

# Kia Manawaroa: Surviving disaster

Experiences of Tangata Whaiora through the 2010-  
2012 Ōtautahi/Christchurch earthquakes

Dr. Simon Lambert  
Faculty of Environment, Society & Design, Te Whanake Kaupapa Māori  
Unit, Lincoln University

Dr. Margaret Wilkie  
Te Rau Matatini

Melanie Mark-Shadbolt  
Bioprotection Research Centre, Lincoln University

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*Tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā no tātou katoa.*

*Tihei mauri ora!*

## 1. Introduction

This report presents research on the affects of the Ōtautahi/Christchurch earthquakes of 2010 to 2012 on the city's Tangata Whaiora community, 'people seeking health' as Māori frame mental health clients. Drawing on the voices of 39 participants of a Kaupapa Māori provider (Te Awa o te Ora), this report presents extended quotes from Tangata Whaiora, their support staff (many of whom are Tangata Whaiora), and managers as they speak of the events, their experiences, and support that sustained them in recoveries of well-being through the worse disaster in Aotearoa/New Zealand in three generations.

Ōtautahi contains a significant urban Māori population, many living in suburbs that were seriously impacted by the earthquakes that began before dawn on September 4th, 2010, and continued throughout 2011 and 2012. The most damaging event occurred on February 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2011, and killed 185 people and severely damaged the CBD as well as many thousands of homes. The thousands of aftershocks delayed the rebuilding of homes and infrastructure and exacerbated the stress and dislocation felt by residents. The tensions and disorder continue for numerous residents into 2014 and it will be many years before full social and physical recovery can be expected.

This report presents extended excerpts from the interviews of Tangata Whaiora and their support staff. Their stories of survival through the disaster reinforce themes of community and whānau while emphasising the reality that a significant number of Tangata Whaiora do not or cannot draw on this supports. The ongoing need for focused responses in the area of housing and accommodation, sufficiently resourced psycho-social support, and the value of Kaupapa Māori provision for Māori *and* non-Māori mental health clients cannot be overstated. The report also collates advice from participants to other Tangata Whaiora, their whānau, providers and indeed all residents of places subject to irregular but potentially devastating disaster. Much of this advice is relevant for more daily challenges and should not be underestimated despite its simplicity.

## 2. Research Questions and Methods

This report builds on a series of projects examining **the nature, causes, and consequences of Māori community resilience in the response and recovery to disasters** (Lambert & Mark-Shadbolt, 2012; Lambert, Mark-Shadbolt, Ataria, & Black, 2012). Resilience in this context is the ability of communities to absorb external shocks and rapidly recover following disturbance (Berkes, Colding, & Folke, 2003; Tyler & Singh, 2011). Complicating this for Indigenous societies is their increasing urbanisation (Del Popolo, Oyarce, Ribotta, & Jorge, 2007) that exposes members to new hazards not necessarily incorporated by their traditional knowledges. With the majority of Māori living in urban areas (84%, see Ministry of Social Development, 2010), and often away from the *rohe*, their future well-being will be enabled through new and dynamic relationships that must also equip them for infrequent but potentially devastating events such as tsunami, earthquakes, floods, landslides and storms.

The first research question is a matter of describing the context: **What were the effects of the earthquakes on Māori mental health communities in Ōtautahi?** Ōtautahi is home to a relatively large population of Māori, many of whom were located in the worst affected areas. Through previous research we have a store of data and informants for analyses of post-disaster Māori communities in Ōtautahi (Lambert, 2013; Lambert et al., 2012). This project extended these studies to show the effects of the disaster on a distinct and vulnerable community of Māori, namely those who access mental health support.

We prioritise the experiences of Tangata Whaiora in a second research question to understand how this distinct community responded to the radical disruption of their lives and the surrounding city: **How did Tangata Whaiora and their whānau respond to the disaster?** We know that Māori showed more mobility in response to the disaster (Lambert, 2014). Did Tangata Whaiora replicate this mobility? And if so, where did they move to, and how were they supported?

A third question concerns the wider application of these insights: **What aspects of the response and recovery of Tangata Whaiora are applicable to other Māori and Indigenous communities?** How Tangata Whaiora have responded to this disaster can help implement better disaster planning and management for whānau, marae, iwi, and other Indigenous communities as well as non-Indigenous communities.

### 2.1 Partnerships

Te Awa o Te Ora (TATO) is a Kaupapa Māori Provider that emerged out of the Southern Consumer Network Trust in the 1990s that eventually lead to the establishment of Te Awa o Te Ora Trust as a NGO in 1999. TATO provides Kaupapa Māori 'wrap around' health services to people aged 18-60 years who have experience of mental illness. Tangata Whaiora are themselves an integral part of the operation of Te Awa with a Whanau Forum that meets monthly and from which two representatives are elected as Board members. Their webpage notes the "collective wealth of experience, a supportive environment conducive to leadership, lots of positive attitude with a pinch of savvy in a shifting fiscal environment the forward motion of Te Awa o Te Ora is assured as Tangata Whaiora represent 53% of our workforce. Kia ora this is who we are" (Te Awa o te Ora, 2014).

The *kaūpapa* of Te Awa is encapsulated in their logo which incorporates “the elements of whanau and earth via the stylized waves and koru, which are proudly supported and carried on the back of the *manaia* figure which symbolically protects all that Te Awa o Te Ora Trust believes and stands for... The cyan colour symbolizes water and its correlation to the ebb and flow of the river... The three prongs represent birth, life and death and also reflect the ever changing river of life” (Te Awa o te Ora, 2014). The project was further supported by the Mental Health Education Resource Centre (MHERC) to network, advise, and sharing the research results.



Figure 1: Te Aw o te Ora logo

This research was also supported by the Mental Health Education and Resource Centre (MHERC) who coordinate community participation and the promotion autonomy of individuals and groups in mental health (Mental Health Education and Resource Centre, 2014). MHERC opened in June 1994 to represent “key public mental health initiative in Christchurch, and indeed New Zealand, and few other examples are available internationally. ‘The Centre offers a focus...puts mental health clearly on the map...brings mental health out of the closet, putting it unashamedly in the middle of town’” (*ibid.*)

## 2.2 Methods

### 2.2.1 Interviews

Our primary method was to simply record the earthquake experiences of Tangata Whaiora. A total of 39 interviews were undertaken with Tangata Whaiora and staff; all but two of these interviews were recorded and transcribed, with notes taken for all interviews (including the two that were not recorded). Most interviews were done at Te Awa o te Ora’s Tuam St. premises with the help of a whānau representative. Transcriptions were made and all files transferred to Dedoose cloud-based software for analysis (discussed below).

### 2.2.2 Social Network Analysis (SNA)

A second method was to undertake a **Social Network Analysis** (SNA) which unpacks the structural relations in many social phenomena (Knoke & Yang, 2008). Complex pathways develop for the flow of knowledge and gossip along the infamous ‘kumara vine’ of Māori communities. Structural relations are crucial to cohesive groups but are dynamic processes and the networks will not be static but will continually change through exchanges among their participants. Disasters offer valuable opportunities to observe social change. As David Slater observes (2013, p. 38) “in times of change, the internal workings of society are shifted out of their systematic patterns and smooth relationships, thereby revealing what is at other times obscure”. This research examines the dynamics of support for mental health clients in a post-disaster



landscape. Only a brief outline of the support networks is given in this report. A following report offers the full SNA treatment (Lambert, 2015).

### 2.2.3 Information Technology

The research used digital recording, computers software, and ‘cloud-based’ multi-method research software **Dedoose** (<http://www.dedoose.com>) which was used to analyse interviews and identify patterns between descriptors (such as age, gender, ethnicity and role) and codes identified by researchers. A total of 91 codes were used, ultimately reduced to 60 for final Social Network Analysis (see Appendix 4). These codes were used to identify explicit relationships and networks used by Tangata Whaiora in their responses to the earthquakes in Otautahi. One benefit of Dedoose is that several researchers can be work creatively, collaboratively and, if necessary, simultaneously on data without needing to access the same physical facilities. Figure 2 below is a ‘Code Cloud’ created in Dedoose and displaying the main codes.

A relatively common event impacted the research when the Dedoose system failed in May 2014 and their data storage was corrupted, including the master database and local backups. The Team at Dedoose communicated with users as the issue was repaired. Worldwide some data or information was lost. Fortunately this NPM research was prepared for the emergency, having back-ups of the information. From earlier work ‘Averting IT Disasters’ we also knew to ‘Back up your back up!’ (Wilkie, 2010).



Figure 2: Dedoose ‘Code Cloud’

## 2.4 Participants

Figures 3, 4, 5 and 6 describe the gender, age, and ethnicity characteristics of participants, and the representation of different roles among participants.

