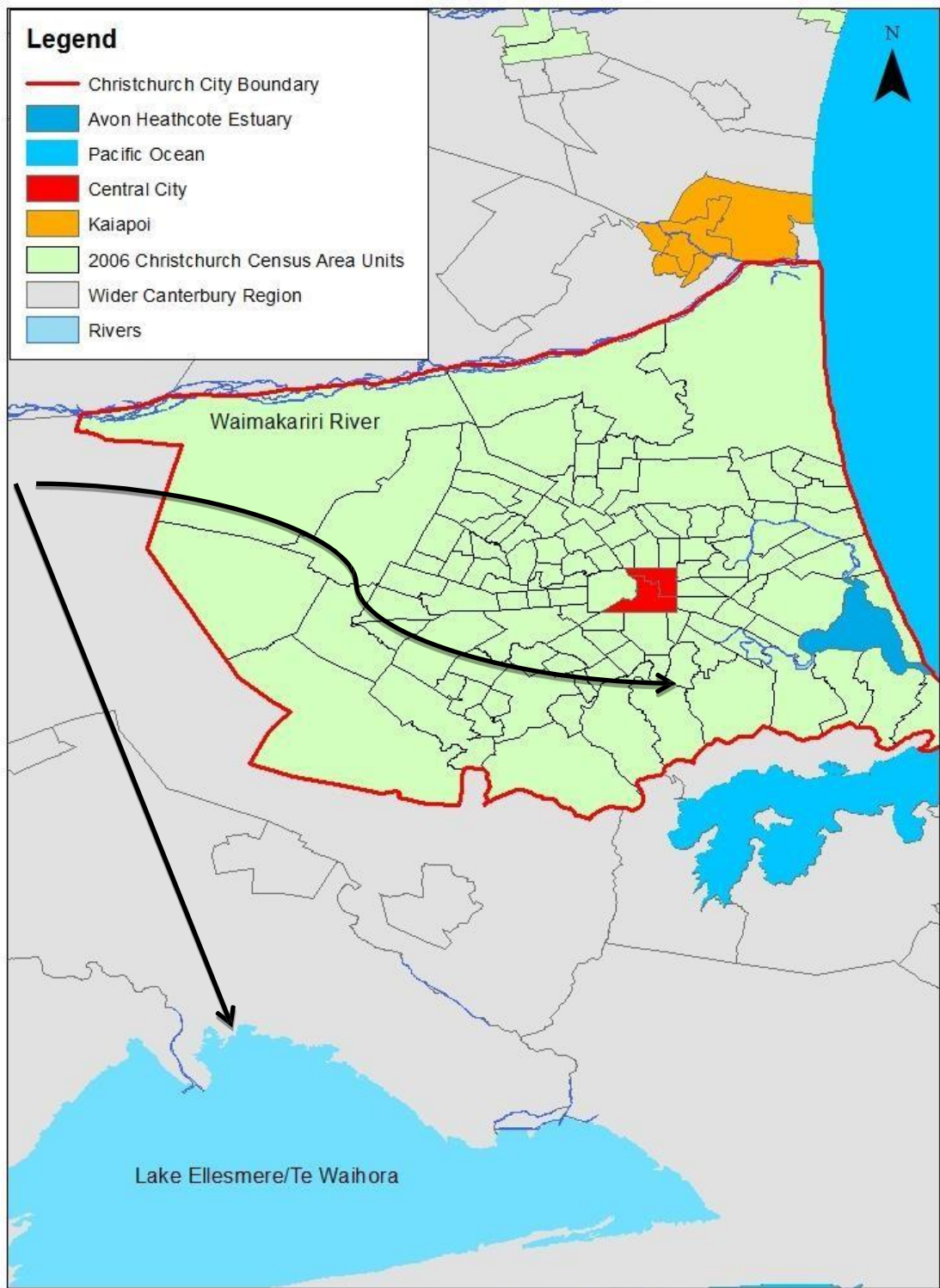
Figure 2: The movement of the Waimakariri River (map created in Arc GIS by researcher).
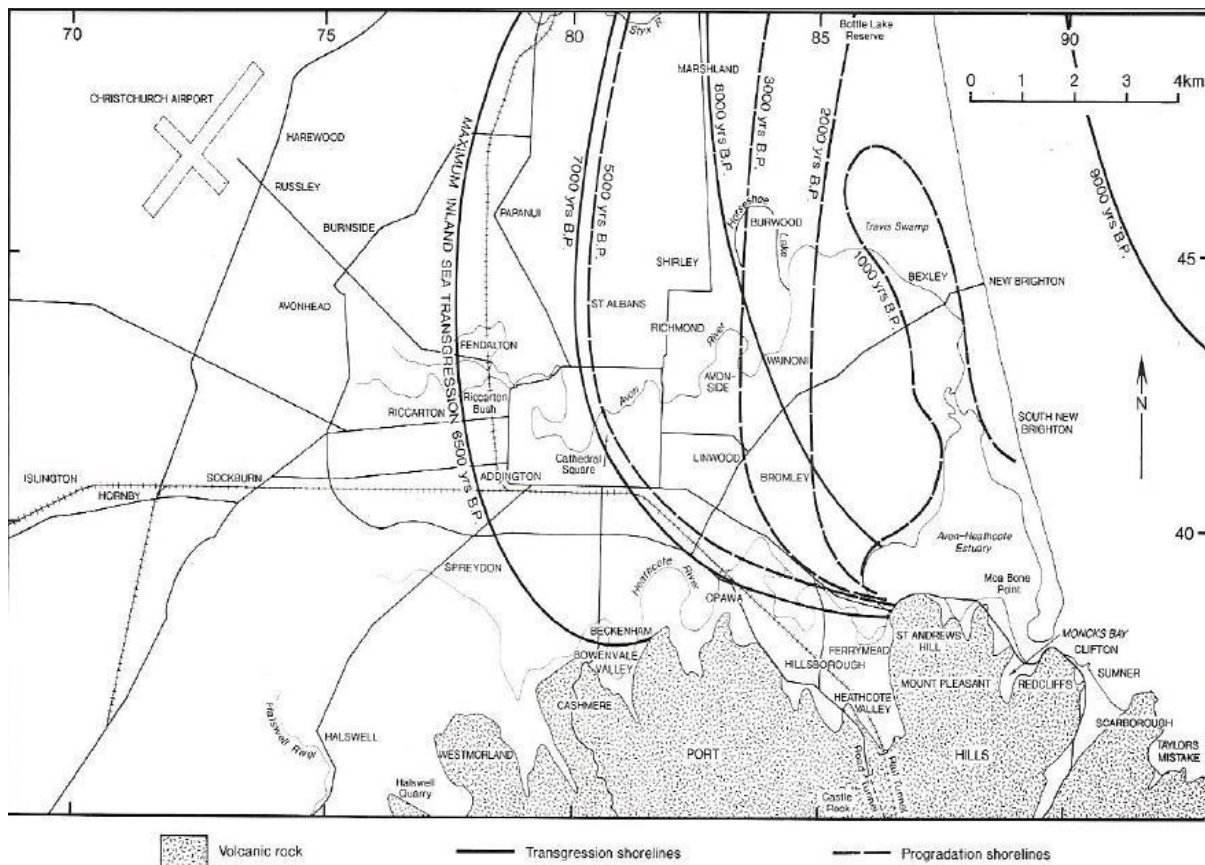
Figure 3: The changing Christchurch coastline (source: Brown & Weeber, 1992, p. 14).

Focusing on Christchurch east, research has shown that eastern and southern suburbs are prone to liquefaction. Liquefaction is the process whereby unconsolidated soil loses strength and stiffness, causing the soil to flow like a liquid. This leaves the ground unable to support the weight of a building, which results in damage, especially to foundations (McColl & Burkle, 2013). The ground type under Christchurch was of concern for Forsyth, Barrell, and Jongens (2008), who found that ground shaking and liquefaction was amplified on weak ground such as beneath estuaries or river plains containing unconsolidated sediments. This ground type applies to much of urban Christchurch. In 2010, just after the September earthquake struck, Environment Canterbury released Figure 4 showing areas that would be susceptible to liquefaction if another earthquake should hit. As this figure shows, this land predominantly lies to the east and south of Christchurch's city centre.
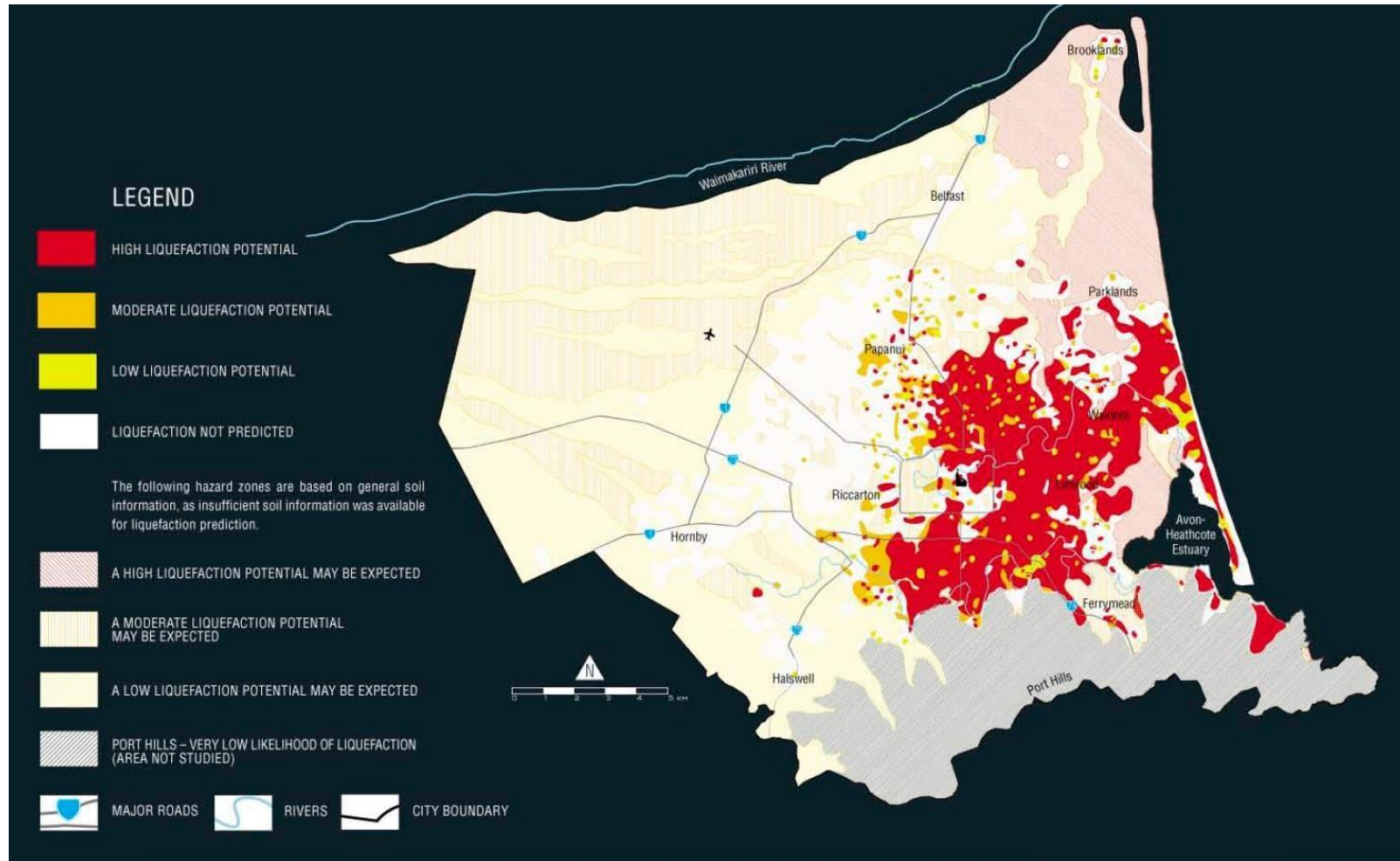
Figure 4: Christchurch city susceptibility to liquefaction (source: Environment Canterbury, 2010).

In 1991 the Resource Management Act 1990 (RMA) was implemented changing environmental legislation within New Zealand. This Act replaced over 70 different pieces of legislation and regulations. The RMA ushered in an effects-based regulatory system that focused on mitigating environmental harm using 'sustainable management'. Sustainable management is defined under the RMA section 5.2 as "managing the use, development, and protection of natural and physical resources in a way, or at a rate, which enables people and communities to provide for their social, economic, and cultural well-being and for their health and safety" (*Resource Management Act 1991*, 1991). District and city councils were required to prepare new plans managing the environment in a sustainable way (Schrader, 2012). However, development could proceed if "adverse effects were…avoided, remedied or mitigated" (Section 17, *Resource Management Act,* 1991). The focus of the RMA was on the social and economic wellbeing of communities. The RMA encouraged the development of land for housing. The safeguard of avoiding adverse environmental effects was assessed in a site specific sense. This meant that long term affects or cumulative hazards such as liquefaction were not often taken into account.

Kaiapoi, on the other hand, has a longer history of development than Christchurch east. However, it also lies on similar unconsolidated land. The township lies on the banks of the Kaiapoi River, a tributary of the Waimakariri River that was used as a port until 1967 (Wilson, 2012a). The community experienced damage from earthquakes and subsequent liquefaction as well as frequent flooding throughout its history (Forsyth, Barrel & Jongens, 2008; Wood, 1993). In 2009, the Waimakariri District Council released Figure 5 showing the township's susceptibility to liquefaction. As this shows, the researchers found historical cases of liquefaction. The most susceptible land lies in the eastern parts of Kaiapoi and reflects the unstable land as discussed above. The unstable land described above was described as home by many participants in this study.
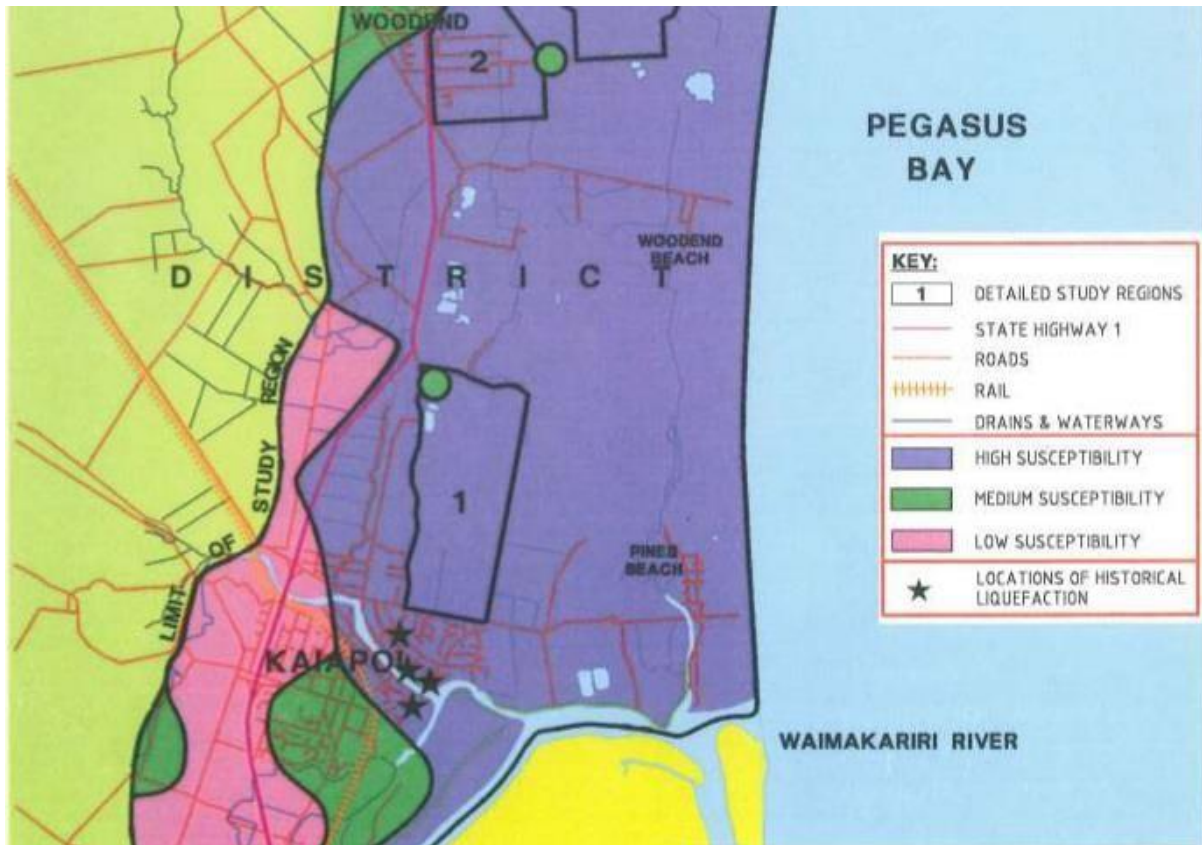
Figure 5: Kaiapoi susceptibility to liquefaction (source: Environment Canterbury, 2009).

The impact of the earthquakes and the aftermath can be understood through the social concept of disaster. While a hazard such as an earthquake is a naturally occurring risk within the environment, the physical interaction with humans and infrastructure can turn an event into a disaster (Oliver-Smith & Hoffman, 1999; Smith & Petley, 1991). Disaster within this thesis refers to an event that has negatively impacted an area through both loss of life and infrastructural damage. There is no clear definition of when an event becomes a disaster (Smith & Petley, 1991), however, due to the loss of 185 lives, the Canterbury earthquakes are considered amongst the greatest disasters in New Zealand history (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2013). The 22 February 2011 earthquake was the third most expensive event, in insurance terms, in global history (*Stuff.co.nz*, 30 March 2012). While the susceptibility of the land under Christchurch and Kaiapoi describe the risks that were present, it was the development on this land and the social context of the areas that led to the events and their aftermath being classed as a disaster.

The development of the communities on susceptible land was compounded to create a disaster due to the social vulnerability that was present. This vulnerability comes largely from socioeconomic segregation which is characteristic within Christchurch (Connolly, 2013; Wilson, 2012b). Social segregation can arise when residents want to associate with people who they perceive to be their equals. An example is social segregation as a result of class based discrimination (Webster, 1975). The impact of this discrimination is visible when eastern suburbs are compared with the high-socioeconomic suburb of Fendalton. Fendalton lies on comparable land to that of eastern Christchurch and houses there were similarly damaged by shaking and liquefaction. However, residents of the high-socioeconomic area had better access to resources. Researchers have found that access to resources means that communities can generally recover faster from a disaster (Smith & Petley, 1991). One visible way to show this access in Christchurch is through the deprivation index shown in Figure 6, derived from the 2006 census data at area unit level. This map was created using nine variables; these can be seen in Table 1. As the table shows, these variables cover a wide range of factors from income, to access to social support and resources such as transport. This map shows that Fendalton has a low depreciation index indicating a high income level as well as access to resources such as transport and social support. These are assets that are required to recover quickly from a disaster (Smith & Petley, 1991). On the other hand, a large number of eastern suburbs are lacking in resources. Areas that were vulnerable due to a lack of access to resources before the earthquakes were the hardest hit and often find recovery most difficult.

Legend

Fendalton

2013 Proposed Christchurch East Boundary

Central City

Christchurch City Boundary

Avon Heathcote Estuary

Wider Canterbury Region

Pacific Ocean

1 (Least Deprived)

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10 (Most Deprived)

0   2.5   5   10 Kilometers

NZ Deprivation Index 2006
University of Otago - School of Medicine & Health Science
Data from: https://koordinates.com/layer/1066-nz-deprivation-index-2006/
Proposed Electorate Boundaries 2013 Electoral Commission
Data from: https://koordinates.com/layer/6574-proposed-electorate-boundaries-2013/
Modified by: K. Campbell 2014

12

Figure 6: Christchurch city deprivation index (modified using the deprivation index calculated by Salmond, Crampton, & Atkinson, (2007) from the 2006 Census data).

Table 1: Deprivation index defining categories (source: Salmond, Crampton, & Atkinson, 2007).

Dimension of Deprivation	Variable Description (in order of decreasing weight)
Income	People ages 18-59 receiving a means-tested benefit
Income	People living in equalised* households with income below an income threshold
Owned home	People not living in own home
Support	People aged <65 living in a single parent family
Employment	People ages 18-59 years who are unemployed
Qualifications	People aged 18-64 without any qualifications
Living space	People living in equalised* households below a bedroom occupancy threshold
Communication	People with no access to a telephone
Transport	People with no access to a car

*Equalisation: method used to control for household composition.

While not all eastern suburbs have a low deprivation index, differences in income and housing prices can affect the vulnerability of a community. The median household income for the Ilam Electorate Zone (used for comparison), of which Fendalton is a part of, is $66,100 (Statistics New Zealand, 2012). This is compared with the Christchurch East Electorate which has a median household income of $55,000 (Statistics New Zealand, 2012). In May 2013 the average house price in Fendalton (including Ilam and Merivale) was $560,000, the highest average of Christchurch suburbs. On the other hand, Christchurch east's (Avondale/Avonside/Burwood/Parklands) average was $336,000

(ENZ.org, 2013) (suburbs shown in Figure 7). It was estimated by the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment (2013) that between June 2010 and June 2012 eastern suburbs experienced a 6.3% rise in house prices. This was, however, smaller than the average increase of 8%-10% for other suburbs around Christchurch. The Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment (2013) found that, due to damage and zoning after the earthquakes, a lack of housing was driving house prices up. This means that after the earthquakes, those selling on the eastern side of Christchurch were entering an inflated market with less capital than their western suburb counterparts (Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, 2013). The vulnerability of individuals varies within these communities. However, in competitive areas such as housing, a suburb can be impacted by a negative stereotype that lowers prices and potentially leaves people more vulnerable and less able to relocate.
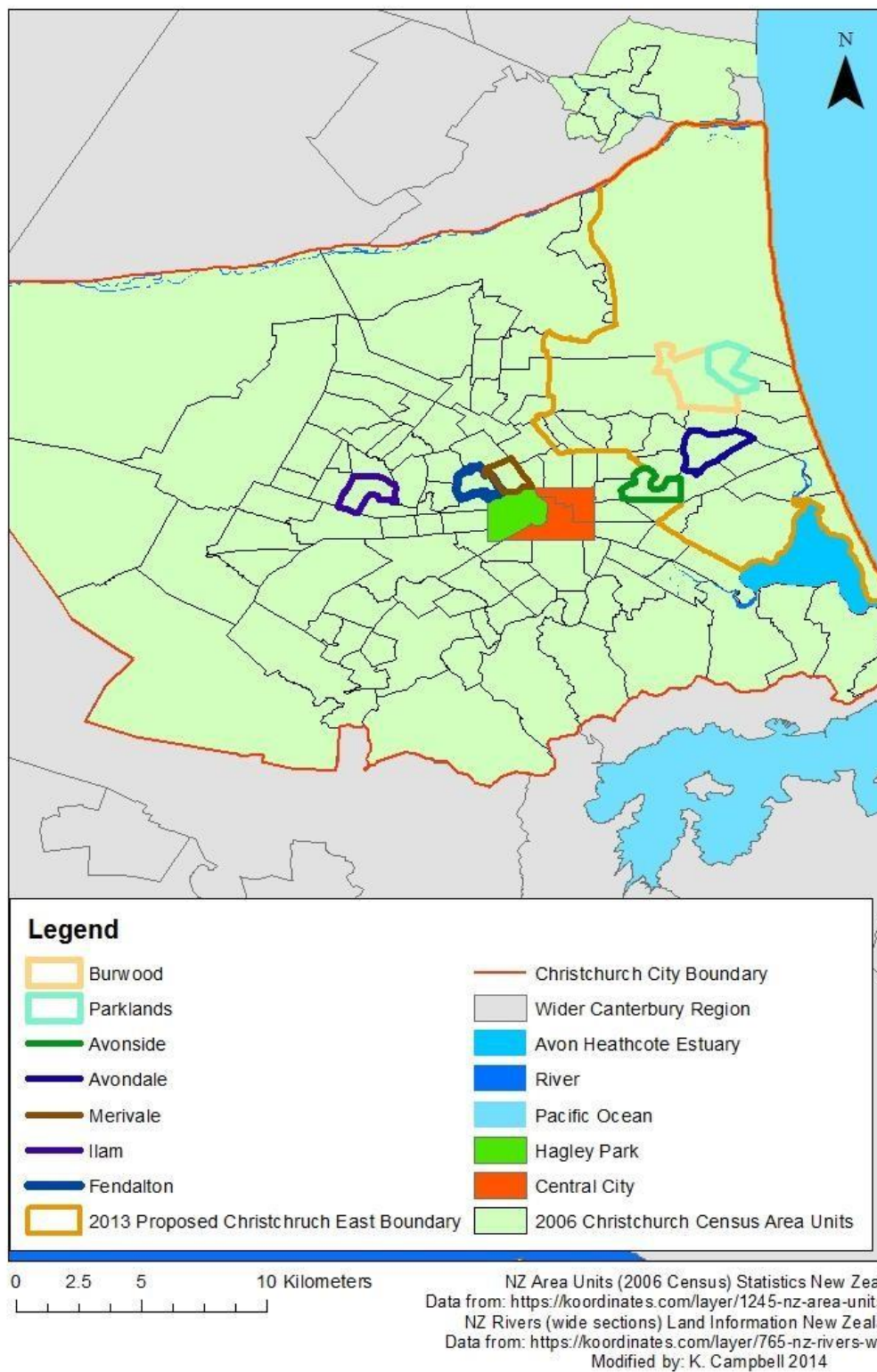
Figure 7: Suburbs of Christchurch for comparison of house prices (map created in Arc GIS by researcher).

Thrupp (2007) also points to the role that schools have had in the creation of segregation within New Zealand. The decile rating of a school expresses the proportion of children that are from lower socioeconomic areas (Ministry of Education, 2013). Decile 1 schools take in the highest proportion of children with a lower socioeconomic background while decile 10 schools take in the lowest (Ministry of Education, 2013). In Christchurch, the average decile rating of a secondary school to the north of the CBD is 9 while to the east is 4, indicating the lower socioeconomic status of communities to the east (Connolly, 2013). Within New Zealand, the highest decile schools are surrounded by a school zone. Within these areas, this zone encompasses areas of rich real estate because "of the historical interplay between desirable schools and geographical zones" (Thrupp, 2007, p. 1400). With zoning being one of the only ways to guarantee a child will be able to attend a school, the selection process has been called "selection by mortgage" (Thrupp, 2007, p. 1398).

The impact of social segregation in Kaiapoi is similar to that of Christchurch east. As Figure 8 shows, the area has a similar deprivation index level to that of areas around Christchurch east. One effect of living in a satellite town is that access to certain resources can be limited. Pockets of disadvantaged residents around the area are most impacted by a lack of access to transport (Wellbeing North Canterbury, 2013). This affects their ability to access medical centres, food banks and outside support among many other things. Wellbeing North Canterbury is an organisation that provides a range of support services for disadvantaged residents of North Canterbury. The organisation helped over 11,000 residents of the Waimakariri District in 2012 which is 22% of the population of North Canterbury (MacPherson, 2013). The inability to access resources shows the social vulnerability present within a community.
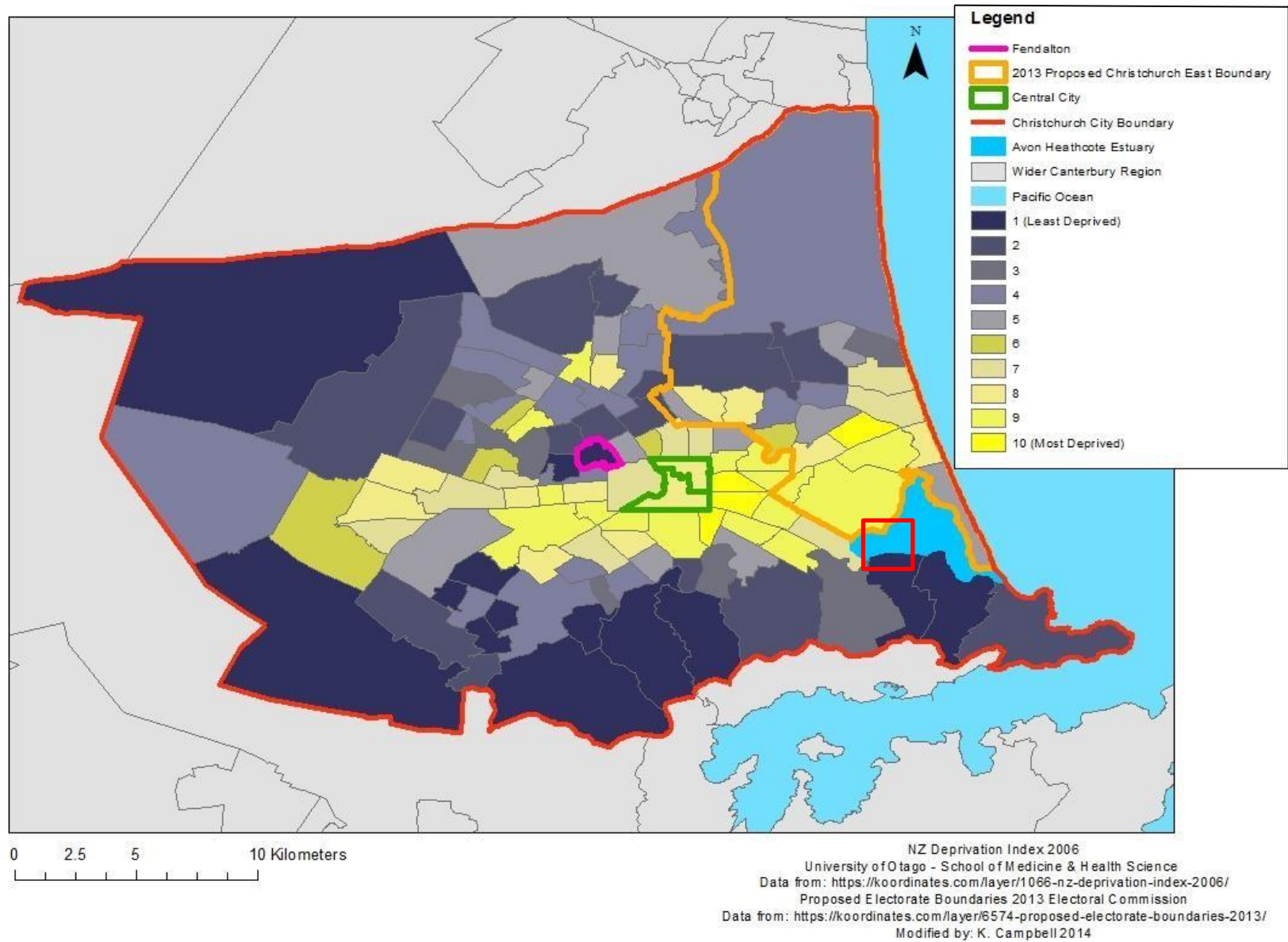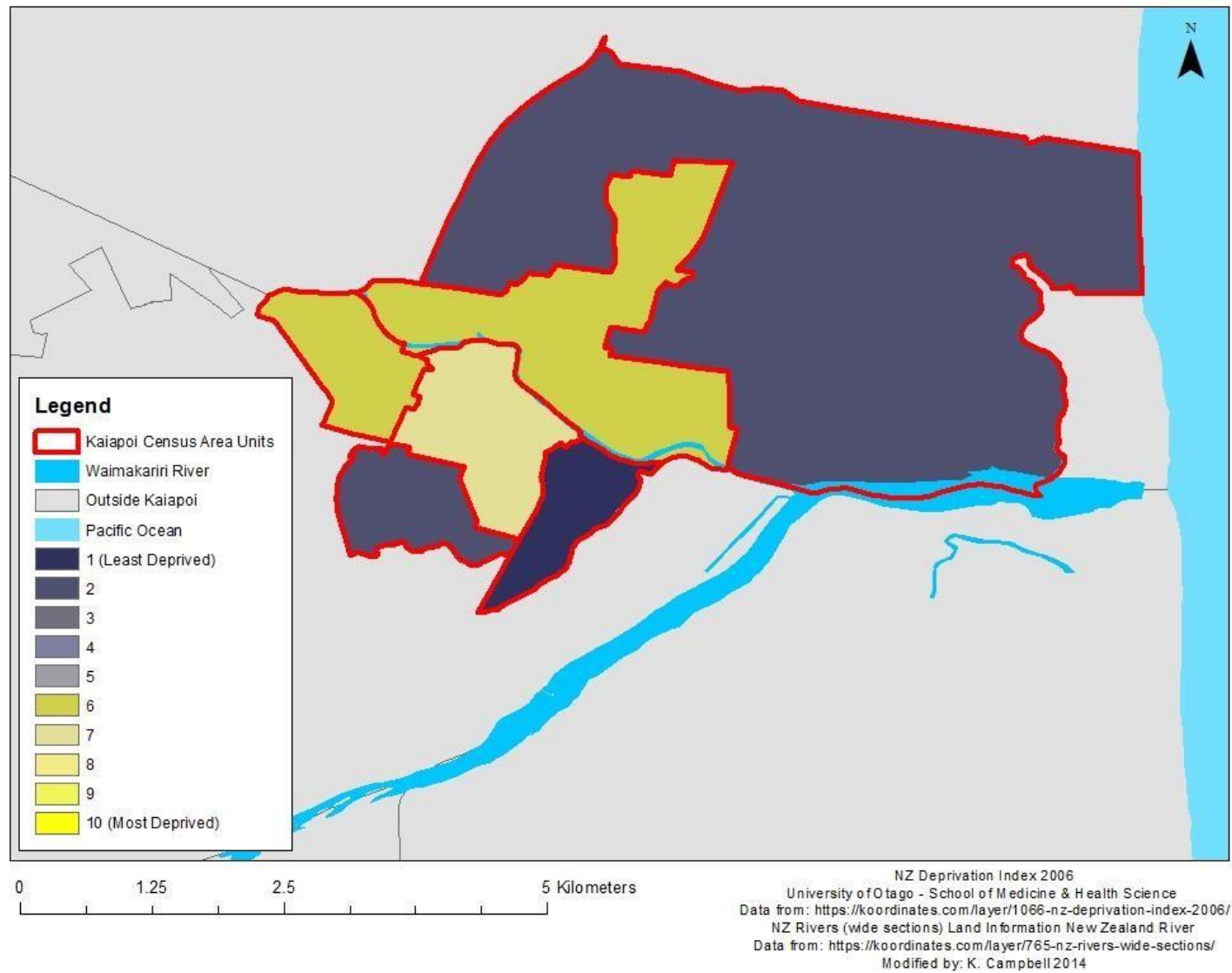
Figure 8: Kaiapoi deprivation index (modified using the deprivation index calculated by Salmond, Crampton, & Atkinson, (2007) from the 2006 Census data).

