Shaking ground and shifting collectives: Understanding *community* resilience in Kaikōura, Aotearoa New Zealand

---

A thesis

submitted in partial fulfilment

of the requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

at

Lincoln University

by

Ashley Marie Rudkevitch

Lincoln University

2022

Abstract

Abstract of a thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Shaking ground and shifting collectives: Understanding *community* resilience in Kaikōura, Aotearoa New Zealand

by

Ashley Marie Rudkevitch

At 00:02 on 14 November, 2016 a destructive 7.8 M_w earthquake struck the North Canterbury region of Aotearoa New Zealand's South Island. Prior to and following the earthquake, natural and social scientists conducted a significant amount of research on the resilience processes and recovery efforts in North Canterbury. This thesis examines community resilience in Kaikōura, a small town and district greatly impacted by the earthquake. Community resilience has been widely used in disaster risk reduction research, policy, and practice to describe how a group of individuals within a boundary respond to events, hazards, and shifts in their everyday life. Using exploratory inquiry, this thesis adopts qualitative research methods including document analysis, 24 semi-structured interviews, and participant observation to explore the idea that the recent scholarly emphasis on *resilience* has come at the expense of critical engagement with the complexities of *communities*. I draw on the idea of 'collectives' (comprising community-based organisations or less formal social networks with a shared purpose) as a lens to consider how, when unexpected life events happen, collectives can be regarded as a resource for change or constancy. The examination of collectives following a disaster can lend insight into the many elements of community as they bring people together in collaboration or drive them apart in conflict. This thesis therefore contributes to an enhanced practical and theoretical understanding of both community and resilience.

Keywords: community, resilience, earthquake, collectives, disaster

Acknowledgements

First and foremost I would like to give my complete and utter gratitude to the residents of Kaikōura, whose lives were dramatically altered. It is their willingness and welcomeness that this research was ever possbile. Thank you for your strength, fortitude, and kindness.

Furthermore, without the funding from Resilience to Nature's Challenges this research would never have come to fruition. Thank you for supporting me to complete this PhD.

A big thank you to Dr. Jo Fountain, Dr. Nick Craddock-Henry, and Dr. Mike Mackay. You saw my abilities to complete this thesis from the beginnning, and your continued support has been invaluable.

I will be forever grateful to Dr. Suzanne Vallance and Dr. Emma Stewart who provided considerate and constructive feedback during the most difficult of times. Your guidance as my supervisors has been the perfect blend between friendly understanding, ceaseless patience, and a good dose of reality.

Thank you to Geraldine Murphy who patiently waited for my thesis to provide detailed and thoughtful copy editing.

JP you have been my absolute rock. Not only during this degree, but through it all. Your unrelenting belief in me even when I didn't believe in myself is a love like no other.

A massive sacrifice that has come from this research has been the inability to spend these years with my family. Mom, Dad, Carine, Logan, Wylie, Cora, and Jack, along with Jim, Linda and the wider Allen clan- I thank you all for cheering me on from afar and I look forward to seeing you again soon, wherever that may be.

A huge thank you to my friends at the university. Forbes 5 was a true haven in the dark and light times. Susan, Richard, Jackie, Christina, Yaa, Leila, Sunny, Denian, Pradeep, Ni, and Megan- thank you, thank you, thank you for always reminding me that this journey was never travelled alone.

Finally, to all my friends outside of the university- both in Canada and Aotearoa New Zealand, thank you for keeping me grounded in the real world.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Two Minutes Past Midnight

On 14 November 2016 at two minutes past midnight the North Canterbury region of the South Island of Aotearoa New Zealand was struck by a 7.8 M_w earthquake. Dubbed as one of the most complex earthquakes ever to be studied (Amos, 2017; Morton, 2019), it moved along 180km of land for two minutes ripping the ground apart and driving the earth upwards as much as 4.8m along the Kaikōura coast (Hamling et al., 2017). As one local described it, "We're rising up – we didn't expect we were going to rise 2 metres, but we're rising up" (Pennington, 2017, p. 9). The sudden and prolonged jerking startled the small seaside community of Kaikōura awake, where locals and tourists alike found themselves rushing uphill to safety with the threat of a tsunami looming. Within Kaikōura township, the natural elevation of Churchill Park, the marae, and hospital parking lot became places of refuge for the night as individuals and families hunkered down waiting for first light to survey the extent of the damages (Pennington, 2017).

Once morning arrived, the severity of the earthquake's destruction was revealed. The major displacement of land caused extensive rock fall, including nine major slips along the main State Highway 1 (SH1) and countless smaller slips on all three access roads in and out of Kaikōura. As seen from the sky, one Radio New Zealand reporter explained that:

> *The centre-line of State Highway 1 south of the Clarence River bridge does not match up anymore. At the crux of the fault, the white-painted road markings on the south side are perhaps 2 or 3 metres to the west of the markings on the north side.* (Pennington, 2017, p. 53)

With the roads scattered in rubble and severely damaged from shifts, it meant that Kaikōura was completely closed off from the rest of the country by land (Ainge Roy, 2016a; Paterson, 2016). SH1 was impassable to the north and south, and the Inner Kaikōura Road to the west of town was closed as well. A glimpse into the extent of the damage to the coastal road of SH1 can be seen in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Aerial view of slips near Kaikōura (Danvers, 2016, used under Creative Commons Attribution Non-Commercial Share Alike licence)

Not only was Kaikōura cut-off on land, but telecommunication lines were also damaged, temporarily preventing contact with the rest of the country (Liu et al., 2017). As someone recounted "many near the quake's epicentre ha[d] no way to make calls . . . because phone lines and cell networks [we]re down" (Perry, 2016, para. 29). Similarly to those in Kaikōura who were at the centre of the earthquake's impact, people around the country awoke to shaking, checked the news, and reached out to loved ones in Kaikōura with no response (Pennington, 2017). For those in Kaikōura, it was near impossible to contact loved ones, media, or external assistance such as the Ministry of Civil Defence and Emergency Management[1] (Pennington, 2017). A few individuals stranded in Kaikōura were able to contact the outside world, and while connection was sparse and unreliable, they were able to gain reassurance that help was on the way (Pennington, 2017). As the communication to the rest of the country was being restored, locals within Kaikōura struggled to contact others stuck in the township and district. Fortunately, a short time before the earthquake struck, two locals had acquired control of the local radio station in Kaikōura. This meant that it in the immediate aftermath, those in Kaikōura were able to

[1] The Ministry of Civil Defence and Emergency Management became the National Emergency Management Agency on 1 December 2019 following a review in response to the Kaikōura earthquake and Port Hills fire.

tune into the local radio station and receive important information on what was unfolding. This would prove to be a critical tool for Kaikōura in the coming weeks.

The roads were too damaged to access Kaikōura by land, but it was not long until help arrived from air and sea. Military and civilian helicopters, along with naval ships from Aotearoa New Zealand, Australia, Canada, and the United States of America evacuated roughly 1200 tourists, along with many injured and elderly locals, while also bringing in emergency supplies (BBC, 2016). Within four days of the earthquake, the Inner Kaikōura Road was opened for the military to bring in supplies such as food and petrol (Ainge Roy, 2016b). Slowly, locals were regaining access to the rest of the country.

In the weeks following, people were brought in to help with the transition from response to recovery (Rudkevitch et al., 2019). The recovery phase would go on for months and years; continuing throughout the time this fieldwork was conducted in 2018-2019. As this fieldwork commenced it was evident that the physical recovery was well underway, with the rebuilding of transportation networks, construction of new buildings, and restoration of supply chains. However, Kaikōura was undergoing recovery in many invisible ways as well (Rudkevitch et al., 2020). This thesis goes beyond the initial impacts and physical recovery from the earthquake to examine the social elements of resilience and recovery, specifically in Kaikōura. Given that the thesis has been situated in a disaster context, I will now briefly outline the evolution of disaster research internationally and nationally before focusing more specifically on resilience.

1.2 Disaster Research

Disaster research is a relatively young discipline (Perry, 2018). Just under 100 years before the Kaikōura earthquake, the first documented instance of disaster research was conducted in the early 1900s following the explosion of a munitions ship in Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada on 6 December 1917. Samuel Henry Prince extensively and systematically studied the explosion, the immediate aftermath, and Halifax's recovery (Scanlon, 1988). Tragic in the loss of 1,782 deaths and over 9,000 injured, the Halifax Explosion marked the birth of a new discipline. While Prince can be considered a founding father in disaster research, he made one significant contribution in his early work that has often gone relatively under-acknowledged (Scanlon, 1988; Solnit, 2009). It is commonly known that disasters are often fraught with loss, yet Prince maintained that disasters had the capacity to bring about an opportunity for positive change in everyday life, change that may not have been possible until a shared disaster experience occurred (Cretney, 2017; Scanlon, 1988; Solnit, 2009). Similarly, Solnit's (2009) *A Paradise*

Built in Hell: The Extraordinary Communities That Arise in Disaster considered how opportunities were born from disaster, yet these opportunities were not always balanced across a population. While disaster can bring about change it is not consistent for everyone, therefore the processes of change during unexpected life events to *either* generate change *or* embrace constancy should be considered further. As a result, the question remains unanswered on whether the complexity of community has received sufficient consideration in community resilience conceptualisations. While this thesis will explore community resilience further throughout, for now I will turn to outlining disaster research as it is approached today.

There has been a surge in disaster research over the last few decades as the prevalence and severity of impactful events and disasters increase. The United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction (UNDRR) (2016), defines disaster as:

> *A serious disruption of the functioning of a community or a society at any scale due to hazardous events interacting with conditions of exposure, vulnerability and capacity, leading to one or more of the following: human, material, economic and environmental losses and impacts . . . The effect of the disaster can be immediate and localized, but is often widespread and could last for a long period of time. The effect may test or exceed the capacity of a community or society to cope using its own resources, and therefore may require assistance from external sources, which could include neighbouring jurisdictions, or those at the national or international levels.* (p. 13)

With an emphasis on how a severe event can impact a *community* or *society,* this definition clearly identifies the dimensions and adverse effects a disaster can have on people and the systems they rely on such as the economy, environment, and society. Yet, the definition also outlines that when a disaster occurs the local community or society may not have the appropriate or adequate resources to successfully recover from the event. These resources can range from people, buildings, and financial means. This definition is inadvertently problematic as it minimises the capacity of a local community to engage their existing resources to build resilience and effectively recover.

By focusing on a community's inability to withstand a disaster, it removes any recognition and understanding of how a community can draw on their *existing* resources to build their own resilience and recovery. Perhaps ironically, despite a recent burgeoning of community resilience and recovery research, our understanding of and appreciation for the dynamics in a community's *existing* everyday life have been neglected. To assess these ideas, collectives will be used as a lens through which to better understand and build a more nuanced conceptualisation of community in everyday life and how it can

be drawn on as a resource during unexpected life events. Collectives are understood to be community-based organisations or less formal social networks with a shared purpose. This thesis will consider the processes in collectives and how they contribute to a wider understanding of a community's resilience in and recovery from disasters. Before exploring these concepts more in depth, I will begin by summarising some prominent understandings of disaster and resilience.

As disasters become increasingly frequent and impactful, academics, policymakers, and practitioners have turned the global and local eye on mitigating the effects they have on humans and their environments. A well-known global collaboration for lessening the likelihood and impacts of disasters is the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015-2030. This UNDRR sponsored report highlights four priorities to combat disaster risk and promote resilience. These four priorities include:

1. Understanding disaster risk
2. Strengthening disaster risk governance to manage disaster risk
3. Investing in disaster risk reduction for resilience
4. Enhancing disaster preparedness for effective response and to "Build Back Better" in recovery, rehabilitation and reconstruction. (UNDRR, 2015).

The Sendai Framework has been widely adopted by numerous nations and is heavily cited in many academic and government documents. The wide acceptance of the Sendai Framework demonstrates that it has become an accepted, reputable model in disaster preparedness and mitigation.

Resilience has been used as a key term in the Sendai Framework and has been extensively applied in disaster fields. Resilience has been defined as:

> *The ability of a system, community or society exposed to hazards to resist, absorb, accommodate to and recover from the effects of a hazard in a timely and efficient manner, including through the preservation and restoration of its essential basic structures and functions.* (UNDRR, n.d.)

This definition reflects a "bounce back" and "build back better" approach that is often associated with the capacity for communities and societies to be resilient and recover effectively (Alexander, 2013; Davoudi, 2012; Wilson, 2012). Furthermore, resilience in the above definition focuses on the ability of a

community to not only resume the same functions as before the event, but also to improve functionality and lessen the likelihood of long-term effects that can result from future events.

After considering the definitions of *disaster* (as an event that overwhelms a system's ability to function) (UNDRR, 2016), and *resilience* (as absorbing, accommodating and recovering) (UNDRR, n.d.) above, there appears to be a disconnect between them. Where disaster is defined as a community's *inability* to withstand a significant shift using its own resources, resilience is defined as the *capacity* for a community to withstand a significant shift using its own resources. To consider a community resilient only after a disaster has occurred implies that a community can recover on its own, yet disaster implies that it cannot recover on its own, which can create confusion between the terms. Therefore, the processes that exist *within* community that enable it to be resilient to disasters should be examined more closely. This thesis will focus on assessing *community* in relation to resilience rather than disaster. To develop a deeper understanding of community and to situate it in resilience, I will now turn to explaining resilience research in Aotearoa New Zealand.

1.3 Resilience to Nature's Challenges: Research Programme in Aotearoa New Zealand

Aotearoa New Zealand is a country exposed to a wide array of disruptive environmental events and disasters, including forest fires, droughts, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, and flooding. In recent times the Aotearoa New Zealand government has made considerable investment aimed at increasing knowledge of major environmental events. Organisations such as the National Institute of Water & Atmospheric Research (NIWA), QuakeCoRE, Joint Centre for Disaster Research, GNS Science and the Institute of Environmental Science and Research (ESR) have been tasked with developing increased knowledge of disaster reduction, readiness, response, and recovery. In recent years there has been funding for the *Resilience to Nature's Challenges* (RNC) science programme, part of the larger *National Science Challenges* (NSC) framework. NSCs are an Aotearoa New Zealand government initiative set with the purpose "to tackle the biggest science-based issues and opportunities facing Aotearoa New Zealand. The Challenges bring together the country's top scientists to work collaboratively across disciplines, institutions and borders to achieve their objectives" (Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, n.d.). Within RNC there are four laboratory programmes: *Rural, Urban, Mātauranga Māori*, and *Edge.* These are supported by six toolboxes: *Trajectories, Hazard, Culture, Infrastructure, Governance,* and *Economics* (Resilience to Nature's Challenges, 2018). This research sits within the *Rural* programme.

RNC operates as a cross-disciplinary, multi-organisation team that is focused on "enhancing New Zealand's ability to anticipate, adapt and thrive in the face of ever-changing natural hazards" (Resilience to Nature's Challenges, 2018). This has included co-authored papers, workshops, and presentations produced by the wider RNC team. The recent publication of the National Disaster Resilience Strategy Rautaki ā-Motu Manawaroa Aituā released by the Ministry of Civil Defence and Emergency Management (MCDEM) (2019) was partially informed by the work of RNC and reflects the overall relevance and timeliness of this research.

As this research was funded through the RNC-Rural programme there were some broad parameters within which the research needed to sit. The parameters were as follows:

1. Rurally located
2. Disaster focused
3. Resilience grounded

As a result of these criteria, it was necessary to establish a location, or case study, for the research. RNC had already identified Kaikōura as a viable rural location to pursue community resilience research in a disaster context. It should be noted that the decision to use Kaikōura as a case study was established in early 2016, months before the earthquake struck on 14 November 2016. Due to the early identification of Kaikōura as a case study, the intention of the scholarship would be that Kaikōura was included in some capacity in my research. It just so happens that due to the earthquake it became *the* case study, rather than one aspect of it. Thus, the scope of this research needed to shift from focusing on building resilience to evaluating resilience and recovery. This also meant that while there was research already occurring in the area there would be a strong increase in the number of researchers examining the earthquake for a variety of studies, both in the natural and social sciences.

In response to the earthquake, in February 2017 a workshop was co-organised by QuakeCoRE, the Natural Hazards Research Platform, and RNC-Rural to identify gaps and overlaps in social science research that was currently being done or could be done in Kaikōura. The aim of the workshop was to identify potential research avenues, and to ensure the affected communities were not inundated with researchers, as was the case following the Christchurch earthquakes in 2010 and 2011 (Beaven et al., 2016). The workshop identified many social science research gaps in Kaikōura with a focus on understanding impacts, developing recovery best practice, and collaboration and engagement (Hatton et al., 2017). This thesis addresses more specifically the following two gaps:

1. Creating and empowering locally led recovery initiatives; and
2. Bespoke needs assessment in each community or industry – understanding their priorities (Hatton et al., 2017).

These two gaps were included in the wider categories of "developing recovery best practice" and "collaboration and engagement" respectively (Hatton et al., 2017). Additionally, the two gaps identified were socially oriented, which further solidified the reasoning for selecting them to better understand *community*. These knowledge gaps were approached through the identification and examination of community-based organisations and less formal social networks (Marquet, 2015)– what I refer to as 'collectives' - that existed in Kaikōura before and after the earthquake.

Collectives will be used as a lens through which to understand community resilience in Kaikōura after the earthquake. The theoretical concepts of community and resilience will be explored further in the following chapter, however, here I will provide a brief definition of collectives to explain why they have been chosen to examine community resilience. For the purpose of this research, collectives will be characterised as one-off or recurring projects, activities, events, and organisations. The overarching commonality in collectives is that individuals are brought together to engage in practice with a shared purpose. Weekly dinners, trustee boards, community gardens, environmental stewardship projects, and fundraising organisations are all examples of community collectives that were explored in this research.

This understanding of collectives can implicitly be seen in Berkes and Ross's (2012) definition of community resilience as "the capacity of [a] social system to come together to work toward[s] a communal objective" (p. 6). Collectives can offer insight into how resilience can emerge from a (social) system or community. Collectiveness is often implicated in literature citing the local capacity to self-organise (Ley, 2019; Straub et al., 2020), as a marker or tool in resilience indicators (Kwok et al., 2016; Norris et al., 2008; Sherrieb et al., 2010), and is commonly used as a defining feature of high social capital following disasters (Chamlee-Wright & Storr, 2011; Chriest & Niles, 2018; Meyer, 2018). Yet, resilience is often framed in terms of the entire *community's* ability to 'bounce back', rebound, adapt, or transform to reduce future vulnerability, and enhance capacity to respond to future disasters. Although there has been some research on the processes through which collectives can contribute to community resilience (Marquet, 2015, Vallance & Carlton, 2015) what is now needed is a better understanding of the complex, dynamic processes of collectives in everyday life and how they can be drawn on as a resource during unexpected life events. By examining collectives, it may be possible to develop a more nuanced and dynamic understanding of community resilience. Due to the identified need to better

understand *community* resilience, and based on the general trajectory of RNC, three research questions were developed.

1.4 Research Questions

The main objective of this research is to further understandings of *community* resilience by examining collectives. In order to address this overarching objective, three research questions are explored:

1. How has the definition of *community* evolved, and how has this been reflected in resilience work?

2. What can be learnt from collectives in everyday life and during unexpected life events and how can they further understandings of *community* resilience?

3. How can a nuanced, dynamic approach contribute to academic and practical understandings of community resilience?

1.5 Thesis Outline

Chapter 2 – Conceptualising Community in Community Resilience outlines the concepts that will form the theoretical base for this research. This chapter begins with the emergence of community theories, then follows the conceptual evolution of resilience. Finally, it will explore how community resilience is currently identified and assessed.

Chapter 3 – Methodological Approach explains how this research was conducted using case study research with qualitative methods. This includes the methods used for data collection, analysis, and write-up stages. Furthermore, this chapter will outline difficulties that arose from undertaking research in a post-disaster setting.

Chapter 4 – Kaikōura Case Study details the geographical, historical, economic and socio-demographic characteristics of the area. There will also be a focus on the earthquake and its immediate aftermath. This chapter will provide the necessary background information to help understand and visualise the Kaikōura community.

Chapter 5 – Identifying within and Connecting to Community is the first of three results chapters. This chapter will focus on the individuals' involvement in Kaikōura. The chapter will consider the participants'

reasonings for becoming involved in collectives and how these contributed to their attachment to and identity within Kaikōura. This chapter will also consider how their connections to and actions in Kaikōura may have shifted following the earthquake.

Chapter 6 – Functioning as Collectives is the second results chapter. This chapter will place the spotlight on the collectives. Broken into three sections, the first section will outline some of the collectives explored in this research. This may include their beginning, general day-to-day operations, and their experiences following the earthquake. The second section will consider the practicality of the collectives sharing resources such as location and funding. The third section of this chapter focuses on the shared qualities of the collectives that emerged through the fieldwork; rather than the easily identifiable characteristics, this section focuses on the less obvious attributes of the collectives.

Chapter 7 – Complex Interconnections Among Collectives is the third and final results chapter. This chapter focuses on the connections between the different collectives and how they interact with one another to engage in change in Kaikōura. More specifically, it will highlight the complexity of navigating decision-making and how collectives engaged in resilience and recovery during the earthquake and its aftermath. The first section will outline how the collectives cooperated with one another, while the second section will outline how the collectives worked with decision-makers, specifically the local district council.

Chapter 8 – Discussion: The Role of Collectives in Community Resilience will briefly re-evaluate the theories of community, resilience, and community resilience as outlined in Chapter 2. The intention is to highlight how current conceptualisations of community resilience relate to the Kaikōura case study. This chapter will then examine two models of community to critically assess its complexity in Kaikōura. Finally, by considering the results, literature, and models I will propose a nuanced, dynamic approach to understanding *community* resilience.

Chapter 9 – Conclusion will complete the thesis by outlining three recommendations; these include contributions to theoretical understandings, methodological approaches, and practice in disaster risk reduction. The chapter will also provide an assessment of limitations in this study and highlight possible future areas of research.

Chapter 2

Conceptualising Community in Community Resilience

The whole is greater than the sum of the parts, although the parts are important.
– Flora (1998, p. 499)

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will explore the concepts of community, resilience, and community resilience. First, it will unpack community as I adopt an approach that follows Hayward's (2013) and Cretney's (2014) suggestion to consider the resilience 'of what, and for whom?' and is further supported by Kaika's (2017) 'by whom'. This thesis intends to challenge common understandings of community resilience by placing the emphasis onto and unpacking community rather than resilience. It is reasoned that if by first turning the focus onto resilience then community it would negate the purpose of the thesis being centralised on unpacking *community* in community resilience. Therefore, this chapter begins with a focus on community that outlines how community has come to be conceptualised; from its emergence in the late 1800s to its framing in contemporary research. Next, is chapter outlines resilience literature from its early conceptualisations in physical sciences to its use in socio-ecological systems and the social sciences. Finally, the combined concept of community resilience will be explored from how it is methodologically identified to how it is practically applied.

2.2 Community

From its inception as a concept in the social sciences, community has been widely interpreted and defined. Developing an all-encompassing definition of community is, and likely has always been, a daunting and complex task. Yet, it is necessary to outline some theories on community in order to understand how it is used in resilience work. This section will explore the intricacies of community while considering the commonalities between many of the diverse definitions while also exploring collectives in community.

2.2.1 The origin of a concept

In the mid-1800s scientific theory shifted from being heavily rooted in the natural sciences to considering the social aspects of our world (Mazlish, 1989). With this shift came the rise of many new disciplines in the social sciences such as sociology, psychology, anthropology, and human geography. As these new disciplines emerged alongside the industrial revolution and rapid urban migration, new theories began to take shape and the concept of community was introduced (Delanty, 2003). Tönnies, Durkheim, Weber, and Simmel are often credited as some of the founding scholars of sociology and the first in defining community (Adair-Toteff, 1995; Barrett, 2015; Day, 2006; Delanty, 2003).

Tönnies conceptualised the terms *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft* in the late 1800s; *gemeinschaft* meaning community and *gesellschaft* meaning society. Aitken (2009) highlighted that *gemeinschaft* was place-focused and rooted in the deep ties that exist between family and friends, while *gesellschaft* emerged from solitude, where "individuals choose community in the form of special interest groups" rather than through close-ties (p. 222). Tönnies proposed that *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft* were dichotomous and that they operated in isolation from one another.

However, Tönnies also reasoned that over time *gemeinschaft* (community) could become *gesellschaft* (society) as it evolved through modernisation. As units of people transitioned from community to society, they would become more reliant on strangers or those with shared interests, rather than those they know more intimately such as family and friends. This distinction and its impending evolution have been widely critiqued due to their rigidity (Adair-Toteff, 1995). Although criticised, Tönnies' influence in community research has continued through the 20th century and into the new millennia, as contemporary books and journal articles continue to acknowledge *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft* as the beginning of community theories. While *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft* are often cited to be the origin of concepts on community, Durkheim, Weber, and Simmel contributed their own theories as well (Aitken, 2009) and would also prove to be influential in community focused research (Adair-Toteff, 1995).

Durkheim's approach to community was in direct response to Tönnies' *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft*, however, Durkheim maintained that society was no less organic than community (Aldous et al., 1972). Durkheim critiqued Tönnies' theory in that *gemeinschaft* as a whole took precedence over the individual parts, whereas in *gesellschaft* the individual parts took precedence over the whole (Aldous et al., 1972). Unlike Tönnies, Durkheim's duality was rooted in how people functioned within a complex system

rather placing the emphasis on either the whole (*gemeinschaft)* or the individual parts (*gesellschaft*) (Aldous et al., 1972). Durkheim argued that regardless of the size of a group, whether small (rural) or large (urban), there is an underlying sense of collectivity that is natural and organic (Delanty, 2003) and that it is human nature to exist with ties to others; to live, work, and recreate together.

Like Tönnies, Durkheim also placed his theory of community as a dichotomy (Aldous et al., 1972). Rooting community theory in labour and politics, Durkheim conceptualised that community was either forged from grouped similarities/collective identities known as mechanical solidarity, or distinctive differences/individual specialisations known as organic solidarity (Aitken, 2009; Day, 2006). Day (2006) stated that although mechanical and organic solidarity were unique from each other, "both types of solidarity could be seen as giving rise to forms of community, centred respectively on similarity or interdependence" (p. 3). In other words, both grouped similarities and individual differences could bring people together as a community, either through shared skill/knowledge or through individualised skills.

Tönnies and Durkheim's theories of community appear dissimilar to one another, yet there seems to be a strong connection between the two. The close kin networks represented in *gemeinschaft* are akin to the grouped similarities represented in mechanical solidarity, while the individualism of *gesellschaft* is similar to the individual specialisations of organic solidarity. On the other hand, building on the notion of interconnectedness, Durkheim's theories established that an individual's similarities to and differences from others should not be considered more significant than the entirety of the community as it functions as a system. Cohen (1985) summarised Durkheim as, "the individual interests of the parts have to be subordinated by the irreducible whole" (p. 23). In sum, the focus of Durkheim's theory of community was on how the system is based on its unique or similar components, but that these are not more important than the processes within and outcomes of the whole.

Unlike Tönnies and Durkheim, Weber and Simmel focused their work specifically on communities that existed in urban settings. Weber's notions of community focused on it being "the natural habitus of the individual" (Delanty, 2003, p. 30), or the natural state of humans. Day (2006) highlighted that Weber also focused on the idea of the 'communal', where decisions were not based solely on the benefits for an individual, but they considered the "wishes, needs, and behaviours of others" (p. 4). By focusing on the communal, Urry (1995) summarised the Weberian perspective as being "the relations between different social orders and of the social groups present within each order" (p. 40), demonstrating the recognition that groups have an influence on community. Weber's work outlined that there was more

depth to community than basic dichotomies, and that the nuances within and between social interactions played a significant role in defining community.

Simmel's work differed from other early community theorists because he focused on the interactions within and between small groups in 'society'. This work was also significant in that it moved away from the large-scale theorising of rural vs. urban and traditional vs. modern. Simmel's work focused on small groups in the urban context, while portraying the rural in a negative light (Delanty, 2003). According to Delanty (2003), Simmel argued that "the notion arose of the city as an open structure where very different kinds of social relations and forms of belonging are possible and where human creativity may be enhanced" (p. 53).

By Simmel's reasoning, the urban context offered an opportunity to discover communities of innovation and individualism, while the rural was left to remain stagnant in outdated customs. Delanty (2003) goes on to explain that Simmel's theories outline that when a conflict (presumably from any number of internal or external factors) occurs in the urban context it can lead to increased social ties and sense of belonging within groups, however these same outcomes may not arise in a rural context due to its relatively static state and lack of diversity. This demonstrates that much like Weber, Simmel focused almost exclusively on the complexities of the urban while simultaneously dismissing the nuances of the rural. This focus on the urban continues to have lasting impacts on how the rural and urban are theorised to this day through division between the two concepts in academia, policy, and practice. While this thesis does not attempt to dissect the rural versus urban debate, it will consider a rural and an urban community as one and the same as the emphasis will be on collectives. Before delving into defining collectives, contemporary theories on communities will be explored further.

2.2.2 Contemporary interpretations of community

As has been outlined above, Tönnies, Durkheim, Weber, and Simmel were some of the earliest scholars to have theorised community. Day (2006) summarised that these early theories of community were:

> *Pervaded by concerns with the question of how societies were held together, what gave collectivities and groups unity and distinctiveness, and the extent to which such social ties were being strengthened or undermined by social change and development. 'Community' represented one significant way of speaking about group-ness, and distinguishing it from conditions of isolation or individualism. At a minimum, community involved people doing things, and being, together, rather than separate and alone.* (p. 2)

Day's (2006) interpretation offers an outline of what early researchers aimed to emphasise; that community was a group of people brought together for either intentional purposes or by unintentional circumstances. However, these early theories did not attend to many other complexities affecting groupings and the impact internal and external forces could have on them. Additionally, it can be interpreted that early scholars, Tönnies, Durkheim, Weber, and Simmel, found that the only potential for progress in community was the evolution into society; without progress into the urban, the rural would stagnate or even decline. These divisions between rural/urban, traditional/modern, can be problematic as they focus on a type of community rather than its unique qualities. Understanding more complex interpretations of community is key to its application in community resilience.

One contemporary lens through which to explore community is through a place-based approach. A place-based community "is viewed as a tangible, bounded, measurable, static entity" (Winterton et al., 2014, p. 286). A place-based community considers the people, places, and organisations within a boundary, but it does not go into depth about the interactions between people or the actions that occur within the boundary (Räsänen et al., 2020). These types of approaches consider the unique qualities *of* community (Cutter et al., 2008), however, they do not consider the unique qualities that are *within* a community. While a place-based approach can help to develop a snapshot of communities, there are concerns with its usefulness in understanding the complexity within *a* community. Titz et al. (2018) stated that considering community as place-based or "one-dimensional and static" was problematic as it ignored the "social dynamics and the multiple, sometimes conflicting, layers of meaning that are embedded in the term" (p. 2). As a result, there are other approaches that consider more dynamic interpretations of community that should be highlighted.

In addition to place-based community, Räsänen et al. (2020), outlined the importance of interaction-based communities and communities of practice or interest. These community theories focus on the growing interest in the complexities within community such as the connections people have with one another (Gilchrist, 2019; Marquet, 2015) and how community manifests in everyday life (Perkins & Thorns, 2012; Sztompka, 2008). These dynamic understandings of community can help develop more robust conceptualisations of what community is or can be. This follows on from Sztompka's (2002) claim that society is constantly shifting and cannot be considered static, as may occur in a place-based approach. Approaching community through a more complex lens, with dynamic, moving parts means that it cannot be measured through replicable identifiers (Sztompka, 2002). Due to the complexity and dynamism of community, it results "in a state of permanent becoming rather than being" (Pożarlik,

2013), which does not correspond with the ability to be quantified as interactions and practices are in perpetual motion.

Interaction-based communities are rooted in social networks that people have with one another in everyday life (Räsänen et al., 2020). While everyday life "is the observable manifestation of social existence, and therefore it always includes relationships with other people" (Sztompka, 2008, p. 31). Therefore, how people interact through social networks in everyday life is understood to be an important factor in interaction-based communities. Social capital is often used to analyse interaction-based communities (Räsänen et al., 2020). Most often defined in two categories, social capital can be - bonding (the close ties with family and friends) (Putnam, 2000; Woolcock, 2001) and bridging (involvement in and connection between networks) (Putnam, 2000; Carlton & Vallance, 2017). More recently a third category of social capital known as linking capital has been gaining recognition (Aldrich & Meyer, 2015; Vallance & Carlton, 2015; Woolcock, 2001). Whereas bonding and bridging social capital can be considered made up of horizontal social networks, linking capital would be vertical (Woolcock, 2001) as it connects those from varying power levels, such as government and decision-makers to non-profit organisations and public groups (Vallance & Carlton, 2015). Social capital offers great insight into the *who* of social interactions and community, but not necessarily the *how*.

Day (2006) stated that community was often associated with how people interact in each other's daily social circles, or in everyday life. Sztompka (2008) highlights characteristics of everyday life, some of which are in sync with interaction-based communities. Everyday life is often cyclical such as attending work or church and regularly scheduled recreational activities and occurs in certain locations such as at home, in the office, or at community centres (Sztompka, 2008). These interactions also occur within a specific time frame, a sports game is scheduled for an hour while a meeting at work can last two hours (Sztompka, 2008). These types of parameters highlighted by Sztompka (2008) demonstrate that interaction-based communities cannot be relegated to only considering social capital as a signifier. An interaction-based community can be seen in Gilchrist's (2019) definition as:

> *Compris[ing] the informal interactions and relationships that we use to coordinate everyday life. These links enable us to exchange resources and ideas for mutual benefit and to share experiences in ways that are usually supportive. Indeed, the experience of 'community' emanates from ordinary and routine interactions and relationships between people who feel a sense of belonging or shared fate. These patterns of exchange and linkages are by no means random, nor are they formally organised, developing organically according to local traditions, 'on the ground' conditions and personal affinities*. (p. 3)

Interaction-based community focuses on who people interact with and how in everyday life. Yet, it is also important to consider *why* people interact. Räsänen et al. (2020) highlighted the relevance of civil society organisations in interaction-based communities, yet these are better suited in the consideration of communities of practice and interest.

Communities of practice and interest are purposeful with an intended and shared goal or objective, whether it be government organisations, school systems, practitioners' associations, and so on (Wenger, 2011). Unlike place-based and interaction-based communities, communities of practice and interest are not defined by a specific location; they are not definitively tangible yet still identifiable. Wenger (2011) described a community of practice as "groups of people who share a concern or a passion for something they do and learn how to do it better as they interact together" (p. 1). Quick and Feldman (2011) build on this definition by explaining that "as long as people are engaged in practices, community is being created, and the character of the practice defines the nature of the community" (p. 273). The key to communities of practice and interest is that they bring together different ways of knowing to realise a shared intention (Quick & Feldman, 2011), and while it is represented by the interactions of a group, it is the individuals' perspectives that shape it (Scherzer et al., 2020). Additionally, communities of practice and interest provide a "community-building opportunity" (Wenger, 2011, p. 274), which likely comes from their collective interactions and unique perspectives.

These types of community-building organisations that operate within a community of practice and interest are not dissimilar to civil society, such as "churches, political parties, social movements, voluntary associations, clubs and societies" (Mann et al., 2021, p. 8) or programming, including community groups and local NGOs (Scherzer et al., 2020). Civil society occupies the space between an individual or close family and the "state" and emerges from "the actions of certain individuals and groups" (Mann et al., 2021, p. 9). On the other hand, programming relies on an "intimate understanding of people, places, and their interactions" to be successful which can fluctuate within and between communities (Scherzer et al., 2020, p. 162). Both approaches to communities of practice and interest consider the role of the individual as it contributes to the outcomes of the group. Therefore, a community of practice is not fully realised until the actions of many are brought together with an intentional outcome.

The three types of community discussed above- place-based community, interaction-based community, and community of practice and interest- demonstrate how community can be interpreted in many ways.

Day (2006) has stated that the overuse of the term in nearly every aspect of today's society has resulted in "community signif[ying] something vague and ill-defined, an excuse for not thinking hard enough about what exactly it is that people do have in common" (p. 2). Yet, what these three definitions have in common is that they consider the importance of *groups* or *organisations* as signifiers of community. Building on this notion of community developing from close social circles, Roberts (2009) offers the following definition of community as "a group that is wider than an extended family, but whose members are bound by kin-type relationships, among whom there is a sense of belonging, and a shared identity" (p. 40). While belonging and identity seem to be important aspects of binding individuals in a group, Roberts' (2009) definition is rooted too heavily on intimate or close relationships. Less restrictive is Johnson's (1995) definition of 'groupness' being described as "a social system involving regular interaction among members and a common group identity" (Johnson, 1995 p. 125). Both definitions of group focus on the connections or similarities that individuals have with one another with an emphasis on *belonging* and *identity* as being a significant indicator of strong ties.

Identity and belonging can help to understand why it is that people become involved in groups and organisations. Identity can come from a variety of influencing factors including gender, ethnicity, family, employment, upbringing, and place. Perkins and Thorns (2012) defined identity as the:

> *Meanings attributed to individuals and groups by themselves and others. To an extent identity is created in self-conscious experience; but it is also influenced by forces not of our own choosing such as those associated with economy, culture, and the social position and geographic setting into which we are born and then raised.* (p. 1)

It is evident that identity is closely aligned with place-based community as it has a strong focus on understanding the unique qualities *of* community, as it emerges from the feeling of being connected to a certain place or a group of people (Scherzer et al., 2020). Similarly, Storey (2012) highlights that "a sense of belonging in a certain place or a feeling of affinity with a place" can influence how people identify, both individually and as a collective (p. 11). Woods (2011) describes this as:

1. "It is exhibited in the sense of belonging that members of a community feel towards each other – that they share a common identity, participate in the same practices, support one another, and thus *belong to the community".*

2. "Belonging is also articulated in terms of a sense of belonging to place - that is the association of a particular community with a particular territorial expression." (p. 169).

Therefore, people's identity and sense of belonging are heavily rooted in how they position themselves within community through groups and organisations.

Yet, there is more to groups and organisations than a feeling of identity and belonging and how people interact in everyday life and therefore participation should be considered. Wagner et al. (1999) stated that "a social representation is a collective phenomenon pertaining to a community which is co-constructed by individuals in their daily talk and action" (p. 96). Feelings of identity and belonging to a group or organisation are not sufficient in understanding community as individuals need to be actively engaging with it. Based on this, *collectives* can be used to define an aggregate of individuals that interact within their everyday lives and actively engage in co-creating community through ongoing participation in intentional practices. For this purpose, *collectives* can comprise many forms of groups and organisations, including faith-based organisations, weekly meetings, workplaces, sports clubs, steering committees, event planning committees, NGOs, and government departments, that bring people together with a common purpose.

By examining collectives, it can offer an alternative to what Titz et al. (2018) claim to be "one-dimensional and static" interpretations of community (p. 2). This builds into Barrett's (2015) challenge of community as one-dimensional, when it was stated that:

> *Contrary to many ideas that go back to the beginnings of social science, community is anything but simple. There are layers upon layers which, when peeled away, reveal complexities that exhibit a number of structural elements and dynamic process.* (p. 194)

Identifying and assessing collectives can help to understand the "layers" of community described by Barrett (2015) as they demonstrate the many dynamic processes that exist within collectives and contribute to community.

In everyday life, Barrett (2015) argues that interest groups can be explained as having a "shared concern or common pursuit" (p. 186). In order for collectives to recognise a "shared concern or common pursuit" then trust must exist between the individuals involved. Groups often rely on trust which is "where the parties feel that they can rely upon each other for particular kinds of assistance" (Roberts, 2009). Similarly, Johnson (1995) considers interest groups to be created for the purpose of accessing and using power, often through political means. Therefore, just as identity and belonging have been identified as important aspects of collectives, trust and power should also be considered.

Trust can aid in binding individuals in a collective as it emerges from:

> *The expectation that arises within a community of regular, honest, and co-operative behaviour, based on shared norms, on the part of other members of the community . . . these communities do not require extensive contractual and legal regulation of their relations because prior moral consensus gives members of the group a basis for mutual trust".* (Fukuyama, 1995, as cited in Schuller et al., 2000, p. 16)

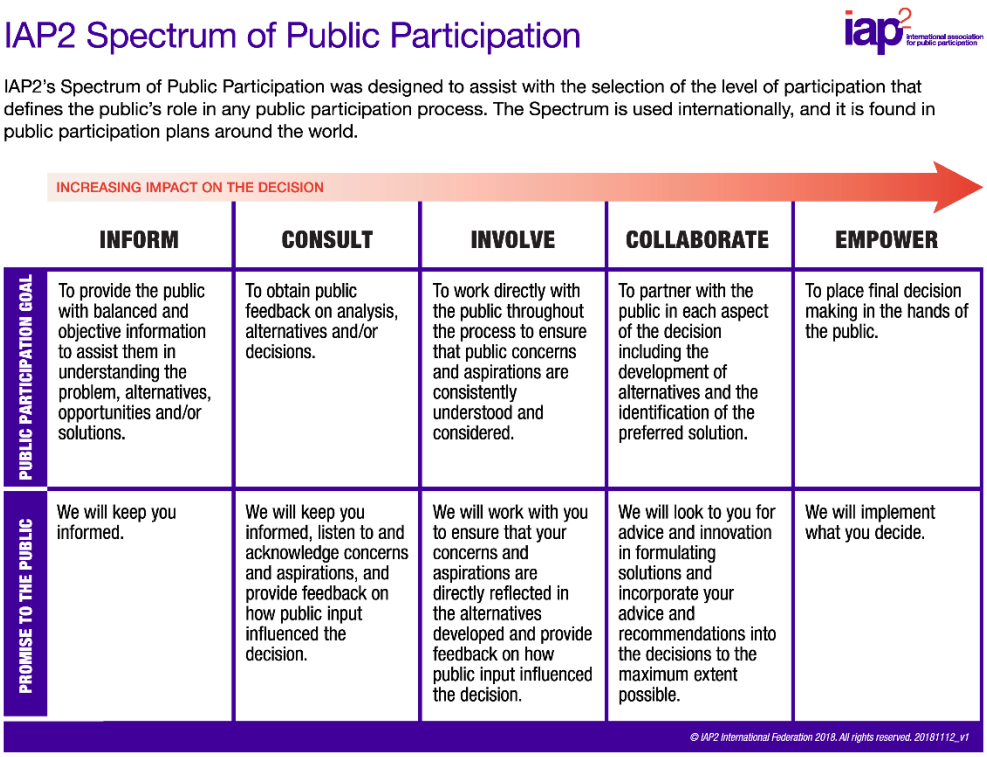
In other words, trust emerges from an individual's actions that are committed to furthering the interest of the collective. Two types of trust have been identified in playing an important role in collectives. Particularised trust is found when an individual has trust in another individual; emerging from close one-on-one ties, but also from those "who share membership of a known common grouping such as a church or association" (Field, 2017, p. 60). Particularised trust can also perpetuate negative social (dis)connections as those within the inner circle of the trust network exclude others from participation (Field, 2017). Similarly to particularised trust, generalised trust exists between wider social networks beyond close kinship groups of friends and family. This type of trust is "a rather abstract attitude toward people in general, encompassing those beyond immediate familiarity, including strangers (people one randomly meets in the street, fellow citizens, foreigners, etc)" (Freitag & Traunmüller, 2009, p. 784). Generalised trust demonstrates the importance of trust that exists in everyday life between individuals and across many collectives.

Understanding how trust operates within collectives and what this can reveal about everyday life in collectives should be examined further. When considering how trust exists within collectives, Raiser (2008) notes that there is some disagreement on whether trust is accumulated through mutual ongoing reciprocity or through civil engagement, or perhaps both. On one hand, by engaging in multiple networks that are built on trust it can lead to "a positive, trusting outlook on life", however it can also be argued that "trust is something that is instilled through socialisation and part of [a person's] predisposition" (Raiser, 2008, p. 495). Raiser (2008) argued that because mutual trust should involve both particularised and generalised trust, then it should not be solely the responsibility of one community to foster trust but should be sought by the entire community as a whole (Raiser, 2008). However, when interfacing with external parties, including decision-makers, generalised trust can influence how all parties interact with each other. This reflects Monteil's et al. (2019) work where they acknowledge that social cohesion must come from the entire community acting as a collective unit, otherwise there will be some who benefit more than others. However, considering community as a

singular collective unit reverts it back to an understanding of being static. Rather, an understanding of community that considers multiple collectives and integrating numerous perspectives based on mutual trust may offer a more nuanced and dynamic understanding of community.

Up to now, it has been outlined that community is more complex than a one-dimensional, static entity and that collectives can offer a more nuanced and dynamic understanding of community. However, alongside the positive aspects of collectives, such as shared identity, sense of belonging, and trust, there are also negatives to collectives that should be taken into account. When one collective benefits more than others it can create distrust and an imbalance in power amongst them, creating and perpetuating exclusion and inequality (Barrett, 2015; Field, 2017). Power is defined as "the ability to change how things are, or not to change things when a person or group could affect change" and is "not finite but can be eroded or expanded" (Roberts, 2009, p. 212). Power is constantly evolving and shifting within and between individuals and collectives; as a result, how collectives engage in actions that affect everyday practices can be influenced by their access to power.

When considering how individuals access power and decision-making, Quick and Feldman (2011) argue that there are two ways this can be approached namely, "as adversarial or potentially collaborative" (p. 273). However, Quick and Feldman (2011) go on to explain that when trying to develop an 'inclusive' community it is necessary to go beyond creating participation opportunities, and rather focus on actively connecting "individuals' and groups' point of views. . . across issues, sectors, and engagement efforts" (p. 275). This is further demonstrated by the International Association for Public Participation's Spectrum of Public Participation in Figure 2 where the public gradually gains more power in the decision-making process across the spectrum, ultimately leading to the public making the final decisions through empowerment.



IAP2 Spectrum of Public Participation

IAP2's Spectrum of Public Participation was designed to assist with the selection of the level of participation that defines the public's role in any public participation process. The Spectrum is used internationally, and it is found in public participation plans around the world.

INCREASING IMPACT ON THE DECISION

	INFORM	CONSULT	INVOLVE	COLLABORATE	EMPOWER
PUBLIC PARTICIPATION GOAL	To provide the public with balanced and objective information to assist them in understanding the problem, alternatives, opportunities and/or solutions.	To obtain public feedback on analysis, alternatives and/or decisions.	To work directly with the public throughout the process to ensure that public concerns and aspirations are consistently understood and considered.	To partner with the public in each aspect of the decision including the development of alternatives and the identification of the preferred solution.	To place final decision making in the hands of the public.
PROMISE TO THE PUBLIC	We will keep you informed.	We will keep you informed, listen to and acknowledge concerns and aspirations, and provide feedback on how public input influenced the decision.	We will work with you to ensure that your concerns and aspirations are directly reflected in the alternatives developed and provide feedback on how public input influenced the decision.	We will look to you for advice and innovation in formulating solutions and incorporate your advice and recommendations into the decisions to the maximum extent possible.	We will implement what you decide.

Figure 2: Spectrum of public participation (©International Association for Public Participation, 2018, used by permission).

As a way to understand the flow of power dynamics, Gilchrist (2019) approached this through a governance lens. Gilchrist (2019) stated that by multiple stakeholders working together it can lead to increased resource distribution and shared responsibility. However, this does not go without concerns, and it is necessary to consider "issues around public participation, power, trust, and accountability" (Gilchrist, 2019, p. 97). This understanding of governance echoes the unfavourable qualities of collectives in that they can develop exclusionary, insular, or uncooperative practices from lack of trust or unequal power. This can be perpetuated when there are strong collective and individual interests as they can lead to exclusion of others and create fissures between genders, classes, and ethnicities (Barrett, 2015). As a result, without considering the complex interests that exist across collectives it can lead to misunderstandings of how a community will "respond to change" (Barrett, 2015, p. 188). In other words, by considering a community to be strictly homogeneous, there is a risk that not all interests will be considered or accounted for.