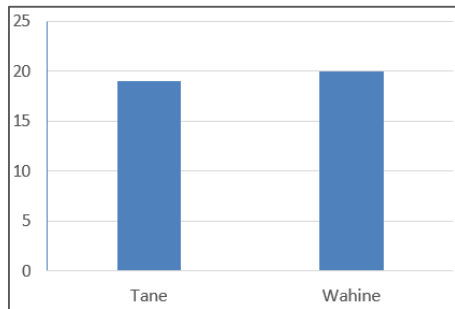


Figure 3: Participants by gender

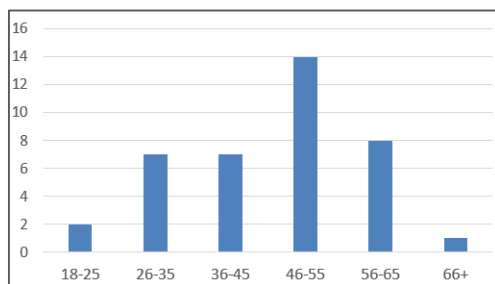


Figure 4: Participants by age

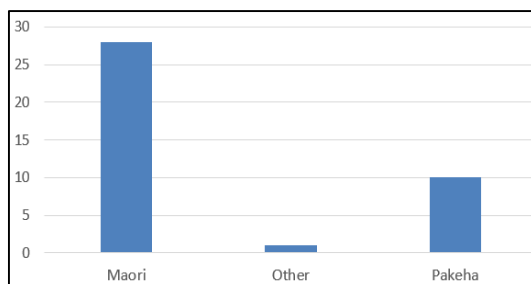


Figure 5: Participants by ethnicity

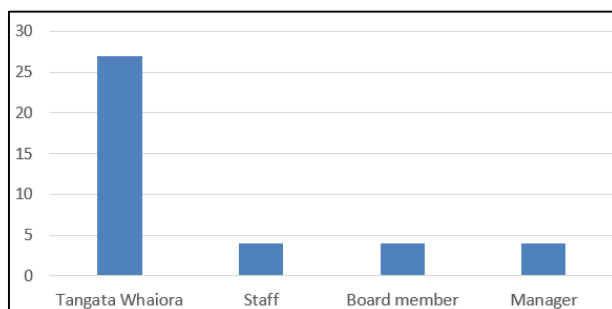


Figure 6: Participants by role

## 2.5 Ethics and Kaupapa Māori

Lincoln University Human Ethics Committee (HEC) posed over 40 questions or challenges to the application with particular concern for the selection, approach and engagement of Tangata Whaiora. The research approach was finalised in consultation with Te Awa staff and Board members, with the Whānau representative on the Board engaged to facilitate interviews and an option to seek support from outside of the organisation. Responses to HEC emphasised these regular communications and meetings, and the oversight of the whānau representative and Board. Approval was given by HEC on December 17<sup>th</sup> 2012 (HEC 2012-45; see Appendices 1, 2, and 3).

Kaupapa Māori research has been described as is both a means to progress research with Māori and a fundamental *expression* of Māori culture within research (Cunningham, 1998; Pihama, Cram, & Walker, 2002). Professor Linda Smith's *Decolonising Methodologies* (Smith, 1999, p. 120) provides some clear and simple (but not simplistic) rules:

*Aroha ki te tāngata*: a respect for people

*Kanohi kitea*: 'the face seen' (i.e. you present yourself to people face to face)

*Titiro, whakarongo, korero*: look, listen, (then) speak

*Manaaki ki te tāngata*: share and host people, be generous

*Kia tūpato*: be cautious

*Kaua e takahia te mana o te tāngata*: do not trample over the mana of people

*Kaua e māhaki*: don't flaunt your knowledge.

Professor Smith notes that these sayings came from her research and community experiences, often used by *kuia* as they scrutinised people. These principles are, of course, not limited to Māori-focused research and are perhaps fundamental to any research that relies on human participants (see, e.g., Whyte, 1991).

A conversation with a *kaumatua* in the first stages of this research provided a sobering assessment:

*It is a real shame that your work has a deadline heoi anō, a final thought. Those who lived Impoverished before the September 2010 quake aren't as easily phased by the present set up. Quote: 'we have been down for so long, this is a step up, this is an up for us!' Simon, it will get worse [that is] we are allowing those who were on the breadline to fall and replace and or join those who were poverty stricken and a high percentage of those have whakapapa!*

There are countless stories not told here but what is told is an important window into the experiences of a marginalized community who survived a massive urban disaster and then navigated the fraught post-disaster landscape.

### 3. Earthquake Stories

The stories told by our participants are powerful. The gender, ethnicity and role of interviewees are listed after their own words although names in the stories have been changed to protect the confidentiality of participants. Two of the researchers were living in Christchurch during the disaster and appear in some of the transcripts as they ask a question or make a comment alongside the responses of the participants. Memories and the processes of social construction after a traumatic event can confuse peoples recollection of their experiences (Gow, 1998). While the larger events (September 4<sup>th</sup> 2010, February 22<sup>nd</sup> and June 13<sup>th</sup> 2011) were described in vivid detail by many, we noticed a blurring of precise dates over the length of the project as ongoing aftershocks contributed to the sense of continual anxiety.

For some people the September event was their first experience of an earthquake. When asked to describe the earthquakes and their immediate impact, participants spoke of the shock, damage and subsequent confusion.

#### **'I didn't know they do that to you'**

*...the 4 a.m. one, I was up. My TV had been on and I'd left it on and I just woke up, went to sleep and conked out and suddenly I woke up and the TV is blaring you know. Went to turn the TV off and bam...what the hell? I thought someone had hit me from behind, I actually thought I was getting robbed. I'd never felt an earthquake before...I didn't know they do that to you and I thought 'What the?' The only thing that is close to me that I've felt anything like that is when I've been bashed before, you know, in the past, and that's what that felt like. I thought 'someone is in the house, what's going on?' and I'm walking around thinking...'There's no-one around' and next minute, the place was just going like this and I was 'Arghhh!' and the TV went flying, and all my stuff in the kitchen just went flying from one door into another door, you know and oh man! And there was screaming out in the streets and water was coming up out of the pipes, and this is 4 a.m. in the morning and our lamp post all beat up like that and it was up out of the ground. Oh mate, it was terrible, you couldn't walk anywhere, you know, you go to do something and you're just getting knocked over from aftershocks. Aftershocks were coming like that, one after the other, and we're just going bang and bang and, you know, bang, bang! (NPM14 Tane Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

#### **'As if some big bomb had hit'**

*Well the September one affected us in the most significant way... the house was damaged our street had quite a significant amount of damage, down by the little creek where you drove out, the road had all kind of like pushed up and there was water and stuff coming up... houses had fallen down into the creek and there's a lot of houses that have been lost down that way. I remember walking down there after it happened and there was like a helicopter and there was like people kind of standing there outside their cars and stuff and it was like... you thought it was a really big earthquake. The kids' dad was there and he got in the car to go to work because he always goes to work!! And he hit something on the road and he came back "Oh I've hit something on the road, I think there's a bump or something in there" and*

*it wasn't until it lightened up that we started to realise that, well he went down the road and he came back and he was going "Oh, oh you'll never believe it!" and I didn't actually believe him! I honestly thought he was being a bit over dramatic, you know 'Oh the roads broken'...and I was like 'Oh yeah, yeah,' and it wasn't until we sort of went down and I saw it that it was unreal, I took photos because it was just that bizarre how whole bits of bank had fallen away you know, the railway track had gone from being up there and had gone clunk so there was different levels to the railway track, it was like looking down it had just kind of, the side had dropped away so far, it had gone so far down it was just, it was the angles of it you know, and it had water running in it and bits of road had actually pushed together until they actually made peaks, you know there was a peak where the footpath had come together and a peak in the road and the cracks had gone so deep they looked like they went to the middle of the earth. It was like something out of a fantasy thing... and I don't have like a feeling that goes with it, it just was, there's no, we were just walking around like 'wow'....everybody and their dogs you know! ...As if some big bomb had hit and like smashed the town apart it was like going on a movie, like wow ... bombs hit, oh take a photo of that you know!! (NPM13, Wahine Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

**'Everything was gone, your thoughts were gone, your whole being was gone'**

*Everything just went mad, just went chaos, everything was gone, your thoughts were gone, your whole being was gone, you felt like you were getting sucked down into the ground. And the dogs, he's got two dogs, they wrapped themselves around our legs bro, that's how scared they were, and they're big dogs, tell ya. And there was screaming, and our mate came flying back from the shop. And the shop around the corner of Breezes and Pages Road, there used to be dairy and it's all gone now, he reckons he was standing up against the wall waiting to be served and he reckons when the earthquake hit, right, all he could feel was air at the back of him and he turned around and the whole wall with everything on it, you know all the things and stuff, was all just flat on the ground right behind him! He'd just missed....that went, it could have went that way and killed him but it went that way and he was lucky. [The balcony] just come down and just missed a person out here and a person's leg was caught and his car had parts of bloody building on it. He just got out and ripped, he's a big guy, he ripped it all off, got his car going and he ran right up to us. And he couldn't get through...because there was too many big holes in the road, water just pissing everywhere...the water just kept coming up and up and up and started flooding all these houses. And my mates taking stuff out and his things are just floating down the road and his clothes and oh man, everybody's house was just munted, everybody, all the houses were all munted the whole lot, not one house that was all right. (NPM14 Tane Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

Tangata Whaiora in supported care were affected and very reliant on staff especially those who were long term residents.

### **'It bugged the water'**

*A. When I was in Seager it bugged the water, late meals, that sort of thing.*

*Q. And what support did you need then?*

*A. A lot of staff support from the staff at Seager ... I can't remember the exact timeframe but I've been in there for more than four years at least anyway (NPM27 Wahine Pākehā, Tangata Whaiora).*

The support between whānau members was one of the themes that came out in this research project (and earlier projects; see Lambert, 2014; Lambert et al., 2012) with whānau providing an initial refuge.