The concentration of lower socioeconomic communities on susceptible land in both Kaiapoi and Christchurch east caused vulnerability to earthquakes. Eastern Christchurch and Kaiapoi lie on the delta of the Waimakariri River, which contains unconsolidated sediment prone to liquefying in an earthquake as Figures 4 and 5 showed. A change in legislation led to an effects based process whereby the economic welfare of communities was put ahead of susceptibility to hazards. The physical susceptibility to hazards was compounded within the Canterbury region by social vulnerabilities and a lack of access to resources as shown through the low deprivation index. The vulnerability and susceptibility to hazards of Christchurch eastern suburbs and Kaiapoi was magnified by the disaster response of the government. Participants within this study lived within these vulnerable communities and therefore their sense of home was likely to be impacted by disruption such as earthquakes.

1.2 Christchurch and Kaiapoi after the earthquakes

On 4 September 2010 a magnitude 7.1 earthquake occurred in the Canterbury region near the city of Christchurch. Following this a sequence of aftershocks struck the area with the three most prominent being a magnitude 6.3 on 22 February 2011 (Geonet, 2011b), which is often considered to be an earthquakes and not an aftershock due to the damage and deaths that it caused, a magnitude 6.3 on 13 June 2011 (Geonet, 2011a) and on 23 December 2011 a magnitude 6 (Geonet, 2014). Within this research these four events are referred to as earthquakes due to the damage they had and the impact on participants' mental health.

 The response to the earthquakes led to many changes in New Zealand law. After the 2010 earthquake damaged large parts of the city, the Canterbury Earthquake Response and Recovery Act was passed (*The New Zealand Herald*, 11 November 2011). The Act, which came into force in September 2010, was created to accelerate the recovery of Christchurch. By November 2010, government ministers had overridden 14 laws using the Canterbury Earthquake Response and

Recovery Act. These laws included the Resource Management, Building, Civil Defence Emergency Management, Historic Places and Local Government Acts (Interim Report of the Regulations Review Committee, 2011). The Canterbury Earthquake Response and Recovery Act was in effect when the February 2011 earthquake hit.

Kaiapoi and Brooklands were hit particularly hard by the 4 September 2010 earthquake. The areas suffered liquefaction and flooding around many streets. Kaiapoi lies under the Waimakariri District Council's jurisdiction and after the earthquakes the council worked on plans to remediate and rebuild on the affected land. Kaiapoi and Brooklands were not significantly hit in the following earthquakes. Residents from these areas felt separated from the rest of Christchurch because they felt forgotten (Miles, 2012). After the February 2011 earthquake, residents from both Kaiapoi and Christchurch suburbs, were placed into the different zones discussed below and the plans of the council were overridden. The long timeframe from the September earthquake to the zoning process led many residents to believe Kaiapoi was a "forgotten town" (*The Press*, 4 July 2011).

Following on from the February 2011 earthquake, parliament voted in the controversial Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act repeling the 2010 Act (Parliamentary Counsel Office, 18 April 2011). Under the new Act, the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority (CERA) was established to take the lead in the recovery of Christchurch. Led by the Chief Executive Roger Sutton, CERA reports to the Minister for Canterbury Earthquake Recovery, Gerry Brownlee. This Act enables CERA to obtain information from any source, to requisition and build on land as well as to carry out demolitions. The Act also enabled CERA to take over powers from local authorities who were deemed to be not working effectively on the recovery process (*Stuff.co.nz*, 14 April 2011; *Stuff.co.nz*, 15 April 2011). CERA was tasked with reconstructing both the suburbs and the central city of Christchurch. This became known as the Christchurch rebuild.

In June 2011, under the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act, CERA used its power to requisition land and created four zones around residential areas of Christchurch and Kaiapoi. The zones were

created due to the large scale damage around the areas and reflected the inability for land to be remediated in the near future. Five thousand one hundred residential homes were placed into the red zone which came to be known as "the colour of loss" (*Stuff.co.nz*, 23 June 2011). Allocation of land to this zone was determined by three criteria (Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority, 2013a):

- there is significant and extensive area wide land damage;
- the success of engineering solutions may be uncertain in terms of design, its success and possible commencement, given the on-going seismic activity; and
- any repair would be disruptive and protracted for landowners.

Residents of the red zone, predominantly on the east of Christchurch and in Kaiapoi, were given a 'voluntary offer' to receive a government buyout based on the 2007 Government Valuation (GV) or an insurance pay out based on whichever sum was higher (Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority, 2013b). For those who have refused to accept the offer, the self-titled 'red zone stayers', it is unclear what CERA plans to do (at the time of writing). They have been warned that their services will be turned off, utility providers may not service the area and insurance companies may not provide cover (Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority, 2013). Households on red zoned land had specific timelines to leave the area, with many having the final deadline of April 2013. CERA did offer households the ability to apply for an extension until 31 January 2014.

Contention around the zoning of the land as red was visible from the start. For those who owned vacant land, they had been unable to insure it before the earthquakes. Despite this: the government only offered them half of the GV for the land. This decision was taken to court in 2013 and found to be unjust. In a similar position were residents whose homes were minimally damaged in the earthquakes. This group was known as repair in the red zone. Insurance companies would only offer to pay for the repairs to buildings; however, these households still had to leave the area. In many

cases the 2007 GV was much smaller than the insurance pay-out would have been. Many of these situations were taken to court and dealt with on a case–by-case basis.

Directly after the initial zoning decisions were made, 9000 homes within Christchurch and 1500 homes within the Waimakariri district (the district in which Kaiapoi lies) were within an orange zone, called "the shade of uncertainty". This zone, along with a white zone on the Port Hills, required further assessment before zoning could be finalised (*Stuff.co.nz*, 23 June 2011). The fourth zone was green, where land was deemed safe and could be rebuilt on. Between June 2011 and October 2012, land was re-classified from orange into either red or green (Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority, 2012). The green zone was grouped into three classifications based on land damage. These categories were (Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority, 2013a):

- **Technical Category 1 (TC1, grey)** – future land damage from liquefaction is unlikely. Standard foundations can be used for concrete slabs or timber floors.

- **Technical Category 2 (TC2, yellow)** – minor to moderate land damage from liquefaction is possible in future significant earthquakes. Standard timber piled foundations can be used for houses with lightweight cladding and roofing and suspended timber floors or enhanced concrete foundations.

- **Technical Category 3 (TC3, blue)** – moderate to significant land damage from liquefaction is possible in future large earthquakes. Site-specific geotechnical investigation and specific engineering foundation design is required.

By October 2012, there were 181,000 residential properties within the green zone, with around 28,000 lying within the TC3 category (L. Adams (Community and Customer Services CERA), personal communication, December 18, 2013); while there were 7860 residential properties in the red zone (Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority, 2012). These areas can be seen in Figure 9. The red zone was land predominantly in eastern parts of Christchurch, Kaiapoi and Brooklands. As Figure 9 shows, the areas that was most affected lie on the historically susceptible land shown in Figures 4

and 5. The vulnerable communities shown in Figures 6 and 7 were the most affected by damage and

subsequent zoning.
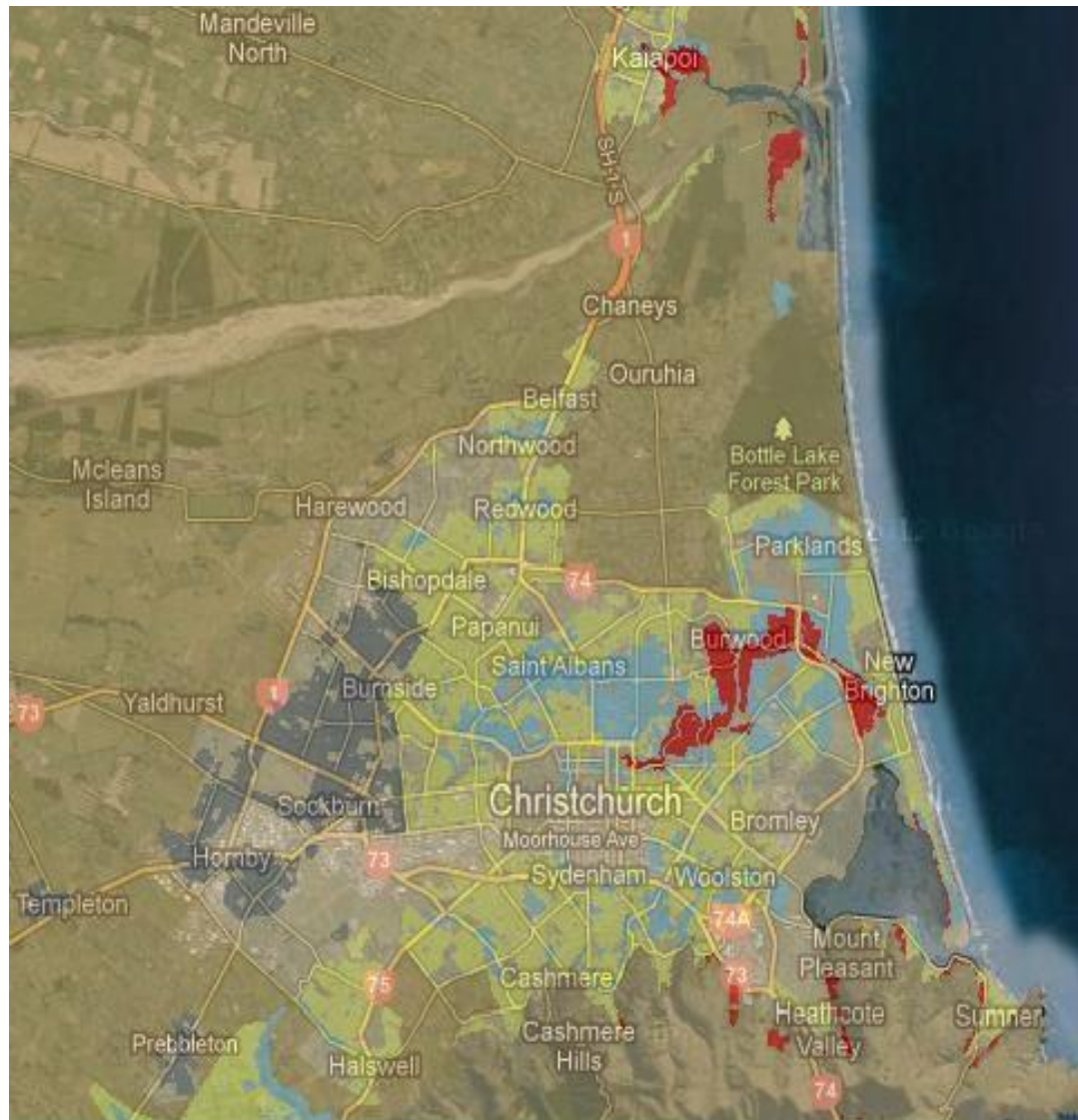
Key

Technical Category 1
Future land damage from
liquefaction is unlikely.

Technical Category 2
Minor to moderate land damage
from liquefaction is possible in
future significant earthquakes.

Technical Category 3
Moderate to significant land damage
from liquefaction is possible in
future significant earthquakes.

N/A - Urban Nonresidential

N/A - Rural & Unmapped

Port Hills & Banks Peninsula

Orange Zone
Further assessment required.

Red Zone
Land repair would be prolonged and
uneconomic.

Figure 9: Technical category for residential land in the Christchurch Region (source: Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority, 2013a).

1.3 Disaster response and contention

New Zealand has a long history of earthquakes and set up the Earthquake Commission (EQC) in 1945 to provide relief against their effects. Among other objectives, EQC provides natural disaster insurance to residential property through levies paid by tax. After the 2010 and 2011 earthquakes, the process of apportionment was created by a 2011 High Court ruling. Through apportionment, every earthquake and large aftershock was considered a separate event and damage was calculated for each distinct event. If the damage caused by one earthquake (or aftershock) was calculated to be more than the cap of $115,000 ($100,000 plus GST), the process was handed over to the house owner's private insurance company (The Earthquake Commission, 2013). This cap-based system means that assessments are often needed by both insurance and EQC specialists, although there were questions over the competence of some assessors (Miles, 2012). Due to the complexity and volume of claims, in 2012 the law was changed to exempt the EQC from a one year settlement deadline; this was section 29(4) of the Earthquake Commission Act 1993 and meant there was no deadline for EQC to settle claims.

There was a large amount of contentiousness against EQC in the aftermath of the 2010 and 2011 earthquakes. The blog 'EQC Truths' was set up by a former employee who "left EQC because of the ludicrous policies of the bureaucrats in the organisation" (EQC Truths, 2012). Through this blog, current employees would anonymously send in information. The contentiousness around EQC came from a lack of transparency and communication as well as alleged poor home assessments and lack of specialists within the teams, often leading to multiple assessments of a home (Miles, 2012). This was often the case for homes that were close to the above cap pay-out and led to delays for homeowners. In the aftermath of the earthquakes, protests displayed the frustration residents felt against the long timelines and lack of information. Figure 10 shows a protest sign found in the central city of Christchurch. The figure shows that the earthquakes had impacted on residents negatively; however, they felt most impacted by insurance and governmental procedures.
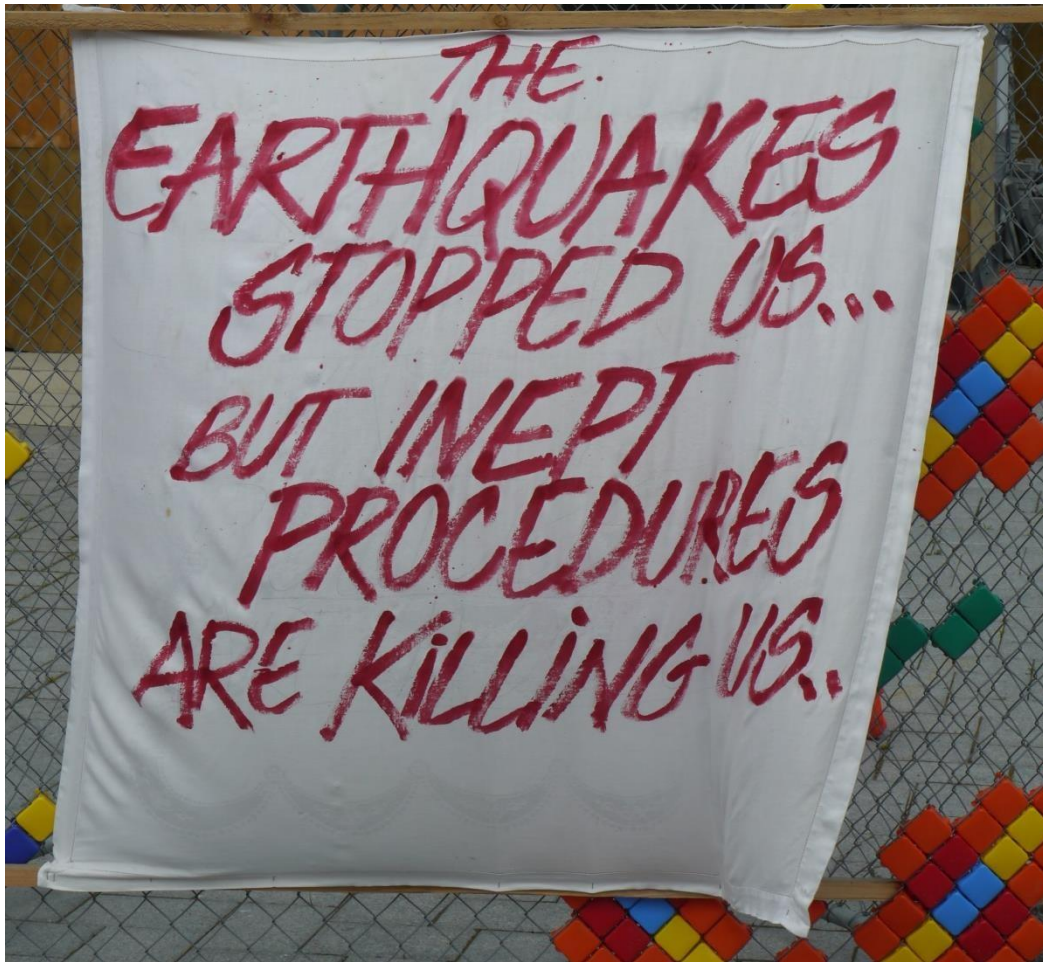
Figure 10: Protest sign found in central city Christchurch (image taken by researcher).

There were also protests against insurance companies in the aftermath of the earthquakes. Miles (2012) documented her own journey through the insurance processes in her book, *The Christchurch Fiasco: the insurance aftershock and its implications for New Zealand and beyond.* The book details the frustrations that residents living in the red zone were encountering, as well as describing the lack of information that TC3 residents were given about the rebuild of their homes. These residents were often living in cold and leaky homes while assessments and zoning decisions were taking place. The uncertainty of the process was extremely difficult for many residents. They often felt that they had been paying insurance premiums for a long time and now the full replacement of their homes did

not appear to mean anything to insurance companies. Figure 11 demonstrates these feelings. To keep equity in their property, residents were told in early 2012 to be patient and "play the insurance game" (Miles, 2012, p. 48). However, the lack of access to time and money has made this impossible for many. In mid-April 2012 IAG, an insurance company with 40% market share in New Zealand, declared that it would raise premiums by 30% (Miles, 2012). This increase — alongside the increase in rates and EQC premiums that many were paying — was often coupled with the rent that some residents were paying for other accommodation due to damage to their homes. Despite a speech given by Prime Minister John Key, "that homeowners with insurance would regain as much equity as possible" (Key, 2011), the lack of knowledge about when homes will be repaired or rebuilt means that many residents were losing money. The Mayor's earthquake fund, set up to give financial aid after the earthquakes, received 1300 requests for help between January 2011 and April 2012. The Trust suspended applications due the high number of requests. On 5 September 2012, in an interview on the John Campbell show (a news and current affairs TV show), an IAG spokesperson revealed that only 35 houses had been completely rebuilt since September 2010. IAG is responsible for the insurance on 70% of the new homes in Canterbury. This shows the long time frame that many residents as well as participants in this study were facing.

Figure 11: Cartoon from newspaper depicting perceived insurance procedures (source: *The Press,* 28 June 2011).

Another area of dispute has been the school closures and mergers that were announced by the Education Minister Hekia Parata in early 2013. As *Stuff.co.nz* (18 February 2013) (an online newspaper) reported, Parata announced that seven schools would be closed, leading to at least 80 full time jobs being lost. Alongside this, 12 schools would be merged into six. A number of schools around Christchurch (both eastern and western suburbs) were set for closure and merger. The Government reasoned that there had been a large migration away from the area. Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment (2013) found that between June 2010 and June 2012 there had been an estimated population decline of 2.0% within Christchurch. The loss of schools within communities was extremely difficult for residents and there were large protests against it. Members from the Phillipstown School (in the eastern suburb of Phillipstown) community took the judgement to court and in October 2013 the decision to close Phillipstown school was found to have been reached illegally. The court decision was made after interviews within this research took place.

The research presented in this thesis undertook interviews with 29 residents of the red and TC3 zones of Christchurch and Kaiapoi. The zones were designated as part of a government response to the damage that had occurred around Christchurch. Many suburbs lay on land that had been extremely damaged by liquefaction. The two zones were areas of contention after the zone boundaries were created. Residents of the red zone were most vocal directly after the decision with a number of protests being held. The decision to offer a voluntary agreement and to use the 2007 GV were seen by red zone residents as unfair (*NewsTalkZB*, 2013). This led to around 270 households becoming 'red zone stayers' (*NewsTalkZB*, 2013). TC3 residents, on the other hand, became a more prominent voice two years after the 22 February 2011 earthquake. TC3 residents were placed into rebuild or repair categories. They fought the slow insurance and EQC settlement processes, discussed previously, and found the procedures to rebuild debilitating (*The New Zealand Herald*, 5 November 2013). The systematic zoning of land had massive impacts on people personally.

The 'top down' decision saw over 7000 households being forced to leave their house and neighbourhood, while over 20,000 households lay within the zone of TC3. This research has sought to determine how outside agencies who create boundaries affect those who live within or outside of those boundaries. These boundaries represented an overarching disaster response that was required following the vast damage that occurred in Christchurch. This research, with a focus on the individual and on individual stories, seeks to understand governmental processes and their effect from the ground up three years after the 22 February 2011 earthquake stuck.

1.4 Research questions

This thesis argues that a person's sense of home is impacted on a number of scales (household, community and city) by unexpected violent disruptions such as earthquakes, as well as outside responses of the government and other agencies. This statement arose from the three research questions that are explored throughout the thesis. These questions are:

1. How have senses of home and the process of making a home been affected by the Canterbury earthquakes?
2. How do a sense of home and the process of creating a new home differ between red and TC3 zone residents?
3. How are the activities of government, business and community-led agencies shaping the post-disaster process of home-making?

These research questions were created with concern for the different scales that can contribute to a sense of home as well as a local understanding of the earthquakes that came from the preliminary study. The first research question looks at the role of scale and does not limit the idea to just an individualised creation of home. The question seeks an understanding of how a home can also be created through engagement with a community or through participation in a city. The second research question comes from localised knowledge, developed through the preliminary study, of the

aftermath of the Christchurch earthquakes. The two most contested spaces after the implementation of the zones were the red and TC3 zones. The third question understands the outside influence that can impact on a person's sense of home. Relating to the three scales of home looked at within this thesis, this question used situated knowledge to create an understanding of how local polices can impact a home. These questions will be answered throughout this thesis.

1.5 Thesis outline

This thesis is shaped by understanding home at different scales. Chapter 2 looks at the conceptual context that informs the argument of the thesis. Literature on home, as it is understood on a household level, home as it is created by a community and home as it is found within a city, will be both the reference point for the outline of the thesis and the starting point to understand how the findings within this study are situated within a wider context.

Chapter 3 outlines the methods used in this research. The study design is outlined through the sampling techniques used and the ethics application. The places in which the interviews were held as well as how the data was analysed is discussed within the data collection sub-section. The role of intersubjectivity within the research is also examined.

Chapter 4 begins to examine the role of scale and home, starting with home and the household. This chapter shows the impact outside agencies have on a person's sense of home. Through understanding how a loss of control affects residents' sense of home, the impact that governmental procedures had on participants is explored. Following on from this, the practical manifestation of this loss of control is understood in homemaking techniques used by residents. The impact that top down processes have had on participants is extremely prominent in this chapter.

Chapter 5 carries the scale up to the role of community and home. This chapter draws on the importance of both community and neighbourhood to some participants in the creation of their sense of home. The chapter looks at how neighbourhoods have changed in the aftermath of the earthquake and the loss of community that some participants felt. It then moves on to look at the creation of a new community in social media sites that has occurred after the earthquakes. Social media, within this research, shows how communities can be empowered by ground up processes and share resources and knowledge. Lastly, this chapter will focus on the use of jokes to normalise and localise the earthquakes after the disaster.

Chapter 6 expands the scale to how a sense of home can be related to a city. Beginning with an understanding of the common disaster response model used within New Zealand, other models will be examined. Following this, the idea that Christchurch's history and socioeconomic distributions were not lost but magnified after the disaster will be explored. This is despite the idea that Christchurch is a "blank canvas" for the rebuild.

Chapter 7 combines the findings of this research with the wider literature discussed in Chapter 2. It also examined the future research possibilities

These following chapters examine how participants' senses of home were impacted by the disaster response after the earthquakes that hit Canterbury New Zealand in 2010 and 2011.

Chapter 2: Contextual context

This chapter will focus on the literature of home. Divided into the three scales used within this study, the literature shows how wider research has change and developed. While this study focuses on three scale points, there are many scales of home. A person can self-categorise themselves to be a resident of a city such as London, and be a Londoner; a country region such as being a Catalonian; a country and be, for example, Polish or Australian; a continent as a European; or even a "citizen of the world" (Lewicka, 2008, p. 212). There is minimal discussion in this chapter about the impact of disaster on different scales of home. This is because Chapters 4, 5 and 6 all express how a traumatic event impacted on participants' sense of home at all scales while linking in with disaster research. The following chapter examines literature about home without the rupture of a disaster impacting on it. Chapter 7 will link the literature from this chapter with the main findings of this research.

2.1 Home and the household

The home is created by the individual and their emotions attached to a space, meaning that one specific definition of what entails a home is impossible. While some authors have dismissed ambiguous definitions of home (Hidalgo & Hernàndez, 2001), it is important within this research to allow for fluid understandings of a sense of home as it is an individualised feeling. This chapter will not look to define home but to understand the many definitions that researchers have created.

A home, at the most functional level, is a material space which is lived in (Blunt & Dowling, 2006; Ellingsen & Hidle, 2013). However, a home cannot be described by its material purpose alone as there are many spaces which could easily do the 'job' that are not normally considered a home, such as a hotel room (Douglas, 1991). One area where this separation is prominent is the difference between a house and a home. A house is material while a home is created by the residents. How a

house is used, maintained, and equipped, the daily activities that flow through it, and the social relations that are created within it and in the neighbourhood create a home (Gram Hanssen & Bech Danielsen, 2004). The notion of dwelling, formulated by Heidegger, demonstrates the contrast between house and home. It does not assume that "the physical housing unit defines the experience of home. It connotes a more active and mobile relationship of individuals to physical, social, and psychological spaces around them" (Manzo, 2003, p. 49).

Housing studies, Marxism and, humanistic geography lay the framework from which research is now developed (Blunt & Dowling, 2006). While housing studies focus on the house and not the home and Marxist studies centre on the creation of home as a locus of capitalist value (Blunt & Dowling, 2006), the humanistic focus was solely on giving meaning to home (Blunt & Dowling, 2006; Tuan, 1977). The focus, for humanistic geography, was on places of meaning and the sense of comfort and belonging that was created within this space (Tuan, 1977). A home was seen as the place from which people could understand their relationship with the world (Cloke, Philo, & Sadler, 1991). From the humanistic framework emerged a large number of ideas about the entwining of space, meaning and feeling. From this beginning, researchers have looked into how a home can be a place of comfort and belonging (Ellingsen & Hidle, 2013; Wise, 2000); a space that is brought under control (Douglas, 1991), created through a sense of routine and regular practices (Dominy, 2001; Douglas, 1991), or created through nostalgia for the past (Blunt & Varley, 2004; Douglas, 1991). While it is not possible to inscribe a home with one meaning, it is the formation of individualised understandings and feelings that creates a home.