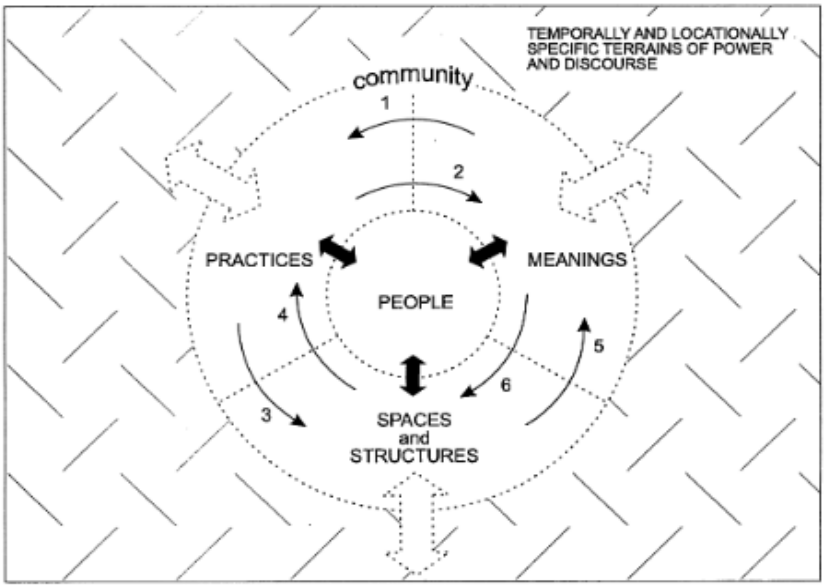
Collectives can provide insight into heterogeneity within community, through the examination of the diversity within and between collectives, how they operate in everyday life, how they interact with each

other, as well as how they access or use power, especially in decision-making. Scott (1998) argued that categorising units, or groups, based on similarities for "them to be identified, observed, recorded, counted, aggregated, and monitored" runs the risk of ignoring diversity as the uniqueness or diversity between them is rarely considered (p. 183). Yet, this thesis embraces the differences that emerge from examining collectives and that it is the unique processes that exist within and between collectives that a nuanced, dynamic understanding of community emerges.

The importance of processes in community has long been identified. Follett (1919) argued that:

> *Community is a process . . . We see this same process in studying the group. It is the essential life process. The most familiar example of integrating as the social process is when two or three people meet to decide on some course of action, and separate with a purpose, a will, which was not possessed by anyone when he came to the meeting but is the result of the interweaving of all.* (p. 576)

Follett (1919) highlighted over 100 years ago the relevance of processes in community, and indeed the group; yet, how processes in collectives influence community has only begun to be explored. More recently, models were developed to outline how features (Liepins, 2000a, 2000b) and dimensions (Barrett, 2015) of community can influence and are influenced by processes. Whereas Liepins (2000a, 2000b) focuses on place, practice, and meaning in community (Figure 3), Barrett (2015) focuses on identity, interest, and norms (Figure 4). While the identified features and dimensions are important, the key takeaway is that when combined, features/dimensions within community can influence and are influenced by the processes of interaction between individuals and collectives. While these studies explored more in-depth collectivity and heterogeneity in community (Barrett, 2015; Liepins, 2000a, 2000b) they were not applied in situ, particularly in relation to resilience. An approach that builds on Liepins' (2000a, 2000b) and Barrett's (2015) models can provide a more nuanced, dynamic understanding of community to assess the variable processes within collectives that can lend greater insight into community resilience.



1 MEANINGS	legitimate practices
2 PRACTICES	enable the circulation and challenging of meanings
3 PRACTICES	occur in spaces and through structures, and shape those spaces and structures
4 SPACES and STRUCTURES	affect how practices can occur
5 SPACES and STRUCTURES	enable the materialization of meaninngs
6 MEANINGS	are embodied in spaces and structures

Figure 3: Reworking community (Liepins, 2000a, used by permission)

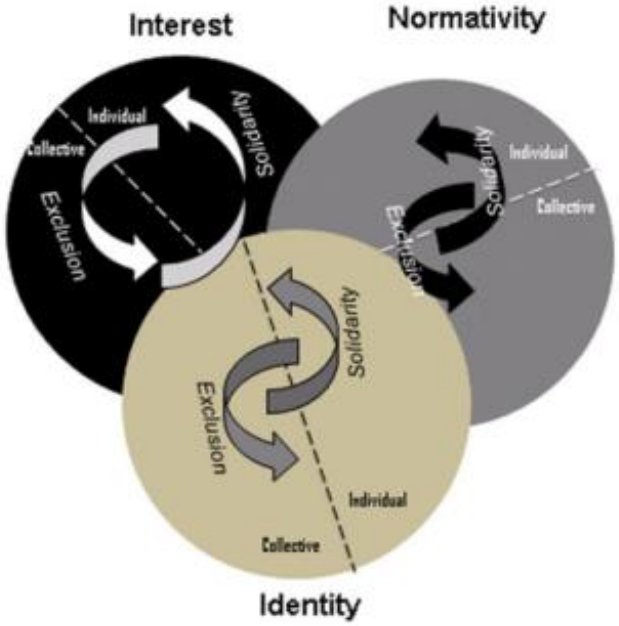


Figure 4: Deconstructed community (Barrett, 2015, used by permission)

The features/dimensions that exist within the models exist individually but are also constantly influencing one another. Unlike definitions that focus solely on the socialness of community, Liepins (2000a, 2000b) and Barrett (2015) considered more in depth the processes behind the social interactions. These complex processes demonstrate "the fluid or dynamic nature of rural 'communities'" (Liepins, 2000a, p. 328). Similarly, Barrett (2015) stated that community is a multidimensional construct. Unlike Liepins, Barrett focused on the separation of the individual and the collective and how they both influence the processes within the features of community and the complex dynamics between solidarity (working together) and exclusion (operating alone). What Liepins and Barrett demonstrate in their models is how processes within community intersect through social interactions in everyday life. While there is a clear connection here with earlier literature highlighting the importance of the meso level (collectives) in community, further understandings of the role of collectives during unexpected life events are relatively underexplored. Understanding how social interactions influence features of community in everyday life can lend greater insight into how these can also be drawn on during unexpected life events. As a result, this thesis will use collectives as a means to understand the nuanced, dynamic processes that exist within collectives during unexpected life events, while considering what this can reveal about *community* in community resilience. Before evaluating community resilience literature, the next section will explore resilience as a stand-alone concept.

2.3 Resilience

Resilience was originally applied in the hard sciences such as in the fields of maths and physics, and it described the likelihood of a system to return to a previous state, or near equivalent (Davoudi, 2012; Robinson & Carson, 2016). The use of the term resilience has gained increasing usage across many fields, from psychology to economics, ecology to business management. However, resilience is also a challenging concept to define as it can be interpreted and applied in a multitude of ways (Alexander, 2013; Folke et al., 2010; Imperiale & Vanclay, 2016). Resilience originates in Latin from *resilire* or *resilio* to spring, bounce, leap, or rebound, and was described in early resilience work to be the capacity of a system to "bounce back" (Alexander, 2013; Davoudi, 2012; Wilson, 2012). In many situations where there is a likelihood a person, an organisation, or a system can return to its previous state the term resilience is often applied. In the following section, I will trace the evolution of resilience thinking from its early application in the physical sciences through to its more recent use in the social sciences.

2.3.1 The emergence of resilience thinking

Resilience originally emerged in the physical sciences such as maths and physics but was adopted into the life sciences in the mid-1970s by Holling (1973). This shift into the life sciences considered how a natural environment could return to an equilibrium following a shift. Positive ecological resilience was measured as the level of a shock's intensity and how much of a shock a system could withstand before returning to a previous state (Davoudi, 2012). Early on in the use of resilience in ecology, Holling (1973) stated it was "a measure of the persistence of systems and of their ability to absorb change and disturbance and still maintain the same relationships between populations or state variables" (p. 14). Much like its use in math and physics, resilience was dependent on a return to normal. However, Holling's early work focused on how a system can have fluctuating levels of operability meaning that there were differing states in which it could exist without collapse. Drawing from examples on trees, insects, and wildlife, Holling (1973) claimed that strong resilience was evidenced when a population was able to contract and expand regardless of external influences, demonstrating its ability to rebound. A system's resilience was due to its 'normal' being rooted in the populations' already constant variability.

In order to understand the extent to which a system was resilient, Holling (1973) argued that measuring the system's adaptive capacity was necessary. Albeit it was also acknowledging that to measure a system's resilience "require[d] an immense amount of knowledge of a system and it is unlikely that we will often have all that is necessary" (Holling, 1973, p. 20). The difficulty with this reasoning is that to develop a thorough and all-encompassing evaluation of resilience would require an analysis of every component within the system. While some aspects of an ecological system could be measured to some extent, the entirety of the system could not be identified and analysed, especially if the components within the system relied on a constant state of variability to be resilient. The understanding of component variability meant that resilience as a 'before and after', such as in its original use in maths and physics, would no longer be applicable.

Similarly, ecological resilience considered the level of a shock's intensity and how much of a shock a system could withstand before rebounding (Davoudi 2012). As resilience was originally heavily rooted in understanding the capacity of a system to rebound to a previous state, a new approach to resilience began to emerge which considered the intensity, speed, and size of the external impact rather than simply a cause (shock) and effect (rebound) on the system. This meant that resilience was no longer conceptualised as a system's return to normal, but rather a process of various influences creating new

pathways for and levels of resilience. This new approach was useful for considering large systems of greater complexity with many moving, interconnected components. The ability of a system to *adapt* to external influences through reorganisation became a new marker for effective resilience.

In an effort to demonstrate how adaptive capacity operated as a marker for resilience, Gunderson and Holling (2002) created the panarchy model, as can be seen in Figure 5. Gunderson and Holling (2002) suggested that there were four stages:

1. *Exploitation Phase:* resources rapidly collected
2. *Conservation Phase:* resources utilised for maintenance
3. *Release Phase:* resources rapidly consumed
4. *Reorganisation Phas*e: new processes for resource accumulation are identified through innovation

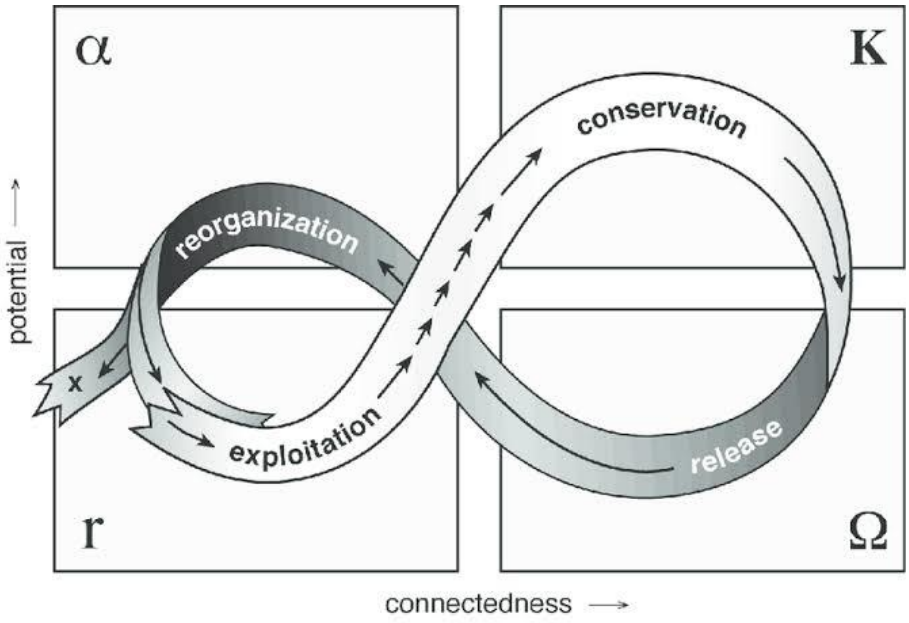


Figure 5: The panarchy model (Gunderson & Holling, 2002, used by permission)

Essentially, the panarchy model was based on a cycle of acquiring and expending resources. While the model does represent different stages of resource acquisition and expenditure, "it is understood not as a fixed asset; but as a continually changing process" and that "these properties manifest themselves at different times and scales" (Davoudi, 2012, p. 304). The adaptive capacity approach to resilience was not dissimilar to Holling's (1973) early work although it did cement adaptation in resilience thinking, demonstrating how resilience was broadening from early rebounding theories.

Gunderson and Holling (2002) argued that the panarchy model could also be applied to economic or social systems. As an example of its application to social systems, Gunderson and Holling (2002) suggested that the resources to be accumulated and expended could include not just physical aspects but also intangible elements such as "skills, networks of human relationships, and mutual trust" (p. 35). The acknowledgement that the panarchy model could be applied to social systems helped resilience and adaptive capacity to be more widely applied in the social sciences. Yet, others argued that while the panarchy model did contribute to understandings of adaptive capacity theories, it was deemed limiting as it would be too difficult to apply to social systems due to humans' capacity to change outcomes through processes of power and civil society, as well as individual and collective action (Davidson, 2010). The next subsection will explore more in depth how resilience expanded into social systems.

2.3.2 Resilience in social systems

There has been extensive work applying ecological resilience frameworks to social systems, however, these do not go without criticism. Davoudi (2012) claimed that there were four concerns with taking a physically grounded ecological approach and applying it to social systems: humans' capacity to modify systems is not addressed; the assumption that adaptive outcomes will be desirable for all; thinking of resilience as bounded can cause social exclusion; and power relations will affect decision-making processes. Furthermore, when considering these concerns, it should also be noted that they can affect different levels of social systems. These levels of social systems can range in their adaptability, from the individual to global level (Adger et al., 2008; Brown & Westaway, 2011; Dow et al., 2013). Applying an ecological approach to social systems becomes increasingly troublesome knowing that humans can influence how adaptive their systems can be.

In order to adapt there are necessary factors that should be acknowledged, including a recognition, belief, and willingness to change (Brown & Westaway, 2011), as well as an understanding of how to change while accepting that views of change may differ (Adger et al., 2009). These points demonstrate that adaptive capacity in a social system is significantly more complex than rebounding to a previous state, as demonstrated in the panarchy model. The complexity of developing adaptive resilience in social systems considers human capacity, recognises varying perspectives, acknowledges processes both within and outside of the affected community, and utilises numerous resources to identify infinite resilience pathways. Considering the diverse factors that influence resilience in social systems, Brown

and Westaway (2011) suggest that transformation rather than adaptation can be another response to shifts.

Transformation is the capacity to utilise a disturbance as an opportunity to alter pre-existing conditions (Brown & Westaway, 2011; Manyena et al., 2011; Wilson, 2012) or may occur when a disturbance is so dramatic that rebounding or adapting is not possible (Robinson & Carson, 2016). For some researchers, transformational resilience is the only potential outcome for social systems after a disturbance, as there is no possibility to return to normal due to their complexity. Wilson (2012) suggested that while "ecological resilience . . . focused more on the ability of systems to return to function after a disturbance, social resilience is, therefore, about seeing disturbances as an opportunity for change and development" (p. 19). Similarly to Wilson's (2012) "disturbances as an opportunity for change", it has also been suggested that resilience in social systems should be a proactive process that continually builds community capacity and engagement to affect change and development (Cutter et al., 2008; Skerratt, 2013). Transformational resilience in social systems can therefore be an ongoing process that focuses on continual and proactive recognition of issues and opportunities.

There is now a large number of resilience definitions and applications throughout the social science disciplines (Alexander, 2013). Adger (2000) proposed that ecological and social resilience processes were interwoven as social systems are reliant on the resilience of ecological systems for economic prosperity. Socio-ecological systems (SES) resilience was developed from the idea of learning to live with change in ecological systems, while nurturing diversity for renewal, combining different types of knowledge for learning, and creating opportunity for self-organisation toward social-ecological sustainability (Folke et al., 2003; Walker & Salt, 2006). This approach, while still considering ecology, does acknowledge the influence of social systems on resilience and how resilience influences social systems.

Much like transformational resilience, Berkes and Ross (2012) stated that the SES approach should be thought of as an ongoing process rather than an outcome. For instance, if the ecological and the social aspects within a system are constantly shifting then the opposite aspect will need to be constantly shifting to accommodate the other. Yet, this does not go without criticism. Davidson (2010) claimed that an SES approach to resilience focuses on a given point in time in a specific location and that it is based on maintaining a level of regularity, unlike transformation which promotes change (Davidson, 2010). In a further criticism of SES resilience, Brown and Westaway (2011) argued that if it was an ongoing process,

then the question remains as to who is responsible for encouraging this type of resilience, including who needs to maintain continual renewal, learning, and collective growth.

The shift of resilience into social systems has resulted in the widespread use of resilience across many fields and disciplines. Due to the term's expansion, Deeming et al. (2019) consider resilience to be "a boundary term or object which brings together normally separate perspectives, people, professions and practices" and yet through its transition from the physical and life sciences into social sciences it produces a "conceptual vagueness" (p. 5). In other words, by transitioning resilience into social systems the term has been applied to consider the homogenous whole and does not consider the heterogeneity of community. As a result, there has been little analysis of what resilience may look like in community. This vagueness becomes even more apparent when applied to the concept of community resilience and will be explored further below.

2.4 Community Resilience

Community resilience bridges many disciplines in the social sciences such as planning (Davoudi, 2012), anthropology (Maldonado, 2016), and geography (Cretney, 2017). These disciplines have all determined that change is inevitable, and that resilience is how communities respond to the changes. Folke et al. (2003) summarised that change is a "disturbance, surprise, and crisis [that is] part of development and progress" (p. 356). Following from this, Magis (2010) states that community resilience is:

> *the existence, development, and engagement of community resources by community members to thrive in an environment characterized by change, uncertainty, unpredictability, and surprise. Members of resilient communities intentionally develop personal and collective capacity that they engage to respond to and influence change, to sustain and renew the community, and to develop new trajectories for the communities' future.* (p. 402)

This definition considers the involvement of local community members coming together to utilise resources from their everyday life to effectively navigate change during unexpected life events. These changes can be from internal or external sources and may be driven by either 'long emergencies' (Kunstler, 2007) or slow-onset and fast-onset disasters (Orchiston & Espiner, 2017). While community resilience theory crosses many disciplines, this thesis is rooted in the social aspects of community resilience theory, and therefore will focus on how community resilience is theorised in the social sciences.

2.4.1 Identifying community resilience

When considering community resilience in the social sciences, a vast majority of current literature and studies focus on how it can be analysed, often quantitatively. This is often done by identifying indicators (Amundsen, 2012; Berkes & Ross, 2012; Buikstra et al., 2010; Glover 2012; Leykin et al., 2013; Maclean et al., 2014; Norris et al., 2008; Paton, 2006), by measuring capitals (Bec et al., 2018; Kais & Islam, 2016), or a combination of both (Miles, 2015; Norris et al., 2008). There have been a large number of indicators used to analyse and measure community resilience. A review of five different articles found a total of 16 different indicators were used to measure resilience, as seen in Table 1 below:

Table 1: Indicators in community resilience

Indicators	Reference						Total
	Amundsen, H. (2012)	Berkes & Ross (2012)	Buikstra, et al. (2010)	Glover (2012)	Maclean et al., (2014)	Paton (2006)	
Community Resources	X					X	2
Community/Social Networks	X	X	X	X	X	X	6
Institutions & Services	X						1
People-Place Connections	X	X			X		3
Active Agents	X						1
Knowledge, Skills & Learning	X	X	X	X	X		5
Values & Beliefs		X	X				2
Engaged Governance		X			X		2
Diverse & Innovative Economy		X	X	X	X		4
Community Infrastructure		X	X		X		3
Leadership		X	X				2
Positive Outlook		X	X				2
Early Experience			X				1
Environment & Lifestyle			X				1
Sense of Purpose			X				1
Embracing Differences			X	X			2
Capacity						X	1
Collective Efficacy						X	1
Trust						X	1
Protective Factors						X	1
Power						X	1

The most common indicators were community/social networks (Amundsen, 2012; Berkes & Ross, 2012; Buikstra et al., 2010; Glover 2012; Maclean et al., 2014; Paton, 2006), knowledge, skills and learning (Amundsen, 2012; Berkes & Ross, 2012; Buikstra et al., 2010; Glover 2012; Maclean et al., 2014), and a diverse and innovative economy (Berkes & Ross, 2012; Buikstra et al., 2010; Glover 2012; Maclean et al., 2014). While the above three indicators were the same across multiple studies, others were similar but with different labels. For example, institutions and services (Amundsen, 2012) are the same as community infrastructure (Berkes & Ross, 2012; Buikstra et al., 2010; Maclean et al., 2014). Also engaged governance (Berkes & Ross, 2012; Maclean et al., 2014) and leadership (Berkes & Ross, 2012; Buikstra et al., 2010) are inherently the same while being labelled differently. Due to there not being universal indicators, it can cause confusion on which indicators to use. This can lead to confusion in methodology for understanding resilience in both theory and practice. Additionally, by using pre-set indicators to assess a community's resilience it ignores the unique processes within them and relegates the communities to being one-dimensional and static. This is problematic as community theories have demonstrated that community is complex with many interconnected processes (Barrett, 2015; Liepins, 2000a, 2000b; Titz et al., 2018). Therefore, community resilience should consider the complexity of processes that exist within communities rather than focussing strongly on indicators of resilience.

One way that community resilience has moved away from quantifying resilience through indicators is by considering the capitals that exist in community. While not aiming to analyse processes, using a capitals approach considers the unique characteristics within community that contribute to community resilience. Some researchers propose that to analyse a community's resilience, than the current levels of social, economic, and environmental capitals within a given context must be identified and analysed (Robinson & Carson 2016; Steiner & Atterton, 2015). Yet, these are only three of the capitals that could be considered. Other capitals that can be considered in community resilience include cultural, human, political, as well as the built environment (Flora et al., 2016). According to Flora et al. (2016) these capitals are generally considered to be:

1. Social: the connections people have with one another
2. Cultural: language, moral values and aspirations, worldviews passed on through generations
3. Human: education and training, adequate health care, high birth and low death rates
4. Financial/Economic: money, assets such as automobiles and property, shares
5. Political: influence in decision-making, power to inform, empowerment to speak out
6. Built environment: adequate housing, telecommunication services such as phones and internet, as well as clean water and operating waste removal systems
7. Natural environment: access to nature, including land, air quality, and biodiversity

There have been some studies done that consider the above-mentioned capitals and how they intersect (García Cartagena, 2019; Kais & Islam, 2016), although this has only recently been emerging.

Robinson and Carson (2016) only focused on three capitals, yet they still acknowledged that these capitals are not stagnant and will shrink or grow depending on the circumstances. Other researchers have also recognised the relevance of considering shifting capitals. Using a capitals approach, Callaghan and Colton (2008) suggested that community resilience needed to be holistic, considering the capitals but also finding a balance between them. If a community can establish a balance between the environmental, economic, and social (Wilson, 2012), as well as human, cultural, and built capitals (Callaghan & Colton, 2008) then it may be considered resilient. A community would be considered to have high resilience if the growth of one capital was not compromising another, rather the focus should be on the interconnections between capitals and balancing them accordingly (Callaghan & Colton, 2008). Not considering the capitals as interlaced could unbalance the resilience of a community.

Kais and Islam (2016) addressed all seven capitals and highlighted that they were ever-changing, in other words they are "re-created through constant organization, disorganization, and reorganization" (p. 12). Capitals are never stagnant and are constantly shifting, which would mean they would continually need to be re-evaluated and taken into account when evaluating resilience. This can be difficult to achieve as capitals are not easily identifiable, are often difficult to measure, and vary between communities (Callaghan & Colton, 2008). Although some researchers (Callaghan & Colton, 2008; Wilson, 2012) have placed an emphasis on successful community resilience needing to be a balance between capitals, other community resilience research places a high emphasis on understanding social capital in community resilience and recovery (Aldrich & Meyer, 2015; Uekusa, et al., 2020; Vallance & Rudkevitch, 2021). While this can be useful in understanding how people interact in community, there is much more to understanding community resilience than social interactions.

Another method to assess resilience, other than indicators and capitals, is through the use of models. Models are often used to demonstrate how effective a community's resilience can be. These models include WISC-well-being, identity, services, and capital (Miles, 2015), DROP- disaster resilience of place (Cutter et al., 2008), and CRS- community resilience scale (Kulig et al., 2008; Kulig et al., 2013). Some models have been built from the indicators and capitals methods. The BRIC- Baseline Resilience Indicators for Communities model collated indicators into capital themes to evaluate

resilience (Cutter et al., 2014), whereas another blends the indicators and capitals (Norris et al., 2008). Norris et al. (2008) proposed that there were four different factors that contributed to a resilient community, and within each factor lie different characteristics, which are a combination of indicators and capitals. This model can be seen in Figure 6.

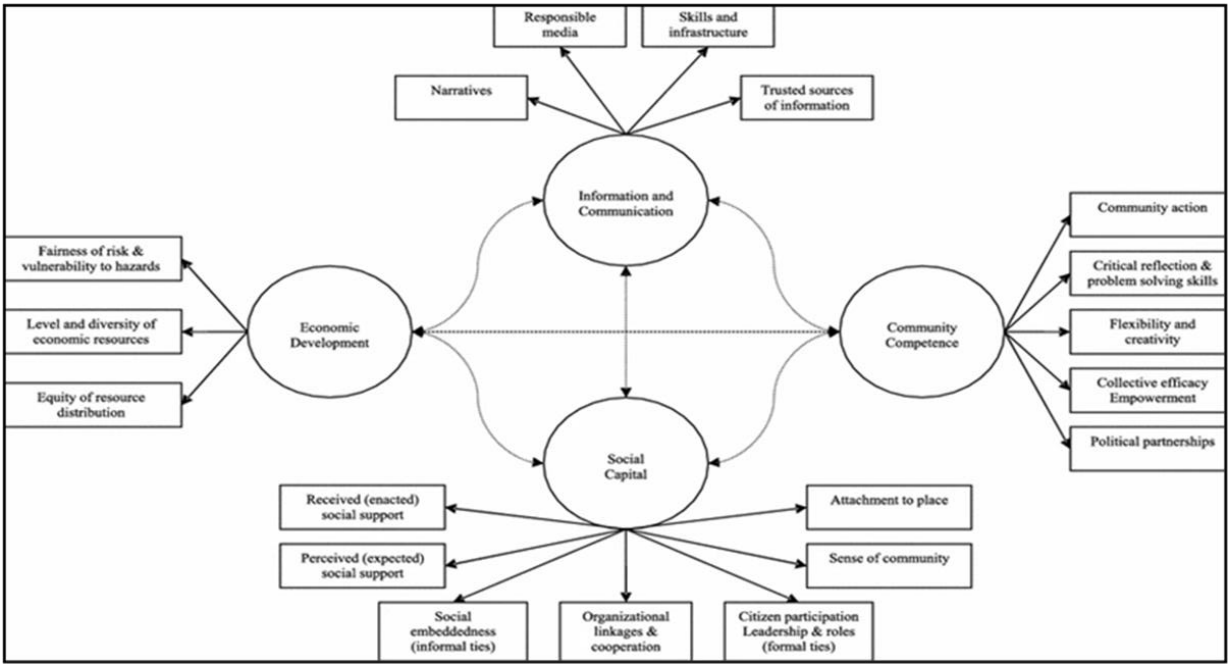


Figure 6: Characteristics of community resilience (Norris et al., 2008, used by permission)

As can be seen in the model by Norris et al. (2008), there are obvious comparisons to the capitals and indicators used in other work, such as social capital and economic development or community competence. Interestingly, while social capital is the only capital explicitly named in the model by Norris et al. (2008), other capitals are still within it however abstractly. Additionally, indicators are also located within the model, for instance, political partnerships could be used in the same way as 'engaged governance' or 'political capital'. The model by Norris et al. (2008) demonstrates that there is overlap between both the indicators and capitals approaches to community resilience. The above model shows that there are multiple characteristics and indicators that can be used to understand and identify community resilience.

The use of indicators, capitals, and models in identifying resilience has been established in an attempt to simplify the understanding of community resilience. While these conceptualisations of community resilience have been helpful in understanding what makes a resilient community, the processes within communities that contribute to building resilience have not been given the same attention. By studying the processes between collectives at the meso level, with individuals being the micro and community being the macro, a more nuanced, dynamic understanding of community resilience can emerge. This meso-level study can identify and assess the indicators and capitals while

incorporating an examination of processes all while not relegating community to being static and one-dimensional. In order to better identify the importance of the meso, I will now turn to re-examining the role of collectives in community resilience.

2.4.2 A social focus in disaster community resilience

While more recently the community resilience literature has begun to consider social networks, community engagement, and collective capacity there still seems to be a lack of research into what it means to be *community* in community resilience. Recently scholars have begun to re-evaluate *community* in community resilience (Räsänen et al., 2020), and as a result further questions need to be considered, such as what a community is in everyday life and more specifically what can collectives reveal about community resilience following an unexpected life event. In order to consider how collectives contribute to resilience then the social processes within community must be the first point of research. This is especially poignant when considering the discrepancy between disaster as an inability to withstand a significant shift and resilience as the *capacity* to withstand a significant shift.

Berkes and Ross (2012) suggest that the key to community resilience may not necessarily reside within geographical boundaries, but rather should consider agency and the capacity for self-organisation. By considering agency and capacity for self-organisation, they add nuance into understanding the complex dynamics that exist in community resilience. This method of considering community resilience has a strong focus not only on the community as a whole but also on how individuals engage with collectives and what they can reveal about community resilience following a major environmental event. This approach to community resilience acknowledges the unique qualities of a location, the processes of engagement by local community members in everyday life, and how they can be drawn on in unexpected life events.

The ability to engage in ideas within and between locals that have experienced change can come from building social connections that foster collaboration, and strengthen knowledge sharing, learning and participation (Folke et al., 2003). By this definition, resilience in a post-disaster setting can be considered an amalgamation of processes that operate within a system rather than a specific outcome. In order to consider what a resilient community may be, Magis's (2010) definition should be revisited as:

> *The existence, development, and engagement of community resources by community members to thrive in an environment characterized by change, uncertainty, unpredictability, and surprise. Members of resilient communities intentionally develop personal and collective capacity that they engage to respond to and influence change, to sustain and renew the*

> *community, and to develop new trajectories for the communities' future.* (p. 402)

Magis's (2010) definition highlights the importance of a community's ability to utilise their existing resources to respond to shifts, some of which include collective action, strategic action, as well as resource development and engagement. Furthermore, the definition above has a strong focus on the role of 'groups' in community resilience, and while it is acknowledged that they should work together, how or why this is done is not explored. This thesis considers the processes that create, promote and maintain the *why* and *how* of collectives and what this means in community resilience theory and practice.

While not necessarily addressing how they work together, the value of collectives in community resilience has been recognised. Madsen and O'Mullan (2016) found that encouraging social networks can foster learning, optimism, and connectedness and can be key to developing strong community resilience. However, these interconnections need to be built up over the long-term and cannot be hastily forced together after natural disasters (Madsen & O'Mullan, 2016). When people work together following a major event this should emerge from a strong sense of belonging and identity, and that recovery should emerge from these relationships rather than from decisions being imposed on them (Madsen & O'Mullan, 2016). This increased engagement from locals in decision-making improves the capacity to build community resilience through encouraging active social networks between stakeholders (Madsen & O'Mullan, 2016). Furthermore, increased social networks can also further encourage collective capacity that can lead to increased mobilisation of resources (Aldrich & Meyer, 2015). However, exploring the outcomes when these relationships are not encouraged or nurtured was not explored.

In addition to a sense of belonging and identity in community resilience, place plays an important role, and as community resilience often focuses on one community, it is vital to consider place in community resilience. Cretney and Bond (2017) identified that while social scientists are considering the importance of place in resilience, it is strongly centred on place as a location rather than relational place identity. A relational approach to place considers how individuals connect, engage, and contribute to place. In a recovery context, feelings towards place can be based on pre-disaster memories, whether they be historical landmarks, social interactions, or power discourse (Cretney & Bond, 2017). However, in order for there to be effective place-based recovery then there needs to be an acknowledgement that there will be numerous interpretations of place (Cretney & Bond, 2017). Further, no two places are alike and what works in one location may not work in another.

Building on the ideas of place-based and interaction-based communities, as well as communities of practice and interest, then community needs to be considered much more than a location. How

community members actively build resilience by engaging with one another through collectives should be examined. As Magis (2010) highlighted, a resilient community is built on local residents' ability to seek out and develop individual and collective capacity in an effort to respond positively to change. In order to do this, community resilience should be considered an ongoing, proactive process built through strong connections (Skerratt, 2013). In post-disaster settings, these pre-existing connections can become *the* resource that allows for quicker recovery and a stronger sense of community following a major shift (Chamlee-Wright & Storr, 2011). Some would say that in order to build community resilience, promoting social connections within and between communities should be central (Aldrich & Meyer, 2015) and while collectives have proven to be a positive in many post-disaster scenarios (Solnit, 2009), there are negatives that can arise from pre-existing connections. In order to fully understand community resilience, then the impact of interlaced perspectives must be considered as well.

When examining the social aspects of disaster theory, Sun and Faas (2018) argue that multiple different perspectives must be considered when understanding the severity and response of a disaster. This should inherently determine the actual vulnerability, response, and resilience to a disaster. For instance, when considering vulnerability, belief systems, and nature and the production of disasters, "we must contend with multiple ways of knowing- we think of the many people of the world who view nature as including humanity and culture, who see landscapes as part of their communities" (Sun & Faas, 2018, p. 630). By considering different perspectives it opens the conversation up to what is disaster and resilience. However, these multiple views can often either be in conflict or cohesion with expert views, therefore, "engaging multiple narratives should not be an exercise in ventriloquism- seeking validation in local narratives- but a good-faith engagement with how people speak for themselves and the world in which they are embedded" (Sun & Faas, 2018, p. 630). Engaging with the local population who has directly been impacted by an event should lead to a better response and outcome.

The ability to actively engage and respond to change can be hampered by unequal access to decision-making, or an unequal access to power. Cretney and Bond (2014) stated that resilience building and recovery efforts can perpetuate power inequality between various groups. Concerns over power arise when those affected by shifts may find they lack agency and capacity during recovery efforts (Cretney & Bond, 2014). These issues can be addressed by undertaking a collaborative recovery process that considers the unique values and beliefs within a community (Brisbois & de Loë, 2016). Although power can be place dependent it can also be considered a foundation to building community resilience as it can either help or hinder network building, collective capacity, and resource mobilisation. Power issues can arise when considering the responsibility of promoting community resilience and recovery efforts, specifically who and what the resilience is really for

(Armitage & Johnson, 2006; Cretney, 2018; Vallance & Carlton, 2015). While Berkes and Ross (2012) stated that there was a lack of research into the different power dynamics in community resilience, some researchers are beginning to question the role of power in resilience (Brown & Westaway, 2011; Cretney & Bond, 2014; MacKinnon & Derickson, 2012). An examination of power issues in a community can offer insight into who has access to resilience and how; these issues may come to light through decision-making processes.

When the government implements top-down recovery approaches it is likely locals will feel disconnected from one another and not become involved in the government's recovery strategies (Blackman et al., 2017). Bottom-up approaches such as empowering community can offer the best approach to engaging locals in post-disaster recovery as it places the final decision-making in the hands of the public (International Association for Public Participation, 2018). It is important to identify bottom-up approaches, such as collectives, that are created from within the community in order to develop more effective long-term recovery plans that address the needs of those affected by the disaster. As it stands, there is a lack of research into how governments and non-government agencies can contribute to building stronger networks in their communities (Madsen & O'Mullan, 2016). Understanding the role of collectives can help to bridge the gap between what locals want to see come from recovery and what the government needs to do.

An implication of this for my own research is that resilience may be better examined through collectives, such as community groups, initiatives, and non-profit organisations. This is due in part to the fact that many of these types of entities rely on support from government agencies for funding, location, and formal recognition. By having the government endorse and support collectives such as community groups, initiatives, and non-profit organisations it can potentially lead to their increased success. Furthermore, an individual's perceived capacity to respond to and affect change combined with ongoing social ties with others, allows them to build resilience in the community through a strong sense of social identity (Brown & Westaway, 2011). Steiner and Atterton (2015) furthered this stating that "well developed social networks and community events, meetings and local venues enhance local social interaction and help to improve the perceived quality of life" (p. 32). This demonstrates how collectives can contribute to resilience within community through the processes that individuals engage in in everyday life. However, if these social ties are not fostered in everyday life, then it would be difficult to force them together during unexpected life events. Aotearoa New Zealand has a strong background in examining some of the themes that have emerged throughout this literature review.

2.4.3 Community resilience research in Aotearoa New Zealand

There has been a significant amount of research on community resilience that has come from Aotearoa New Zealand, which is not surprising given that the country experiences a wide array of destructive environmental events. Broadly speaking, Paton (2006) developed a model to conceptualise adaptive capacity and how to assess community resilience. Paton's (2006) model follows alongside other researchers that have used indicators to assess community resilience, as outlined above. An adaptation of Paton's model can be seen in Figure 7. Paton's (2006) model depicted resilience from the individual, community, and institutional/environmental levels, and the various indicators or factors that can influence them. While Paton's early model provided a useful tool in demonstrating the complexity of community resilience, there has been further research into these concepts over the years.

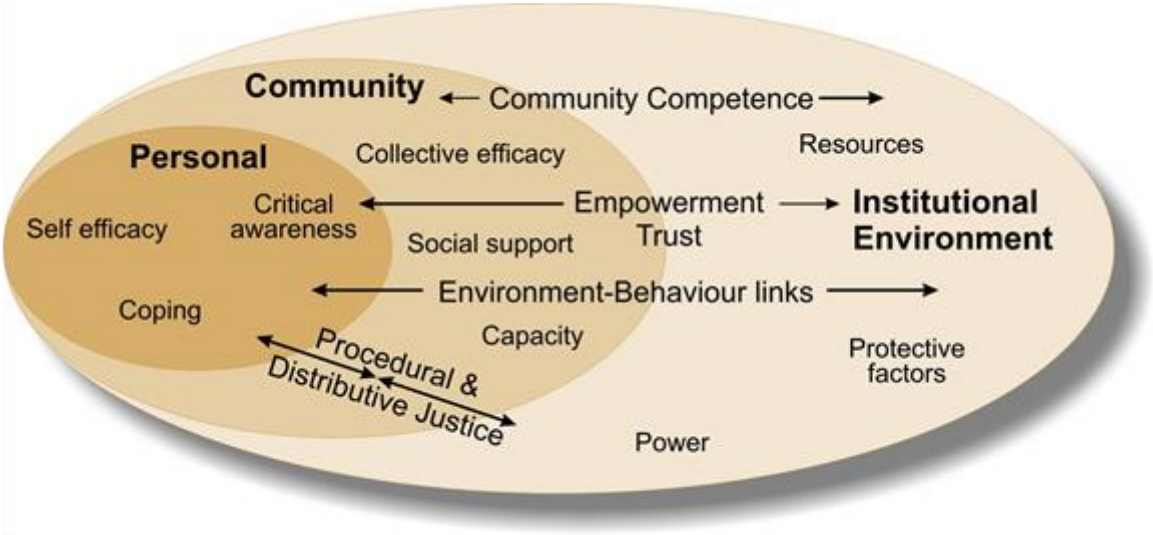


Figure 7: Model of community resilience (Daly et al., 2009, used by permission)

Community resilience research in Aotearoa New Zealand has covered numerous types of events such as volcanoes (Gabrielsen et al., 2017; Paton et al., 2001), wildfires (Grant & Langer, 2021), and climate change (Hayward, 2008; Stewart et al., 2016). There has also been more specific work that has considered how different communities such as rural areas (Fielke et al., 2017; Payne et al., 2019), businesses (Orchiston & Espiner, 2017), and Māori (Gabrielsen et al., 2017; Kenney & Phibbs, 2014; Lambert, 2014) respond to and prepare for events, and how collaboration between communities of stakeholders can be increased (Doyle et al., 2015; Seville et al., 2008). While there has been an ongoing global increase in community resilience research, Aotearoa New Zealand has seen an increase in this research since the early 2010s.

The strong increase in community resilience research since the 2010s can be attributed in part to the Canterbury earthquakes in September 2010 and February 2011. Much of the research on resilience and recovery that has emerged from the Canterbury earthquakes has examined response (Cretney,

2016), politics of resilience (Hayward, 2013), food systems (Berno, 2017; Wesener, 2020) and urban space transitions (Brand et al., 2019). However, there was also a strong emerging focus on the social aspects of community resilience including social capital (Aldrich, 2017; Prayag et al., 2021), social infrastructure (Banwell, 2017; Thornley et al., 2015), and the role of initiatives and organisations (Carlton & Vallance, 2013; Vallance & Carlton, 2015) in the long-term processes of resilience and recovery. This thesis is strongly aligned within the increasing resilience research in Aotearoa New Zealand and looks to expand on current understandings of the social aspects of community resilience.

2.5 Chapter Summary

This literature review established the need for community resilience redirection in three ways:

1. by exploring various conceptualisations of community,
2. by critically examining methods of defining and identifying resilience,
3. and finally, by considering how community resilience is currently defined and applied throughout academia and in practice.

Since its theoretical inception approximately 100 years ago, community has held numerous definitions, with one defining feature being groupness. What is missing from many of the definitions is acknowledging community as an amalgamation of numerous groups that are constantly shifting due to various complex processes. As a result, community runs the risk of being considered one-dimensional and static, however, by exploring collectives it reveals a more complex and dynamic understanding of community. Due to the infrequent examination of the complexity of collectives in community resilience, their use in understanding resilience has been underexplored. Much of the current research has focused on identifying and measuring community resilience through capitals, indicators, and models. However, due to the unique characteristics of communities these "one size fits all" approaches to community resilience make it difficult to assess its resilience, and as a result, perpetuate the idea that "all too often 'community' signifies something vague and ill-defined" (Day, 2006, p. 2). While the last decade has seen a veritable explosion of research exploring community resilience, collectives as a meso level within community are under-acknowledged. Therefore, understanding the unique processes that exist in everyday life through collectives and how they may be drawn on during unexpected life events may offer insight into a more nuanced, dynamic approach to community resilience.

Chapter 3

Methodological Approach

Genuine doubt drives research. And very rarely scientific research begins with pure curiosity. – Reichertz (2013, p. 126)

3.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the methodology that situates this research and the methods that were used throughout the collection and analysis of the data. This exploratory study adopted a variety of qualitative research methods. The first section in this chapter provides the methodological overview, which outlines how the research began with exploratory inquiry to study a single case study using abductive reasoning. Exploratory inquiry laid the foundation for entering the field, while case study research structured the data collection and abductive reasoning framed the analysis. The next section of this chapter outlines the data collection methods that were used in this research including document analysis, semi-structured interviews, and participant observation. The semi-structured interviews were used as the primary method for data analysis while document analysis and participant observation were used as secondary methods to establish the research plan and triangulate data. The following section focuses on how data was analysed using thematic analysis and concept mapping. Finally, this chapter will conclude with an overview of ethical considerations and issues that were taken into consideration when conducting research in a post-disaster setting.

3.2 Methodological Approach

Selecting a methodological approach in qualitative research can often be a daunting task with many potential paths to follow. The following section will describe the methodological approaches that were utilised in this research, with an emphasis on exploratory inquiry, case study research, and abductive reasoning.

3.2.1 Exploratory inquiry

As the nature of this thesis was to explore social aspects of community resilience in Kaikōura, a location I had never been to before, it began as exploratory inquiry with a later shift to case study research. Exploratory inquiry is traditionally used as an inductive approach to research that is characterised by a degree of research design flexibility (Stebbins, 2001). It is particularly suited to studies of relatively new and complex topic areas and social phenomena where there is a need to generate some initial insights and then progressively sharpen the inquiry around emerging themes

and concepts (Stebbins, 2001; Wellington & Szczerbinski, 2007). For this reason, exploratory inquiry was used initially to gain insight into the Kaikōura community and was particularly relevant due to the earthquake being a new and complex event.

However, there are a variety of different 'paths' that can be undertaken when adopting an exploratory approach. Stebbins (2001) highlights that there are four uses of exploratory research: investigative, innovative, limited, and discovery. This research was initiated by following a discovery path. A discovery approach to exploratory inquiry is different from the others in that it "aims to be as broad and thorough as possible" (Stebbins, 2001, p. 3). This meant that when beginning this project I made every attempt and took every opportunity to engage in learning about Kaikōura while not relegating myself to focusing on one particular aspect of community. However, this was not done haphazardly, as there was still some semblance of structure in my initial exploration for discovery. This included reading books about the history of Kaikōura, saving news articles, visiting relevant websites and perusing publicly available local and regional government documents. This process helped to develop a 'picture' or 'story' of Kaikōura.

Building on this, Stebbins (2001) asserts that exploratory research, and in particular discovery approaches, should still be conducted in a scientific manner which includes "discover[ing] new ideas by systematically exploring social groups, processes, and activities" (p. 4). When engaging in exploration for discovery the researcher "must intentionally put themselves in a position to make discoveries" (Stebbins, 2001, p. 4). In this research, this was done by actively collecting various documents and intentionally timing visits to Kaikōura during scheduled events to "discover" community before the more participant-led qualitative stage of my fieldwork commenced.

Gaining familiarity with a setting is important in exploratory research; 'looking around' the social setting – observing, experiencing local life, and engaging with place – is a requisite (Stebbins, 2001). Given that this research focuses on the lived experience of disaster resilience and recovery through the lens of collectives, I opted for an exploratory approach, combining qualitative data collection methods. Qualitative methods are well suited to the study of community resilience and recovery, as it is through the collection and analysis of multiple subjective responses that an event is experienced, and through which a rich and meaningful explanation of the associated human actions and interactions emerges (Cretney, 2017). Further in this chapter I will outline how the qualitative methods I used were document analysis, semi-structured in-depth interviews, and participant observation. These methods are not only synonymous with exploratory research but with case studies as well.

3.2.2 Case study research

Case study research has been defined as an "empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary problem within its real-life context" (Scholz & Tietje, 2002, p. 9). In the social sciences, case study approaches can be described as "a very detailed research enquiry into a single example (of a social process, organisation or collectivity) seen as a social unit in its own right and as a holistic entity" (Payne & Payne, 2004, p. 32). In other words, case studies use real life scenarios as the unit of analysis, whether as a stand-alone unit or as a comparison between multiple units. Case studies have been used previously as an effective approach in resilience research in general, and more specifically to examine how resilience is built (Burnside-Lawry & Carvalho, 2016; Shenk et al., 2019) and to understand post-disaster recovery (Jerolleman, 2020; Naithani & Saha, 2020). Case studies have been proven to be an effective method in resilience and recovery research and therefore a reasonable approach for this thesis.

Yin (2014) explains that there are five rationales for choosing case study research: critical, unusual, common, revelatory, or longitudinal. I justify the use of a case study based on a combination of critical, unusual and common criteria. A critical case study is useful "to determine whether propositions are correct or whether some alternative set of explanations might be more relevant" (Yin, 2014, p. 51). In this research, I take the well-known and often-used theories of community resilience and carefully consider them in my data collection and analysis to uncover whether they correctly and adequately represent what is happening. Secondly, and most interestingly, is that my research falls within an unnamed realm between unusual and common reasoning. Yin (2014) states that unusual criteria considers the "deviat[ions] from theoretical norms or even everyday occurrences", whereas in a common case study the "objective is to capture the circumstances and conditions of an everyday situation" (p. 52). The reasoning for existing between these two criteria is that this research does examine common, everyday life but in a context that is a direct result and consequence of an unusual event. Therefore, this research examines unexpected life that occurs in a case study.