### **'Early warning signs are cats to Egyptians'**

*...that was a hell that day...what happened, for me, I was asleep and the door was...going like that and I eventually got up and Ariki and Timoti, we were the three who reacted as best as we could time wise and situation wise. Timoti, he was 24 hours there, he stayed up and did his best, we went back to bed because it was 4.30am. Then we had all those aftershocks and somewhere down the line ... it drove me back to Ōtako which is where my family bach is and they greeted me with open arms because I told them straight, that this is taking effect on me and they took me in and they did their very best because they hadn't had the experience... When the earthquake shook, it floods you, it floods the river type stuff and where you end up, you don't know. On that day, over that series, I lost time of when everything was happening, I had to go up there and to basically reconnect I suppose and I was talking to my sister and one of the after effects of that is that ... I reconnected with her so I sort of came a full circle there ... if I knew it was going to happen you'd be specific of where you were going to be, you'd take advantage of that sort of stuff but early warning signs are cats to Egyptians I suppose. (NPM20 Tane Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

But for a significant proportion of our participants, a strategy of avoiding whānau continued through the disaster:

### **'It's as far away from my family as I can get'**

*Q: So what keeps you in Christchurch then?*

*A: It's as far away from my family as I can get... (NPM11, Wahine Māori, Tangata Whaiora)*

Parents were obviously anxious for their children and desperately sought information and reassurance on their safety.

### **'Kids at school that we couldn't even contact'**

*My partner ...was rolling around the golf course with all the wharfies - because he's a wharfie - which was just up the road, but it took him an hour just to get home from there. We also had teenage kids at school that we couldn't even contact to see how to get home. So all that initial stuff was pretty scary actually because you know ...the house was not right, I wasn't right ... there was no power and nowhere to sort of stay... we didn't even have a gas cooker (NPM10 Wahine Māori, Manager).*

### **'They were totally freaked out'**

*I'm like the 'main man' around the place so ...I direct things you know in the family and things. I've got older boys who do what they're told, they're really awesome, but now, they're really awesome to me too. They're really helpful and want to make sure everything is OK but I still direct things you know what I mean? The matriarch of the family sort of, but they were really absolutely fabulous. But for them what really upset them on the day of the earthquake was they knew I was at home and they were on this side of town and they tried to get to me and they couldn't get to me because the water was up too high for the car to get through and that freaked them out and they couldn't ring or anything. So it wasn't until the next day that they were actually able to contact me, so they were totally freaked out as to whether I was ok or not because the cellphones weren't working and there was no land lines. (NPM10 Wahine Māori, Manager).*

### **'People covered in blood'**

*The February one I was in Oxford Terrace, I was just going out to see my case manager and I noticed that a lot of people ran and I all I did was drop to the ground and cover my head so that must have been my response because when they happen now I just stay still. I saw the CTV [building] coming down and then there were all these vans and that come up Oxford Terrace with people covered in blood going up to the hospital. By that stage someone had grabbed me and taken me across the road because I was right beside the building and then my case manager organised for someone to take me home which was really good because at that stage everybody was being told to go to Hagley Park ... I walked in the house and the place, I couldn't get in the kitchen, everything was fallen everywhere so I went over to my neighbour and I sat with him until my boy was finished work because I was really freaked out about him, he'd text me and I'd trying to let him know I was ok but I couldn't so actually I got really wise and I contacted customer service up in Auckland and they rang from there back to my boy and let him know that I was ok and also I needed to know that he was ok... He reckons if he'd died I had to put down that he was killed by non-alcoholic beer because he was actually in the warehouse with it all when the earthquake hit and they were falling everywhere! (NPM25 Wahine Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

Many of the staff at Te Awa were also affected. Operations relocated to the house of the day manager but staff had to function while also dealing with the trauma and disruption in their own lives.

### **'I must have blanked out because I can't remember anything'**

*Well it was the February one that actually got me because I was sitting at the computer, I must have blanked out because I can't remember anything and I remember me rolling and everything from the kitchen coming towards me but that was it. The kids said I fell off the seat a few times and got back up, I didn't know what I was doing.*

*Q. Do you think you were in shock?*

*Yeah I think I was because after that I ran outside and I just ran to everyone's houses to see how they were and I think I was still in that shock mode. (NPM8 Wahine Māori, Staff).*

### **'We had no power for two weeks'**

*The first one I was the only one that was calm and I managed to get a pot of water and that before we had rushed away. But we ran out of power for two weeks, we had no power for two weeks, we lost all of our food. My son is a card-holding security guard so he was basically pulled into work all the time, he's supposed to be my carer so I've actually felt a little bit lost for a while... I did a little bit of self-harming just because I was so anxious and scared. (NPM25 Wahine, Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

While disasters are usually rare events in most peoples' lives, it is not impossible for any community or individual to experience more than one disaster. One of our participants had experienced the 1987 Edgecombe earthquake in the Bay of Plenty as a child. His experiences of the earthquakes in Christchurch were grounded in his earlier memories.

### **'It does feel like a roar... it was like a horror'**

*My greatest memory was just in the classroom holding on while it was shaking and then we all went out to the field and Whakatane like Christchurch has something, is a lot of reclaimed but just sitting on the ground when an earthquake happens and it does feel like a roar or, the shaking it was just so scary, it was like a horror ... I've always thought that I can't be alone in thinking things like that when I was a kid so I did feel that yeah, there would have to be a lot of work with them at school but that said it can, you can sort of turn that into a Civil Defence or an awareness you know. Immediately after the earthquake I didn't know that I was affected as much as I was but I did go to the mall with some friends and I had to go off to the supermarket to get some butter and then I was going to meet them somewhere and I did find that I had a panic attack waiting to see where they were and normally that's something that doesn't happen when I'm on my medication ... but I still had a panic attack. (NPM09 Tane Pākehā, Staff).*



People learnt as the seismic activity continued and they reflected on their experiences of earlier earthquakes.

### **'I become really aware of sounds around me'**

*It wasn't until the second earthquake that I realised how much the first one had actually affected me, like I become really aware of sounds around me and the noises and the smells that were around at that first time. It was a lack, all the phones were down so unable to contact anyone and it was just real horrible and the noise and everything. (NPM07 Wahine Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

*It would have been the February one I remembered on the September one and I jumped up and the first thing I did was run to the TV and hold it and I was just standing there shaking. All I heard was everyone yelling out to me 'mum, mum' so I had to run you know and just take cover. (NPM08, Wahine Māori, Staff).*

A notable characteristic of this disaster was the number of aftershocks (over 13,000) and extended time over which they occurred (including four significant events over 6.0M). It was apparent to many participants that the impacts of the disaster would extend over many years after the initial events of 2010 and 2011 and ongoing insomnia and anxiety were some of the affects reported by many people and securing medication was vital for many Tangata Whaiora in a context of extreme emotions. Some participants saw horrific sights in the CBD and people spoke frankly about the possibility they could die.

### **'It was quite devastating'**

*Well they've affected me immensely, I'm still not in my house on a personal level, my house got, I haven't been able to live in my house since the earthquake... so initially it was quite devastating in that I had no place to live and it was quite a freaky earthquake where the roads and everything were a bit of a mess, couldn't even get home for a lot of people, I was actually at home at the time. (NPM10 Wahine, Māori, Manager).*

### **'You can't sleep'**

*The worst thing in the whole earthquake thing was those incessant rumbles...the aftershocks when it's like 'aeeee!' and it sends your heart going and you can't sleep. (NPM12 Wahine Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

### **'I witnessed someone being killed'**

*Yeah well I witnessed someone being killed on February 22nd, it was a Japanese lady and what happened is, there was a group of us, we came out of the community house building and we came downstairs and the stairs was*

*bouncing underneath our feet, we didn't know it had detached and I remember opening, prising open the door and there was all this rubble, there was just dust everywhere it was just really like a bomb had been dropped on us. You were so confused and we made our way down towards Colombo Street and we couldn't go down Hereford Street because the Whitcoulls building had collapsed out. So we went around by City Mall, Cashell Street that way, a group of us, and we stayed together heading towards wherever just to get the hell out of there and that's when we saw this woman, Asian lady, had been killed and we went over just to try and help her but she was already gone so there was nothing we could do except follow what the police had told us to do and eventually we met up with a couple of policemen who were guiding us to go out to Hagley Park. (NPM23 Tane Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

### **'The earthquake was just too much'**

*Our chemist stayed open right through the whole bad situation, they had to because what they were giving to us was methadone and we had to have it otherwise we would rob their place, it would have got robbed just like that. You wouldn't have been able to blame us because we would be a misery and so we'd rob it and get what we want and we'd take everything, take their money, take their drugs and take the whole fucking shop ... it was lucky that we didn't do it straight away, if we did that straight away we would have got what we wanted, but we didn't because the earthquake freaked us out too much, that's why, the earthquake was just too much mate, it just freaked me right out eh? (NPM14 Tane Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

### **'That was just off the scale'**

*I've been in earthquakes before you know, good shakes because we used to live near a fault line in Buller so we were constantly getting our house shaken, swampy land. But I've never experienced anything as big as that. That was just off the scale. It scared me so much that I thought I was going to die that's how it felt for me. I was waiting for my whare, immediate things happened like the TV, my fridge fell over and there was a crack in the window, there was all those sorts of things but there was just this emotional, you tried to live in a town where it keeps on shaking every - it seemed like every five minutes the first couple of days, it affected me because I rely on this, I can't drive so going to the supermarket, you know the first few hours after, everything was close, it was unnerving. I couldn't sleep, my sleep patterns just went out, after that I was afraid to go to town or anything. (NPM23 Tane Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

### **'You feel that the earth could open up and take you'**

*...you just lose a certain sense of innocence or, yeah, you feel that the earth could open up and take you, or you could be knocked over by a building and die, so it was as strong for me this time because I just sort of sat there, and*

*when the earthquakes were going I just sat, I'd just be sitting there going 'oh yeah this is an earthquake'. (NPM09 Tane Pākehā, Staff).*

Family homes became important emotional spaces for many participants. While many undamaged or minimally damaged homes were open to earthquake refugees in a spontaneous cultural expression of support, the disaster challenged the concept of 'home' as the necessary safety – including that of the land beneath – could not always be guaranteed (see Lambert, Forthcoming 2015). Many participants spoke of feeling helpless and unable to do anything about the earthquakes. Disruption in the everyday lives of the people in the city challenged routines for many Tangata Whaiora in residential care felt reasonably secure.