While many of the above researchers have understood the complexities of defining home, the humanistic notion has not generally taken negative experiences into account (Blunt, 2005; Blunt & Varley, 2004). The social relations that create a home are intrinsically gendered with the caring and domestic tasks most often falling to women therefore the role of gender is crucial to the "lived experiences and imaginaries of home" (Blunt & Dowling, 2006, p. 15). For feminists this has meant that the homeis a key site of oppression. Home, for some women, is a site of violence, alienation and

emotional turmoil (Blunt & Varley, 2004; Manzo, 2003). It is also a place that removes women from the outside world of politics and business. The humanistic understanding of home is a space of solace and refuge from work. However, for many women the home is the workplace from which there is no refuge (Manzo, 2003). Some researchers have found that women, when compared to men, are more likely to use home as a spatial reference point but are less likely to have an extensive conception of the community as a whole (Cuba & Hummon, 1993b). The humanistic notion of home was, for feminist researchers, a romanticised and nostalgic understanding of a space (Blunt & Varley, 2004). It did not examine the role that power plays within a space and how this would impact on a person's experiences.

Another perspective from which the humanistic ideals of home are disrupted is through the homosexual lens. Fortier (2003) thought about home as being a heterosexual norm from which some homosexual children or adults can feel estranged. The idea of a home to some is constituted by safety and understanding, however, many homosexuals do not find this within their childhood house. The child or teenager within a household context often finds that they have very little control over their environment and this has called the secure idea of home into question. Despite this, some researchers have found that a homosexual adult may find a home among a community of likeminded people (Fortier, 2003). The critical analyses of home show that it is a space open to definition and changes.

Many researchers have come to understand the negative associations that people have with home and have developed dualistic terms to define them. Marcus (2006) established the terms "home as haven" and "home as a trap" to understand the connection between both positive and negative feelings towards home. These ideas took into account the unpleasant memories that some associate with their place of residence. Similarly, the dialectic of insideness/outsideness was created to understand the negative associations with home (Manzo, 2003). Manzo (2003, p. 52) has used the

term "existential insideness" to describe a place being intimately experienced while, the separation from place is called existential outsideness. This occurs when a person feels outside or alienated from a place. The use of the two parallels also gives a person the ability to compare the outside space with the inside. A comparison between the inside and outside space allows for meaning to be attached to both, with inside being a reflection of what is missing on the outside (Manzo, 2003). These two descriptions of home offer a flexible understanding of how different people experience home. These dualistic realisations of home show that research is moving forward from humanistic understandings of home and is accepting the different attachments people have.

The role of routine has been expressed by a large number of researchers as being important in the development of meaningful spaces (Dominy, 2001; Douglas, 1991; Manzo, 2003). Meaningful spaces in everyday life may not be consciously thought of as special. This is because habit and familiarity are critical elements in a person's sense of place (Manzo, 2003). Home can often provide a sense of comfort and security which is familiar and can lead to an unconscious attachment (Manzo, 2003). For Dominy (2001), the farmer travels within the landscape and withdraws from romantic celebrations of nature. Through routines and knowledge the farmer can create a home within the land as a space of commodity, conservation and lifestyle.

On the other hand, some researchers have found that routine can create a mundane space. LeFebvre, (1974) as quoted by Manzo (2003, p. 51), referred to the "miseries of everyday life" and the "drudgery of place". This can mean that places feel oppressive and imprisoning due to the unconscious routines that are lived within them. On the other hand, feelings around place can become conscious especially in times of great change (Brown & Perkins, 1992). Disruptions to routines such as burglary, relocation or disaster can lead to an increase in awareness of a place (Cox & Perry, 2011; Manzo, 2003; Phillips, Stukes, & Jenkins, 2011). Place attachment can occur both unconsciously and consciously. The feelings created can have a large impact on an individual especially in the formation of an identity surrounding home.

A person's identity and their home are largely interrelated. A home can be informed by identity wherein a person may create a certain type of home depending on how they perceive themselves (Wise, 2000). A home, as a place of significant events, can also become attached to a person's identity and memory (Douglas, 1991; Manzo, 2003). The formation of routines and habits within a place, as discussed above, can form the memory and identity created within a home. This is due to the connection of home and identity and the process of identification that occurs when 'creating' a home (Wise, 2000). According to Dominy (2001), the farmer's identity is created through a place not only through the location but also through the use of the place and the belonging felt. As Dominy (2001, p. 261) says, "knowing the place (knowing the "where") means knowing the self (knowing the "who")". For Relph (1976) home was the foundation of identity as both individuals and as members of a community. Relph (1976, p. 41) ascribed a large amount of importance to a sense of home that an individual has, stating "a deep relationship with places is as necessary, and perhaps as unavoidable, as close relationships with people; without such relationships human existence, while possible, is bereft of much of its significance".

Some research has sought to understand the role of identity and place through a concept called "*habiter*" (Félonneau, 2004, p. 45). *"Habiter"* invokes the notion of "living in" a particular environment through the way a person lives within an environment (Félonneau, 2004, p. 45). The concept of "*habiter*" is a way for a person to become a part of social fabric via the connections made within a place. This concept focuses on the emotional investments made within a familiar environment such as a household that provides support for the creation of an identity.

Félonneau (2004) dismissed this research because the concept had limited heuristic value. Félonneau (2004) believed that more importance should be placed on the notion of place identity. Place identity can be understood as the conceived ideas a person has about themselves within a space. These ideas come from a person's understanding of a place and how they should act; their

feelings, attitudes and values towards a place; as well as the memories within a place (Proshansky, 1978).

Another expression of identity comes from the objects that are within a home. For Gram Hanssen and Bech Danielsen (2004), objects express the identity of the person. As Erikson (1976, p. 8) says "these are, an extension of self, a source of identity". The type of house that someone buys can also be an expression of themselves. For example, some prefer homes that require maintenance and so that they feel they have created it, while others want a clean and easy to maintain home (Gram Hanssen & Bech Danielsen, 2004). Identity is constantly changing and flowing and the material household offers a space in which to express these changes (Morley & Robins, 1993).

This section has looked at how a home can be created at the household level. Through using a fluid idea of home, no one definition was given. This is because home is created through an individual drawing meaning over a space. Humanistic theory is the basis for much of the meanings and definitions that are ascribed to home. This looks at home as a space of security and refuge. However, humanistic theory is also a romanticised notion of home and can be looked at critically through feminist or homosexual lenses. This is because home is not always a place of safety and security but can be a place of violence and alienation. Some researchers have tried to express these different feelings towards home through the concepts of "home as a haven" and "home as a trap" as well as insideness/outsideness. A home is largely a place of routine and control and has a large impact on identity. The home at the household level is a fluid and individualised concept.

2.2 Home and the community

This section will look at the role that community has in creating a home. The terms 'community' and 'neighbourhood' are not interchangeable and one may exist without the other (Hallam, 2009). A neighbourhood has spatial boundaries which can be defined by many different features such as

structural characteristics or environmental borders among others (Lewicka, 2010). A community, on the other hand, is a form of social organisation based upon commonalities between people. Communities do not need to be spatially based. For example, they can be religious or political affiliations, or occupations (Hallam, 2009). Within this research, community and neighbourhood are used in their respective meanings. The link between community and place attachment has been researched often within the social sciences, with the assumption that people become attached to a community and/or neighbourhood more than a household or city (Hidalgo & Hernàndez, 2001). One of the most studied indicators of positive place attachment within both community and neighbourhood is social ties. Within this research, social ties are understood using the concept of social capital. Social capital focuses on the networks that are created between people within a neighbourhood or community. This section will look briefly at the role values and ideals have in creating a sense of home for people within a community. It will then expand on this through examining these social ties to look at the history of social capital and the division that has occurred between two ways of defining it along with current research on social fragmentation and its impact on people.

While the previous section looked at the role of a home as a household, the creation of a home does not often take place within a vacuum. An individual may consider a household to be their home, however, the influence of a neighbourhood can be extremely important. Factors such as a person's interpretation and experience of a place as well the demographics they bring can all influence the sense of home that a person creates (Cuba & Hummon, 1993b). In order to feel a sense of belonging, often individuals have to uphold the dominant ideals of a place or find a community with likeminded views. The setting within which a home is created is understood as a "spatial imaginary" in which the feelings and meanings that are created towards a place lie within a certain context (Blunt & Dowling, 2006, p. 2). The context of a neighbourhood holds specific norms, ideas and, values which residents must maintain. For example, the creation of an "attractive home" can become an extremely important ideal within certain cultures. This is reflected when Gram Hanssen and Bech Danielsen

(2004, p. 17) say: "owning, making and maintaining an attractive home seems to be increasingly important at least in Scandinavian countries".

The traditional and romantic ideal of neighbourhood, a space of belonging and security, has a history in the suburbia mythology. Suburbs were created as spaces of affluence and in contrast to inner city poverty. Suburbs, and the neighbourhoods they created, while mixed and diverse, have dominant mythologies that lead to a collective identity being formed (Cupples, 2009). Being a part of a neighbourhood involves a performance of self in which dominant ideals are supported in order to be accepted (Ellingsen & Hidle, 2013). One area where this is visible is in the culture of consumption. Both within a neighbourhood context and a community context, consuming the 'right' product can lead to a person feeling "in place" or "out of place" (Cresswell, 2009, p. 173). Feelings of exclusion can occur when a person is not accepted due to the 'wrong' consumption or attributes. Gram Hanssen and Bech Danielson (2004) believed the outside of a house and the neighbourhood that it is within express attributes of class and power while the inside of a home could be more individualised expressions of identity.

Researchers have found that a number of different factors can lead to a person feeling attached to their neighbourhood, including length of residence, socioeconomic status, age and race (Woolever, 1992). The ability to shop in the local area as well as belonging to local clubs can strengthen neighbourhood ties (Cuba & Hummon, 1993b). Without these factors, an individual may feel excluded from a neighbourhood and is less likely unlikely to create social ties with an area.

The power dynamics explained above are significant in terms of social capital. Social capital in this instance is understood as the networks and norms that are created within a community (Woolcock 1998 as referenced by Chamlee Wright & Storr, 2011). Networks and relationships are seen as a resource which can be created in both a community and a neighbourhood (Field, 2003). These are the social ties that a person feels towards an area and without them a person may feel less connected.

The concept of social capital was developed by four main researchers (Bebbington, 2009). These are Pierre Bourdieu, James Coleman, Robert Putman and Mancur Olson. Within literature, the focus is often on Bourdieu and Putman's contrasting understandings of social capital, while the perspectives of Olsen and Colman lie along the spectrum. Putman's main focus was on the collective, with a focus on trust that is created when participants engage in civil associations (Bebbington, 2009). Putman has been criticised for his generalisation and his overly positive view of social capital. He did not focus on the "dark side" of social capital (Field, 2003, p. 71). Bourdieu, in contrast, focused on social hierarchy and class believing that economic, social and cultural capital were the three main dimensions in the creation of class (Field, 2003; Siisiainen, 2003). Bourdieu had a largely elitist understanding of social capital (Field, 2003), believing that it only satisfied the rich due to their ability to reproduce capital and power therefore gaining access to resources that benefitted them (Aldrich, 2012). Bourdieu did not believe that social capital helped underprivileged classes (Field, 2003).

As shown above, Bourdieu has a number of criticisms for the negativity of his work. Research has now shown that social capital can influence and create more resources in a community, even if it is underprivileged (Pearson, Pearce, & Kingham, 2013). Despite this criticism, his focus on the reproduction of power is extremely important (Bebbington, 2009). The existing power dynamics that are present within a neighbourhood or community mean that some individuals may not be able to create social ties. Differences in gender (Alston, 2013; Ivory et al., 2011; Sultana, 2013; Weber, 2013) and race (Davidson, Price, McCauley, & Ruggiero, 2013; Hansen, Bi, Saniotis, & Nitschke, 2013), among other characteristics, are part of important power dynamics that can influence a community's social capital. Researchers can now build on both the positives and criticisms of these founding works. For example Pickett and Wilkinson (2011) describe the impact of inequality on trust. They found that in an unequal society, levels of trust are decreased. This combines Putman's understanding of trust with Bourdieu's research into a class-discriminating society.

A lack of social capital within a community can be described as social fragmentation whereby networks and trust within a community is limited. There has been a large amount of research relating social fragmentation to its impacts on health. Some of this research is contradictory with some findings showing that an increase in fragmentation leads to an increase in suicide rates (Congdon, 1996; Evans, Middleton, & Gunnell, 2004). Other research however has found that deprivation is a larger factor in negative health impacts. Some researchers have found that contradictions may be due to different individual factors being considered as well as country differences. In the UK for example, fragmentation was found to be more extreme and therefore had a larger impact on health than in New Zealand, where deprivation was the most important factor (Ivory et al., 2011).

This section has examined how an individual's sense of home is impacted by either a community or a neighbourhood or both. Feeling included in a community or neighbourhood comes from the ability to accept the dominant ideals of others within the group. This means that individual attributes such as a person's gender, age or race can include or exclude them. The power that is expressed by the dominant group was explained through social capital by Bourdieu. He believed that social capital was used by the rich to improve resources. Putman, on the other hand, focused on the trust that is created within a community through social capital. From this beginning research, studies are now able to combine the two understandings and focus on differences in power and trust.

2.3 Home and the city

Home as a city is the final point that will be looked at in this review. A number of researchers have found that although the level of attachment to neighbourhood is most commonly studied, the attachment to city and household — the other two scales within this research — are more prevalent (Lewicka, 2008; Manzo, 2003). The city can be understood as both the space that encompasses the city wide boundaries including the suburbs. It can also be the central area of the city, depending on

the context. Within this research both terms of city are used, however, central city is used to refer to the central area of the city. This division comes from the separation of suburb (and neighbourhood as was discussed above) and central city. Suburbs were created as spaces of high morality and affluence to escape the social disorder and moral decay of the city (Cupples, 2009). Within this section the role of power and exclusion will be discussed. Collective identities and citizenship will also be examined.

A city can be thought of as a physical structure which serves to condition social interactions or impede them (Pol, 2002). However, a city is more than an organisation of land. Cities are, above all, social entities (Pol, 2002). Connection to a city can come from positive place attachment; however, this can be impacted on by outside entities. The political, spatial and economic understandings of place can create areas of belonging whereby those who do not have certain attributes are "out of place" (Cresswell, 1996, p. 137). Dominant groups may find that the exclusion of others leads to feelings of rootedness and security allowing for their sense of home and belonging to flourish (Manzo, 2003). The racial discrimination felt by minorities around the world as well as the forced relocation of homeless people show that place is a political function and those in power are able to define the boundaries (Cresswell, 1996; Manzo, 2003).

The role of collective identity has been studied widely especially within psychological fields. Collective identity and social identity within this framework means "that part of an individual's self-concept that is derived from the knowledge of belonging to a social group, or groups, together with the evaluative and emotional meaning associated with that belonging" (Tajfel, 1981 as quoted by Pol, 2002, p. 16). Identities, at a city level, are constructed through collective identity and the stories that are told about the past, present and future (Morley & Robins, 1993).

Within a collective identity lies the idea that there are those who do not belong. Whether the identity that is created is defined by physical boundaries or through a shared understanding, the creation of collective identities leads to a creation of the 'other' meaning those who do not possess

the same qualities (Brewer & Gardner, 1996; Morley & Robins, 1993). This is a form of 'othering' and it occurs when common bonds are created and norms and characteristics are internalised creating a collective self (Brewer & Gardner, 1996). When the majority group establishes this identity, it is a form of self-stereotyping. Brewer and Gardner (1996, p. 83) describe this identity as a "need to belong" and believe that it is an innate feature of human nature. Within a city, 'othering' can occur when related to another city. For Milestone (2008, p. 1166) the "northern*ness*" that was created with the city of Manchester in England through popular culture was created to reflect a direct opposition to the "southern*ness*" of other cities. Over the past 30 years, the inner city of Manchester has expanded and changed to a metropolitan area far different from its romanticised working class roots. However this did not change the collective identity of the city, with the area and people within it still calling on the historically working class roots to describe itself (Milestone, 2008).

While a person may feel a connection to a city, a collective identity is made legal and given more power via citizenship within a city. The granting of citizenship brings unique rights and benefits to a person. Citizenship is a technique of spatial organisation (Secor, 2004). Non-citizens can be seen as 'the other' within a city, however they can also resist citizenship in everyday life (Secor, 2004). These individuals can be thought of as "internal outsiders" or "strangers" within the city (Secor, 2004, p. 353). However, they can create their own identity among spaces within a city often in opposition to the dominant ideals. The process of citizenship can normalise ideals and values unevenly among a number of groups. This hegemonic strategy can define groups and fix power differentials between them naturalizing these ideas in the process (Secor, 2004).

One way that a city may gain its identity is through collective memory. Memory of a city can be created through official networks such as media, history lessons in schools, and architectural traces as well as unofficial networks such as songs and family stories (Lewicka, 2008). Collective memories are a product of social structures and historical events that evoke strong emotional responses. McNaughton (2009) describes the creation of history through a "tissue of quotations" whereby

dominant memories are remembered. Social memories tend to be biased and some events are recollected in a way that reinforces dominant identity associations of a group (Lewicka, 2008; McNaughton, 2009). The contrasting understanding and memory of a jail in Christchurch showed the different identities that were attached to the place. The gothic revival architecture was of most importance to many European descendants. However, for the indigenous Maori tribe Ngāi Tahu everything from the walls to the graffiti held a personal story that was locked in dread, revenge and tradition (McNaughton, 2009). Collective memory leads to people believing a city will always perform in a certain way. It can make a community either accepting of or resistant to change (Wilson, 2012). While collective memory can create an identity, it may also lead to a lack of resilience or learning as people believe the city will continue to always function as it has.

Participation in a city can create attachment and identity. The privilege to inhabit and create a city is given through what Lefebvre (1996) calls "the right to the city" (Secor, 2004). Participation is not a simple step and it is necessary to provoke a range of identity performances in order to negotiate and create "grids of difference" (Pratt, 1998). These are the boundaries of urban space that are negotiated via different performances of self (Secor, 2004). When being within a city, a person becomes an active participant in the production of othering, identity and citizenship. It is through identity that a person can claim a space through the assertion of power against an exteriority (Secor, 2004). Woodman (1992) as understood by Manzo (2003) explains identity in relation to place as the different performances that each place brings out. The 'den' is the private area where a person can explore who they are, while in meeting others in outside places a person begins to recognise themselves in different personas. Identity is understood as the "making and remaking of ourselves in relation to others and the world around us" (Manzo, 2003, p. 54). Identity and relationships to places are products of a larger political, social and economic reality despite the individual experience being extremely personal (Manzo, 2003).

This section has examined how a home can be created within a city through the belonging that is felt through collective identity. This is an identity that is expressed through memories and associations within a city. Such identities will 'other' those who do not belong within it. Whether this is due to physical boundaries around a city or through characteristics which means a group does not 'belong'. Creation of identity can occur due to participation within a city. This is given through "the right to the city". Identity can come from collective memory of an identity or popular culture stereotypes of a place through humour and television. A city creates a belonging on a larger scale than that of community or household, however, this can mean that others are left on the outside.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the conceptual context in which this research lies. By understanding home at three scales, it is possible to show the intricacies and complications of defining home. It has argued that home should be defined by the individual.

The ideas explored within this chapter focus on the ideas and understandings of home without the disruption of a disaster. The following chapter will explore how the present study investigated how a disaster impacts on a person's sense of home.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter outlines the methodology used to obtain and analyse the data employed in this research. The first section of this chapter begins by outlining the study design. Semi-structured interviews with set questions were utilised to answer the research questions that were stated in Chapter 1. Alongside this, the changes to the study design that occurred throughout the research are discussed. The process to gain ethics approval is also described in this chapter and it explains the procedures undertaken to ensure participant health and safety. The second section looks at the data collection phase. The role of different levels of data is mentioned along with how participants were found and the place of interview. An assessment of the demographics of the participants is also included. The final section looks at the role of positionality within the research.

3.1 Study design

This section describes the study design that was used within this research. An analysis of why semi-structured interviews were used is undertaken along with how the interview questions were created. Flexibility within the research is examined as an important aspect. Following on from this, the role of sampling is discussed. There were a number of changes in the design of the research and the importance of this is examined. Lastly, the role that ethics played is explored.

3.1.1 Interviews

Through semi-structured interviews as well as social media and news reports, data was obtained to answer the three research questions. Dunn (2010) expresses the view that semi-structured interviews should not be claimed as finding the 'truth'; they are instead about finding the perceptions of the group of people interviewed. Appendix 1 shows the interview questions that

were created to answer the research questions. The interview questions cover all of the scales, described in Chapter 2, used to illustrate a home. The use of social media and news reports was also used to understand wider issues and perceptions.

The interview questions were designed using a number of techniques. As shown in appendix 1, there were 11 main questions for TC3 residents and 13 main questions for red zone residents. While the participants were able to bring up topics that interested them, the predetermined questions allowed for conversation to flow and also so that the research questions would be answered. Appendix 1 demonstrates that the questions were created with an understanding of wider literature. Linking the interview questions to wider literature would reveal if the participants had similar ideas and experiences to findings in other research. Appendix 1 also shows questions were based on the research questions to allow for clarity. Through using these guidelines interviews could have flexible responses that were based within a purposeful investigation.

The interview questions were used as a guide to keep topics within the discussion relevant. However, flexibility was an important aspect of the process. Participants were allowed to deviate from the questions and asked to explore areas that were of importance to them. This allowed for new interesting topics to be found as well as self-reflection for participants. For example, during one interview, diverging from the topic allowed the participant to realise that their feelings towards home were based within a community identity rather than an individualised one.

As Dunn (2010, p. 103) has also experienced, interviews provide the interviewer with the ability to know if they asking relevant questions. If a question is asked that the participant does not agree with, then they can tell the researcher. Throughout this research, participants had the opportunity to communicate that a question was not correct, not worded properly or if they had not understood a question. The use of an interview guide was important but the ability for participants to express topics of importance, self-reflection and asking questions was essential to gaining detailed data.

The sequence of the questions was also important to aid the flow of the interview. Questions were structured using the pyramid technique described by Dunn (2010), whereby the interview started with broad questions about the past that were easier to answer. This was followed by questions about individual experiences with insurance companies as well as the participant's earthquake experience. At the end of the interview more abstract questions were asked, including, "what does home mean to you?" Through this question, participants were able to reflect on what they had already said in the interview as well as bring up any other relevant answers. At the end of each interview participants were asked if they had additional comments or questions. This allowed for topics that participants thought were interesting or relevant to be talked about. The questions could be changed and asked in a different order depending on the topics the participant bought up.

3.1.2 Sampling

From the outset of this research, criterion sampling was used. This meant that only participants who were in the red zone of Bexley and Kaiapoi and the TC3 zones of Parklands, Aranui and Kaiapoi would be interviewed. Criterion sampling allows for certain groups or participants, with certain features which are deemed to be important to the study, to be sampled (Patton, 1990). This study was designed to look at those who were most dramatically affected by governmental decisions and boundary-making made after the earthquakes. The red and TC3 zones were chosen because there was controversy around these areas and a number of protests had taken place. Participants were required to both own and live in their house in one of these zones when the September 2010 or February 2011 earthquakes hit. The importance of owning their home was based on literature that showed homeownership within New Zealand is an important value to many people (Morrison, 2010, 2012). The interest lay with knowing how this value had been disrupted by the earthquakes and disaster response. While the specific suburbs that participants were from changed (explained in detail below), the zones that participants were a part of did not change throughout this research.

The static geographical boundaries that were placed around the sample changed in the process of this study. The criterion for sampling came from past research. The 2012 preliminary study had been with residents from the red zoned suburbs of Kaiapoi and Bexley. For the current research, the decision was made to expand this out to include TC3 zones that adjoined these areas. The TC3 zones of Aranui and Parklands that surround Bexley and the TC3 zone of Kaiapoi were chosen based on this criterion. However, after feedback from members of the public who wanted to be in the study but did not live within the suburbs chosen, boundaries were changed. The boundaries were expanded so that anyone from TC3 zones in Kaiapoi or Christchurch East Electoral Zone could be included. These boundaries were shown in Figure 1. The boundaries from which red zone participants came from was also relaxed to include the eastern suburb of Brooklands. This suburb was included as it is both a part of the Christchurch East Electoral Zone and it has similarities with Kaiapoi, as explained in Chapter 1. As Cloke et al. (2004) explain, data needs to be flexible and open to change.

Cloke et al., (2004, p. 62) describe research as being "out there" in the "real world" and the researcher needs to be able to negotiate the social relations and social settings within which this plays out. The public researched in this study had predetermined ideas about the boundaries that impacted on their sense of home and it was important that the study reflected this. From this feedback, interviews were undertaken with residents who were in the red zone of Kaiapoi, Bexley and Brooklands and the TC3 zones of Kaiapoi and eastern Christchurch. These suburbs were shown in Chapter 1 to be susceptible to liquefaction and as shown in Figure 6 and 7 are to be part of lower socioeconomic areas of Christchurch and Kaiapoi. From the proceeding interviews, the importance of this decision was found. Interviews revealed participants from eastern suburbs of Christchurch did not associate home to their suburb but to east Christchurch; this is discussed in detail in Chapter 6. Allowing for changing decisions and opportunities within sampling shows the need for opportunistic sampling (Bradshaw & Stratford, 2010; Patton, 1990). Opportunistic sampling allows for changes to be made throughout the design to incorporate new ideas and knowledge. Changing the study design led to richer data as boundaries were placed where participants felt they should be.

Within qualitative research, there is no set sample size that is considered best (Bradshaw & Stratford, 2010; Patton, 1990). With the sample not needing to be representative of a population, it is necessary to choose a sample based on other criteria. The most common criteria are on the richness of the data and the point of redundancy within the research. The richness of data focuses on the data that is obtained. If the interviews do not go well or participants do not answer the questions it would be necessary to have a larger sample size until the data is considered sufficiently rich (Bradshaw & Stratford, 2010). Within qualitative research, the search is for information so when the researcher finds they are no longer receiving new information they have reached the point of redundancy (Patton, 1990). Within this research after boundaries were changed (explained above), it was decided that a split of 15 participants from the red zone and 15 participants from TC3 zones (depending on how interviews went) would be an acceptable amount.

3.1.3 Ethics approval

Ethics is an important part of research especially to ensure privacy and safety (Dowling, 2010). With the research focused on home, it was hoped that the interviews could take place wherever the participants wished. The University of Canterbury Ethics Committee had reservations about allowing such a guideline as it could be a risk to both the researcher's safety and that of the participants. However, it was possible that not allowing participants to choose their interview site would lead to a power struggle and potentially less rich data (Dowling, 2010). By asking a participant to come to the university or to hold the interview in a public space may have led to difficulties for participants as the interviews were often very personal and emotional. This emotional risk is known as 'psycho-social' harm and it should be assessed and minimised (Dowling, 2010). By allowing participants to be interviewed in a space they considered safe (whether it be their home, work place or public place), the risk of emotional harm was minimised. Due to a health and safety assessment, ethics approval, along with the ability to interview where the participant wished, was granted on 10 May 2013.

As part of the ethics guidelines, informed consent was needed from participants. All of the participants who were interviewed for this study were given an information sheet (see appendix 2) and a consent form (see appendix 3). These were verbally summarised and questions were answered to allow for informed consent from participants. The consent forms were not different for TC3 and red zone residents.

Informed consent can be subjective, especially when using observational techniques (Dowling, 2010). In this research, the use of social media, namely Facebook, and comments on news sites did not have informed consent from the writer. This was because the sites are considered public spaces and able to be seen by anyone. Anonymity was ensured through having no identifying information in the comments. On Facebook some groups were 'closed' meaning permission to join is given by an administrator. Comments on these groups were not used unless consent was given because they are considered to be private groups. Under the ethics approval, transcripts and field notes will be stored in a safe place and the access to them restricted for five years after the research.

3.2 Data collection

The following section looks at how data was collected. The use of Facebook as a form of contacting potential participants is discussed alongside more traditional recruitment techniques. Due to the nature of the research, the place of interview was important and this is also discussed. Following on from this, an analysis of the participants will occur. Lastly, there is an examination into how the data was analysed.

3.2.1 Finding participants

The main source of data was from the semi-structured interviews that took place with residents from the red and TC3 zones of Christchurch. While it would have been possible to look at the

research questions using micro-level data such as economic impact and the rate of rebuilding (Aldrich, 2012), it was the individualised feelings and perceptions that were of most interest because a person's sense of home is a personalised issue. Participants were contacted from the 13th of May 2013. The final interview was conducted on the 26th of June 2013.

Participants were found via a number of different methods. The first was via participants who were involved in the 2012 study. These residents had been informed that they would be contacted again, though they were under no obligation to participate. The use of Facebook and email was extremely useful for red zone residents who had moved as they were still contactable via an electronic source.

Facebook was also useful due to groups and pages that had been set up based on the earthquakes and the zoning system. 'Canterbury Red Zone', 'TC3 Christchurch Blue Zone', 'Parklands Village Christchurch', 'TC3 Residents' and 'Bexley Residents' were the groups that were used to both find participants and to understand the feelings of the residents. The 'TC3 Residents' and 'Bexley Residents' are both 'private' pages requiring admin permission to join. Acceptance was gained into both once the research was explained. Through social media, the ability to snow ball, to an extent, became apparent. One participant posted information about the study on the private 'TC3 residents' page while another commented on the credibility of the research. This led to more interest and acceptance amongst the group and, in the end, more participants. Facebook was an extremely useful source to find participants.

There was the concern that using social media would led to the silencing of potential participants who do not participate in social media. This was mediated through the use of a letter box drop within the Kaiapoi TC3 zone as well as attending the Parklands Residents' Association meeting. Towards the end of the interview period, there were a very small number of participants from Kaiapoi TC3. A letter box drop was used to find more participants within the Kaiapoi TC3 zone. Door knocking would have taken up too much time and might have produced too many participants. Pamphlets were distributed around the area with letter boxes being skipped if they contained a 'No

Junk Mail' sign. Attending the Parklands Residents' Association meeting was extremely useful to understand the emotions of the community as well as gaining participants.

Participants were very open to discussing their situation. This was because it had been three years since the initial earthquake and many of the participants felt that they had not been able to discuss their issues without sounding like they were complaining. This research allowed them to discuss their knowledges, understandings and experiences with someone who was willing and interested to listen. As one participant said, "this is fun; we haven't talked about the earthquakes in ages!" The willingness of participants to discuss their situation led to rich and informative data.

The ability to get a larger perspective via Facebook was important to understand underlying themes as well as the everyday conflicts that residents were dealing with that participants might not discuss. The use of media such as online newspapers was also helpful as these are now more interactive than television or a hard copy-newspaper. The comments section of online websites such as *The Press* shows comments from all around New Zealand which leads to a wider perspective being shown. It is also useful to gain a longitudinal look at what has occurred in the region. Many of the comments on the online newspaper "Stuff" show the constant change and the variability between the two zones.

Some researchers have warned against using non-official data sources, or to use them with care (Cloke et al., 2004; Scott, 1990). This is because these data sources are produced with a purpose that is often more than just retelling details. While it is important to look at a document in terms of its sincerity and accuracy, the use of Facebook comments and groups as well as newspaper comments, show a person's views in time and space. These views are important as they are the person's 'truth' in that moment. While social events can be distorted by media, it is important to understand that someone in that moment may believe that source. It is also important to read local newspapers and Facebook posts as this is where a large number of people are gaining their information. While it may have been distorted in its retelling, the information may end up becoming someone's truth that they

retell. The desire for truth should be a desire to see the world though many different peoples' understandings.