Once a case study has been selected and justified as an appropriate approach there are many different factors that must be considered when framing the research project. Some of the considerations include whether it is holistic or embedded, a single case or multiple cases, explanatory or exploratory, quantitative or qualitative (Scholz & Tietje, 2002). The approach used in this research is a single-case, embedded design as outlined by Yin (2014) while employing exploratory qualitative methods. This specific approach focuses on one case study while considering various units of analysis within the single case study (Yin, 2014) to examine a specific phenomenon as

experienced by many participants. This study therefore examines Kaikōura as the case study, the earthquake as the phenomenon, and the different collectives as the units of analysis.

Finally, this thesis has been constructed to reflect what Yin (2014) describes as a "theory-building structure" for case study reporting. This structure follows that each chapter will build towards my proposed theory, with each results chapter focusing on key aspects of my final proposed approach to community resilience. According to Yin (2014) this is common in exploratory research, and how this research contributes to a new conceptualisation of community resilience is outlined in the following subsection.

3.2.3 Abductive reasoning

Inductive and deductive reasoning are the two most common forms of reasoning found in the social sciences. In broad terms, inductive reasoning examines the evidence and then develops a theory, whereas deductive reasoning develops a hypothesis and then tests its validity. Both exploratory inquiry and case study research outlined above often apply inductive reasoning. The formal recognition of grounded theory in the 1960s led to extensive new theories in the disaster field that used inductive reasoning (Phillips, 2014). However, this thesis moves away from the often used inductive and deductive reasoning and applies abductive reasoning.

Abductive reasoning is far less common than both inductive and deductive reasonings yet offers a unique and equally important approach to scientific reasoning. Reichertz (2011) explains that abductive reasoning is used when:

> *One has decided (with whatever degree of awareness and for whatever reason) no longer to adhere to the conventional view of things. This way of creating a new 'type' (the relationship of a typical new combination of features) is a creative outcome which engenders a new idea.* (p. 220)

In other words, abductive reasoning identifies a theory, examines evidence, and then re-evaluates the theory based on the evidence. In later work, Reichertz (2013) summarised abduction as the pursuit to disprove current understandings of a theory by using experiential and observable data. As this thesis aims to critically evaluate community resilience through the examination of a case study, abductive reasoning was deemed most appropriate.

Where Hawthorne (2018) describes inductive reasoning as the "logic of evidential support" and Hanson (1958) describes deductive reasoning as the "logic of proof", abductive reasoning can be explained as the "logic of discovery" (Hanson, 1958). Based on the idea that one aspect of exploratory inquiry and abductive reasoning are both in the realm of "discovery" it is reasoned that there is a direct connection between them. However, Walton (2004) stated that "a conclusion drawn

by abductive inference is an intelligent guess. But it is still a guess, because it is tied to an incomplete body of evidence. As new evidence comes in, the guess could be shown to be wrong" (p. 3-4). While conclusions derived from abductive reasoning are not inherently *wrong,* it should still be noted that results could be open to high levels of criticism and scrutiny based on the re-interpretation of data.

Reichertz (2013) justifies that while abductive conclusions are derived by chance, abduction:

> *is not the product of uninformed guessing or a god-given ability to recognize what is right, but is rather a matter of absorbing (the greatest possible amount of) environmental data, which are then (albeit subconsciously) interpreted and used to arrive at a meaningful conclusion.* (p. 129)

This thesis follows abductive reasoning by first acknowledging the current theoretical and practical understandings of community resilience, then conducting data collection, revisiting the theory, and ultimately developing a critical analysis and recommendations on how to reconceptualise community in resilience work.

3.3 Qualitative Methods

As is the case in most exploratory and case study research, qualitative methods were employed in this research. Some qualitative methods include document analysis, interviews, and participant observation (Creswell, 2014), all of which were used in this research. These methods can be particularly useful in case study research as they allow the researcher to garner a deeper understanding of the ideas and lived experiences of participants (Creswell, 2014). Given that this research focused on how people define and connect to their community, specifically in Kaikōura following the earthquake, it was imperative to utilise methods that would explore the everyday life and unexpected life events that participants described and engaged in.

3.3.1 Document analysis

Document analysis, also known broadly as secondary data collection, is an unobtrusive method involving the collection and assessment of existing texts including official reports, historical records, newspaper articles, meeting minutes, websites and material provided by businesses such as pamphlets and newsletters (Mills & Birks, 2014; Thomas, 2015). While document analysis can be used throughout a study, it is particularly helpful at the onset as it helps to build a contextual backdrop, refine the core ideas and research questions, and identify potential research participants (Bowen, 2009). As stated earlier in this chapter, document analysis was used even before formal qualitative research had begun. This was done in an effort to frame a better understanding of the case study as well as develop an appropriate objective and research questions. While not used as *the* primary research method, document analysis provided both a starting point for this research while also assisting with triangulating the analysis.

Document analysis was essential in the beginning of this research during the exploration for discovery phase. By reviewing publicly available documents, it helped me to develop a contextual understanding of the research setting prior to entering the field and did not require ethical clearance. This method provided an overview and initial understanding of the built, social, and political environment, local resources, economic status, as well as local activities and events. According to Flora et al. (2016) these elements are crucial for understanding a community. By gaining a better insight into these factors it can offer a window into how people interact with each other and their surroundings. This method can also assist in the development of a deeper understanding of the local culture and broad, overarching opinions.

Document analysis for this research included a review of newspaper articles, government documents, websites, and meeting minutes. For this research, document analysis was initially used to identify a range of collectives that existed in Kaikōura. News articles from the local newspaper, the *Kaikōura Star*, were collected along with visits to national news sites such as RadioNZ, NewsHub, and Stuff. Reimagine Kaikōura, a locally produced recovery strategy that will be explored later on, as well as various documents on the local government website were analysed. Additionally, newsletters and community briefings from local collectives were reviewed. From there, potential participants were identified as initial points of contact for interviews. Although interviews will be expanded on in the following subsection, it is important to note here that as fieldwork and interviews were ongoing, old documents were revisited and new documents were explored as I was made aware of them throughout the duration of the fieldwork.

Document analysis was critical in shaping and reshaping this thesis. Early on the decision was made to examine rural post-disaster resilience and recovery by examining community collectives. The identification of collectives was done by analysing numerous types of documents, including newspapers, websites, grant funding information, as well as broadcast and print media. After careful consideration, six collectives were initially selected to be used as a starting point for this research. The collectives that were selected represented a range of purposes, with a variety of local community stakeholders, and were prominently featured in local documents following the earthquake. Ball and Thornley (2015) created a table (Figure 8) that represents community initiatives to demonstrate how they fit within a community vs. government-initiated framework that considers broad vs. specific outcomes. While not necessarily representative of the different collectives I examined in my research, it was a useful tool for selecting the types of collectives that were explored.

	Broad aims, building community capability, tino rangatiratanga	Aimed at a specific outcome
Community-initiated	• Kōhanga reo movement • Victory Village • Men's Sheds	• Violence Free Network Wairarapa • Kaupapa Tupeka Kore (Tobacco Free) • Amokura Family Violence Prevention Consortium (Te Tai Tokerau)
Government-initiated	• The Whānau Development Project (MSD) • Intersectoral Community Action for Health (MoH) • Health Promoting Schools (MoH)	• E Tu Whānau (Family violence) • SKIP (Positive parenting) • Healthy Auckland Together (Obesity)

Figure 8: Community and government-initiated collectives (Ball & Thornley, 2015, used by permission)

Building on Ball & Thornley's (2015) work, I created a table to demonstrate where the original six collectives that I had chosen fit within those categories. I also added a collaborative category, which highlighted collectives where the government and community worked together. These can be found in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Collectives identified prior to fieldwork

	Government Initiated	**Collaborative**	**Community Initiated**
Broad Focus			1
Specific Focus		1	4

As I entered the field and began interviews, the collectives I was intending to research changed, which follows an exploratory approach. This was a result of participants voicing more enthusiasm for other collectives (3), some collectives were no longer as active (2), and in one case a collective changed category (1). This meant that some collectives were no longer researched and new ones were analysed. The shifts in collectives and their corresponding categories are represented in Table 3 below.

Table 3: Collectives analysed after fieldwork

	Government Initiated	**Collaborative**	**Community Initiated**
Broad Focus	1		2
Specific Focus	1	2	4

The shift from the original six to the final ten came about rather organically through interviews, participant observation, and from conversations at meetings. For instance, once in the field it became clear that the original six community collectives that were selected had many individuals and groups which intersected at various levels. While document analysis provided a good entry point for this research and the identification of the initial collectives, it was not until interviews and participant observation were underway that a more nuanced understanding of Kaikōura could be created.

3.3.2 Semi-structured in-depth interviews

Interviews were the main data collection method, as they provided the opportunity to "gain insight into how people attribute meaning to their worlds" (Grindsted, 2005, p. 1015). Participants' views on the purpose of their collective, their aspirations for the collective and their reasons for involvement, as well as their opinions on the wider community were identified through interviews. All of the interviews were semi-structured. The semi-structured approach to interviews provided a level of consistency across the conversations through prompts, but also allowed for unexpected lines of interest to be pursued, and the ability to request clarification and follow-up questions from participants' responses (Paine, 2015). Prior to engaging in any fieldwork involving participants, including interviews and participant observation, an application for ethics approval was submitted to Lincoln University's Human Ethics Committee. The approval letter is attached in Appendix A.

The themes that were explored in the interviews included background information about Kaikōura, the collective they were involved in, wider community involvement, and their hopes for the future of the collective. The themes can be found in the full Participant Interview Guide in Appendix B. It was not uncommon for other themes to emerge from the interviews, as is typical in semi-structured interviews. The wording in the Participant Interview Guide and the write-up portion of the thesis has changed from initiative to collective and is reflective of abductive reasoning. This shift occurred as the fieldwork unfolded with a realisation that collective was more appropriate as some of the interactions between participants were more casual than a formal initiative.

During the initial stages of document analysis, key stakeholders involved with community collectives and local government officials in Kaikōura were identified. As these potential participants' contact details were publicly available, either on the organisation's website or published in news articles, they were identified as practical first contacts for interviews. Following the initial interviews, the second round of participants was identified through snowball sampling where participants suggested potential new participants (Parker et al., 2019). This process produced contacts that were involved in the initial and secondary collectives.

Participants were initially contacted to be interviewed via email if it was available, otherwise they were contacted via phone. As per ethics protocol, local community members were invited to participate with a formal Research Invitation Email and Research Invitation Telephone Script (Appendix C and Appendix D respectively). A Research Information Sheet (Appendix E) was attached to the emails for further information about the research. If the participants were contacted via phone, then they were provided with the Research Information Sheet prior to being interviewed. Before any interview commenced, all participants were given the Research Information Sheet and a Consent Form to review (Appendix F). While we discussed the use of audio recording equipment prior to the interview, participants were asked to sign the consent form following the interview. It was decided that signing the consent form afterwards would allow the participant to reflect on anything they may have said in the interview that they did not want included in the research.

Interviews lasted between 20 minutes to one and a half hours. Most of the meetings were held in public places, such as cafés and workplaces, with the exception of two interviews held in participants' homes. This was by their request due to travel and work concerns. Interestingly, given that some of the interviews took place in a participant's workplace, it was not uncommon that a participant would ask for a colleague's input on some of the questions being asked. If the colleague had already signed an ethics consent form, then their response was included in the transcription and analysis, otherwise their response was not transcribed. There was only one incident where a colleague did not want their comments recorded, in which case their comments were not transcribed and not used in further analysis. Interviews were scheduled around local town happenings such as group and organisation meetings, as well as community events and activities. Scheduling the interviews at the same time as a collective or town scheduled gathering provided the opportunity for participant observation while in Kaikōura. Based on the initial responses from the semi-structured interviews it was decided to have follow-up interviews with some of the participants, whereas one interview with other participants was sufficient.

The transcriptions for each interview were assigned a unique code number based on the order of the interview. For an initial interview they were given sequential codes, for example 1001, 2001, 3001 and so on. In total, 24 interviews were conducted. Twenty of the interviews were initial interviews, with the other four interviews being follow-ups. If a participant was interviewed for a second time, then the second interview code would reflect this change and was represented as 1002, 2002, 3002 and 4002. In the thesis, when referring to the participants they are coded as well and these are simply coded from 1-22. Two of the interviews had two participants which explains why there were 22 individual codes and 24 interviews.

3.3.3 Participant observation

Much like document analysis, participant observation was used as a supplementary data gathering strategy to triangulate the research. During the course of this research, I spent a total of 22 days and 12 nights in Kaikōura over nine months between July 2018 and May 2019. As stated, the interviews were scheduled around local events that were happening in the township. Some of the events that I attended were one-off events, community meetings within and between collectives, as well as regularly scheduled activities for collectives. Some of the participant observation sessions I attended were group and organisation meetings that were held monthly. There were also times when I was invited to attend a weekly event that was held at a collective's central location or in a community building. Other participant observation sessions were at events that were held annually, such as a local clean-up day and events surrounding the anniversary of the earthquake, and others were one-off events. When engaging in participant observation I kept a journal for fieldnotes. To ensure participants were not made to feel uncomfortable under a watchful eye, I would write in the journal after every engagement rather than actively writing during the participant observation session. This was done to ensure that observations were not left too long, as greater time between event and writing would have meant key information could have been forgotten. The variety of meetings, events, and activities I attended demonstrates how the exploration for discovery approach for this research was actively pursued.

Group and organisation activities

Many of the activities and events I attended were specific to a particular collective. These were often put on regularly by the collective. It was also not uncommon for some activities to be one-offs. In many cases participants invited me to attend events and activities that were being put on by their collective. In some cases I would attend a gathering without a specific invitation; this would have been due to the fact that it was a public event. These types of events were often promoted through the collective's website or newsletter, media outlets and government websites. On one occasion I respectfully declined an invitation to attend a meeting as it was of a sensitive nature and could have potentially led to those in the meeting feeling uncomfortable with a researcher present. Additionally, this meeting was beyond the scope of my ethics approval due to the meeting being sensitive in nature to the attendees' personal lives.

The wider community events and activities that I attended included clean-up days, community meals, and a Community Expo. I also attended events for the second-year anniversary of the earthquake which included tree planting, a concert in Churchill Park, and a variety evening at the Memorial Hall. These events were all organised by community members, and it was not uncommon for participants

to be involved in the organisation committees. These events allowed me to witness how and which locals in Kaikōura engaged in these types of activities.

Community meetings

The community meetings that I attended included the Social Earthquake Task Group (SETG), Communications Catch-up, and the Community Networkers meetings. I had not heard of any of these meetings before starting the fieldwork, although I was invited by community members to attend them as the fieldwork progressed. SETG was established to assist with the aftermath and recovery of the social concerns following the earthquake. There were other groups formed to assist with other aspects of the recovery, however, as this research tended to focus more heavily on the social aspects I was not invited to or involved with the other three task groups. It was not uncommon for individuals involved in the other task groups to be present at the SETG meetings, demonstrating the overlap between them.

At the meetings, everyone in attendance was asked to go around and introduce themselves. As a result, it was relatively easy for me to introduce myself without steering the conversation or purpose of the meeting away from the agenda. At these meetings it was common for someone in attendance to ask questions about my research after introducing myself, or offer suggestions on potential directions my research could go. Most times my introduction was met with smiles and nods from others in the room. There was variation in attendance at the monthly meetings, but more striking was the overlap in attendance between the three meeting groups I attended. Given that I attended a number of meetings over a few months, it did not take long to gather a 'snapshot' of how the meetings took place. As my fieldwork was coming to a close, it was noted that the SETG team began to rebrand as the Wellbeing Rōpū, demonstrating the transition into a post-earthquake 'recovered' community rather than a recovering community.

3.4 Data Analysis

The data analysis was completed in two ways: thematic analysis and concept mapping. Given that the research methods were qualitative I used a ground up approach for my data analysis. This ground up approach to data analysis is common in inductive reasoning (Yin, 2014). As detailed above, I had moved away from engaging in a purely inductive approach and adopted an abductive reasoning strategy. Thus, data analysis was not purely inductive as the theoretical basis for this research was examined extensively in the literature review. However, throughout the data analysis process I set aside what I had learnt of community resilience from the literature in order to examine the data with fresh eyes. This meant that rather than attempting to fit the data to the theories or fit the theories to the data, I acknowledged both as separate processes and then brought them together in the discussion.

3.4.1 Thematic analysis

Prior to commencing the analysis, the interviews needed to be transcribed. The interviews were transcribed after they were conducted and transcribing software was used to play back the interviews while I typed them into Microsoft Word. As the interviews were being transcribed, I actively conducted the first step of my thematic analysis. This was done in the first instance by colour coding the participants' responses. The intention with this process was to identify patterns that were found in the data (Gray, 2014). As themes were identified the number of occurrences of each theme was noted in a separate Microsoft Excel document.

This initial coding process included colour coding various themes that arose from the interviews. The categories and themes were adjusted as I transcribed interviews and new potential themes arose. Often this was done to include new themes that became prominent in later interviews. Once all of the interviews were transcribed, they were read through in their entirety to identify new themes or patterns that would not have been noticed in the initial coding process that was done during transcription. Eventually, the colour codes represented 12 separate categories. The 12 categories that were identified in the initial coding process were:

1. Local
2. Uniqueness of place
3. Unified (connected) community
4. Divided (disconnected) community
5. Lack of local/community/ stakeholder input
6. Connection/ownership of place
7. Individual Experiences
8. Champion/leader
9. Change
10. Back to normal
11. Mentions another initiative
12. Money for a collective

These themes created a base for the next step in the data analysis process- concept mapping. Once the themes were established the next step in the data analysis was the concept mapping that took on two different forms, as will be outlined further below. It should be noted that the thematic analysis was revisited in the final stage of the data analysis. This was done by re-examining the interview transcripts and placing them into themes that continued to arise from the data analysis in both the thematic analysis and the concept mapping. This will be explored further in the next subsection.

3.4.2 Concept mapping

Variations of concept mapping were utilised in the data analysis. After the first two stages of thematic analysis, patterns began to emerge. The patterns were laid out in an initial concept map seen in the bottom left of Figure 9. Louis (2014) explains that the process of concept mapping "give[s] visual representation of the larger picture along with the more specific detail" (p. 173). This meant that while the thematic analysis grouped the larger themes together and counted the number of instances they occurred, the concept mapping was able to show the finer details of each theme and the connections between them. Through the initial concept map it was realised that while many of the collectives described similar experiences, they were also vastly different. While still quite hands on, or by some standards elementary, this second iteration of thematic analysis included cutting out significant quotes and attaching them to a poster board in groups based on the theme. These are shown on the top of Figure 9. Additionally, underneath the quotes in Figure 9 there are two approaches to concept mapping employed in my data analysis and these are outlined further below.

Figure 9: Three approaches to concept mapping (Author's image)

Whereas the first concept map was used to visualise the similarities between the interviews, and as a result the collectives, the next step was to examine the differences between them. The concept maps in this part of the data analysis were modelled from Woolcock and Narayan's (2000) work that considers levels of social capital. Two of Woolcock and Narayan's charts were combined to create my concept map. Their first example demonstrates outcomes that can arise from combinations of high and low social capital (Figure 10). The second chart by Woolcock and Narayan (2000) that was adapted for this analysis shows a more fluid process of how social capital can shift depending on a variety of factors (Figure 11).

Extracommunity networks (bridging)	*Intracommunity ties (bonding)*	
	Low	*High*
Low	Outcasts	Poor villagers
High	Recent rural-to-urban migrants	Successful members of microfinance programs

Figure 10: Low vs. high social capital (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000, used by permission)

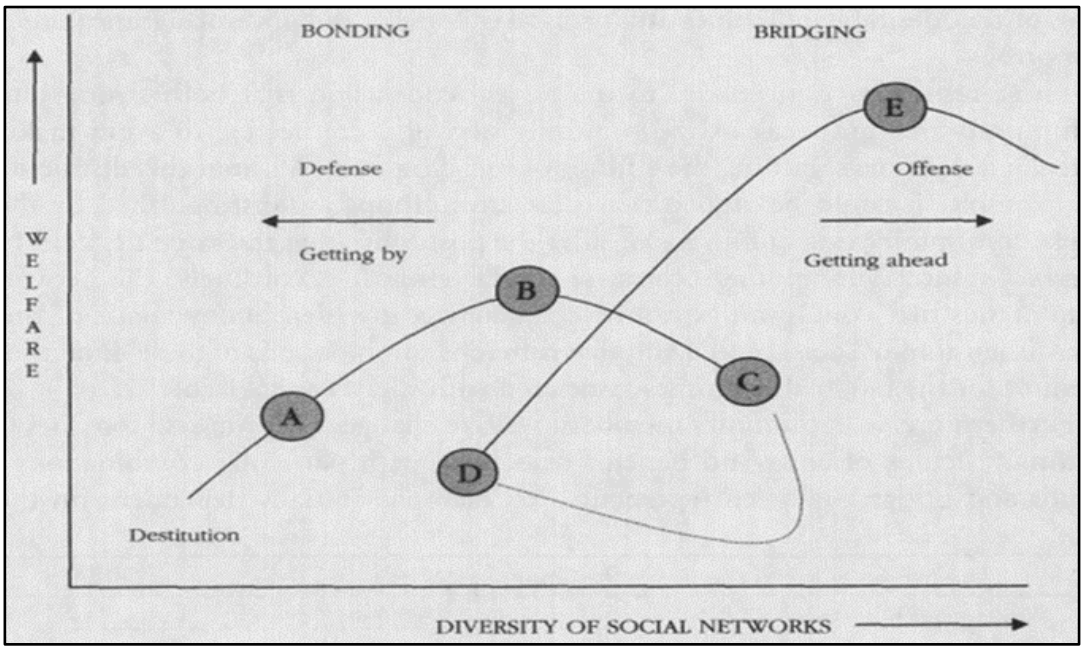


Figure 11: Fluidity of social networks (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000, used by permission)

The two charts adapted from Woolcock and Narayan (2000) were developed into a matrix for five of the collectives. The five matrices can be seen in Appendix G. The individual matrices were created on tracing paper so that they could be over-laid to see the variations in process. Figure 12 demonstrates how the collectives went through varying processes of low and high social capital.

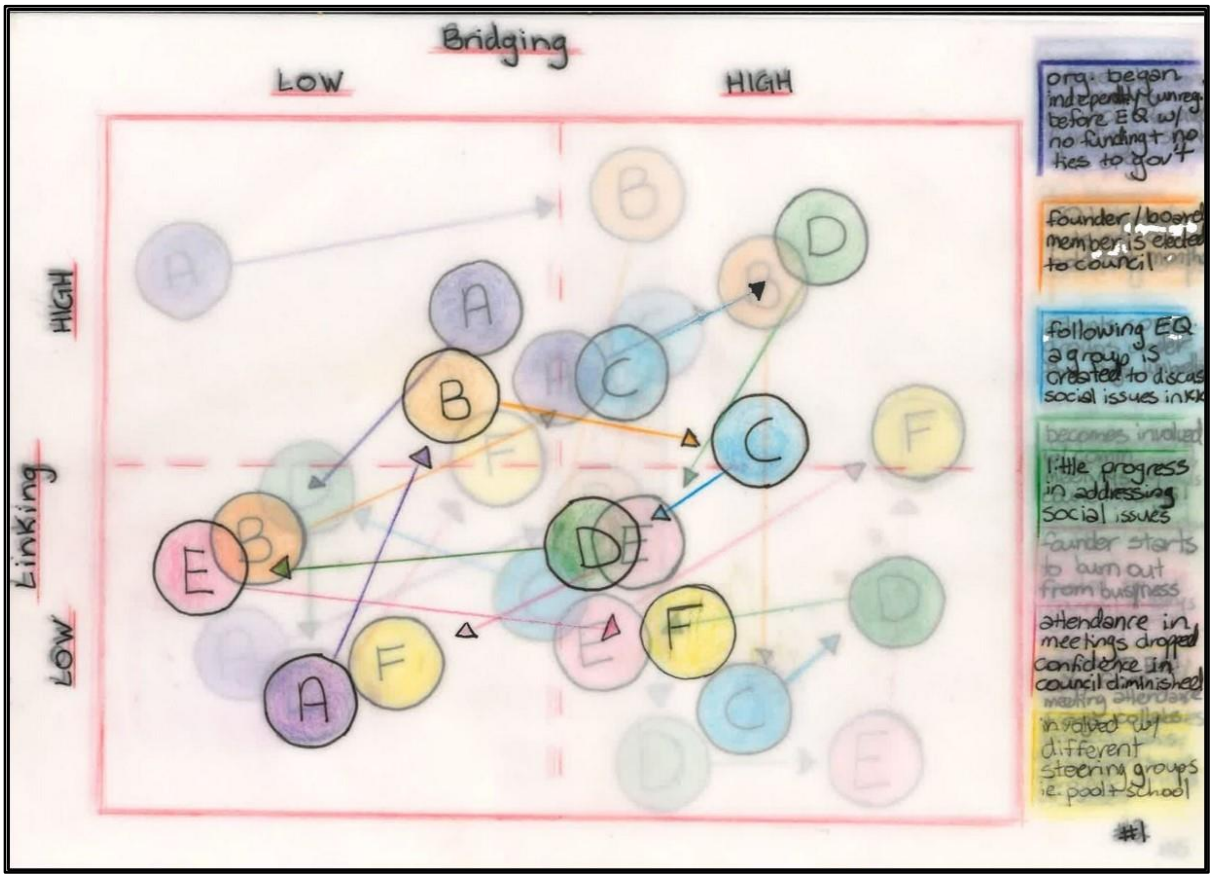


Figure 12: Paths of resilience for select collectives (Author's image)

While this analysis originally considered social capital, through abductive reasoning it was uncovered that there was more to the collectives than purely a social capital approach. Regardless, this step was necessary as it was through the process of concept mapping that the complex nuances in the collectives, and therefore wider community, emerged.

The intention of these matrices was to consider how internal and external factors contribute to the constantly shifting collectives. The newly developed concept maps were created using tracing paper so that when combined they would demonstrate the shifting patterns in stages. Colour pencils were used to help differentiate between states of change in the community collectives. Five community collectives were selected for this concept map exercise. Not all the collectives were used as the intention was not to identify all stages of change but rather to determine that they existed. The collectives were selected due to the high amount of overlap and interconnectedness of participants' involvement in the selected organisations. While all selected collectives had at least three participants currently engaged with them, there were also connections between participants that had existed prior to their mutual engagement in a collective.

As there were numerous collectives involved in this research with many potential paths of resilience and recovery it was necessary to understand how they shifted over time. By creating individual

matrices and overlaying them it demonstrated that at various points in time the relationships within and among collectives shifted considerably from before the earthquake up to two and a half years later. The matrices assisted with visualising how the community collectives had individual, shifting levels of resilience throughout the stages of recovery. As a result of these complex, dynamic stages of resilience and recovery, the interviews were assessed in multiple ways, as demonstrated in Figure 9 above, to consider more thoroughly the processes of connection within and among the collectives and how the collectives impacted overall community resilience.

3.5 Ethical Considerations

As with any form of research that involves human participants, there were concerns regarding privacy, safety, and agency in this thesis (Phillips, 2014). Furthermore, when conducting research in a post-disaster environment there are additional ethical issues that must be considered. The concerns that may arise from post-disaster recovery can happen from both a researcher and a participant perspective. After a disaster, it is common for a location to experience a large influx of researchers who are eager to study the disaster's effects (Beaven et al., 2016). However, a large number of researchers examining a post-disaster location can be beneficial if they can work cooperatively. As this research is part of a collaborative research group there was information sharing, although this largely only extended to suggestions for potential participants and community background information.

One of the ethical concerns for participants in a community recovering from a disaster is that locals can feel inundated with researchers. This can result in an increase in participants' emotional and physical fatigue (Phillips, 2014). Another concern may be that there is an assumption that those who have survived a disaster are not capable of participating due to stress. Although some have argued that this is not the case (Phillips, 2014), other researchers have found elevated stress among participants as they are not aware that participation is optional (Beaven, et al. 2016). These issues can be resolved by ensuring participants are well informed about the research. It was noted in my ethics application that had I noticed signs of distress in a participant I would provide them with a Kaikōura Earthquake Information Sheet (Appendix H). This information sheet included a large list of organisations that can assist with income, health, and childcare. There can also be benefits of conducting research in a post-disaster community such as improved access to health and social services, increased feelings of empowerment, and a general sense of helping others who may experience similar situations in the future (Phillips, 2014).

3.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter outlined how I used an exploratory inquiry-based approach in case study research with abductive reasoning. The qualitative methods that were used included document analysis, semi-structured interviews, and participant observation. This chapter also outlined how a combination of thematic analysis and concept mapping for the data analysis was utilised in the research. This thesis employs a theory-building structure (Yin, 2014) as a means to create a blueprint for a new approach to community resilience research. The following chapter will provide the context for the case study in Kaikōura.

Chapter 4

Kaikōura Case Study

Manaaki whenua, Manaaki tangata, Haere whakamua.
Care for the land, care for the people, go forward. – Māori proverb

4.1 Introduction

As outlined in previous chapters, RNC-Rural identified early in its programme that Kaikōura was a viable case study to examine community resilience and recovery. This chapter will explain in greater detail the characteristics of Kaikōura including an overview of its geography and environment, history, industry, and socio-demographics. This chapter will also include a brief overview of the immediate effects the earthquake had on Kaikōura, while providing a brief description of the longer-term impacts in the region. This chapter develops a general synopsis of the Kaikōura community, both before and after the earthquake, a necessary exercise in case study research.

4.2 Geography and Environment

Kaikōura translates as *kai*-food and *kōura*-crayfish in te reo Māori. This translation is a reflection of the abundance of the crustacean delicacy that lives in the waters along the Kaikōura coast. Kaikōura is a small, rural town and district that is located on a peninsula that juts out of the East Coast of the South Island in Aotearoa New Zealand, as seen in Figure 13. The district is bounded by the Pacific Ocean to the east and the Kaikōura Mountain Ranges to the west. To the north is the Waima/Ure River and the Tūtaeputaputa/Conway River to the south (McAloon et al., 1998). The town of Kaikōura is a peripheral community, meaning that it is not well-connected with the rest of the country (Horn & Simmons, 2002). As there are no regularly scheduled flights in and out of Kaikōura the district relies on road and rail connections for the movement of people and goods. Kaikōura is located approximately 180km, or 2.5 hours north of Christchurch, the largest urban centre in the South Island. Kaikōura is also approximately 128km, or 2 hours, south of Blenheim. This relative isolation is a contributing factor to Kaikōura's small population and heavy reliance on a strong local economy (Horn & Simmons, 2002). Although there are smaller settlements within the Kaikōura District, the town of Kaikōura is the largest. Kaikōura is the northernmost district in the Canterbury region.

Figure 13: Kaikōura, Aotearoa New Zealand (Wikimedia Commons, 2020, used under Creative Commons Attribution ShareAlike 3.0 Unported licence)

The unique qualities of the region have long been recognised by many (Elvy, 1996; Horn, 2002). In the early 2000s there was a proposal put forth by Forest and Bird to turn the Kaikōura Ranges and surrounding area into a National Park. This was based on the premise that there were significant numbers of unique plant and animal species found in this region and nowhere else (Forest and Bird, 2002). Other reasons for consideration as a National Park, is the remarkable beauty of the area and potential economic benefits that would come from improved facilities for recreationists (Forest and Bird, 2002). Similarly, in 2006 it was proposed that Kaikōura should become a World Heritage Site. Much like the National Park proposal, this was reasoned based on the unique characteristics of the region.

Not as apparent as the mountain ranges yet equally remarkable is the Kaikōura Canyon that lies below the ocean. The canyon begins to deepen at just 500m from shore and within another 2.5km it reaches a depth of 1000m (Department of Conservation, 2006). As the deep canyon is near to shore, whales and dolphins can swim close to shore and are easily visible from land. There are also distinct seal colonies on either side of Kaikōura; specifically, the Ōhau Point Seal Colony to the north and the Point Kean Seal Colony to the south. There are also pāua and crayfish that have provided food for centuries. Many species of seabirds reside in the area including albatross, shearwaters, penguins and gulls, some of which cannot be found anywhere else. The abundance of wildlife and its need for protection have been supported by many locals in Kaikōura and amplified by a local environmental organisation known as Te Korowai o Te Tai ō Marokura. This organisation led the Kaikōura Marine Management Act 2014 which designated protected marine reserves, animal sanctuaries, and established an advisory committee to maintain stewardship over the area (Department of Conservation, 2014).

4.3 History

In Māori legend it has been said that when Māui "fished up" or discovered the North Island he did so by standing on the Kaikōura Peninsula, using it as a foothold (Elvy, 1996; Sherrard, 1966). As Māui used his foot to brace himself he dislodged the seat of his waka, and so Kaikōura Peninsula came to be known as Te Taumanu-o-Te-Waka-a-Māui or the seat of Māui's canoe (Elvy, 1996; Kaikōura District Council, 2017). It is believed that this Māori legend can be attributed to the discovery of Aotearoa New Zealand by Māori around the year 450 (Sherrard, 1966). From then, Māori oral traditions state that there were many visits over time from different Māori explorers, including Rākaihautū in 850, Kupe in 950, and later Rongo-i-tua (Elvy, 1996). Kaikōura proved to be one of the most popular regions for Māori in the early days as it provided ample resources for subsistence, both in food and shelter (Sherrard, 1966).

Early in the settlement of Aotearoa New Zealand, Māori established themselves in Kaikōura while subsisting on hunting and fishing (McAloon et al., 1998). Over time, the region endured many, sometimes violent, disputes between other iwis, and later land (dis)agreements between Māori and Pākehā (McAloon et al., 1998). It is believed that the Waitaha occupied Kaikōura and South Island, between mid-1500 and mid-1600. However, they were soon overcome by Ngāti Māmoe (Sherrard, 1966). Archaeological evidence estimates that Ngāti Māmoe occupied the area for some time based on established local pā sites (Sherrard, 1966) and Māori resided in the region for approximately 800 years before it was colonised by Europeans (Kaikōura District Council, 2017). Currently, Ngāi Tahu, and more specifically Te Rūnanga o Kaikōura, preside over the region and must be consulted

regarding any environmental, historical, or cultural matters that should arise in the district (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 1997).

The first time Europeans sighted Kaikōura was on 14 February 1770 by Captain James Cook (Elvy, 1996). As Cook described it, “Snow lay in patches on the high mountains, and some low land that appeared like an island lay close under the foot” (Elvy, 1996). The area was dubbed Lookers-on; although it is debated whether this was a result of Māori presence watching the ships or the imposing mountains looming over the ocean (Elvy, 1996; Sherrard, 1966). Although it is believed there were other ships that would have passed Kaikōura following Cook’s voyage there were no established European settlements in the area for some time. In fact, many early accounts of Kaikōura deemed it inhospitable and uninviting, and as a result there was no continuous colonial presence in the area until whaling was established (Sherrard, 1966).

Kaikōura became a whaling station in the early 1830s and in the 1840s a shore-whaling station began to take shape headed by Robert Fyffe and John Murray (Garbes & Garbes, 2004; Sherrard, 1966). Whalers hunted right and humpback whales for oil and bone as the whales passed the Kaikōura coast during their annual migration (Sherrard, 1966). By 1845, 29 whaling stations were established in the area, yet Fyffe’s Waiopuka Whaling Station would prove to be the most successful (Garbes & Garbes, 2001). The Fyffe House is all that remains today of Fyffe’s once successful whaling endeavours. Although the building was temporarily closed to visitors due to damage from the 2016 earthquake, it reopened in mid-2020. The last whale hunted in Aotearoa New Zealand was caught off the shore of Kaikōura on 21 December 1964; 14 years before it was deemed illegal in 1978 (Garbes & Garbes, 2001). The presence of whales and other marine life in the waters surrounding Kaikōura has continued to provide economic stability for those living in the township and district, although in a much different industry from whaling.

4.4 Industry

Over the last century there have been many economic, political, and social changes in Kaikōura. While Europeans initially settled in Kaikōura for whaling, this did not carry on much past the early 1920s, as cray potting and fishing became the primary ocean resources (McAloon et al., 1998). Crayfish and fish are still caught commercially in the area today. As for other primary industries, sheep farming was previously the most prevalent agricultural activity, however over time, beef, dairy, and other types of farming also contributed significantly to the agricultural industry in the region (McAloon et al., 1998). In the past, the primary sector has been the largest contributor to the economy in the district, and even today agriculture and fisheries remain important industries. However, new industries have been growing.

Fishing is not the only source of income that emerges from sea life in Kaikōura. Whales, dolphins, and seals are an integral part of Kaikōura's growing tourism economy. In the 1980s tourism began to rise in Kaikōura, as a group of locals came together to market Kaikōura as a tourism destination and establish a visitors' centre (McAloon et al., 1998). The emerging tourism industry was centred on the marine life that can be found in the region, including sea mammals and sea birds (Moore et al., 1998). Between 2006 and 2013 there was a significant rise in unemployment, from 1.6% to 2.5% respectively; however, this dropped down to 1.2% in 2018 (Stats NZ Tatauranga Aotearoa, 2017a). It can be assumed that the lowered unemployment rate two years after the earthquake was in direct correlation with the increased employment opportunities in Kaikōura for the rebuild. When this is compared to the 4% unemployment for the entirety of Aotearoa New Zealand, Kaikōura has a relatively low unemployment rate. Occupations that are filled in Kaikōura are not dissimilar to those in the rest of the country, but there are some outliers. For instance, managers in Kaikōura represent 24.2% compared to 18% nationally, professionals in Kaikōura are quite low at 12% compared to 23% nationally, and labourers are 18.3% in Kaikōura while nationally they are 11.3% of the labour force (Stats NZ Tatauranga Aotearoa, 2017a).

Additionally, 61.6% of the Māori population in Kaikōura are employed full time, compared to the national average of 47.7%, with unemployment for Māori at 3% in Kaikōura and 8.1% in Aotearoa New Zealand (Stats NZ Tatauranga Aotearoa, 2017a). Even as a high percentage of the population is in the workforce, the average pay is $32,400. Furthermore, the Aotearoa New Zealand pay scales are quite level, but in Kaikōura there is a ballooning effect between $15,000 and $30,000, as well as $40,000 and $60,000 (Stats NZ Tatauranga Aotearoa, 2017a). This may be a direct representation of managerial and labourer occupations being the dominant professions.

4.5 Socio-demographics

The current population in Kaikōura has remained relatively stable over the last two decades, with slight rises and dips over the years but no significant increase until following the earthquake. In 1996 the population was 3,590, in 2006 it was 3,621 and dropped to 3,552 in 2013 (Stats NZ Tatauranga Aotearoa, 2017b). However, by 2018, two years after the earthquake, the population had increased to 3,912 (Stats NZ Tatauranga Aotearoa, 2017a). In 2006 the Māori population in Kaikōura was only 591 but by 2018 the population had grown to 720 (Stats NZ Tatauranga Aotearoa, 2017a). When compared to the total population of Kaikōura, in 2006 the Māori population represented 16% and in 2018 it rose to 18%. This shows a 2% increase in the Māori population between 2006 and 2018. However, Stats NZ has reported the Māori population at 17.1% and this variation can be a result of individuals selecting more than one ethnic group with which to associate themselves (Stats NZ Tatauranga Aotearoa, 2017a).

With 84% of residents born in Aotearoa New Zealand, Kaikōura has a significantly large proportion of residents born in the country compared to other districts. Of the 16% born overseas, United Kingdom represents 5.1%, Australia 2.3%, and Asia 3.3%. While the number of residents from Australia is lower than the number from Asia, these numbers are quite different from the rest of the country- which has 1.6% from Australia and 10.4% from Asia (Stats NZ Tatauranga Aotearoa, 2017a). These numbers demonstrate that the population in Kaikōura is less diverse than the rest of Aotearoa New Zealand. Additionally, the average age in Kaikōura is 46.3 (Stats NZ Tatauranga Aotearoa, 2017a). When compared to the average age of Aotearoa New Zealand which is 37.4, the average age in Kaikōura is older. This likely demonstrates a higher retiree population and a lower population of children and young adults.

4.6 After the Earthquake

As outlined in the introduction, on 14 November 2016 Kaikōura was struck by a 7.8 M_w earthquake. The earthquake caused many thousands of rock slips and 1-2 metre high lifts of the sea floor (Stevenson et al., 2017). The earthquake had significant impacts on the built environment and infrastructure, with flow on effects to the social and economic systems operating both within the township and surrounding district. Farmland, tourism, commercial and residential property, as well as transportation and communication networks were severely compromised and a significant rebuild programme has been underway (Stevenson et al., 2017). As RNC-Rural had already identified Kaikōura as a potential case study prior to the earthquake, the research team was quick to assess the impacts and released documents outlining the immediate social and economic impacts (Stevenson et al., 2017), potential long term economic effects (McDonald et al., 2017), as well as transportation, engineering, tourism and environmental concerns (Davies et al., 2017; Hughes et al., 2017; Simmons et al., 2017). This fast-acting research collaboration produced evidence of the significant damage, possible compounding impacts, and recovery potential following the Kaikōura earthquake. RNC has ongoing research interests in Kaikōura, and this research will support and complement it.

One report claims the estimated cost of the rebuild in the Kaikōura District could be $2 to $3 billion (Stevenson et al., 2017). This amount does not include the economic losses that may result from a decrease in tourism; a main driver of Kaikōura's economy. It has been noted that while it is difficult to assess the exact economic losses that have resulted from a decrease in tourism, the economic impacts are unmistakable (McDonald et al., 2017; Stevenson et al., 2017). For instance, five weeks following the earthquake Kaikōura had zero international tourists, and therefore zero international tourist spending in the community (McDonald et al., 2017). Although Aotearoa New Zealand overall experienced an increase in tourism expenditure between November and December 2017, there was an estimated loss of $21 million in combined domestic and international tourism spending in

Kaikōura compared to the previous year (McDonald et al., 2017). Any long-term loss of tourism would have devastating impacts on Kaikōura, especially when considering visitor spending in the year ending September 2016 was estimated to be $120.1 million (Simmons et al., 2017). Additionally, McDonald et al. (2017) stated that of all the industries trade and hospitality in Kaikōura would have the highest loss in business, however this impact was cushioned somewhat by the influx of rebuild workers in the area replacing the tourism market.

The loss of tourism can be considered a direct result of the immediate closure of State Highway 1 (SH1), both north and south of Kaikōura, and the inland State Highway 70 (SH70) (Simmons et al., 2017). It was not until just over a month after the earthquake that SH70, the inner route, reopened with no driving restrictions on 19 December 2016. Although SH1 south opened during daylight hours on 21 December 2016, the road north did not open until nearly a year later on 15 December 2017, meaning for this period Kaikōura was the 'end of the road'. Compounded by inaccessibility, another main reason for the loss in tour operations was the extensive damage to the harbour which limited the capacity for marine wildlife tours, a major attraction for international visitors going to Kaikōura.

Additionally, the number of commercial accommodation facilities available halved from around 40 immediately prior to the earthquake to 24 a month after the earthquake (Stats NZ Tatauranga Aotearoa, 2018). Although many of the workers employed for the highway rebuild projects lived in the remaining commercial accommodation, the occupancy rate was a low 14.7% as compared to 51.1% one year prior (Stats NZ Tatauranga Aotearoa, 2018). It should be noted that while these numbers are useful in understanding the overall shift in Kaikōura, the accommodation numbers accounted for hotels, motels, backpackers and holiday parks but not private accommodation providers such as AirBNB and bach (holiday home) rentals. The road closures, compounded by lack of accommodation, and substantial reduction in tour operations, resulted in a significant decrease in visitor numbers (McDonald et al., 2017; Stevenson et al., 2017; The Treasury, 2016).

Many impacts have already been highlighted here, but there were also significant social impacts that occurred when disaster struck the small community. As mentioned, the earthquake immediately cut-off Kaikōura from the outside world, limiting the flow of necessary resources and people in and out of the community (Stevenson et al., 2017). An evacuation response by the government was established within days of the impact, while others chose to evacuate Kaikōura through their own means (Stevenson et al., 2017). Other immediate impacts included the inability to access clean water, fresh food, fuel, and adequate housing (Stevenson et al., 2017). Daily routines were altered as all six schools in Kaikōura were closed following the earthquake; and as a result, temporary education centres were established shortly after the initial quake (Dangerfield, 2016).

There were also longer-term impacts following such a devastating event. Many locals lost their homes, and as these took time to rebuild, Kaikōura established temporary housing for those in need (NZ Herald, 2018). One major long-term concern was the lasting psychosocial impacts on community members. Not only were these concerns caused as a direct result of the earthquake but were perpetuated by the inability to freely travel in and out of Kaikōura due to road restrictions (Stevenson et al., 2017). Although the short-term impacts of a disaster are easy to identify, it is more difficult to anticipate long term effects. It is evident that the initial impact of the earthquake and the ensuing economic and social shifts have inherently had long-lasting impacts in Kaikōura.

Knowing that there would be many intricate challenges in overcoming the earthquake, a steering committee was created to compile a report on how to rebuild Kaikōura. This document, later called Reimagine Kaikōura, was used as the Kaikōura District Recovery Plan. Through the use of surveys, the intention of the report was to focus on what community members wanted to see in the rebuild of Kaikōura. There were five goals highlighted in the document:

1. Community
2. Economy
3. Built environment
4. Natural environment
5. Looking into the future

Kaikōura District Council (2017) also highlighted key issues and opportunities and potential partners from within the community and central government agencies to engage in the rebuild.

In addition to Reimagine Kaikōura and in response to ongoing social and economic concerns, the Kaikōura District Council requested from central government the ability to implement a Three Year Recovery Plan as opposed to the usual Long Term Plan. This shift from the norm was proposed as a Long Term Plan would take away resources that would be better spent on assisting with Kaikōura's recovery (Kaikōura District Council, 2018). The Three Year Plan was adopted in 2018 and ended in 2021. The Three Year Plan focused on six key aspects that were modelled from the community led recovery plan Reimagine Kaikōura (Kaikōura District Council, 2018). These six aspects were:

1. Residents and visitors enjoy an improved quality of life in our District.
2. Our infrastructure, housing community facilities are easily accessible, cost effective and able to withstand our natural hazards.
3. We value, protect and enhance Kaikōura's unique natural environment and biodiversity and sustainably manage disposal of waste.
4. Our community is resilient, safe and well and has their essential needs met.
5. Our District is economically diverse, attractive to investment and provides certainty around business and employment continuity.
6. Our community participates in decisions and planning in a way that benefits our future.

These six aims demonstrate the district's strong desire to promote social, environmental, and economic wellbeing for the entire community while acknowledging the recent devastating event.

4.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter has offered a brief description of the Kaikōura case study. This has been done in an effort to establish an extensive, but not exhaustive, contextual basis for the following chapters. Outlining the descriptors of Kaikōura should offer the reader a sense of how the community came from its roots as a Māori settlement followed by the settlement of whalers, with a gradual progression into other primary industries to a growing rural tourist destination. Finally, this chapter has outlined the major disruptions the earthquake has had on many aspects of the Kaikōura community. The following three results chapters will now explore more socially oriented aspects of the earthquake's impacts that emphasise the role of collectives in everyday life and during unexpected life events.

Chapter 5

Identifying within and Connecting to Community

He aha te mea nui o te ao? He tāngata, he tāngata, he tāngata.
What is the most important thing in the world? It is the people, it is the people, it is the people. – Māori proverb

5.1 Introduction

This chapter is the first of three results chapters and will focus on how individuals situated themselves in the community before and after the earthquake. The first section in this chapter explores how participants identify in and describe their role in Kaikōura. The second section will explore the individual participants' responses to the 14 November 2016 earthquake and how it may have impacted their involvement in the collectives and everyday life in Kaikōura. The ultimate purpose of this chapter is to explore the individual's interpretations of community through their identities in Kaikōura and within collectives, while also considering how the earthquake may have shifted how they connected to and within Kaikōura. This chapter emphasises the importance of identity as it shapes how people engage in collectives while also considering the close connection between identity and place.