### **'It was ruined by the earthquake'**

*Well they affect my nerves because the first one, well I'm not sure if it was the first or the second but I was at my mum and dad's and the whole room and the bed just shook and I'm screaming, I thought it was Armageddon, do you know what that is? And dad was saying 'are you alright?' he was on the outside of the door, he couldn't get in because the earthquake had jammed it, so he went and got his chisel, he always used to keep his toolbox in the kitchen, so he went and got his chisel and chiseled it, and he's 80. Then he had to go outside the next morning and there was water everywhere in the yard. They had to fix the pipe that run for the shower and toilet. See I really miss that place because I had an en suite, do you know what I mean? And it was a beautiful home and it was ruined by the earthquake. (NPM17 Wahine Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

### **'I thought it had no effect on me to start with'**

*I really didn't feel, I didn't, well I thought it had no effect on me to start with. I thought that it was a horrible experience, it's the sound, noise and like and feeling helpless and not being able to help the other people that were around me at the time. (NPM07 Wahine Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

### **'I went seven days without showering'**

*Well the first earthquake happened after I'd just come out of Hillmorton and the house just shook. When I just come out of Hillmorton I had poor hygiene, so I hadn't showered within that week, so I went seven days without showering, and I would just eat and sleep all day, and then the earthquake happened and then as soon as it happened we went to the petrol station to try and fill up the van but they couldn't put petrol in the cars just in case they blew up (NPM18 Wahine Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

### **'I was probably in the safest place in the world'**

*To be honest I was probably in the safest place in the world, they had just restructured [strengthened] Princess Margaret and I pretty much slept through the whole thing! A couple of people I have talked to had that experience too, and my nephew slept through the February one! We had to*

*shake him awake to get him out. I slept through the second one, I got up because I had to, I had to evacuate and they made me, I was being a bit stubborn and they made me and then I got outside and just saw, and these cars go like that, it was a pretty out of it looking thing to see and the whole ground just sort of...dropped a level eh, I'm surprised we're still on the axis. (NPM31 Tane Pākehā, Tangata Whaiora).*

Whānau and community are the first responders and used available tools and resources to help. We know from earlier research that Māori are more mobile than Pākehā and this pattern continued through the disaster. Some stories are of whānau getting out of the city soon after the February event, and in this story note that travel north to the top of the South Island is referred to as going 'down' the island. Two participants were in jail during at least one of the major earthquakes, both managing to access support services once they were released.

### **'I took them down to Nelson'**

*We were in Worchester Street and I was living at those seven storey apartment building on Hereford Street right on the corner there. I was having lunch there and what happened?! Watching TV and my TV goes flying across in front of me and the doors, because when the power goes off the doors automatically lock, and so I had to run to the door so I could get out, looked at the building and it was going like this and this, and I could hear this squealing next door, and it was an Asian girl, got her hand stuck in the door and broke her wrist, so I had to force it open to get her out, done the old fireman's hold and took her around the front. Take my car and go and pick up my kids who were stuck underneath the roof in Palms because when it happened the bloody gas station, gas bloody tanks cracked open and it all poured in down Marsden's Road, the Palms were like a big huge river there and you could smell the gas in the water, ... I could see them on the corner by the chemist opposite the Palms, picked them up, get in here and we're gone...I took them down to Nelson where one of our best friends live there and they heard and they rang us straight away. (NPM33 Tane Māori, Staff).*

### **'I lost everything in the earthquake'**

*I was in prison at the time. I was pretty scared ah because being in an old prison and kept thinking the roof was going to fall so I jumped under a table...I lost everything in the earthquake but mental health and Māori Mental Health they both come on board and got me to stay at Te Korimako. (NPM21 Tane Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

It became clear in the research that the impacts from the earthquakes continue for Tangata Whaiora long after the events and continue to impact them when they are in other locations.

**'You could tell those people who came from Christchurch'**

*I went up north to a wedding in Te Kuiti, now the marae there is right beside a railway line, we were sitting down for kai and a train came and you could tell those people who came from Christchurch, every single one of us just froze and it was only a goddamn train! And then later on I went up north with my mum, right up to the top and you could still tell we were from Christchurch, if there was a train or a truck we froze. Big trucks, stock trucks do it. It takes so long, we were gone for three weeks, it would have taken a week to get my head to realise that I'm not actually in Christchurch and these aren't earthquakes, it takes so long to get your brain to realise that we're not in Christchurch anymore. (NPM11, Wahine Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

## 4. Support

Tangata Whaiora faced challenges over and above the impacts from the earthquakes on others in the city. Reports of kindness and generosity were also common in the interviews with Tangata Whaiora. Some spoke of about what support they had and how it changed as a result of the earthquakes with accurate information needed as much as practical supports.

### **'You needed everything'**

*What support did we need then? I mean, I think, you know, straight away to function you needed everything. You need your power on, you needed just to get on with it, rather than sort of dealing with it, just to get on with it. You needed to feed the kids, because for me in particular I'm not real good when things go out of the box, when things have to be re-organised. I've got enough in my head as it just gets overwhelming, I just can't.....you know? So at that point I just needed somebody to do something about the basic stuff and when that [power] was on I just thought 'oh I'll live like that for a while'. (NPM13 Wahine Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

### **'Somebody explaining, knocking on the door, going 'there's help down the road' ...'**

*'The supermarkets down our way were, they were all shook up and cracked up and nothing was working, I don't know. We had Red Cross, you know, boxes coming, they were really helpful at the time and I don't know. Just a door to door person just giving advice would have been helpful saying 'hey there's food being given out at the Church in Brighton today or tomorrow or Wednesday' or that sort of thing, or 'we can't pay our stuff down at the usual outlet, the Post Office but perhaps you can get to the one that's open in The Palms or just a little bit further. Information, and not necessarily written information because it doesn't absorb, but somebody explaining, knocking on the door going 'there's help down the road' you know! Yeah well it's all changed since then though hasn't it? ... You realise the impact now because there's the gaps everywhere in the buildings, in the housing, they've started to clear the land now. (NPM15 Tane Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

### **'People who couldn't get money for smokes'**

*My sister from the North Island, she actually left me with cash money to help people with, she left me with \$500, well because people couldn't get money out of Eftpos machines and everybody was stressed and if you can't get a cigarette you get worse so people who couldn't get money for smokes I'd give them money, \$20 here, \$20 there, I blew my sister's \$500 really quick. (NPM11 Wahine Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

Isolation was a constant threat and many spoke of the direct support they received from various agencies, with Te Awa o te Ora the most central to most participants. Some participants spoke

of concern they held for elderly neighbours, sometimes neglected their own issues to help neighbours.

### **'I isolated myself'**

*So from then on I became more isolated and I isolated myself and every time the ground rumbled I wasn't sure, I'd run to the door and I'd hang on, it could be another big one, you know you're sort of on the edge, anxiety. It's not so bad now I find, if it does rock and roll I'll say 'well, you know, it's another aftershock'. I'm over it as well yeah but it totally altered my lifestyle and as far as coming into Te Awa .... Te Awa took me to Red Cross in those first few days but my whare was OK, it held up, it had some big cracks in it. But just basically took us along to Red Cross and that was pretty much it. I didn't sort of come to Te Awa because they had lost their whare at that time, but there was still week to week contact. (NPM23 Tane Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

### **'I was terrified to leave the property'**

*I'm on the meds and I've been on the books before for quite a while here and then I just was absorbed within Te Awa to try and compensate with what was happening and I was also having, with the meds and stuff ... I didn't want to leave the property because of the seizures. ... I didn't know whether I was going to end up being kicked to the side of the road as a drunk or what was going to happen. I was terrified to leave the property. This place has drawn me out and I have a safe place to go and you know sort of like-minded people. (NPM1, Tane Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

### **'I didn't deal with it'**

*I also had a group of elderly folks at my neighbourhood that I checked on and kept supplied with pet food and water and just kept a general eye because my neighbour directly in front of me she's in her late 70s so I just kept her supplied with stuff, yeah, just did that sort of shit but I avoided, that's what I did I didn't deal with it ...I just continue to avoid it and now I don't feel quakes. (NPM11 Wahine Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

### **'What I love about Te Awa is the Māori Kaūpapa'**

*Q: What support did you need during the earthquakes?*

*A: I didn't need support.*

*Q: How did you get through?*

*A: Well when I was mentally unwell, when the earthquakes happened....spiritually I had a lot of spirits intuiting through me, writing through me, typing through me, speaking through me, possessing me to give messages to their loved ones, I would never be conscious of what's happening around me, I was very, very sick so I was too caught up in the spirit world to pay attention to what was happening in the physical world and what I love about Te Awa is the Māori kaūpapa, if you say "I can see dead people" or "the spirits are tormenting me and giving me bad hallucinations", they believe you,*

*they accept you, it's normal, it's part of the Māori culture, if you say ... that to a white person they're like "oh you're just attention seeking" and that's what I'm getting from my family, 'you're mental' or 'you're attention seeking' so Māori....I feel like I have a second family here, this is my support network. (NPM18 Wahine Pasifika, Tangata Whaiora).*

Many had spoken of trying to help themselves without support of anyone but the communal response was a main theme arising from the stories.