3.2.2 Place of interview

Many researchers have described the importance of the location of an interview and the power structures that can be created (Cloke et al., 2004). In this research it was both important in allowing the participant the privacy to express emotions as well as allowing the participant to feel they had power over their environment and the interview. If participants had not been allowed to be interviewed where they wished, they may have been 'put off' and it may have led to less rich interview data. Some of the interviews were conducted later in the evening which would have been difficult to do in a public space.

Due to approval from the ethics committee, participants were able to choose where the interview was held. Of the 29 participants, six interviews were conducted in spaces other than the participant's house. Two of these were conducted via mail and therefore the actual space in which the participants filled out the questions is unknown. One of the interviews was conducted in a participant's workspace that was connected to their house. Other interviews were conducted at a participant's work place, one in a meeting room at the University of Canterbury and one at a coffee shop at Northlands Mall in Christchurch. While these interviews were not conducted at participants' houses, they all provided very rich data. This is because the participant was always allowed to offer a space that they would find most comfortable and this allowed them to have some power over the interview.

3.2.3 The participants

Using the techniques explained in the methodology, 29 participants were interviewed. Fifteen of those participants were residents, or were when the earthquakes struck, in the TC3 zone while 14 own and live or used to own and live within a home in the red zone. Each of these participants had a different story to tell. Throughout the following chapters, to maintain the participants' privacy, they will be described via the ID code as shown in Table 2.

Table 2 displays the demographics of the participants. It shows that the majority of the participants were female and between the ages of 40 and 60. The number of female respondents is not surprising; many researchers have found that females are more likely to response to surveys (Sax, et al., 2003; Underwood, Kim, & Matier, 2000). It is possible to understand why this majority exists through gendered norms. Women, stereotypically, are more likely to openly possess characteristics such as empathy and emotional closeness (Sax et al., 2003). This may mean that men do not wish to articulate their feelings. Within this research, age played a large factor. While some authors have found that younger people are more likely to answer online surveys (Goyder, Warriner, & Miller, 2002; Moore & Tarnai, 2002), the interview style of this research as well as the criteria set may have restricted younger people from being interviewed. The criteria required participants who owned a home within the TC3 or red zone. Younger people may be less likely to own a home and therefore were unable to be a part of the research. While many of the participants were found via Facebook, this does not seem to have deterred respondents in the 40 to 60 or 60 plus age group. Figure 12 shows the area of residence around Christchurch that participants' homes were in during the earthquakes.

Table 2: Demographics of participants.

ID	Age*	Gender	Suburb	Zone	Notes
1	Under 40	Female	Parklands	TC3	
2	40 - 60	Female	Kaiapoi	TC3	
3	40 - 60	Female	Burwood	TC3	
4	Unknown	Female	Southshore	TC3	Interview conducted together. Interview conducted via mail
5	Unknown	Male	Southshore	TC3	
6	40 – 60	Female	Parklands	TC3	Interview conducted together
7	40 – 60	Male	Parklands	TC3	
8	60+	Female	Parklands	TC3	
9	40 – 60	Female	Aranui	TC3	
10	60 +	Male	Kaiapoi	TC3	
11	40 – 60	Female	Parklands	TC3	
12	Under 40	Female	Aranui	TC3	
13	60 +	Female	Parklands	TC3	Interview conducted together
14	60+	Male	Parklands	TC3	
15	40 – 60	Female	New Brighton	TC3	
16	40 - 60	Female	Brooklands	Red	Red Zone Stayer
17	40 - 60	Female	Bexley	Red	
18	60 +	Female	Kaiapoi	Red	
19	60+	Female	Bexley	Red	
20	60+	Male	Bexley	Red	
21	40 – 60	Female	Bexley	Red	
22	40 – 60	Female	Kaiapoi	Red	Interview conducted

23	40 – 60	Male	Kaiapoi	Red	together
24	40 - 60	Male	Bexley	Red	Repair in the red zone
25	40 – 60	Male	Brooklands	Red	
26	40 – 60	Male	Kaiapoi	Red	Interview conducted together
27	40 – 60	Female	Kaiapoi	Red	Red zone stayers
28	Under 40	Female	Bexley	Red	
29	60+	Female	Bexley	Red	

*participant's age is estimation as it was not asked for
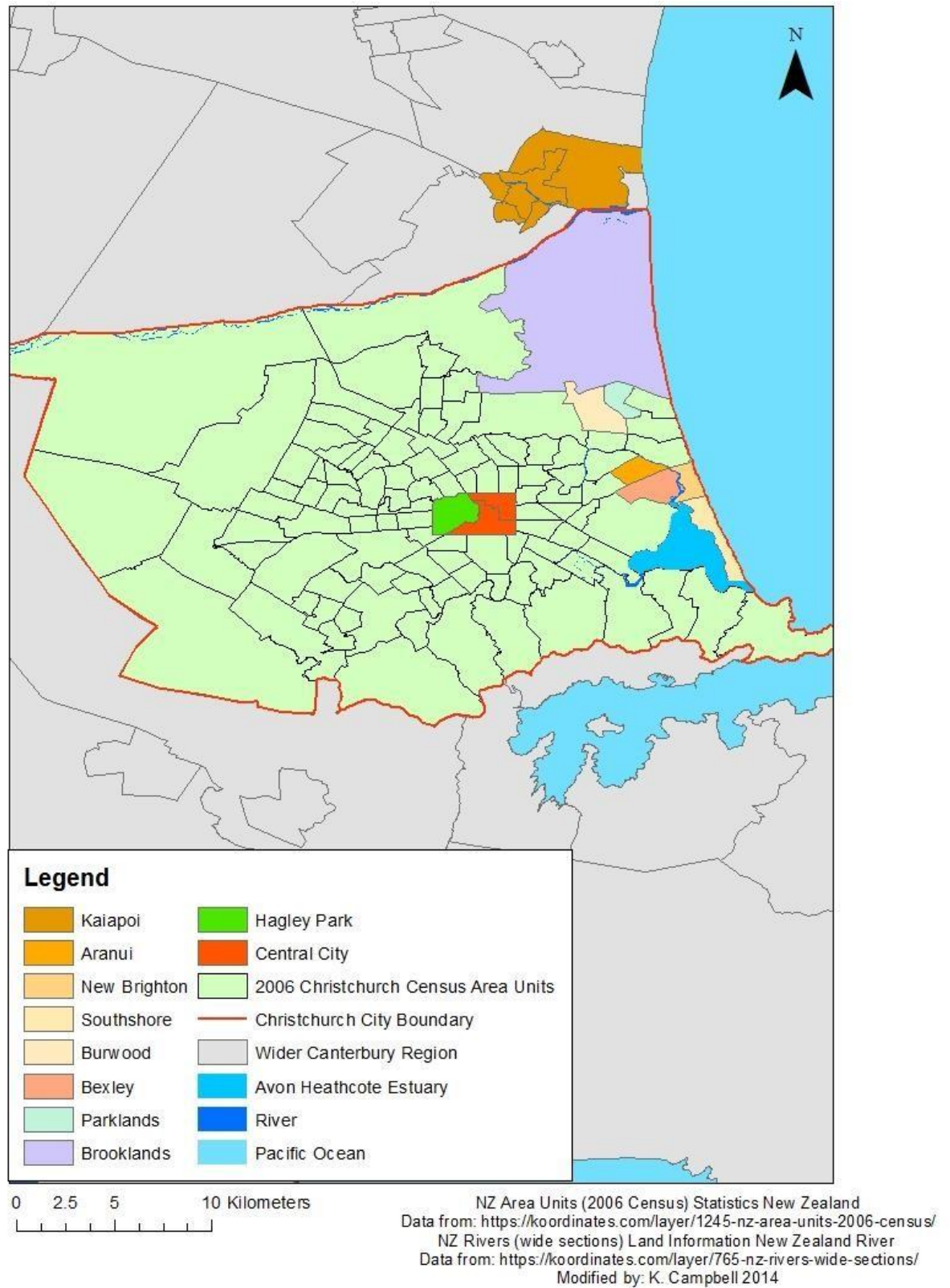
Figure 12: Participants area residence in Christchurch during the earthquakes (map created in Arc GIS by researcher).

While this research has focused on two zones, based on the interviews, the red zone can be understood via two different categories. Interviews were held with 10 red zone residents who had accepted the pay-out offer and moved to a new area. Interviews were also held with four members of the red zone who had not accepted the government offer. Three of these members are self-titled red zone stayers. Residents of this group did not accept an offer, for a number of reasons discussed in the following chapters, and planned on staying in their red zoned home at the time of the interview. The final participant who had not accepted a government offer is known as a repair in the red zone. As explained in Chapter 1, this means that the participant's home was not damaged enough to constitute the insurance company paying out in full. While these participants are a part of the red zone, they shared common difficulties with each other more than other red zone residents.

3.2.4 Data analysis

Interviews were transcribed and then analysed using NVivo software. Gaining visible surface content of a document such as transcripts is known as manifest content (Dunn, 2010). This information is gained through NVivo's word analysis and counts. More in depth data, known as latent content analysis, was used to document themes. This type of analysis looks at the underlying meaning of what was said (Dunn, 2010). Within NVivo, 14 topics were identified. These can be seen in Table 3. It was also possible to further examine these topics based on specific criteria of participants, for example, if they were from the TC3 zone. This meant that further, more in-depth information was found. Data analysis is an important part of research and using programs such as NVivo allows for further analysis to be made that otherwise might have been missed.

Table 3: The main themes that appeared within the interviews

Topic	Outline
Community effect on home	How do the interactions with a community affect a person's sense of home?
Control	How was a person's sense of control affected during the earthquake period?
Community before the earthquakes	How did participants describe the community before the earthquakes?
The East	How did participants describe the East?
Empowerment	Did participants feel a sense of empowerment through their earthquake experience?
Home as a city	Did participants have a sense of home within the city? How was/was this changed in the aftermath of the earthquakes?
Home means to me	How did participants describe what a home meant to them?
Length of residency	How long did participants live in the area?
Loss of community	Did participants experience a loss of community after the earthquakes?
Outside affecting home	Did participants feel that earthquakes or agencies affect their sense of home?
Performing home	What homemaking techniques, if any, did participants employ?
Refuge	Did participants find refuge in their home or elsewhere?

The Event	How did participants describe the earthquakes?
The use of social media	Did participants use social media and did they find it useful?

3.3 Intersubjectivity within research

Intersubjectivity is a vital part of all research. This section discusses the importance of recognising intersubjectivity. The role that power and societal norms has in research will also be described. The role of the researcher as both an insider and an outsider will be examined.

Subjectivity and intersubjectivity is present within all research and should be reflected on throughout the research process. Dowling (2010) explains the difference with subjectivity being the personal opinion, background and characteristics of the researcher. The role that subjectivity has within the research process has been discussed by a number of researchers (Cloke et al., 2004; Dowling, 2010; Hoggart, Lees, & Davies, 2002). Intersubjectivity, on the other hand, involves the interactions between the researcher, participants, supervisors and anyone else who may be involved with in the study. How the potentially differing opinions of those involved are interpreted is intersubjectivity. Within interview based research, elements of subjectivity such as personal characteristics and social positions cannot be completely controlled or changed (Cloke et al., 2004; Dowling, 2010).

Power has a large role to play within research. As Cloke et al. (2004, p.129) suggest, the questions that are asked within an interview are in the beginning owned by the researcher, however, throughout the interview they come to be "co-owned and co-shaped" by the participant. The stories that are told about a participant's ideas and understanding of the world have the potential to change how a group of people think about themselves or are thought about by those outside the group (Dowling, 2010). The ownership of those stories means that the researcher can hold great

power in what they are to do with them (Dowling, 2010). This can be especially important as many social research studies are conducted with minority groups who are often silenced in the mainstream world. The power to change this silencing leads to the researcher having great power. Intersubjectivity should never be ignored within the interview process and should be accepted and acknowledged as creating a view of the world from a person's eyes and told to a researcher (Cloke et al., 2004; Hoggart, Lees & Davis, 2002).

Within this research, subjectivity was demonstrated through characteristics that were not changeable. Age, gender, academic standing and many other unspoken signals would have all played a part in the interviews and the answers that were given (Cloke et al., 2004). Characteristics that could be changed, such as style of dress, were done. For example, as a 23 year old interviewer, a more conservative manner of dressing was used to mitigate potential issues in age difference. These characteristics have the ability to affect how the researcher is judged and in turn what type of information is given.

Intersubjectivity and power structures are not able to be eliminated from research as they exist in everyday life (Dowling, 2010). Researchers should be aware of, and understand and respond to subjectivity in a critically reflective manner (Dowling, 2010). This means reflecting constantly on the research process and being open to modifying it. As expressed above, feedback from participants led to changes in the sampling criteria in this research. The reflection created by this feedback was necessary to allow for the participants' perspectives, and the boundaries by which they structure their life, to be mirrored in the research. Within reflection lies the need to ask "are you reporting what you saw or what you expected to see?" (Dowling, 2010, p. 35). In this study, this was answered through recording in a book points covered in the interview, as well as interesting topics and visuals to be contemplated later. This allowed for the knowledge of what was expected versus actual findings to be known and remembered. While it is not possible to create objective research, reflection of involvement and the influence of social relations can be acknowledged and understood.

Within research, it is possible to be both an insider and an outsider which can lead to different outcomes (Dowling, 2010). A researcher can be an insider and can have a similar outlook on the world as the participants. This can be a positive as the researcher can be accepted faster and given more in-depth information. On the other hand, while being an outsider may be considered a negative, it can also mean that people articulate their situation more and do not assume previous knowledge. It is possible to flow between outsider and insider. Within this research, not being a part of the TC3 or red zone meant I was viewed as an outsider. However, this often led to more explanation of processes and issues that perhaps someone who lived with the zones would not have heard. Being an insider came from the ideas surrounding community. As discussed above, the east versus west boundary was very important to participants and the lines were divided around my own home. As a conversation with participants 6 and 7 went:

Participant 6: "…anyway the west side of town haven't got a clue, where are you from?"

Researcher: "I live in Saint Albans"

Participant 6: "oh well you're not west so, you are in the middle"

Participant 7: "sort of east"

Through being from 'the middle', it allowed for an acceptance among the group. The role of the researcher is to traverse the different topics and understand how they are perceived. Participants often understand the role of the researcher as an outsider, however gaining insider knowledge is possible through shared perspectives.

3.4 Conclusion

This methodology chapter has described the methods used to answer the thesis research questions. Semi-structured interviews were undertaken with residents of the red and TC3 zones of

Christchurch. Interview questions were designed around the research questions along with drawing on literature. Flexibility was maintained throughout the research to allow for participants to lead the research. This led to the criteria from which sampling was first created to be changed after feedback from the research group. Ethics approval was required, and approval was given to conduct the interview where participants chose. This allowed for richer data as participants were not as guarded in a familiar space. Data came from both the semi-structured interviews and wider media including newspapers and Facebook. This showed both the wider context from which media reported from and the individualised impact that process had. Data was interpreted through the software NVivo. Intersubjectivity within this research was minimised through the use of reflection techniques. The following chapters examine the data found by interviewing participants. The three chapters are separated by the three scales of home focused on within this research with the first being home as a household.

Chapter 4: Home as household

The household was an important space for participants within this study. For some, emotions were tied up with memories of past homes, while others had an attachment to their current space. Participants' feelings towards home changed after the earthquakes, though even before this some did not consider their house to be their home. This chapter will firstly examine the changing sense of home following the earthquakes. With a focus on the zoning process and negotiating with insurance companies and EQC, it will explore the impact these outside agencies had on participants' sense of control over their home. The emotional impact of the earthquakes and the effect outside agencies had will then be examined through changing homemaking techniques employed by participants.

4.1 Loss of control

While it was important for the participants to define their own sense of home, the impact of a loss of control was explored in almost all of the interviews. Chapter 1 examined the general impact and emotions tied to both the zoning process and communicating with insurance companies and EQC. This chapter will seek to understand these feelings through the interviews conducted with participants. This section will examine the effect on red zone participants of accepting the 'voluntary' government offer. A contrast will then be explored with red zone stayers and the impact of refusing to leave their red zone house. Lastly, the section will examine TC3 zone participants and the impact that EQC and insurance company processes have had on their sense of home.

Within the New Zealand context, the role of the home is extremely important. Perkins and Thorns (1999) explain how the New Zealand government has, in the past, supported the buying of a house through financial funding and policies. The role of home ownership has become part of the 'kiwi

dream'. Morrison (2010, 2012) explored how this ideal lies within dominant heterosexual ideals of the country and how home ownership is linked to social respectability and achievement.

Within this research, a dominant theme relates to Douglas's (1991, p.289) idea that a home is created by "bringing some space under control". To emphasis this idea, Douglas (1991) told the story of a man living within a transitional space where, although he is happy, the constant change and lack of solid projects makes the area just a house and not his home. Douglas (1991, p. 289) explains that the transition does not occur because there is "no sign of coming out of the state of confusion that would lead one day to the regular cycles of home life". How a person feels about a place and within a place will change their sense of who and what they are (Milligan, 2005). This means if a person lives in a state of confusion within a place, their sense of self will also be changed. A loss of control relates to the inability to make decisions over a house. Within this study, participants felt a loss of control through the process of zoning as well as difficulties communicating with insurance companies and EQC. For Fuqua (2010, p. 46) the impact of a trauma on a space that is idealistically controlled by the owner leads to a rethinking of "the linkages between control, space and home".

4.1.1 Control and the red zone

Red zone participants were affected in a number of ways by the zoning decisions. Many felt a complete loss of control over their homes as they were being forced to move. The participants described in this section had all moved to new houses, which affected how they described both the loss of control and their sense of home.

Many respondents felt the inability to engage in the design of their new house impacted on their attachment to the new space. This mirrors Oliver-Smith's (1991) findings, that not participating in the development of a new housing area or in the building of a home leads to a loss in a sense of

ownership. Participant 29 felt upset because her newly built house was not as large as her old home. As she said:

> we didn't know how much money we were getting because the insurance companies were mucking us around. So we built a house that we thought "well, this is what we are going to get from all the knockbacks that we got." But in the end we could have built an extra garage and we could have extended the lounge but it was too late. Because we weren't in control. Someone else was.

Participant 29 was negatively affected by the loss of control in the building of her new house. As she said "I think what has to be remembered, we aren't here by choice and that is the big thing and as I say, people say "what a nice home" but your heart wasn't in it". A number of participants mirrored these feelings. On the other hand, for participant 22, leaving the red zone and building a new home had been a time of excitement. Participant 22 was largely involved in the design process and this reflected her immediate attachment to the space. As she said:

> we enjoy living here and we have everything we want and we have done it our way. And people were like "why did you put your cooking elements there" and I was like "well I quite like it there and I can talk to people [while at the cooking elements]" and we have done it our way.

The inability to design a new house or control the aesthetics meant that some red zone participants did not feel an attachment to the space. On the other hand, the capacity to plan the space appeared to have a large impact on a person's positive feelings towards a house.

Hoffman (1999) found that disaster survivors wanted to return to the same location and build a similar house. As she stated (1999, p. 143) "I realise the comfort in the familiar". However, for red zone participants this was not possible and residents had to find a link to their identity in other ways. The want to build a similar home is based within the identity of the disaster survivor and their desire

65

to return to pre-disaster norms. Participant 29 wished to rebuild on the east side of town and accepted a large amount of debt just to realise this dream. The east represented where she had grown up as well as where her family currently lived. However, due to the inability to build the home she desired, participant 29 did still not feel attached to the house. The role the east side of town had in participants' identity will be discussed in more depth in Chapter 5, due to its importance in many participants' sense of home at a community level.

In a similar case, participant 18 expressed how important it was for her home to be a "grandma house". Her grandchildren had told her the house she was buying was a "grandma house" and as she said "so I had to get this one, didn't I?" As she said:

> So the grandchildren are happy here and because I have got more grandchildren now, I like the fact that this is open plan… we have more room to have everyone together and it works outside really well. And it sort of has a grandma feel about it, you know? I am not into, you know, pristine and sterile environment. I like the dog running in and out - it has to feel like a home.

The link between identity and home was important for many participants and on a deeper level it was also linked in with control. The ability for these participants to buy a home that reflected their identity was largely controlled by insurance companies and EQC, with some policies stating participants had to build while some participants were unsure of how much compensation they would receive. Subsequently, this impacted on their sense of home.

The impact of a loss of control also affected red zone residents' nostalgia of their old homes. While memories of a place often change over time, nostalgia refers to the remembrance of a certain place within a specific time (Rubenstein, 2001). For red zone participants, memories were of times before the earthquakes or of the coming together of the community in the aftermath of the disaster. Nostalgia was intensified by the loss of control with memories of happier times becoming more

important. These feelings were similar to those discussed in Blunt and Dowling (2006) who found that immigrants often have a yearning for the 'authentic' home formed in the past. In this study, the visual reminder often lay in the physical structure of the house in the red zone with many participants' waiting for their homes to be demolished. While many saw the demolition of their homes as "an end of an era" and "closure", participant 29 disputed this. She would not get closure from the demolition of her house; instead, she would find acceptance. For her the difference was:

> you feel [that], I am accepting the fact that I have had to go but it doesn't mean that I enjoy it but I accept it and I have to make the most of it, whereas, closure means that I don't want anything to do with that any more.

A loss of control impacted on participants' memories through the creation of a stronger tie to a specific place. Some participants believed they would find closure with the demolition of their red zone home, while, for others it would lead to an acceptance of the situation.

Moving into a new home led to the ability of some participants to regain control over their lives. As participant 21 said "it was so nice to be able to get up in the morning and not have to worry about dealing with EQC or insurance companies – we could just do our own thing". As control was regained, the creation of new memories within the new house became important. Participant 18 spoke of the home renovations she began soon after moving into her new home. She asked her son to help and the conversation went: "he said "oh yeah ok, I will just go away and get a new handle for the pick" and he came back with an excavator! Hence he has broken two boards on my garage with the bucket of the excavator". The humorous recollection contributed to the many layers that comprised her sense of home. Positive memories allow for a space to build a history and add to the fabric that makes a home. Participant 29 mirrored the need for memories to be created when she told her grandchildren that the house would not be a home until they had "spent the night". The creation of new memories helped some red zone participants to feel that the new house was beginning to be their home.

Some red zone residents did not feel a loss of control. As shown in Chapter 1, the land under many eastern suburbs was unstable and susceptible to liquefaction. Participants 19 and 20 believed the damage experienced in the earthquakes meant that red zoning was inevitable to ensure the safety of residents. They said "you have to be realistic and what else can they do? The newer part of Bexley should never have been built on". While they believed that the zoning decision was political and was out of their control they were not impacted by this loss as other participants had been. As they said "they [decisions] are out of our control but nature is out of our control so we can only shape what we can handle". On a similar note, participant 22 said that she felt relief when her home was red zoned. She felt it was a "fabulous" decision because they were able to buy a new section and move on from the destroyed land. She had already "divorced" herself from the land and wanted to move on. She said that there were people in her situation that had "won" or progressed forward but they were reluctant to come forward because others may think that they were "gloating" and they felt they had "survivors' guilt". The impact of the zoning decisions affected red zone participants differently.

4.1.2 Red zone stayers and reasserting control

Red zone stayers made the decision to remain in their red zoned house thereby forfeiting the buyout from government and potentially, in the future, being cut off from essential services by the Christchurch City Council. The following section describes how the decision to stay was a form of resistance against zoning and remaining in their homes helped participants regain control over their lives. It will also explore how some respondents' identities were renegotiated due to the effect of the physical shaking of the earthquakes coupled with the impact of outside agencies. Lastly, this section will analyse how red zone stayers viewed their home as a place of sanctuary.

Similar to red zone leavers, red zone stayers associated their sense of home with their ability to manage their situation. The red zone stayers interviewed within this study felt that remaining in their home was the only way to maintain control. Participants 26 and 27 said:

> the only control that we have is that we will stay and we will fight, and they will need the army and the government will have to get the police to bring us out or drag us out of our own home.

Participants 26 and 27 felt that the only way they could gain back control was to stay and fight against the zoning decision. In a similar situation, participant 16 considered her house to be her "biggest asset". She said that if she had accepted the government offer her family would have been made homeless. This participant felt that government agencies had, for the past two and a half years, had control over her assets. Participant 16 said that when she made the decision to stay in her home that it "felt like the weight of 10,000 elephants was lifted off my shoulders". This respondent made the decision so that her family would have a stable home and one that she felt was safe. She felt that her home was a refuge and taking that away from her and her family would have been too stressful.

Much like the red zone leavers, participant 16 felt a close association between her home and her identity. Her view of her home had changed following the earthquakes. She no longer wanted to go into the city and only felt safe at home. As she said:

> I still find it very difficult to go near there [the CBD]. This [house] is my haven; this is where I feel safe. I actually I only just started going to malls again maybe in the last six months at most. I will never go to the movies again; there [are] places that I won't go.

Participant 16 lived on a rural property in the suburb of Brooklands, which is 18 kilometres from the central city of Christchurch. Her home in Brooklands felt like a refuge in the aftermath of the earthquakes as it was far away from the destruction of the city. Participant 16 felt that if she

accepted the government offer she would not be able to afford another rural property. This would mean that she would have to move further away from Christchurch leading to her daughter having to go to boarding school. This was not an acceptable outcome for this participant as both of her children had been in areas that sustained a large amount of damage on 22 February 2011 and she had feared for their lives. All of these factors meant that the participant felt a great sense of refuge within her Brooklands home. Her identity changed as she became a "real homebody" because her city was now a place of terror while her home had withstood the earthquakes. In order to feel that she could keep her family safe, participant 16 made the decision to remain within the home that she perceived to be safe. The physical shaking of the earthquakes had a large impact and led to a reshaping of identity that was then contested by the zoning process.

For the three red zone stayers interviewed, their home was a place of sanctuary. These participants did not associate their home with stress (unlike other participants), having had limited contact with EQC and insurance companies by refusing to sign the contact with CERA. While they had experienced extreme stress, the refuge they had found in their homes was still there. As participant 27 said with joy, "fantails, I have fantails in my garden!" They were not invited to red zone meetings and as participant 27 said they were in the "too hard basket". For participant 16, she was now in the process of fixing her home back to the standard that she wanted. She had taken out a swimming pool that was damaged in the earthquakes and was ready to create a vegetable garden. As she said "I am actually making plans again for the first time in two and a half years and that is part of that taking control back". The regaining of control for the red zone stayers was extremely important although they were unable to rebuild, mortgage or insure their homes. The refuge that red zone stayers found within their homes was much of their reason for wanting to stay.

4.1.3 Control in the TC3 zone

Similarly to red zone leavers and red zone stayers, TC3 residents also expressed a loss of control as a dominant theme after the earthquakes. The following section highlights the importance of participation in the rebuilding or repairing of TC3 residents' houses to create a sense of home. Following on from this, the impact of waiting for decisions to be made by EQC or insurance companies will be discussed. The role that nostalgia played in a participant's sense of home will then be examined. Lastly, this section will examine the impact of the proposed implementation of septic tanks had in Parklands.

The ability for TC3 zone residents to participate in the repairing or rebuilding of a house was important. Only a small number of participants had repaired or bought a new home and those who experienced a lack of involvement had their sense of home negatively affected. Participants 4 and 5 had left Christchurch and bought a new home in Gisborne (North Island, New Zealand) without physically viewing it. They had wanted to leave and thought "how bad could it [the new house] be? It was straight and standing". Participant 4 and 5 believed that their house was slowly becoming their home although at the time of interview stated it was "...as though we are looking after this house for someone else". Participants 4 and 5 had not been physically involved in buying their new home because they wanted to leave Christchurch quickly. This negatively affected their attachment to the space. Participant 9 mirrored these feelings in relation to the repair of her house. When a contractor came to repair it, they had re-painted the bedroom "road paint yellow" instead of the gold it had been. When asked why they would do this, participant 9 said:

> well it [the previous gold paint] was too dark for that room; but that was what the colour was before. And we liked it. [The painters] said you're not having that colour so they painted it road paint yellow, I kid you not, it is the colour they paint strips on the road... we came one weekend in the middle of the fixing and it was road paint yellow and now we have it toned down to a dark cream but that wasn't what we wanted.

Participants felt that a lack of participation led to them becoming unhappy with their repaired house or feeling detached from their new house.

On the other hand, for participants who had not yet repaired or rebuilt their homes, waiting for decisions to be made was an extremely difficult time. As participant 13 said, "I think we are sort of the meat within the sandwich between the engineers and the insurance company". She felt unable to make decisions and had no control over her house. In a similar situation, participant 3 was waiting for her home to be rebuilt and felt that it would be meaningless to repair damaged areas especially around the garden. For participant 3, her garden was her stress release and looking out the window each day at a damaged garden "depressed" her. In the end, participant 3 made the decision to "take back control of the day to day situations". This allowed her to choose how she dealt with different circumstances. She still felt, however, that she had no control and had a lack of information about the rebuild of her house. Dealing with her insurance company had been difficult as the date of the rebuild had changed a number of times and a large amount of information was "hearsay". As she said, "we have no solid information and the goal post changes; the information changes; you get misinformation, no one can give you the right information". She continued:

> I wasn't dealing with all the stress post-earthquake at all; I was on medication and I wasn't sleeping. I am not looking forward to going back to that place [mentally, when the rebuilding begins] but I imagine for a short period of time it is going to be quite painful. But it has got to be done. This is our biggest investment. But beyond that it is our family home. It is where we live.

Participants who were waiting for their TC3 houses to be rebuilt or repaired often found the process difficult. While participant 3 had gained back her day to day control, the thought of losing it again scared her.

An interesting aspect that arose among some TC3 participants was the timeframe they had for their rebuild. While many TC3 participants found the process slow, some participants wished for their rebuild to be put on hold. This is similar to red zone stayers who chose to remain in the area to regain control. For TC3 participants' delaying the rebuild would allow for interim control to be asserted. As participant 15 said:

It will be five years for me [before the house is rebuilt] and that is no worry as long as I am in this place [her TC3 house]. I just wish they [insurance companies and contractors] would all go away and leave me alone and leave me to try and rebalance my head and rethink who I am in the middle of this situation.

Similarly, participant 3 also did not want to have her home rebuilt for a number of years because she knew the "bully tactics" that the insurance companies used and she did not feel that she was mentally ready to face them. For Dugan (2007, p. 41) home is tied with a "sense of knowing who I am in relationship to my surroundings." For these participants, the loss of familiar surroundings and routines affected their sense of self. They felt they needed to regain that before they could handle more change.