5.2 Perceptions of Identity and Connection

When examining collectives as a means to understand community, it is vital to consider how individuals connect with their natural, built, and social environment. It is through connections with place and people that individuals are able to become involved with collectives. These connections can be manifested through an individual's lived experiences, social networks, and history in the community. This section will explore how participants connected with Kaikōura as a location, including their motivations for moving to and remaining there and how these helped to develop their local identity.

Kaikōura is often described as having a unique landscape within Aotearoa New Zealand. One participant stated that people in Kaikōura were:

> *Totally aware of its environment and also what we have here and how lucky we are. A lot of people live off the environment in various ways. Whether it is the sea or the mountain or the tourism or the hunting. People came here because they love the way of life. We even have an older, settled people here who come here to live out the rest of their lives here because it's got such a cool feeling here. What I call- what my culture calls- wairua. It's got*

> *an awesome spirituality. A peacefulness. Ya it is hard to explain. It just feels good, in a nutshell.* - Participant 7

This quote encapsulates what many of the participants described as the overarching feeling of pride towards the Kaikōura region, that the environment was central to the community and within that sentiment a peacefulness. The respect for the environment in Kaikōura is exemplified in it being one of the first towns in the world to receive an EarthCheck certification. This certification was rooted in the local people's "commitment to protecting [their] environment and working towards sustainability for [the] residents and visitors" (Kaikōura District Council, 2016). Many of the participants regarded this certification as a point of pride within the community.

The connection to the physical landscape contributed to many of the participants' reasons for living in the region. The unique environment in Kaikōura is often described as being "where the mountains meet the sea", as seen in Figure 14. Many of the participants discussed the uniqueness of Kaikōura as one of the factors that drew them there. Some of the common factors for moving to Kaikōura included the environment, connections to people, as well as employment and retirement opportunities. According to the participants it was these characteristics and circumstances that made the Kaikōura region a unique or special place. When referring to the diversity of the people there, one participant stated that "we've got a lot of nationalities that have made the choice to move here because we see the uniqueness of what we've got" and by originating from outside Kaikōura "you are looking in, you can see the opportunities perhaps better than someone who has lived here for a while" (Participant 21).

Figure 14: Kaikōura 'where the mountains meet the sea' (Author's image)

While some participants moved to the district to be close to family and friends, others had vacationed in the area and fell in love with the place. One participant originating from outside Aotearoa New Zealand explained that "we bought a house here in Kaikōura and we made [the

decision] about where would be the perfect place to be. Kaikōura had already grabbed our hearts in terms of its unique position and what we thought was a unique opportunity" (Participant 22). Another participant, in this instance a New Zealander, had been vacationing in Kaikōura with their family since they were a child. This participant explained why they decided to make the permanent move:

> *We moved here about a year ago. But we have been coming up here for holidays for a long time. This is my parents' house that we are living in, their bach. We have been having holidays here for like maybe a decade before that. So we were finally like 'ok we are going there all the time for a holiday let's actually just live there . . . because we're always here'. It's amazing. Ya so we moved here. That's our relationship; it rose from holiday to residential.* - Participant 15

How people connected with Kaikōura was not solely based on their interactions with the environment but the people there as well. One participant explained that they "came to Kaikōura for the sea and the mountains and the size of the community too. It's a nice sized town. It's not too big. It's not too small. Ya so it's nice" (Participant 4). For them, it was not only the environment that was a draw but also the number of people who lived there and the ability to connect with others. Some of the uniqueness of Kaikōura was due to the relationships that people had with one another. One participant described it as "I keep thinking about some of the people I've worked with, and working with, that just think this is a special, special place" (Participant 6). This demonstrates that the connection to Kaikōura as place was not only experienced on an individual level but collectively as well.

All of the participants played some part in shaping community in Kaikōura, whether they had resided in Kaikōura since birth, since moving there many decades prior to the earthquake or moving there in the weeks and months after the earthquake. Only one of the 22 participants interviewed had been born in Kaikōura. Of the 21 participants not born in Kaikōura, 17 were from Aotearoa New Zealand and four of them were from overseas, representing three different continents. The participants from Aotearoa New Zealand arrived in Kaikōura from both the North and South Island, with some of them relocating to their hometowns briefly before returning to Kaikōura. Two participants decided to permanently relocate out of Kaikōura following the earthquake. The diversity of participants' backgrounds demonstrates that the people who call Kaikōura home are far from homogeneous.

It is important to note that much like community, a definition of what it means to be 'local' is unfixed, constantly shifting and never definitive. Although the participants represented a large variation of time spent in the community, almost none of them considered themselves to be a 'local' in Kaikōura. Many of the participants discussed how it was a "standing joke" that if you were not one of the founding families "then you are actually an overstayer" (Participant 2). Another participant

outlined that “it is one of those things that always comes up. . . You hear the word ‘local’ and someone always brings [the joke] up in conversation” (Participant 7). Most of the participants that discussed what it meant to be ‘local’ found the humour in the banter and treated it as an ‘inside joke’ amongst those residing in Kaikōura. During interviews, two of the participants laughed as they recounted a time someone had placed an announcement in the local paper to declare that they had finally become a local. This was described by one participant as “there was an ad in *Kaikōura Star* that [someone] had put in there that finally he could call himself a local cause he has now been here for 30 years” (Participant 7). Ironically, by being ‘in’ on the joke about the exclusivity of being ‘local’ it demonstrated an increased level of ‘localness’ and comradery in place.

Individuals placed a great emphasis on what it meant to be ‘local’ in Kaikōura and yet when considering what defines ‘localness’ they only considered someone local if they could trace their heritage to the time of the first European settlers, inadvertently overlooking Māori settlement. One participant explained that “in some people’s eyes you will never be a local. You either came here in the 1800s or you’re an import” (Participant 2). What was not mentioned in most of the interviews was that even before the first European settlers had arrived in the 1800s, Māori had been established in the region since the mid-1300s. Three of the participants interviewed identified as Māori. The Māori participants were well regarded members of the wider Kaikōura community and maintained important roles in government, NGOs, and community groups. However, one Māori participant stated that their role in decision-making often felt tokenistic and that invitations to engage in community decision-making did not seem to be a genuine desire for them to participate.

Often times being able to engage with decision-making comes from having active roles in government and through other employment or volunteer positions. Of the 22 participants, half of them had some role with the Kaikōura District Council (KDC) either in the past or present. These roles were either through paid employment or as an elected official. The individuals’ positions at the KDC ranged from council department officers to councillors and mayor. Although some of these positions shifted cyclically, as is the case with local elections, other positions were held over many years and up to multiple decades. Additionally, just under half of the participants were presently or had been business owners in Kaikōura. For some of the participants it began as a hobby; something that they could work on outside of their everyday employment. However, other participants relied on their business for a living and a couple of the participants moved to Kaikōura specifically to open their own businesses. Through their employment many of the participants played a significant role in either starting a new collective or through participation in board membership and heading committees, while others engaged in less visible roles. While participants were selected based on their involvement, it demonstrated how their active engagement in local government and their businesses contributed to their identity despite many of them not claiming to be ‘local’.

In addition to the way participants earned their living, how they spent their free time can offer insight into the community, especially when considering connections. Many towns and cities have people who are active members in collectives that exist outside of their employment and Kaikōura is no exception. These collectives include faith-based organisations, sports clubs, community gardens, and volunteering. The local newspaper, the *Kaikōura Star*, advertises weekly events that are happening and groups that are meeting in Kaikōura. These events and groups include markets, casual meet-ups, sports groups, and hobby clubs. While participants were involved in at least one of the community happenings, many of them were involved in multiple collectives, some of which overlapped.

Through the interviews it became clear that one of the easier ways to become involved in Kaikōura was by engaging in collectives. When asked what community meant to them, one participant who was involved in many collectives, explained that:

> *Community is sharing. That's basically it. Give and take. Share. Friendship. Support. Solidarity. Coming together. Working together for a common goal. There's lots of examples of that here. They have events here that bring the community together. I think when you live in a small town you get to know a lot of people and what they do. If you can lend a hand, then that is great. I think a lot of that goes on here. It is a pretty good community.* - Participant 14

Originally from outside Kaikōura, this participant explained that being active in multiple collectives helped them to become a part of the Kaikōura community through their highly active engagement in many collectives including sports clubs, non-profit organisations, and various hobby groups.

However, although becoming engaged in the collectives proved to be beneficial in building networks in Kaikōura, Participant 14 also commented that maintaining an active presence in all collectives was difficult. Participating in multiple collectives often resulted in an extremely busy lifestyle and active participation in one group came at the expense of another. This was further realised when members of one of the collectives they were involved in were discussing that the participant had been gone from the group for a long time. Oddly enough, it was at a later visit at the collective's meeting place that Participant 14 arrived unexpectedly. Although it had been previously commented that the participant was not as active as of late, when they did arrive, they were met with smiles, hand shaking, and hugs. This demonstrated that although time had lapsed since they were involved, it was not very significant and they were still warmly welcomed.

For other participants finding a collective to be involved in was not as effortless. As a result of not finding an appropriate collective, some Kaikōura newcomers made attempts to start their own projects to meet people. For those who tried to start their own collective it was because their

interests were not already represented in existing community groups or activities. For instance, one participant recounted how they tried to start a sports club before the earthquake. Although it was unsuccessful in the beginning, once NCTIR came to town it became a feasible project. This was due to the new road workers being actively interested in the sport and needing something active to do in their downtime. Unfortunately for this participant, once NCTIR became involved their role in the club was no longer seen as necessary and they involuntarily withdrew their participation. This meant that even when making attempts to engage in their interests through collectives, it does not always work in the individual's favour.

Another example of a newcomer involving themselves with a starter project in town was the development of a community garden. This participant saw an advertisement looking for locals to join in a new community garden project and they immediately became involved along with their family. Unlike the participant who tried to create a collective from the ground-up and found barriers, Participant 15 found a not yet fully realised project that had most of the initial barriers removed, including location, start-up funding, and assembling interested individuals. Whereas Participant 15 felt more "connected" by engaging in the collective that had been initiated by a longer-term resident, Participant 16 continued to feel like an "outsider" in the community even after the success of their collective. This demonstrates the shifting sense of belonging in the collectives and wider community and that participating in collectives did not always guarantee increased social networks or sense of belonging.

Some participants, unable to find a pre-existing collective they were interested in, decided to involve themselves in a more 'background' approach. One participant, a self-identified introvert, had described on multiple occasions that they had attempted to get involved with developing new projects. Yet they frequently found themselves as "more behind the scenes. . . good at taking this person over here and getting them to do that or giving people bits of information that I've heard they could use. That's one of my strong points" (Participant 3). This participant claimed they were not the one heading the "start-up" of collectives, but they found ways in which they could still be actively involved without their involvement being as visible as others. Therefore, while this participant acknowledged their role in creating and engaging in collectives, they were not considering themselves to be highly active or visible in them, perhaps indicating that it was not a point of identity for them.

While some participants involved themselves in Kaikōura with ease, others found great difficulty. For one participant they described it as, "After I first got here I was like why is it so hard to make friends . . . especially if you don't have god, sports or children" (Participant 3). Another participant recounted a specific exchange when an acquaintance commented, "It is a great community here isn't it" and

they responded with "'Which part? The church part? The marae part? The school part? The pool part?' It depends which one you are in and actually I am not in any of them" (Participant 16). Even though this participant was involved in collectives, they did not see themselves as part of the community. Therefore, involvement in collectives did not necessarily translate to a feeling of belonging within the broader community and impacted their sense of belonging and identity in Kaikōura.

There were two ways family and friends contributed to advancing connections in Kaikōura. The first advantage was having family or friends that were living in Kaikōura prior to moving there. By having family and friends with pre-existing connections it made it easier for newcomers to meet other people living there. Similarly, one participant discussed that by marrying a 'local' woman "it sort of made me a local a little bit earlier than most" (Participant 6). The second advantageous factor was having children that were involved in different afterschool and extracurricular activities which aided in being "able to move into the community seamlessly" (Participant 7). These examples demonstrate how connections can be built through secondary relationships that can be supplementary to individuals creating their own connections through the collectives they were involved in.

Collectives shifted after the earthquake but for the most part interest and participation in them remained the same. There were only two participants who left Kaikōura after the earthquake, although they stated that it was not a direct result of the earthquake. The participants "were relatively positive about the situation and kept saying that they were ok with what happened, [although] I could tell that they were affected by it and it seemed as if they had moved in an effort to move forward" (Rudkevitch Fieldnotes). Participant 18 stated that it was a good thing that they had moved because they had become "obsessed" with the collective they were involved in and were spending a significant amount of time on it. Although this participant had moved to another region, they were still an active member who worked on administrative tasks from their new home and drove to Kaikōura once a month for meetings. This demonstrates that even without being located within Kaikōura the ties that exist within collectives can remain strong.

5.3 Shifting Place

Once the earthquake struck, locals experienced an unexpected life event that shifted how they identified in and connected to Kaikōura, both as a place and to each other. The previous section outlined how participants initially developed connections in Kaikōura, both in place and with people, and this section, will focus on how the natural, built, and social environment shifted post-earthquake. The section will explore the participants' individual experiences immediately following the earthquake and outline how the participants' connections with others and to place may have

shifted. In sum, this section will outline how the earthquake shifted everyday life for participants and how that impacted their connection to and within Kaikōura.

Following the earthquake some participants described how the environment played an important role in feeling at peace with the busyness of post-earthquake Kaikōura. One participant recalled that:

> *Still the nature and the beauty and the reason why most of us live here was always here. You could always just go down if you let yourself, walk down to the beach. . . I think [the landscape] was one of the things that helped us. I mean maybe we aren't as bad off. I feel like, wow how hard would it have been if everything was destroyed and we lived in an ugly place.* - Participant 3

While overall the sea and the mountains remained, there were still vast changes in the environment around Kaikōura. One participant described that the effects of the earthquake had long lasting impacts not only on the environment but also on the sea life. This participant explained that a significant amount of their stress following the earthquake came from "the loss of being able to access fish. To being able to go fishing and access paua and that sort of thing" (Participant 8). Another participant seconded this sentiment when they said "I miss the paua myself. We live right by the sea and that whole change of the environment for some people is actually absolutely dreadful" (Participant 12). This shows that it is not only the physical environment that connects people to a place, but it is the ecology as well.

Just as the natural environment was altered, so too was the built environment. Many of these built spaces included outdoor public spaces such as Waikōau/Lyell Creek and Churchill Park, as well as indoor gathering spaces such as the Old Scout Hall and the Mayfair Movie Theatre. Many of the built spaces were discussed by multiple participants and seemed to represent significant community spaces. These locations often represented spaces where old connections were maintained, and new connections were formed. Just as the natural environment was damaged following the earthquake, built places in Kaikōura were damaged as well. For instance, restoration work that had previously been done along the Waikōau/Lyell Creek was destroyed during the earthquake while entire buildings such as the Mayfair Movie Theatre were completely unusable. On the other hand, some buildings needed to undergo earthquake damage repairs to ensure safety and these included the Scout Hall and the Memorial Hall.

While there was damage to some of the built environment, it also brought people together. Prior to the earthquake Churchill Park was used for a variety of gatherings, including significant fundraising events for the new hospital. Used for community gatherings before the earthquake, in its immediate aftermath it continued to be a valuable gathering space for those in Kaikōura. One participant explained that "we had a meeting the first day up in the park. There would have been 700 people at

[Churchill Park] because they were all people staying here" (Participant 5); referring to both tourists and locals. As people gathered there it demonstrated the significance of public places in connecting people. The importance of Churchill Park was evident immediately following the earthquake as electronic communication was down throughout Kaikōura. One participant recalled, "We had to write signs up 'meeting in the park' and put them up, 'be at the hospital at 1pm'" (Participant 5).

Other participants explained that "Churchill Park became a hub and we knew we would meet at one o'clock or two o'clock each day for updates and stuff like that" (Participant 6) and "the only way of finding out [information] was actually turning up and listening to what people were saying and getting the information that way" (Participant 19). These recollections demonstrate that by congregating together at Churchill Park following the earthquake, it helped community members form a greater connection to each other in the earthquake's immediate aftermath. Similarly, Takahanga Marae opened its doors following the earthquake and helped with the immediate response ensuring people were well fed by serving more than 10,000 meals and had access to basic supplies through care packages (Towle, 2016).

While the physical environment (natural and built) shifted, so too did the social environment. This began as soon as the earthquake subsided. As one participant recounted:

> *People were getting out of their houses as fast as they could to get away in the event of a tsunami. One family came up, we knew them, and they had no clothes on basically. . . We let them come in the house and we gave them clothing and everything cause they got out as fast as they could. It was a husband and wife and a couple of kids. We gave them a cup of tea and that. We gave them something anyway.* – Participant 14

One participant responded to the earthquake by immediately rooting themselves in becoming active with the civil defence team, yet they recounted how some community members had felt "trapped" in Kaikōura as they could not leave. This was explained as:

> *We had over 300 visitors in town at the time of the earthquake. So all of a sudden we had naval ships off shore. We had 300 helicopter movements a day. And all of a sudden the tourists are being taken out and they are being fed and being taken away and all of a sudden all of that disappears but the roads are still shut down. The naval ships, the helicopters are gone. So people felt isolated.* – Participant 21

This is seconded as one participant recounted how they had felt stuck in Kaikōura due to the road closures, and that they "were one of those people who snuck out with high-vis on and pretended to be emergency people and snuck out of town. Literally just drove through everything" (Participant 19).

However, as people left the community new people came in. For weeks following the earthquake, non-locals were brought in to help with the response and into the recovery phase. As one participant explained, "I think I came in three weeks after [the earthquake] . . . I came at the tail end of the response. I came [when] the response was finished. We were now in transition and recovery" (Participant 12). Other locals rooted themselves in the response and long-term recovery. Describing it as:

> *We could have left at the time of the earthquake. We could have moved out. But no, we decided we were here and we wanted to be an integral part of what was going to be done in the community. So we were part of the civil defence response team in the first six months after the earthquake.* – Participant 21

Personal responses to the earthquake varied between participants, yet almost all of them described how their lives were changed or 'uplifted' in some way.

Many of the participants recognised the potential benefits that could come from the earthquake for themselves as well as others living in Kaikōura. Some of these participants noted the immediate personal benefits. One participant expressed how they had been overworking themselves to reach a deadline before the earthquake but when the earthquake happened it forced them to take a break from their project. This participant described their experience in the immediate aftermath as, "I had 6 weeks at home which was actually really nice after the earthquake. It was a holiday. It was great. I had a wonderful six weeks" (Participant 1). This shows that the earthquake had provided a reprieve from their ongoing collectives and everyday life for some.

Where some participants saw the earthquake as a brief holiday, other participants felt it was an opportunity to move in a new direction. One participant explained how "[I] had a business here and . . . sold it this year because [I] wanted to get involved with the recovery". They described how the earthquake triggered a realisation that it "was time to move on" and how they "wanted to put energies forward to go in different directions" (Participant 7). This participant ended up working in a position that was directly related to earthquake recovery; a position that would not have existed if it had not been for the earthquake.

Although some participants saw the earthquake as a positive, either as a reprieve or through new opportunities, others could not help but feel as if the earthquake negatively impacted them. One participant equated the earthquake to a time in their past where they had experienced a personal negative shift in their life that had been out of their control. They went onto explain it as follows:

> *This theory that being in a natural disaster is kind of like having [culture] shock. Because very much like when you go to a different culture so many things look the same as they did at home but they're not. It's a radical*

> *change but things can still look very familiar and trying to adapt yourself to change that you might not even be able to see. It can be quite tricky.* - Participant 3

By equating the earthquake to another difficult time in their life, and by comparing the earthquake to culture shock, the participant outlines that the effects of the earthquake are not only physical but are often long lasting and experienced emotionally, mentally, socially, and culturally. This demonstrates how unexpected life events can affect many aspects of everyday life.

Another participant explained that they had experienced a large amount of stress due to their employment situation at the time of the earthquake. As they described it, "At the time you do what you can do and you don't realise you can be pulled in so many directions" (Participant 8). As a result of the stress, this participant needed time to separate themselves from the earthquake's recovery in Kaikōura. After some time off, they were able to reengage with the recovery efforts and ended up "doubling down" on recovery initiatives by actively seeking out funding to head multiple initiatives and collectives in Kaikōura. Similarly, one participant who initially had a hard time after the earthquake relied on their new employment position to pull them through the negative impacts. They explained that:

> *You can probably tell it was quite a stressful time. It has taken time to really let that go over the last 18 months or whatever it has been. So this role has helped because it's been able to sort of detune me from that high level stress . . . Even though there has been stressful times, I've had several things come up over the period that have been quite tough, but it has been quite neat to work through it.* - Participant 6

All of these responses to the earthquake, both positive and negative, played a role in how the participants engaged in collectives following the earthquake. For some participants the earthquake resulted in them completely disengaging from their previous roles for a period of time, while for others they became even more engaged. For almost all participants the earthquake signified a shift in everyday life, including disrupting routines, interacting with others and engaging in civil society.

5.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter gave a brief overview of how locals identified in and connected to Kaikōura as a place through the natural, built, and social environment. Many of the participants were drawn to Kaikōura for various reasons, but all felt a deep connection to the place. Following the earthquake, the participants' identity in and connection to Kaikōura shifted. These shifts were a result of the immediate destruction in the natural environment, the damaged built environment, and ongoing changes in the social environment. As the earthquake altered how individuals identified in and connected to Kaikōura as place, it meant that there were impacts on the collectives that existed in Kaikōura, including those that existed prior to and those that developed as a result of the

earthquake. The following chapter will explore more in depth the purpose or intention behind the collectives, how they functioned through shared resources, and the shared characteristics that existed among them.

Chapter 6

Functioning as Collectives

Ehara taku toa, he takitahi, he toa takitini.
My success should not be bestowed onto me alone, as it was not individual success but success of a collective. – Māori proverb

6.1 Introduction

The previous results chapter focused on how individuals identified in Kaikōura, from their personal connections with others to their connections in place and how these shifted following the earthquake. This results chapter will focus more specifically on the collectives in Kaikōura, from their purpose to how they operate. This chapter will examine how collectives were created, grown, and maintained in Kaikōura and how people engaged in them. The first section in this chapter will outline a brief synopsis of some of the collectives that were explored in this research. The second section will examine how resources such as location and funding were secured to operate the collectives, with a focus on how many of the resources were shared between collectives. The third section will highlight the common attributes that were identified in the collectives that were examined. The intention of this chapter is to move away from discussing the individual level, and begin to explore how collectives operated in Kaikōura.

6.2 Collectives in Action

In order to gain a deeper understanding of the collectives in Kaikōura, it was necessary to identify why the participants became involved with them and to understand how they engaged in them. Now that it has been established that collectives are an important aspect of connecting in place and building social connections, I will now turn to describing some of the collectives that were explored in this research. This section will give a brief description of selected collectives with the intention of outlining how the collectives in Kaikōura brought people together and operated both before the earthquake and afterwards.

6.2.1 Community Dinner

The Community Dinners were initiated a few months before the earthquake. The first dinner was held on 29 August 2016 in the Scout Hall. Soup and bread rolls were served to five community members at the first dinner. With the primary purpose of the dinners being to feed hungry people in the community, they quickly became a gathering of people from all different backgrounds. The dinners were “building momentum just before the quake” (Participant 6). Following the earthquake,

these gatherings grew in size as "more people came in. We had a lot of road workers coming in" (Participant 17). There was some tension in the community as the road workers were paid a daily allowance for meals while also receiving their free Community Dinner. However, due to the Community Dinners being inclusive regardless of someone's background, the road workers were welcomed at the dinners. It was also noted that following the earthquake more families came in as well as individuals. It was noted that:

> *A lot of people sort of just came in for the company. I mean some people might be rich and they might have food at home and they might be wealthy but they've got no company and they are lonely people.* - Participant 17

There was very little to no formal sponsorship of the Community Dinners. The majority of the food came from donations from local community members and businesses. Donations included desserts, bread rolls, and salads. The main dishes were made by the volunteers to ensure proper food safety. The ingredients for the main dishes were donated as well. Venison from a hunter was processed into patties, sausages, and mince at the local butcher and donated to the cooks. Other donations included cooking utensils and equipment such as crock pots, stock pots, and bain maries. By Christmas 2018 the Community Dinners had grown to 130 community members all coming together to share a meal. The dinners continued up until autumn 2019 when renovations to the Scout Hall put a pause on them. The pause for renovations was welcomed by the organiser as the alternative would have meant ending the dinners indefinitely as no other space was viable. By winter 2019 the meals were once again continuing in the same location.

6.2.2 Community Shed

The Kaikōura Men's Shed was officially opened in October 2011. MenzShed is a registered charity in operation across Aotearoa New Zealand. The organisation's primary purpose is:

> *A shed brings men together in one community space to share their skills, have a laugh, and work on practical tasks individually (personal projects) or as a group (for the shed or community).* (MenzShed New Zealand, 2021)

After a few years of operating under the MenzShed umbrella the Kaikōura shed decided to chart its own path and operate as the Kaikōura Community Shed. This transition from the MenzShed to the Community Shed occurred following the earthquake and was a direct result of the members seeking inclusivity. One participant explained that:

> *I've had women come into the shed and they stand at the door and they ask 'are we allowed in here?' . . . Most guys who are into doing stuff have got their own sheds and their own places to go where a lot of women haven't had the chance to do stuff like that.* – Participant 4

The Community Shed organised and ran workshops that catered to different demographics. These workshops included a coffin building course for women and a surfboard making course for young people. The shed was also open for community members to bring in small projects such as dressers to be refinished or requests to build planter boxes. The largest project they took on was building a fully functional boat. The Community Shed is just one group operating under the Te Hā o Mātauranga umbrella of organisations. Members said this worked well for them as those who run the shed do not have experience applying for funding and doing administration work, but they are happy to run the day to day shed and ongoing workshops.

6.2.3 Mayfair Theatre Rebuild

The Mayfair Movie Theatre, the only art deco building in Kaikōura, was built in 1934 and became community owned in 1970. It has been run by a community trust ever since. However, during the 2016 earthquake the Mayfair was heavily damaged to the point of no repair, and as a result needed to be torn down. Luckily the board was able to maintain the iconic art deco façade with plans to rebuild the back of the structure. The front of the Mayfair can be seen in Figure 15 below. Although the Mayfair Theatre previously had the primary purpose of being a cinema, the new Mayfair building is anticipated to house a cinema, meeting spaces, and potentially conference rooms. Completed in November 2020, the Mayfair is a "multi-purpose arts centre [that] will allow the community to host all manner of events, concerts and organisations" (Brown, 2018c).

Figure 15: The damaged Mayfair Theatre (Author's image)

One community member stated that "we lost a lot in the quakes and our community – and coastline – will never be the same. Having the Mayfair back, and even stronger than before, will send a really

strong signal about our community's recovery" (Brown, 2018c). The Mayfair board saw the value in rebuilding the old theatre and securing funding as soon as possible as one local recounted how it would be "'great to be able to show the community that this project will happen'" (More, 2018). The board's investment in providing value to the community was also exemplified immediately following the earthquake when they worked closely with Dolphin Encounter to establish the 'Mobile Mayfair'. These weekly events were an opportunity for community members to gather at Café Encounter where they could watch a weekly rotation of films. Admission was by gold coin koha with proceeds going towards the Mayfair rebuild.

6.2.4 Te Hā o Māturanga Learning in Kaikōura

In late 2016 the collective that is now known as Te Hā o Māturanga Learning in Kaikōura was to present their application for funding to the JR Mackenzie Trust[2]. However, the day before they were to present their plans the earthquake struck. While the earthquake did put a pause on the request for funding, the organisers reached back out to the JR Mackenzie Trust around January 2017, where it was agreed that Te Hā o Māturanga Learning in Kaikōura would receive 3 years of funding. Following the earthquake, funding was also provided by the Department of Internal Affairs from lottery grants, with further funding from SKIP (Strategies with Kids – Information for Parents) as well as the Kaikōura District Council.

The primary purpose of Te Hā o Māturanga Learning in Kaikōura is "creating, promoting and encouraging learning opportunities in Kaikōura" (Te Hā o Māturanga Learning in Kaikōura, 2020). These learning opportunities were geared towards all different age groups, from children to adults. Some of these opportunities included, but were not limited to, partnerships with Ara Institute for coursework, tutoring, and driver training. There were also health and wellbeing support groups offered at the Old Museum Building, including drug, alcohol, and violence free support. For children and youth there were preschooler music classes, story-telling, youth council and balls. Te Hā o Māturanga Learning in Kaikōura, while providing the above services, also housed and supported different community initiatives and collectives. Outside of the main building there were also the Community Shed, Community Garden, a community library, and a community food shed.

It was evident through the large number of activities and events that were ongoing at Te Hā o Māturanga Learning in Kaikōura many people congregated and used the space on a regular basis. The organiser stated that "community development is actually one of the things that works really well but long term. . . it doesn't have instant results. Actually developing that really strong community focus because I guess that's really our ultimate goal". It was understood that by investing in

[2] JR Mackenzie Trust is a grant organisation established by a philanthropic family that provides funding for community groups and programs throughout Aotearoa New Zealand

collectives that strengthen all types of community, it would in turn create a stronger community, while also acknowledging that these would need to be invested in for a longer period of time for it to have lasting impacts.

6.2.5 Te Ahi Wairua o Kaikōura

Operating on the main road of Kaikōura, Te Ahi Wairua o Kaikōura (TAWK) is a Māori run and Māori focused non-profit community organisation in Kaikōura. The primary purpose of TAWK is:

> *[to] deliver community projects, host culturally interactive and responsive spaces, provide peer support, advocacy support and personal development pathways all scoped within a Te Ao Māori framework. An integrated whānau collective aimed at increasing community cohesion through mātauranga Māori. Empowering communities within Kaikōura by building on whānau capacity and capabilities.* (Kaikōura District Council, 2019)

Originally established informally to teach children and youth kapa haka, TAWK became a registered charitable trust in 2014, prior to the earthquake. Once formally established the organisation was able to secure both a physical location to operate out of and funding to support their programming. At their formal location, TAWK held many different programs that were aimed at enhancing Māori capacity in the community. The organisation is kaupapa[3] Māori but it is open to all community members and strongly encourages people of all cultural backgrounds, ages, and abilities to come in and engage in the different programs. TAWK has an open door for their programs that include mihi and kapa haka lessons, after school programs, and evening activities for young people. Other focuses for TAWK include food sharing, organising community events, and sitting on various committees in the community to ensure there is a Māori voice being heard. TAWK also works closely with Māori whānau in seeking housing and supporting violence free homes.

6.2.6 Love the Lyell

The Waikōau/Lyell Creek is also a significant space in Kaikōura and can be seen in Figure 16. While not as frequent as the collectives mentioned above, it is a yearly event aimed at maintaining the creek's cleanliness, while upgrades were done to improve the overall sustainability of the creek's environment. These upgrades were being undertaken as "it's very visible to the public and very visible to our visitors. So that was one of the catalysts for making it a priority as well. The idea is we wanted it to be the jewel in the crown" (Participant 2). However, the earthquake caused widespread damage to the area and created frustration amongst community members.

[3] "Kaupapa means principles and ideas which act as a base or foundation for action. A kaupapa is a set of values, principles and plans which people have agreed on as a foundation for their actions" (Royal, 2007).

Figure 16: Waikōau/Lyell Creek looking towards the Kaikōura Mountain Ranges (Author's image)

Many organisations including the KDC, Innovative Waste Kaikōura (IWK), Whale Watch, NCTIR, and ECan were involved in projects surrounding the creek. In relation to the yearly clean-up, they were:

> *Just helping with resources, you know. It's the Youth Council and all these different people and it's them. . . Because some people really latch onto this ownership thing you know? Others don't of course but that's life. You just hope that one day it will happen and the more communications we have and the more news stories and the more fun we have around it… and successes then those people will turn in the end. I am sure they will. -* Participant 2

This participant explained how the 'Love the Lyell' group relied on different organisations for the resources necessary to maintain it. However, if it was not for the different community members who took ownership of the project then it was unlikely to be successful. The event was attended by community members from many organisations, as well as a great number of local school children, a handful of retired community members and a few parents with toddlers. In the newspapers leading up to and following the clean-up day there were a large number of articles and brief write-ups. These included requests for volunteers, photos of the day, and shout-outs to those who volunteered on the day, with headlines stating, "Big plans for town creek" and "All hands on deck for Love the Lyell" (Brown, 2018a, 2018b). One participant explained that "our mission is to have that clean-up day and then pass on the stewardship . . . to the business association from which all that part of the creek runs behind" (Participant 2). They further expressed that it "is a challenge. For this part of the creek that is a community challenge; a community ownership challenge" (Participant 2) to maintain its cleanliness and get local community members and businesses more involved.

6.2.7 UpLift Hub

After the historic Adelphi Hotel was demolished and many businesses lost their retail spaces due to earthquake damage, there became an opportunity to build a new retail space using recycled shipping containers from the ReSTART Mall in Christchurch[4]. While primarily a retail space, the UpLift Hub was built with the intention to "create a community gathering space. A space where people could sit and have coffee. Read a book" (Participant 21). Local private investors put their own money forward to fund the development of the site. Once the initial money was put forward by a couple of local business owners, then other groups came on board to help create the space. Some of the groups that came forward were local, such as the Lions Club and the Community Shed, and NCTIR also assisted with funding the UpLift Hub. Once the money was pooled together, organisers were able to put in seating, artificial turf, and a giant Connect Four, while also holding occasional events such as live music and Santa's Grotto. The UpLift Hub's social spaces can be seen below in Figure 17, with the roofs of the retail spaces in the foreground.

Figure 17: Uplift Hub (Brown, 2017, used by permission)

[4] The ReSTART Mall in Christchurch was built following the Christchurch earthquakes in 2010 and 2011. For further reading on the role of the ReSTART Mall in place making and community engagement see Brand et al., 2019 and Stevenson et al., 2016.

After only a year from its official opening, participants stated that, “Instead of becoming a retail hub, it is certainly becoming a community hub” (Participant 21) and “It was adopted by the community” (Participant 10). However, the UpLift hub was established on a temporary basis, with a three-year lease, as the Adelphi Hotel site would eventually be sold. Despite locals’ attachment and wide use of the space, it was announced in October 2018 that the land had been sold to a property developer who had plans to build a hotel and retail space. While this collective demonstrates a more commercial aspect, it still brought people together, both in its establishment but also as a location. The following section will explore more in depth how community members worked together to secure spaces and funding to support their collectives.

6.3 Overlapping Resources

While having people participate in collectives is a crucial aspect in their success, securing space and financial resources for collectives is also necessary. If a collective does not have a location to operate in or funds to support it then it is unlikely to be maintainable. This section will focus on how collectives secured space and funding, and how many of these overlapped with other collectives. The process of seeking out and acquiring these resources can offer insight into how the collectives negotiated social networks within and outside the community, and without engaging in these actions, it is unlikely they would still be operating.

Buildings where collectives operated included the KDC building, the Kaikōura Scout Hall (Drill Hall), the Cuddon Building, the old Museum Building, the Memorial Hall, and the Te Ahi Wairua o Kaikōura building. Many of the collectives operated in shared buildings. These community spaces not only provided a space for collectives to operate, but they also provided a space where conversations between individuals and collectives could occur. These shared spaces and interactions meant that social connections were able to be established and grown.

One of the spaces that was widely used and shared by the collectives was the Kaikōura Scout Hall. This building was used for exercise classes, community meals, youth council, and art shows, to name but a few. In fact, the space was so often booked that when one organisation was looking to find an available timeslot at the Kaikōura Scout Hall there was only one available. The organiser was thrilled to be able to secure this spot given the limited availability and exclaimed, “There was only one spot left . . . I took it. That was it. We didn’t really have a choice, but it was fantastic” (Participant 17). Although this participant acknowledged that the space was already widely used by other collectives, they were more than happy to take the last remaining time slot and make it work best for them. When I attended this collective’s weekly meet-up, the organiser spoke to me about how they could not hold their weekly sessions because the space needed to be used for another group. Rather than be critical or frustrated with the disruption they maintained a positive demeanour stating that

everyone needs a break every now and then. Navigating these disruptions proved to be ongoing following the earthquake.

The abovementioned collective along with others that utilised the Kaikōura Scout Hall, needed to pause or relocate their weekly meeting times while the building underwent earthquake damage repair. While this did impact some of the groups, a participant stated that in the summer "you can go out on a nice day like this. You can go walking and there is a lot of people in town. There's lots to keep your mind going" whereas "through the winter, the colder months, people really need company" (Participant 17). As a result, the closures at the Scout Hall needed to be timed accordingly so as not to be a major inconvenience that could greatly impact all the collectives; a short-term closure meant long-term benefits.

Another space that was heavily used by different collectives was the Old Museum Building. This space was primarily leased by Te Hā o Mātauranga - Learning in Kaikōura but other notable groups also used the space as an everyday location including the Community Garden, the Community Shed, and the AllRight? campaign. The Community Garden is pictured in Figure 18. While it looks somewhat disused, this picture was taken in early spring. During this time things were quite slow as "we are meant to be meeting twice a month but as of late it hasn't happened in the last couple of weeks or months and over winter not so much. But definitely throughout the autumn" (Participant 15). While this group had a weekly meet-up, the space was generally open to members at any time. Similarly, the Community Shed which was located next to the Community Garden, had set hours, but they would sometimes open it up for specific projects or workshops.

Figure 18: The Kaikōura Community Garden behind the Old Museum Building (Author's image)

There were various meeting groups that met regularly at the Old Museum Building including a drug and alcohol group Mauri Te Pono and the Youth Council, as well as higher learning courses, driver's

training, art classes, and violence prevention groups. When discussing the space, a participant stated that “lots of people got a lot of value from that community centre being there and they kind of just took the space” (Participant 3). Not only was this space available for locals to use for group meetings, but when I asked participants where they wanted to hold the interviews, some had chosen the Old Museum Building as their location of choice. This demonstrated to me that the building was not only for gathering as a collective but was also a good space for holding meetings, not dissimilar to a community hub.

The Cuddon Building was once used by a few collectives, with one seeming to expand across it, the Kaikōura Op Shop. The Op Shop began in the smaller section of the Cuddon Building while the Arts Society and the Board Riders Club shared the larger space next door. However, as the other two groups did not use the large section regularly it was decided that the Op Shop would move into the larger section of the building. While I was doing fieldwork the Op Shop and the KDC were in discussions for the Op Shop to lease both the small and large sections of the building so the Op Shop could expand their space even further. Not only has the KDC assisted with ensuring that the Op Shop has the space it needs to operate, but the KDC has also considered the Op Shop’s kaupapa when negotiating the rental rates. As a result, the Op Shop pays reduced rental rates for the space. "Their lease wouldn’t be market because of the kaupapa of the Op Shop” (Participant 7) as they raised money for community projects rather than for-profit. By subsidising the lease at the Op Shop the KDC was helping the Op Shop raise more money for community projects.

Another building was the Memorial Hall, built in 1955 to commemorate those who had lost their lives in WWII. During fieldwork this building was visited quite often, whether for meetings, attending events, or giving talks. Due to the size of the building, it can hold many people as was evidenced at various events I attended during fieldwork. Also, as a result of its size, the Memorial Hall was widely used following the earthquake as a meeting place for locals and tourists to gather and acquire information. Not unlike many buildings in Kaikōura, the Memorial Hall was left with damage after the earthquake. Although it was open to the public initially it began to undergo renovations in early 2019, two years after the earthquake. These renovations were partially funded through securing $750,000 from Lotteries. The garden in front of the building has a monument that states “your heritage is your peace, e rangimarie mea tuku iho” (Garbes & Simpson, 2001). It seemed fitting that this heritage building was a place where people could come together following the disruption.

It is evident that many buildings in Kaikōura accommodated various collectives for many purposes. The overall engagement of community members within public buildings and their desire to make them accessible was evident throughout the fieldwork. This demonstrates that the physical buildings are not only locations for activities and events, but they are also a vital resource that can both

stimulate and perpetuate engagement in collectives. However, having a location to operate out of was not the only shared resource. Being able to fund collectives was also an important step in ensuring their success; an action that looked different for many collectives yet had many similarities.

Many of the community collectives found creative ways to fund their initiatives and events. These included sausage sizzles, polo matches, spinning wheels at fairs, and art shows. Many of the fundraising activities in Kaikōura were happening before the earthquake, however they increased significantly afterwards. Participants outlined that Kaikōura was very active in community fundraising even before the earthquake. One example that was often highlighted was the new Canterbury District Health Board (CDHB) hospital known as Kaikōura Health Te Hā o Te Ora. One participant noted that "there wouldn't have been one person in Kaikōura who didn't do something towards that effort" (Participant 2). The CDHB project and the fundraising that was undertaken during its construction seemed to set a precedent for the wider community in what could be achieved through undertaking local fundraising.

The Kaikōura Community Op Shop in particular "contributed to our community [as] a lot of community groups have benefited from the Op Shop" (Participant 7). For instance, the Op Shop alone raised $100,000 to put towards the new hospital and is continuing to raise funds for other community projects including the Mayfair Theatre and a new swimming pool. Fundraising for the Mayfair was originally denied due its primary purpose being for-profit, however the decision was reconsidered due its wider arts and culture significance. The Op Shop also donated to smaller projects in Kaikōura such as children's playgrounds and was continuously raising funds for St. John's Ambulance.

The Op Shop was an established organisation focused on fundraising for community groups and projects. While there were other funding activities in the community some locals expressed dissatisfaction with the level of general community support. For instance, some participants were disappointed with the level of donations from other organisations and businesses in Kaikōura. One participant explained that there "could be a wee bit more support [to] help people in the community" (Participant 13). They went on to further explain that while many goods may not be useful to businesses they could be useful for the collectives but "they don't want to pass [it] onto the people in the community which is very frustrating" (Participant 13). On the other hand, when asked about funding for their collective another community member stated:

> *I don't think much funding has actually gone into it. A lot of it has just been generosity of community. . . I think most of it has just been from kindness and there hasn't been a lot of funding to actually go into it but it could make a difference.* - Participant 15

Interestingly, although these collectives had some cross-membership and operate in the same space their views on resource support were very different.

One interesting display of community support for collectives was when the Scout Hall was under threat of being closed due to a large amount of repairs. In fact, had it not been for numerous submissions to the KDC and community fundraising the building may not have still been standing. The council "were going to moth ball it for 3 years until they worked out what they would do. Basically, just let it sort of die" (Participant 6). They further discussed how many local residents rallied together to save the Kaikōura Scout Hall:

> *It was a really neat exercise to go through the submission phase. And so the upshot of it all is the council agreed. We can mitigate the issues that we've got- we being council. We'll give you this amount of time, go away and come up with a solution. Get some funding to fix the place.* – Participant 6

Not all community fundraising was organised and implemented by collectives. Some individuals took it upon themselves to fundraise. One local was able to raise funds by collecting sponsors for a hike up Mount Kilimanjaro to raise money for the Scout Hall repairs, stating that "with all of this awesome community stuff happening in the hall, we feel it's really important to keep it open and usable for our community" (Roche, 2018). The rallying to save the Scout Hall worked as when I attended an event after the repairs had been completed, the room was filled with smiling people who clearly depended on the space. Friends and families filled the room, while you could hear conversations floating around and children bustling about, it clearly was an important, central location for gatherings (Rudkevitch Fieldnotes).

The capability of individuals and collectives to come together in various forms and support their own and other collectives demonstrates the strong desire to see success in Kaikōura. The ability to 'pitch in' and donate financial resources played a large part in the success of the collectives. Additionally, it brought people together through different activities that were put on by those raising funds. One participant outlined the importance of integrating the social and economic aspects of community. They stated that "the [community] development of Kaikōura [is] more of an economic role" (Participant 7). One participant explained that "there are different types of doers and it comes down to what their values are" (Participant 6). They explained that doers fall into two categories; they focus on either the social or the economic aspects of a community. However, they also focused on the social aspects by explaining that these economic resources need to go back into the collectives which are inherently social.

While the community fundraising did provide resources for some collectives, following the earthquake many of the organisations sought external and supplemental funding. Much of the

funding came from different government ministries including the Ministry of Social Development, the Ministry for Primary Industries, the Ministry of Civil Defence and Emergency Management, as well as the Department of Internal Affairs. The KDC also provided funding for collectives following the earthquake. This funding included the Kaikōura Mayoral Earthquake Relief Fund, the George Low Trust Fund, the Kaikōura Community Initiatives Fund and the Creative Communities Scheme Fund. Additionally, collectives were able to apply for funding grants from non-profit organisations such as the Rātā Foundation and J R McKenzie. Although some of these external funding sources were available prior to the earthquake, there was significantly more money invested in Kaikōura after the earthquake.

Some of the collectives had already been guaranteed funding from external sources prior to the earthquake, even if the projects that secured prior funding were briefly paused following the earthquake. A participant explained that as a direct result of the earthquake they received increased support from what they had secured initially. When asked whether things were "put on hold until things settled down" (Rudkevitch Fieldnotes) one participant explained that:

> *The earthquake kind of moved it along quicker in a way. Even though we had that settling period I think it moved quicker than it would have. Especially [when] other organisations came on board with the funding way more quickly than if there was no quake.* - Participant 1

This demonstrates an increase in external support for community headed collectives following the earthquake.

While some collectives were able to access increased funding for their proposed projects, others were able to access funds that were not previously available. As a result of these new funding opportunities, many of the participants highlighted the earthquake as being an advantage for Kaikōura. People were able to develop new projects that would create opportunity and assist with the overall wellbeing of Kaikōura residents. As there was a lot of money being put into Kaikōura following the earthquake some groups and organisations were at an advantage over others. One participant explained that when applying for funding "we are probably more organised than any other group . . . that is not because we are particularly clever, that is just because we understood what the mission was" (Participant 21). In this instance, because this organisation had been in operation for quite some time prior to the earthquake they already knew the direction they wanted to take the collective going forward which meant it was easier to request funding.

However, in some cases there were participants who were dissatisfied with how the funding was allocated in Kaikōura. One of these concerns was that the funding created competition between collectives which fostered division. When asked about seeking out funding, a participant seemed

genuinely concerned that the money that was available was about meeting needs but was not necessarily about understanding where the money was going to be of greatest value. Their response was:

> *Unfortunately looking at the break down of services and the lack of support and the funding models for social and health it has actually broken my heart a wee bit. And because of the way the funding is structured it makes agencies compete for the funding and it makes them very non-collaborative. It becomes about delivering services. It doesn't become about delivering those services to the people. I think there is a lot of people in the industry that have forgotten that it is about people.* - Participant 8

On the other hand, there were also participants who were frustrated with the amount of funding coming in and the government trying to sort out where it should go. They stated that:

> *People are giving us money to build resilience. Instead of doing it before the earthquake all of a sudden MSD- whatever- wants to come in and do a whole bunch of things and you know that is great but a lot of meetings. A lot of community consultation. Then there is a lot of people that are just trying to rebuild their lives and make ends meet.* - Participant 3

In this situation it seemed as if the government was trying to consult with local residents and decision-makers about where the greatest needs were. Yet, the community was too busy trying to organise their own situations to be worried about attending consultation meetings. This could have potentially slowed the recovery process, which would have increased locals' feelings of nothing being done for them.