### **'I was getting sicker and sicker'**

*There were people out there who were actually trying to help me, but I wouldn't let them because I had it in my head 'no I don't need you, I can do this' and then I was getting sicker and sicker and sicker. (NPM07 Wahine Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

### **'There was that real community feeling'**

*Well at first it was, ok but the ongoing aftershocks sort of kept me in a very heightened stress state. But then when February happened it kind of snapped me out of it a bit. It was just so big, so intense, that I started focusing on what needed to be done to help and what I could do ...a lot of people left town ... the people that stayed around, the networks got a lot stronger. There was that real community feeling of people looking out for each other and very strong bonds with other people who were doing voluntary or paid recovery work. ... My younger sister was my main support, she had been for the past three years but in June or July she'd had enough of the quakes and left town as well. (NPM16 Wahine Pākehā, Tangata Whaiora).*

*It freaked everybody out, there was all these guys that talk about being staunch when an earthquake comes...that went out the fucking window mate, they were whimpering like little rats, they were in no different situation than we were bro. All begging for mercy and the thing was the only thing that saved everybody, bro do you know what it was? Just about every second house down, everybody was out doing sizzles, sausages and buns and bread and all sorts and giving it out to people bro, and big hot plates of soup and it was amazing mate, all the way down to Brighton. (NPM14 Tane Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

### **'We became a community'**

*The Warehouse, they were amazing, the first night blankets came in, you know you could have the ones from The Red Cross but The Warehouse straight away started sending in mink blankets and a lot of the tourists left here wrapped in blankets from The Warehouse, I was just totally blown away and like when we needed to gather water, The Warehouse brought in pallets*



*and pallets of 20 litre bottles and just everybody could just have them. That kind of thing was just amazing, that just meant people actually gave a damn and really that makes you carry on, because you're not fighting on your own, there are people out there, businesses and that, that actually gave a damn and it makes you feel good. We became a community, we're losing it now...but we know that if something major happens it'll come back. (NPM11 Wahine Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

## 5. Housing

Damage to homes varied across the city according to location, building materials, and the age and condition of buildings. Some experienced no or minimal impact to their accommodation (this was an important factor in the resilience shown by some Maori post-disaster see (Lambert, Forthcoming 2014). Those whose homes were damaged and had to leave or seek emergency repairs experienced unsettling changes and for some an extended period of anxiety and stress. The loss of housing and accommodation in the city impacted people on low incomes in particular (Te Puawaitanga ki Otautahi Trust, 2014). Many were uncertain about having a home safe enough to live in (Lambert, Forthcoming 2015). The impacts of housing damage and shortages on Tangata Whaiora and the staff and managers of the services supporting them are part of a common story of a struggle to secure safe and healthy accommodation.

### **‘The house wasn’t good and it took a while for that to really kick in.’**

*No water and toilet, yup that was like the oh....you know, yeah, all those things were probably the things that impacted the heaviest then because everything stopped and the house had kind of, the house had....we still haven’t finished with the house but it had piles that needed doing, it had cracks down the walls, it had the ceilings all curved in or curved out or whatever it was. Rawiri’s room ended up like [it was] raining and the water came in and we had buckets. We had to get the fire people to try and put a tarp on it. So that was kind of, yeah, the house wasn’t good and it took a while for that to really kick in. (NPM13 Wahine Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

### **‘I actually lost a lot of friends’**

*I’m with City Housing so I’m still in the same flat, been in there for the last year or two before the earthquake. As far as employment goes I’m on an invalids benefit so I haven’t really been able to get employment. My last employer ... let me go because I was having anxiety problems with the supervisor and my sensitive issues came up again for me at that time ... I had a psychiatrist do an evaluation and said within six months this guy’s going to have a mental breakdown and sure enough I did. But then we had the earthquakes...the only thing I find that helps me is doing karakia here at Te Awa, it’s like a job ... With the earthquake it just made me, I actually lost a lot of friends, they all shifting away so the social things we used to go to Churches, go out for dinners and ring up and invite each other around for dinner, it’s gone so it was just me and Te Awa and that was it, it’s the only social life I have really. (NPM23 Tane Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

### **‘And we had two people out in a tent’**

*Q. How many people did you have staying with you?*

*A: We had 21.*

*Q. How long did they stay?*

*A: Most of them stayed, some of them stayed up to about four days and then left but we still ended up with basically about 12 after about three weeks. Most of them were from Aranui, New Brighton area, we had a whole family – there was G and T and they had four kids, and the night we all slept there,*

*my ex-partner and I, we had her granddaughter there, we had three dogs on our bed, we had Greg and Tracy, there beside us, at the end of our bed there was, god I can't think of her name but she was my stepson's partner. Then in the lounge there was four boys, in my stepdaughter's room there was four girls and we had two people out in a tent and in the other room there was a couple of young lads. (NPM34 Tane Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

Struggles to find accommodation were common for some Tangata Whaiora who had been displaced. A report by Te Puawaitangi ki Otautahi (2014) reveals the struggle to find accommodation in the city after the earthquakes. The survey found the availability and quality of housing has 'declined dramatically' in post-disaster Ōtautahi and the high costs of private rental meant many residents have to share their home with extended family, sometimes having to relocate outside of the city. A key challenge is finding warm dry affordable housing and as a result of poor housing, health risks have increased, particularly skin infections and respiratory problems, anxiety and stress with babies at higher risk to SIDS.

### **'I shouldn't have even been paying that much for the house'**

*I love animals so I got me animals and it was just impossible to get a place who would accept animals. So I spent a lot of time sleeping in my car with my kitten and my puppy ... I just went onto my phone and came across an agency called Landlord Direct so I decided to give that a look and see what that was about...actually someone was watching out for me you know because this place was no bond, it was in the red zone in Kaiapoi. It was actually a red zone house but it wasn't the house that was, it was the ground ...they told these people that all the homes were going to be demolished by April this year. I paid \$280 a week for that place, the house, what I mean by it wasn't damaged, there was still running water and they put a fireplace in there ...I slept in the lounge because the rest of the house was just freezing because there were...when the house, when the ground had done what it had done it had shifted bits so there were gaps in the windows, and you know. So a lot of people told me that I shouldn't have even been paying that much for the house, but I didn't care because they allowed my puppy and my kitten. (NPM07 Wahine Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

### **'The rain water now runs in the opposite direction'**

*In my neighbourhood there are a few people I know who are still living in broken houses ... and my house has flopped on one side and they're supposed to be going to fix it but by the time they get to me, there won't be any money to fix my house, that's what I worry about because the rain water now runs in the opposite direction to where my downpipes are. My house has dropped off and I told them it's only two centremetres but it's enough to damage the drainage... I got so tired of waiting for them to come and fix it, because I had a leak in my room, and I got tired of waiting for them, I went and repaired it all myself. I haven't repaired on the outside but I stripped the wallpaper and redid all the wall myself. Just because they may never get to me and by the time they do there won't be any money left to fix things. (NPM11 Wahine Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

Ongoing struggles to deal with insurance and building repairs were a serious issue for those Tangata Whaiora and staff who were homeowners. Many spoke of their frustrations that they were not being listened to.

### **‘They don’t take notice of what’s happened’**

*You see they don’t listen to me and they ask you what’s wrong, they don’t take notice of what’s happened, like I had a window doesn’t shut and I slammed it shut one day and the window broke, I had to pay for the new glass. My front door has to be locked or it will blow open, my windows on that side of the house don’t shut properly, my door in the kitchen falls open easily, everything’s.....some doors that were a bit hard to shut now shut! So in some ways it’s fixed things....but I can’t shut my bathroom window properly, it’s still open about that much...I can’t afford to fix them but we’re three years later and EQC hasn’t come near me. (NPM11 Wahine Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

### **‘The house was quite damaged but still habitable’**

*We were living in St Martins right near the river so TC3, the house was quite damaged but still habitable...[I stay with] my parents, there was such an accommodation shortage it just made sense to leave it to people who really needed it and have the family support network of people keeping an eye on each other. Basically the last three years has been EQC and the insurance company arguing back and forth and EQC finally decided ...we’re going ahead. Since we would have to move out for repairs anyway rather than having to move out and live in a motel for three months and move back in my parents said ‘well look we’ll just buy a new house, sell that one, sell the insurance claim with it and just transfer it across’ and so we’ve got a new place in West Moorland....There are no cracks in it, all the doors open and close. (NPM16 Wahine Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

Several of the Tangata Whaiora were sharing emergency or supported accommodation or waiting for a more permanent home. Some participants spoke of being displaced and having to move from their homes, struggling to engage in the everyday requests of their family.

### **‘I am really quite a my space type of person’**

*I’m also on the Housing Corp list and City Council list so hopefully because their places are more permanent and they’re actually mine you know ... I will be living with the housing that Te Awa give, you live with other people so it’s never going to be quite my space. I am really quite a my space type of person, yeah, I don’t mind sharing with people but I like [my own place], because then I’m centered, then I know I’ve got somewhere safe and it’s mine and I don’t have to worry about who is doing what or what’s happening you know, yeah and so once that happens I’ll be quite fine. (NPM07 Wahine, Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

### **'I just got displaced after that'**

*I was displaced mate...oh I shifted about six times during the earthquakes. I'd sold my property, had everything in storage in my garage, she wasn't insured so liquefaction basically took it, with seepage and you've got the bottom boxes, I just got displaced after that, had gear stored in about three different places at one point and was staying at Addington Accommodation Park, don't recommend it mate. (NPM32 Tane Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

### **'I was definitely homeless'**

*The September one I was ... living with a lady there and I had to move out and I was actually homeless. I was definitely homeless, I had nowhere to go, I ended up staying with one of the Tangata Whaiora here. I used to stay with her and her son. Then I had to move out of there and find somewhere else and I was staying near, Burnside High, they had a welfare centre there....what's the date today? (NPM28 Wahine Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