In contrast to some red zone residents, the impact of viewing a house with nostalgia was very different for TC3 residents. Unlike many red zone participants, TC3 participants did not view their zoned homes with a saddened nostalgia for a time lost, instead, the houses were places of stress. Participant 2 said "we just hate our home so much. It is just the place we go to at the end of the day and sleep and we just want to start again somewhere else". Participant 2 wanted to leave her home because "…it is broken; it has caused us stress; it is a nightmare to live in. It had black mould and it is damp and nothing shuts so the wind just goes straight through it". She, and many other participants, were upset by the zoning process and the slow insurance and EQC procedures. Participant 2 had an idealised understanding of rurality and she and her husband wished to move to the country where they imagined they would be treated as individuals. They felt that in the country they would "never

strike this again". This mirrors a discourse described by Cupples (2009) in which the rural is romanticized and the city is demonised. The inability to create new memories, especially in homes that would be torn down, had a negative effect and led to an idealised outlook of other areas.

One of the most controversial issues bought up by the TC3 participants of the Parklands area was the implementation of septic tanks proposed by Christchurch City Council. These tanks are designed to relieve pressure on the city's centralised wastewater system with 5600 eastern suburb households being viewed as suitable (Christchurch City Council, 2013). In this research only participants in the Parklands area were set to have these tanks implemented on their land. For Parklands residents, this was a controversial and dividing issue with some houses not included in the proposed system. Many participants thought that the council and contractors were deceiving them as the proposal was rolled out in one area of Parklands and then two weeks later in another area. Participants thought this was a divide and conquer technique and it added to their lack of control. As participant 6 said "you have no control, we have found that even more because they are going to put in…these tanks, these septic tanks". The lack in consultation with the community led to conspiracy theories and a lack of trust. As participant 7 said:

> they do say that they will come and talk about where they want to put it. But I can see already that they are putting feeders from the roads up to people's places and, they are just, you can see it they have a big [graffiti] 'S' there [on the footpath] so they are obviously that is where they are going to go so they are not actually talking to people.

The septic tanks were another "thing" that was added onto peoples' stress and lack of control. Many of the residents speculated they would find it more difficult to re-sell their homes and had reservations of going on holiday in case of a power outage as the tanks were wired to the individual home. Participants were concerned that the council would one day stop servicing the tanks as they were on private property.

The septic tanks led people to changing their view of home. A number of participants were considering selling their homes because they did not want septic tanks on their land. In an interesting contrast, red zone stayers viewed septic tanks positively as it was a way they could remain on their land. This comparison shows that the ability to decide what is on a person's property is extremely important and a lack of both consultation and control leads to negative rebuttals about a project. On the 25th of October 2013 the Christchurch City Council released a statement stating that development on 10 proposed areas had been halted (Christchurch City Council, 2013). This was in part due to a High Court decision that found there had been limited consultation with the community. The introduction of septic tanks was halted until further consultation was undertaken.

TC3 residents were affected differently by the rebuilding processes through both zoning and apportionment (explained in Chapter 1). Some participants believed that zoning was logical; however, many questioned how it was implemented. This was mainly due to the uncertainty faced with the zoning of land taking over a year and following this the long process to get homes rebuilt. Participant 1 believed that the multiple assessments that happened due to apportionment wasted both time and money. Participant 11 thought that residents deserved more forewarning before it was implemented about how EQC and insurance company processes would work.

4.1.4 Changing values and wider comments

Participants across the zones had a similar understanding of how a home was tied to their identity as New Zealanders. This section discusses how identity and home are intertwined and how the zoning process impacted on this negatively. Newspaper comments are included to show how zoning decisions affected many people.

Central ideals around home based within national values were impacted by a loss of control across all of the zones. Dominant discourses that appeared to be stable before a disaster are often

disrupted in its aftermath (Hoffman, 1999). With increased interplay between government and disaster survivors, values can be questioned (Hoffman, 1999). Within this research, those discourses were around the idea of home ownership within New Zealand. A number of participants expressed how owning a home and creating a home was part of their identity as New Zealanders. For participants 4 and 5 their new home in Gisborne was "just four walls and a roof", it was not yet their home. They said "there is no feeling of love that we New Zealanders generally have towards this home". Red zone stayer, participant 26, reflected the national identity when he said:

> you talked about control; essentially when someone comes to you and says "you have to be out of your house," [a] house is a castle, nobody should be able to tell you "no you have to get out of your house" and then not have the justifiable reasons to back up their decision or to deny you to that information or to give you misleading information or to tell you that they have lost the information. Our home was our castle.

Participant 10, a TC3 resident, also said:

> … your home is definitely not your castle in New Zealand any more. Because government decree says "we don't think it is fit to live in or we are condemning this whole area so you just get the hell out of it, bugger off". Sorry but I thought when you bought a bit of land and paid a lot of money for it, it was yours. So my perception has changed…

Participants' values and identities as New Zealanders were impacted on by the zoning process.

The comments found on online newspaper articles expressed similar feelings as the participants. One said "we have a single person responsible for destroying the fabric of our city – the earthquakes were nothing compared to Gerry the Bulldozer" (*The Press*, 16 June 2012). The zones were also extremely contentious areas with one commentator saying "redzoning is not a govt [sic] bailout, it is the largest land confiscation in this country in modern times…" While another said "history will record the red zoning as a shameful chapter in NZ history…the bullying and coercion of people and

communities already shattered by a natural disaster, future traumatised by a dishonest, self-serving govt [sic]…" While another commentator said "all many of us redzoners (both insured and uninsured) want is the govt [sic] to leave us alone, stop threatening us." In another article about the possibility of creating a park out of red zone land, another commentator said "just remember Christchurch people as you walk on some of this land it was stolen by the National government and not to be proud, remember the hardship and financial ruin as you walk over this green space…" (*The Press*, 30 March 2013).

4.1.5 Summary

This section has shown the difference between red zone leavers, red zone stayers and TC3 zone participants. Some red zone leavers found that they were unable to participate in the building or buying of their new home and this affected them negatively. For those TC3 zone participants whose homes have been repaired or they have bought a new home, they had similar experiences. The inability to design or control aesthetics led participants, across both zones, to feel a lack of connection to their new house. Red zone stayers and some TC3 residents expressed similarities with both wanting to assert control over their situation through staying. Red zone stayers found the only control they had was to stay and fight the zoning process. TC3 residents, on the other hand, felt that they did not want the rebuilding of their homes to start soon. Nostalgia was experienced differently for TC3 and red zone leaver participants. Nostalgic memories of their broken homes was uncommon for TC3 participants, instead, the home was seen as a place of stress. Some red zone participants, however, viewed their old home with nostalgia but they were also able to create new memories adding to the fabric that made their new sense of home. This section has shown that participants from all zones were affected in different ways by a loss of control. It has also illustrated how they tried to re-assert control.

4.2 Homemaking after a disaster

This section will examine homemaking practices after the earthquakes and how these were affected by the loss of control shown in the last section. While the practice of making a house into a home is individualised, homemaking takes place within distinct social and cultural contexts. The need to ascribe a space with meaning is a powerful culturally based instinct. Similar to Butler's (1988) understanding of gender and performance, a home is performed through historically and culturally based ideas and notions of what a home should be. As Blunt and Dowling (2006, p. 23) explain "home does not simply exist, but is made". Morrison (2012, p. 122) furthers this by stating "homemaking is a performative act that ties the embodied self to home". The homemaking practices that a person undertakes are set within time and space and the culture in which they belong. Romanticised notions of home have been dismissed by feminist geographers as was discussed in Chapter 2. Despite this, gendered roles have a large part to play within homemaking and identity. The idea that a woman has a certain place within a home and the understanding of who does what around the home are all created through cultural understandings of gender and identity (Blunt & Dowling, 2006). Due to its social institutionalisation homemaking has an attachment to identity. Identity, for Morrison (2012, p. 122), is "continually (re)made and materialised in the home through household objects". Both identity and the process of homemaking are on-going and fluid.

Some participants in this study changed their actions because they felt they no longer had control over a space. How a person views a space, for example, if it is their home or just a hotel room, is extremely important in the actions they perform within it and the meanings they ascribe to it. This section will look at the changing sense of home between TC3 and red zone residents. Following on from this, the performance of home as expressed through the upkeep of the garden and renovations of a home will show how actions change when a person loses connection to a space.

4.2.1 The garden and the home

Interviews with participants from both TC3 zones and red zones showed the garden and its upkeep is a prominent homemaking activity. The following subsection outlines the impact that losing a sense of home had on the actions of the participants. The section begins with understanding the cultural importance of a garden in the performance of home and the creation of a sense of place, and then looks at why red zone residents believed it was important to transfer old plants to their new homes. Following on from this, the section will examine the role of a garden as a refuge as well as a marker of home. Lastly, TC3 residents' loss of motivation to upkeep their garden will be explored.

The garden is often understood as a space where a person cultivates their interests, and researchers have sought to understand how a garden can create a sense of place (Holmes, 2011; Nollman, 1994). Nollman (1994, p. 1) began to understand how a garden could create a sense of place through its ability to create a "paradise within the imperfect". Following on from this, Holmes (2011) has understood the garden in terms of a sense of national identity. Colonisation is at the forefront of how a space can be brought under control and fashioned to be reminiscent of another place. As Holmes (2011) argues:

> through gardens the British could create an image of and in their own making. They were crucial to the ways in which Europeans transformed unfamiliar landscapes and invested them with European traditions and expectations. Gardens were crucial to the establishment of a sense of place.

Holmes (2011) has also explored the role of the garden in creating a sense of place with an 'alien' space being turn into an image that reflects the owner. Gardens are understood as areas that mirror the culture of a place as well as the individual and they are filled with the traditions of the creator. Gardening allows for a space to be a place of nostalgia while creating new memories (Holmes, Martin, & Mirmohamadi, 2008). It also offers a place of settlement with the mixture of remembrance and looking forward to new growth (Holmes, Martin, & Mirmohamadi, 2008). The

history of gardening and the significance of the garden at home has been mapped in New Zealand by Morris (2006) and Australia by Holmes (2011) while Beattie (2011) explored the creation of an Asian inspired garden within New Zealand.

The importance of the garden, as discussed above, was shown through the actions of the participants. Red zone residents had often moved plants from their old houses to their new homes creating a connection between the two homes. Many of the participants recognised that if they had not moved the plants they would die and they did not want more destruction to happen around their old homes. As participant 28 said, when asked if moving plants had kept the memory of her old home alive, "not so much a memory but it is just nice to bring something from the old house to the new place and know that it is going to keep on being…" The garden was used as a way to enable the continuation of participants old lives.

Participant 23 had been affected badly after the earthquakes. He had not coped with the stress and with moving from rental to rental while their new house was being built. To alleviate this, he went back to his red zone house and took plants from the garden. He then produced seedlings that were planted in the new garden. Participant 22 said that without the ability to do this her husband would have felt extremely sad for the home they lost. He was able to create new life through the garden leading to positive feelings. For those participants who had moved homes, the ability to make a home was transferred through moving the plants and reducing destruction. Read (1996) similarly found that residents of the town of Adaminaby in Australia, destined to be inundated by a hydro-electric scheme in 1947, transferred bricks from buildings to their new homes. The movement of souvenirs from one site to another was considered "a solid memory or connection" (Read, 1996, p. 92). Residents of Adaminaby did this because "the buildings were part of your life" and the ability to reuse them allowed for the continuation of that building (Read, 1996, p. 91).

The connection felt to a garden was expressed by many participants. Participant 24 had lived in his home all of his life, his parents selling it on to him when he was an adult. His garden was extremely

important to him and he spoke about it with pride but also with sadness. It had been a way of making the house into his new adult home. When he had taken possession of the house, he had ripped up the old garden and created what he called "my little slice of paradise, my little Eden". His home was in the red zone and he had decided to not fix his garden as it would be demolished soon. He no longer considered the house to be his home and he felt extremely torn by this realisation. When asked if his red zone house was his home he said:

> No, no it is just a roof over my head for the meantime. In saying that it is also it has got the big cabbage tree and the other big cabbage tree and the beech tree and the garage and all the stuff that I grew up around and I know it like the back of my hand and so in that sense it is home but it is the feeling of the place has completely changed and it has gone from a light sunny place to a dark grey unhappy place.

For participant 24, his attachment to home was entangled with his garden. It had been his space and had allowed him to mould the area into his own. The connection between garden and home was extremely important to this participant.

Some red zone residents wanted household gardens to be incorporated into the future development of the land. Participant 24 said that the trees in the garden were markers. He had memories of planting them when he was three years old with his father and he remembered his pride in having them. The trees had not changed, only grown, and had not been destroyed by the earthquakes like much of the house. It was this stability that he had needed after the earthquakes. The garden and the fixtures within it were important to many within the red zone. The trees that they had planted or had memories around became markers where people could remember that was where their old home had been. The participant above said:

> my dad lived five houses down and… he has a big Karaka or something and so his house has gone now… all that is left is that [tree] and that is the reference point now and there is no

other geographical reference point now. There is just that big tree, and I suppose that me and my sister were even talking about it the other day that we are going to have to realise that the two cabbage trees are the fence line [to his home] on that side and the beech tree if it still stays there is… where the garage was. And you know everything else will be gone.

Participant 18 reflected this sentiment, as she said:

…and hopefully when they get rid of all the other houses [in the red zone] they will just smooth the land out around the trees that were there and make it a big open reserve and let people wander through and go "oh my apple blossom is still there"… I had an apple blossom and it was beautiful… [W]e got it when it was small and it cost us a lot of money and I am hoping when they knock the house down that they don't kill the apple blossom and the other trees… [W]e had in around our place some beautiful rhododendrons and camellias and things and they are getting really big and I hope that they would leave them there. Just remove the fences and then let the people of the town enjoy some of those expensive trees that people had in their yards. It would be lovely to wander through.

Gardens were seen as markers that held memories of participants' homes. Read (1996) found similar connections between markers and homes when, over a decade after the inundation of Adaminaby in Australia in 1947, the levels of the water dropped revealing the old township. Past residents of the town used this time to have picnics in their old backyards and to pray in the ruins of the old church. Markers, Read (1996) found, are extremely important for the remembrance of a home.

TC3 residents felt a different association with their garden. As they often viewed their broken homes negatively (as explained in the previous section), this was transferred to the garden. Some participants lost motivation to continue the upkeep as it would all be damaged in the future due to the pending rebuild. As participant 15 said "after seeing builders do a renovation in 2009 and

watching the big boots, they can just destroy everything around, the plants they won't survive, I won't plant anything around the house for that reason." While participant 8 said:

> …I enjoy my garden and we are very lucky to have a nice garden…and we have maintained that, it is not to the level that I probably normally would because I think "they are going to bring bulldozers or something like that and wreck it"… so I haven't been as fussy as I normally would.

Participant 3, as discussed in the previous section, had made the decision to take back control of her day to day life. In the garden this meant taking pride again in the property and tiding it up. As she said:

> there was broken things from the earthquake that when they told us it [the house] was coming down we thought "oh, we will just live with it". We came back [after deciding to regain control] and we just started doing those things ourselves. So since, late April 2012 we have actually, as much as we can, tried to just put it [the earthquakes] behind us. And changing my mind-set made such a huge difference. My neighbour down the street, who is the same kind of situation as us, has not been able to do that and I see the emotional toll that [it] has taken on her it is immense.

While her garden may be destroyed in the future by the rebuilding of her house, participant 3 needed to regain control through the continued maintenance of her garden.

The impact of a loss of control, described in the previous section, was visible in the loss of motivation to do general upkeep within a house, especially for TC3 zone participants. Stopping upkeep of a house shows how a loss of control can affected a person's sense of home and the homemaking techniques they use. Many participants said that they no longer bothered with cleaning their homes as much as they used to. As participant 1 said when asked if the pending rebuild had changed how she felt about her house said "probably, yeah. You sort of lose a bit of

motivation. You know [my husband] hasn't cleaned the windows for ages because you sort of get like "what is the point?" Participant 12 reflected this with the conversation about whether her house still felt like her home:

> Participant 12: Yes and no, I don't take care of it as well as I used to – I don't spring clean like I used to. I don't… yeah.
>
> Researcher: So do you feel like you don't do those things because you don't want to as there is no point?
>
> Participant 12: Yeah, it is going to be bowled anyway. I am over this house, I am over living broken, I just want to move.

Many TC3 participants were affected by a loss in control. TC3 participants stopped the upkeep of their homes because they no longer saw the space with the same affection.

4.2.2 Renovations in a disaster zone

Renovations are another homemaking technique common within a New Zealand context. Renovations imply an ownership over a space and the ability to change it to meet ones needs or desires. This section examines the role of renovations in the creation of a new sense of home for red zone residents and the effects of the inability for TC3 participants to renovate their home.

Home improvement is deeply embedded within the New Zealand culture (Winstanley, Thorns, & Perkins, 2002). Home improvement comes not only from an expansion of family but also how family members are attributed certain sizes and spaces. This is based "on existing and/or new cultural expressions of family and/or individual identity in relation to age, gender, as well as changing work situations" (Winstanley, Thorns & Perkins, 2002, p. 825). While statistics are uncommon, it has been found that New Zealanders are more likely to be involved with DIY (do it yourself renovations) than

any other western country (Morrison, 2012). Renovations are extremely important to homemaking within a New Zealand context.

In a similar fashion to the findings of Winstanley, Thorns & Perkins (2002), found the purpose of redecorating a home was more than just adding value. The concept of making a place "their own" came through within the interviews. Many red zone participants had redecorated their new home after they had bought it, showing an assertion of control over the space. Participant 25 had only just moved into his new house and this was reflected by how he viewed the space. His red zone house was still his home, as he said:

> we are kind of in that process of transitioning now [to making the new house into a home]. And I think a little bit of what makes it different is that when we bought our house in Brooklands we put a lot of ourselves into it over a long period of time. So you look at the landscaping and you look at the dining room extension and you look at all those things and they are part of you that persist in the building.

Participant 18, on the other hand, reflected a number of former red zone participants' views as she had already done renovations on her new home. As she said when asked why this was so important: "I think what it does is it puts a sense of ownership and belonging on the property and it is like "this is our mark on the place" so this is mine. I did this". The ability of participants to assert control over a space was extremely important. Many used renovations as a way to mark their ownership of a space, moulding it into their new home. This was extremely important to regain control after the earthquakes.

Many TC3 participants, on the other hand, felt they were unable to assert control over their house through renovations. The period between the earthquakes and the rebuilding of their homes was long and very uncertain; this meant that participants felt that renovations on their homes within this time would be redundant. Instead, TC3 participants had to wait until their insurance company was

ready for the rebuild of their house to begin often meaning they had to live in homes with cracks and draughts due to the earthquakes. This was difficult for many participants who would normally take great pride in their homes. For participant 8 the inability to redecorate her house impacted on her identity as she said

I look at it and, throughout our married life I have painted and wallpapered and tiled and concreted as has my husband and I look at things, and when we bought our house we were going to put a conservatory on the back of it… so we are living in a house that is perhaps a bit smaller than we envisioned because we were going to have this conservatory built.

She continued on with how she now viewed her home. The home had been bought not long before the earthquakes with the idea it would be their retirement home. The change in the home and the loss of control had affected how she now viewed it. As the conversation shows:

Researcher: Do you think that the inability to change things, do you think that has affected how you view your house?

Participant 8: Absolutely, yeah, every now and then I do this mantra and say to my husband "this is a really nice house isn't it?" It is as simple as that because I have to remind myself that the reason that we bought this house is still there and really hopefully in due course we will have it how it was when we first bought it.

The fixing of a house was one way that participants had 'performed' home in the past. They found now that they lacked control to do this and this affected their sense of home. In the future, once homes were rebuilt, TC3 participants may regain their sense of home and attachment to the space. But at the time of the interviews, TC3 participants felt that they had no control and could only wait.

4.2.3 Summary

This section has examined how homemaking techniques are affected by a loss of control after a disaster. Through exploring the role of the garden for participants in different zones, it is possible to understand how a person can change how they perform home when their control is altered. Red zone residents used the garden as a space to regain control including transferring plants from one house to another. The garden was also used as a marker to guide red zone families back to their land after the house was destroyed. TC3 participants, on the other hand, felt unable to replant or repair their garden or home because of the damage the rebuild would have. Red zone residents also used renovations to assert control over a space. Again, TC3 residents were unable to redecorate while they waited for EQC and insurance processes to be completed. TC3 residents also felt a lack of motivation to perform general upkeep of their house. This shows a detachment from the space that had often once been a home.

4.3 Conclusion

The dominant theme of this chapter that came through the interviews was the loss of control felt by participants affecting their identity, memory of their home and the ability to create a new home. The research shows that red and TC3 zone respondents were affected in a number of different ways; red zone participants by the forced eviction from their homes, and TC3 participants as they were waiting for EQC or insurance processes to rebuild or repair their homes. Red zone stayers were able to assert their own control over the processes through their decision to stay in the area. The loss of control felt by participants was shown through a change in homemaking techniques. For many red zone participants the garden enabled them to connect their demolished red zone home to their new house. TC3 participants, however, felt a loss in homemaking techniques due to the inability or loss in motivation to garden due to their homes' pending rebuild. Many red zone participants saw renovation as necessary to creating a new home. It also allowed for a sense of ownership and

control to be asserted over the space, unlike TC3 participants who felt unable to do any renovations. TC3 participants also lost the motivation to do general upkeep within the house. To expand the scale of home, the following chapter will explore how participants' sense of home was impacted at a community and neighbourhood level.

Chapter 5: Home as a community

This chapter aims to describe how the loss of neighbourhood and community affected participants' sense of home. Within this research, as explained in Chapter 2, "neighbourhood" has spatial boundaries within which relationships are created. On the other hand, "community" is a form of social organisation that does not need to be spatially based; for example arising from sporting or religious affiliations. This chapter will illustrate the importance that participants from Christchurch's eastern suburbs attached to the area, and created the identity of 'Easties'. It will then describe the creation of an online community through social media which was supportive while residents found their neighbourhoods in a state of transition. Finally, this chapter examines how the earthquakes were both localised and normalised through the telling of jokes.

5.1 'Easties'

This section looks at how the identity of some participants was tied to the east of Christchurch. This was not intended to be part of this project, however, as explained in Chapter 3, the boundaries of the research changed following feedback from the public. This showed that many people did not attribute their individual identity to their suburbs but instead to the east of Christchurch. The interviews conducted strongly reflected this point of view, although the boundaries of the east are understandably fluid. Through a comparison with the 'Other', namely to the west side of Christchurch, the 'Easties' identity was imagined and internalised. The dichotomy of the east versus west identity will be examined in this section.

The significance of the east and the identity associated to it was only discussed in interviews with participants who came from eastern suburbs and not Kaiapoi or Brooklands. For clarification, participants who discussed the east were asked where the boundaries of the east were. The results

of this can be seen in Figure 13. The majority of participants felt that the boundaries lie around the yellow suburbs while there was disagreement over the light blue suburbs. Interestingly, Brooklands residents did not discuss a strong connection to eastern Christchurch and they were also not considered 'east' by other participants despite their inclusion in the 2013 Christchurch East Electoral boundaries (a zone used for general elections). The 'Easties' connection was not always based on the suburb in which participants currently lived and many were happy to move elsewhere in the east. For example, participant 12 lived within Aranui; however, she was wanted to move elsewhere as long as it was in the east. The boundaries of the east are not fixed or defined and participants' descriptions of the east were very different. This is common for qualitative work with respondents' knowledge being based around social and cultural context (Dowling, 2010). Boundaries, such as this one, are fluid in nature and often based on perceptions of a city (Hubbard, Kitchin, & Valentine, 2005).
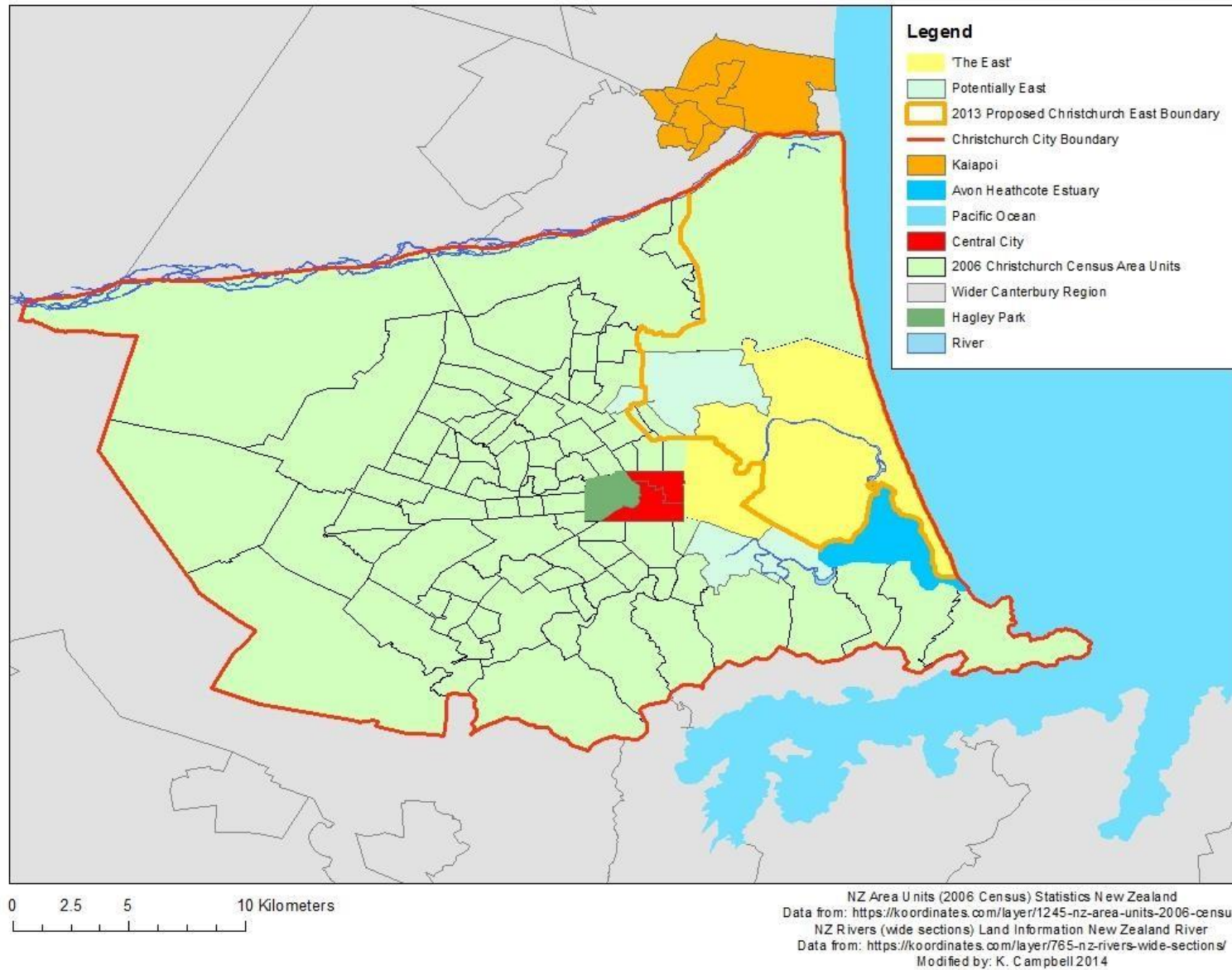
Figure 13: Participants' perception of which suburbs are classified as 'eastern' Christchurch (map created in Arc GIS by researcher).

For participants who identified strongly with the east side of Christchurch, the connection had been shaped over many years of living in the area. The proximity to the wetlands and the beach were positive assets of the area as well as the connection to family members. As participant 3 said when asked why she enjoyed living on the east:

> ... [I] used to do a lot of mountain biking so [being] near the forest [is positive], yeah, I just liked it and you get used to a part of town. Oh, also we always had a bach north of Christchurch too so being close to the northern motorway was good. No, I really like it here. My husband is born and bred Christchurch [and] with his job he could have transferred anywhere around the country [after the earthquakes] and they said "anyone who wants to go, we will transfer you" and he pushed quite hard to move and I said "no, this is my home, I am staying" I didn't want to go, I have my networks here, I have my business here...

The connection to space was founded in positive place attachment. The assets, which will be discussed later in the section, as well as the connections to family and familiarity all created a strong identity linked to the east of Christchurch.

The strong connection with the east was impacted heavily by the earthquakes and subsequent zoning. Many red zone residents had to leave their suburb and were unable to rebuy within areas they considered the east. Participant 17 made sure that her new home was in the east and as she said: "well, all my family are on the east, I have always lived on the east. I just love living in the east and I got the perfect world now". However, not all participants were able to buy or stay in the area. While they still had a strong personal connection to the area, the instability of the ground meant that some participants wanted to move. As a conversation with participant 24 went:

> Researcher: So you have grown up in the east. Would you like to, if you have the ability, to stay in the east side of Christchurch?

Participant 24: I would like [to stay]… emotionally I would like to [stay]… but practically [due to land stability and limited housing available] I think that the west is a slightly better bet now. Although I will be…you know, moving a long way away from all of the people that I know. I don't really know anyone who lives on the west side. I only know people in Brighton, North Beach, Aranui [all eastern suburbs] so that is where my life is. So I would like to [stay] for that reason but for practical [reasons I] might have to be somewhere else.

Some participants also found that there had been a change in the demographics of eastern residents (discussed further in the chapter). As participant 1 said when asked if she would stay on the east:

no sadly, it breaks my heart because we have always lived on the east but the east has been so badly damaged and because of … how it is becoming a rental area, we don't want to stay here. It is not what we came here for.

When asked about the east side of town participant 19 said "it is a shell of itself now so you can't go back". Participant 19 believed that the area had changed and was too damaged and unable to be rebuilt to pre-earthquake normality. She, along with some participants, believed that it would never be able to return to what she remembered. Dugan (2007) found in 2005 after Hurricane Katrina hit New Orleans that with entire neighbourhoods being destroyed, collective identities were changed and the connections that once held together a community were also. In the context of this research, while many still associated strongly with the east, the damage and uncertainty changed how some people viewed the space and themselves within it.

For those whose attachment continued after the earthquakes, the identity of being 'Easties' became more influenced by defining itself against the west. While Christchurch has often been referred to colloquially as the "city of two halves" (*Stuff.co.nz*, 5 July 2013), indicating the difference in deprivation levels described in Chapter 1, after the earthquakes this difference became a prominent and dividing feature. These are based on how participants perceived the west to be feeling and

acting. Perception is extremely important and can be the basis for someone's reality. Thornley et al., (2013) found this when they researched the perceived social support and the positive impacts that it has on health and wellbeing, independent of actual social support. While there was damage to the west where houses were zoned as TC3, participants expressed anger and discontent with the perceived difference in the disaster response between east and west Christchurch. Participant 12 said:

> what I noticed was in the first few days was that all through Aranui there were sink holes with rubbish bins in them, deck chairs in them, any object that was big enough to sort of stick out of the sink to let somebody know that it was there. But then I went over to Riccarton and they had a wee raised man-hole and it had about 5 cones around it or you went somewhere else and there were road cones for Africa but I didn't see one road cone when I was travelling through Aranui. It was all what people had put there themselves.