Finally, although some participants claimed they were too busy to be consulted, other participants expressed that more could have been done. For instance, there was limited leadership from within the KDC in terms of someone taking the reins in identifying projects and allocating money following the earthquake. One participant explained that because a lot of the funding that could have been acquired was not pursued it resulted in a missed opportunity. This participant explained it as:

> *Post-earthquake or any type of disaster you've got a two-year honeymoon where you can basically go to central government or to people like NCTIR or NZTA and say help us and there is an open cheque book, within reason. We've seen this from other groups around the country, smaller voluntary groups. For example, the Lions Club of Auckland district, they have pledged $41,000 to us. You know, from all the way up there. . . While I remain optimistic that we can harness some of that opportunity it is going to be a much longer, harder job without a shadow of a doubt*. - Participant 21

Based on these reactions to how the funding was allocated, there seemed to be some tension between who was being allotted money and who was not. These tensions existed between the collectives, as well as between community members, decision-makers, and funders. While some

collectives were able to secure funding, there was still no consensus on who should have received it and how it should have been spent. Therefore, while there was a great overlap and a certain level of sharing there were still disagreements about how collectives should operate. Overall, many of the collectives were trying to achieve the same thing, and that was to improve Kaikōura in some way.

6.4 Common Attributes

Now that an overview of some collectives and their shared resources has been established, it is important to understand the overarching similarities between them. While there were various reasons why people became involved with the collectives, and their reasons for operating, it is also important to consider what makes collectives alike. Many of the collectives had a kaupapa to be community focused, and while others had other primary purposes, they were still inherently community focused. When reflecting on the collectives it was found that there were four key attributes that they all seemed to possess, whether they were explicitly stated or not. The first attribute was that they offered organisers a sense of purpose. The second attribute gave participants a sense of belonging and ability to 'be themselves'. Thirdly, they contributed in some way to building a greater sense of community either directly for an individual or as a collective. Finally, they operated on a grounded purpose or kaupapa of what they hoped to achieve (Rudkevitch Fieldnotes). The four common attributes will be explored below.

6.4.1 Sense of purpose for organisers

Many participants highlighted that their involvement in organising collectives was because of their personal passions, sense of purpose, or duty to community. One participant stated that it "is a passion for me. . . before it even existed, I've done a lot of time outside of my jobs just working on it" (Participant 1). As another participant described to me, "I was sort of wondering what my purpose in life was all about and I said 'lord, what is my purpose? What is my purpose here on this earth, I must be here for a reason? I'd like to know what that reason is. What do you really want me to do for you?'" (Participant 17). This participant described that within days of questioning what their purpose was, they had developed an idea for an initiative- one that is still operating three years later.

Often the purpose of a new collective was manifested through involvement in many collectives. One participant listed a large number of collectives they had been involved with over the years. This participant recounted that upon seeing the Rainbow Warrior[5] "it reminded me of all the cool things that we have done as a community. Ya so I am hopeful. We have a lot of good people working hard on initiatives in the community, as long as those people don't lose energy" (Participant 8). This

[5] The Rainbow Warrior, although controversial with its bombing in 1985, represents the protests of oil and gas drilling in the early 1980s, and for Kaikōura it marks their success in becoming a no drill community, which ties in greatly with their pride in the EarthCheck certification

demonstrates the participant's acknowledgement of volunteer burn-out from over engagement in the collectives, despite their enthusiasm for their collectives.

Following the earthquake some of the participants' involvement shifted. One participant described conversations they had with other community members in Kaikōura who had questioned their continued involvement in the collective. After moving away from Kaikōura, the participant explained that people have said, "'Oh well, you've moved away'. But it is still a passion. It is still a passion to see what it has grown into" (Participant 18). This demonstrates that although an individual may no longer be residing in the town, they can still have lasting connections to the collective.

The organisers' passion and drive for their collectives did not waver following the earthquake. In fact, for some people it increased their involvement:

> *People react so differently. You have people like [redacted] who are super resilient. That top line that you see, that's [redacted]. She is really tired now but for the first year, first year and a half she was like go go go, give give give. She moved into town. She had this crazy life where she was just all about this community centre that she was getting off the ground. Lots of people got a lot of value from that community centre being there and they kind of just took the space.* - Participant 3

Although the earthquake did have impacts on Kaikōura, when examining the collectives, there seemed to be an increase in the momentum of involvement amongst organisers. Yet, the quote above also addresses the high possibility of burn-out that seemed to be prevalent among community members during the response and recovery phases.

6.4.2 Sense of belonging and ability to 'be themselves'

One participant highlighted that their organisation was for one's overall wellbeing. "It is about mental health. It is about physical health. Social wellbeing. All that kind of stuff. . . They can come [here] and feel productive about doing something for themselves" (Participant 14). Another participant stated bluntly that "it stops me from going crazy at the moment" and "my wife wanted me to get involved with the community so that's how I got involved" (Participant 13). However, there were also barriers that may hinder people from engaging; as one participant stated, "I think it just takes effort to get out there . . . you know wanting to do it" (Participant 4). This demonstrates that although people had different reasons for becoming involved, a common theme was that it would give them some individual benefit.

The Op Shop exemplified the benefits collectives' spaces could have for individuals. Although originally established to raise funds for community projects, it became a rather interesting place for community members to gather at. As senior community members found themselves with a large

amount of free time, they were able to volunteer at the Op Shop. One participant described it as "a place of high social capital in the town" because it was "sort of a drop-in centre for [older folk] or anybody who wanted to come in and have a cup of tea. A place you go to on Saturday and see a lot of people" (Participant 3). Another participant recounted a story between a volunteer and a customer:

> *Somebody said, 'why do you spend all this time at the op shop?' and she said 'because I'm lonely. This is my life, volunteering'. I think because they can see such a positive, visual outcome. It's better than sitting at home. They volunteer at the shop specifically because they can see such a positive outcome. They can see the money rolling in. They can see the money rolling out to all the projects and that's really good.* - Participant 18

It was evidenced that for older members in the community it was more than just a volunteer opportunity. However, even with the widespread community feel of the Op Shop it did not go without problems either. It was noted that amongst the volunteers at the Op Shop they often congregated in "little cliquey" groups (Participant 18). This demonstrated that although the Op Shop offered a sense of belonging and purpose, there were still smaller groups within the wider collective that formed.

However, with different skills and traits come different opportunities. One participant explained that at their initiative:

> *I think different people will bring different passions. Sometimes they're connected and you might get someone that is super passionate . . . I think nothing stays the same and a lot of things are fluid in the [initiative]. Original people can move on and it becomes an interchanging thing. But that's cool if people come in with great ideas then I am all for it*. - Participant 15

Although targeted at retired community members, Participant 18 highlighted some key statements made by those who were involved in their collective. These individuals were involved because "[members] have got something to live for and something to look forward to" and continued to explain how an individual stated, "'It gives me something to do. It gives me a reason to get out of bed in the morning.'" (Participant 18). It is clear through these sentiments that involvement in various collectives were vital in the wellbeing of community members.

6.4.3 Greater 'sense of community'

Many of the collectives in Kaikōura began with the intention of being as inclusive as possible. When referring to their community connections, one participant explained that "I think we are approachable. We're not into being exclusively us, we like to be inclusively we" (Participant 10). When reflecting on another collective I had noted that "one thing that really stood out to me in this

meeting was how much [it was] emphasised that the [organisation was] open to everyone. That no one was to be excluded and that everyone was to be treated equally" (Rudkevitch Fieldnotes). These groups had the kaupapa to treat everyone as equal and to make those involved feel as comfortable as possible, which could potentially lead to an increased sense of belonging in the community.

Another participant stated that following the earthquake "some people have always had the community in mind, but they just couldn't get the support or were not really acknowledged" (Participant 2). Similarly, one participant expressed that it was "something I always wanted to do . . . so I was already thinking about it" and when the participant saw it on a notice board, they "jumped on board and it was like 'ya this is going to be great'" (Participant 15). This particular collective was directly focused on developing increased community comradery and supporting community members to engage in collectives.

Although it was mentioned that some people got involved to increase their own sense of belonging, others joined to grow feelings of companionship amongst community members. For instance, "I wanted to get involved in the community a little bit. I volunteered for a few things" and when discussing a specific collective, they stated "I did that for a few years actually. That was fun. I met a lot of locals doing that. It was pretty successful. That was a big one." (Participant 14). This participant also described another collective that involved different community members and was sponsored by organisations including businesses and the council. When discussing the outcome of one specific project, which incidentally cumulated in a large public gathering and event, they exclaimed, "Wow, it was great" (Participant 14). This specific project was quite exclusive and had a very specific end goal, but once achieved it did not go unnoticed by the wider community who celebrated its success with those involved in it.

There were some collectives that while they may have seemed to be exclusive, were a beacon for social networks and connections within the community. One example was when a participant explained that "one thing that hasn't been said is that each shift has say three volunteers. Well you'd go down there and there'd be eight people down there because someone would be having a cup of tea and talking" (Participant 22). Another participant followed it up with, "and socialising. They'd come in and say, 'Oh I thought I'd just pop down and do this here'. It's even got down to one person is delegated to buying the biscuits and is keeping the cup of tea stuff stocked up" (Participant 18). This shows that a sense of community can grow naturally among those who are engaging in the collectives.

Interestingly, one community collective was started specifically as a result of the earthquake. A participant explained to me that:

> *We took the view that after the earthquake, basically the community needs to see something is happening somewhere . . . We saw that there was an opportunity here to actually provide something going forward that the community would be really proud of and cover a lot of areas going forward . . . It is fair to say that the community has grasped that and saw that something that is long term is going to be happening. So we have had a huge community buy in as a result of that.* – Participant 11

This demonstrates that one does not need to be directly involved in the group or collective to contribute to the creation of increased feelings of togetherness in the community.

6.4.4 Grounded kaupapa

Many of the collectives were rooted in a strong kaupapa, which was the reason why many individuals became involved. Someone summarised it as, "I guess the thing with community, the funny thing is with a person that is passionate about people is they get passionate about [their] kaupapa" (Participant 6). Some of the collectives' kaupapa were about providing practical skills through education and mutual learning, while others provided advice and in some cases, food was at the centre of their kaupapa. All the collectives had a shared raison d'être- an intention to improve the community.

Although it was important to have grounded kaupapa that was rooted in improving Kaikōura as a place, collectives approached this in different ways. One example was a project that started small and grew over time. A participant described it as:

> *Sometimes it is important to try to be a grocer before a supermarket if that makes sense. We wanted to start small and do something well and then grow before we try to do everything and find out we are ill-equipped to do it. Ya so there were some concepts that we talked about at the start but for now that is a dream for the future.* - Participant 15

Whereas this collective had a direct intention from the beginning, another organisation took on a different approach. This other participant described their collective as trying different approaches to establish which ones worked best. Here the participant discussed the purpose of their organisation and the direction they ideally wanted to take it as:

> *I guess my ideal vision is that we're fulfilling the role that we would be most effective in. I'm not sure enough of what that is. Which is why I am keeping a lot of our options open. I know that all the areas that we are operating in there are gaps. . . We are trying to open [these initiatives] up and make them reach more people.* - Participant 1

This participant was involved with different collectives and organisations and this particular collective's kaupapa was to help engage community members by providing and supporting numerous

activities and events that support health, wellbeing, and learning. Therefore, it was necessary to find what worked best for the community members through trial and effort.

Some of the collectives took a pause immediately following the earthquake, however it did not take long for them to re-engage afterwards. A participant explained that:

> *After the earthquake came a standstill basically and we didn't probably meet for a year until we realised that there are still opportunities out there. . . A couple members in particular said 'ah nah we can't sit back and do nothing. We need to be out there, ya know, getting dirt under our fingernails and keeping the thing rolling for when we can get back into action significantly.' So ya that was a major sort of, a major step forward for the group and everyone got enthusiastic again.* - Participant 2

Because the collective had a grounded kaupapa to begin with, it was easier for people to come back to it after they had dealt with, or were in some cases still dealing with, their own earthquake recovery.

Additionally, many of the community members became involved with the collectives post-earthquake as they saw a potential opportunity to improve the wider community in Kaikōura. One participant stated that the "whānau voice was not part of recovery" and so they developed their initiative to resolve "the missing link [that] was really [getting] community voice and whānau voice and definitely Māori voice into wider community decision-making. I do think that it is getting a little bit better" (Participant 9). It was through the involvement in a collective that was kaupapa Māori that Māori voices were able to grow and be better heard. While collectives may have had good intentions, along with overlapping kaupapa, with such a diverse range of perspectives on how to improve the community it meant that not everyone's intentions could be realised through their collectives.

6.5 Chapter Summary

While the first results chapter focused on how the individuals identified in and connected to Kaikōura, this chapter outlines more specifically the collectives in Kaikōura including why community members engaged in them, how or why they were created, and how they were resourced. This chapter demonstrated that there were some similarities between collectives, such as purpose, membership, location, and funding opportunities. But there were equally as many differences in collectives such as purpose, membership, and access to resources. Although there was overlap between the collectives it did not mean that there was ongoing and sustained agreement among them. While the collectives contributed to active engagement in everyday life, when the earthquake struck it created a period of unexpected life that affected some of the collectives. When combined, the collectives create a rich mosaic of what community and resilience looked like in Kaikōura. On the

other hand, challenges emerged from the similarities and differences that existed among the collectives. Understanding how the collectives navigated resilience and recovery following the earthquake in relation to one another and decision-makers will be explored further in the next chapter.

Chapter 7

Complex Interconnections among Collectives

Naku te rourou nau te rourou ka ora ai te iwi.
With your basket and my basket the people will live. – Māori proverb

7.1 Introduction

The previous results chapters focused on two key aspects: how participants connected to and identified in Kaikōura; and how they engaged in collectives in everyday life and during an unexpected life event. This chapter will consider how collectives interacted with one another and decision-makers. This will help reveal the interconnected interactions between collectives and decision-makers. Analysing the connections among the collectives can offer a more nuanced understanding of community as it reveals the complex dynamics within them. To do this, I will first consider how collectives interacted with one another and how these networks were drawn upon following the earthquake. Secondly, I will examine how the collectives were (un)able to interact with decision-makers in Kaikōura following the earthquake. This chapter will go beyond outlining the individuals' involvement and the collectives' objectives to explore how multiple collectives interact with one another to work collaboratively, and at times in conflict, during unexpected life events.

7.2 (Dis)Connection among Collectives

How collectives interacted with one another often emerged from connections that existed prior to the earthquake but they also came from collectives interacting due to the earthquake. How these networks of collectives worked together and contributed to the collective capacity to mould the actions that were undertaken in Kaikōura following the earthquake will be explored. To do this, collectives and how they worked together, either successfully or unsuccessfully, through collaboration will be outlined. Additionally, how collectives contributed to disjointed and siloed ways of thinking, hindering positive change will be examined. This section aims to further an understanding of how collectives interacted with one another throughout and what this meant for resilience and recovery in Kaikōura.

7.2.1 Collaborative collectives

The ability to collaborate among collectives was important for the participants. One participant highlighted that their long-standing group had strong collaboration with other collectives, stating that:

> *Without [other organisations] you couldn't do it. If it was just [our] thing it would just be so difficult we'd probably drop it really. Can't do it without other people. Can't do it on your own and it's great that [our organisation] and other organisations can actually admit that. That you can't actually do it on your own. It doesn't work in the long run.* - Participant 2

These connections among collectives demonstrated a sense of "joined up thinking" that would be crucial in moving forward through the recovery process. For others, this overlap in collectives was a result of social interest or perceived community responsibility. When asked about the shifts in community engagement and collaboration following the earthquake, one participant stated that:

> *I think it is all progression. I think the earthquake just pulled out a lot of things for us that might have been sitting there and we didn't realise we needed to deal with. Now we have to deal with it. . . Definitely the communication. The connection. It brought everybody together. They became more aware of what was happening around them and what council was doing or what somebody else was doing. Everybody had an opinion on that.* - Participant 19

This comment demonstrates that in some ways the earthquake forced community members to work together, and by default the collectives that they were involved in.

How the connections among collectives were initiated prior to and drawn upon following the earthquake played an important role in recovery. When asked about collaboration in Kaikōura one participant responded with

> *[I] think there's more; more so now since the quake . . . organisations working together. I still don't think that we are all working towards one vision. But I do think we are working together more than we ever had. So that is kind of a step in the right direction.* - Participant 1

Another participant was proud of their work with other collectives, claiming "I think we're known for our collaboration" followed up with, "We built up trust" (Participant 9). Adding to this, after listing many other collectives they have worked with and continue to work with, another participant said, "We're a conduit. Often, we will be approached because we are often the more approachable option" (Participant 20), as opposed to another organisation. Another participant stated:

> *There are several communities within this community. There is the local iwi. There is the council community. There is the business community. There are all sorts. The general community. All sorts of communities. So basically, I guess there a group of people that have a focus. An agreed focus. There are several within this town. One of the things I think is starting to develop, and from out of places like this very room we are sitting in, is a willingness and a want for people to come together more with their focuses. With their different focuses. And I think that has come out of the earthquake. I think that has been really good.* - Participant 6.

This demonstrates that after the earthquake there was a realisation that there was an opportunity for collectives to come together and to consider ways of recovering from the earthquake from varying perspectives. Comments were made that reflected how some collectives began to work together almost immediately following the earthquake, yet another participant shared the sentiment that for some collectives there was a small pause in their engagement and collaboration. The participant stated that:

> *People are starting to get over the earthquake maybe a little bit and they've got their own shit sorted and now they are looking beyond the fence maybe. Being a bit more community minded rather than- and rightly so- sort of self-survival and recovery.* - Participant 2

However, this did not always come about organically.

For some collectives, the members' strong collaboration and connections were a direct result of their employment and would prove useful in future roles. One participant explains that "my background wasn't in [this field] at all but I've done a lot of . . . promotion and a lot of community work. They decided I was well connected enough and my skills were transferable" (Participant 8). Even though this participant was new to a role, their previous connections would prove beneficial and could be applied in their new position. These types of roles would strengthen the network of collaborative collectives across Kaikōura. Furthermore, the connections made from the roles in different collectives could be drawn on in the future as someone who had previously made connections in one collective would not suddenly lose those connections.

It became apparent throughout the research that there were many networks between the participants and the collectives they were involved with. During the course of the fieldwork, and in particular emerging from interviews, it was not uncommon for participants to discuss the connections they had with other locals. This often came from conversations regarding the work another person did in the community, both through employment and volunteering. Also, while attending numerous meetings between collectives I was able to see how different individuals, and the collectives they represented, engaged with one another. These networks between individuals and collectives went beyond mentions in interviews and engagement at meetings, as connections were witnessed during participant observation at events and activities.

Witnessing participants interact at events and activities outside of their everyday responsibilities and collectives was not uncommon. At one event in particular I saw many participants in attendance. Oddly enough, although the event was open to all community members there were not many other attendees; in fact participants represented a good portion of all community members in attendance. I found that "of the ~30 people that were there I realised I had interviewed about a third of them.

Most were from [two organisations]. There were also a few people I recognised from around town" (Rudkevitch Fieldnotes). The large number of participants at the event demonstrates that their ongoing and active involvement in the community goes beyond their collectives.

Not only did participants actively engage in one collective, but in many cases, they were engaged in multiple collectives. This broad engagement meant that there were many connections being formed across multiple collectives. If one participant was engaged in multiple collectives then they were able to build stronger collaboration across multiple interest areas. As one participant was highlighting numerous collectives in the community such as the Community Garden and the Community Dinner, they stated that "just having people actually have the energy to do it, to get excited about new ideas and try them out. That would be to me the next step and my job is to try to encourage that through supporting [collaboration]" (Participant 3). This demonstrates that the desire to have strong collaboration between collectives proved to be an important aspect in facilitating strong networks. Some participants who were involved in multiple collectives did not mention other collectives that they were involved in. In one case, I had interviewed a participant about one collective, but there was no mention of any other collectives. Interestingly, it was at two other events that I came across this individual participant. While in some collectives they were the organiser, in others they were a volunteer or receiver of the collectives' service, demonstrating their continued involvement across many collectives. I would later learn in passing conversations that the initial collective we had discussed in the interview contributed resources to the secondary collective. In another instance one participant explained how one individual and their collective was very well connected with other organisations. They stated that "I think that [redacted] has a lot of different connections" and that it was through these connections that they were able to acquire many different resources for their collective, concluding that "connections are massive" (Participant 15). Therefore, by building networks between collectives, individuals were able to build collaborative networks across collectives.

Although there were multiple instances of cross collaboration between collectives, these were not always organically developed. One participant stated that:

> *Sometimes people are actually forced to collaborate, and it is sometimes not a natural thing. But the hope is that overtime that if they get used to kind of operating [in collaboration] that [Kaikōura] becomes a more effective place and they start recognising [that] actually we should be collaborating. This is probably a more effective way of working. I don't necessarily think that for some organisations they like to collaborate, it's that they have to collaborate.* - Participant 20

Building on these sentiments, another participant made it clear that they were hopeful that with increased collaboration between collectives it may create a more mutually beneficial future for Kaikōura. The participant claimed that

> *There are all different ways of understanding and just getting that bigger picture . . . Look at how we create a more cohesive network of people working together. Lots of people have ideas here but it is really hard because they don't know where to go to get them off the ground.* - Participant 10

This demonstrates that for some collectives it was difficult to collaborate whereas for others it was easier.

Another participant commended their collective's ability to engage with other collectives and the wider 'community' collaboratively. This participant said:

> *When you're looking at community groups or community post-earthquake, I think for us we've been connected all the way through. And it's not just because we have a building to act out of. It is actually about our holistic space that we've been in. Because still whether it is pre or post-earthquake, although I can see little bubbles of the community interacting a lot and being more engaged than they ever have been in the last probably decade.* - Participant 9

Many participants highlighted that the earthquake created a shift in how collectives were working together and how it could have potentially offered greater opportunity for collaboration among them. One participant said that

> *I think there is a lot of exciting things happening. I wonder if now we're going to have kind of an awakening again of these groups because people are looking for something to change the story. That's [because] I think in recovery you have to change your narrative. That's one, I believe that's one, of the steps of recovery.* - Participant 3

Other participants shared in these sentiments stating, "I want to see connections. I want to see collaborations" (Participant 1), and another participant said, "We could punch much, much more above our weight if that collaboration were to come through" (Participant 21). However, not all of the interviewees shared in the positive views of collaboration, as one stated:

> *The earthquake, although it was a disaster, it offered huge opportunities to go forward; to rise up and go forward. And I just don't think we have grasped the ball. I think we've lost that opportunity, which is a shame. You've spent years talking and you've done nothing.* - Participant 11

Although many of the participants discussed existing collaborations and the potential for increased collaboration, there was still some questions about how this would be most effective moving forward.

In an effort to try and develop greater collaboration among collectives, there were numerous meetings established in Kaikōura. In particular, there were the Wellbeing Rōpū, Communications Catch-up and the Community Networkers meetings. These meetings were all held monthly. Two of the meetings were held at the council building and the third was held at the Memorial Hall. Based on my observations during fieldwork, most of the meetings had most of the same organisations in attendance and with that the same representatives from those organisations. However, due to the overlap in meeting attendance and topics, some participants began to lose interest in attending them.

There were also general community meetings that were held following the earthquake. When discussing engagement at general meetings, and particularly Māori engagement, Participant 9 highlighted that engagement was not only about different collectives working together, but also about building capacities in individuals. This would in turn promote their desire to attend meetings. The participant explained that as a result of low Māori turn-out at various community meetings:

> *It tells me they are either not engaged or don't want to be engaged or they haven't even been given the opportunity to engage. One of our initiatives is we are looking at collaborating and building those relationships. It's really important to us. Building capacity and confidence in whānau.* - Participant 9

The desire to participate was further highlighted by another participant when they explained:

> *People wonder how I know so much. It's because I talk to people. I seek them out. I go to meetings. I live by myself. I love rural. I made a mental decision when I got here. I could live like a hermit and not know anyone or go and be a part of a community. I wanted to be, and I still do. I want to contribute. I want to be a part of my community and be valued and have value. I want that. But where is that?* - Participant 16

Sentiments in not being involved were even further expressed when a participant commented that:

> *There weren't structures for strong community. There weren't strong community forums where you could get a collective of voices and opinions and things and then input it in. I know in the response space we had some community meetings, and some had really strong turnout, but they had very little turnout of Māori.* – Participant 9

This demonstrates that even when a community member wants to engage in community meetings and collaborations, they do not necessarily feel welcome there.

However, although the community meetings did not necessarily feel welcoming to everyone, one participant did highlight that even though it was not perfect, it was still much better than it was before the earthquake. They said that:

> *Even in some of our community networking meetings and things like that I think there have been some real breakthroughs . . . Between the groups themselves we were able to have breakthroughs because we were able to interact and . . . start talking about our shared goals and our shared responsibilities and not get so upset that we think differently. We are actually starting to accept it and move forward slightly. Which is good and I think that has come out of the earthquake and looking differently at how we interact.* - Participant 9

Although some community collectives were represented in the community meetings, there were still some gaps. Collaboration may have improved slightly from before the earthquake, and as a result of the meetings, but some community members still felt as though the community meetings were exclusive, and therefore did not represent everyone's needs. This exclusivity at the meetings could lead to distrust among collectives by perpetuating a lack of transparency.

7.2.2 "There was, and has been, a lack of joined up thinking"

Many participants highlighted reasonable levels of collaboration among collectives in Kaikōura, however there was also a significant number of participants who highlighted the lack of collaboration or "siloed" thinking amongst the collectives. While the previous subsection described times that participants outlined situations of effective collaboration, this subsection will discuss the instances where participants focused on the lack of collaboration among collectives. It should be noted that while there were instances of both collaboration and siloed thinking, neither seemed to stand out more than the other, and collaboration seemed to be on a spectrum, as will be explored further below.

Some participants acknowledged that although there was some collaboration among collectives it was not as widespread as it could be. For instance:

> *Kaikōura is a really interesting community. It is quite hard to get everyone working towards the same thing. There is a lot of different organisations that you know, that collaborate well but for some reason we don't seem to come together with a single vision.* - Participant 1

Based on this comment, it could be assumed that there may be some collectives working together, however their collaborations may not be as effective as desired. Another participant expressed these same sentiments when they said:

> *Synergies and collaborations. There's lots of things we can do with other groups. I think it comes back to resilience and recovery. One of [the] things I think Kaikōura was really bad at before the earthquake and one of things we are trying to solve is that there was very much a very, very siloed approach. And that's not unique to Kaikōura . . . There was a lack of joined up thinking.* - Participant 21

Upon later reflection, the first participant said:

> *We are just a niche, a silo really. Honestly, we've got a really nice niche of people who come to the [collective] and I mean new people coming all the time. But the whole community doesn't . . . it just seems really hard to get something going that works for the whole community. . . And honestly that's not what I want it to be. I want it to be a connecting point*. - Participant 1

This demonstrates how the participant felt frustrated in how they were not connecting and collaborating as much as they would have liked to with other collectives.

When discussing opportunities that could have arisen from the earthquake, one participant reflected that:

> *They had a catch phrase at the time of the earthquake, business as new, and then very soon after the state of emergency finished it became business as usual. I likened it to at the time of the earthquake there was no windows, no doors. Everything was broken. Everybody was broken. But really quickly and soon there isn't even a crack open in the window anymore. It's business as old.* - Participant 16

This participant recognised that there were many things Kaikōura could have done to recover from the earthquake, but some of the opportunities were not acted upon. Building on these sentiments another participant explained that there was a missed window of opportunity for Kaikōura. They explained that this came from a lack in collaborative forward thinking, although this was not necessarily due to a lack of interest, but rather it fell to the wayside as people became busy with recovery. This participant stated that:

> *But in terms of community initiatives like right after there was all this flurry of people doing things. Money comes pouring in when people . . . are still kind of shell shocked and people do a bunch of things and the intent starts to drop off as people get more and more tired. And people get meeting'ed out or ya it just gets a bit harder and then also there are people who are doing really well and people who aren't doing really well and so that's really hard to have a cohesive community when people are seeing the winners and the losers*. - Participant 3

While the missed opportunity was seconded by another participant, they highlighted that this was not only due to people's busyness. The inability for collectives to work collaboratively was also a result of collectives not being formally recognised prior to the earthquake. The lack of formal recognition meant that in the earthquake's immediate aftermath it affected the collectives' ability to work effectively. This participant explained that:

> *Had we been fully supported from the start we would have been able to work really effectively with some of the challenges that a lot of other groups have had post-earthquake, and that was around community voice. Are they*

> *shared community visions or are they just the visions that are set up here for a certain elite amount of people? Because what we are hearing on the ground is that it is completely different.* - Participant 9

Yet, the earthquake also created opportunity as this collective went on to secure funding and a location to expand the services their collective could provide in Kaikōura.

Other collectives used the earthquake as an opportunity to bring people together, although not always successfully. In an effort to draw people together to make connections, a collective organised the Community Expo in the hopes of drawing people together to foster greater collaboration. One participant discussed how it was a good event and yet, "All those people at the expo? Most of them don't even meet. [This collective] probably collaborate[s] because we're about collaboration and we are about promotion. We're about connection. We are probably more linked than most of those organisations" (Participant 1). This demonstrated that although there was a good turnout at the event, it still was not perceived as successful in helping to form collaborative connections among collectives.

When discussing the earthquake and its impacts on collaboration specifically, participants highlighted that while collaboration was effective in the beginning it did not last for the long term. For instance, "when you get a disaster people get really helpful and close" but two years on from the event people have "gone back to the old ways" (Participant 4). These issues could have been exacerbated by the fact that "there is no united something. Everybody is right but nobody agrees on the same thing at the same time" (Participant 16). So although there were many individuals with many ideas for the future, there was no cohesion or vision on how to move forward collectively as individuals began to retract their interest in working collaboratively due to lack of progress and burn-out.

This was further demonstrated when participants discussed frustration among community members with how collectives initially worked together but returned to silos as time went on. One participant claimed that "the community themselves have gone through this cycle where they have almost dropped back into their normal again. It's a new normal, because we will never be the same, but they've almost dropped back into their little boxes again" (Participant 22). For instance,

> *The community is as fractured as it has ever been. Our rūnanga isn't working with our council. Our schools are not working with our community. Our businesses are all… some of them are struggling. We need to actually stop, get our house in order and actually try to move on together collaboratively because we are not doing it right now.* - Participant 12

These statements demonstrate an overarching sentiment that there was a certain level of disconnect and siloed thinking within the Kaikōura community.

7.3 Challenges During Unexpected Life Events

There was evidence of both collaboration and disconnect among collectives in Kaikōura, but there was also collaboration and disconnect among collectives and decision-makers. In Kaikōura, there was evidence of leadership in coordinating collaboration between collectives or at least promoting a less siloed recovery. While there was leadership within local collectives, there was a significant amount of upheaval in the senior management roles at the council which ultimately affected how decisions were made and the level of trust the locals had towards the district council. The decisions that were made would have lasting impacts throughout Kaikōura, regardless of whether they were adverse or beneficial. In this section I will outline shifts in the senior management team at the KDC prior to and following the earthquake, followed with outlining how the restructured roles at the KDC had impacts throughout the wider community that created secondary concerns. Ultimately, this section will explore how community collectives, and the individuals in them, worked with the local council to contribute to the recovery processes in Kaikōura. Concerns that might arise when these relationships are not managed effectively will also be explored throughout this section.

7.3.1 Division between collectives and council

As noted earlier, throughout the fieldwork I attended three different types of community meetings. One thing that was noted was that there was a general lack of representation from higher level decision-makers, particularly the senior management team from the KDC. This is not to say that there was no representation, but it was sporadic. There was one department that was represented at almost every meeting- the Community Services and Community Development division. This department was also known as the Social Recovery team immediately following the earthquake and up to two years following. This would have been a direct result from the focus of this research, and therefore the fieldwork, being on the social aspects of resilience and recovery, although there seemed to be limited cross-collaboration.

After my initial community meeting, I noted that:

> *My general thoughts from today are that people are unhappy with the governance from KDC and the central government, and how social response/recovery was not handled properly. There seems to be a disconnect in the discourse. The 'officials' say [Kaikōura] is doing just fine on their own whereas the [community] groups feel the government hasn't done much to help them* - Rudkevitch Fieldnotes

In one instance, when I attended a meeting where I mentioned to someone else in attendance that I was there to attend the recovery meeting, the individual responded with "It's a wellness meeting and [we're] recovered". I was confused with this response as "the overall feeling in the room is that they are still recovering and adapting" (Rudkevitch Fieldnotes). As this was the first time I had met this

person I was taken aback. Overtime and in the months to come, I would learn that this response was sarcastic in nature and came from frustration that it was not the council's or the senior management team's job to decide when the recovery was over.

When discussing the meetings, one participant pointed out that although there was decent enough attendance at most meetings and feedback events it is important "to get a full picture of what's happening so everyone understands everyone's different perspectives and point of view" (Participant 10). This participant continued with, "At the moment you probably have half or three quarters of the people in there that probably need to be in those meetings" (Participant 10). Building on the sentiment that there was a lack of equal representation, one participant highlighted that the meetings were fractured and that "they very quickly split the area, the region, into different groups with different leads . . . there were actually four or five different groups that they split" (Participant 16). These comments reflect that although there were ample meetings with a significant number of attendees, they were still fractured and not drawing a complete picture of the needs in Kaikōura.

One thing that did come out of meetings, and in particular steering groups, was a document called Reimagine Kaikōura. This project began "right after the earthquake there was a massive push . . . Everybody got together; there were a number of meetings and conflabs and a number of organisations. What do you want to see for your community going forward" (Participant 19), with the purpose "to help build [a] community led approach to what the needs, wants, desires and hopes were for the Kaikōura community" (Participant 21). Unfortunately, Participant 21 followed it up with stating that "it never happened. People need to feel that they've been heard". This demonstrates that even when attempts were made to create a cohesive document that amalgamated many community members' perspectives, it went underutilised.

Although the earthquake had significant impacts on all aspects of Kaikōura, there were other shifts within the council that had begun to occur before the event. One participant described the changes broadly as:

> *Leading up to the earthquake there was sort of grumbling within council about how it should be going and all those sorts of things. Governance was kind of in my view not really good, even before the earthquake so once we had the earthquake it just really cracked. Really, really cracked quite severely. It was quite an awful time. . . It was becoming quite dysfunctional before the quake. So once we had the quake it was pretty tough going.* - Participant 6

Some of the changes that happened within council before the earthquake were that a new CEO was hired approximately 6 months before, an election was held a month before, and staff were moved into a new building days before. As a result of all these changes, the KDC and its day-to-day functions

had already been in a state of flux even before the earthquake struck. One participant described it as:

> *There was a lot of change there. Our corporate culture had not quite jelled at that point. We were also moving into a new building so all the focus was moving into the new building. People were exhausted. We also had a new council that had just been elected in October.* - Participant 3

Although the earthquake was a major environmental shift, there was already "dysfunction", "exhaustion", and "grumblings" within the KDC and the wider community.

Following the earthquake, and after months of work put into the recovery efforts, there was further disruption within the KDC. One major shift was an influx of external managers into Kaikōura to assist with the earthquake recovery months afterwards. Of those who had been already employed in senior management positions and were involved in the first five to six months of recovery, many were made redundant and were replaced with employees from outside Kaikōura. One participant explained that:

> *Out of the four or five managers, they demoted two and disestablished three of us. They wanted us to reapply for them. I didn't because I felt we hadn't been supported by our manager. Effectively she had been in the role for five months and I had transitioned her into that role. I had supported her the whole time and then to be disestablished… I just felt it was totally unsupportive and actually a bit of a kick in the teeth for all I had done for her, so I chose not to reapply.* - Participant 8

Another participant furthered these sentiments when they stated:

> *People were made to reapply for their jobs. People who actually lived here. People who had been a part of the council already. People who had been working really hard were asked to reapply for their jobs. One of them did. The other two said to go fuck yourselves. So that was interesting. That's when all the new managers showed up. A lot of them don't live here.* - Participant 3

Many participants felt the new senior managers could not make effective decisions for Kaikōura because they were never part of the local community. One participant explained that

> *Our leadership team aren't from here, except for two. Our leadership team go back home to Christchurch. So they are not even spending money [here]. There is no connection. . . I don't think that our leadership go out into the community to be involved for our community to get to know them. But a lot of decisions that are made . . . don't make sense a lot of the time.* - Participant 7

There were other frustrations beyond the fact that the new senior managers did not reside in Kaikōura. One participant explained that the reason these new managers were chosen was:

> *Their expertise. Which makes you feel like gee we were managing things ok and now just stand back because the big boys are here. They didn't integrate very well. They were very, very busy and simple things they could have done like acknowledging that the person next to you who might be on a lower tier actually knows the organisation better. Knows the community better. Knows how things work better. Instead of running around and talking to each other they could have run around and talked to everyone. And they are still doing that.* - Participant 3

These feelings were expressed further by another participant who suggested these tensions would create long term problems:

> *I think we have a disconnect coming because what has actually happened over the last two years is that people were parachuted in from Christchurch to go on contracts to go work at KDC. So they don't live here. They are not part of this community and won't be part of the story going forward. And at the same time you've had people from within the community who were working at the council who have felt disenfranchised who actually now left. So you've got the community, your elected representatives, and the paid council offices. You've got a huge disconnect and I think that's a problem we've got coming down the track.* - Participant 11

Not only did the changing roles directly impact the relationships between external senior managers, but also created secondary stressors on those who remained. For instance, the KDC employees felt as though their support networks at their place of employment had collapsed. One participant confided in me saying, "I am putting on a brave face right now, but I am really gutted with [redacted] no longer being employed" explaining further that "they are my support network. I don't know how long I am going to last" (Participant 12). This demonstrates that not only were there frustrations between the new managers and employees, but it also directly impacted the social networks and relationships within the organisation, which could negatively impact the effectiveness of the council in supporting collectives and recovery.

These shifts within the KDC did not only affect how those within the organisation interacted with each other, but also how the locals interacted with the KDC. When the new KDC building was first constructed it was intended that all departments would be located behind a fob access, with locals needing to go to reception to access the employees who were located behind closed doors, which included the social recovery (now community services) department. As these services were aimed at resolving issues such as mental health, housing, healthcare, and overall wellbeing it was stressed that a closed-door policy was not conducive to the services that were supposed to be provided there. After much discussion with senior management at council, the social recovery team was moved to the first floor of the council building where they could maintain an open-door policy. One participant summarised that it "made [the council] less personable, not more. Because everyone is shut behind closed doors" and that in the end they needed to "fight for [the first floor] space" (Participant 8).

However, after my final fieldwork visit to Kaikōura, I noticed that these offices had been moved back to the second floor behind a secured entrance. By keeping the KDC separate from other collectives it further created conflict amongst collectives and between collectives and decision-makers as it hindered opportunities for collaboration.

7.3.2 Muted voices and desired leadership

Throughout the interviews it was realised that some participants felt the KDC was supportive of community collectives, while on the other hand, some participants felt their collectives were not supported by the KDC. Upon reflection, approximately halfway through my fieldwork I noted that "even though a lot of the people in the interviews have said that the KDC doesn't support the community, it seems to me that they are very much supporting a lot of the community initiatives regarding spaces and finances" (Rudkevitch Fieldnotes). Why participants might have felt (un)supported by the KDC, and how that impacted their visions for the future, will be explored further below.

Restructured roles at the KDC, compounded with the aftermath of the earthquake, created division between the collectives and the council in Kaikōura. A common theme that was brought up was how (un)approachable the council had become post-quake and that the local community members' role in decision-making was not felt to be relevant. As one participant stated, "People need to feel that they've been heard. So I think a huge opportunity has been missed" (Participant 21). More specifically, because council was not listening to what the community wanted to see in Kaikōura, they lost the opportunity to invest in the future of Kaikōura.

These sentiments of unheard community voices were felt in the Māori community. When discussing Māori involvement and collaboration in decision-making one participant stated that:

> *Government agencies actually have to get some type of tick off from tribal nations, it doesn't actually mean that they want to. But if they can tick the box and say, 'look I've consulted here'. We are kind of past looking at any type of consultation format. We are actually at the table as a partner or we're not . . . I know for sure that actually they really don't want a partner it's just that they have to.* - Participant 20

Another participant seconded these sentiments when they said:

> *I knew that a lot of it, in my view, was shoulder tapping. Like the whole recovery structure, the community didn't get to choose this is for hapū Māori and not Māori. The recovery leaders, they got chosen in house and there were some earlier discussions about integrating say the rūnanga with the council, but it didn't quite happen that way . . . And then there was lots of different people coming in; experts to tell us blah blah blah. But at the end of the day my whānau were either at work because they got*

> *employment on the roads or they had to keep working to keep this place going or they were busy trying to support their affected whānau and they weren't in these decision-making spaces.* – Participant 9

Much of the frustration from community members towards senior management at the KDC came from the fact that they were not from Kaikōura, as outlined previously. For instance, one local stated that:

> *Post-earthquake we've had a lot of people come into the council from away to take senior management positions and there's been a lot of resentment mostly. It's been interesting. And I am not saying it's all bad, but different views.* - Participant 1

Another participant said "I feel like we've been steamrolled a bit as well. Well in terms of outside influence saying, 'this is the way it needs to be done' and when I say steamrolled it is over that kaupapa we had. You don't throw it all out and I feel like we have". However, they remained hopeful when they followed it up with, "But I don't think it is forever" (Participant 6). While another participant was slightly more vocally frustrated when they said:

> *There's a total lack of how you do things in a small community. If you're a bureaucrat working in a city you can be as bureaucratic as you want but nobody will know you. You're just a nameless face. In a small community everyone knows you. So what you do and the decisions you make have an impact on people you know. And that is not being appreciated by the people who are now working for [the KDC]. We're supposed to be trying to recover from an earthquake and there's so many blocked impediments in the way of people who are now trying to flip themselves back up. . . I think the council as elected- doesn't understand or appreciate that. That the people they are employing now are doing a great disservice to this community. To me it is all around the culture of the organisation. They are not employing people there who are there to help you and get back to your normalcy. They are there to put roadblocks in the way and that is just not a system. It just adds to the strain and the stress of the people that are trying to come out of a shock. It is a big disconnect. So there is a total lack of historical knowledge. There is a lack of understanding of cultural values of the rūnanga. There is certainly a disconnect between council and the rūnanga and there used to be a huge connect between those organisations. It is not helping.* - Participant 11

As a result of the senior management team coming from outside of Kaikōura there seemed to be an 'us' vs. 'them' attitude between community members and senior management positions at the KDC.

The senior managers as 'outsiders' perspective did have negative impacts on how locals interacted with decision-makers; it also had secondary impacts- or at least participants expressed secondary impacts. As one participant explains, "There is a real feeling that the council aren't good at talking to the community" (Participant 8). While another said:

> *Our council leadership team are not connected to our community. They are getting things done but it is not necessarily for the best interests of the community. . . They are just not connected. They just don't have any idea what our community is about.* - Participant 7

These statements show that there was a high level of frustration from the participants, who were already well connected through collectives, that the decision-makers were not engaging with the voices of those from within Kaikōura.

However, the disconnect between the KDC and community members was not only relegated to the external senior managers, but also to elected officials. As one participant said:

> *Straight after the earthquake one thing that was palpably obvious that you would expect from the elected representatives is at least for them to be visible, walking around . . . Apart from the mayor and the deputy mayor I don't think any of our councillors were there. That was and is a problem . . . [elected officials] have a duty to actually create an environment that people feel like things are actually being done.* - Participant 21

While some of the council's duties were invisible, what community members were seeing did not feel like it benefited them and that their voices were not being heard in the decision-making being done by councillors. As one participant explains:

> *At that time [following the earthquake] there was still a very old way of doing things. Basically, it is just those up there are making the decisions. Shoulder tap. And they interact with ministers and then everybody else just gets told what to, how to, why to, instead of being part of that.* - Participant 9

The two above quotes explain that their voices were not being heard by council members and senior managers. However, even when community members tried to directly become involved in decision-making they still did not feel as though they were able to effectively engage in it. The following statement gives a direct example of this:

> *So going back to the 'Reimagine Kaikōura' document- it wasn't perfect, not the full ticket, but at least it was a shopping list. And a well thought out shopping list at that. So that was where lots more could have been done. . . That's one point where the opportunity sort of needed continuing, is where we are lacking, that vision. We have morphed now into an environment where district council are barriers rather than facilitators. Business prevention officers I call them- as opposed to facilitators.* – Participant 21

The above examples demonstrate how the community felt disenfranchised and not in control of the decision-making process during recovery from the earthquake.

Yet, despite the negative feelings directed at council, some of the participants remained hopeful that things could turn around. When speaking about different projects and collectives one participant

stated that it was important for community members to move from "'We don't trust the council' to 'Hey let's work with them and see if we can get a partnership'" (Participant 6). While many participants highlighted that due to a new Mental Health and Wellbeing Commission Act 2020 being passed, they were hopeful for the future of the community. For instance, one participant said it would be easier now to have someone in a community development role to act as a "conduit between council, who is very inward looking and very clunky, and community, who can bring together those positive relationships" (Participant 12). The above sentiments show that Kaikōura experienced both environmental and governance turmoil, and participants were "frustrated about the current state of governance" in Kaikōura (Rudkevitch Fieldnotes).

Additionally, participants were not keen on having outsiders come into Kaikōura to make decisions on the recovery without including local community members. As outlined earlier, a participant explained that:

> *Nobody knew about civil defence management. No one knew who MCDEM was . . . Like the whole recovery structure, the community didn't get to choose this is for hapū Māori and not Māori. The recovery leaders, they got chosen in house and there were some earlier discussions about integrating say the rūnanga with the council, but it didn't quite happen that way.* – Participant 9

Another participant followed this same sentiment when they described that:

> *You know civil defence has this A Team that flies in and does all this work but having had that kind of thing it never works. What we need is locals employed by the council to do the work that council believes is necessary, because it is a community thing. You can't tell from the outside what that community really wants.* - Participant 12

A third participant stated that "I still think that's why we need that strong leadership. I think that it needs to be [either the CEO] . . . or the mayor, one of those people that could really go 'hey Kaikōura' and really relate" (Participant 1). These statements demonstrate the strong desire among the participants to have strong leadership that comes from within the community, and that whoever took on the role emphasised collaboration among collectives as part of their position.

While some participants highlighted the need for improved leadership, this was further emphasised in the current lack of leadership. One participant stated that "there seems to be a lack of leadership. It's noticing that this is where we want to go and working out a plan on how to get there. [It] just doesn't appear to be that at all" (Participant 11). Some locals stated that the leadership could come from local community members becoming more actively involved with council:

> *There are a few of us starting to talk about- and those are the people I was referring to that are coming through their stuff. That I reckon if they do*

> *stand up and they do get some support they will rock this place. In a good way. Not in a bad way. We've already had that. In terms of physically being rocked. Look I think the council and so forth has done an amazing job in my view. You don't normally get what we've just had and I think we've had great leadership but I feel like we've been steamrolled a bit as well. -* Participant 6

While another participant stated:

> *It would be awesome if in Kaikōura someone emerged who can really pull that vision together. Cause there is nothing wrong with having silos and different opportunities. But I do think there is something wrong with them not connecting. And like I say we are collaborating more and more. -* Participant 1

Additionally, during fieldwork I had noted that many participants were:

> *Advocating that the community needs a true champion. Someone to listen and integrate the ideas, values, wants and needs of Kaikōura. There is a serious amount of animosity towards the current governance in Kaikōura that is overwhelming. Many people have mentioned the elections coming up [October 2019] and are hopeful that something might change.* - Rudkevitch Fieldnotes

This demonstrates community members' desire to still try to maintain, or even regain, some efficacy in the community. Another participant emphasised the siloed state of Kaikōura could be brought together with a strong leader, they stated:

> *Getting some strong leadership to work out what our 25-year vision is and getting people working towards that in all the different sectors because lots of people don't know what the bigger picture is for Kaikōura. So, it is really hard to have people run a project for a few years and go 'Oh I don't really know why I am doing that or where it fits in'. . . For me having a long strategic goal for Kaikōura is really important, all the different sectors, all your community, all your economic side, all your environmental side and all your cultural side actually all come together and be working directly for long term sustainability. Kaikōura has huge potential but there is no connection between any of them. It is just separate people doing their separate thing. I think that's a shame because after the earthquake you did see a lot of it coming together and a lot of people having those discussions. But then like any post event it sort of fades away and goes back to what they are used to.* - Participant 10

This quote emphasises how strong leadership from within the community would consider complex processes and multiple perspectives to create a cohesive and collaborative community. This was a quality that was strongly desired in Kaikōura both before and after the earthquake but had not yet come to fruition.