### **'You want me to do a school project?!'**

*...it's not worse now, like it's better because I'm not dealing with the intensity of stuff, when I went to the earthquake village. Oh I had like terrible anxiety, I couldn't do....I stood there and I was looking at all the stuff around me and I just couldn't do anything. I was really, really like disabled, I felt disabled and I don't know if you can understand that. But I felt, people look at me and they would think 'oh well she's not really disabled' and they don't see it. It's like ... looking out and wanting to do it and you just can't ... the dread, the fear of that... there's so much fear that something is going to happen and you're just not going to be able to cope with it. Even something like at school or something, you have to deal with something with the kids at school, ...What ends up taking the hit is the school project...'you want me to do a school project?' Do you know what I mean? (NPM13 Wahine Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

### **'Most of my money was going on rent and power'**

*Having to move because of prices so there was getting your own trailer and hiring your own trailer and moving, and if you've got a job and you have a mental health issue it's really hard to try and get all these resources sorted, moving, housing, food. Most of my money was going on rent and power and my animals so even though I was making a good wage I was left with \$40 at the end of the week. (NPM07 Wahine Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

### **'They had nothing and they had paid their insurance...'**

*I couldn't see the devastation that it put into other people's lives. It wasn't until we started doing [checks] on residential homes, construction sites, commercial sites, it was the residential homes that got me. It humbled me. It changed my outlook completely on a lot of things, especially the elderly. Going into their homes they had nothing, they had nothing and they had paid*

*their insurance and all that to those places and they got nothing. It was gut wrenching to see them. I did a place in October in Redwood down Grimseys Road and I wanted to go to the loo and I said to them 'could I please use your toilet?' and they were so embarrassed because they had a port-a-loo and this is nearly two years after the earthquake. I was like 'Oh my gosh.' I was embarrassed for asking after that. They said it was full and they were both old they couldn't, he couldn't carry it, I said 'boys get in there and change that' and 'we'll go and get you some water' and stuff, and they were so happy. It was just going through situations like that, it made me humble like wow, there's these people they've got nothing and they're happy, they're ok because they've got a house to live in, it's shocking. (NPM07 Wahine Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

## 6. Discussion

Limited analyses are presented in this report as it is the raw testimonies that are emphasized to complement the academic interpretations that fulfil the wider research obligations. What follows is a short commentary on the basic themes evident throughout the interviews and a basic analysis of the support networks enacted by Tangata Whaiora. (For a longer and more in-depth discussion of these, see Lambert, 2015).

### 6.1 Themes

Interviews were semi-structured with several key themes opening dialogue on the research questions (see Appendix 3). Specifically researchers sought participant experiences of support as a mental health client in the post-disaster city. The main supports noted for all participants are listed in Table 1.

1	Te Awa o te Ora
2	Whānau
3	Kaupapa Māori Providers
4	Voluntary Organisations
5	Tamariki
6	Community
7 =	Personal networks Neighbours
9	Other Māori Institutions
10	NPM02 [Day manager]

Table 1: Most named supports, in rank order.

As most participants (and all Tangata Whaiora) were sourced through Te Awa o te Ora, it is ranked first by default (which in no way minimises or dilutes the role of TATO). One participant said:

*Everyone loves everybody out here, it's not just 'You just go and stand over there and we'll see you after,' and they'll come back and see us in another two weeks or tomorrow or something ... They'll really [go] 'Okay, you go over there for a minute and we'll see you in five minutes,' and they will! They make a real point of coming down to see us and doing things for us. (NPM26, Tane, Tangata Whaiora).*

However it should be noted that for 6 of our 26 Tangata Whaiora participants, whānau was named as a *negative* in their lives; these individuals explicitly excluded whānau from their support networks because of prior experiences (drugs, alcohol and violence being the main reasons).

Kaupapa Māori providers and Voluntary Organisations feature in the support of most Māori Tangata Whaiora. There are 13 Māori Mental Health providers in Ōtautahi (Canterbury District Health Board, 2014), though they vary in the role of Māori and the degree of tikanga practiced.

These organisations generally work well together, referring clients to each other and trying to coordinate their activities:

*I got involved with Te Awa back in ... 2009 and then I left them and went up to Amberley and then when I come back to Christchurch I was put straight back with Te Awa because I in the North Sector and I also had the Pukenga Atawhai's and they all often encouraged me to come here because if I'm left at home I generally think wrong thoughts and do silly things so I come here for the company. I feel at home here whereas I can't go to other places because I feel different but here I fit in... Also my community support worker is here...and they work in closely with my counsellor and my case manager... Everybody works in together which is really good. (NPM 25, Wahine Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

These data indicate Tangata Whaiora benefitted from a distributed network of friends, whānau and providers.

## **6.2 What were the effects of the earthquakes on Māori mental health communities in Ōtautahi?**

In answering this question, this report draws on earlier findings which emphasized economic security and the absence of serious damage to house and contents as well as the value of whānau connections (Lambert, Forthcoming 2014). For Tangata Whaiora, while the disaster 'pulled everyone down' into a chaotic world, certain key characteristics stand out. The first is evident in the Dedoose theme or code count (Figure 2; Table 1) which highlights issues around housing and accommodation. Many Tangata Whaiora had to leave their accommodation and seek shelter whether at elsewhere in the city or somewhere further; this is dealt with in detail in the following section. Those participants who owned their own homes which had been damaged as a result of the earthquakes, the struggle to get repairs and insurance payouts often dominated their lives in the months and now years after the initial damage. The resulting stress on some Tangata Whaiora is a serious issue.

## **6.3 How did Tangata Whaiora respond to the disaster?**

TATO Quake Assessment data show considerable movement by Tangata Whaiora, both within the city and to other towns and cities around the country (Table 2).



Table 2: Te Awa o te Ora Quake Assessment Data (February 2011)

Response		Peer (n=31)	Day Care (n=28)	LMLM (n=4)	CSWCIS (n=47)
Stayed in own home		6	8	1	16
Residential Care		7	2	1	5
Moved within Ōtautahi	In emergency shelter	1	1	-	2
	Moved in with Whānau	2	3	-	4
	Moved in with friends	3	-	-	-
	Other	3	4	1	5
Moved outside of Ōtautahi		9	10	1	14
...and with whanau		4	3	1	5
Missing		-	-	-	1

**LMLM:** Like Minds Like Mine (A 'national, publicly funded programme aimed at reducing the stigma and discrimination associated with mental illness'; See <http://www.likeminds.org.nz/>).

**CSW/CIS:** Community Social Worker/Clinical Information Systems.

These data show of the 110 TATO clients, 34 left Christchurch following the February 22<sup>nd</sup> event, just over 30 per cent. We reiterate that many Tangata Whaiora are vulnerable to isolation and a significant minority specifically exclude whānau from their support networks, emphasising the role of staff. That only one could not immediately be accounted for is quite remarkable in the circumstances and is a testimony to the strength of the support networks that existed pre-disaster and the dedication of staff and the rapidity and efficiency of their response in the aftermath.

An important factor behind the rapid and efficient response to TATO staff was that they were comparatively secure in the contexts of their housing, services and whānau. Eleven TATO staff were available in the disaster response (two were on leave), and these staff members (many of whom themselves are Tangata Whaiora) paired up in the days after the major event of February 22<sup>nd</sup> 2014 and visited their clients to check on their well-being and provide emergency supplies and pastoral support. (Table 3).

While more attention is now being given to Indigenous Knowledge (IK) and its role in disaster risk reduction (Shaw, Sharma, & Takeuchi, 2009), this research tends to focus on Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) and does not incorporate the experiences of urbanizing communities and those Indigenous individuals and collectives that are distant from their traditional territories and living in circumstances where their TEK. Despite the forced movement of Tangata Whaiora across a post-disaster landscape and sometimes beyond to other cities and towns, TATO clients were almost always secure, cared for, medication provided, and contact maintained. This expression of Māori culture could be termed Mātauranga Hapori and elevates the post-contact *urban* sociological understandings that Indigenous communities have developed (Lambert, 2014). For example, the quirk of inverting north and south for travelling up and down the country as with NPM33 saying he took his family 'down' to Nelson even though Nelson is to the north of

Ōtautahi. There are many such subtle differences of perspective that require experience and insight (encapsulated in the approach of Kaupapa Māori) that are necessary for productive research relationships.

Table 3: Impacts of 22-2 event on TATO staff

<i>Home Habitable</i>	<i>Power</i>	<i>Water</i>	<i>Phones</i>	<i>Whānau OK</i>
1	1	0	1	1
0	n/a	n/a	1	1
1	1	0	1	1
1	1	1	1	1
1	1	1	1	1
1	n/a	n/a	1	1
1	1	1	1	1
1	1	0	1	1
0	n/a	n/a	1	1
1	1	1	1	1
1	1	1	1	1
1	1	1	1	1
1	1	0	1	1

#### 6.4 What aspects of the response and recovery of Tangata Whaiora are applicable to other Māori and Indigenous communities?

Many of our participants had experienced considerable shock and pain in their lives, personal ‘disasters’ that ironically helped some deal with the disaster that so disrupted the rest of the city. Interviews often finished with a question about how to prepare for and survive disasters that could happen in the future, for other Tangata Whaiora in particular, and everyone in general. Emergency Kits; water and food and; emergency plans were mentioned by many but participants also gave spiritual, physical and common sense advice for others.

##### ‘Start storing emergency bits’

*Be prepared but don’t stress, be cool, calm and collected. I mean every person is different and has a different make up but it’s like the old stop, drop and roll, stop, pause, think before you react. But yeah be prepared too, like they say that is common sense, it is always good to have a few cans in the cupboard and have vegie patches and things like that. (NPM12, Wahine Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

*Start storing emergency bits (NPM32, Tane Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

*Make sure you have food and bottled water and have a plan [to meet up somewhere]. (NPM05, Wahine Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

### **'Have an emergency kit, we have First Aid.'**

*Having, like, emergency kits, which we had. We had that sort of stuff because we used to live out in the country. So we do bulk buying of stuff and take it with us because you can't go down the dairy or the supermarkets. So that's something that we've carried on over the years even coming back to the city, that we tend to buy a bigger bulk bag of something. We still have an emergency kit, we have First Aid and a couple of sealed containers of just dried foods, coffee and things. (NPM15, Tane Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

*Just make sure you've got plenty of water, tins of food, get yourself stocked up ready for the next one, dunno when that's going to be (NPM30, Wahine Pākehā, Tangata Whaiora).*

### **'Make sure you've got water and warm blankets'**

*Help them prepare for one? Well make sure you've got water and warm blankets or something put away somewhere and food, canned food sort of thing, make sure you've got a good stock of something and put it in some place where you can get at it easily. Hopefully you won't need it but if they did well, that would be it. (NPM29, Wahine Pākehā, Tangata Whaiora).*

### **'Having a radio'**

*I already live a simple life. I really, to be honest, I don't know because I just fell back on instinct, what I knew and oh probably for me would have been having a radio and actually probably being a bit more prepared with food. See I don't live in that there's going to be this big accident. Like with the big snows ... instead of buying milk, I bought milk powder, simple common sense, I live with common sense. (NPM12 Wahine Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

### **'Help each other out'**

*The future can be difficult to tell you because you don't know what's going to happen eh, I can't tell you, I mean I can't tell you. All I can say to them is to be strong, stick in there, fight the battle you know meaning be strong, really get in there, help each other out you know, be helping. (NPM14 Tane Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

### **'Those interpersonal networks are really important'**

*Q. What would you say to people in your position to help them prepare for some sort of disaster in the future?*

*A. There's the standard things about having the emergency kit and stuff, we had all that stuff which was really great ... Those interpersonal networks are really important, I think it's good for people to get to know their neighbours because if something happens and you've got no power and no water for a week or more, weeks and weeks then you need to know the people around*

*you because those are the people you can reach and can reach you. (NPM16 Wahine Pākehā, Tangata Whaiora).*

### **'Don't be ashamed to ask for help'**

*One big one would be don't be ashamed to ask for help, ... the ones we can always tell are the people in really bad situations, they're always the ones who start off the phone call with "I know there are people worse off than me" and I'm like "oh god, do you have four walls right now?!". A lot of the people who really needed assistance are the ones who feel like they shouldn't ask for it and that ties into stuff that is quite hard on a lot of the guys because they feel they've got to be really... capable and look after everything, staunch. (NPM16 Wahine Pākehā, Tangata Whaiora).*

### **'Make sure that you've got insurance!'**

*Make sure that you've got insurance! I guess that's the biggie for most people. Watch what they're doing when they're purchasing their property, yeah where there is quite a lot of land becoming available it may assist them to build new houses on, that's about all I can think of off the top of my head. (NPM27 Wahine Pākehā, Tangata Whaiora).*

### **'If they're worried about it they should leave'**

*Q. So what would you say to Tangata Whaiora to help them to prepare for something, if something like this was to happen again, what advice would you give?*

*A. Fucking leave.*

*Q. You're not the first to say that.*

*A. Well if they're worried about it they should leave, really, if they're worried about another one it's time to go. I just don't care personally, yeah, I'm not going anywhere, I like Christchurch, it got me away from my family, got me sober, got me diagnosed but.....*

*Q. So it's home now?*

*A. Well no not really but I live and I'm quite happy to live here, not home no, home was with my grandmother, she passed away in 2005. (NPM11 Wahine Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

### **'Are You Alright?'**

*The best thing you can do is better prepare yourself and I think what I would do differently is go for counseling... you may have survived but you're still not ok, not spiritually, not emotionally. I get a little bit out of that campaign that.... 'Are You Alright?' You know that's quite a good campaign because I see ... they do make you stop and think for a moment or pause for a moment, 'When was the last time I went to get a cuppa or talk with my neighbour?' I remember that first morning walking outside, I'm surrounded by pensioners and there was this 80 year old man and he was just standing around in the early hours of the morning, with his mouth wide open, he couldn't speak, he*

*couldn't move, he was just frozen. All I told him to do was 'just go back inside and get underneath your doorway because there's going to be another shake and make sure that you haven't got anything around you to fall on you, put those things on the floor now because it is going to shake again.' Then when we started to get around and having a cup of coffee which is a really good thing to do, when you're in the middle of that especially for big ones, it sort of made us feel not isolated and alone in it, like we were going through this together and taking care of each other, I'm glad we did that, we got that part right! (NPM23 Tane Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

### **'Just say if you feel a bit afraid'**

*Just get themselves supplied with emergency backups, like water, first aid kit, torch or whatever. For me it is to get contacts, support contacts like staff you know and just say if you feel a bit afraid. So all they need to do is just prepare themselves, you know get everything prepared like a first aid kit, food, water, torch, all those.... sorts of stuff so like if the power cuts and they got no power they've got something there. We're lucky because we've got a woodburner and we've got two gas stoves we don't even use and we will probably donate it to someone who really needs it. (NPM28, Wahine Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

### **'Always keep in contact'**

*Keep in contact with the organisation that you are with, always keep in contact and if possible join others, talk to other people, keep yourself from being alone and don't stay alone because that's when the bad thoughts happen... just, help each other, look after each other. We're all supposed to do that. (NPM25, Wahine Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

### **'You just have to survive'**

*I don't think there is much advice you can give ay, a lot of it is common sense you know, you just have to survive and when the bite is on, you've got to survive but I guess being more prepared because hey who's to say we're not going to have another one. (NPM31, Tane Pākehā, Tangata Whaiora).*

### **'Trust them, they know what they're doing'**

*Just keep in contact with the mental health and Māori Mental Health, especial Māori Mental Health if you're Māori and just trust them they know what they're doing... yeah if it wasn't for places like this I'd just be roaming the streets ay? It gives me somewhere to go when I've got nothing to do.' (NPM21, Tane Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

### **'Look after your hardy soul'**

*Don't put too much stock in material things, don't! It's only a house. Look after your soul, look after your hardy soul and that will keep you strong and see you through. (NPM13 Wahine Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

*They should have moved Christchurch to a whole new place! The city, they should have gone and built it on some more safe ground other than building it on the...marshlands that it was originally on. (NPM07, Wahine Māori, Tangata Whaiora).*

### **'Have just a grab pack to chuck in the back of the car'**

*Definitely a radio that worked because I found ... when we had the radio on just the talkback and there was people from Christchurch nonstop just talking, yeah so I think that is something I suggest, of course having water... then I suppose you need to have just a grab pack to chuck in the back of the car because sometimes you're not going to be back into your house. (NPM 09 Tane Pākehā, Staff).*

### **'Be strong and support each other'**

*Q. What advice would you give people up in Wellington and Marlborough now particularly Tangata Whaiora?*

*A. I actually haven't even seen the news. I don't watch TV.*

*Q. It's very similar to what happened here.*

*A: just to be strong and support each other, that's the main thing and prepare, I mean we still have our earthquake kits at home.' (NPM08 Wahine Māori, Staff).*

### **'Do it together because we're all in the same boat'**

*A. We've got through one, we'll get through another one, we'll have to go, we'll just do it together because we're all in the same boat, yeah, you know we survived 2011, 180 people didn't but we did, we were fortunate enough to but we did that by staying together you know, we'll find a way to stay together, that would be my ultimate thing to say ... you know, the more people you have around you the easier it is to get through it you know and I actually agree with it. (NPM03 Tane Pākehā, Staff).*

### **'Make sure you've got your supports around you'**

*Make sure you've got the supports around you before it happens, try and make sure you've got no financial problems, just be careful and make sure you've got your supports around you. See I've got no-one around us really ... yeah and that happens in Mental Health isolation, because of the earthquake too, a lot of them do isolate themselves. (NPM33 Tane Māori, Staff).*

## 7. Conclusions

Conclusions are necessarily brief as the primary purpose of this report is to represent the voices of Tangata Whaiora who survived the Ōtautahi earthquakes. Also, as noted, fuller analyses are published in (Lambert 2015). Although Tangata Whaiora drew on whānau and friends to get through the disaster, similar to the response of Māori described in earlier projects (see Lambert et al., 2012), a significant number *did not* or *could not* rely on whānau. Given the whānau unit (which includes extended family) is often the default social unit for Māori support, particularly in health contexts, this is an important insight and should be factored into future Māori disaster management approaches.

In promoting Māori institutions such as marae and whānau as disaster response nodes, it is vital to note that some of the more vulnerable members of our communities cannot or will not access these fundamental cultural institutions and will be reliant on Kaupapa Māori organisations such as Te Awa o te Ora and the networks these organisations have with each other and mainstream organisations in proactively drawing their clients into support networks. Many of the Māori Tangata Whaiora we spoke to know their iwi and marae but were not in any direct or regular contact with these tribal or hapū organisations. Again, assuming that Māori cultural institutions are fundamental to the 'Māori response' as our own earlier work does (see also Paton, Johnston, Mamula-Seadon, & Kenney, 2014) risks ignoring the diversity of Māori, a significant number of whom are physically and/or socially distant from these networks.

Fortunately for our participants, through clear leadership, extraordinary commitment by staff, and ongoing dedication in very trying circumstances, almost all Tangata Whaiora were tracked and supported by Te Awa o te Ora. The isolation experienced by many Māori participants from the cultural networks posited as important for Māori emphasises the need for strong connections across organisations and communities as a necessary pre-condition for an effective disaster response.

Tangata Whaiora themselves identified strategies and tactics for urban disaster risk reduction. At the strategic level they knew that contacts with support people (professionals and peers) was more likely to enable support when needed. The provisioning of emergency kits and knowing neighbours were also pre-disaster actions which allowed a certain security in the post-disaster landscape which was somewhat dissolved by the ongoing seismic activity that only slowly dissipated. Tactically, Tangata Whaiora know that asking for and offering assistance contributed to their wellbeing and the wellbeing of others, this reciprocal arrangement also increasing their sense of worth and participation.