Many participants felt that the East was forgotten in the aftermath of the earthquakes. While Thornley et al., (2013) found that this was because of a focus on the central city, a number of participants within this study expressed that the focus was mainly on the west.

In the years after the earthquakes this division became more prominent. Participants on the east believed that the west saw them as "whingers". This may have been influenced by the Minister for Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Gerry Brownlee saying people whose homes were zoned TC3 were "carping and moaning" (*The Press*, 9 September 2012). This is in contradiction to the discourse that Cantabrians are "stoic" which was a common expression after the earthquakes (McColl & Burkle, 2012). Many participants felt that the west believed that the earthquake timeline was over. As participant 3 said:

We have friends and family on the other side of town and they haven't got a fricken clue. [They say] "the earthquakes are all over, we have had our house repaired, what is your problem?" Whatever.

While participant 9 said:

Oh yeah, they [people on the west] couldn't care less. I remember going to my doctor [on the west side of town] and everybody there was clean and their cars are all clean and they are all fed and they are all happy with smiles on their faces like nothing had happened… And we have all got to be sensitive to one and another but they did seem awfully clean and well fed and happy.

Participant 24, on the other hand, believed that the west were not allowed to complain or be upset by the earthquakes. As he said:

I read something yesterday that said there were 66,000 people who were getting prescriptions for anti-depressants in Christchurch now and you think "fuck, are they all on this [east] side of Christchurch?" Because the people on the other side [west] of Christchurch that go on about earthquakes, they fuck me off. Like, you don't know shit. Your house is fine. Your street is nice and level. Nothing has happened; you lost power for like 3 days, big fuckin' whoop. And so if they are on the anti-depressants I want to slap them.

Hoffman (1998) discussed the opposition that can occur between different communities in the wake of disasters. With those who are less affected, first there is support and sympathy but when processes take longer than anticipated, jealousy and impatience can take over. Some communities can be labelled "greedy whiners" as well as being perceived to be "lucky" because of their new possessions and houses "and [they are] undeserving receivers of pots of gold" (Hoffman, 1998, p. 60). The affected community can fight back, perceiving the less affected to be "insensitive narcissists who sashayed on in sublime comfort" (Hoffman, 1998, p. 60).

A large number of participants believed that residents on the west were getting preferential treatment and had minor repairs done to their homes and roads were being fixed while those on the east were living in cold and broken homes. As participant 7 said:

> Memorial Avenue [a main street on the west side of Christchurch] has had new curbing, they didn't need it. A guy from work is from Papanui [west suburb] and their footpaths are probably 18 years old and working fine and they had new ones [put] down and they didn't need it.

While participant 29 said:

> We had a friend, from the other side of town, complaining that the chimney had come down in one of their rental homes. Well she went on and on and on and I thought "for crying out loud, I have lost my home, thousands of other people have lost their home and you are worrying about a chimney". I just walked away; I just could not be bothered.

Participants 26 and 27 believed that homes should have been "triaged" with the most damaged being fixed first. Instead, those on less damaged land were able to have their home repaired first because they did not require the complex geotechnical drilling that was compulsory most TC3 land. Participant 26 said:

> …they are doing all of the quick and easy jobs first making the numbers look pretty so they can say "oh, we have done all of this work we have fixed all of these houses" but they are the easy ones. If you are going to start, start with the hardest ones first.

The process of rebuilding or repairing the most damaged homes did not appear to be a priority for insurance or EQC companies. As reported on the news broadcast *One News* (4 September 2013) on the third anniversary of the 4 September 2010 earthquake the Chief Executive of the Canterbury Chamber of Commerce, Peter Townsend, said that about 50,000 of the least damaged homes had been repaired. This was half way through repairing the least damaged homes (those that fell under

the $115,000 cap). For homes that fell into the most damaged category ($115,000 plus) only 700 of the 23,000 had been repaired or rebuilt.

There was a perception that people on the west side of town believed that there was no one remaining on the east side because of red zoning. Participant 15 found this a difficult situation to be in because she felt that communities such as hers were being forgotten and facilities were moving to the other side of town. As she said, "you get that sense of being forgotten and lost and not important and I don't know, those things are just huge and I don't know how much people can battle". Participant 6 was also concerned about being forgotten. She hoped that the areas of red zone in the east would be rebuilt on because if they were made into parks she believed the area would turn into a "slum" with places that she would feel unsafe in. Participant 11 felt that the east had been stereotyped due to its damage and said:

> I think that the media probably made it sound like we were all living on really bad land and there were some awful things in the paper about people saying "why aren't you closing all of the schools, I thought we were trying to empty out the east?" and "why would you build anything back on the east" and so … they represented us as living on a swamp, or living in sinking sand when we are not. And also why is there so much emphasis on the land and the value of the houses when it is actually just a really, really great place to live and I like living here. Why is all the value of those other things put aside?

While the area had been damaged, many participants still had a strong association to it. Read (1996) found a similar attachment in Darwin after Cyclone Tracy hit in 1974. Residents wish to return and rebuild due to the memories and connection they continued to have despite damage to the area.

5.2 The loss of a community

Many participants reflected Solnit's (2009) findings of community altruism that occurs after a disaster. For the respondents, the immediate aftermath of the earthquakes became a time of solidarity and neighbourhoods joining together and helping one another. Solnit (2009) found that this is a common and fascinating experience that occurs after most disasters. Participants spoke of clearing silt together, taking on childcare duties and offering meals to neighbours. The altruism that occurred did not, however, appear to continue. As participant 3 said:

> people were helpful to one and other in a neighbourly fashion and then further afield with the Student Volunteer Army they did a great job. Things like that happened and people got in and helped one another, but when things settle down they revert back to how it was before.

Participant 6 mirrored this by saying "well, we are all a bit more relaxed again now, so I know that when we used to have a lot more get-togethers during the earthquakes and that [has] sort of stopped now. We have sort of gone back to just being normal." Participant 15 believed that community altruism had been lost because people were too tired and too busy. She said "they are just trying to cope with the extra stresses". This is similar to Read's (1996) findings after Cyclone Tracy hit Darwin, in 1974, in which the direct aftermath called for community strategies and togetherness to fight the bureaucratic processes taking place. However, once homes had been rebuilt, fences once again divided neighbourhoods and only polite smiles were given on the street.

A loss of community and neighbourhood for those both in the TC3 and red zones was felt due to the zoning of homes leading to stress. Phillips, Stukens, Jenkins (2011) believe disasters create a renegotiation of place leading to identities being changed. This occurs through the loss of significant areas and often a change in demographics. Participants within this study often felt a loss of both the community they were a part of and neighbourhoods they had grown to love. Red zone residents were forced to leave their neighbourhood, often severing ties to their local communities. Many TC3 residents, on the other hand, were staying in neighbourhoods that had changing dynamics and

shifting social demographics. They also lost communities with the closing or merging of schools, as explained in Chapter 1. Kotani and Yokomatsu (2013) found that after disasters there was often a change in demographics with a mass movement away from an area leading to both those who stayed and those who left feeling a loss of identity.

Red zone participants often had contrasting memories of how their neighbourhood was before the earthquakes. Some had felt an attachment with the area while others said that it was "nothing special". This division was most prominent for Bexley participants. A number of the participants said that Bexley had an exceptional neighbourhood spirit before the earthquakes. Four of the participants (participants 29, 21, 17, 28) were a part of the Bexley Residents' Association and this appeared to give them a purpose and a sense of pride in the area. These participants all coped differently with the earthquakes. Participant 29 said "we would rather be back in Bexley. If somebody said "where would you rather be?" that is where I would rather be"; whereas participant 21 held nostalgia for the neighbourhood but realised that it was lost and accepted the changes. As she said "I go to the east side of town now and it just isn't the same. I mean I loved it there but it is so destroyed and it is so horrible and I am glad that I am not there anymore. I mean, I loved it, but it is so different".

All four of the participants had not yet found a neighbourhood spirit similar to the one they had in Bexley. This had affected them in different ways. Participant 29 looked back at the neighbourhood of Bexley with nostalgia. She remembered the area for its natural beauty and also the strong connection between neighbours. This participant, while comfortable in her house in Waitikiri (a suburb in east Christchurch), had not yet felt a connection to the neighbourhood and this, along with the loss of control examined in Chapter 4, affected her sense of home. For participants 17, 21 and 28, their remembrance of the area had been impacted by how the area had changed. As participant 17 said: "…it is a wee bit sad; it is sad to walk along and see the old houses and the terrible state that they are in". Participant 28 had been the last family on her street in Bexley to leave. This had

affected her negatively as she had felt unsafe with the area being targeted by vandals. She had been concerned for her family safety.

For the three other participants from the Bexley suburb, the area before the earthquakes was not considered to be a special neighbourhood. For participants 19, 20 and 24, Bexley had been their home; however, this was not due to a connection to the neighbourhood. Participants 19 and 20, while living in Bexley, had found a connection to a community in New Brighton. They were able to continue this attachment because they could easily visit New Brighton from their house in Riccarton (a suburb of western Christchurch). As they said "yeah, Brighton has got its own, it's like a village, we say 'hello' to people all of the time that know us and we know them". They were also a part of a church community in New Brighton which they said helped them a lot mentally after the earthquakes. The ability to still be a part of the community of New Brighton helped participants 19 and 20 with continuity. Due to this connection, the participants developed a sense of home away from the household through the link to the community of New Brighton. Participant 24, a repair in the red zone (explained in Chapter 1), had also felt a limited attachment to the neighbourhood before the earthquake and the connection he felt to the area was impacted by his continued residence within Bexley. Remaining in the red zone until the legal battle was over, he had seen the destruction of houses and the street. As the conversation went:

> Researcher: How has the demolition of your suburb affected you?

> Participant 24: Well, that is horrible. It feels like an earthquake when they are doing it around my house. It is terrible. I don't like it. It is just a full constant reminder [of the loss of both his home and the neighbourhood he grew up in] when they are doing stuff around my house

The demolition of the suburb affected how he viewed his home. He was unable to remember the area with happiness.

TC3 participants were faced with a different dilemma to that of the red zone participants. Participants could stay within their neighbourhood or sell their home 'as is, where is'. When this term is applied to a home set for a rebuild it means that a purchaser accepts buying a house in its current condition and cannot claim insurance on the damage or gain insurance on the property in the future (The Chronicle: Merivale's Community News, February 2013). This is because the property has been deemed either beyond repair or too expensive to repair (The Chronicle: Merivale's Community News, February 2013). This option has been used by TC3 residents who are able to sell their damaged home and build or buy elsewhere without the time constraints, experienced by many, that have been explained throughout this thesis. The impact of this decision, however, affected everyone around the community. Many participants said that those who bought 'as is, where is' homes would rent them to people and this changed the neighbourhood dynamic. As participant 8 said:

Some of the people have taken money paid out from the insurance company and they are selling them 'as is, where is' uninsured. So we are faced with tenanted properties, probably, and those people don't really care about the front lawns and they are driving cars up over the berms and so on. And so there has been a break down in the social structure of our street in particular. So it is not good.

Many of the participants believed that those who moved into the area to rent did not want to be a part of the neighbourhood. Participant 3 said "we have lost some of our neighbours though. So this [neighbour] here is a renter and they have come from the North Island and they have no sense of wanting to know their neighbours." The impact of a changed neighbourhood meant that more residents were thinking of moving, therefore perpetuating the problem. As participant 1 said:

it is funny because when houses started selling like that [as is, where is] in this area, I didn't agree with it and I approached a couple of Members of Parliament about it and said we need to stop it because it is going to become a big rental grotto and that is not what our

neighbourhood is. But nobody could fight it. It is what it is. And as much as we don't like it, that is what we are going to do ourselves too. Get out. Just do it quietly behind the scenes, just do it. And it is still hard to think that we are going to do what I don't agree with but it is our opportunity to move on as well.

Many participants spoke of a stigma of being on TC3 land due to the damage (mainly liquefaction) that is associated with the zone. Participants felt that they would find it difficult to sell their homes in the future because the market would not place a high price on TC3 land. This was, therefore, the only opportunity to sell at what was considered an acceptable price based on insurance companies' valuations and not market value which may be impacted by the TC3 stigma. Parklands residents often wanted to leave before the sewerage system was implemented (as discussed in Chapter 4) as they believed that it would make their homes even less valuable.

Despite 850 houses lying within the Kaiapoi red zone, the Waimakariri District experienced a 16.7% increase in usual resident population from 2006 according to the 2013 census (MacPherson, 2013). The large number of new housing developments within the area influenced this growth. The influx of residents, namely from the eastern suburbs of Christchurch, impacted on the participants from Kaiapoi. Participant 2 found the social characteristics of Kaiapoi were changing due to the earthquakes as she said "a lot of people have moved from Christchurch out to Kaiapoi and a lot of those people are, not that I want to say this but, unsavoury". She found that there was an increase in "boy racer [motorists with highly modified cars]" problems especially in the red zone area which she lived near. The area was in a state of flux with people moving both in and away. She also found that her children were disrupted as their friends had moved away from Kaiapoi. As she said "nothing is certain any more. So the housing is not certain, the schooling is not certain and there is just this whole, you feel like you are in limbo, there is nothing definite or positive." For participant 10, the demographics of Kaiapoi had been changing for a number of years. He described the population by saying "they still don't contribute to the local community like they did in the years past. They sort of

sleep here. I wouldn't say they lived in here, I would say they sleep here". Participants who were a part of an 'old' Kaiapoi, felt that the neighbourhood had changed and this impacted on their sense of stability and routine. Social relationships and networks have been found to be extremely important at the neighbourhood level and can help a person create an identity around a place (Graumann, 2002). When demographics change after a disaster (Kotani & Yokomatsu, 2013), the identity that was linked to the neighbourhood may also be undermined.

Many of the participants felt that the loss of facilities within their area had affected the community. Almost all of the participants felt saddened by the demolition of the large swimming pool and recreation area of Queen Elizabeth II Park (QEII) which had been badly damaged after the February 2011 earthquake. QEII was built in 1973 to host the Commonwealth Games and comprised of a stadium and fun park swimming pool. The history and quality of this park meant that many participants felt a strong connection to it. Participant 13 said

> I think that it is very important that the Parklands area and all the areas that are on TC3 land that are badly damaged, that they get good quality recreational facilities sooner rather than later because that will give them a sense of belonging. I mean, a lot of the areas are going to be losing the school buildings etcetera with the [school] merging [as explained in Chapter 1]. A lot of buildings like community halls and that are off limits because they are not up to earthquake strengthening, so I think the authorities have got a responsibility to try and put in place good facilities for the community to access and that will also enhance TC3 areas.

Participant 8 mirrored this viewpoint believing that the facilities around the suburbs were assets and needed to be kept. Participant 15 said that the loss in facilities had affected her negatively. She felt less connected to the community as she had lost many places where her memories were made. Many of the participants were faced with the loss or merger of schools that they and/or their children had attended. The loss in the community that a school creates affected many of the participants who had based their sense of home around such assets. For participant 15 the change in

her community was often too much for her. Houses in her area that she had grown up with were being demolished, QEII had gone and the school that all of her sons had attended was merging with another school. As she explained:

> The fact is that the school will be gone; all of that bit that I called very much my community will be gone. QEII is gone, not likely to come back and the Monastery up the road that we got married in is gone. I guess it is just so many [things] at once that goes. The schools that your kids went to…the places they were born... The whole impact of it. But yeah, it will still be home, we will just move on and change on and I think that that will be OK then. But I think that, that will be the hardest bit right now because you are adapting to the changes and you know they will happen and you know they will keep happening. And the fight of trying to recreate that feeling of neighbourhood because a lot of those people have moved on… it will come but losing it is the hardest part.

The loss of assets led to a feeling of losing the relationships created in the neighbourhood or community. The need to build new assets within the east was very prominent as participants felt detached from the changed area.

Red zone stayers were in an unusual position with many people leaving the areas in which they lived. They also had joined a very distinct group of people who had chosen to stay in the area. Participants 26 and 27 found that this had not led to the creation of community groups and that "people that have denied or not accepted the offer have gone underground and just want to, don't want to have anything to do with it. It is really quite unusual." This was in contrast to participant 16 who said:

> we [red zone stayers] have got a community, absolutely. All of our issues are different with different insurance companies and things like that but you know we are really, really

supportive of each other and you know somebody will be strong while others are crumbling and vice versa. It has brought us really, really close.

The contrast between these participants may have come from the difference in neighbourhood before the earthquake. While participants 26 and 27 described their neighbourhood as "close knit", the participants interviewed from Brooklands described the area as having a community spirit. The attachment to neighbourhood and creation of a community based on staying in the area continued after the earthquakes for participant 16. Another contributing factor may also be due to media attention. Participants 26 and 27, for example, had appeared on television and radio a number of times, while participant 16 never spoke of doing this. Participants 26 and 27 involvement with the media may be why other red zone stayers did not want to join a community with them as they wished to remain anonymous.

5.3 Social media and the creation of community

Social media played a large role in the development of this research. It was used to find and contact participants as well as to gain a wider understanding of the processes and the emotions that occurred within Canterbury after the earthquakes. Social media refers to Facebook as it was the most commonly referenced website. Not all of the participants used Facebook and there was often a difference in age, with the older generation not participating. This section will examine how participants used social media in the aftermath of the earthquakes. It will also look at how social media was used in the (re)creation of communities.

Immediately following the earthquakes social media was used to gain lifesaving information and support. While many of the participants did not have power or internet, those who were able to access Facebook via work or family and friends expressed that it was an extremely useful tool. The Bexley Residents' Association set up its Facebook page after the September 2010 earthquake.

Participant 17 said that it allowed people to know where supplies of food and water were in the neighbourhood. Participant 16 said that following the earthquakes, Facebook was useful for "keeping in touch and supporting each other", while participant 18 found that she was able to tell overseas friends that she was OK. Similarly, after Hurricane Katrina, the internet was used as a "grass roots" effort to show disaster survivors their damaged homes. For those who had left New Orleans before the disaster struck, it was important to know how badly damaged their homes were. Google Earth was used to show photographs of post hurricane images so those who had been evacuated understood the damage to their neighbourhoods (Blunt & Dowling, 2006; *New York Times*, September 5, 2005).

In the months and years after the February earthquake, Facebook provided a space where people could support each other as well as offer information. All of the participants who used Facebook found social media to be extremely helpful. Most participants were part of different earthquake specific groups. The most common included the Bexley Residents' Association page and the TC3 Residents' page. These groups were 'closed' which meant that an administrator had to accept a request to join and those who were not accepted into the group were not able to see comments. Many people used the pages to vent anger about the processes that they were dealing with. For example participant 24 said "I am friends with TC3 residents and Bryan Staples[1] and… it is good to go "yeah! Fuck! Urg! Wankers!" Many others found that the emotional support was extremely important. Participant 17 said the Bexley Facebook page was:

> an outlet for people to share what they were going through and venting and other people sympathising with them and feeling as though you have support from people who know what you are going through.

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[1] The leader of a number of protests against EQC after being sent, by accident, an email and spread sheet containing material on 83,000 Christchurch earthquake claimants

Some of the participants who were further through the insurance company or EQC process used the page to share their knowledge. To fill the gap that both red and TC3 zone participants were experiencing in losing their neighbourhoods, as discussed in the previous section, social media was used to (re)create communities.

Some participants found that knowing that other people were in a similar position to them or even worse off helped them deal with their situation. As participant 6 said:

> the good thing for me is to see some of the comments from other people and to realise how well off we are and it affects people differently but some people obviously, liking [a post], to air their [concerns], to get it off their chest and I think they enjoy getting good feedback and seeing that some people are just as bad off or worse off than them. I think it has been really good, it really has.

Participant 24 also found that the knowledge that he was not alone helped him deal with his situation. As he said:

> [it] was just good to see broader people that I have no idea who you are but you are in a similar situation. You are fighting, you are struggling. It is not just me and a handful of others who are getting fucked over. It is everyone just about or like half of them.

Facebook pages were a place of community support. For participant 24 they provided a site of empathy that he had not found elsewhere especially within media coverage. Media coverage on the difficulties of being a repair in the red zone (explained in Chapter 1) was limited. Participant 24 felt that the media "really are just looking at numbers and they don't give a shit about real people". Even though he was not a TC3 resident he still felt that TC3 Residents Facebook page was space where he could find support. The ability to find others within a similar situation had a positive effect on many participants. Similarly, Read (1996) discussed the creation of a community newspaper after Cyclone Tracy hit Darwin in 1974. The newspaper was written by locals "for the community at the ordinary

level of advertising, helping, chatting, getting angry, laughing, and occasionally crying" (Read, 1996, p. 163). Similarly to the use of social media found in this research, Darwin locals used the newspaper to generate a feeling of community that had been lost and to fight top-down bureaucratic decisions.

The ability to create a community through social media was important to many participants. For Bexley residents, the Facebook page was extremely important to allow the neighbourhood to continue contact after the area had been red zoned. As participant 29 said:

> we have done a lot of stuff through that [Facebook page] and it has been good for the community because they have been able to communicate with other people that they would have lost contact with …but the community I don't think could have survived without the [use of Facebook] and that type of contact. It was absolutely amazing.

The Bexley Facebook page began to stagnate in early 2013. Participant 21 believed this was because residents were now scattered around Canterbury and New Zealand. The page had served its purpose through keeping residents in contact while providing a space for support and information. Once that was not needed the page became inactive, however some remained posting sporadically.

There were some negatives to the use of social media. Participant 29, directly after the earthquakes, found that the Bexley Residents' Association was getting messages on Facebook from people asking for information or action that the Association was not able to provide. For example, residents wanted to know when their rubbish would be picked up. This was a council issue not a Residents' Association issue. As participant 29 said "in the end I said to [another member] "you just need to chop them off"; you just need to say "I am sorry I can't, this is not my [area], and you need to ring the council"". Participant 29 found that some people were getting "frustrated" and "nasty" because the Association was unable to help them.

Along similar lines, some participants found that the negative comments on the Facebook pages were difficult to deal with. Participant 2 said:

to some degree, you learn some interesting things but like I said I get sick of people who are "poor me" and moan about it and that irritates me a wee bit because I just want to tell them to get real. Because... you don't achieve anything by moaning.

While participant 1 said:

Yeah, I think it has probably got more useful as time has gone on. I think at first it was maybe too much, too much stuff, too much complaining. I don't know, I think as it has gone on it has gotten better. It is people with the real heart of it issues, really gotten to the guts of it and people helping each other out.

The open format of social media means that anyone can both comment and post on pages they are accepted to. This meant that some people felt they were overwhelmed by negative comments.

Another area where negativity appeared to occur was between TC3 rebuild members (members whose damage to their home were over cap, as discussed in Chapter 1) and TC3 repair members (members whose homes were under cap). A separation between these two groups appeared to occur in 2013. As the newly formed (in 2013) TC3 rebuild group Facebook page 'about' section states:

this group has been created for those who are rebuilds through the Christchurch earthquakes (repair people also welcome) and who are looking for support, ideas and contacts with likeminded people now that rebuild people are apparently no longer welcome on the TC3 Residents' group [Facebook page].

This was not discussed with participants as the separation of the Facebook groups occurred after interviews took place. It is not clear why this division occurred and attempts to understand it, including contacting members of the pages, were not fruitful. Community division is common, especially in the aftermath of a disaster, where members of a group perceive another of obtaining

more (Hoffman, 1998). It is possible that this occurred here, where TC3 repair members believed they were entitled to more or the same as TC3 rebuild members.

5.4 Normalisation through jokes

The normalisation of earthquakes through the use of games and jokes was experienced by many participants. Earthquakes became a normality because of the on-going sequence that occurred over two or more years. This section will look at how jokes were used in the beginning to focus on the earthquake sequence that many around Christchurch understood and went through. It will then discuss how jokes focused on the insurance and EQC processes with those who understood the joke becoming a part of a community.

The experience of the earthquakes felt by Cantabrians was different from how many of the participants thought it would be[2]. The on-going aftershocks as well as insurance and governmental issues were not anticipated. As participant 25 said:

> I think that is what changed peoples' belief, that prior to Christchurch there would be an earthquake and there would be a great big noise and a whole pile of crashing and banging and you would all grab for something and then the dust would settle and you would sweep up the glass and you would go back to your normal life and if a building fell over you would rebuild it…the thought that it was a process that geologically could go on for 10,000 quakes or whatever… [was unimaginable]

The sequence of earthquakes that occurred over a year led to a normalisation of earthquakes. Earthquakes were considered still an anomaly; however, due to the number of aftershocks, participants felt that they became a part of a 'new normal' a time when they were accepted as part of everyday life. This was emphasised through the jokes that were told. As participant 25 continued

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[2] New Zealand has a history of earthquakes and many participants were aware of this.

to say:

> Where picking the intensity of an earthquake becomes a household game to play with your
>
> kids "shit, what do you reckon that was?" "I reckon a 4" "no, no it wasn't a bloody 4." It is so
>
> normal now that it becomes a game is extraordinary…

According to Kuipers (2011) the making of jokes after a disaster is very common. Often these jokes are seen as a way of coping with the disaster faced by the survivors.

After a disaster, media coverage is extremely important in moulding the discourses that are told about an area. Some researchers have found that media exploits feelings of grief and suffering after a disaster (Smith & Petley, 1991). Media coverage is often about either the 'victims' or commerce, whereby, the focus swings from the heartache and suffering of disaster victims to the economic rebuild of a city. For example, within Christchurch, media reports showed the destruction of the CBD alongside discussions of Christchurch city's part in the 2012 Rugby World Cup (*Stuff.co.nz*, 16 March 2011). Jokes can therefore be a rebellion against this by survivors allowing them to tell their own story (Kuipers, 2011).

Books such as "Y*ou know you are from Christchurch when*" by Bruce Raines released in 2011 helped many participants to laugh at their position. The book has one-liners that describe situations that are now considered to be normal within the Christchurch context. Also there were informal means such as statuses on Facebook guessing the magnitude of the earthquakes as participant 25 (above) described. Videos such as "Things Cantabrians never say" entwines normal stereotypes of Cantabrians with a new identity focused on road works, work for builders and the loss of heritage buildings (Lawrence, 22 August 2013). While the media did show positive coverage, jokes were a way for Cantabrians to tell their own stories and come to terms with the new normal. Alongside this, jokes localised the earthquakes to provide an identity to those who 'understood'. The titles themselves of "*You know you are from Christchurch when"* and "*Things Cantabrians never say*" all

give a localised meaning and create a separation between those who do not live within Christchurch and those who do. As participant 3 said:

> I remember sitting a number of days later and we had power back and that Facebook page for Rocky, you know the rock that came through the house, and I just sat there and [the book] *'You know you are from Christchurch when'* and I sat there and laughed so much till I basically cried because I just needed an out. I suppose it was just letting go of some of that tension, laughing instead of bloody crying and it was just so nice to know that everyone was in the same boat and you weren't sitting isolated on your own dealing with your own issues that actually everyone else was the same.

In the case of Christchurch jokes it can be seen as both a solidarity between survivors and a creation of a localised and normalisation of the earthquakes.

Three years after the first earthquakes, jokes were still being used. Jokes still show solidarity through those who "get it" but they became referenced by a much smaller group and often showcased cynicism of insurance companies, EQC and the government. Facebook pages, such as the TC3 group discussed above, were used as a vehicle to share jokes. Participant 2 said that she enjoyed the group for "… just having a laugh" as she said:

> I posted on there last week because I have a crack on my wall right beside my bed, and there was this massive spider coming out of the crack and I fricken hate spiders and, so I posted on there and said "I don't care about the crack but I really care about the spider" and it was just really funny because the messages that came back were like "I'm sure EQC think that that is a very sound way to fill a crack up with spiders" and stuff and, it was really funny and it was really helpful because I was really stressed about the spider.

Also posted to this group were a number of photos and images that show cynicism of the handling of the earthquake through joke format. Another Facebook page, 'Canterbury Red Zones', has a number

of similar pictures. As shown in Figure 14 these images were used to express anger and dissent towards the government in a joking format. Figure 14 shows Prime Minister John Key during a speech in which he said that residents of Christchurch would not lose equity on their property (also explained in Chapter 1). Many felt that this was a lie as they had experienced the 2007 rateable values to be far lower than the value of their homes directly before the earthquakes. John Key viewed as Pinocchio shows the cynicism residents felt towards the zoning process.

Figure 14: A joke/protest created on a Facebook page (source: "Facebook Page: Canterbury Red Zones", 12 September 2012).

Posters were commonplace around Christchurch and were often used as a sign of protest. Most signs were in the east of Christchurch. This shows the localisation of the earthquakes and the solidarity felt within this area. As Figure 15 shows, "Easterners" (referred to in this thesis as 'Easties') were part of a group who understood what was occurring. This figure is referring to the now normality of undulating roads in eastern Christchurch. Protesting with jokes was used as a way to express social solidarity.

Figure 15: Sign on Avonside Drive, in Christchurch's east appealing to 'easterners' (Source: photo taken by researcher).

Jokes as protests were also seen in a protest song that was created by a number of Christchurch residents. Entitled "Bugger You" the song discusses the anger felt by many residents who thought that by having house insurance they would be able to rebuild if needed. The Christchurch Wizard, a local iconic figure, discussed the nature of the song, on the current affair show *Seven Sharp,* as being a choice between singing a "cheeky song and making people know what is going on or getting rough" (*Seven Sharp*, 4 September 2013). The Wizard said that "there is a temptation to get violent" but, instead, the residents chose a protest song to describe what they were going through (Seven Sharp, 4 September 2013). Protest songs and jokes are a way for people in likeminded situations to share a connection as well as relieving tension.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the community and the neighbourhood as a home. For many of the participants interviewed, the east side of Christchurch was a part of their identity as "Easties". Many participants who lived in eastern suburbs had a positive place attachment with the area. This was intensified after the earthquakes as comparison was made between the east and west that led to a discourse of the west as the 'other' and created an identity around being from a certain area. Many

participants felt that neighbourhoods and communities were destroyed in the years after the earthquakes. Some put this down to a return to normality, with people not living within extreme circumstances and leading 'normal' lives, while, others said the stress of insurance and EQC processes led to people becoming reclusive. Red zone participants lost their neighbourhood and for many Bexley respondents this was particularly difficult. Those in the TC3 zone, on the other hand, were most affected by the changing social characteristics of residents within their neighbourhood. Participants felt a (re)creation of communities on social media sites. These sites were used to gain information and share stories and were beneficial for many participants. Alongside this, jokes were used to both normalise and localise the earthquakes. In the direct aftermath, jokes were used to create solidarity around all of Christchurch as well as showing that earthquakes were a part of a new normal. In the years that passed, jokes were used to localise the disaster to those who were protesting insurance and EQC processes and were centred on those who 'got it'. This chapter has mainly focused on the east side of Christchurch and to a small degree the satellite town of Kaiapoi. The following chapter will understand how participants' sense of home was impacted at a city scale.