After reflecting on the local collectives, I noted that, "There are people who truly appreciate and love and call Kaikōura home. They want to do good for the community" (Rudkevitch Fieldnotes). Although

the community felt hopeless with the lack of support from council, they rooted themselves in collectives that focused on creating collectives that were inclusive, equitable, and thriving. The lasting impressions were that the participants were hopeful for an improved future in Kaikōura, one that they contributed to before the earthquake and maintained long afterwards through their collectives despite the challenges they faced.

7.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter has built on the two previous results chapters by exploring more complex understanding of collectives. Throughout this chapter it was highlighted that although there was at times cooperation among collectives, there were also times when conflict dominated, which impacted previously collaborative relationships. The challenges were not relegated to the relationships among collectives, as there were times of cooperation and conflict between collectives and the KDC. Much of these issues arose from a lack of communication or the uneven distribution of resources. Similarly, the local community's distrust in decision-makers further contributed to issues with resilience and recovery in Kaikōura. The three results chapters have demonstrated the complexity that exists within and among collectives and between collectives and decision-makers. The next chapter will provide a discussion that merges the literature and the results to suggest a new approach to assessing *community* in community resilience.

Chapter 8

Discussion: The Role of Collectives in Community Resilience

> *One is left with an uneasy feeling that lurking behind 'the community reborn' perspective is a vague and ill-defined 'sense of community' all over again.* - Barrett (2015, p. 185)

8.1 Introduction

The aim of this thesis has been to consider the role of collectives in post-disaster contexts to develop a more nuanced understanding of *community* resilience. This requires acknowledging the complex processes that exist within and among collectives in everyday life and during unexpected life events to challenge understandings of community as a homogeneous entity, a common approach in resilience work. In this chapter I discuss how collectives can be used to frame a community resilience approach that emphasises the 'meso level' of community, where collectives exist between the heterogenous individual and the homogenous community. To begin, the discussion will briefly revisit conceptualisations of community, followed with an evaluation of its use in resilience discourse. This section will then highlight how collectives contribute to understandings of resilience in post-disaster settings. Then in two separate sections, Liepins' (2000a, 2000b) "reworked", and Barrett's (2015) "deconstructed" models of community will be analysed in the Kaikōura context. Finally, I will offer a synthesised evaluation that provides a more nuanced and dynamic approach to community resilience that draws on both Liepins' (2000a, 2000b) and Barrett's (2015) work.

I will argue that the examination of collectives can offer insight into developing a more comprehensive understanding of community resilience; one that considers collectives as a resource in everyday life that can be drawn upon during unexpected life events. As disasters are considered to be a community's *inability* to withstand a significant shift using its own resources, and resilience as a community's *capacity* to withstand a significant shift using its own resources, there is a discrepancy between definitions of disaster and resilience. Studying collectives may offer an alternative understanding of community resilience during unexpected life events, one that may address the discrepancy between inability and capacity to withstand major environmental shifts using local resources.

The discussion has been framed around the objective and questions posed in Chapter 1. These are:

The main objective of this research is to further understandings of *community* resilience by examining collectives.

1. How has the definition of *community* evolved, and how has this been reflected in resilience work?

2. What can be learnt from collectives in everyday life and during unexpected life events and how can they further understandings of *community* resilience?

3. How can a nuanced, dynamic approach contribute to academic and practical understandings of community resilience?

8.2 Assessing *Community* in Community Resilience

Community theories emerged roughly a century ago, and they have continued to influence how community is understood today. Early community theories focused on geographical features, such as the rural/urban divide such as in Tönnies and Weber's work, as well as how people interacted with one another as outlined by Durkheim and Simmel. Some contemporary definitions now consider the importance of place-based communities (Winterton et al., 2014), while others consider interaction-based communities (Day, 2006; Gilchrist, 2019; Räsänen et al., 2020), and communities of practice and interest (Quick & Feldman, 2011; Wenger, 2011) amongst individuals and groups. Recent work has also focused on the processes that influence social life and collective practice within and between communities through groups and collectives (Barrett, 2015; Day, 2006; Delanty, 2003; Gilchrist, 2019; Liepins, 2000a, 2000b; Perkins & Thorns, 2012; Quick & Feldman, 2011; Sztompka, 2008; Wenger, 2011). Due to the vastness of community definitions, it has meant that defining community has become a complex and daunting task.

One thing many of the community definitions have in common is their focus on some form of *groupness*. As a result, for this research I have revisited definitions of community to consider 'group' as an amalgamation of individuals, however, *collectives* may offer a more specialised understanding of 'group'. Collectives are intentional groups of individuals who engage in purposeful actions; these include faith-based organisations, weekly meetings, workplaces, sports clubs, steering committees, event planning committees, NGOs, and government departments (Gilchrist, 2019; Mann et al., 2021; Marquet, 2015; Scherzer et al., 2020; Sztompka, 2008; Wenger, 2011). Based on the literature reviewed and the data gathered in fieldwork, I argue that a more nuanced, dynamic conceptualisation of community that focuses on the meso level (collectives), that lies between the micro (individual) and macro (community), can lend greater insight into understanding community in resilience. Prior to unpacking the processes that exist within and among collectives, I will discuss

community resilience and critique its use in social systems particularly those that have experienced a major environmental event.

Early on, resilience was defined as "a measure of the persistence of systems and of their ability to absorb change and disturbance and still maintain the same relationships between populations or state variables" (Holling, 1973, p. 14). This definition, rooted heavily in the physical and natural sciences, focuses on monitoring a system's ability to 'bounce back' or 'return to normal', common among early theories of resilience as 'rebounding'. A critique of Holling's approach is that when resilience is applied to large, heterogeneous systems with dynamic, moving parts it muddies the ability to assess a system's capacity to return to a fixed state, especially as the system is already in perpetual flux (Robin, 2013). Therefore, applying a traditional conceptualisation of resilience as 'rebounding' to communities presents a problem, as communities exist as multiple, heterogeneous processes that are constantly shifting. Yet, resilience was nevertheless adapted into the social sciences and community resilience was born; combining the notoriously challenging to define *community* with the overly restrictive concept of *resilience*. As a result of the merger between these two contested terms, resilience has often been at the forefront in conceptualisations of community resilience, while the community has been relatively under investigated.

A widely used definition of community resilience is that it is "the existence, development, and engagement of community resources by community members to thrive in an environment characterized by change, uncertainty, unpredictability, and surprise" (Magis, 2010, p. 402). This definition has been used in numerous community resilience studies (Berkes & Ross, 2012; Koliou et al., 2018; Skerratt, 2013; Steiner & Atterton, 2015; Wilson, 2012). Unlike Holling's (1973) approach, Magis's (2010) definition focuses on how a community actively engages in a process of 'bouncing forward', or the ability to adapt to changes. 'Bounce forward' has continued to evolve into "build back better" (Manyena et al., 2011), a rebuild/recovery path outlined extensively in 2015 in the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction. Yet, 'bounce forward' or 'build back better' community resilience perspectives remain problematic as they continue to perpetuate the idea of community as a singular entity, rather than a composition of many diverse parts.

A 'build back better' approach to community resilience focuses on the opportunity and capacity to engage in change and build a community improved on the way it was prior to the event (Becker & Reusser, 2016; Fernandez & Ahmed, 2019). Furthermore, engaging in resilience that reflects 'build back better' can be an opportunity for positive change in everyday life (Cretney, 2017) and can result in increased community ties (Solnit, 2009). These interpretations consider how resilience can signal positive changes within community, yet a 'build back better' approach is rooted in an assumption that what is good for one is good for all. These interpretations focus on positive outcomes of disaster

and address earlier questions on resilience 'for whom' (Cretney, 2014; Hayward, 2013). Yet, the question of resilience 'by whom' (Kaika, 2017) and who ultimately makes the decision of what is 'better' for the community remains challenging as it is rare to have a consensus amongst all members of a community. The presence and recognition of differing views should be acknowledged and considered in community resilience.

Studies that consider community as homogeneous often undertake disaster research that has examined whether a community is resilient or not (Amundsen, 2012; Berkes & Ross, 2012; Buikstra et al., 2010; Cutter et al., 2014; Doğulu et al., 2016; Glover 2012; Leykin et al., 2013; Maclean et al., 2014; Norris et al. 2008), rather than focusing on the many ways a community - and its various components - can be resilient. As a result, these widely used forms of identifying community resilience tend to disregard the messy, complicated features and processes that exist within the 'community system', and the relationships among them. Studies that direct the attention solely to the presence, or lack, of resilience in a community implicitly ignore how these features and processes can influence shifting levels of resilience. Disaster risk reduction research has begun to explore the active role that the meso level (collectives) can play in community resilience following a major environmental event (Cretney, 2018; Cretney & Bond, 2014; Cutter et al., 2014; Solnit, 2009). Yet the processes that enable collectives to operate in everyday life and how they can be drawn on during unexpected life events is still relatively unexplored.

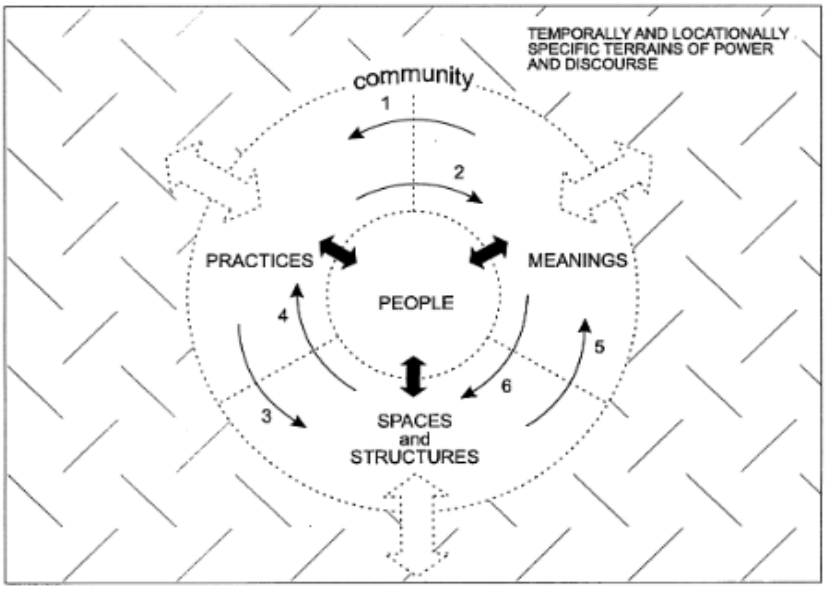
Many community resilience studies have considered how an individual or an entire community (Eachus, 2014; Patterson et al., 2010) is resilient, yet the meso level has only recently begun to be examined in a resilience context. This meso level has been analysed in community resilience research as (in)visible networks (Marquet, 2015), place-based community organisations (Muir, 2020), non-profit organisations (Roberts et al., 2019) and emergent groups (Ntontis et al., 2020). The issue addressed in this thesis concerns the difficulties around seeing 'the' community in a way that recognises both consensus and difference and how collectives can reveal the *heterogeneity* of community without fracturing it into individual perspectives.

Up to now I have highlighted that while the definition of community has evolved, its use in conjunction with resilience has not fully considered the more nuanced and complex processes of the meso level in community. For this purpose, and due to their prevalence in community definitions I have used collectives to interrogate *community* in community resilience. It has been widely found that communities are shifting systems that are created through social groups (or collectives) and processes that exist within and between them (Barrett, 2015; Liepins, 2000a, 2000b; Quick & Feldman, 2011; Wenger, 2011). As a result of the extensive presence of collectives in traditional and contemporary community theories, and their recent emergence in community resilience work, they

were selected as the lens through which to explore community resilience in this research. Collectives can include church organisations, hobby groups, non-government organisations, work circles, or any type of group that draws people together. The following sections will explore and critically assess how Liepins' and Barrett's frameworks could be applied to the Kaikōura case study following the earthquake to better understand the role of collectives in resilience and recovery.

8.3 Liepins' "Reworked Community"

The discussion will now turn to exploring Liepins' model of community. Liepins' (2000a) intent was to highlight community through both its tangible and intangible features by exploring three characteristics: practices, spaces/structures, and meanings. Liepins (2000a, 2000b) claimed that a community could be identified as fluid rather than static, yet it was bounded in place. Liepins' model in Figure 19 demonstrates how these three characteristics mutually influence one another through processes. While briefly touched on in the literature review, the discussion will apply and evaluate Liepins' model of community in relation to the Kaikōura context.



1 MEANINGS	legitimate practices
2 PRACTICES	enable the circulation and challenging of meanings
3 PRACTICES	occur in spaces and through structures, and shape those spaces and structures
4 SPACES and STRUCTURES	affect how practices can occur
5 SPACES and STRUCTURES	enable the materialization of meaninngs
6 MEANINGS	are embodied in spaces and structures

Figure 19: Liepins' model of community (2000a, used by permission)

8.3.1 Spaces and structures

Liepins (2000a) stated that spaces and structures in community included "natural features" and "social infrastructure" (p. 335). Natural features include rivers, oceans, mountains, and trees. In Kaikōura, some of the significant natural features include the Waikōau/Lyell Creek, the ocean and the

mountains. There were even important natural features that were not fixed but were interacted with as place, such as collecting kai, planting trees, and creek clean-ups. Social infrastructure includes both indoor and outdoor built spaces, including town halls, parks, schools, as well as leisure and work sites (Klinenberg, 2018; Liepins, 2000a). In Kaikōura, some of the significant social infrastructure sites included the Community Garden, Memorial Hall, Churchill Park, Mayfair Theatre, Scout Hall and Takahanga Marae. All of the 'locations' above were noted as a significant 'place' in Kaikōura.

Neither natural features nor social infrastructure are more important than the other, but both are significant places where "'community' is enacted or even contested" (Liepins, 2000a, p. 336). Place can act as a connector for people in community, or it can create conflict (Liepins, 2000a). These processes of connecting or clashing often occur in everyday life (Liepins, 2000a; Perkins & Thorns, 2012; Sztompka, 2008), but shifts following a shock event can perpetuate cooperation and conflict. Unexpected life events create an environment of heightened stress as people's community changes rapidly. As the earthquake struck, social connections through shared experience were made at the marae, halls, and parks, whereas in the long-term it shifted how collectives interacted in other spaces, either through increasing shared space or differing views on whether to remove or repair old buildings. This demonstrates that although people identified in and connected to places and spaces in Kaikōura through collectives, these shifted following the earthquake.

As locations such as Memorial Hall and Scout Hall were affected, it changed how people engaged with their collectives and connected with place. For some collectives, physical locations were important in re-establishing a sense of place in Kaikōura as they helped to regain normality in everyday life through re-establishing routine. Even though many of the buildings and features in Kaikōura were severely damaged, the continuation of the collectives in some capacity helped continue or re-establish a sense of place and a collective identity. However, not all collectives were able to maintain their spaces. Some collectives were born from the process of engaging in new spaces and structures. Importantly then, it is not the spaces or structures that are a marker of community resilience but the processes of engaging with others in those places. The physical locations of the collectives aided in creating a sense of place, but it was the collectives' kaupapa that helped drive collaboration and connection.

Overlapping connections (sharing space) and conflicts (how to rebuild) in place differed between collectives. These complex connections demonstrate that to consider community, and its resilience, as one-dimensional is insufficient as it removes the complexity of varying processes that can exist among collectives. Place as a physical location, both the natural and built environment, and its capacity to bring people together is done through the actions of individuals and collectives. Collectives' connection with space and structures shifts in everyday life and even more so during

unexpected life events. Therefore, the existence of collectives alone cannot be a signifier for resilience. Rather the processes that contribute to collectives acquiring and existing in spaces and structures can be examined to further understandings of resilience. The following subsection will explore further the practices that collectives engaged in that contributed to the complex processes within them.

8.3.2 Practices

This section will examine practices in the collectives, with an emphasis on their purpose. Liepins (2000b) emphasised the role of 'people' in community; not in the physicalness of the individual but the overlapping roles or practices in which they engage in. While people are at the heart of community, it is their active practices and collective engagement with others that enables community to thrive (Liepins, 2000b). Liepins (2000a) described practices in community as regular, small activities and less frequent, larger occasions. In Kaikōura, the smaller activities could be considered weekly attendance at the Community Dinner or volunteering at the Op Shop, whereas the larger occasions may be the earthquake anniversary concert or organising and attending the Community Expo.

While many of the collectives were created through formal means, there were also networks that were formed from less formal practices such as extracurricular activities. The role of informal networks in resilience was researched extensively in Marquet's (2015) work. These informal networks develop from church groups, cultural and hobby/interest groups as well as through casual but regular connections between neighbours, friends, and family (Marquet, 2015). Oftentimes these types of networks emerge from everyday life, as people form social connections through interaction-based communities. In Kaikōura, one individual may engage in many intersected or solitary roles within the public or private sector through paid employment or volunteering. Through these roles, participants developed vast networks of connections with other individuals, emphasising how connections can emerge from everyday practices. In Kaikōura these roles were seen throughout the various collectives that people engaged in. These roles often spanned similar or contrasting collectives, demonstrating the diversity within community. The connections made through the individual's everyday roles were rooted in their collectives' practices and were able to be drawn on in the earthquake's aftermath, fulfilling a diversity of needs in Kaikōura.

The practices that collectives engaged in were an important factor in Kaikōura. The collectives' kaupapa or purpose that was enacted through their practices set the course for what they could achieve in terms of navigating through an unexpected life event. Many of the collectives had the intention to help the "community get to a better place after the earthquake" (Participant 7). This demonstrated how the collectives engaged in practices with the intention of improving Kaikōura by

supporting locals through various actions, especially within the social environment. The collectives contributed to the social environment in Kaikōura through providing opportunities to develop new skills, financial support, and arranging events or activities to bring people together.

On the other hand, many practices, while holding good intentions, are not always for the benefit of the entire community (Liepins, 2000a). Often, practices can highlight disparity between who has privilege and who has not (Liepins, 2000a). In Kaikōura, the discrepancy in which collectives have access to resources such as space and funding or who has government support, is different for all collectives and will influence their success. Resources are spread unequally which can lead to conflict between individuals and collectives. The outcomes, either positive or negative, that come from active practices may not be intentional, but they do show that community resilience does not exist equally for every collective.

8.3.3 Meanings

This next subsection will outline the third characteristic in Liepins' model: meaning. This third characteristic is slightly harder to define as it is not as visible as spaces or structures, nor is it as easily identifiable as practices. For Liepins (2000a), meaning was defined by the shared social understandings underpinning how community operates through processes of social connection and marginalisation, belonging and othering. That is to say, meaning is not solely developed from positive interactions; it can also come from negative exclusionary practices as well. In Kaikōura meaning came from how individuals engaged in collectives together; there was a shared understanding of how things should be done and how recovery should have been realised following the earthquake.

Cohen (1985) identified that meanings were important when considering community, and that collective meaning developed from symbolism surrounding rituals, words, or behaviour. Meaning is developed *from* interacting in spaces/structures and engaging in practices, and is how people interpret their community (Harvey, 1996). Overlapping meanings can be particularly relevant in the context of what it means to recover from a disaster and what makes for meaningful markers and milestones. People can have overlapping meaning attached to their perceptions of community, but these are co-created through engaging with others. This reveals how collectives can attach meaning to the community around them through their practices in spaces/structures. In Kaikōura, this was reinforced following the earthquake as collectives identified what needed to be done to recover from the event and therefore engage in resilience practices collectively. Whether it be raising funds for a theatre rebuild, developing a commercial hub, or organising an anniversary event, the act of engaging in practices rooted in recovering spaces and structures helped to shape people's meanings of their community through collective action. When these practices are completed, it can contribute

to increased meaning people have attached to community, and in particular what resilience and recovery means to them.

Collective action can shape how people attach meaning to community (Wilkinson, 1991). As people engaged in practices as collectives, they co-created what resilience and recovery meant for Kaikōura. Deciding on a course of action as a collective created strong ties that mutually enforced what resilience could look like. This was done in Kaikōura through common activities such as community meetings, organised events, and in workplaces which meant that people could formulate shared meaning through discussions and through practice. Once shared meanings emerged then mutual understandings of *community* could emerge and actions to achieve progressive collective meanings could be taken. The intention of the collectives to improve place in Kaikōura for locals was widespread amongst the collectives that were examined. While at the same time, some collectives became disenchanted with the recovery process as their visions were not realised.

While attaching meaning to community can be positive, meanings can perpetuate exclusion and inequality (Harvey, 1996). This leads to "othering" and affects how well people can assimilate into community (Liepins, 2000a). This was demonstrated in Kaikōura at both an individual and collective level. Collective action can create positive outcomes but it can also reinforce negative meanings as it (in)advertently alienates or excludes those who are not involved in the collective or who have different ideas. Some individual participants communicated that their ideas were not accepted, and as a result felt excluded. On the other hand, shared meaning emerged when some participants rejected the incoming experts whose ideas of recovery did not align with those of Kaikōura residents. Yet, this did not extend to all 'outsiders', as some were welcomed into Kaikōura. Therefore, the process of becoming integrated into Kaikōura and developing shared collective meaning was not the same experience for everyone. The scope of fully understanding this phenomenon requires further research than was possible in this thesis, but it should be noted that meaning in community is not consistent across all collectives, or between individuals. Creating shared meaning and developing collective action are dependent on a certain level of acceptance or belonging. These divisions in meaning create fissures in the capacity to work collaboratively and be resilient, further demonstrating the need for understanding a nuanced, dynamic approach to community resilience.

8.4 Barrett's "Deconstructed Community"

Barrett (2015) also developed a model to reconsider community, seen in Figure 20 below. Barrett (2015) highlighted a community framework that focused on identity, interest, and normativity (norms) between individuals and collectives, and argued that this multi-pronged approach can highlight resilience in community. Unlike Liepins (2000a, 2000b), Barrett (2015) did not situate community within a spatial and temporal boundary, rather his model focused on how exclusion and

solidarity influence identity, interest, and norms. It should be noted here that Barrett's (2015) model, while based on previous studies, has not been applied to an evolving resilience and recovery scenario, nor has it considered the more specific role of collectives. This section will focus specifically on the processes of identity, interest, and norms in collectives. By utilising Barrett's (2015) framework on collectives in Kaikōura I will further interrogate the processes that can actively contribute to or hinder resilience and recovery.

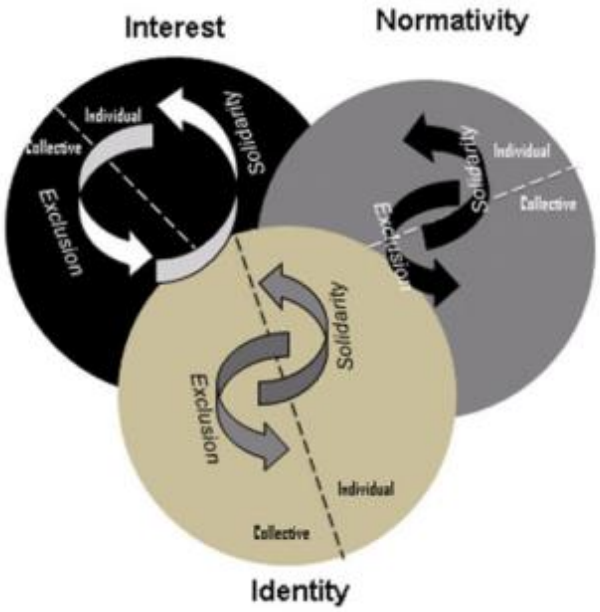


Figure 20: Barrett's model of community (2015, used by permission)

8.4.1 Identity

For Barrett (2015), identity was developed through people's connection to place, both as an individual and as a collective. Understanding how identities are created in Kaikōura, realised in collectives, and maintained in community can help to inform how multiple approaches to resilience can be understood. Many researchers have highlighted the connection between identity and sense of belonging in place and how these play a significant role in how people connect as community (Barrett, 2015; Delanty, 2003; Gilchrist, 2019; Woods, 2011). Identity often emerges from a sense of belonging by engaging in traditions or rituals (Barrett, 2015), which is not too dissimilar from meanings (Cohen, 1985). Identity and sense of belonging often emerge from engaging in everyday life and can help people to establish connections to places and create social networks. Barrett (2015) highlighted that identity emerges from place and sense of belonging, both of which will be explored below.

Research has found that individual and collective senses of belonging are an important aspect in resilience (McManus et al., 2012) and similarly, following a major event, individuals and collectives will experience a shift in their sense of belonging (Cloke & Conradson, 2018; Slocum & Kline, 2014;

Quinn et al., 2021). These shifts in the sense of belonging are not dissimilar to the cracks that may form in the ground or appear on the sides of buildings following an earthquake. Changes to everyday life, from shifted routines to a changed landscape and inaccessible spaces, meant that people had to re-establish their sense of belonging in Kaikōura. For some this was temporary, such as needing to move out of a building while it was repaired, and for others it was more permanent as they changed employment or moved town. Regardless of whether these shifts were small or large they impacted the individual's sense of belonging. This in turn created widespread, small and large, changes as people experienced changed patterns in their everyday life that would be difficult to resume following the earthquake.

As the community shifted in many ways following the earthquake, many of the routines and relationships of everyday life that contribute to identity (Perkins & Thorns, 2012) no longer existed. This may be considered a signifier of deficient community resilience as the community could not immediately revert to a previous state of everyday life, either through bouncing back/forward or returning to normal. However, even though there were significant shifts to everyday life in Kaikōura, people were able maintain their sense of belonging and identity through the collectives they engaged in. This was supported through Delanty's (2003) claim that engaging in collectives can help to create a sense of belonging, a defining quality of community. Furthermore, collectives that engaged in and embraced unexpected life events, such as cleaning up the Op Shop or expanding the Community Dinners, were able to experience continuity in sense of belonging and identity even as physical and social aspects of the community shifted.

While some collectives remained relatively stable, others experienced noticeable changes. Some shifts in collectives were a result of adapting kaupapa, changing locations, or new collectives emerging. Additionally, in some cases it was the social networks within and among the collectives that shifted. All of these factors contributed to a shifting sense of belonging and identity for both individuals and collectives as has been found elsewhere (Cloke & Conradson, 2018; Slocum & Kline, 2014; Quinn et al., 2021). This research follows other literature by demonstrating that changes to sense of belonging and identity are common following a major event. However, this research has also found that sense of belonging and identity occurs at varying levels, and as a result, to apply them to homogeneous community resilience would prove difficult. While this subsection explored how the sense of belonging and identity in Kaikōura compared to Barrett's (2015) model, the next subsection will explore how interest created and perpetuated collectives.

8.4.2 Interest

Collectives can encourage interest in community and build active civic engagement, especially if a sense of place and belongingness exist prior to a major disruptive event (Aldrich & Meyer, 2015;

Madsen & O'Mullan, 2016). These prior connections and interest in community were evidenced in Kaikōura when locals banded together to re-engage in the yearly Love the Lyell clean-up or began fundraising for the Mayfair Theatre rebuild. How the collectives responded to the earthquake can demonstrate that while everyday life is altered, and with it the processes within and between the collectives, the interest in the collectives remained relatively intact. Collectives also experienced an interest in working together, although this waned in time and an overall siloed approach emerged as time went on.

Collectives formed from interest are prominent in community and demonstrate how people bond strongly together following an event (Räsänen et al., 2020). This was witnessed during fieldwork at meetings in Kaikōura where different collectives attended to map Kaikōura's recovery. Many of these collectives had a vested interest in Kaikōura rebuilding positively from the earthquake and saw opportunities that could arise from it. Some of these opportunities were financial, educational, or social, as many collectives had an interest in increasing education programming or housing or food security following the event. There was a lot of interest in how to rebuild positively, with many voices intersecting on how this could be done. These voices all had good intentions, but they did not necessarily work effectively together as tensions grew based on diverging interests, either from the local collectives' perspectives or from the government.

It was evident through document analysis and interviews with participants that there was a large range of interests among the collectives. Many of these interests, or kaupapa, overlapped but did not always correlate, and at times they diverged. Patterson et al. (2010) stated that a "community [is] an autonomous actor, with its own interests, preferences, resources, and capabilities" (p. 130). Yet, this research demonstrated how the interests, preferences, resources, and capabilities that exist within 'community' are often extremely varied between collectives. Each collective will have its own intention, purpose, and access to resources. This was true for Kaikōura as collectives set their kaupapa on what they aimed to achieve, and this would sometimes result in criticism from those outside of the collective. For instance, the Mayfair Movie Theatre was being rebuilt, while others in the community did not see the purpose of it. This shows community is not homogeneous as there are varying levels of interest and purpose within that are realised through collectives.

One possible solution to stimulate improved collaboration between differing interests and ideas on how to recover following a disaster may come from encouraging people to engage in collectives and for collectives to work together. Sun and Faas (2018) explained that "inviting disaster-affected people into processes of mutual learning and discovery" (p. 631) can open-up new conversations about how the impacts are managed, mitigated, and recovered from. These connections (dis)enabled processes of sharing and reciprocity of knowledge and resources between collectives that affected

many of those living in Kaikōura. Unfortunately, over time interest in collectives working together waned in Kaikōura as there was a lack of evidential progress in recovery, or at least it was not progressing quickly enough. In Kaikōura, this was another 'disaster' of sorts because, rather than building a bridge between diverse interests in the community, much of the recovery effort instead drove a wedge between collectives. This wedge was formed as collectives became siloed due to uneven level of progress and unequal access to decision-making.

8.4.3 Norms

Up to this point I have highlighted how people identify in community by engaging in collectives where they may have a vested interest which, in turn, can contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of community. Much like identity and interest, shifts in norms are not homogeneous among collectives. I will now turn to considering norms in community. Norms are the invisible, underlying mutual understandings of "standards of conduct and rules" amongst those in a community (Barrett, 2015, p. 189). Trust, reciprocity, power, social capital, and (in)equality are all examples of norms that influence how community functions (Barrett, 2015). However, when there are major shifts, such as the Kaikōura earthquake, norms like many characteristics of community become disrupted.

Communities of practice and interest play a crucial role in bridging connections between people, collectives, and government (Räsänen et al., 2020) by building strong trust and encouraging civic efficacy. People may seek out collectives to build cooperative networks among those whom they trust. This was witnessed through the vast networks of roles in collectives that individuals engaged in. Some individuals could improve trust among collectives given their pre-existing social connections, demonstrating how networks played a role in perpetuating norms. Yet, the process of maintaining norms created conflict between locals and the government. As professionals, or 'experts', were brought into the community after the earthquake, resilience and recovery in Kaikōura were impacted as community members found themselves distrusting the newcomers. This was a result of local norms being inadvertently challenged by the newcomers who brought in new ideas and who perhaps failed to see the complexity that existed within Kaikōura.

As was found with Liepins' (2000a, 2000b) meanings, there are both positive (civic engagement and connection) and negative aspects to norms (exclusion and contempt) (Barrett, 2015). Collectives can foster conflict and division as shifts in power dynamics and an inability to engage in civic life can influence the success or failure of the collectives. For instance, when people from other parts of the country were brought into Kaikōura and began making decisions on the recovery, locals felt that they were losing control of decision-making. Community members' felt unheard when their ideas for how to recover were not considered or were considered but not put into practice. This set off an

imbalance of power that trickled through the collectives and was recounted in interviews and witnessed at community meetings. While some collectives gained extra support, others missed out. This demonstrates that the complexity of the norms that were existing in Kaikōura before the earthquake were not utilised by the new managers at the KDC. For instance, a personable council was replaced by closed doors and engagement at meetings diminished. Had local norms been identified and addressed during the recovery it could have made for a more cooperative and empowered recovery process.

Shaw (2012) noted that top-down approaches to resilience and recovery can create more harm than good and that it should be the community's responsibility to identify their vulnerabilities to build resilience. However, as Kaikōura saw an influx of new decision-makers, the norms that existed in the community and influenced how it functioned in everyday life were disrupted. Not only were the long-standing norms disrupted but the local voices were muted in the decision-making. As complex norms within and among collectives can provide insight into how a community operates in everyday life, then they can become a resource for recovery during unexpected life events. If these norms are not taken into consideration, then resentment can build between collectives and decision-makers. Rather than considering the outside experts' role as trying to fix the community, their role should be to recognise existing norms in an effort to help empower collectives to engage in their existing civic efficacy. Understanding how to better engage local collectives in decision-making through pre-existing norms can potential help to build increased collaboration in resilience and recovery following major environmental events.

8.5 A Nuanced, Dynamic Approach to Community Resilience

Both Liepins' (2000a, 2000b) and Barrett's (2015) approaches help provide much needed nuance to conceptualising community. There are many overlaps between them that contribute to their utility. For instance, Liepins and Barrett both emphasised the significant role people had in shaping the characteristics of community through social connections and as individuals/collectives. They also both highlighted unique characteristics (spaces/structures, practices, and meaning; identity, interest, and norms) that contribute to community and how these characteristics are interconnected and mutually influential. Exploring how these two models could be applied in Kaikōura in the previous sections demonstrated the value of recognising their different contributions and was foundational to developing a combined approach of a revised working understanding of community resilience. The following section will draw on Liepins' and Barrett's works to propose a nuanced, dynamic approach to community that can be used in understanding resilience.

In this thesis, and through the combined literature and data collected, I suggest that collectives are made-up of three features that can inform a nuanced, dynamic approach to community resilience.

These three features of collectives include: perceptible attributes; intentional actions; and intangible pressures. Perceptible attributes contain the visible aspects of collectives such as people and places that can be easily identified either visually or verbally. Intentional actions are how people engage in collectives. This feature includes the interactions as well as practices and interests that people consciously engage in through collectives, often with an intended purpose. While intentional actions are identifiable, they are not as obvious as perceptible attributes. Finally, intangible pressures are the invisible push and pull factors that bind and divide collectives while influencing both perceptible attributes and intentional actions. Liepins categorised these as meanings, while Barrett categorised these as norms and both influence how intangible pressures are manifested in community. However, unlike Liepins' and Barrett's models, I propose that trust and power require their own critical analysis when considering intangible pressure and the role of collectives in community.

8.5.1 Perceptible attributes

A combined Liepins and Barrett model that draws on the strengths of both needs to accommodate certain key features. One of these is 'perceptible attributes' which are the identifiable characteristics or physical aspects that people can use to locate themselves in a community. Both Liepins and Barrett address perceptible attributes, but in quite different ways. Perceptible attributes reflect place-based communities either strongly through space/structures (Liepins 2000a, 2000b) or loosely through identity (Barrett, 2015). Perceptible attributes can include the natural and built environment, social networks, and even a sense of belonging; they are closely connected to understanding place-based communities. The key to understanding perceptible attributes is that it recognises the important characteristics of place without resorting to using place as a proxy for 'community'. Although place is important in community, by focusing solely on place it ignores the unique nuances within it that emerge from the examination collectives.

To begin, I will analyse the role of place as a perceptible attribute. Place has often been attributed to defining community and how people shape perceptions of their community as it is often considered to be located in a physical and unmoving location (Abercrombie et al., 2006; Flora, 1998; Johnson, 1995). In disaster risk reduction work, this has meant that community resilience has often been an achievable outcome located within a place, such as a community is resilient when a road is cleared and buildings have been rebuilt. However, people formulate and connect to place in a multitude of unique ways. Place is constantly shifting, often slowly over time but sometimes quite rapidly and unexpectedly. When the earthquake struck it dramatically changed the natural and built environment in Kaikōura, from long standing buildings becoming rubble to entire mountain sides collapsing; this shifted the perceptible attributes within Kaikōura and essentially the locals' sense of place. Understanding how people perceive shifts in the natural, built, and social environment can

lend greater insight into community resilience and recovery as a more diverse image of place emerges.

The earthquake and its aftermath dramatically altered the everyday lives of locals in Kaikōura and along with it the meaning that people attached to place (Tuan, 1974) and physical space (Stedman, 2003). When places and spaces shift following an event, such as the Kaikōura earthquake, identities and the meaning attached to them changes along with them. Building on a community's entanglement with place and identity, how people engaged in the creation and perpetuation of community is evident in how locals engaged in collectives following the event. People were able to channel how they expected to see the recovery through the collectives that they were engaged in. This was demonstrated through the creation of the UpLift Hub as well as the fundraising to repair the Mayfair Theatre and the Old Scout Hall. By being able to engage in collectives, individuals can re-establish a sense of belonging and identity through rebuilding old familiar places and connecting in new vibrant spaces. While perceptible attributes can lend insight into how a community can recover on the exterior, there was still conflict that occurred in perceptions of place.

Eyles (1985) identified how multiple senses of place interlace and overlap, many of which can often be complex and contradictory. This was demonstrated in how a sense of place contributed to creating community in Kaikōura by describing how participants' connection to place was unsettled following the earthquake and how they organised and reorganised in places during their recovery. Some locals may have thought one building was important to rebuild, while others would be happy to see it demolished. Therefore, a recovery project that invests in returning a perceptible attribute to its pre-earthquake state cannot be a "marker" for resilience as perceptions of it will vary. Rebuilding or renovating an old building, while a significant achievement with a set outcome and a signifier of resilience for some, is not a sign of resilience for all. As explained by Perkins and Thorns (2012) "places, like identities, are multifaceted, emergent, and contingent" (p. 19). Similarly, resilience based on place would be multifaceted, emergent, and contingent on overlapping identities rooted in various places, or perceptible attributes. Therefore, multiple perspectives of place and identity should be considered when evaluating what it could mean to be resilient.

Place and identity, as well as sense of belonging, can be very telling in how people engage in their community, and in particular as a collective (Manzo & Perkins, 2006), and therefore how people engage in collectives can lend insight into what defines a community. The multiple roles people engaged in and the identity that was derived from these roles were directly connected to one another. Following the Kaikōura earthquake, locals drew on their roles and connections within and to collectives to recreate, reorganise, or revaluate what place and identity meant to them in the

aftermath. As a result, collectives can act as a channel for multiple overlapping individual identities and contribute to a new collective sense of place in everyday life.

The new everyday life emerged from the unexpectedness of the earthquake. As Sztompka (2008) found that everyday life was the observable process of people engaging with one another, these interactions did not suddenly stop. In some cases, it has been shown that people may form greater collective bonds following an event (Solnit, 2009), and that a shared sense of place and identity can contribute to community. As Gilchrist (2019) states, "This sense of community or shared fate is an important ingredient in people's willingness to undertake collective action" (p. 7), in Kaikōura the earthquake may have been the "shared fate" that brought collectives together in action. Therefore, by identifying the perceptible attributes that emerge from everyday life in collectives, such as place and identity, it can help to understand the purpose of the actions that people engage in during unexpected life events.

8.5.2 Intentional actions

The previous section considered perceptible attributes of community- place and identity. These characteristics of community can be identified through observation or description. For instance, you can see buildings and social interactions and people can explain how they identify within their community. However, there are other elements that contribute to community, elements that are not as easily identifiable. These less tangible characteristics will be classified as intentional actions; combining Liepins' (2000a, 2000b) practices and Barrett's (2015) interests. While actions are often visible, overlapping actions or intentions do not always culminate in a successful outcome. Here I will combine practice and interest to consider the intentional actions that people engage in and why. When combined, these characteristics can be used to examine collective efficacy and its role in understanding community resilience in crossing the gap between disaster as a community's *inability* to withstand a significant shift using its own resources, and resilience as a community's *capacity* to withstand a significant shift using its own resources. Collectives already engage in intentional actions demonstrating their capacity to be a resource in everyday life that can be drawn on during unexpected life events. Intentional actions can also lend insight into the complexity of communities by considering overlapping and intertwined, heterogeneous interests and practices. Therefore, I will now turn to exploring interests and practices as processes in community that enable people to work together through intentional actions.

Building on the reasoning that disaster can be an opportunity for change (Cretney, 2017; Solnit, 2009; Wilson, 2012) it would be understandable to assume that as people band together they can enact positive change. This positive change might include access to education, health, and employment opportunities through increased funding for collectives following an event. Positive

processes that emerge from intentional action were often present when there was strong networking, shared spaces, access to funding, and when knowledge and resource sharing were commonplace. Building on this, these positive processes had the potential to have cascading positive impacts throughout the community. For many of the collectives, the earthquake provided an opportunity to embrace change through broadening their scope or kaupapa, increasing social networks, and collaborating with other collectives. Furthermore, overlap of purpose in the collectives meant that there was, at varying levels, resource sharing and reciprocity among them. As a result, many of the participants and collectives were connected both formally and informally, through access to public places, funding opportunities, and growth potential. At first glance, this would signal positive resilience and recovery potential through cooperation as intentional action. But when investigated further, the diversity and differing opinions in what is seen as "positive" illustrates how cracks appear in a community's resilience.

Current literature emphasises the important influence social networks and cooperation have in acquiring resources (Field, 2017; Gilchrist, 2019), a necessary factor in community resilience (Magis, 2010). The ability to access and use resources, such as space and funding, can be a positive aspect, however, it can also create conflict that may arise from unequal distribution of resources. These conflicts come from how some collectives are able to benefit from availability of and access to resources, while others may struggle to acquire and access those some resources. These conflicts arose from both inside and outside Kaikōura as collectives were left out of decision-making. In Kaikōura, it was not immediately apparent that there were issues with preferential interest, however once decisions were made regarding funding, space, and recovery activities then there were concerns about whose interests were being appeased through those actions. Superficially, Kaikōura may have appeared to be highly resilient as people banded together, funding was abundant, and the infrastructure rebuild was underway. However, when examined more closely it became apparent that some collectives were better resourced due to the actions that individuals engaged in following the event, from networking to fundraising. Therefore, the intentional actions that collectives engaged in influenced the level of resilience that collectives experienced.

In order to gain a better understanding of community resilience, the role of collectives and the relationships and interactions among them need closer examination. Gilchrist (2019) claimed that "social cohesion is undermined in a twisting spiral of suspicion and competition for what are often scarce resources" (p. 20). When communities are seen as homogeneous, as existing in a shared place within a set boundary, it eliminates the ability to see the often-overlapping actions of individuals and collectives. In Kaikōura there were many differing views on how recovery could be implemented, and while there were similarities, when action was not taken it impacted how the collectives functioned. Many collectives experienced positive benefits through their actions following the event, such as

increased funding or a repaired building, but this was not true for all collectives, and as a result it becomes inherently difficult to declare “the” community resilient.

This research has demonstrated that not all collectives in a community follow the same path of recovery, and therefore a community cannot be deemed “resilient” through the actions of a select few. With the potential for negative outcomes to emerge from a lack of, or unequal access to resources, this demonstrates that the processes and actions among collectives can provide an opportunity to study the ways a community can be resilient, rather than whether it is resilient or not. Therefore, while identifying characteristics can be useful for a superficial understanding of community resilience, it does not show how the actions of everyday life can be drawn on during unexpected life events. While intentional actions show how collectives can actively engage in community there are also influential factors that operate outside of the collectives’ control. The next section will explore how the intangible pressures of push and pull factors shifted in Kaikōura following the earthquake, affecting its overall resilience and recovery.

8.5.3 Intangible pressures

Up to this point I have identified two features of community that could be examined through collectives to assess its resilience- perceptible attributes and intentional actions. Combining Liepins’ (2000a, 2000b) meanings and Barrett’s (2015) norms, I will outline intangible pressures that contribute to community resilience. Intangible pressures are the invisible push and pull factors that exist in community. Both meanings and norms highlight the beneficial and adverse impacts of intangible pressures on collectives and how these might affect community. Intangible pressures can build trust and reciprocity, while simultaneously creating conflict and exclusion by either pulling people together or pushing them apart. Intangible pressures are not clearly identifiable and operate in the background, behind perceptible attributes and intentional actions.

Trust is an important factor in intangible pressures. Trust at a community level emerges from a mutual understanding that individuals and collectives work cooperatively for the benefit of the community (Freitag & Traunmüller, 2009; Fukuyama, 1995; Putnam, 1993). Based on this, trust in Kaikōura was presumably quite high. For instance, as many of the locals were involved in various collectives and shared resources, it would increase the levels of trust in the community. This was evidenced when participants spoke of the connections they had with others. However, once examined more in depth, the level of trust within Kaikōura began to show cracks, as time went on trust between collectives waned. With increased burn-out and diminished access to decision-making and resources it hindered potential collaboration opportunities between collectives.

As the recovery unfolded, it was influenced by the intangible pressures that existed among the collectives. Gilchrist (2019) states that "the legitimacy of the community representatives is sometimes questioned when they challenge prevailing assumptions and aims. This can lead to resentment and withdrawal of cooperation from some partners" (p. 99). This was witnessed in Kaikōura as individuals, and the collectives they represented, withdrew involvement in some of the community meetings and recovery efforts as they did not feel adequately supported by the central or local government, nor other recovery agencies. In order for the individuals, collectives, or the community as a whole to see any progress or change following the earthquake, then there was a level of cooperation that would have needed to be met. The ability of collectives to have influence in the community and have legitimate representation was diminished as Kaikōura recovered. This could have been relieved had the role of the collectives in meetings, events, and decision-making been elevated. Being able to recognise how the collectives worked together prior to and following the earthquake could have helped to promote ongoing collaboration, yet this was given minimal consideration during recovery efforts.

One of the most significant findings of this thesis - and a point that is too often neglected in the literature - is that following the earthquake there was an underlying sense of 'togetherness' that existed between various collectives as many of them had the kaupapa to improve Kaikōura during recovery. However, as competition for resources and burn-out increased, while access to decision-making diminished it meant that the collaboration among collectives that was present at the beginning of the recovery phase was not maintained. While it has been stated that social networks are important for positive change following an event (Cretney, 2017; Scanlon, 1988; Solnit, 2009), if these collaborative efforts are not recognised and cultivated early on in the aftermath then they can diminish over time through distrust and unequal access to power. Without understanding how or why they were previously working together, it becomes difficult later to rely on those same networks to engage in positive change as they may have developed increased disconnection.

As outlined, the idiosyncratic and collective processes of norms and meanings in a community that were built up over time need to be nurtured. However, following the earthquake they were under-acknowledged which resulted in high distrust, which when not fostered, damages diverse social networks (Monteil et al., 2019). It is fairly common in the disaster risk reduction and community resilience literature to focus on exemplars of success and positive paths to recovery, whereas scholarship looking more closely at 'community' dynamics tends to highlight processes of othering and exclusion (Liepins, 2000a, 2000b; Barrett, 2015) that can act as destructive elements. This can occur internally through break-down in collaboration, but othering and exclusion can be exacerbated as decisions are made without adequate input from those affected by the decisions, and when decisions go against local norms. This was especially true in Kaikōura as it is a small community

where the locals were used to playing a large part in how their town developed by engaging in roles both in government and in the wider community. Feelings of exclusion and othering were reinforced in the participants' sentiments that the experts did not think local community members were capable of adequate decision-making and that their knowledge was not valued. Therefore, when the changes during the recovery process were being implemented it challenged the norms of local decision-making that were previously operating in Kaikōura.

By not being able to take control of their own recovery, locals felt they did not 'belong' in the decision-making process, not due to their lack of interest, but from their feelings of exclusion. Nisbet (2010) claimed that this lack of belongingness or "dislocations" from public engagement is a result of political control or lack of access to power (p. 41). Community members in Kaikōura felt that the decision-making process was increasingly left to the outsiders. Although the locals had an overall sense of belonging, they could not take ownership of the community's rebuild as much as desired, although attempts were made early on by the collectives. Therefore, "the existence, development, and engagement of community resources by community" (Magis, 2010, p. 402) in resilience was not supported as much as it could have been in Kaikōura. This sense of disconnect and inability to fully engage local resources meant that there was decreased cooperation between the collectives, and a declining engagement in meetings. This detachment from collaboration could create a long-term decrease in community resilience as there was limited engagement in shared decision-making and local voices were pushed out of the decision-making process.

In Kaikōura there were many types of community meetings where different collectives came together to discuss their own collective's happenings and ways they could work together to improve Kaikōura. While these were well attended by many of the collectives examined, there was a sense that the higher decision-makers did not frequently attend. Yet, Gilchrist (2019) states "strategies for community resilience and recovery are most effective if statutory bodies and non-governmental organisations work through local networks to support relief efforts rather than attempting to control interventions" (p. 16). The disconnect between 'locals' in non-governmental organisations and 'outsiders' within the government created tension that disallowed a cohesive resilience and recovery effort. This decision-making tension could have been alleviated by promoting increased collective efficacy, a trait that was evidenced amongst local community members through their various roles in various collectives prior to and following the earthquake.

Collective efficacy, the process of people working together, is not a new concept in community resilience (Kwok et al., 2016; Rapaport et al., 2018; Sherrieb et al., 2010; Tidball et al., 2010). Although people can join together as a collective, it does not necessarily mean they will be able to influence decision-making or exhibit civic efficacy. Civic efficacy is the participation of locals in the

betterment of their community through social practices such as volunteering, community programming, and defending one's community (Mannarini & Fedi, 2009). The capacity to engage in civic efficacy was widespread in Kaikōura through the active engagement of locals in collectives. The ability to engage in collective efficacy plays a complex role in community resilience as it can both contribute to and hinder a community's overall resilience, yet these skills were under-utilised. Furthermore, the complex dynamics that influence civic efficacy can come from within and outside of community and can enable increased collective efficacy while simultaneously disempowering others, a characteristic that was witnessed in Kaikōura. Relationships between collectives and with the local government following the earthquake acted as a passage or barrier to how collectives functioned. Either way, once the earthquake occurred it shifted the everyday life in Kaikōura, revealing hidden processes and creating new ones that changed norms and meaning in the community.

Once Kaikōura entered a period of uncertainty collectives were already in a position to support community members, as was evidenced through their established kaupapa as well as through their pre-existing connections and collective efficacy. As collectives gained funding and increased their reach within the community their connections and collaboration with other collectives increased. Yet, as time went on their collaboration diminished as their use as a resource in resilience and recovery was not fully utilised by the KDC. Had the potential for collectives to be a "community resource" operated "by community members" been realised early on it may have increased the ability to "develop personal and collective capacity" to "respond to and influence change, to sustain and renew the community, and to develop new trajectories for the communities' future" (Magis, 2010, p. 402).

8.6 Chapter Summary

By exploring collectives in Kaikōura following the North Canterbury earthquake, I argue that community resilience is a complex concept that requires greater recognition of collectives of which community is comprised, and the dynamic relationships among them. Community theories have expanded over the last 100 years to include a wide array of definitions, although *groupness* has dominated as a shared aspect among them. Yet, resilience in the social sciences has commonly considered community to be homogenous and static rather than heterogeneous and dynamic, contradictory to contemporary definitions of community that highlight the importance of groups. As a result, *community* has taken a backseat to *resilience* in conceptualisations of community resilience, where the focus is often on the outcome (rebounding/returning/adapting) rather than the process (connecting, collaborating, and empowering) of a community's recovery.

Collectives can provide increased insight into how processes are enacted in everyday life. How collectives connect in place, collaborate through action, and empower through decision-making

reveals a complex, heterogeneous interpretation of *community*. Through this research, collectives have proven to be a useful tool in exploring the meso level between individuals and community, suggesting that there are varying degrees and ways at which resilience can be experienced. As collectives operate and exist in everyday life, they have the capacity to bring people together and influence the social environment following unexpected life events, while simultaneously experiencing conflict. This research demonstrated that collectives can be drawn on as a useful resource during unexpected life events to increase the capacity to recover. However, if the collectives are not supported early on in the recovery process, then their capacity to engage in resilience wanes as exclusion and conflict can impede collaboration among collectives and decision-makers.

Collectives also revealed the complexity that exists within community, making it difficult to assume resilience would be homogenous. As a result, assessing collectives as they exist in everyday life and during unexpected life events through a nuanced, dynamic approach acknowledges the heterogeneity of community resilience. This approach builds on Liepins' (2000a, 2000b) and Barrett's (2015) models and identifies perceptible attributes (place and identity), intentional actions (practice and interest), intangible pressures (meanings and norms) to be important features of everyday life that emerge from and influence collectives in a recovery context. These features exist as processes in and among collectives and can be useful in examining the changes that exist in community during unexpected life events. By using a nuanced, dynamic approach to understanding community resilience it can reveal how collectives can be used as a resource for resilience and recovery during unexpected life events, while considering the opportunities for collaboration and potential for conflict as a community's capacity to recover varies across collectives.

In consideration of Liepins' and Barrett's models I have argued that community is complex rather than one dimensional; heterogeneous rather than homogeneous. This research has shown that when analysed individually and then combined, collectives can help reveal a more nuanced and dynamic approach to community resilience. This means acknowledging that, first, communities are comprised of meso units of analysis – collectives – that sit between individuals and the broader community. Second, collectives and the processes within and among them affect the features of everyday life and can influence outcomes during unexpected life events. Thirdly, to understand how collectives can be used as a resource in community resilience, a nuanced, dynamic approach can be utilised to reveal the features and processes within collectives, and the broader community. In sum, I have argued that *community* has implicitly been undervalued in understanding community resilience and that by examining the role of collectives in everyday life and during unexpected life events through a nuanced, dynamic approach a more complex understanding of *community* resilience emerges.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

9.1 Thesis Summary

Community resilience scholarship often places the emphasis on resilience rather than community. This has meant that over time the nuances that exist in community have been overlooked in disaster risk reduction research and practice. This thesis has analysed traditional and contemporary theories of community which revealed the widespread use of groups as a defining feature in community. As a result, collectives were defined more specifically as one-off or recurring projects, activities, events, and organisations that engage in practice for a shared purpose. By examining multiple collectives in Kaikōura through interviews, and supported by document analysis and participant observation, it was revealed that collectives contribute to creating and perpetuating *community,* and this has implications for community resilience during unexpected life events and disaster recovery.

Operating in everyday life, collectives brought people together through shared interests, helped create a sense of place, and provided a sense of community. This 'functionality' proved useful when an unexpected event, such as the earthquake, occurred, yet their relevance was not always acknowledged by decision-makers, leading to breakdowns in collaboration. Collectives were undervalued as the connections and collaborations, as well as their organisational capabilities, were not fully realised or appreciated. This left the collectives vulnerable not only to being ignored in their aspiration, but the neglect can amplify contestation and conflict through distrust and imbalance of power. The existing collectives and their connections could be deployed productively given adequate consideration; but when ignored the othering can impede recovery and undermine resilience. For these reasons it is essential to take a community first approach to resilience in an effort to accentuate the need to attend to these collectives that operate between disparate 'individuals' on one hand and homogenous 'community' on the other.

Following the combined analysis of the literature and results, I propose a new approach to community resilience that considers the more nuanced, dynamic processes that emerge from collectives. This new approach revealed that communities are complex and heterogeneous rather than static and homogeneous. A nuanced, dynamic approach moves away from the traditional 'return to normal' or 'bounce back/forward' understandings of community resilience, by acknowledging that there are many ways for resilience to exist. While this thesis acknowledges that collectives can promote positive aspects of resilience, it has also shown that conflict among collectives and decision-makers can emerge following an unexpected event. Therefore, by placing

the emphasis on collectives and examining the processes within and amongst them it can reveal how resilience and recovery fluctuates at varying levels across community.

Rather than following common interpretations of resilience in the social sciences that focus on the micro (individual) or the macro (community), this thesis addresses the meso (collectives) level of community resilience. By using this strategy, this thesis has argued that communities are complex and dynamic, made up of constantly moving processes, and that collectives are essential in identifying these processes. By analysing the processes in collectives, it has led to an understanding that communities are not homogeneous but heterogeneous. This nuanced, dynamic approach to community, aims to understand how collectives exist in everyday life and how they can be drawn on as a resource during unexpected life events.

9.2 Implications

This research focused on exploring the notoriously challenging and complex definition of *community* in regard to its marriage to resilience. While community has acquired a multitude of definitions, its use in relation to resilience has frequently been one-dimensional. In an effort to better understand *community*, collectives were selected as a means to investigate resilience. By understanding collectives in everyday life and how they can be drawn on as a resource during unexpected life events, a more nuanced and dynamic understanding of community emerges. Based on the above discussion, implications in theory, methods, and practice can be highlighted.

9.2.1 Theoretical

Early on in the thesis I highlighted how there is a discrepancy between conceptualising disaster and resilience. Whereas disaster focuses on a community's *inability* to withstand a major environmental event using its own resources (United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction, 2016); resilience focuses on a community's *capacity* to withstand a major environmental event using its own resources (United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction, n.d.). However, while acknowledging community, both definitions fall short of highlighting what is *community.* This thesis has taken on a different approach where community theories have been placed at the forefront of understanding community resilience. This has revealed that all too often community in community resilience has been regarded as a singular entity, rather than being composed of many simultaneous processes, features, and components. Through this investigation, collectives were revealed as an appropriate unit of analysis in community due to their similar features yet different processes.

By examining collectives this thesis has revealed that there are complex processes that are constantly operating within 'the' community and are revealed through the examination of various features. Liepins (2000a, 2000b) and Barrett (2015) had set the groundwork in their models of community,

where they identified communities to be made up of dynamic with shifting processes located within characteristics. Yet, neither of their studies had been applied to a community that had experienced a major environmental event. This thesis took both models and used them to assess community in Kaikōura following the earthquake; following this I created a nuanced, dynamic approach to community in resilience. By building on Liepins' (2000a, 2000b) and Barrett's (2015) models I have demonstrated that resilience, much like community, is complex and far from one-dimensional. What this means is that to quantify community as a single unit experiencing resilience ignores the multitude of ways it can be resilient. As a result, conceptualisations of community resilience should also consider the *processes* of resilience in community and how these fluctuate and vary within them.

9.2.2 Methodological

This research has shown that community resilience is a complex amalgamation of many different processes constantly interlacing and overlapping. Therefore, to understand, identify, or assess community resilience it should not be solely based on identifying whether a community is resilient or not. As a result, rather than focusing on indicators of resilience, the processes that collectives engage in in everyday life prior to and following unexpected events can lend greater insight into understanding community and resilience. A methodological approach that considers community resilience in a contextual basis can identify the event(s), the location, and the people within a community; however, without acknowledging interactions in everyday life, how they are drawn on as a resource and how they change during unexpected life leaves a gap in fully realising the complexity of community resilience. As a result, a nuanced, dynamic approach that deliberately seeks to identify complex features in community can offer a more detailed representation of processes of resilience.

However, simply identifying these processes as a researcher would not be sufficient as it would not be comprehensive, and more importantly would detract from a 'community-first' approach. To implement a 'community-first' methodology, participants who are directly associated with collectives and community should be consulted in the research process. This assists with identifying and determining the unique features and processes that exist within an affected location. Furthermore, collectives have oftentimes already identified a community's needs, therefore, by engaging collectives in the research they can help to establish quickly and thoroughly what the local needs are. All in all, a nuanced, dynamic approach allows for a more holistic understanding of what is already being done, by whom, and how in an effort to be resilient against and recover from environmental events.

9.2.3 Practice

This research has shown that following the earthquake there was extensive “expertise” brought into Kaikōura to assist with the recovery. However, this created significant distrust and a power imbalance between decision-makers and residents of Kaikōura. Participants expressed a desire to be able to participate in decision-making more frequently and to have their participation valued through actions that emerged from their collaboration. While collectives were shown to be an important resource in creating collaboration in Kaikōura, yet this was undervalued by decision-makers. If the collaboration between collectives had been proactively built up prior to the environmental event and nurtured afterwards then it would have led to stronger trust and empowerment following the earthquake. Therefore, an increased focus on building strong connections among collectives that enhance a sense of belonging, trust, and empowerment in everyday life can provide increased value during unexpected events.

Developing stronger ties between local collectives and government can help strengthen resilience and recovery both before and after a major disruptive event. Preparing an inventory of local collectives that operate in a community- both formally and informally- can help draw a picture of who and how the community functions in everyday life. When a disruptive event does occur, these pre-existing social networks that rely on various processes such as identity, trust, collective efficacy, and empowerment can be drawn on during unexpected life events. However, if these pre-existing processes are not recognised prior to an event than it could increase negative outcomes such as disconnection, distrust, and an unwillingness to cooperate with other collectives or with decision-makers. As a result, it should be a high priority to engage collectives in community resilience in everyday life and in recovery during unexpected life events.

Collectives in Kaikōura demonstrated a willingness to work together through their shared resources, but they also showed collaboration in their readiness to attend weekly or monthly meetings. Therefore, it is not unreasonable for practitioners to engage with community groups to create a collaborative working group that focuses on empowering collectives and the broader community in decision-making. Unlike a governing council with elected officials, this group could include individuals from within the community that already play a significant role, such as those involved with collectives. This group could work alongside the government with the intention of creating more inclusive and robust community visioning. Unlike a council, this group would not be constricted by bureaucracy and has the freedom to communicate ideas without political constraints. If these types of groups are created before an event, they could offer the opportunity to act as a voice for community members following an event. This will in turn create more resilient communities as collective efficacy would be stronger. A collaborative working group would also promote and enable

increased ability to voice input on resilience and recovery through trusted networks and empowered decision-making.

9.3 Limitations and Future Areas of Research

Given that this research occurred following a major environmental event, it would be remiss to not acknowledge the fact that no primary data was collected prior to the event. Unfortunately, when studying unexpected events, it becomes inherently difficult to collect primary data from before the event to use in comparison. Therefore, to evaluate whether a nuanced, dynamic approach to understanding community through collectives is effective, it would need to be compared to another case study. Should this method be applied to a future case study, I do encourage an openness to the probability that the features in assessing collectives may shift. This may involve new features being included or old ones omitted. The strength of this thesis lies in the acknowledgement and recognition that communities are not homogeneous, and therefore to assume unquestionably that the study could be replicated would be unreasonable. Adding to this, the method was clearly laid out as abductive, and therefore, an understanding of future studies being modified to suit the research needs falls within abductive reasoning.

Another limitation in this study was that the participants were selected as they were actively involved in collectives in Kaikōura. This has meant that those who do not actively engage in collectives were not included in the interviews and were unlikely to be represented in participant observation. Including perspectives from participants who are outliers in collectives would provide another aspect in understanding community. The difficulty with a study that attempts to include those who are not regularly involved in collectives is that they may not be as visible as those who actively engage in community. It is unlikely that a snowball sampling method would be effective. Therefore, alternative methods to identify and recruit community members who are not active in collectives would need to be employed.

As this thesis has explained an alternative way of theorising community resilience, I would suggest that this approach would need to be applied in another location to identify whether it is replicable. One potential hindrance, and a quite significant one, is that it is extremely difficult to assume where the next disaster or major unexpected event may occur. Alternatively, it may be useful to apply this approach to slow onset changes that occur within a community, such as climate change. In addition to comparing it to another location, applying a nuanced, dynamic approach in an urban rather than rural setting could provide an interesting comparison.

9.4 Closing Remarks

When beginning on this PhD journey a global pandemic was the furthest thing from my mind. Two years on and it is hard to remember what everyday life was like before. Grounded flights, working from home, and disrupted supply chains have ushered in a 'new normal' with no end in sight. Collectives have also shifted as lockdowns began, public spaces closed, and gathering sizes were limited. But there have been some positives that have emerged from the pandemic. New, innovative collectives have been created such as quarantined Italians singing from balconies, neighbourhood teddy bear hunts, a national Vax-a-thon, as well as online quiz events and learning seminars. While these examples can be spontaneous, ongoing, or one-offs they serve a shared purpose of uniting people during an unexpected, and unprecedented, life event. While the world may have seemed dark, collectives offered a reprieve from the pandemic. They allowed people to join together despite their differences and experience a shared moment. Although dark collectives also emerged, causing division and exclusion, as they loomed on the fringes of the fight against Covid-19. The global pandemic is but one example of how collectives can influence community resilience. With environmental events increasing in intensity and frequency it is important to recognise the value that collectives can add to collaboration and the damage they can create through conflict. All in all, collectives can provide a way to examine the underlying features of everyday life and recognise the heterogeneous processes of community in an effort to create stronger resilience and recovery during unexpected life events.

References

Abercrombie, N., Hill, S., & Turner, B. S. (2006). *Dictionary of sociology* (5th ed). Penguin Reference.

Adair-Toteff, C. (1995). Ferdinand Tönnies: Utopian visionary. *Sociological Theory*, *13*(1), 58–65. https://doi.org/10.2307/202006

Adger, W. N. (2000). Social and ecological resilience: Are they related? *Progress in Human Geography*, *24*(3), 347-364. https://doi.org/10.1191/030913200701540465

Adger, W. N., Dessai, S., Goulden, M., Hulme, M., Lorenzoni, I., Nelson, D. R., Naess, L. O., Wolf, J., & Wreford, A. (2009). Are there social limits to adaptation to climate change? *Climatic Change, 93*(3), 335–354. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10584-008-9520-z

Aitken, S. C. (2009). Community. In R. Kitchin & N. Thrift (Eds.), *International encyclopedia of human geography* (pp. 221-225). Elsevier Science.

Ainge Roy, E. (2016a, November 14). Kaikoura: State of emergency declared in town cut off by New Zealand earthquake. *The Guardian.* https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/nov/13/new-zealand-earthquake-two-dead-as-tsunami-alert-issued

Ainge Roy, E. (2016b, November 17). New Zealand earthquake: First relief trucks sent to Kaikoura as road opens. *The Guardian*. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/nov/17/new-zealand-earthquake-first-relief-trucks-sent-to-kaikoura-as-road-opens

Aldous, J., Durkheim, E., & Tonnies, F. (1972). An exchange between Durkheim and Tonnies on the nature of social relations, with an introduction by Joan Aldous. *American Journal of Sociology*, *77*(6), 1191-1200. https://doi.org/10.1086/225264

Aldrich, D. P. (2017). The importance of social capital in building community resilience. In W. Yan & W. Galloway (Eds.), *Rethinking resilience, adaptation and transformation in a time of change* (pp. 357-364). Springer.

Aldrich, D. P., & Meyer, M. A. (2015). Social capital and community resilience. *American Behavioral Scientist, 59*(2), 254-269. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764214550299

Alexander, D. E. (2013). Resilience and disaster risk reduction: An etymological journey. *Natural Hazards and Earth System Sciences, 13*(11), 2707–2716. https://doi.org/10.5194/nhess-13-2707-2013

Amos, J. (2017, March 23). Kaikoura: 'Most complex quake ever studied'. *BBC News.* https://www.bbc.com/news/science-environment-39373846

Amundsen, H. (2012). Illusions of resilience? An analysis of community responses to change in northern Norway. *Ecology and Society*, *17*(4). http://dx.doi.org/10.5751/ES-05142-170446

Armitage, D., & Johnson, D. (2006). Can resilience be reconciled with globalization and the increasingly complex conditions of resource degradation in Asian coastal regions?. *Ecology and Society, 11*(1): 2.

Ball, J., & Thornley, L. (2015). Effective community-level change: What makes community-level initiatives effective and how can central government best support them?. Quigley and Watts.

Banwell, K. (2017). Planning for resilient communities: and every other day: learning from the Canterbury 2010-2012 earthquake sequence. [Doctoral thesis, University of Canterbury]. UC Research Repository.

Barrett, G. (2015). Deconstructing community. *Sociologia Ruralis, 55*(2), 182-204. https://doi.org/10.1111/soru.12057

BBC. (2016, November 16). New Zealand earthquake: Warships head to Kaikoura. *BBC News.* https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-37996140

Beaven, S., Wilson, T., Johnston, L., Johnston, D., & Smith, R. (2016). Research engagement after disasters: Research coordination before, during, and after the 2011-2012 Canterbury earthquake sequence, New Zealand. *Earthquake Spectra*, *32*(2), 713-735. https://doi.org/10.1193/082714eqs134m

Bec, A., Moyle, C. J., & Moyle, B. D. (2018). Community resilience to change: Development of an index. *Social Indicators Research, 142*, 1103-1128. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-018-1960-x

Becker, S. L., & Reusser, D. E. (2016). Disasters as opportunities for social change: Using the multi-level perspective to consider the barriers to disaster-related transitions. *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction, 18*, 75-88. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijdrr.2016.05.005

Berkes, F., & Ross, H. (2012). Community resilience: Toward an integrated approach. *Society & Natural Resources, 26*(1), 5-20. https://doi.org/10.1080/08941920.2012.736605

Berno, T. (2017). Social enterprise, sustainability and community in post-earthquake Christchurch: Exploring the role of local food systems in building resilience. *Journal of Enterprising Communities: People and Places in the Global Economy*, *11*(1), 149-165. https://doi.org/10.1108/JEC-01-2015-0013

Blackman, D., Nakanishi, H., & Benson, A. M. (2017). Disaster resilience as a complex problem: Why linearity is not applicable for long-term recovery. *Technological Forecasting and Social Change*, *121*, 89-98. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.techfore.2016.09.018

Bowen, G. A. (2009). Document analysis as a qualitative research method. *Qualitative Research Journal, 9*(2), 27-40. https://doi.org/10.3316/QRJ0902027

Brand, D., Nicholson, H., & Allen, N. (2019). The Role of Placemaking as a Tool for Resilience: Case Studies from Post-Earthquake Christchurch, New Zealand. In J. Santos-Reyes (Eds.) *Earthquakes-Impact, community vulnerability and resilience*. IntechOpen. https://doi.org10.5772/intechopen.85119

Brisbois, M. C., & de Loë, R. C. (2016). State roles and motivations in collaborative approaches to water governance: A power theory-based analysis. *Geoforum*, *74*, 202-212. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2016.06.012

Brown, P. (2017, December 20). All hands on deck to get Kaikōura UpLift Hub ready in time for Christmas. *Stuff Limited*. https://www.stuff.co.nz/marlborough-express/news/99949455/all-hands-on-deck-to-get-kaikura-uplift-hub-ready-in-time-for-christmas

Brown, P. (2018a, September 19). Big plans for town creek. *Kaikōura Star*, p. 3.

Brown, P. (2018b, September 19). All hands on deck for Love the Lyell. *Kaikōura Star,* p. 3.

Brown, P. (2018c, October 17). Theatre to rise from the rubble. *Kaikōura Star*, p. 1.

Brown, K., & Westaway, E. (2011). Agency, capacity, and resilience to environmental change: Lessons from human development, well-being, and disasters. *Annual Review of Environment and Resources*, *36*(1), 321-342. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-environ-052610-092905

Buikstra, E., Ross, H., King, C. A., Baker, P. G., Hegney, D., McLachlan, K., & Rogers-Clark, C. (2010). The components of resilience—Perceptions of an Australian rural community. *Journal of Community Psychology, 38*(8), 975-991. https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.20409

Burnside-Lawry, J., & Carvalho, L. (2016). A stakeholder approach to building community resilience: Awareness to implementation. *International Journal of Disaster Resilience in the Built Environment*, *7*(1), 4-25. https://doi.org/10.1108/IJDRBE-07-2013-0028

Callaghan, E. G., & Colton, J. (2008). Building sustainable & resilient communities: A balancing of community capital. *Environment, Development and Sustainability*, *10*(6), 931-942. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10668-007-9093-4

Carlton, S., & Vallance, S. (2013). An inventory of community-led and non-governmental organisations and initiatives in post-earthquake Canterbury. Lincoln University.

Carlton, S., & Vallance, S. (2017). The commons of the tragedy: Temporary use and social capital in Christchurch's earthquake - damaged central city. *Social Forces, 96*(2), 831-850. https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/sox064

Chamlee-Wright, E., & Storr, V. H. (2011). Social capital as collective narratives and post-disaster community recovery. *The Sociological Review, 59*(2), 266–282. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954X.2011.02008.x

Chriest, A., & Niles, M. (2018). The role of community social capital for food security following an extreme weather event. *Journal of Rural Studies*, *64*, 80–90. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2018.09.019

Cloke, P., & Conradson, D. (2018). Transitional organisations, affective atmospheres and new forms of being-in-common: Post-disaster recovery in Christchurch, New Zealand. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 43*(3), 360-376. https://doi.org/10.1111/tran.12240

Cohen, A. P. (1985). *Symbolic construction of community*. Routledge.

Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed method approaches* (4th ed.). SAGE Publications.

Cretney, R. M. (2014). Resilience for whom? Emerging critical geographies of socio-ecological resilience. *Geography Compass*, *8*(9), 627-640. https://doi.org/10.1111/gec3.12154

Cretney, R. M. (2016). Local responses to disaster: The value of community led post disaster response action in a resilience framework. *Disaster Prevention and Management*, *25*(1), 27-40. https://doi.org/10.1108/DPM-02-2015-0043

Cretney, R. M. (2017). Towards a critical geography of disaster recovery politics: Perspectives on crisis and hope. *Geography Compass, 11*(1), 1-11. https://doi.org/10.1111/gec3.12302

Cretney, R. M. (2018). Beyond public meetings: Diverse forms of community led recovery following disaster. *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction*, *28*, 122-130. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijdrr.2018.02.035

Cretney, R., & Bond, S. (2014). 'Bouncing back' to capitalism? Grass-roots autonomous activism in shaping discourses of resilience and transformation following disaster. *Resilience*, *2*(1), 18-31. https://doi.org/10.1080/21693293.2013.872449

Cretney, R., & Bond, S. (2017). Shifting relationships to place: A relational place-based perspective on SES resilience. *Urban Geography, 38*(1), 8-24. https://doi.org/10.1080/02723638.2016.1139865

Cutter, S. L., Ash, K. D., & Emrich, C. T. (2014). The geographies of community disaster resilience. *Global Environmental Change, 29*, 65-77. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2014.08.005

Cutter, S. L., Barnes, L., Berry, M., Burton, C., Evans, E., Tate, E., & Webb, J. (2008). A place-based model for understanding community resilience to natural disasters. *Global Environmental Change, 18*(4), 598-606. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2008.07.013

Daly, M., Becker, J., Parkes, B., Johnston, D., & Paton, D. (2009). Defining and measuring community resilience to natural disasters. *Community Resilience: Research, Planning and Civil Defence Emergency Management, 22*, 15-20.

Dangerfield, E. (2016, November 22). 'Normal life' starts to return to Kaikoura with children's activities at the fore. *Stuff.* https://www.stuff.co.nz/marlboroughexpress/news/86663114/normal-life-starts-to-return-to-kaikoura-with-childrens-activities-at-the-fore

Danvers, G. (2016). [Aerial view of slips covering SH1 following the Kaikōura earthquake]. https://www.flickr.com/photos/gcdnz/30859308782/in/photostream/

Davidson, D. J. (2010). The applicability of the concept of resilience to social systems: Some sources of optimism and nagging doubts. *Society & Natural Resources*, *23*(12), 1135–1149. https://doi.org/10.1080/08941921003652940

Davies, A. J., Sadashiva, V., Aghababaei, M., Barnhill, D., Costello, S. B., Fanslow, B., Headifen, D., Hughes, M., Kotze, R., Mackie, J., Ranjitkar, P., Thompson, J., Troitino, D. R., Wilson, T., Woods, S., & Wotherspoon, L. M. (2017). Transport infrastructure performance and management in the South Island of New Zealand, during the first 100 days following the 2016 Mw 7.8 "Kaikōura"

Earthquake. *Bulletin of the New Zealand Society for Earthquake Engineering, 50*(2), 271-299. https://doi.org/10.5459/bnzsee.50.2.271-299

Davoudi, S. (2012). Resilience: A bridging concept or a dead end? *Planning Theory & Practice*, *13*(2), 299-307. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14649357.2012.677124

Day, G. (2006). *Community and everyday life*. Taylor and Francis.

Deeming, H., Fordham, M., Kuhlicke, C., Pedoth, L., Schneiderbauer, S., & Shreve, C. (Eds.). (2019). *Framing community disaster resilience.* Wiley Blackwell.

Delanty, G. (2003). *Community*. Routledge.

Department of Conservation. (2006). Our World Heritage: A Tentative List of New Zealand Cultural and Natural Heritage Sites. A Report to the Department of Conservation by the Cultural and Natural Heritage Advisory Group. https://www.doc.govt.nz/globalassets/documents/getting-involved/consultations/consultations-results/our-world-heritage/our-world-heritage.pdf

Department of Conservation. (2014). Te Korowai o Te Tai ō Marokura: Kaikoura Marine Management Area. https://www.doc.govt.nz/globalassets/documents/conservation/marine-and-coastal/marin e-protected-areas/te-korowai-brochure.pdf

Doğulu, C., Karanci, A. N., & Ikizer, G. (2016). How do survivors perceive community resilience? The case of the 2011 earthquakes in Van, Turkey. *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction, 16*, 108-114. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.ijdrr.2016.02.006

Dow, K., Berkhout, F., Preston, B. L., Klein, R. J. T., Midgley, G., & Shaw, M. R. (2013). Limits to adaptation. *Nature Climate Change, 3*, 305-307.

Doyle, E. E., Becker, J. S., Neely, D. P., Johnston, D. M., & Pepperell, B. (2015). Knowledge transfer between communities, practitioners, and researchers: A case study for community resilience in Wellington, New Zealand. *Australasian Journal of Disaster and Trauma Studies*, *19*(2), 55-66.

Eachus, P. (2014). Community resilience: Is it greater than the sum of the parts of individual resilience? *Procedia Economics and Finance, 18*, 345-351. https://doi.org/10.1016/S2212-5671(14)00949-6

Elvy, W. J. (1996). *Kaikoura coast: The history, traditions and Maori place-names of Kaikoura* (2nd ed). Cadsonbury Publications.

Eyles, J. (1985). *Senses of place.* Silverbrook Press.

Fernandez, G., & Ahmed, I. (2019). "Build back better" approach to disaster recovery: Research trends since 2006. *Progress in Disaster Science, 1*, 100003. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pdisas.2019.100003

Field, J. (2017). *Social Capital* (3rd ed). Routledge.

Fielke, S., Kaye-Blake, W., Smith, W., & Vibart, R. (2017). *Operationalising rural community resilience: framing indicators for measurement*. Hamilton: AgResearch Limited.

Flora, J. L. (1998). Social capital and communities of place. *Rural Sociology, 63*(4), 481-506. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1549-0831.1998.tb00689.x

Flora, C. B., Flora, J. L., & Gasteyer, S. P. (2016). *Rural communities: Legacy & change* (4th ed.). Westview Press.

Follett, M. P. (1919). Community is a process. *The Philosophical Review, 28*(6), 576–588. https://doi.org/10.2307/2178307

Folke, C., Colding, J., & Berkes, F. (2003). Synthesis: Building resilience and adaptive capacity in social–ecological systems. In F. Berkes, J. Colding, & C. Folke (Eds.), *Navigating social-ecological systems: Building resilience for complexity and change* (pp. 352-387). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Folke, C., Carpenter, S., Walker, B., Scheffer, M., Chapin, T., & Rockström, J. (2010). Resilience thinking: Integrating resilience, adaptability and transformability. *Ecology and Society*, *15*(4).

Forest and Bird. (2002, October 21). Kaikoura Ranges Proposed as National Park. Scoop Independent News. https://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/PO0210/S00138/kaikoura-ranges-proposed-as-national-park.htm

Freitag, M., & Traunmüller, R. (2009). Spheres of trust: An empirical analysis of the foundations of particularised and generalised trust. *European Journal of Political Research*, *48*(6), 782-803. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6765.2009.00849.x

Fukuyama, F. (1995). *Trust: The social virtues and the creation of prosperity.* Free Press.

Gabrielsen, H., Procter, J., Rainforth, H., Black, T., Harmsworth, G., & Pardo, N. (2017). Reflections from an indigenous community on volcanic event management, communications and resilience. In C. J. Fearnley, D. K. Bird, K. Haynes, W. J. McGuire, & G. Jolly (Eds.), *Observing the volcano world* (pp. 463-479). Springer.

Garbes, N. & Garbes, P. (2001). *The blue hulled boats: A whaling history of Kaikoura 1843-1922*. Kaikoura Historical Society District Museum & Archives.

Garbes, P. & Garbes, N. (2004). *Kaikoura fishermen: Sore hands & bad backs.* Kaikoura Historical Society.

Garbes, P. & Simpson, K. (2001). *Kaikoura historical walk: Old town centre.* Kaikoura Historical Society.

García Cartagena, M. (2019). Community resilience, capitals, and power relations: Stories from the Waimakariri District about the aftermath of the 2010-2011 Canterbury Earthquakes in New Zealand. [Doctoral thesis, Massey University]. https://mro.massey.ac.nz/handle/10179/15359

Gilchrist, A. (2019). *The well-connected community a networking approach to community development* (3rd ed.). Policy Press.

Glover, J. (2012). Rural resilience through continued learning and innovation. *Local Economy, 27*(4), 355-372. https://doi.org/10.1177/0269094212437833

Grant, A., & Langer, E. R. (2021). Wildfire volunteering and community disaster resilience in New Zealand: institutional change in a dynamic rural social-ecological setting. *Ecology and Society*, *26*(3). https://doi.org/10.5751/ES-12474-260318

Gray, D. E. (2014). *Doing research in the real world* (3rd ed.). SAGE Publications.

Grindsted, A. (2005). Interactive resources used in semi-structured research interviewing. *Journal of Pragmatics, 37*(7), 1015-1035. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2005.02.011

Gunderson, L. H., & Holling, C. S. (2002). *Panarchy: Understanding transformations in human and natural systems*. Island Press.

Hamling, I. J., Hreinsdóttir, S., Clark, K., Elliott, J., Liang, C., Fielding, E., Litchfield, N., Villamor, P., Wallace, L., Wright, T. J., D'Anastasio, E., Bannister, S., Burbidge, D., Denys, P., Gentle, P., Howarth, J., Mueller, C., Palmer, N., Pearson, C., … Stirling, M. (2017). Complex multifault rupture during the 2016 Mw 7.8 Kaikōura earthquake, New Zealand. *Science*, *356*(6334). https://doi.org/10.1126/science.aam7194

Hanson, N. R. (1958). The logic of discovery. *The Journal of Philosophy, 55*(25), 1073-1089. https://doi.org/10.2307/2022541

Harvey, D. (1996). *Justice, nature and the geography of difference.* Blackwell Publishers.

Hatton, T., Kipp, R., Brown, C., & Seville, E. (2017). Assessing research priorities and practices following the 2016 Kaikoura Earthquake. *Australasian Journal of Disaster and Trauma Studies, 21*(2), 83-89.

Hawthorne, J. (2018). Inductive logic. In E. N. Zalta (Ed.), *The stanford encyclopedia of philosophy* https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2018/entries/logic-inductive/

Hayward, B. (2008). 'Nowhere far from the sea': political challenges of coastal adaptation to climate change in New Zealand. *Political Science*, *60*(1), 47-59. https://doi.org/10.1177/003231870806000105

Hayward, B. (2013). Rethinking resilience: Reflections on the earthquakes in Christchurch, New Zealand, 2010 and 2011. *Ecology and Society*, *18*(4). http://dx.doi.org/10.5751/ES-05947-180437

Holling, C. S. (1973). Resilience and stability of ecological systems. *Annual Review of Ecology and Systematics, 4*(1), 1–23. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.es.04.110173.000245

Horn, C. M. (2002). A complex systems perspective on communities and tourism: A comparison of two case studies in Kaikoura and Rotorua (Doctoral thesis, Lincoln University). https://researcharchive.lincoln.ac.nz/handle/10182/1606

Horn, C. M. & Simmons, D. (2002). Community adaptation to tourism: comparisons between Rotorua and Kaikoura, New Zealand. *Tourism Management, 23*(2), 133-143. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0261-5177(01)00049-8

Hughes, M. W., Nayyerloo, M., Bellagamba, X., Morris, J., Brabhaharan, P., Rooney, S., Hobbs, E., Woolley, K., & Hutchison, S. (2017). Impacts of the 14th November 2016 Kaikōura earthquake on three waters systems in Wellington, Marlborough and Kaikōura, New Zealand: Preliminary observations. *Bulletin of the New Zealand Society for Earthquake Engineering, 50*(2), 306-317. https://doi.org/10.5459/bnzsee.50.2.306-317

Imperiale, A. J., & Vanclay, F. (2016). Experiencing local community resilience in action: Learning from post-disaster communities. *Journal of Rural Studies*, *47*, 204-219. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2016.08.002

International Association of Public Participation. (2018). Core Values, Ethics, Spectrum – The 3 Pillars of Public Participation. https://www.iap2.org/page/pillars

Jerolleman, A. (2020). Challenges of post-disaster recovery in rural areas. In S. Laska (Ed.), *Louisiana's response to extreme weather: A coastal state's adaptation challenges and successes* (pp. 285–310). Springer International Publishing.

Johnson, A. G. (1995). *The Blackwell Dictionary of Sociology*. Wiley Blackwell.

Kaika, M. (2017). 'Don't call me resilient again!': The New Urban Agenda as immunology … or … what happens when communities refuse to be vaccinated with 'smart cities' and indicators. *Environment & Urbanization*, *29*(1), 89–102. https://doi.org/10.1177/0956247816684763

Kaikōura District Council. (2016). Annual Report 2016-2017. https://www.kaikoura.govt.nz/assets/Docs/Council/Publications/Annual-Plans/Annual-Plan-2016-2017-FINAL-WEB.pdf

Kaikōura District Council (2017). Reimagine Kaikōura: A sustainable future for the Kaikōura District. https://www.kaikoura.govt.nz/assets/Recovery/Reimagine-Kaikoura-Kaikoura-Recovery-Plan-WEB.pdf

Kaikōura District Council. (2018). 3 Year Plan 2018-2021. https://www.kaikoura.govt.nz/assets/Uploads/3YP-FINAL-VERSION.pdf

Kaikōura District Council. (2019). Welcome to Kaikōura. https://www.kaikoura.govt.nz/assets/Uploads/September-2019-Full-Welcome-Pack2.pdf

Kais, S. M., & Islam, M. S. (2016). Community capitals as community resilience to climate change: Conceptual connections. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, *13*(12), 1-16. https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph13121211

Kenney, C., & Phibbs, S. (2014). Shakes, rattles and roll outs: The untold story of Māori engagement with community recovery, social resilience and urban sustainability in Christchurch, New Zealand. *Procedia Economics and Finance*, *18*, 754-762. https://doi.org/10.1016/S2212-5671(14)00999-X

Klinenberg, E. (2018). *Palaces for the people: How social infrastructure can help fight inequality, polarization, and the decline of civic life*. Crown.

Koliou, M., van de Lindt, J. W., McAllister, T. P., Ellingwood, B. R., Dillard, M., & Cutler, H. (2018). State of the research in community resilience: progress and challenges. *Sustainable and Resilient Infrastructure, 5*(3), 131-151. https://doi.org/10.1080/23789689.2017.1418547

Kulig, J. C., Edge, D., & Joyce, B. (2008). Understanding community resiliency in rural communities through multimethod research. *Journal of Rural and Community Development, 3*(3), 77–94.

Kulig, J. C., Edge, D. S., Townshend, I., Lightfoot, N., & Reimer, W. (2013). Community resiliency: Emerging theoretical insights. *Journal of Community Psychology, 41*(6): 758-775. https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.21569

Kunstler, J. H. (2007). *The long emergency: Surviving the end of oil, climate change, and other converging catastrophes of the twenty-first century.* Grove Press.

Kwok, A. H., Doyle, E. E. H., Becker, J., Johnston, D., & Paton, D. (2016). What is "social resilience"? Perspectives of disaster researchers, emergency management practitioners, and policymakers in New Zealand. *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction*, *19*, 197-211. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijdrr.2016.08.013

Lambert, S. J. (2014). Indigenous Peoples and urban disaster: Māori responses to the 2010-12 Christchurch earthquakes. *Australasian Journal of Disaster and Trauma Studies, 18*(1), 39-48.

Ley, A. (2019). Community resilience and placemaking through translocal networking: Learning from Thailand and the Philippines. *The Journal of Public Space*, *4*(2), 165-178. https://doi.org/10.32891/jps.v4i2.1208

Leykin, D., Lahad, M., Cohen, O. & Aharonson-Daniel, L. (2013). Conjoint Community Resiliency Assessment Measure-28/10 Items (CCRAM28 and CCRAM10): A Self-report Tool for Assessing Community Resilience. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 52*(3-4), 313-323. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10464-013-9596-0

Liepins, R. (2000a). New energies for an old idea: reworking approaches to 'community' in contemporary rural studies. *Journal of Rural Studies, 16*(1), 23-35. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0743-0167(99)00042-X

Liepins, R. (2000b). Exploring rurality through `community': discourses, practices and spaces shaping Australian and New Zealand rural `communities'. *Journal of Rural Studies*, *16*(3), 325-341. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0743-0167(99)00067-4

Liu, Y., Nair, N.-K., Renton, A. and Wilson, S. (2017). Impact of the Kaikōura earthquake on the electrical power system infrastructure. *Bulletin of the New Zealand Society for Earthquake Engineering, 50*(2), 300-305. https://doi.org/10.5459/bnzsee.50.2.300-305

Louis, V. (2014). Concept mapping. In D. Coughlan & M. Braydon-Miller (Eds.), *The SAGE encyclopaedia of action research*. SAGE Publications.

MacKinnon, D., & Derickson, K. D. (2012). From resilience to resourcefulness: A critique of resilience policy and activism. *Progress in Human Geography*, *37*(2), 253-270. https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132512454775

Maclean, K., Cuthill, M., & Ross, H. (2014). Six attributes of social resilience. *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management, 57*(1), 144-156. https://doi.org/10.1080/09640568.2013.763774

Madsen, W., & O'Mullan, C. (2016). Perceptions of community resilience after natural disaster in a rural Australian town. *Journal of Community Psychology*, *44*(3), 277-292. https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.21764

Magis, K. (2010). Community resilience: An indicator of social sustainability. *Society and Natural Resources, 23*(5), 401-416. https://doi.org/10.1080/08941920903305674

Maldonado, J. (2016). Considering culture in disaster practice. *Annals of Anthropological Practice*, *40*(1), 52-60. https://doi.org/10.1111/napa.12087

Mann, R., Dallimore, D., Davis, H., Day, G., & Eichstellar, M. (2021). *Local civil society: Place, time and boundaries.* Policy Press.

Mannarini, T., & Fedi, A. (2009). Multiple senses of community: The experience and meaning of community. *Journal of Community Psychology, 37*(2), 211–227. https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.20289

Manyena, S., O'Brien, G., O'Keefe, P., & Rose, J. (2011). Disaster resilience: A bounce back or bounce forward ability?. *Local Environment*, *16*(5), 417–424. https://doi.org/10.1080/13549839.2011.583049

Manzo, L. C., & Perkins, D. D. (2006). Finding common ground: The importance of place attachment to community participation and planning. *Journal of Planning Literature, 20*(4), 335–350. https://doi.org/10.1177/0885412205286160

Marquet, M. (2015). *Making the (in)visible, visible: A post-disaster case study of social networks in the suburb of Sumner, Christchurch.* [Master's Thesis]. Lincoln University. Research@Lincoln. https://researcharchive.lincoln.ac.nz/handle/10182/6841

Mazlish, B. (1989). *A new science: The breakdown of connections and the birth of sociology.* Oxford University Press.

McAloon, J., Simmons, D. G., & Fairweather, J. R. (1998). *Kaikoura: Historical Background*. Lincoln University.

McDonald, G., Smith, N., Ayers, M., & Kim, J. H. (2017). *Economic impact of the 2016 Kaikoura earthquake: A report prepared for the Ministry of Transport.* Ministry of Transport.

McManus, P., Walmsley, J., Argent, N., Baum, S., Bourke, L., Martin, J., Pritchard, B., & Sorensen, T. (2012). Rural community and rural resilience: What is important to farmers in keeping their country towns alive?. *Journal of Rural Studies, 28*(1), 20–29. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2011.09.003

MenzShed New Zealand (2021) *What is Men's Shed?* https://menzshed.org.nz/about-us/what-is-a-shed/

Meyer, M. A. (2018). Social capital in disaster research. In H. Rodríguez, W. Donner, & J. E. Trainor (Eds.), *Handbook of disaster research* (pp. 263–286). Springer International Publishing.

Miles, S. B. (2015). Foundations of community disaster resilience: Well-being, identity, services, and capitals. *Environmental Hazards*, *14*(2), 103–121. https://doi.org/10.1080/17477891.2014.999018

Mills, J., & Birks, M. (2014). *Qualitative methodology: A practical guide*. SAGE Publications.

Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment. (n.d.). National Science Challenges. https://www.mbie.govt.nz/science-and-technology/science-and-innovation/funding-information-and-opportunities/investment-funds/national-science-challenges/

Ministry of Civil Defence & Emergency Management. (2019, April). National Disaster Resilience Strategy Rautaki ā-Motu Manawaroa Aituā. https://www.civildefence.govt.nz/assets/Uploads/publications/ National-Disaster-Resilience-Strategy/National-Disaster-Resilience-Strategy-10-April-2019.pdf

Monteil, C., Simmons, P., & Hicks, A. (2019). Post-disaster recovery and sociocultural change: Rethinking social capital development for the new social fabric. *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction*, 42, 1-9. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijdrr.2019.101356

Moore, K., Simmons, D. G., & Fairweather, J. R. (1998). *Visitor decision making, on-site spatial behaviours, cognitive maps and destination perceptions: A case study of Kaikoura.* Lincoln University.

More, A. (2018, November 14). Huge funding milestone for two rebuild projects. *Kaikōura Star*, p. 1

Morton, J. (2019, March 25). Scientists unravel 'most complex ever' Kaikōura quake. *NZ Herald*. https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=12216093

Muir, L. (2020). *Operationalising community disaster resilience: The role of place-based community organisations.* [Master's Thesis]. Queensland University of Technology. https://eprints.qut.edu.au/198194/

Naithani, S., & Saha, A. K. (2020). Social capital and livelihood strategies in response after 2013 Kedarnath disaster (India). *Disaster Prevention and Management: An International Journal, 30*(2), 179-193. https://doi.org/10.1108/DPM-07-2019-0221

Nisbet, R. (2010). *The quest for community: A study in the ethics of order and freedom.* Intercollegiate Studies Institute.

Norris, F. H., Stevens, S. P., Pfefferbaum, B., Wyche, K. F., & Pfefferbaum, R. L. (2008). Community resilience as a metaphor, theory, set of capacities, and strategy for disaster readiness. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, *41*, 127–150. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10464-007-9156-6

Ntontis, E., Drury, J., Amlot, R., Rubin, G. J., & Williams, R. (2020). Endurance or decline of emergent groups following a flood disaster: Implications for community resilience. *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction, 45*. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijdrr.2020.101493

NZ Herald. (2018, April 28). Beachfront village set up for Kaikoura residents of quake damaged homes. *NZ Herald.* https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?cid=1&objectid=12041277

Orchiston, C., & Espiner, S. (2017). Fast and slow resilience in the New Zealand tourism industry. *In Tourism Resilience and Adaptation to Environmental Change* (pp. 250-266). Routledge.

Paine, G. (2015). A pattern-generating tool for use in semi-structured interviews. *The Qualitative Report, 20*(4), 468-481. https://doi.org/10.46743/2160-3715/2015.2123

Parker, C., Scott, S., & Geddes, A. (2019). Snowball sampling. In P. Atkinson, S. Delamont, A. Cernat, J.W. Sakshaug, & R.A. Williams (Eds.), *SAGE Research Methods Foundations.* https://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781526421036831710

Paterson, S. (2016, November 25). New Zealand quake: The cut-off tourist town of Kaikoura. *BBC News.* https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-38076443

Paton, D. (2006). Disaster resilience: Integrating individual, community, institutional, and environmental perspectives. In D. Paton & D. Johnston (Eds.), *Disaster Resilience: An Integrated Approach.* Charles C. Thomas.

Paton, D., Millar, M., & Johnston, D. (2001). Community resilience to volcanic hazard consequences. *Natural Hazards*, *24*(2), 157-169. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1011882106373

Patterson, O., Weil, F., & Patel, K. (2010). The role of community in disaster response: Conceptual models. *Population Research and Policy Review, 29*, 127–141. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11113-009-9133-x

Payne, P. R., Kaye-Blake, W. H., Stirrat, K. A., Ellison, R. A., Smith, M. J., & Brown, M. (2019). Identifying resilience dimensions and thresholds: Evidence from four rural communities in New Zealand. *Resilience*, *7*(2), 149-171. https://doi.org/10.1080/21693293.2018.1545339

Payne, G. & Payne, J. (2004). Case study. In G. Payne & J. Payne (Eds). *Sage key concepts: Key concepts in social research* (pp. 32-35). SAGE Publications.

Pennington, P. (2017). *Surviving 7.8: New Zealanders response to the earthquakes of November 2016.* Harper Collins Publishers.

Perkins, H., & Thorns, D. C. (2012). *Place, identity and everyday life in a globalizing world*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Perry, N. (2016, November 20). Timeline of the 7.8 quake and response reveals plenty of room for improvement. *Stuff.* https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/nz-earthquake/86654229/huge-quake-exposes-problems-in-how-new-zealand-prepares

Perry, R. W. (2018). Defining disaster: An evolving concept. In H. Rodríguez, W. Donner & J. E. Trainor (Eds.), *Handbook of disaster research* (pp. 3-22). Springer International Publishing. https://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-63254-4_1

Phillips. B. D. (2014). *Qualitative disaster research: Understanding qualitative research.* Oxford University Press.

Pożarlik,G. (2013). Individual, collective, social identity as (most) contested social science concept in the symbolic interactionism perspective. In Tamcke, M., Jong, J. D., Klein, L., & Waal, M. (Eds.). *Europe: space for transcultural existence?.* Universitätsverlag Göttingen.

Prayag, G., Ozanne, L. K., & Spector, S. (2021). A psychological wellbeing perspective of long-term disaster recovery following the Canterbury earthquakes. *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction*, *63*, 102438. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijdrr.2021.102438

Putnam, R. D. (1993). *Making democracy work: civic traditions in modern Italy.* Princeton University Press.

Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. Simon and Schuster.

Quick, K. S., & Feldman, M. S. (2011). Distinguishing participation and inclusion. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, *31*(3), 272–290. https://doi.org/10.1177/0739456X11410979

Quinn, T., Adger, W. N., Butler, C., & Walker-Springett, K. (2021). Community resilience and well-being: An exploration of relationality and belonging after disasters. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers. Association of American Geographers, 111*(2), 577–590. https://doi.org/10.1080/24694452.2020.1782167

Raiser, M. (2008). Social capital in transition economies. In D. Castiglione, J. W. van Deth, & G. Wolleb (Eds.), *The Handbook of Social Capital* (pp. 467-519). Oxford University Press.

Rapaport, C., Hornik-Lurie, T., Cohen, O., Lahad, M., Leykin, D., & Aharonson-Daniel, L. (2018). The relationship between community type and community resilience. *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction*, *31*, 470–477. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijdrr.2018.05.020

Räsänen, A., Lein, H., Bird, D., & Setten, G. (2020). Conceptualizing community in disaster risk management. *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction*, *45*. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijdrr.2020.101485

Reichertz, J. (2011). Abduction: The logic of discovery of grounded theory. In A. Bryant & K. Charmaz (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of grounded theory* (pp. 214-228). SAGE Publications.

Reichertz, J. (2013). Induction, deduction, abduction. In U. Flick (Ed.), *The SAGE handbook of qualitative data analysis* (pp. 123–135). SAGE Publications.

Resilience to Nature's Challenges. (2018). Resilience Challenge: Phase 1. https://resiliencechallenge.nz/phase1/

Roberts, K. (2009). *Key concepts in sociology*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Roberts, F., Archer, F., & Spencer, C. (2019). “We just want to help” - Nonprofits contributions to community resilience in the disaster space. *Prehospital and Disaster Medicine, 34*(s1), s22–s22. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1049023X19000645

Robin, L. (2013). Commentary: C. S. Holling, resilience and stability of ecological systems (1973). In L. Robin, S. Sörlin, & P. Warde (Eds.), *The future of nature: Documents of global change* (pp. 257-259). Yale University Press.

Robinson, G. M., & Carson, D. A. (2016). Resilient communities: Transitions, pathways and resourcefulness. *The Geographical Journal, 182*(2), 114-122. https://doi.org/10.1111/geoj.12144

Roche, R. (2018, July 2). Kaikōura Drill Hall (aka Scout Hall) upgrade. https://givealittle.co.nz/cause/Kaikōura-drill-hall-aka-scout-hall-upgrade

Royal, T. A. C. (2007, September 24). Papatūānuku – the land - whakapapa and kaupapa. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/papatuanuku-the-land/page-8

Rudkevitch, A., Vallance, S., & Stewart, E. (2019, December 6). Community comes in many shapes and forms: A qualitative investigation into bridging and linking social capital in community resilience [Paper presentation]. Sociological Association of Aotearoa/New Zealand, Auckland, New Zealand.

Rudkevitch, A., Vallance, S., & Stewart, E. (2020, November 27). Cracks in the surface: Rethinking community resilience in rural Aotearoa New Zealand [Paper presentation]. New Zealand Geographical Society, Wellington, New Zealand.

Scanlon, T. J. (1988). Disaster’s little known pioneer: Canada's Samuel Henry Prince. *International Journal of Mass Emergencies and Disasters*, *6*(3), 213–232.

Scherzer, S., Berg, N. G., Lein, H., & Setten, G. (2020). The many faces of local community: Exploring lay conceptualizations of the Norwegian lokalsamfunn. *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift - Norwegian Journal of Geography, 74*(3), 152–164. https://doi.org/10.1080/00291951.2020.1791245

Scholz, R. W. & Tietje, O. (2002). Types of case studies. In Scholz, R. W., & Tietje, O. *Embedded case study methods* (pp. 9-14). SAGE Publications.

Schuller, T., Baron, S., & Field, J. (2000). Social capital: A review and critique. In S. Baron, J. Field, & T. Schuller (Eds.), *Social capital: Critical perspectives* (1-38). Oxford University Press.

Scott, J. C. (1998). *Seeing like a state.* Yale University Press.

Seville, E., Brunsdon, D., Dantas, A., Le Masurier, J., Wilkinson, S., & Vargo, J. (2008). Organisational resilience: Researching the reality of New Zealand organisations. *Journal of Business Continuity & Emergency Planning*, *2*(3), 258-266.

Shaw, R. (2012). Overview of community-based disaster risk reduction. In R. Shaw (Ed.), *Community Based Disaster Risk Reduction* (pp. 3-17). Emerald Publishing Limited.

Shenk, L., Krejci, C., & Passe, U. (2019). Agents of change—together: Using agent-based models to inspire social capital building for resilient communities. *Community Development*, *50*(2), 256–272. https://doi.org/10.1080/15575330.2019.1574849

Sherrard, J. M. (1966). *Kaikoura: A history of the district.* Caxton Press.

Sherrieb, K., Norris, F. H., & Galea, S. (2010). Measuring capacities for community resilience. *Social Indicators Research*, *99*, 227–247. https://doi.org/10.1080/15575330.2019.1574849

Simmons, D., Wilson, J., Doscher, C., & Hutchinson, A. (2017). Kaikoura: Tourist travel behaviour and recovery framework. Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment. http://www.mbie.govt.nz/info-services/sectors-industries/tourism/tourism-research-data/other-research-and-reports/pdf-and-document-library/Kaikoura%20Tourist%20travel%20behaviour% 20a nd%20recovery%20framework.pdf

Skerratt, S. (2013). Enhancing the analysis of rural community resilience: Evidence from community land ownership. *Journal of Rural Studies*, *31*, 36–46. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2013.02.003

Slocum, S., & Kline, C. (2014). Regional resilience: Opportunities, challenges and policy messages from Western North Carolina. *Anatolia, 25*(3), 403-416. https://doi.org/10.1080/13032917.2014.888673

Solnit, R. (2009). *A paradise built in hell: the extraordinary communities that arise in disasters*. Viking.

Stats NZ Tatauranga Aotearoa. (2017, September 21). Kaikoura District. https://www.stats.govt.nz/tools/2018-census-place-summaries/kaikoura-district

Stats NZ Tatauranga Aotearoa. (2017, September 22). Population estimates. http://archive.stats.govt.nz/infoshare/ViewTable.aspx?pxID=1051b4ff-cfb9-4510-9195-84f3a1564e01

Stats NZ Tatauranga Aotearoa. (2018, February 28). Territorial authority by variable (Monthly). http://archive.stats.govt.nz/infoshare/ViewTable.aspx?pxID=f28ae1fa-1a1a-4d12-954d-2540290397a5

Stebbins, R. A. (2001). *Qualitative research methods: Exploratory research in the social sciences.* SAGE Publications.

Stedman, R. C. (2003). Is it really just a social construction?: The contribution of the physical environment to sense of place. *Society & Natural Resources, 16*(8), 671–685. https://doi.org/10.1080/08941920309189

Steiner, A., & Atterton, J. (2015). Exploring the contribution of rural enterprises to local resilience. *Journal of Rural Studies, 40*, 30-45. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2015.05.004

Stevenson, J., Giovinazzi, S., Seville, E., Brown, C., Chang-Richards, Y., and Wilkinson, S. (2016). From disaster to opportunity: Reviving urban function after the Canterbury earthquakes. In P. Filion,

G. Sands, & M. Skidmore (Eds.), *Cities at risk: Planning for and recovering from natural disasters* (81-110). Routledge.

Stevenson, J. R., Becker, J., Cradock-Henry, N., Johal, S., Johnston, D., Orchiston, C., and Seville, E. (2017). Economic and social reconnaissance: Kaikōura earthquake 2016. Bulletin of the New Zealand Society for Earthquake Engineering, 50(2), 343-351. https://doi.org/10.5459/bnzsee.50.2.343-351

Stewart, E. J., Wilson, J., Espiner, S., Purdie, H., Lemieux, C., & Dawson, J. (2016). Implications of climate change for glacier tourism. *Tourism Geographies*, *18*(4), 377-398. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2016.1198416

Storey, D. (2012) Land, territory and identity. In I. Convery, G. Corsane, & P. Davis (Eds.), *Making sense of Place: Multidisciplinary perspectives.* (pp. 11-22). Boydell Press.

Straub, A. M., Gray, B. J., Ritchie, L. A., & Gill, D. A. (2020). Cultivating disaster resilience in rural Oklahoma: Community disenfranchisement and relational aspects of social capital. *Journal of Rural Studies*, *73*, 105-113. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2019.12.010

Sun, L. & Faas, A. J. (2018). Social production of disasters and disaster social constructs: An exercise in disambiguation and reframing. *Disaster Prevention and Management, 27*(5), 623-635. https://doi.org/10.1108/DPM-05-2018-0135

Sztompka, P. (2002). *Socjologia.* Kraków.

Sztompka, P. (2008). The focus on everyday life: A new turn in sociology. *European Review*, *16*(1), 23-37. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1062798708000045

Te Hā o Māturanga Learning in Kaikoura. (2020, July 28). *Welcome to learning in Kaikōura*. https://www.kaikoura.link/

Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu (2020, September 5). *Te Rūnanga o Kaikōura*. https://ngaitahu.iwi.nz/te-runanga-o-ngai-tahu/papatipu-runanga/kaikoura/

The Treasury. (2019, February 17). *Monthly economic indicators.* http://www.treasury.govt.nz/economy/mei/archive/pdfs/mei-nov16.pdf

Thomas, G. (2016). *How to do your case study* (2nd ed.)*.* SAGE Publications.

Tidball, K. G., Krasny, M. E., Svendsen, E., Campbell, L., & Helphand, K. (2010). Stewardship, learning, and memory in disaster resilience. *Environmental Education Research, 16*(5-6), 591-609. https://doi.org/10.1080/13504622.2010.505437

Titz, A., Cannon, T., & Krüger, F. (2018). Uncovering 'community': Challenging an elusive concept in development and disaster related work. *Societies, 8*(3), 71. http://dx.doi.org/10.3390/soc8030071

Thornley, L., Ball, J., Signal, L., Lawson-Te Aho, K., & Rawson, E. (2015). Building community resilience: learning from the Canterbury earthquakes. *Kotuitui: New Zealand Journal of Social Sciences Online*, *10*(1), 23-35.

Towle, M. (2016, November 21). 'We're here to help, we'll help anybody'. *RNZ*. Retrieved from https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/national/318520/'we're-here-to-help,-we'll-help-anybody'

Tuan, Y. F. (1974). *Topophilia: A study of environmental perceptions, attitudes, and values.* Prentice-Hall.

Uekusa, S., Matthewman, S., & Lorenz, D. F. (2020). Conceptualising disaster social capital: What it is, why it matters and how it can be enhanced. *Disasters, 46*(1), 56-79. https://doi.org/10.1111/disa.12470

United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction. (2021, October 21). Resilience. https://www.undrr.org/terminology/resilience

United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction. (2015). Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015-2030.

United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction. (2016). Report of the open-ended intergovernmental expert working group on indicators and terminology relating to disaster risk reduction. Sustainable Development: Disaster Risk Reduction.

Urry, J. (1995). *Consuming Places*. Routledge.

Vallance, S., & Carlton, S. (2015). First to respond, last to leave: Communities' roles and resilience across the "4Rs." *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction, 14*, 27-36. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijdrr.2014.10.010

Vallance, S., & Rudkevitch, A. (2021). Post-Disaster Recovery and Social Capital. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Global Public Health*. https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190632366.013.311

Wagner, W., Duveen, G., Farr, R., Jovchelovitch, S., Lorenzi-Cioldi, F., Marková, I., & Rose, D. (1999). Theory and method of social representations. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology, 2*(1), 95-125. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-839X.00028

Walker, B., & Salt, D. (2006). *Resilience thinking: Sustaining ecosystems and people in a changing world.* Island Press.

Walton, D. (2004) *Abductive reasoning*. University of Alabama Press.

Wellington, J., & Szczerbinski, M. (2007). *Research methods for the social sciences.* Continuum International Publishing Group.

Wenger, E. (2011). Communities of practice: A brief introduction.

Wesener, A. (2020). Growing resilient cities: Urban community gardens and disaster recovery after the 2010/11 Canterbury/Christchurch earthquakes. In D. Brantz & A. Sharma (Eds.) *Urban resilience in a global context: Actors, narratives, and temporalities.* Transcript Verlag.

Wikimedia Commons. (2020, October 8). *Kaikoura location on New Zealand.* https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Kaikoura_location_on_New_Zealand.jpg

Wilkinson, K. P. (1991). *The community in rural America.* Greenwood Press.

Wilson, G. A. (2012). *Community resilience and environmental transitions*. Routledge.

Winterton, R., Hulme Chambers, A., Farmer, J., & Munoz, S.-A. (2014). Considering the implications of place-based approaches for improving rural community wellbeing: The value of a relational lens. *Rural Society, 23*(3), 283-295. https://doi.org/10.1080/10371656.2014.11082071

Woods, M. (2011). *Rural*. Routledge.

Woolcock, M. (2001). The place of social capital in understanding social and economic outcome. *Canadian Journal of Policy Research, 2*(1), 11-17.

Woolcock, M. & Narayan, W. A. (2000). Social capital: Implications for development theory, research, and policy. *The World Bank Research Observer, 15*(2), 225-249. https://doi.org/10.1093/wbro/15.2.225

Yin, R. (2014). *Case study research: Design and methods* (5th ed.). SAGE Publications.

Appendix A

Human Ethics Approval Letter

Research Management Office

T 64 3 423 0817
PO Box 85084, Lincoln University
Lincoln 7647, Christchurch
New Zealand
www.lincoln.ac.nz

Research Management Office

22 August 2018
Application No: 2018-29
Title: Community initiatives in rural resilience and post-disaster recovery

Applicant: A Rudkevitch

The Lincoln University Human Ethics Committee has reviewed the above noted application. Thank you for your response to the questions which were forwarded to you on the Committee's behalf.

I am satisfied on the Committee's behalf that the issues of concern have been satisfactorily addressed. I am pleased to give final approval to your project.

Please note that this approval is valid for three years from today's date at which time you will need to reapply for renewal.

Once your field work has finished can you please advise the Human Ethics Secretary, Alison Hind, and confirm that you have complied with the terms of the ethical approval.

May I, on behalf of the Committee, wish you success in your research.

Yours sincerely

Grant Tavinor
Chair, Human Ethics Committee

PLEASE NOTE: The Human Ethics Committee has an audit process in place for applications. Please see 7.3 of the Human Ethics Committee Operating Procedures (ACHE) in the Lincoln University Policies and Procedures Manual for more information.

Appendix B

Participant Interview Guide

Community Initiatives in Rural Resilience and Post-Disaster Recovery

Personal Profile

Date: Interview Code #:

Organisation(s):
Initiative(s):

Theme 1: Place

- Length of time living in the community/township
- Reason for living/moving there (job, family connections, grew up here…)
- Employment + volunteering roles in the township

Theme 2: Initiative(s)

- General information about initiative: Your role in the initiative
- Length of time involved
- When it began (and who set it up)
- Purpose of the initiative (when first established)
- Early experiences (building a membership, resourcing, funding …)
- Achievements prior to the quake
- Concerns/difficulties over time (the early years)
- Changes since the November 2016 quake

Theme 3: Community Involvement

- The extent of community involvement prior to the quake (versus now)
- Types of groups/people involved (prior to quake and now)
- How much of a time commitment
- How were resources acquired (what support was available pre-quake vs post-quake)
- What support networks were in place prior to the quake and how have these changed since
- How was the broader community involved with the community initiative

Theme 4: The Future

Can you tell me about your expectations for the future of the initiative(s)?

- How long the initiative will carry on for
- Whether the purpose will change
- Who will be involved

Any further comments or questions for me?

Appendix C

Research Invitation Email

August 2018

RE: Voluntary participation in a research project at Lincoln University

Hello,

The earthquakes that occurred in Kaikōura in November 2016, had significant impacts on people living in the area and the recovery process has required local people to consider unique ways to rebuild their community. This research will examine the role of community initiatives in post-disaster recovery by asking:

1. What is the purpose of the community initiative you are involved with?
2. How has the community initiative changed since the earthquake?
3. What types of skills, resources, and relationships are needed and developed for the community initiative?
4. What role do community initiatives play in building community resilience and contributing to recovery efforts?

Attached to this email is a copy of the Research Information Sheet for your consideration. If you would like to become involved or require further information about this research, I would love to hear from you. You can contact me to discuss your participation in this research by e-mailing me at ashley.rudkevitch@lincolnuni.ac.nz or phoning 03 423-0818 (Department of Tourism, Society and Design) and leaving a message.

Thank you for your time and I look forward to speaking with you.

Kind regards,

Ashley Rudkevitch

Appendix D

Research Invitation Telephone Script

Telephone Script

Name of Project: Community initiatives in rural resilience and post-disaster recovery

Hello, my name is Ashley Rudkevitch. I am a postgraduate student from the Faculty of Environment, Society and Design at Lincoln University undertaking study for a PhD degree that is funded by the Resilience to Nature's Challenges research group.

You are invited to participate in a project that aims to examine community resilience in Kaikōura by studying the role of community initiatives in the recovery process.

Your telephone number was selected as I noticed your involvement with [state name of community initiative here], and your number was listed [name government/organisation website here].

Your participation in this research will involve an interview that will be approximately one hour in length. Some of the questions will include:

1. What is the purpose of the community initiative you are involved with?
2. How has the community initiative changed since the earthquake?
3. What types of skills, resources, and relationships are needed and developed for the community initiative?
4. What role do community initiatives play in building community resilience and contributing to recovery efforts?

Participation in the research is voluntary and you may decline to answer questions or withdraw. You can withdraw up until **January 31, 2019**.

If you do withdraw at any stage, any information you have already provided will be destroyed.

All information will remain anonymous, other than with me as researcher and my supervisor(s).

Are you interested in finding out more information about this research?

If so, I can forward you a research information sheet for your consideration.

Thank you for your time. If you have any questions regarding this research, please contact:

Name of researcher: Ashley Rudkevitch

Telephone number: 03 423-0818

Appendix E

Research Information Sheet

Lincoln University
Faculty of Environment, Society and Design
Department of Tourism, Sport and Society

I would like to invite you to participate in a research project entitled "Community Initiatives in Rural Resilience and Post-Disaster Recovery".

What is the aim of this project?

This research aims to explore community resilience in Kaikōura by studying the role of community initiatives in the recovery process. This research is being conducted to fulfil the requirements for a PhD thesis. This research is funded by *Resilience to Nature's Challenges* (RNC), which is part of the larger *National Science Challenges* framework. This research is part of the RNC-Rural funding.

What types of participants are being sought?

I am looking to interview people who are involved in community initiatives and the recovery process in Kaikōura. Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary.

What will you be asked to do?

If you choose to participate it will involve a thirty minute to two hour interview. Interviews will consist of the researcher asking questions about community initiatives in Kaikōura. There may be follow up interviews for clarity or to request more in depth answers. It is your choice whether you want to go ahead with a second, or third, interview. Interviews will be recorded so the researcher can transcribe and analyse the interview at a later date.

You may also be asked if you can have your photo taken. You will be asked to give consent for your picture to be used in this research.

How will my data be used?

The results from this research will be used in a PhD thesis. The results may also be presented at conferences, and used in journal articles or book chapters.

All information you provide will be completely anonymous. Your name will not appear in any thesis or report resulting from this study. Data collected during this study will be retained for six years in a secured file on the researchers' personal computer and a password locked USB stick. The data will also be retained in the University's secure archive for six years, after which it will be destroyed (paper will be shredded and all audio will be erased). Only researchers associated with this project will have access. There are no known or anticipated risks to you as a participant in this study.

Can I withdraw from the project?

If you decide to withdraw from this study, you may do so without any negative consequences. However, I do ask that this is done by **January 31, 2019**. If you would like to withdraw your

participation please contact me (Ashley Rudkevitch) or my supervisors (Dr. Suzanne Vallance, Dr. Michael Mackay, or Dr. Nicholas Cradock-Henry).

What if I have any questions?

If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study please do not hesitate to contact me or my supervisors at any time.

What will happen next?

If you would like to participate in this research you can contact me by phone or email as listed below.

Researcher: Ashley Rudkevitch
Ashley.Rudkevitch@lincolnuni.ac.nz
Ph 03 423-0818

Supervisors:
Dr. Suzanne Vallance
Suzanne.Vallance@lincoln.ac.nz

Dr. Michael Mackay
Michael.Mackay@lincoln.ac.nz

Dr. Nicholas Cradock-Henry
CradockHenryN@landcareresearch.co.nz.

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Lincoln University Human Ethics Committee.

Appendix F

Consent Form

Consent Form

I have read and understood the description of the above-named project. On this basis I agree to participate in the project, and I consent to publication of the results of the project with the understanding that anonymity will be preserved. I understand also that I may withdraw from the project, including withdrawal of any information I have provided, up to **January 31, 2019**.

- ☐ I consent to having an audio recording made of my interview.
- ☐ I do not consent to having an audio made of my interview.
- ☐ I consent to having my photograph taken.
- ☐ I do not consent to having my photograph taken.

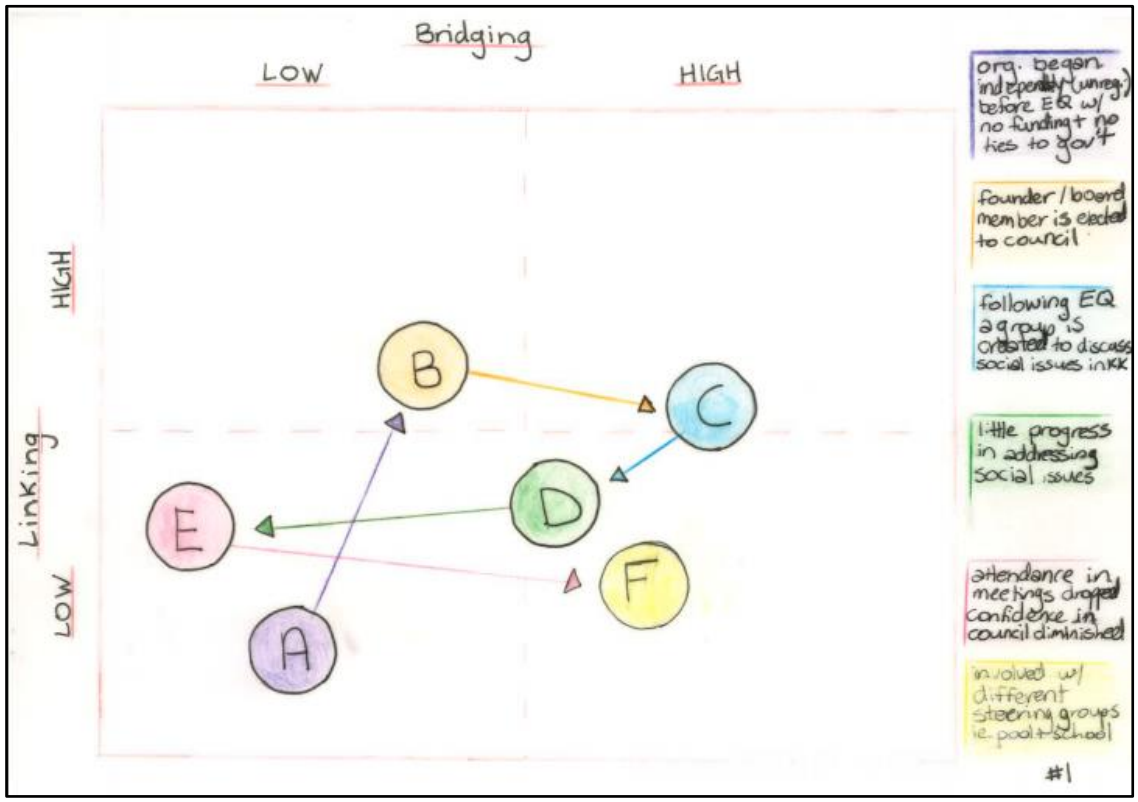
Name: _____

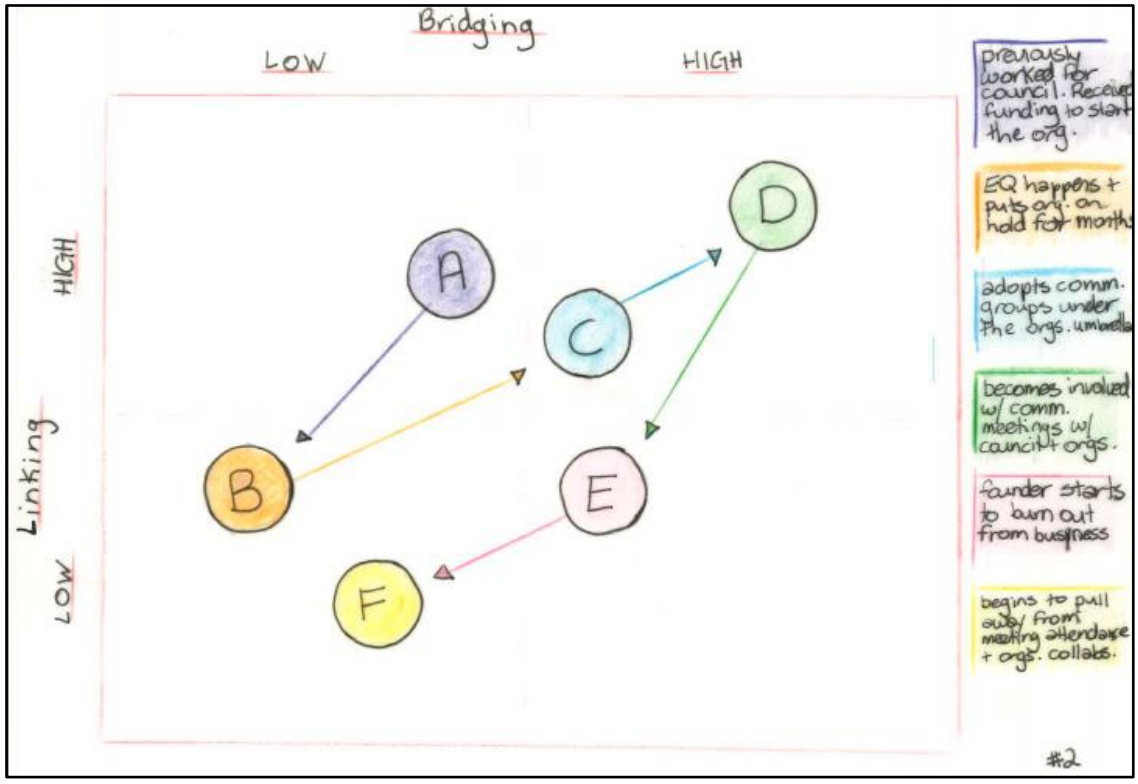
Signed: _____

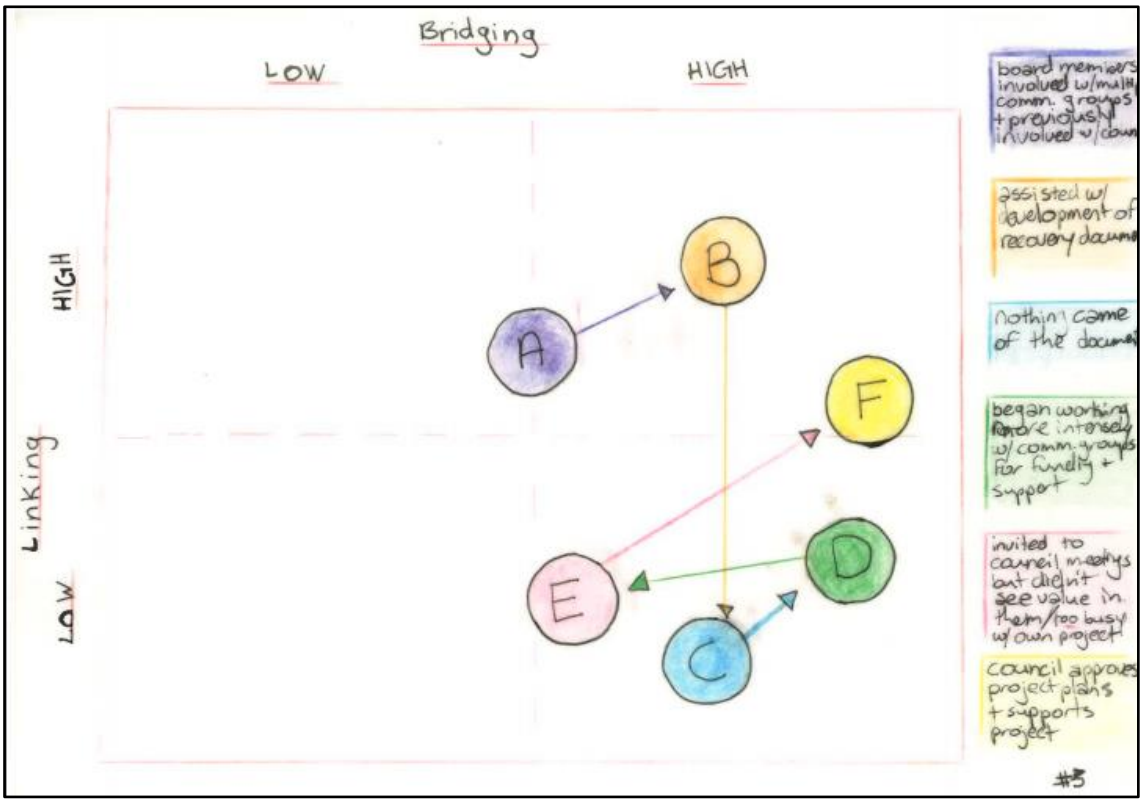
Date: _____

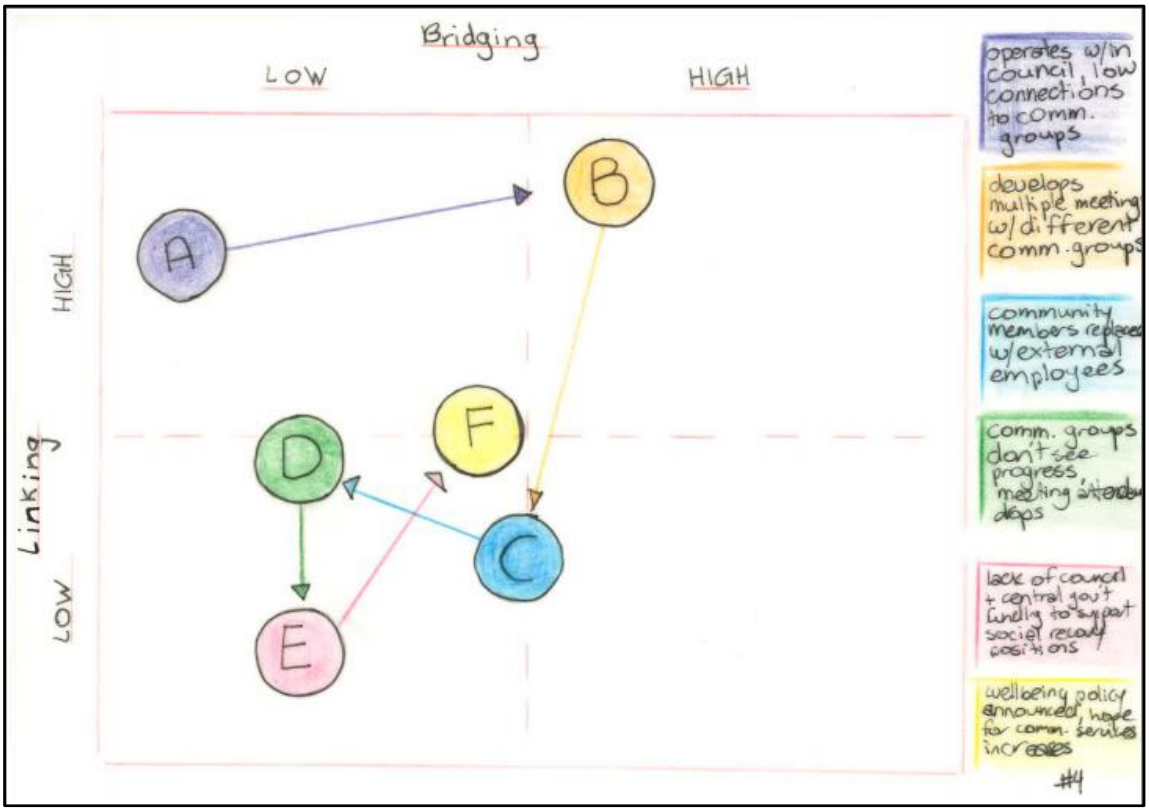
Appendix G

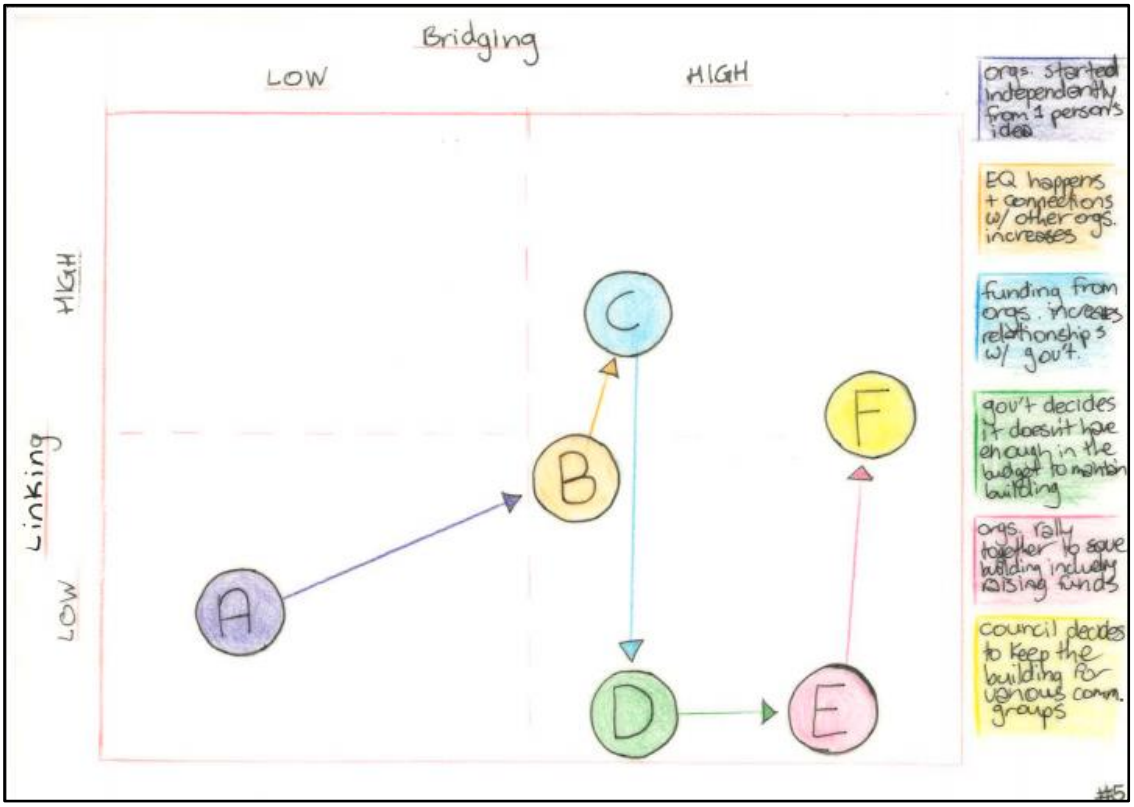
Matrices

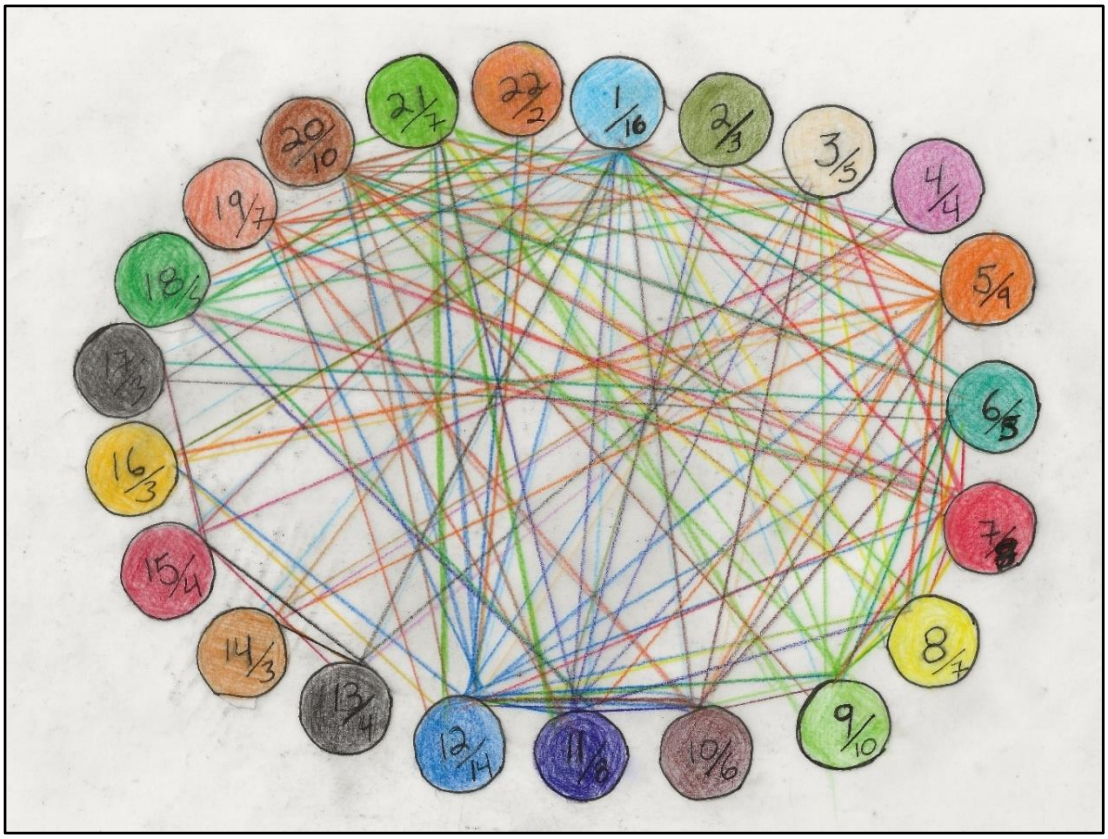





Bridging
LOW
HIGH
Linking
HIGH
LOW
A
B
C
D
E
F
board members involved w/multi comm. groups + previously involved w/ com
assisted w/ development of recovery docum
nothin' came of the docum
began working more intensely w/ comm. groups for funding + support
invited to council meetings but didn't see value in them/too busy w/ own project
council approves project plans + supports project
#5


Bridging
LOW
HIGH
Linking
HIGH
LOW
A
B
C
D
E
F
operates w/in council, low connections to comm. groups
develops multiple meeting w/ different comm. groups
community members replaced w/ external employees
comm. groups don't see progress, meeting attendance drops
lack of council + central gov't funding to support social recovery positions
wellbeing policy announced, hope for comm. services increases
#4


Bridging
LOW
HIGH
Linking
HIGH
LOW
A
B
C
D
E
F
orgs. started independently from 1 person's idea
EQ happens + connections w/ other orgs. increases
funding from orgs. increases relationships w/ gov't.
gov't decides it doesn't have enough in the budget to maintain building
orgs. rally together to save building including raising funds
council decides to keep the building for various comm. groups
#5


1/16
2/3
3/5
4/4
5/9
6/5
7/8
8/7
9/10
10/6
11/8
12/14
13/4
14/3
15/4
16/3
17/3
18/4
19/7
20/10
21/7
22/2

Appendix H

Kaikōura Earthquake Information Sheet

Kaikōura Earthquakes

What support is available and where can I get assistance?

Information about assistance you and your family may receive if you've been affected by the November 2016 Kaikōura earthquakes.

Civil Defence Emergency Management

Civil Defence Emergency Management is coordinating assistance to communities affected by this event. For queries related to roading, water and wastewater, Civil Defence Centres or Recovery Assistance Centres, contact your local civil defence team at your council.

Recovery Assistance Centres will have key agencies available to answer questions and provide advice.

Hurunui District Council 03 314 8816 www.hurunui.govt.nz

Kaikōura District Council 03 319 5026 www.kaikoura.govt.nz

Marlborough District Council 03 520 7400 www.marlborough.govt.nz

Emergency Management Canterbury www.cdemcanterbury.govt.nz

Wellington Region Emergency Management Office www.getprepared.org.nz

0800 Government Helpline

You can call the Government Helpline on **0800 779 997** from 7am - 9pm, seven days a week if you:

- would like assistance
- are struggling to support yourself, or your family
- would like more information about how we can help.

Even if you don't think you'd qualify, please call us because there are lots of ways we may be able to help, and we can point you in the right direction based on your situation. You don't have to be on a benefit. We may be able to organise payments for you over the phone.

Stress counselling and support

It's completely normal for you and your family to be emotionally and physically drained by the earthquakes. You're not alone in feeling this way, and you don't have to cope on your own. Friends and family members not affected by the event can help you cope with the added stress. Local qualified and experienced counsellors are also available free of charge.

Call the Earthquake Support Line on **0800 777 846**

Your employer may also be participating in an Employee Assistance Programme (EAP) and will be able to provide you with those details.

For school and Early Childhood Education (ECE) staff, the contact number for the EAP is 0800 327 669. Your school/ECE has already been provided with this information.

Accommodation/Housing support

If your household was affected by the recent earthquakes, and you need support to find temporary accommodation, we can help. Please visit **www.temporaryaccommodation.mbie.govt.nz**. If you are unable to access the website, please contact **0800 673 227**. Alternatively, you can discuss your needs in person at local recovery assistance centres.

The Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment (MBIE) and the Ministry of Social Development (MSD) are working together to assist displaced people in finding suitable temporary accommodation while your home is being repaired or rebuilt.

V1.0 17 November 2016

New Zealand Government

Support for rural communities

If you have requests for or offers of help on the farm, please contact Federated Farmers on **0800 327 646**.

Rural Support Trusts are staffed by trained local people who provide assistance and support to the rural community in times of hardship. Contact your local Rural Support Trust coordinator for free and confidential information about assistance and support on **0800 RURAL HELP (0800 787 254)** or visit **www.rural-support.org.nz**

As well as the usual Government financial support, Rural Assistance Payments are available through Work and Income to help farming families who are temporarily unable to produce sufficient income to meet essential basic living costs. The level of assistance is usually equivalent to the Jobseeker Support benefit. Your Rural Support Trust can give you more information on this.

For queries related to road access or telecommunication issues, contact your local civil defence team at your council.

Ministry for Primary Industries 0800 00 83 33 www.mpi.govt.nz

Mayoral Disaster Rural Relief

A support package for the primary sector around the upper South Island has been made available. This is to help with non-insurable assets such as tracks, on-farm bridges and water infrastructure. For more information call the Government Helpline **0800 779 997**

Financial support to individuals

Civil Defence payments

Extra financial support has been made available for people in these locations: Hurunui, Kaikōura, Seddon and Ward.

Civil Defence payments can cover the following costs:

- payments if you're hosting evacuees (private homes, marae or community centres)
- accommodation costs if you've evacuated and are staying in tourist accommodation (motels, hotels or temporary rental accommodation)
- loss of livelihood (where you can't work and have lost your income because of the earthquake)
- food, clothing and bedding (immediate needs up to a maximum amount).

You can call the Government Helpline **0800 779 997** to find out more about this.

Earthquake Support Subsidy for businesses and sole traders

If you're a small business or sole trader impacted by the 14 November earthquakes, you may be able to get a subsidy to help you retain staff and continue to pay them while transitioning back to business-as-usual.

To find out more, visit **www.workandincome.govt.nz** or call the Government Helpline on **0800 779 997** from 7am-9pm, seven days a week.

Support for Iwi, hapū and whānau Māori

Te Puni Kōkiri provide advice and support for whānau affected by the Kaikōura earthquakes. To find out more visit **www.tpk.govt.nz** or contact the local office in your area.

- **Lower Hutt** - 04 570 3180 email: tpk.tetaihauauru@tpk.govt.nz
- **Nelson** - 03 539 0687 email: tpk.tetaihauauru@tpk.govt.nz
- **Christchurch** - 0800 875 839 email: tpk.te-waipounamu@tpk.govt.nz

Insurance & Lodging an EQC Claim

If your home, car or contents have been damaged by the earthquake, take photos before you remove or repair anything and report it to your insurance company as soon as possible. Your insurance company will let you know what you need to do next, how to claim and how EQC insurance works. Homeowners have until midnight on 14 February 2017 to make a claim with EQC.

If you need to make your home safe, sanitary, secure and weather-tight, please record the work done, take photographs where appropriate, and keep a copy of any bills paid.

Make a claim with EQC online at **www.eqc.govt.nz/claims** or by calling **0800 326 243**.

The EQC call centre is open 7am to 9pm Monday to Friday, and 8am to 6pm on Saturdays. Having your insurance policy at hand helps.