Finally Tangata Whaiora have particular insights into life that instruct us all on how to live in a disrupted world. In particular much of their advice de-emphasises material possessions and elevate personal relationships as their worlds pre- and post-disaster were reliant on strong interpersonal contacts. These contacts were often initiated by friends, whānau, and staff who cared and expressed that care in physical visits (especially door-knocking post-disaster), social contacts (such as phone calls and texts), and advocacy within the various bureaucracies Tangata Whaiora had to negotiate for medicine, housing, and counselling.

The final words come from a participant just quoted in the last section - 'look after your hardy soul' - an acknowledgement of how tough we are, or can be, spiritually, emotionally, psychologically, mentally. Everyone will be tested in their lives, though we might hope not by

events of this magnitude with its death and devastation. But when we are, we might hope to approach it with the strength and insight of these Tangata Whaiora.

*Ka mau te wehi, ngā toa! Tena koutou, tena koutou, tena koutou katoa!*



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## 9. Appendices

### Appendix 1: Research Information Sheet

Lincoln University

*Faculty, Department or Research Centre: Faculty of Environment, Society, and Design*

#### Research Information Sheet

You are invited to participate as a subject in a project entitled

*Name of project:* **Networks of Support for Māori Mental Health: The response and recovery of Tangata Whaiora through the Ōtautahi earthquakes.**

The aim of this project is to investigate how Tangata Whaiora ('people seeking health', a term applied by Māori to mental health clients) and their support networks are recovering from the Christchurch earthquakes.

Your participation in this project will involve taking part in a recorded interview on how you and your institution were affected by the earthquakes. This interview will take about one hour. You may be asked to check some of the information we have recorded. If you do not wish to be recorded, we will take notes instead.

The results of the project may be published but your identity will not be made public, or made known to any person other than the researcher without your consent. To ensure anonymity, each participant is given a code to be used whenever referring to those comments.

This research is funded by Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, University of Auckland. If the data from this research is to be used in any future research, you will be contacted and your permission sought before being used. All data stored in secured offices and IT supported digital storage at Lincoln University.

The project is being carried out by:

Dr. Simon Lambert 03 321 8424 mob: 022 061 3583 Email: [simon.lambert@lincoln.ac.nz](mailto:simon.lambert@lincoln.ac.nz)

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He will be happy to discuss any concerns you have about participation in this research. If you do not wish to contact Dr. Lambert but would like to talk to his senior manager, the contact is:

Greg Ryan Tel: 03 325 3838 extn 8566 Email: [greg.ryan@lincoln.ac.nz](mailto:greg.ryan@lincoln.ac.nz)

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The project has been reviewed and approved by the Lincoln University Human Ethics Committee, Application No: 2012-45.

## Appendix 2: Consent Form

***Name of Project: Networks of Support for Māori Mental Health: The response and recovery of Tangata Whaiora through the Ōtautahi earthquakes.***

I understand the description of the above-named project and agree to participate. I consent to publication of the results of the project with the understanding that anonymity will be preserved and on the understanding that I may withdraw from the project, including withdrawal of any information I have provided, up until the beginning of the analyses, the timing of which will be communicated through Te Awa o te Ora and other participants.

I consent/do not consent to being recorded  
(If you do not consent to being recorded, notes will be taken).

I consent/do not consent to my contribution being archived for future research.

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

### **Appendix 3: Framework for Korero**

1. How did you become involved with Te Awa?
2. Tell us how the earthquakes affected you?
3. What support did you need then?
4. How did your support networks change because of the earthquakes?
5. Who helped you through the earthquakes?
6. What problems do you have to deal with now?
7. How have your lives changed because of the earthquakes?
8. What would have made it easier to get through the disaster?
9. What would you say to Tangata Whaiora to help them prepare for a similar disaster in the future?
10. Is there anything else you'd like to say?

Appendix 4: Dedoose Codes by descriptor

	Age: 18-25	Age: 26-35	Age: 36-45	Age: 46-55	Age: 56-65	Age: 66+	Ethnicity: Other	Ethnicity: Pakaha	Ethnicity: Maori	Gender: Tane	Gender: Wahine	Role: Manager	Role: Tangata Whaiora	Role: Staff
Advice	1	7	3	4	12	1	1	8	19	10	18	2	21	5
Alcohol and Drugs smoking	1	1	4	4	4			1	13	3	11	1	11	2
Gambling			2						2		2		2	
Changes after the Earthquakes	10	5	9	24				14	34	16	32	10	31	7
Christchurch City Council		3						3	1	2	2	1		
Council housing	1							1	1				1	
Community	3	2	4	4				3	10	8	5	1	10	2
Neighbours	4	2	2	3				4	7	5	6		10	1
Earthquake experiences	9	10	9	13	2	1	9	33	22	21	4	32	7	
Brief		1	1	2			2	2	2	2		3	1	
Mortality	1	2					1	2	1	2	1	2		
Employment/ Unemployment	5	3	2	3	5			1	17	8	10		17	1
Matapoutahi		2						2	2				2	
Food and Water	1	3	2	2	6	1	1	14	3	12	14	1		
Govt		7	1	6	1		2	13	7	8	4	10	1	
DHB	1	2		2	1		1	5	3	3	2	4		
Milton	2		1	2		2		3		5		5		
Princess Margaret	1						1	1				1		
Meagar Clinic		1	2				3		3		3			
Stepping Stone Trust	1	1						2	2			2		
Te Korowai Atawhai				4				4	3	1		4		
Totara House	1					1			1			1		
ERA		1					1	1	1		1			
Residential Advisory Services			2				2	2	2		2			
Civil Defence		1					1	1	1	1		1		
NZ Army				1			1	1					1	
Police	1						1	1				1		
WINZ				2			2	2	2		2			
Benefits			1				1	1	1		1			
West Coast HB			1				1	1				1		
Health issues	5	1	3	1			10	8	2		10			
Medication	4	2		4			5	5	7	3		6	4	
Mental Health	2	8	10	10	14	1	10	35	19	26	7	33	5	
Ngata whaiora	2	2	4	11	1		3	17	6	14	2	15	3	
Housing/ accommodation	1	4	12	14	26	1	9	49	16	42	11	43	4	
Insurance & EQC	2	2	2	9			5	10	2	13	6	9		
Sewage / Toilets	1	1		2			1	3		4	2	2		
Isolation	1	6		1	6	1	6	7	9	5		7	7	
Leadership		1		1			2	1	1	1		1		
Maori institutions		5	1	8	5		19	11	8	2	13	2		
Identity	1	2					1	2	3			3		
Iwi	1	1	2	1	2			7	5	2	1	4	1	
Te Runaka o Otautahi o Kai Tahu		1						1	1			1		
Kaupapa Maori Providers	8	4	10	9	4	1	10	24	24	11		30	5	
Makakura Trust		1			1		2	2			2			
Te Korimako	1	1	2		1		5	5			5			
Te Pito o te Ora		3					3	3			3			
Te Awa o te Ora	4	3	5	8	4		2	22	15	9	2	21	1	
Maori Wardens				3			3	1	2		1	2		
Marae					1		1	1			1			
Ngā Hau e Whā		2		2	1		5	2	3	2	1	2		

	Age: 18-25	Age: 26-35	Age: 36-45	Age: 46-55	Age: 56-65	Age: 66+	Ethnicity: Other	Ethnicity: Pakaha	Ethnicity: Maori	Gender: Tane	Gender: Wahine	Role: Manager	Role: Tangata Whaiora	Role: Staff
Whāhiwi	1							1		1				1
Ngā Hau e Whā				1				1		1				
Opportunity		5	3	2				4	6	3	7	4	6	
Education		2		2				2	2	2	2	1	2	1
Personal networks		6	2	6				5	9	5	9	4	7	3
Kaupapa Maori Providers				1				1	1					1
Neighbours				1				1	1				1	
Colleagues		5						1	4		5	4	1	
Friends	2	3	1	1				1	6	6	1		7	
Private Sector				1				1		1		1		
The Warehouse				1				1		1		1		
Quotes	1	3		5				1	8	4	5	1	8	
Residential Care	2	1	1	3			2	2	3	2	5		7	
Resilience	2	2	1					2	3		5	2	3	
Space and place	1		1	4				2	4	5	1		3	3
Suicide		2	1	5				2	6	7	1		6	2
Support	2	9	7	14	24	1	1	11	45	24	33	2	47	8
Support needed	2	1	5	4	13			9	16	11	14	2	16	7
Support provided	2	2		13	1			2	16	10	8	1	13	4
Support received	5	4	9	14				8	24	16	16		28	4
The Future	2	2	3	6				5	8	9	4	1	10	2
Transport and Communication	3	5	6	9				6	17	8	15	7	14	2
Violence and crime		2		2				4	3	1		4		
Voluntary Organisations	1	3	4	1	4			6	7	5	8		12	1
Autism NZ				1				1		1		1		
Church	1							1		1		1		
Red Cross	1	2	4	1				3	5	3	5	7	1	
Te Whare Roimata	1		1					2		2	1	1		
Wairua	7	3	1					2	1	8	6	5	11	
Whānau	3	8	8	4	20			2	8	33	21	22	5	30
Partners		1		1				1	1	1	1		2	
Tamariki	1	3	1	12				1	16	8	9	1	11	5
Whānau negative	2		4	1				1	1	5	3	4	7	
Whānau positive	4	3		5				1	4	7	5	7	10	2
Pets		1	1	2					4	2	2		4	