Chapter 6: Home as city

This chapter will expand the scale of home to a city. This chapter understands the city in the first two sections as the wider area including the suburbs while in the third section the focus is on the central city. The first section understands the traditional disaster response models versus participants' experiences and the idea of a 'pause'. The second section, 'Christchurch as a blank canvas', will explore the idea that Christchurch is a 'blank canvas', a metaphor used by journalists after the earthquakes, and contrasts this to the many memories people still attached to the city. The final section examines the dualistic approach many participants had to the rebuild with many believing that the suburbs should be rebuilt first while wanting to participate in central city decisions.

6.1 The Event

This section focuses on the physical shaking of the earthquakes and the impact of it on participants' senses of home. By first exploring the term 'natural disaster' it is possible to understand the link between a hazard and society. The earthquakes and their impact on participants' sense of home are examined within this section.

The term 'natural disaster' has been proven to be problematic by a number of researchers as it lays the blame on the physical nature of the hazard that occurred (Pawson, 2011; Smith & Petley, 1991). The hazard is the naturally occurring risk that could potentially affect society. It is only when it does affect society that a hazard becomes a disaster. This means that the natural event and society are linked at all scales to create a disaster (Smith & Petley, 1991). It is problematic to understand a disaster as natural because it emphasises a need for engineering structures to negate the hazard as opposed to better planning and creation of community resilience. Chapter 1 explained the susceptibility of communities due to the geological and social history of Christchurch.

There is no defined threshold of when an event becomes a disaster; through on-going coverage, media reports of an event can create a discourse of disaster. This happens particularly with rapid on-set events such as earthquakes being over-emphasised due to their sensationalist nature when compared to a slow disaster such as a drought (Smith & Petley, 1991). In the Christchurch context, the loss of life, while devastating, was minimal in comparison to world events. As an example, the 2011 Japanese tsunami, caused by a magnitude 9.0 earthquake, killed 15,883 people and 2612 people reported missing (National Police Agency of Japan, 10 January 2014). The Canterbury earthquakes were viewed as disasters due to the culmination of the loss in infrastructure occurring across the sequence of earthquakes as well as the death toll. In terms of insurance liabilities the Christchurch earthquake is the third most expensive event in recorded history (*Stuff.co.nz*, 30 March 2012).

The most reported Canterbury earthquake was that on 22 February 2011 due to its destruction and loss of life and was a 'rapid onset' disaster. However, for participants in the study the earthquakes were an on-going event and one impact of this was shown in Chapter 5 by the normalisation of earthquakes through jokes. Participants in this research were asked to describe their 'earthquake timeline' meaning when the disaster began for them and if it was over. For respondents from Kaiapoi and Brooklands, the magnitude 7.1 earthquake on 4 September 2010 began their timeline, as discussed in Chapter 1. On the other hand, those who lived in Christchurch often described the September earthquake as an "experience" and "a bit of fun and games". Participant 1 said "we also joked and said 'well if that is all a 7.1 can do to us, how lucky are we, right? If that is all it can do to us?'" Many participants from Kaiapoi and Brooklands felt that they were forgotten in the aftermath of September because Christchurch city had fared well explained further in Chapter 1. As participant 25 said:

> there was a sense that the September quake was forgotten. People said "it was good we had the September quake because that prepared us for the real one in February." Whereas a vast

majority of people in Brooklands they lost their properties, their houses were written off in the September quake. So that created a wee bit of a separation.

Those in eastern suburbs started their earthquake timeline on 22 February 2011 when a magnitude 6.3 earthquake struck 5km from the city centre (Geonet, 2011b). From this many of the participants, from both the east and Kaiapoi, described two more earthquakes: 13 June 2011, magnitude 6.3 preceded by a magnitude 5.9 (Geonet, 2011a), and 23 December 2011, magnitude 6 (Geonet, 2014). The June and December earthquakes were considered just as damaging as the previous ones and were often mentally draining for participants.

The December 2011 earthquake appeared to have a large negative effect. There had been six months between major earthquakes and respondents thought that Christchurch could begin to rebuild. Participant 1 said: "December just knocked the guts out of us because it had happened again. We thought we were past it." Participant 11 mirrored this by saying:

December was horrible because it ruined all of our Christmas plans and that was what we were starting to think "yay, we are going to have a bit of a normal event; Christmas" and my Dad was coming up from Dunedin and he won't be able to travel up here again. That was the last chance to have him here. And it was all ruined.

The on-going earthquake sequence affected participants negatively. While participants created a new normal through jokes, as discussed in Chapter 5, this was seen as temporary and extraordinary circumstances. On-going earthquakes led to the belief that they could not rebuild or start to recover. Disasters can be defined by their impact on survivors' routines and social organisation (Always & Smith, 1998). In the Christchurch context, with each large earthquake came a disruption to routines that impacted on participants in many negative ways.

The shaking of the earthquakes and the destruction that it caused was remembered vividly. A number of respondents were in the CBD when the earthquake struck and their memory of the city was impacted by this. As participant 19 said:

> I would say the biggest thing would be seeing town when it was all falling down. I mean that, I look at it now it is just ruins. I can't understand how people [are] touring around it because what is it? It is just flat ground, it is nothing. That day [22 February, 2011] will stay in my mind forever. Looking at the ANZ bank and I can see it all open and that terror of getting home.

Participant 26, a volunteer fireman, reflected this terror by saying:

> the next one [22 February 2011 earthquake] I can still hear it in my mind in terms of…from a fire brigade [perspective] going into Christchurch CBD walking the streets of Colombo Street [one of the main streets of the central city], checking buildings for…anybody that was alive and finding the amount of dead people that we did underneath rubble and that sort of stuff. And we [him and his family] have only just returned to the CBD two weeks ago. It is the first time ever we have been back in town so we went and visited the Re:Start mall[3]. So that was very eerie because that was the area that I was searching. All I could hear [when he returned to the CBD] was the sound of the sirens and alarms going off and it was just that wail, that on-going wailing.

The earthquakes affected how participants viewed the central city and many were still impacted by this. Dugan (2007) found that after Hurricane Katrina, she could only remember the destruction of New Orleans and the loss of significant places. While she knew that in time she would remember her city as it was, directly after the hurricane she was unable to do this.

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[3] A mall created out of shipping containers in Cashel Street, central city of Christchurch.

Participants often went on holiday to escape the earthquakes. As participant 14 said "it was therapeutic…we went down [on a trip] for 5 days… you slept better, not that you were consciously concerned but that subliminal level of disquiet has built up I think over the period". The need to escape the city shows the impact of the earthquakes on people mentally. Similarly, participant 24 found that he was both living in a damaged house and working for a construction company doing earthquake repairs. He felt that he was not able to escape the earthquakes. To overcome this he said "I spent a lot of last year going away every weekend because I only wanted to be here so I could go to work but then I didn't want to hang around here". For participant 1, however, the return home from a holiday was impacted by the large June 2011 earthquake. Rather than feeling relaxed she returned to liquefaction and broken ornaments around her house. Cleaning up both the silt from their home and then her parents' home for the second time was described as "demoralising".

Media was the only source of information for participant 25, who was overseas between April 2010 and April 2011, therefore missing the first two large earthquakes. His understanding of the earthquakes was experienced through images on television and the response of overseas media. He described the experience as "really hard; really, really hard". The respondent described how the media would show the worst parts of the damage and that he had extrapolated this to mean that the entire city had been destroyed. Participant 25 expected to come home to a destroyed city and a lost home. Much like Read (1996) who described an evacuated resident of Darwin after the 1974 Cyclone Tracy crying for her lost city as she was unsure of what remained, participant 25 expected that he had lost everything. However, he was pleased with the state of his home. As he said "you felt very, very away from it but also when we did come back it wasn't as bad as we thought which was a bit interesting." Media has a large role to play with many outside of the disaster zone turning to media to gain understanding of the situation (Button, 1999). The perceptions expressed by the media often become the 'truths' of those who are watching it.

6.2 Disaster response

To further understand the impact of the earthquakes, the response of the government to the disaster will be reviewed within this section. The traditional disaster response model will be examined. This section then will explore a phase known as the 'pause' in which participants expressed different experiences to that described by the traditional model. The pause phase has also been described as a period of readjustment. A model of what this looked like in Christchurch will be examined.

The Ministry of Civil Defence and Emergency Management within New Zealand created a model of pre- and post-disaster phases known as the "4Rs". The four phase cycle (shown in Figure 16) was created as a guide to making the *National Civil Defence Emergency Management Plan* and *The Guide of the National Civil Defence Emergency Management Plan* more accessible to all New Zealanders, and to give the reports a visual basis (National Civil Defence Emergency Management Planning, no date). The plans were created as a requirement of the Civil Defence Emergency Management Act 2002.

The 4Rs model, shown in Figure 16, explores the different phases that it is envisaged a community goes through before and after a disaster. This traditional disaster plan can be found around the world (McColl & Burkle, 2012). Such models are, however, problematic as they show a seamless transition from response to recovery (Levine, Esnard, & Sapat, 2007). Using this model can mean that governments focus more on short-term localised displacement without understanding possible long term effects (Levine, 2004).
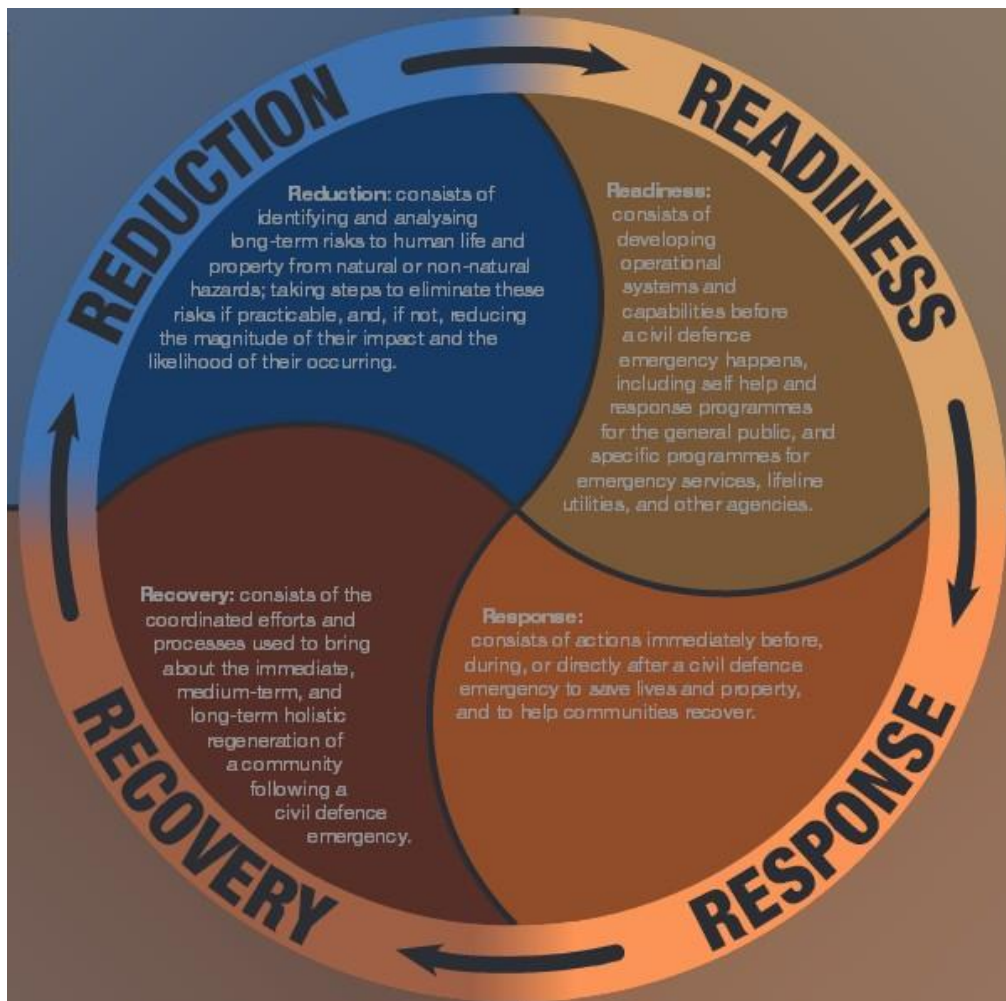
Figure 16: The 4Rs of disaster management (source: Ministry of Civil Defence and Emergency Management, 2006).

As expressed above, the seamless transition shown in the 4R model is simplistic. McColl and Burkle (2012, p. 39) believe that in between response and recovery there lies "a pause" and this can be identified after the Canterbury earthquakes as a "period of general awareness and realization". The pause represented a period in which response efforts were slowing down, accelerating, and slowing down again. The pause phase within Christchurch was heightened by the unrelenting sequence of earthquakes as well as the bureaucratic process of zoning and rezoning of land damage (McColl & Burkle, 2012). An example was described in Chapter 1 with the zoning of residential land taking over a year leaving many residents uncertain of the future of their homes.

In contrast to Figure 16, Figure 17 shows the pause period in between response and recovery. As shown in this figure, in order for the recovery phase to start there needs to be realisation and

acceptance of a number of issues. A 'new normal' needs to be accepted as there will be many changes in disaster survivors' lives such as local shops moving away and significant buildings being demolished. The coping period involves a change in circumstances and acceptance of these conditions. Patience and understanding are required to navigate this period with heightened stress because of road works and often extended families living in one household. Within the coping period, maintenance is needed as roads and sewerage systems need to be fixed. Often communities will have new priorities with a focus on families and friends. The community may also have a sense of survival and be looking to the future to understand what needs to be done to move forward. Lastly the sufficiency of care means that health care systems will often be stretched for a prolonged period.
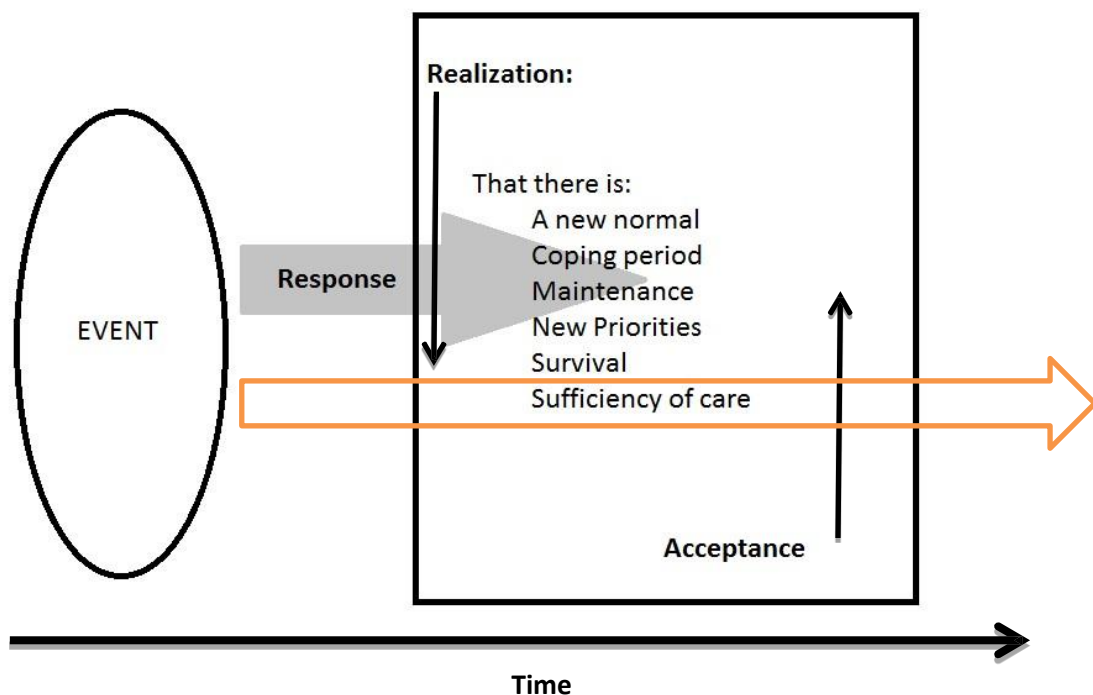

Figure 17: the pause process that occurs between response and recovery (redesigned from: McColl & Burkle, 2012, p. 40).

In contrast to Figure 16, Wilson (2012) created a generalised representation called the stepped transition model to display the impact a disaster may have on a community's resilience. Within this framework, the pause phase was represented as the period of readjustment. A community can become more resilient from a transitional rupture (such as an earthquake) or become more vulnerable. Figure 18 shows a modified stepped transition model for the Christchurch earthquakes, based on the interviews conducted for this research. This figure shows the four major earthquakes that affected the city of Christchurch discussed in the previous section. With each earthquake the city went into a period of readjustment. This was a period for residents to renegotiate the city and start to create a new normal which means accepting the issues shown in Figure 17. This was made more difficult in Christchurch with each large earthquake leading to a new period of readjustment; this led participants to feel that they could not more forward. Point 'b' represents the 'new normal' that occurs after a disaster. Point 'b' is considered to be 'new' because it is not possible for a community to return to point 'a', due to social learning that occurs after a disaster. While participants had a different timeline depending on their location, Figure 18 shows a simplified version of participants' changing resilience.
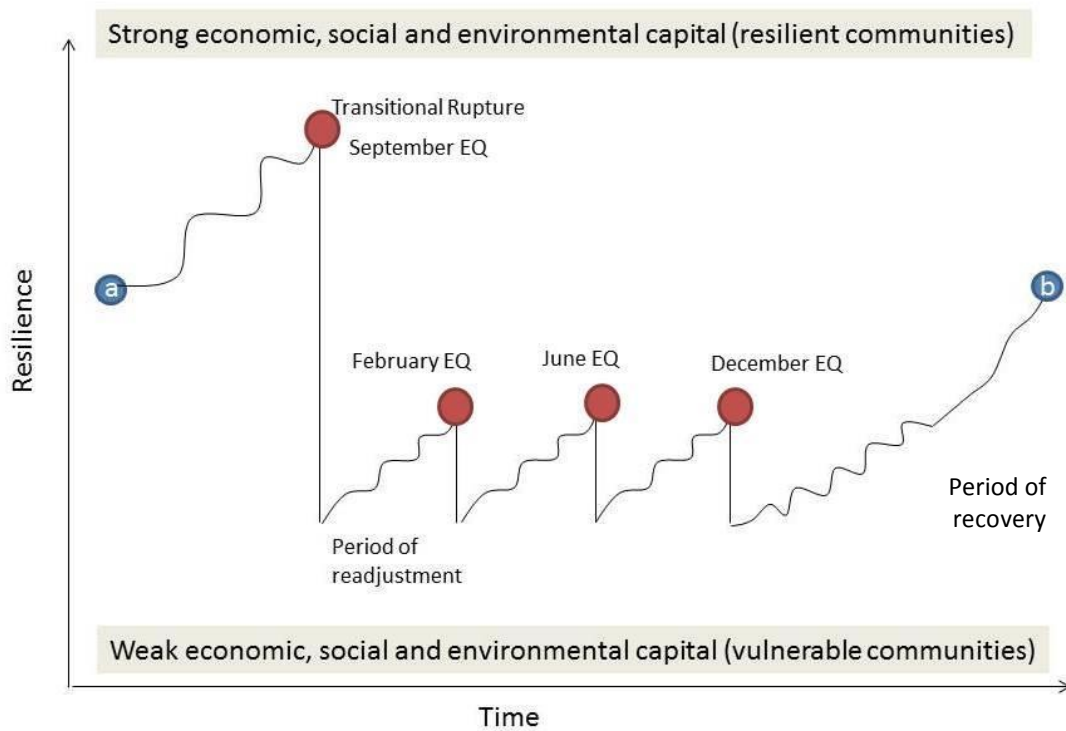
Figure 18: Period of readjustment leading to the period of recovery for Christchurch (modified from Wilson, 2012) (EQ stands for earthquake).

The pause period was prominent within Christchurch due to both the on-going sequence of earthquakes and the zoning and rebuilding process. As the statistics in section 5.1 revealed, only a very small proportion of extremely damaged homes had been repaired or rebuilt in the three years following the earthquakes (*One News*, 4 September 2013). Canterbury Employers' Chamber of Commerce CEO Peter Townsend called these homes "the lumpy bit" and said that Christchurch city was still in "deconstruction mode" (*One News,* 4 September 2013). According to Townsend, the process of rebuilding the housing stock in Canterbury will take 5 to 7 years (*One News*, 4 September 2013). Participants were both waiting for their homes to be repaired or rebuilt and for a new normal to take shape around their city.

The participants in this study discussed this pause, often alluding to it as a period of limbo. For most participants, the pause period represents the waiting time for their homes and neighbourhoods to be rebuilt or the time it took to move to a new area. As participant 15 described, while she could see that the future recovery of Christchurch would be exciting, she was finding it a difficult period at the moment. As she said: "it is a whole lot of things about the changing of the community. I think in years to come it will probably be quite good but right now it is quite tough". Participant 14 said: "…like you have had the surgery and now we are in the post-surgery and it is slow and like in a lot of cases it might be one step forward and two steps back". Participant 11 reflected this when she said "I feel like I have gone out of that fear mode and now into just kind of a numb blankness waiting until life can start again". The period known as the pause was an extremely difficult time. While the physical disruption from the earthquakes had mostly stopped, at the time of the interviews, many participants, especially those in the TC3 zone, were still in a limbo period due to the loss of control, explained in Chapter 4. There was a long waiting period as insurance companies and EQC made decisions on their homes as well as the change in community and neighbourhood understood in Chapter 5. Dugan (2007) mirrored these feelings as she described the return to New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina. She felt that she could only focus on the loss and not the potential for the future of the city.

6.3 Christchurch as a blank canvas

Christchurch was called a "blank canvas" in the aftermath of the earthquakes by journalists and colloquially by the public. Within this section, this analogy is questioned through the history and memory of participants. Following this, the role of remembrance in a post disaster context will be explored. Within the framework of Christchurch, comments made by 'experts' as well as social wellbeing campaigns will be examined in their ability to help Cantabrians.

In the direct aftermath of the earthquakes a number of media outlets described Christchurch as a "blank canvas" (*The New Zealand Herald*, 26 February 2011), others as a "blank piece of paper" (*One News*, 2 April 2011). These descriptions are apt for describing the destruction of the city and the loss of the buildings, however, they do not show the memories and connections that many participants continued to have despite the destruction. Christchurch is not a blank canvas; it is a city with a long history. Ngāi Tahu[4] inhabited the Canterbury region 600-700 years ago using the swampy region as a food source (Wilson, 2012). Europeans settled in the area in the mid-1800s and built the city to mirror an English city. But more than the history of Christchurch city are the memories of the people; those who call the city home and have an attachment to its suburbs, CBD and/or one specific place. This research has shown that participants have an attachment to all areas of the city. Buildings may have been destroyed but the memories and emotion attached to the land is still there. The disaster did not destroy Christchurch, rather it added another layer to the fabric that created and recreates the city. In a less romanticised understanding of the history of a city, Crusto (2009), in writing letters to New Orleans, began to question the effect of race, poverty and class in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina. His understanding of his city began to change as he first remembers the city with affection calling himself a "citizen of the city" but then he notices the media coverage. With African Americans stereotyped as looters and murderers, the racist undertones present before the disaster were enhanced and more visible in its aftermath. It is now not possible for him to examine New Orleans as a blank canvas because it is rife with history.

There are many new and exciting developments within the city such as the Re:Start Mall – a container shopping mall that opened up the central city to retail and tourists – and Gap Filler: a grass roots group that creates projects and activities in areas where buildings used to be. Christchurch was voted, in the *New York Times*, as the second best city to visit in 2014 due to community-led projects and rebuilding developments (*New York Times*, 11 January 2014). While many of these projects are

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[4] Ngāi Tahu ancestors moved south from the North Island and fought with two tribes already in the south, Ngāti Māmoe and Waitaha. Today's tribe members are linked to these earlier peoples (Wilson, 2012)

led by the community, the history of Christchurch needs to be remembered alongside the celebration of its "rebirth" (*New York Times*, 11 January 2014). Read (1996) found that Darwin, after Cyclone Tracy hit in 1974, was also considered to be a blank space with places of local interest and special meaning being forgotten by outside planners. Planners wanted Darwin to be reimagined to be similar to large cities in southern Australia. As one survivor of Cyclone Tracy said "Darwin, despite its appearance, was not a blank sheet of paper on which the planners could begin afresh". It is important to allow communities and individuals to remember the past city. Remembrance is important to communities because it helps to rebuild a sense of place (Richardson, 2010).

For Christchurch, one area of dispute was the rebuilding of the Anglican Cathedral in the central city. The church was a symbol of Christchurch (Miles, 2012), appearing on the Christchurch City Council logo. It was extensively damaged in the 22 February 2011 earthquake. The decision to demolish the church was taken to the High Court and was deemed lawful despite opposition from the public and engineering experts (*One News,* 2 December 2013). The attachment that people felt to the church shows the deep history and connection people have to a place. Participant 29 felt a connection to the church, and believed that the earthquakes added a history to this attachment when she said: "I don't think we should get rid of it [the Christchurch Cathedral] completely, like just like the Greeks and the Colosseum and all that. That is a part of our old history…" For her, the Cathedral and the earthquakes are now entangled and removing the damaged church would be removing a piece of history.

A number of respondents' visions of the rebuilt CBD were impacted by nostalgia for the past city. Participant 24 said "I can't imagine that it will feel the same but I will imagine that it will be a whole new place and quite foreign to what I knew growing up". Participant 25 remembered being a "rat bag" in the city when he was at university. He worried his kids would grow up without a central city and not experience the area as he had. Participant 29 mirrored the loss that was felt when she said "I think it [Christchurch CBD] will always be broken, it will be different." Many of the participants

missed the heritage buildings and were saddened to see them being destroyed. Participant 11 was concerned that she would not recognise where she was in the new central city. She said:

> …in town, it will be foreign; it will be modern. It will take a long time to start recognising where you are and what it is and what is going to be there. Is it shops and office blocks or is it going to be, you know, the things that you liked previously, like we liked the walks along the river …and they are still there but are they going? Are other parts going to be new [and will there be] nice places to walk…?

The loss of heritage buildings and spaces with personal memories was difficult for many of the participants. Participant 11 wished that:

> a big memorial wall or fountain [was built]… so you could actually find a part of the wall that actually belonged to the church because people got married in churches and babies christened and things like that and now it is all just gone in such a quick time frame.

Read (1996) found that residents of Yallourn, Australia, a town set for closure and removal in the 1980s due to coal excavation, had similar feelings. They were saddened that they would not be able to take their children to familiar places. The continuation of memories is important to those who have lost important places. While grieving for lost places is often forgotten by the economic rebuild of a city, Read (1996) believes that it is comparable to losing a loved one.

The act of remembrance is extremely important to allow disaster survivors to move forward. Peter Townsend (discussed in the previous section), in his interview on the third anniversary of the September earthquake on a morning news show, focused on the economic rebuild. Townsend said, when talking about how the rebuild of the central city will take 20 years that "[it] doesn't mean we all sit to the side and weep into our handkerchiefs as the city is rebuilt. What it means is we are all part of New Zealand's biggest economic development program with all the phenomenal challenges of managing growth ahead of us" (*One News*, 4 September 2013). These comments are unhelpful to

those who are still grieving for lost places. Instead of a push to move forward, residents should be allowed to remember and feel emotions that are tied to a place. Read (1996) found that people need time to mourn lost places all around a city and without this ability they may resist new places. By only focusing on the economy, residents feel they are complaining or whinging when they discuss their lost homes.

One social marketing campaign, led by the Mental Health Foundation and the Canterbury District Health Board, which has allowed for a balanced understanding of the emotions that occur after a disaster, is the 'All Right' campaign. As Figure 19 shows, this campaign was generated to help people cope with the emotions they may feel after a disaster. Residents are told it is "all right" to feel excitement as well as scared and tired.

Figure 19: The All Right posters were placed around Christchurch (source: "Facebook page: All Right?", 14 May 2013).

As this chapter has shown, people have deep connections to places and can feel both excitement and sadness for the newly built city. If a city is developed as a blank canvas, it will destroy the ability for communities to remember lost places. As Richardson (2010) said, if the remembrance process is facilitated correctly the collective meaning of the disaster can be expressed. This can lead to "engaging people in a conversation about the past, what is important to them now and in the future" (Richardson, 2010, p. 49). Without the act of remembrance, and with a focus on the city as a blank canvas, communities can have difficulties associating to their new city.

6.4 Central city versus suburbs

This section focuses on participants' interaction with the central city of Christchurch in relation to the suburbs. It will describe how some respondents thought that the suburbs should be the main focus of the rebuild. This was often because the CBD was not seen as the 'heart' of Christchurch. The focus of the rebuild was tied to participants' nostalgia for the city's past and the city today. This section links to the previous through a complex interaction of memories participants had of the CBD and the wish for their household homes to be rebuilt first. This will show the interaction of home at different scales.

The rebuild of the central city was a dominant theme for CERA and the Christchurch City Council after the earthquakes. This is shown, as discussed in Chapter 1, in CERA's ability to remove power from local authorities if they were deemed to be working inefficiently in an attempt to quicken the rebuild process. Alongside this, in May 2011, the Christchurch City Council started the Share an Idea campaign. This offered residents of Canterbury the chance to envision the new CBD through the community public engagement campaign (Christchurch City Council, 2011). More than 106,000 ideas were suggested from the public and from these comments the Christchurch City Council created a

draft plan that was sent to CERA to be reworked and finally approved by the Minister for Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Gerry Brownlee (Christchurch City Council, 24 November 2011). This created the Central City Recovery Plan. The large number of ideas shows the interest and involvement people had with the central city. The interviews conducted within this study took place after the draft plan had been issued to CERA, but before the Central City Recovery Plan had been released.

Alongside the plans for the central city, residents were also able to offer ideas for master plans of nine suburban areas. The focus of the suburban master plans was on the commercial centres and offered:

> property and business owners and residents a 'big picture' or framework that will help them understand how their ideas fit into the rebuild of the area and to identify ways in which to attract people back to a centre.

Many of the suburbs that participants lived in were not included in these master plans. As participant 11 said:

> all these other little areas were getting their master plans like Lyttelton master plan and I was kind of like to the council staff, "is Parklands going to get a master plan?" and they were like "no, because you didn't lose any buildings" and I was like but that is so upsetting because it is a good time to reevaluate everything.

The ability to participate in the design and rebuilding of a house was shown in Chapter 4 to be central to allow for a sense of home and attachment to a space to be formed. Participants also felt that it was important at a city and community scale. Greenspan (2013) showed that many stakeholders can wish to be involved in the rebuilding of an area. After the World Trade Centre in New York was destroyed there were a large number of stakeholders interested in a memorial. While the buildings had been owned by one company, those who were working there, those with relatives

or friends who died in the attack as well as many New Yorkers and visitors to the site believed that they had a claim to the area.

Participants had strong views about the rebuild of the central city, especially when they contrasted it to the rebuild of the suburbs. While homes in the suburbs were being repaired and rebuilt alongside the central city, the slow procedures of rebuilding homes (as discussed in Chapter 5) led participants to believe that the main focus was on the central city. There was also contention because there were extensive plans for the central city along with structured timelines for its rebuild. TC3 residents, however, felt they had no timeline for their own personal rebuild, as explained in Chapter 5.

Despite the ability to be involved through the Share an Idea campaign, many participants had mixed emotions about the importance of the rebuild of the central city. Some participants believed that the central city should be the focus of the rebuild. As participant 14 said "suburbs are suburbs; it is a CBD and the support structures around it that really make more of a mark". This view, however, was not reflected by many respondents. As participant 26 said:

> there is a huge amount of focus on the CBD as opposed to the residential rebuild. A city is not because of anything [without a population of] 100,000 people. That is what a city is. It is 100,000 people. It is not because it has got a stadium. It is not because it has got a conference centre. It is because it has got 100,000 people.

And participant 2: "without the people the CBD will be nothing. They are going to lose people [due to not focusing on suburbs]". A number of respondents said that issues, namely around the lack of rebuilding of homes discussed in Chapter 5, within the suburbs should be fixed before focusing on the central city. Alongside this, the loss of neighbourhoods and change in demographics, discussed in Chapter 5, were issues that residents wanted fixed before the central city was rebuilt. This was because without suburbs and a sense of neighbourhood, many participants believed the central city

would fail economically. The economic rebuild was often seen as overshadowing the difficult times that many people were living in. As participant 12 said

> No I feel like it's [Christchurch CBD] all the big wigs are focused on. It is all Gerry Brownlee and John Key are focused on. Getting the city back up and running and all these fandangle new things that they want going on when all we really need is to not know people who are living in their garage; to not have my community suffering.

Many participants felt the main focus of the rebuild was the central city and they did not agree with it. The lack of control, explained in Chapter 1, over the household was exacerbated by participants feeling they were powerless over the rebuild of the city or their suburbs. While many participants praised the Share an Idea campaign, the subsequent handling by CERA was seen as a top down process that did not involve the public. The Share an Idea campaign had offered ideas to the council and CERA of what members of the public wanted Christchurch to look like. Some of these ideas were then changed and developed by CERA into large scale anchor projects and precincts. This was done without further consultation from the public. While the smaller scale ideas from the campaign may become the focus in the future, participants believed that the campaign had been purely "lip service".

Many did not believe that a rebuilt CBD would lead to Christchurch having its 'heart back'. These respondents pointed to suburban neighbourhoods as being the "real" heart of Christchurch and many believed that they would be lost due to the rebuilding processes. As Chapter 5 showed, the long rebuilding process within the suburbs changed neighbourhoods and affected many participants. From this viewpoint, participants observed the rebuild of the central city with anger. As participant 15 said:

> town is symbolic but that is all it is and we are the actual heart and they have neglected it. I think it is dead and I don't think they will ever get it back… there will be a lot of scars

between the people of Christchurch, the council and the government for 10, 20 [years] a whole generation. Until people die and forget it.

Similarly, participant 24 said "the media has pretty much ignored the residential red zone and they have concentrated on what is going on in the central city where people don't really live, not as many people lived there". Many felt betrayed by CERA and the Christchurch City Council for focusing on the CBD. Many participants considered other areas to be the true heart of Christchurch including New Brighton, Lyttelton and Hagley Park. For Crusto (2009), the impact of top down practices within New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina led him to feel that the city was socially changed forever. While New Orleans was beginning to return to normal economically, the processes of destroying neighbourhoods through policies had impacted on his understanding of the city that he could no longer consider the area home.

The nostalgic memories that participants held for a space, as well as the inability to participate in the rebuilding and design of the central city, led some participants to believe that they no longer belonged in the slowly developing central city. The Re:Start mall, a container shopping centre, contained high end shops and was opened within the old Cashel Street mall. Participant 9 said "I hate that Re:Start mall, it is all for rich people". She felt "shut out by my own city". In the past there had been shops that she could afford to purchase items in but they were now gone. The city centre was not as she remembered it. Participant 1 expressed similar feelings saying "the Re:Start is pretty cool but once again you only really go there to have lunch or something and we don't really go there to shop; it is rather exclusive". The memory of how a city used to be was impacting on these participants' experiences, however, the implications of feeling that they do not have a space within the city was detrimental. Participant 9 wanted to move away because of this feeling. Similarly, after Cyclone Tracy hit Darwin, the return of evacuees to a new and very different city led to feelings of alienation and that "it's no longer your town".

Participants had a complex interaction to the city of Christchurch. Many held fond memories and attachment to spaces around the city. This was shown in the nostalgic views from which participants remembered the city. However, participants wanted their suburbs and households to be rebuilt first. While this is a dualistic understanding of the rebuild, with either suburbs or the city being rebuilt, this shows the impact that outside agencies had on participants. The rebuild of the central city was still in the "deconstruction phase" (*One News*, 4 September 2013), however, due to the plans created by CERA it had a structured timeline of when it would be rebuilt. This, when compared to participants' uncertain timelines, shows how they felt forgotten in the aftermath of the earthquakes. This also indicates the importance of home at different scales. As this section has shown, the intertwining of the different issues at different scales impacted on participants' sense of home at a city level. Participants wanted their household to be rebuilt first and a say within their suburb. However, the memories they held to the city was also extremely important and they wished to be consulted on its rebuild.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter has sought to understand how a sense of home can be impacted on at a city scale. Some participants felt their view of the city changed due to the physical shaking of the earthquakes and the terror they felt. Traditional disaster response is modelled by the 4R system. This is a simplistic system that shows a seamless transition from response to recovery. Such models mean that the focus of disaster response can be in the short term. However, many participants found that there was a pause phase in between, where they felt lost within their city and in limbo. This was due to the slow processes of getting a home repaired or rebuilt as well as the sequence of large earthquakes. This linked with Wilson's (2012) model of a period of readjustment. Within this time, Christchurch was often described as a blank canvas. However, the attachment that participants felt to buildings and places of memory showed that this was not true. The area is filled with memories

and understandings that planners need to accept in order for a city to hold a participants' sense of home. The role remembrance has for participants been shown to be extremely important. This means allowing residents to grieve for lost places rather than just focus on an economic rebuild. Participants held nostalgia for lost places but also wanted to influence the rebuilding of a new city.

Chapter 7: Discussion and conclusion

This chapter concludes this thesis and reviews its key findings. Firstly the aims and research questions from Chapter 1 are examined followed by how the examination of each scale of home has answered the research questions. The main findings of the thesis will also be explored in relation to key literature. Lastly, future research opportunities are discussed.

7.1 Aims and research questions

The aim of this research was to understand the impact of a disaster on a person's sense of home using the 2010 and 2011 earthquakes in Christchurch New Zealand as an example. Home, in this research, is understood at three scales: home as a household, home as a community and home as a city. The use of individual homemaking techniques is also investigated. The research questions of this study were:

1. How have sense of home and the process of making a home been affected by the Canterbury earthquakes?

2. How does a sense of home and the process of creating a new home differ between red and TC3 zone residents?

3. How are the activities of government, business and community-led agencies shaping the post-disaster process of home-making?

These questions have been explored at the different scales of home used within this research. Much of the empirical material, in understanding how a person's sense of home is impacted, was gained by interviewing 29 residents from TC3 and red zones of Christchurch East and Kaiapoi.

7.2 Discussion

This section presents the main findings of this study, in relation to the literature. This section will bring the literature presented in Chapter 2 together with the main findings of this research to gain an understanding of how the three scales of home can be disrupted following a disaster.

7.2.1 Home as a household

This research, as with much of the literature, has found that it is difficult to describe home using one definition. Home as a household is created by the individual through the emotions and memories they attach to their space. Participants, in this study, were asked to define the home in their own words.

A dominant theme from the interviews focused on Douglas's (1991) understanding of home as a "space you bring under control". It was found that the control pertinent to a person's sense of home can be lost due to outside forces. Participants in this study felt a loss of control due to governmental and insurance company processes after the earthquakes. This impacted on their sense of home negatively. The loss of control was experienced differently by red zone, TC3 zone and red zone stayer participants. Red zone participants lost control over their homes through forced eviction. TC3 participants felt it through the inability to rebuild and the reliance on insurance companies and EQC to make decisions for them. Red zone stayers found that the act of remaining on their land helped them regain control over their homes.

The lack of control participants felt was visible through the impact on homemaking techniques. Red zone participants used the moving of plants from their old to new homes to create a connection between the two spaces often making the new house into a home. It also reduced their sense of destruction to their damaged red zone properties. On the other hand, TC3 zone participants stopped traditional homemaking techniques that would normally connect them with their houses. Many felt

an inability or a loss of motivation to maintain their garden due to the pending rebuild. The uncertain timeframe, for their homes to be rebuilt, meant that participants did not want to spend money or time fixing their garden as it would be destroyed in the rebuild process.

Renovations were similarly found to be extremely important. For red zone participants, renovations were used to reassert control over their space, to create memories and importantly a sense of ownership of a new house. TC3 participants felt unable to carry out renovations due to the future rebuild of their homes. They lived with cracked walls and draughts caused by the earthquakes because at some point (often an unknown timeline) in the future their home would be demolished and rebuilt.

Home and identity were found to be important to participants' sense of home and this was linked to their ability to control their space. Home and identity are linked through both the creation of home through identity and the impact a home has on identity. Place identity can be understood as the conceived ideas a person has about themselves within a space (Félonneau, 2004). These ideas come from a person's understanding of a place and how they should act; their feelings, attitudes and values towards a place; as well as the memories within a place. Home and identity was a strong theme at the household level. Participants, especially red zone residents, wanted to be able to build or buy a home that reflected their personality. The ability to participate in this decision making led to participants feeling attached to a space.

At this scale of home, all research questions were answered. Question one focused on the impact the Canterbury earthquakes had on a person's sense of home while research question three questioned the impact of outside agencies. At this level, the response to earthquakes by the government affected participants' sense of home more than the earthquakes themselves had. Governmental processes such as zoning as well as outside agencies such as insurance companies were the main feature that caused greatest impact on participants' senses of control.

Research question two was answered at this scale with an understanding of how the loss of control was different between the two zones. From the interviews, a third category was identified: that of red zone stayers. While this group was initially interviewed as part of the red zone category, their grievances and experiences were vastly different because of their decision to stay. The timelines to buy, rebuild or repair the homes of the three zones were significantly difference. Many red zone residents who had already left the area had moved on mentally and were now trying to create memories and a sense of home in their new houses. TC3 participants, on the other hand, were stuck within an unknown period of waiting for a decision to be made about their home. Many said they were unable to create positive new memories within their homes because they viewed it as a stressful space. Red zone stayers were, on the other hand, revitalising their homes even with a lack of guarantee that they would be able to stay within the area.

7.2.2 Home as a community

Home as a community or neighbourhood helped to elucidate the impact that outside agencies can have on a person's sense of home. In this research, neighbourhood is defined by spatial boundaries while a community is formed around social organisations such as sports, religious or political affiliations.

Within both a community and a neighbourhood there are dominant ideas about ways of thinking and acting (Cuba & Hummon, 1993a; Gram Hanssen & Bech Danielsen, 2004). If a person can express these ideas they will be accepted by the group leading to feelings of connection. These socially constructed ideas are influenced by power structures dominant within the community or neighbourhood (Blunt & Dowling, 2006). For many participants who lived in Christchurch's eastern suburbs, this was shown through being 'Easties'. There was a strong association to the east before the earthquakes. However, after the earthquakes the west side of Christchurch was perceived to be 'the other'; the group whom the east used as a comparison of who they were not. This was because

participants on the east perceived the damage felt on the west to be minimal and therefore residents on the west could not understand the east. As participants were forced to move away from the east, they then felt a disconnection to their new areas. This was similar to Read's (1996) findings that after Cyclone Tracy hit Darwin in 1974 residents were evacuated to southern cities. These residents felt a strong disconnection to the new communities they were in.

Along similar lines, the localisation and naturalisation of earthquakes through jokes showed the ability for jokes to be inclusive for those who understood while creating a discourse of 'the other' to those who did not. In the direct aftermath, the use of jokes created solidarity by creating a 'new normal' in which the earthquakes were a part of everyday life. In the years after, jokes were used to localise the disaster and were a way to protest against insurance companies and EQC. Those who understood the joke became a part of the community.

Participants felt a strong sense of neighbourhood in the direct aftermath of the earthquakes. This sense was suspended in the years following as their neighbourhood was changed or disappeared. Some participants believed this was due to a return to normal routines and habits of everyday living while others said that the stressful process of dealing with EQC and insurance companies to rebuild their home meant some people had become more reclusive. Many red zone participants who had left their neighbourhoods were unable to find the closeness they had once enjoyed. Many TC3 participants, on the other hand, said that their neighbourhoods were changing because more people were renting within the area. Residents in these areas were selling their homes so they did not have to wait for insurance companies to rebuild their homes and they could move on. Most homes were bought by landlords who advertised the houses as rental properties. Many participants said that renters did not care for the area and did not want to create a close neighbourhood.

Both red and TC3 zone participants used social media to fill a gap to (re)create communities as they were experiencing the loss of their neighbourhood. Facebook, in particular, was used to share stories and information as well as to support each other through difficult times. Many participants

felt that this was an extremely useful tool, although there was discontent among some participants as others used it as a place to complain rather than adding insightful comments.

Social capital was created through the use social media and the (re)creation of community online. Social capital can be understood as the networks within a community that can generate resources for people (Field, 2003). Social media created social capital through participants gaining information and an understanding of the earthquake processes along with encouraging feelings of inclusion and communities.

 Bourdieu and Putnam are largely credited with defining social capital, although in different ways (Bebbington, 2009). For Bourdieu, the class-based nature of social capital was important, with those in lower classes unable to gain the same resources due to — among other factors — a lack in education. Putnam focused on trust and did not examine the 'dark side of social capital' (Field, 2003). While these two works have been used both separately and together, in this research it is possible to understand how social media can impact on social capital through trust and equality. While age and class affect a person's usage of social media– (younger generations more commonly use social media and lower socio-economic classes having less access to the internet) the anonymity of social media means that predefined ideas of a person are largely defunct. This means that many people are able to gain networks and resources. Many people trusted the information they read on social media, however, it is possible that this may not continue as the sites were already becoming contested or less used.

Chapter 5 focused on research questions one and three and to a small degree question two. Research question one asked how participants' senses of home were changed. At the community and neighbourhood level, this question was answered through the attachment felt by participants to eastern Christchurch and the importance of this in their sense of home and identity. The eastern suburbs represented a part of many participants' identity that was made stronger after the earthquakes. Alongside this, the loss of neighbourhood felt through relocation, for red zone

participants, showed the impact that zoning decisions had on participants. TC3 participants also felt this loss strongly with many homes in their area becoming rentals properties.

Research question three focused on the impact government, businesses and community-led agencies had in the post-disaster process of homemaking. The use of social media showed the impact that community-led agencies had on participants. Facebook gave participants a sense of belonging and connection to an online community. Jokes were used in a similar way with members of the community using them to create a bond between people as well as showing the impact of government and business led agencies on participants' sense of home. The governmental zoning policies also impacted on participants' senses of home. For red zone participants, neighbourhoods were lost as residents relocated. Zoning impacted on TC3 participants through the change in their neighbourhoods to rental properties as residents sold their homes to escape the long timeframes of rebuilding.

7.2.3 Home as a city

Chapter 6 focused mainly on the collective identity and memories participants had to the city. 'City' here had two meanings, the first being the entire urban area of Christchurch including all the suburbs. The second was the central city of Christchurch.

The 4R model, used in New Zealand disaster management, was created to model the processes the whole city goes through after a disaster. The model describes a seamless transition between response and recovery. This research found this to be a simplistic representation of the actual processes and does not correspond to the participants' retelling of events. In between these phases lies a 'pause'. This period lies after the city has dealt with the initial impact of the earthquake, however, the new normal has not yet been accepted and the rebuilding (indicating recovery) has not, or only minimally, started. Many red zone residents, at the time of the interviews, felt that on

an individual level they had moved forward from this stage and were creating a new normal within their new homes. However, many TC3 participants described this as a limbo period. These participants were waiting for their new homes to be rebuilt and felt they could not move forward until this had occurred.

Collective identity, discussed in Chapter 2, is the part of an individual that is created through belonging to a social group and the connections created between people through this identity (Pol, 2002). This identity can be disturbed within the 'pause period'. The identity that once created the city of Christchurch now needs to be renegotiated and reimagined to follow the new normal. The community can never return to a pre-disaster normal due to the social learning that occurs after a disaster (Wilson, 2012). This means the identity that once described the city will be changed.

Within the pause period, Christchurch was often described in the media as a blank canvas referring to the destruction of buildings within the city. But for most participants, the memories of the city have not completely disappeared and an attachment to the city remains. While the collective identity may be a time of transition, residents can still feel an attachment to the space that comes from the memory of it. Read (1996) believed that residents should be allowed time to mourn the lost places of a city to allow them to move forward. This will help in the acceptance of a new normal.

Chapter 6 focused primarily on research questions one and three. Research question one — how a sense of home was impacted after the earthquakes — was answered through understanding the role of the city in the creation of a home. This was found to be a powerful but complex topic. Many participants had an attachment to the city as well as memories that continued despite the destruction of many buildings. Due to this, participants wished to be involved in the rebuilding of the city. However, they also believed that suburbs were the heart of Christchurch and should be rebuilt first. This complex interaction was impacted by the structured timelines that the rebuild of the city had, while, these participants had to continue to wait in their damaged homes. This shows that

participants' senses of home, at this scale, are predominantly impacted by outside agencies rather than the earthquakes.

The ability for participants to return to normality was significantly impacted on by the policies and plans from government and insurance companies. The ability to participate in the Central City Plan through the Share an Idea scheme was positive. By contrast the Council's focus on producing only nine master plans for suburbs was seen as a negative. Participants wanted more say about their suburbs and wanted to engage with the council.

7.3 Future research

This research was undertaken between February 2013 and February 2014 with interviews taking place between May and June 2013. A preliminary study was completed in 2012. Participants' lives, as well as the communities and city of Christchurch, continue to change. Therefore it would be useful to track the longer term impacts of the earthquakes.

There is a large potential for future research to be undertaken within the field of home and disaster. Much of this is based around longitudinal studies that would help understand the long term impacts of disaster on a sense of home. Localised research within Christchurch could focus on:

- A longitudinal study based on the work within this thesis to show if participants, especially in TC3 zones, are able to recreate their sense of home after rebuilding their homes. The final interview of this study was completed in June 2013 and therefore the 'pause' and subsequent periods that residents may experience could be examined within a longer timeframe.
- On the west side of Christchurch after the earthquakes. This study focused on the eastern side of Christchurch and Kaiapoi and found distinct understandings of home as a community based within these regions. Therefore it would be useful to understand if eastern participant perceptions were appropriate.
- On how people renegotiated the city of Christchurch once it has been rebuilt and if the long timespan has impacted on their sense of home. This study found that participants

wanted to be involved in the rebuild of the city. Future research could show if residents felt included in the design and rebuild and how this impacted on their sense of home.

This research has shown that the traditional 4R model of disaster management is flawed. The model depicts a seamless transition from response to recovery where within a short timeline, residents find the new normal. However, the 'pause' period discussed within this research does not support the existence of such a seamless transition. Wilson's (2012) model of transitional communities better reflects participants' experiences. Future research could investigate this further and improve the model for future disasters.

7.4 Concluding statement

This research has sought to explain the impact a disaster has on residents' senses of home. By understanding home at three scales, household, community and city, the impact of the disaster was visible at all levels. Following land damage from the earthquakes that struck in 2010 and 2011, all residential land within Christchurch and Kaiapoi was zoned leading to almost 7000 residents being forced to leave their homes and relocate elsewhere. Rezoning and the time taken to rebuild homes in TC3 zones all had an impact on participants' senses of home.

This thesis has shown that a persons' sense of home can be impacted by outside agencies in the aftermath of a disaster. Participants found that their sense of home was impacted, at all scales, negatively by government and business, such as insurance companies, processes. The earthquakes that participants experienced had less effect on their sense of home than outside agencies. The (re)creation of communities on social media had a positive effect on participants sense of home. These communities helped participants to feel less isolated and acted as places they could gain advice and resources. The different zones that participants were in also impacted on them significantly. The different timeframes that each zone had affected their ability to recreate or continue their sense of home.

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Appendix 1

Red zone questions

	Question	How questions relate to the literature	How questions relate to research question
1	How long have you lived in your new home? How long do you plan on living in your new home?	Douglas's (1991) idea of home and control. Do they want to regain control by moving on again?	All questions Relates to the change in sense of home. Did participants home relate to their control over a space and this has now changed because of the zoning? Also participants creation of a new home and if they are resisting?
2	How long did you live in [Kaiapoi, Bexley]?	The length of residency has been linked to a creation of home (Woolever, 1992)	Question 1 Did participants have a sense of home before the earthquakes?
3	Where did you grow up?	Childhood home as the place you create your identity. Some researchers say that home is something that you move away from after you have left your childhood home (Morley, 2000). Others, however, believe that the childhood home is a place of opposition (between children and adults) and your home in later life relates to your adult identity (Ahmed, 2003).	Question 1 The sense of home that a person has and if it is created by where they grew up or where they are now (or both/neither).
4	How would you describe the community in your old suburb? How would you describe the community in your new area? How did you old community react after the earthquakes?	A home can be a community not just a physical space Solnit (2009) found that after disasters communities were bought together while Aldrich (2012) found that social capital was very important after a disaster but what occurs when the community is then broken up due to zoning.	Questions 1 and 3 A sense of home can be about a community not just a physical space. Community-led agencies and how they help shaping the process of home-making.

5	How did you feel when you found out that your house was in the red zone? Had you planned on staying and rebuilding if your home if you hadn't been red zone?	What happens to the emotional connections to a space when it is damaged? (Fuqua, 2010)	Question 2 How did the different zones interact?
6	Do you wish your home had been TC3 zone instead of red zoned? Why/why not?	Resentment between communities (Enarson & Hearn Morrow, 1998)	Question 2 Is there resentment between the different zones
7	How, if at all, was your sense of control over your home affected by the CERA zoning process?' How did you find dealing with EQC and insurance companies?	Drawing on Douglas (1991) ideas of home and control.	Questions 1 and 3 Difference senses of home and how a home is created (through control of a space).
8	How has the rebuilding of the central city affected you? Do you think that once it is rebuilt you will feel like Christchurch has been rebuilt?	The sense of home may be for a city not just a suburb within a city (Blunt & Dowling, 2006)	Question 1 Difference senses of home.
9	What reasons led you to move to the new suburb?	Ideas between the importance of work and home and their segregation (Morley 2000) as well as the idea that a home is a safe place (Ahmed, 2003) and therefore the disaster survivors may want to leave the damaged area and live in a 'safer' area (Ahmed, 2003)	Questions 1 and 3 How residents are creating a new home and if there is any resistance to this creation.
10	In what ways did your feelings around home as a private place and a refuge change in the aftermath of the earthquake? How do you think red zone members have been represented on the media? Local versus national media	Home is considered to be a place of privacy and refuge (Morley, 2000). Cupples & Glynn (2012) found media can exaggerate the disaster and the situation faced by residents.	Questions 1 and 3 How has the process of creating a new home been affected by its creation in the public arena? Or how a home is created within a public arena, the objects that are required for a house to be home and how these are depicted on the media.
11	Have you used social	There is starting to be more	Questions 1 and 3

	networking sites since the earthquakes?		Has social networking led to the creation of a new communication and perhaps a changed sense of home? How has it helped in the process of creating a new sense of home (the ability to keep in contact with old neighbours etc.)?
12	Did your community or you take part in any of the protests that occurred? Going on Campbell Live, Letters, rallies	Protests are common after a disaster (Oliver- Smith & Hoffman, 1999).	Questions 1 and 3 The resistance to creating a new home may be seen through the rallies that were attended. How participants discuss these may show if they are now content with where they live or if they want to keep fighting.
13	What does home mean to you?		Question 1 Allowing participants to reflect on what has been said and define their own sense of home

TC3 zone questions

	Question	How questions relate to the literature	How questions relate to research question
1a	How long have you lived in your home? Do you plan on staying in this home or do you want to move? Did you move to this suburb for any particular reason	The length of residency has been linked to a creation of home (Woolever, 1992)	Question 1 Did participants have a sense of home before the earthquakes?
2a	Where did you grow up?	Childhood home as the place you create your identity. Some researchers say that home is something that you move away from after you have left your childhood home (Morley, 2000). Others, however, believe that the childhood	Question 1 The sense of home that a person has and if it is created by where they grew up or where they are now (or both/neither).

		home is a place of opposition (between children and adults) and your home in later life relates to your adult identity (Ahmed, 2003).	
3a	How would you describe the community before the earthquake? How did the community react after the earthquakes?	A home can be a community not just a physical space Solnit (2009) found that after disasters communities were bought together while Aldrich (2012) found that social capital was very important after a disaster but what occurs when the community is then broken up due to zoning.	Questions 1 and 3 A sense of home can be about a community not just a physical space. Community-led agencies and how they help shaping the process of home-making.
4a	How did you feel when you found out that your house was in the TC3 zone?	What happens to the emotional connections to a space when it is damaged? (Fuqua, 2010)	Question 2 How did the different zones interact?
5a	Do you wish your home had been red zone instead of TC3 zoned? Why/why not?	Resentment between communities (Enarson & Hearn Morrow, 1998)	Question 2 Is there resentment between the different zones
6a	How, if at all, was your sense of control over your home affected by the CERA zoning process?' How did you find dealing with CERA and insurance companies?	Drawing on Douglas (1991) ideas of home and control.	Questions 1 and 3 Difference senses of home and how a home is created (through control of a space).
7a	How has the rebuilding of the central city affected you? Do you think that once it is rebuilt you will feel like Christchurch has been rebuilt?	The sense of home may be for a city not just a suburb within a city (Blunt & Dowling, 2006)	Question 1 Difference senses of home.
8a	Did your feelings around the private nature of your home change in the aftermath of the disaster? How do you think TC3 zone members have	Home is considered to be a place of privacy and refuge (Morley, 2000). Cupples & Glynn (2012) found media can exaggerate the disaster and the situation faced by residents.	Questions 1 and 3 How has the process of creating a new home been affected by its creation in the public arena? Or how a home is created within a public arena, the objects that are required for a house to be home and how these are depicted on

	been represented on the media? Local v national media		the media.
9a	Have you used social networking sites throughout this process?		Questions 1 and 3 Has social networking led to the creation of a new communication and perhaps a changed sense of home? How has it helped in the process of creating a new sense of home (the ability to keep in contact with old neighbours etc.)?
10a	Did your community or you take part in any of the rallies that occurred? Why did you want to be a part of them /not be a part of them?	Protests are common after a disaster (Oliver- Smith & Hoffman, 1999).	Questions 1 and 3 The resistance to creating a new home may be seen through the rallies that were attended. How participants discuss these may show if they are now content with where they live or if they want to keep fighting.
11a	What does home mean to you?		Question 1 Allowing participants to reflect on what has been said and define their own sense of home

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The Shaken Suburbs: the changing sense of home and creating a new home after a disaster

My name is Kelli Campbell and I am conducting research into peoples' experiences of the Christchurch earthquakes of 2010 and 2011. My aim is to understand how residents' sense of home has changed in the aftermath of the earthquakes; the processes that are required to create a new home; and residents' interactions with authorities such as CERA, the EQC and insurance companies as well as community organisations such as Insurance Watch and Cancern. You will be invited to raise issues that you deem to be important.

I would like to conduct interviews with residents from the red zones of Bexley/Kaiapoi and with residents from the TC3 zoned land in Kaiapoi and Eastern Suburbs of Christchurch. Interviews will last approximately one hour and will take place in a location suitable and convenient to you.

Participation in the research is voluntary and you have the right to withdraw from the research at any stage with no penalty. If you withdraw, I will do my best to remove any information relating to you, provided this is practically achievable. I will provide you with written transcribed copies of all interviews in which you participated. Participating in the research will not in any way affect any claims or other interactions with earthquake related agencies, insurance companies or local MPs. Participation may be emotionally distressing and if at any time you wish to stop the interviews you are welcome to do so.

The results of the project may be published, but you may be assured of the complete confidentiality of data gathered in this investigation: your identity will not be made public without your prior consent. To ensure confidentiality, only my two supervisors and I will have access to the data. Data will be stored in a locked cabinet and on the University of Canterbury file server. Raw data will be kept for five years and then destroyed.

The project is being carried out as a requirement for a Master's thesis by Kelli Campbell under the supervisor of Professor Eric Pawson, who can be contacted at eric.pawson@canterbury.ac.nz. He will be pleased to discuss any concerns you may have about participation in the project. The results of the research will be published in a Master's thesis and in one or more academic journals. A thesis is a public document and will be available through the UC Library.

This project has been reviewed and approved by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee, and participants should address any complaints to The Chair, Human Ethics Committee, University of Canterbury, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch (human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz).

If you have any questions or concerns about the project at any time, do not hesitate to contact me or my senior supervisor. If you agree to participate in the research, please sign the consent form and return to me.

Kelli Campbell

Appendix 3

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The Shaken Suburbs: the changing sense of home and the process of creating a new home after a disaster

Consent form for participants

I have been given a full explanation of this project and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

I understand what is required of me if I agree to take part in the research.

I understand that participation is voluntary and I may withdraw at any time without penalty. Withdrawal of participation will also include the withdrawal of any information I have provided should this remain practically achievable.

I understand that any information or opinions I provide will be kept confidential to the researcher and the two supervisors involved and that any published or reported results will not identify the participants. I understand that if I am an individual officials or employee of a private company will my identity will also remain confidential. I understand that a thesis is a public document and will be available through the UC Library.

I understand that all data collected for the study will be kept in locked and secure facilities and in password protected electronic form and will be destroyed after five years.

I understand the risks associated with taking part and how they will be managed.

I understand that I am able to receive a report on the findings of the study by contacting the researcher at the conclusion of the project.

I understand that I can contact Kelli Campbell at kelli.campbell@pg.canterbury.ac.nz or Professor Eric Pawson at eric.pawson@canterbury.ac.nz for further information. If I have any complaints, I can contact the Chair of the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch (human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz)

By signing below, I agree to participate in this research project.

Name (print):

Signature: