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**The role of the planner in recovery after disaster: A case study of
the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act 2011 and its impact on
planners operating in post-quake Christchurch**

A Dissertation
submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the Degree of
Master of Planning

at
Lincoln University
by
Nicholas Beattie

Lincoln University
2019

Abstract of a Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Planning.

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by

Nicholas Beattie

The world experiences a number of disasters each year. Following a disaster, the affected area moves to a phase of recovery which involves multiple stakeholders. An important element of recovery is planning the rebuild of the affected environment guided by the legislative framework to which planning is bound (March & Kornakova, 2017). Yet, there appears to be little research that has investigated the role of planners in a recovery setting and the implications of recovery legislative planning frameworks. This study was conducted to explore the role of the planner in the Canterbury earthquake recovery process in New Zealand and the impact of the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act 2011 (CER Act) on planners' roles and how they operated.

The methodology comprised a combination of document analysis of legislation and related recovery material and 21 semi-structured interviews with key planners, politicians and professionals involved in the recovery. The results suggest that the majority of planners interviewed were affected by the CER Act in their role and how they operated, although institutional context, especially political constraints, was a key factor in determining the degree of impact. It is argued that planners played a key role in recovery and were generally equipped in terms of skills needed in a recovery setting. In order to better utilise planners in post-disaster recovery or disaster risk management, two suggestions are proposed. Firstly, better promote planners and their capabilities to improve awareness of what planners can do. Secondly, educate and build an understanding between central government politicians and planners over each other's role to produce better planning outcomes.

Keywords: Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act 2011, disaster, earthquake, emergency legislation, planner, planning, politics, recovery, recovery planning, role, skills

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to thank my participants' willingness for taking part in this research. I am incredibly grateful for the time that you all gave and the candour extended when answering my questions. The contributions you all made, I believe have elevated the meaningfulness of the outcomes produced from the research for the planning profession. Thank you for the interest you showed in the topic and sharing your knowledge and experiences with me.

To Mark, Michelle, Kirsty, and Helen. Thank you for your ceaseless support, motivation, and kindness you extended to me over this year. You are all amazing people and I look forward to working, learning and laughing together.

To my fellow MPlanning students and Ashley thank you for the support, friendship, knowledge and fun each of you have helped provide for me over this time. I wish you all the best for the future and I hope that we can continue to build our relationships after we leave university.

To my awesome supervisor Hamish Rennie, thank you for those meetings we had where we solved the world's problems and worked on improving my dissertation. I am truly grateful for the wisdom and guidance that you provided to help me through this final year of my masters. I am thankful that you challenged and pushed me to produce a dissertation that both you and I are proud of. I am going to miss having you as my lecturer, supervisor and mentor. I hope that we can continue to have a relationship once I leave university.

To my sister, thank you for being a friend to me over this time. I wish you all the best for your future endeavours.

To my parents, I am truly blessed to have such a wonderful mother and father. Thank you for providing me with every opportunity to pursue my dreams. Thank you for supporting and teaching me how to be a good person. Finally, thank you for your unyielding love and belief in me and my abilities.

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List of Abbreviations

BA	Building Act 2004
CERA	Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority
CERR Act	Canterbury Earthquake Response and Recovery Act 2010
CER Act	Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act 2011
CCC	Christchurch City Council
CCRP	Central City Recovery Plan
CDEMA	Civil Defence Emergency Management Act 2002
DCCP	draft Central City Plan
ECan	Canterbury Regional Council
LGA	Local Government Act 2002
MP	Member of Parliament
NZPI	New Zealand Planning Institute
PuE	public expert
PuP	public planner
PrE	private expert
PriP	private planner
RMA	Resource Management Act 1991
SCIRT	Stronger Christchurch Infrastructure Rebuild Team
SDC	Selwyn District Council
UD	Urban designer
UDS	Urban Development Strategy
WDC	Waimakariri District Council

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Brief look at the topic of study

New Zealand, is said to be situated in a complex natural hazardscape (Ministry of Civil Defence and Emergency Management, 2007). It lived up to this reputation with Christchurch experiencing significant damage as a result of earthquakes in 2010 and 2011, this included the death of 185 people. Among the responses to the disaster, the government introduced the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act 2011 (CER Act) to organise and define roles and responsibilities in the recovery effort. The CER Act provided considerable powers to alter or revoke various acts as shown in Table 3 to intervene in 'standard' decision-making processes, in particular, the Resource Management Act 1991 (RMA). It is clear that the CER Act, while in force, had significant implications for the ways in which planners operated.

Planners potentially play a key role in post-disaster recovery but the nature of the role is shaped by ad hoc temporary legislation such as the CER Act. Researchers have addressed the impact of disasters on planning education (Bhandari, 2014; Combs, Rennie, & Valance, 2016; Rennie, 2017; Rennie & Forsyth, 2017; Siriwardena, Malalgoda, Thayaparan, Amaratunga, & Keraminiyage, 2013) and on the outcome of plans (Brody, 2003; Burby & Dalton, 1994; Glavovic, Saunders, & Becker, 2010; Sheppard, 2014). However, there are no studies of the impact of the enactment of such legislation, at least on planners operating in the post-disaster recovery context of Christchurch. This research sets out to address that gap through an exploratory research design with a case study method.

Planners play a key role in the composition of a settlement's urban form and subsequent definition of the overall environment. When a disaster strikes, planning acts as a fundamental component helping to facilitate disaster risk reduction and response. This aspect of planning is usually undertaken prior to the event occurring (Bendito & Barrios, 2016; UNISDR, 2005). Then comes the transition from the response phase to the recovery phase (Alexander, 2015; Picard, 2017). The recovery period of focus began in Christchurch on April 19 2011 and ended on April 19 2016, the period in which the CER Act was in force.

In this research, I adopt the definition of recovery under clause 1 of the National Civil Defence Emergency Management Plan Order 2005 as, "the co-ordinated efforts and processes used to bring about the immediate, medium-term, and long-term holistic regeneration of a community following a civil defence emergency". Recovery is considered deeply interconnected with response (Ministry of Civil Defence and Emergency Management, 2005). However, Johnson and Olshansky (2016) believe

that recovery should not be considered as a stage in the disaster cycle. Instead, it should be considered as a process that a community must go through when rebuilding and regenerating the affected environment. In all large scale disasters, significant amounts of infrastructure, land, and critical services are affected. This can cripple primary networks that enable the overall system (the town) to function as a whole (Walker, Salt, & Reid, 2006). It is in these times when it would seem that a planner and the skills they possess are critical to helping update or upgrade the system.

At the same time, local and central government are suddenly thrust into the public spotlight. Each day they are being evaluated as to how well they are performing to respond and help recover a city or community in need (Maestas, Atkeson, Croom, & Bryant, 2008). Speed becomes a necessity with mounting pressure from the public and media. Consequently, in an effort to reduce red tape and unwanted bureaucracy, central government may take steps to remove or change certain development/planning processes. This would likely change the role of the planner and how they operate in a post-disaster environment. An opportunity is presented in Christchurch eight years after the devastating February earthquake to investigate how the post disaster recovery, combined with steps taken by central government to alter planning processes affect the role of the planner through the enactment of the CER Act. This is considered beneficial for contributing to the planning literature which has limited research on the topic of disaster recovery and the planner's role in that context (Blanco et al., 2009; Elsevier, 2017). Each country in the world will likely face disaster and at an increasing rate with the effects of climate change and global warming (Allen et al., 2018; March, Kornakova, & Leon, 2017). It is considered vital that planners are aware of and able to engage in the disaster recovery process to help enhance both the recovery and resilience of a community.

1.2 Research question

Following a review of the literature, it appeared there was little known about the way in which temporary disaster recovery legislation affects the role of planners and how this in turn affects the planners' understanding of their role and the role of planning. The primary research goal was to explore that gap by focussing specifically on planners as opposed to planning approaches per se. Following analysis of primary and secondary research, planners were ultimately found to be servants to politicians in power and who lacked autonomy in the planning and decision-making processes. A secondary goal was to explore how the experience has shaped the planners' view of planning processes, approaches and outcomes. Effectively, what has been the legacy effect of working under recovery legislation?

Therefore, these goals and associated aspects influenced the overall research question being:

What is the role of the planner in disaster recovery?

Secondly, how is that role affected by bespoke emergency legislation and the political actors who administer it?

The research objectives to help answer these questions are:

- *To identify the nature of the CER Act and the changes it made to planning processes, inputs and outputs*
- *To explore what the role of the planner was in the post-disaster Christchurch recovery.*
- *To determine the impact the CER Act had on the planner's role and how they operated in the post-recovery context.*
- *To determine if the CER Act enabled political actors administering it to influence planning.*
- *To distinguish different political perspectives on the CER Act, its application and planning undertaken in the Christchurch recovery.*

1.3 Overview of the dissertation structure

The dissertation is structured as follows. Following the introduction is Chapter 2. This reviews the relevant theoretical literature on the role of the planner in disaster recovery as well as during normal times, the role of central government in disaster recovery, bespoke emergency legislation introduced following a disaster to assist with the recovery of the affected area, and post-disaster recovery planning approaches undertaken in different locations around the world. Following that, Chapter 3 sets out the methodology for conducting the research that includes a case study, document analysis and semi-structured interviews which are supported by a justification for use. In addition, the chapter also explains the criteria for participant selection, the process for contacting and interviewing participants and the limitations of the study. The results are presented in Chapters 4, 5 and 6. This includes legislative analysis particularly focusing on the CER Act in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 analyses interview results from politicians and Chapter 6 analyses interview results from planners and related professionals. The results in Chapters 5 and 6 are broken down into key themes that were distinguished from the interviews. The results are then discussed in Chapter 7. This concentrates on determining what the role of the planner was in the post-disaster recovery period in Christchurch. This is undertaken by drawing links to the CER Act, highlighting the planner's skills, evaluating the transition for planners out of the recovery period following the repeal of the CER Act,

and tying in the political element of the recovery and how it affected the way planners operated at the time. Chapter 7 also utilises the results and literature to make some suggestions around how planners' can be better utilised in disaster recovery and in general, disaster risk management. The dissertation closes with a conclusion that draws together the key findings of the research and suggests future avenues for research relating to the planning profession.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

If recovery after disaster is to be efficient and create a desirable place, then one might expect planners to play a crucial role. After all, a primary purpose of planning is “...helping to create the kind of places where people want to live, work, relax and invest...(Adams & Watkins, 2014, p. 9). However, as noted in Chapter 1 there is little research literature on the role of planning in post-disaster situations, particularly around the role of the planner. In this chapter, the limited research on the role of the planner is critically reviewed. This is followed by a discussion on the role of central government in post disaster contexts, disaster legislation and planning that occurs in a post disaster context.

2.1 The role of the planner

The literature reviewed on the role of the planner in a post-disaster recovery context tended to be anecdotal or focused more so on recovery planning and the process taken in the compilation and implementation of recovery plans (Johnson & Olshansky, 2016; March & Kornakova, 2017a; March, Kornakova, & Handmer, 2017; Olshansky & Johnson, 2010). Studies typically adopted the case study research method (Becker, 2010; Cole & Connell, 2012; Johnson & Olshansky, 2016) or an ethnographic-observation and experience research method (Alexander, 2015; Boyd, Hokanson, Johnson, Schwab, & Topping, 2014; Nouredine Tag-Eldeen, 2017). Despite the limited breadth, what was consistent through the literature is that the planner plays a critical role after disasters in helping to coordinate different disciplines, engage with different stakeholders, and utilise critical planning tools when crafting recovery plans to guide objectives and goals of a community (Alexander, 2015; Blanco et al., 2009; Johnson & Olshansky, 2016; March, Kornakova, & Handmer, 2017; Olshansky & Johnson, 2010). It has also been noted that it presents the opportunity to right the wrongs of the past and to improve and build back a better and more resilient city (Blanco et al., 2009; Olshansky & Johnson, 2010).

At the same time studies revealed a similar pattern of planners being excluded because of the typically chaotic nature attributed to recovery. The government steps in and pushes aside aspects of planning in the name of expedient recovery (Johnson & Olshansky, 2016; March & Kornakova, 2017a; Mejri, Menoni, Matias, & Aminoltaheri, 2017; Smith, 2010). Finally, the researchers concluded that what planners actually do, does not dramatically change. Instead, it becomes magnified with planners performing the entirety of their role (i.e. consultation and communication with different sectors, working with stakeholders, interacting and collaborating with experts, consent processing,

and planmaking) all at once and at an intensified rate (Blanco et al., 2009; Johnson & Olshansky, 2016; Olshansky & Johnson, 2010). This can be compared with the role of the planner during normal times.

A number of studies have been undertaken looking at the role of the planner (Fischler, 2012; Fox-Rogers & Murphy, 2016; Guzzetta & Bollens, 2003; Hendler, 1996; Howe & Kaufman, 1979; Peel, 2000). In most instances, two primary forms of data collection have been used. This includes surveys and interviews. For example, Howe and Kaufman (1979) undertook a survey of a number of planners who were part of the American Institute of Planners, asking what planners' thought was ethical based on a series of different scenarios. It was found that a key variable that influenced planners' determination of what was ethical related to the type of role they assumed. A planner's role was determined by a score on two scales of attitude toward technical analysis and political behaviour. Three roles were created, technical (low on the political scale and high on the technical scale), political (high on the political and low on the technical) and hybrid (high on both scales). Howe and Kaufman (1979) define the technical planner as one with unyielding faith in the efficacy of analysis and value neutrality; the political planner as one most interested in influencing policy and using an array of open political tactics to do it; and the hybrid planner who will act more like a politician or more like a technician depending on the situation. The study found that at the time, the most populist role was the hybrid planner. The study was then later replicated with some alterations to compare the differences between the roles and ethical perspectives taken then and now (Lauria & Long, 2017). The study showed a change in the types of planners that existed between 1979 and 2015 who now tend to place themselves more in the technical than a political or hybridised role. Forester (1988) builds on this from a theoretical perspective looking particularly at the role of the planner and how they cultivate power in their practice through the control and management of information. He categorises five different approaches, this includes the 'technician' where the planner believes that power comes from technical information, it is by knowing where to find data, which question should be asked and how to perform relevant data analysis. The technical information here provides solutions to technical problems. It is the idea that the planner is a problem solver and is not concerned with politics;

The incrementalist use information as a source of power because it is responsive to organisational needs. This is people wanting to know where to find information, what to do to reduce project delays and gain approval, and what types of design that should be avoided. In this instance knowing the ropes is a source of power: This means planners are tapped into informal networks, have steady contacts, and have regular communication to keep themselves informed. It is a social problem-solving view where the 'social' is construed as organisational. It is essentially where different actors

are reliant on each other to distribute key information and the planner as the conduit of all information giving them subsequent power;

The liberal advocate sees information as a source of power because it responds to the needs created by a pluralist political system, information can be used to enable marginalised or fairly informal groups to participate more effectively in planning processes. In a sense it is giving power to the people through information, and aims to redress inequalities of participation and distribution through incorporating these groups into political processes with the resources, information and fair chance to balance the playing field;

The structuralist believes that the planner's information is a source of power because it gives validity to the perpetuation of existing structures of power and ownership and to continue public apathy to fundamental issues, including compatibility of democratic political processes with a capitalist political economy. In this case, the planners are the handmaidens to those in power, they reinforce the factions of where people are placed. They are the enforcers of existing power structures;

The final type is the progressive, they use information as a source of power because it can enable the participation of citizens and avoid legitimising functions of those agents with power, control and ownership. The information the planner has can be used to highlight the structural, organisational, and political barriers that prevent or censor the information citizens rely upon to act. The progressive planner recognises the political and economic power which can be used to systematically mislead the public by altering risks and benefits for the affected public. In a sense, they are the whistle-blowers presenting the truth to counteract false misinformation. They give citizens power and the opportunity to make a change with information and to participate. Forester (1988) shows that planners do have power, that they are given the choice of how to appropriate that power if they understand how power relations work to structure the planning process. Forester (1988), in essence, is acknowledging the various powers that influence the planning process including politics. If planners understand that power, then through information they can empower themselves.

As indicated by Forester (1988), those with power have influence over planning outcomes like politicians. Therefore, because of the influence and powers of politics, it has been determined by some that the role of the planner is inherently political (Albrechts, 2003; Baum, 1988; Fagence, 2012; Taylor, 1998). The argument for this is the interconnectedness between planning and politics. The basis of the argument relates to politics concerning itself with the allocation of resources which are valued and parties interested in that resource competing for it. The planner is the one who will advise where those resources should be allocated through a plan or related planning document. Politics also involves itself with activities that influence the distribution of resources to serve differing interests. These activities will often be looking to address the most important, complex and visible

issues affecting a community. The planner looks to address these complex issues through the collation of information, generation of recommendations, and endorsement of planning related proposals that will be influenced by external factors, with politics often being the most prominent. This highlights how politics and planning are in a sense married together, planning operates in a political environment and politics concerns itself with planning matters and outcomes. In order for the planner to be effective in this role, the planner needs to understand the political decision-making style of the day, react to changes in the political system and harness knowledge and the expertise of planning which means being politically adept (Albrechts, 2003; Fagence, 2012). Through doing this they can influence change and help balance interests, but ultimately the planner cannot make the decisions. Albrechts (2003, p. 251) expressed that "...planning is in politics, and cannot escape politics, but is not politics". Planning is a public activity that is ultimately decided by the politicians the public chose to elect to represent them in a democratic society. Hence, the planner's role must be political to be effective.

Comparatively, Ferreira, Sykes, and Batey (2009) argue that planning schools have had a tendency to indoctrinate students with a particular planning theory. They believe that committing to a particular theory to distinguish a particular planner's identity is wrong. It leaves the planner narrow-minded and ill-equipped to be effective in the increasingly complex and everchanging world we live in. To be effective the planner needs to be polyrational. Ferreira et al. (2009, p. 41) define this as "the capacity to flow freely from one form of reasoning to another". This requires two skills, firstly being able to value each perspective on a particular issue and secondly to achieve expertise in planning theory and practice to an appropriate level. It is where planning theories are used as tools which are applied to each respective situation and context. This helps to define the planner as holistic in his or her expertise rather than narrow. They propose the use of the Hydra Model where theories are standpoints, each standpoint provides a unique take on a particular issue. Each head of the Hydra contains a different theory and voice. This necessitates a detached approach by the planner. This means that the planner's role is fluid because each theory requires different actions and the chosen theory will be the one that best fulfils the demands of the context.

Other academics or practitioners have looked at the particular skill sets that are deemed to be appropriate for the planner (Alexander, 2005; Dawkins, 2016; Guzzetta & Bollens, 2003; Keeble, 1969; Kitchen, 2007; Reeves, 2016). Most studies emphasise a select group of key overarching skills which include the need to work well in a team; to be able to communicate effectively with a range of stakeholders; to be rational and analytical; write reports and other related planning documents; have sufficient knowledge of the legal and policy context; have competency in technical skills; have a generalist knowledge over a broad range of subjects and of different professions; and recognise and understand needs, problems and resolutions for the public or client. Reeves (2016), provides a

detailed look at what it means to be an effective planner by identifying and analysing the key skills or competencies for success in a planner's career. Reeves (2016), breaks it down into five categories interpersonal, personal, intellectual, profession-specific and generic capacities. Each of the categories contains respective attributes specifically related to that category. What is of particular interest which differs from most other academics and practitioners is the identification of the interpersonal and personal capacity categories. They comprise of what are often referred to as the 'soft skills'. "Interpersonal capacity equips the early career planner with the ability to interact appropriately with a range of people in different situations" (Reeves, 2016, p. 55). These skills or attributes consist of (in order of importance based on a survey completed by early-career planners) interacting positively with external clients; developing and using networks of colleagues to resolve problems in the workplace; engage positive internal interactions and understanding within the workplace and its different groups; show the ability to listen, empathise, be confident, supportive, and agreeable (Reeves, 2016). Personal capacity relates to flexibility, initiative, and resilience that a planner demonstrates. The skills aligned with this capacity have been identified as reflexivity, doing the best job you can do, be accepting of menial tasks, taking responsibility, admitting not knowing something, having courage and persistence, a sense of humour, keeping calm under pressure or when things go awry, persevering, maintaining a work-life balance, knowing your strengths and weaknesses, making decisions, taking risks, and the ability to take heed before making a judgement (Reeves, 2016). Reeves emphasises the importance of using a combination of different skills across the capabilities which will change on the basis of the project worked on. She further stresses the importance of continued learning and professional development. This is to build a collection of these skills in each capability to increase the competency and effectiveness of the planner when practising.

Another sect of research exists looking at the role of the planner through an ethnographic approach. This is typically attributed to observations and experience within the planning field and drawing out key themes or patterns that emerge (Hall, 1992; Sandercock, 1998). Sandercock (1998) chose to take a historical observation approach, evoking core themes, definitions and roles of the planner over time. Such as the modernist planner in the late 19th to the mid-20th century and the post-modernist planner from the mid-20th century to contemporary times. She expands on the types of planners and planning approaches that emerged during each of those respective planning periods, what their core ideals were and explaining the subsequent paradigm shifts that occurred (Sandercock, 1998).

In other instances, professional planners who are practising or have retired from practising planning provide insight, reflection and/or evaluation of what it means to be a planner through accounts, interviews, and experiences (Ericksen, 2004; Fischler, 2012; Fox-Rogers & Murphy, 2016; MacDonald, 2005; MacDonald et al., 2014; Thompson, 2000). The consensus that most come to is that planning is not a static role, it is a dynamic and fluid one that changes and evolves. MacDonald (2005, p. 25)

reinforces this by describing the planner as “a post-modernist, moderator, politician, rationalist, advocate, realist, critic, risk-taker, developer, healer, geographer, sage, critical thinker, environmentalist, urbanist, manager, technocrat, strategist, statistician, negotiator, economist, ruralist, deconstructionist, internationalist, administrator”.

Drawing the role of the planner back to a New Zealand context, a report published by the New Zealand Productivity Commission (2017) focused on urban planning and included analysis and discussion on the role of planners in New Zealand. The report was produced in collaboration with professional planners and those associated with the profession. It also drew on a variety of New Zealand and international planning literature and research. The key points the report raised relating to the role of the planner covered a variety of aspects. This included determining that to define the role of the planner was doing so in a fairly nebulous realm, but that the very precept of the planners’ role ultimately lies with trying to make places better (New Zealand Productivity Commission, 2017). The New Zealand Productivity Commission (2017, p. 408) also found that “...a procedural view of planning dominates the professional identity of planning in New Zealand and overseas”. This has resulted in planners seeing themselves and their roles being effective in planning related processes rather than determining why or if planning is the most appropriate tool for achieving the best outcome for society. Adding to this, procedural identity of the planner was the identification of the strong influence of legislation shaping who planners are and what they do. Collectively, the Commission determines that these factors along with tensions between sub-groups in the planning profession and a lack of strong professional identity have resulted in an indistinct professional identity (New Zealand Productivity Commission, 2017). This would seem to suggest that the role of the planner in New Zealand is placed in a precarious and indefinite position.

It has been argued that the identity of the planner is in crisis by Myers and Banerjee (2005). They suggest this is because of the breadth of the planning profession’s involvement in a range of different areas, the threat of closure or mergers of planning schools, the lack of deserved public recognition and media attention given to planning, and the planning profession failing to secure exclusive ownership of planning practice with other professions claiming expertise in planning. These barriers to conceptualising an identity would suggest that promoting awareness of the profession has been difficult. The limited literature found on this topic seems to support the notion of a lack of awareness and understanding from students in secondary and tertiary levels of education (Dredge & Coiacetto, 2006), the public (McClendon, Erber, McCoy, & Stollman, 2003; Miller, 2013) and even politicians (Fox-Rogers & Murphy, 2016). Planning has even been remarked as unpopular (Campbell, 2014; Knight, 2012). Collectively, these issues would imply the need for better promotion of the planner and the planner’s identity. However, few suggestions are given, most of which relate to teaching and communicating the full diversity of the planning profession to build a better understanding of

planners and planning, which in of itself is inherently vague. What you are drawn back to is the dilemma of the unidentified planner.

Ultimately, the role of the planner changes based upon the context and environment of what the profession finds itself in. Currently, it appears that the profession faces an identity crisis. The need to provide a definitive identity for the planner appears critical, but at the same time improbable given the nature of the role the planner plays at this point in time, particularly in a New Zealand context.

2.2 The role of central government in post disaster recovery

It is apparent that all tiers of government have a part to play in recovery, but determining the extent of each level of governments involvement is difficult to deduce. A series of key themes emerged from research undertaken on the role of government in post disaster recovery. One central theme that arose, particularly in large-scale mega disasters was the occupation by central government's. This often followed with the appropriation of power resulting in the centralisation of decision-making, and the assignment of roles and responsibilities, in essence, a top-down approach (Johnson & Olshansky, 2013, 2016; Kamete, 2009; Le Mentec & Zhang, 2017). In some instances, this left local government pushed aside and weakened (Alexander, 2010; Birkland & Waterman, 2008; Birkland & DeYoung, 2011; Olshansky, Johnson, Horne, & Nee, 2008). One example of this was in the recovery after a devastating earthquake in Wenchuan, China (Johnson & Olshansky, 2016). The mobilisation of central government to swiftly respond and organise recovery was 'unprecedented'. A Post Reconstruction Planning Group was formed within two weeks after the event of the earthquake. The National Development and Reform Commission led the reconstruction planning effort in conjunction with a similar local agency. After four months, a plan was issued by the State Council (central government) outlining the reconstruction and recovery approach. It provided an opportunity to advance development policies and improve infrastructure and urbanisation for existing cities in the affected region. A pair assistance programme was established which saw the central government assign recovery activities in a decentralised fashion. However, this was to actors at a national rather than local scale, meaning communities and individuals had little involvement in recovery choices. Significant decisions of city relocations, design (Johnson & Olshansky, 2016) and heritagization of earthquake affected areas were made by central government (Le Mentec & Zhang, 2017). Consequently, this highlighted a weakened local government, unable to exercise autonomy in decision making and capitulated by central government. Japan (Johnson & Olshansky, 2013) and Russia (Roffey, 2016) have taken similar approaches to the Chinese government when a large-scale disaster strikes. This highlights how in certain instances, disaster management organisational structures are constituted in such a manner where a national civil defence agency leads recovery, coordinates roles and responsibilities and determines how recovery occurs (Johnson & Olshansky, 2013; March, Kornakova, & Handmer, 2017)

Concurrently, efforts have been taken in disaster inflicted nations where they have opted to take an alternative to the top-down approach in recovery. This has been highlighted in the 2011 Tohoku earthquake and tsunami in Japan that sought to integrate learnings from the Great Kanto and Kobe earthquakes to produce a more local and central government-coordinated planning approach (Johnson & Olshansky, 2016). Recovery was still led by central government through the formation of the National Reconstruction Agency, but a level of power devolvement to the local level of government did occur. Conversely, after the Indonesian earthquake and tsunami unfolded, the Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Agency was established in Aceh (Johnson & Olshansky, 2016). The agency was a conglomeration of three independent agencies made up from a mixture of local and national stakeholders. This symbolises a move toward an effective cross-pollinated transdisciplinary approach of recovery. Other countries are beginning to take steps to move toward adopting this type of approach, such as the US (Chandrasekhar, Zhang, & Xiao, 2014; Olshansky et al., 2008) and China (Chandrasekhar et al., 2014; Kang, 2015). This indicates there being two parallel trends converging on the role of central government, either taking a utilitarian approach suspending democracy or pursuing a decentralised inclusive and engaging democratic recovery approach. Perhaps the scale and context of the event is the determinant of what the right approach is to take.

Another recurring theme was the dilemma of speed versus deliberation (Blanco et al., 2009; Chandrasekhar et al., 2014; Johnson & Olshansky, 2016; Mamula-Seadon & McLean, 2015; March & Kornakova, 2017a; Olshansky, 2006; Olshansky & Johnson, 2010; Olshansky, Hopkins, & Johnson, 2012; Smith, 2010). In case studies that reviewed how governments acted and performed, this was one of the most difficult issues central and local government faced. One example of this was the Sumatra earthquake and tsunami in 2004 (Johnson & Olshansky, 2016). The devastation was cataclysmic. Approximately, one-third of the city of Banda Aceh was denuded. The recovery plan incorporated a comprehensive participatory approach to produce an effective recovery and resiliency outcome. However, the reconstruction agency leading recovery were conflated with the tension of deliberation (incorporating comprehensive participation in the approach) and speed (reconstruction of cities). Another, example of this was in New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina (Olshansky et al., 2008). High-speed recovery planning was occurring at unprecedented levels within the first 15 months of the event. Major decisions were being made with inadequate information by key stakeholders involved in recovery. Even when mistakes or discord was apparent, these were left unresolved due to the time pressures. As a result, plans produced lacked credibility and transparency, failing to adequately address the needs of the community, creating additional time delays and public resentment (Olshansky et al., 2008). Other instances of this occurring include China and India. Each faced the same tensions, just in different contexts (Chandrasekhar et al., 2014). The pressures of recovery mount from the public, media and other stakeholders to ensure the recovery was fast but at the same time produced a quality result (Birkland & DeYoung, 2011; Maestas et al.,

2008). The pressures thus manifest into that dilemma leaving both central and local government vulnerable.

A final theme that emerged was the conflicting viewpoints as to what role central government has in recovery (Col, 2007; GAO, 2012), in some instances they were seen to be just the facilitators (Becker, 2009; Cheong, 2011; European Commission & UNDP, 2011; US Chamber Foundation, n.d.), and in other cases they were seen to be the facilitators, enablers and actors in the recovery (Birkland & DeYoung, 2011; Cheong, 2011; Johnson & Olshansky, 2013, 2016; MacAskill & Guthrie, 2016; Osei, 2007; Zhang, Zhang, Drake, & Olshansky, 2015). In essence a spectrum of where central government's defined role in recovery has occurred. It must also be noted that different circumstances exist in different contexts such as the comparison between a developing and a developed country in the government's role of recovery, the scale of the event and the capabilities of local and regional governments being able to handle it (Ahmed, 2017; Johnson & Olshansky, 2013). In nearly all instances a case study research method was taken.

2.3 Disaster legislation

The review of disaster legislation studies identified a number of critical aspects. It must first be addressed that recovery legislation in this area is relatively limited (Picard, 2017). However, of the studies found looking at disaster legislation in the broadest sense, a recurring theme that emerged was that often disaster legislation in place prior to an event occurring is incapable of appropriately managing a disaster throughout the entirety of its phases (Ahmed, 2013; Ballano, 2017; Cunliffe, 2016; Rotimi, 2010; Stuart-Black, 2015; Wilkinson, Rotimi, & Mannakarra, 2014). One example of this was in the 2009 Typhoon Ketsana in the Philippines. The typhoon devastated the country leaving in its wake loss of life, property destruction and a significant number of people homeless. It revealed an inadequacy in the disaster management laws of being able to effectively deal with post disaster reconstruction. Disaster management at the time was primarily coordinated through the Presidential Decree (P.D) No. 1566 of 1978, Strengthening the Philippine Disaster Control, Capability and establishing the National program on Community disaster preparedness (Ballano, 2017; Luu, 2012). This established the National Disaster Coordinating Council (NDCC). The approaches and strategies taken were reactive in emergencies, disaster response, and management. As a result, the legislation was incapable of being able to effectively manage the disaster that unfolded from the typhoon (Ballano, 2017). Consequently, it can mean that new legislation has to be created and enacted under urgency (Cunliffe, 2016; Smith, 2010; Wilkinson et al., 2014). Immediate action was taken by the Philippines government following typhoon Ketsana to repeal and replace the old legislation and enact a more proactive law that would reconstruct the government's disaster management groups throughout all tiers of government (Ballano, 2017). This incorporates disaster mitigation and risk reduction through new response measures and addresses the post disaster recovery through the

principle of build back better (Ballano, 2017). On May 29, 2010, the Fourteenth Philippine Congress approved the Disaster Risk Reduction Management of 2010 (or Republic Act No. 10121). The law was heralded as being revolutionary, providing a holistic framework for enabling greater resiliency in the Filipino community and moving towards more sustainable development through the integrated management and implementation of the “4 Rs” (reduction, readiness, response, and recovery). However, despite the promising outlook, the Act did not ensure a more holistic approach to post disaster reconstruction was taken due to a combination of factors (Ballano, 2017). This included having to navigate through the country’s normative legal pluralism and the lack of legal guidance provisions for post disaster recovery.

In contrast, the Japanese Disaster Response Law was applied following the March 12 2011 Tōhoku earthquake and tsunami. This was first enacted in 1962 and has since had a number of amendments (Umeda, 2016). The Central Disaster Management Council pursuant to this law established the Basic Disaster Management Plan. From the basic disaster management plan delineates all assigned government agencies to establish disaster management operation plans, local and municipal plans must also be created. These plans consist of each of the four stages of disaster management including recovery (Umeda, 2016). The Prime Minister can issue a state of emergency which requires the implementation of these plans. In the case of Tōhoku, a state of emergency was not declared due to the immediacy of the response and the fact that the government was already in session. It was determined that the system constructed under the Disaster Rescue Law was insufficient to meet the response provisions for shelter, food, water, clothing, and basic necessities because municipalities were the ones assigned to both finance and provide it which went beyond their capabilities (Umeda, 2016). Central government had to step in to assume both rescue activities and the associated financial burden.

The resulting earthquake generated a tsunami which created a nuclear radiation problem as a result of the loss to the power supply at the Fukushima nuclear power plant. A nuclear emergency was declared by the President at the time, followed by establishing the nuclear emergency response headquarters and evacuation of two residential areas in close proximity to the plant. These actions taken were based on the Act on Special Measures Concerning Nuclear Emergency Preparedness. Furthermore, the central government enacted the Basic Act on Reconstruction from the Great East Japan Earthquake in June 2011. The legislation set a policy precedence for reconstruction and enabled the government to provide reconstruction bonds as well as designated special zones for reconstruction. This involved the use of a special zones framework that managed special zoned land through an array of different measures to support reconstruction efforts. The Act allowed for the creation of the Headquarters for the Reconstruction at the Prime Minister’s office and the formation of the Reconstruction Agency in February 2012 (Umeda, 2016). The Reconstruction Agency’s primary

aim was to accelerate reconstruction and regeneration of the affected areas (Umeda, 2016). This was undertaken by supporting a mixture of policies and strategies implemented by various national government agencies and local governments. This helps to highlight the robustness of the Japanese disaster management legal system. However, despite having a series of well established and updated disaster legislature for addressing the disaster management cycle, it still was not sufficient. The sheer scale of disaster forced the government to conceive a series of new laws to increase the capacities and capabilities of existing systems (Umeda, 2016). Ultimately, Umeda (2016) concludes, it has led to innovations and added motivation to better prepare and manage disasters in Japan.

Further investigation of the literature revealed that debate exists around whether legislation can effectively cater for any disaster situation because, each disaster is unique and has its own contextual elements that standardised legislation may not be able to accommodate (Belton-Brown, 2012; Cunliffe, 2016; Umeda, 2016). One study revealed the importance of creating emergency recovery legislation after a disaster and what it is primarily created to do (Mannakkara & Wilkinson, 2013). Mannakkara and Wilkinson (2013) identified that it has two key roles. Compliance, which is designed to specifically address key roles, responsibilities and activities and how they should be done. The other connecting role is facilitation. Facilitation involves the removal of 'red tape' or to put it simply, enabling more effective and expedited recovery.

The concept of red tape has existed since the seventeenth century or earlier, its origins come from British lawyers and government offices using a pinkish-reddy tape to tie documents together in bundles (Dent, 2013). The 'phrase' was synonymous in the 1800s with bureaucracy and official stalling (Dent, 2013). Today 'red tape' is universally recognised as something problematic that centres on the notion it has adverse effects on government performance (showing its entrenchment with its origins) (Brewer & Walker, 2009). Bozeman (1999, p. 283) states organisational red tape is "rules, regulations, and procedures that remain in force and entail a compliance burden but have no efficacy for the rules' functional object". It has been associated with "...formalisation, structural complexity, burgeoning paperwork, excessive or dysfunctional rules, and task delays" (Brewer & Walker, 2009, p. 235).

Borry (2016) determines that if distinctively viewing red tape negatively there are two main ways it emerges. Firstly, 'rule inception red tape'. This occurs when a newly created rule is ineffective right from the start due to rules being created for self-interests; rules created with incorrect end-result assumptions; only applicable to a minority group; allowance of compromises rescinds the actual purpose of the rule; and over control. The other is 'rule evolved red tape'. This occurs when a once functional rule loses its effectiveness over time. Bozeman and Feeney (2011) identify that this can occur in six different ways: rule drift may occur due to the rule losing its relevancy because its creator is a ghost of the past; implementation changes that result in the rule being ineffective and in need of

revision; a change to the rules purpose; change to the rules ecology; rule strain where excess of rules necessitate the introduction of new rules to override others due to circumstances and limited resources; and incompatibility with old and new rules. This helps to highlight 'red tapes' perception as an immobiliser of government. To deal with this Brewer and Walker (2009) suggest that in the US, right and left-wing governments approach the issue differently. The right take a dramatic stand and rollback and repeal rules to enable freedom of the individuals from the state. In contrast, the left tends to take a more cautious approach through decentralisation and empowerment of the public sector and its employees along with embuing entrepreneurial fervour in the government. This helps to show that 'red tape' has a distinctly negative connotation. However, it must also be recognised that 'red tape' in some instances has been misconceptualized and can be viewed in a positive light.

Kaufman's (1977) book explains that everybody appears to have a vendetta against red tape. Red tape is very much based on perspective. For example, a law may prevent a developer from cutting down a particular set of trees because they have been identified as a heritage item. This reduces the potential profit margin for a developer because they cannot develop the site where the set of trees are. In contrast, a historian may see this law as vital to ensure that history is preserved like those trees, which were planted by the founding families of that particular township. In essence, what is articulated here is that one person's red tape may be another's treasured procedural safeguard. Kaufman (1977) determines that often the blame for red tape falls to government officials. The public are easily able to perceive them as the administrators, creators and implementors of this red tape. They do this because they wish to flex their power or because they are lazy and do not want to be burdened with work, so a mountain of regulations and rules are put in place to detract people from engaging. However, this blame is unwarranted because government officials have to deal with red tape every day. The costs, inconveniences, burdens and constraints which oppresses government workers as much as anyone else. Kaufman (1977) suggests, it is the public who manufactures their own red tape. He determines that every restraint and requirement originates in someone's demand for it. Each person does not will them all, each constraint is the product of a fairly small number of people. Because there is such a large quantity of people and diversity of interests among populations, it means that these demands pile up. Red tape is created because we demand that the government embodies the attributes of compassion and representativeness. It is this demand which is responsible for much of the complaints around red tape.

Compassion breeds red tape because it requires the government to prevent harm from being inflicted upon us as individuals, groups and communities through regulations and laws. Collectively these aspects of compassion create the burgeoning of government requirements, prohibitions and complex procedures. The representativeness attribute spurs red tape because it requires due process; ensuring government transparency and legitimacy of process is visible and available to the

public; and making sure there is taxation with representation (socioeconomic bands of society contribute their fair share). Consequently, because there exists a diversity of interests within any given population; distrust between individuals, groups and organisations/agencies; and an imperfect democracy it necessitates red tape, to put in place checks and balances to ensure compassion and representativeness is maintained by the government.

Kaufman (1977) determines that the quest to cure red tape is futile, there is no panacea, trying to reduce it can lead to more of it than you began with. Instead of trying to work against it, it is necessary and inevitable to work with it, control is the cure in this instance. Kaufman (1977) has shown here that society has created red tape to protect and safeguard itself.

In the events of disaster, 'red tape' is often seen as an impediment to recovery (Ballano, 2017; Johnson & Olshansky, 2016; Moynihan, 2012; Schneider, 1992; Takeda & Helms, 2006). For instance, Hurricane Hugo in the Caribbean Islands resulted in the destruction of virtually all transportation and communication systems on the islands. This left local government incapacitated and unable to provide support, guidance or simply basic operations to citizens (Schneider, 1992). These conditions meant that the government were unable to implement disaster assistance with the usual procedures and processes. To stabilise the situation, existing bureaucratic structures were overridden by the Federal government who had to mobilise and take control of all disaster response and short term recovery activities. It highlighted that bureaucracy and its associated laws and structures were simply unable to handle the situation (Schneider, 1992).

Another example was the tsunami of December 26, 2004, which was generated from the magnitude¹ 9.0 earthquake which struck the Indonesian province of Banda Aceh (Takeda & Helms, 2006). The tsunami devastated a series of coastal cities in Sri Lanka, India, Indonesia and Thailand. A number of problems emerged with bureaucracy, which included slow decision-making, inability to absorb and process outside information and an increasing commitment to failed pathways for action. It demonstrated that the bureaucratic design was incapable of being able to absorb the shock and effectively manage the system's response and recovery for affected areas (Takeda & Helms, 2006). A final example is in New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina with the US Department of Defence (DOD), whom initially showed inertia to respond to the disaster due to self-created red tape because of its organisational cultural assumption to maintain autonomy (Moynihan, 2012). The DOD then in the latter stages of response altered their organisational culture to a 'can-do' approach and were then able to work around and mitigate the effects of red-tape (Moynihan, 2012). This shows that changing an organisation's culture may lead to better management and engagement with red-tape to produce more effective results. This appears to resemble Bozeman and Feeney (2011) concept of rule evolved

¹ All references to an earthquakes magnitude in this dissertation refers to the Richter Scale (Richter, 1935).

red tape, where prior to disaster, the laws and structures function and after disaster strikes it shocks the bureaucratic system resulting in rule ecology, rule function and rule drift that creates red tape. The urgency of the situation forces the government to react and remove that red tape to enable effective response and recovery.

Where does this leave planners in the midst of all of this? Are they perceived as the enforcers of red tape and through repeals of laws they are stripped of their power and removed from the ability to perform their duties? In the instance of planning reforms occurring in 'normal' times to cut the red tape, Ruming (2011) has undertaken a study looking at the response by local government planners to New South Wales State Planning Reforms in Australia. A burgeoning concern was raised regarding the impact of government regulations and charges for the development process on the cost and affordability for housing in Australia. To respond to the concerns, the government issued a series of policy changes and reforms. This included the introduction of Part 3A of the Environmental Planning and Assessment Act 1979 (enhances the speed and efficiency of the approval process for developments as vital at a state or regional level); the standard local environment plan (standardised template for local environment plans to guide and streamline development and planning); and a swathe of changes to occur under the Environmental Planning and Assessment Amendment Bill 2008 (limiting approval authority/autonomy of local government authorities by creating a series of independent approval bodies). Each of these reforms resulted in changes to varying degrees for planners and their subsequent roles. Key themes drawn out were based on the opinions from local planners regarding these reforms (Ruming, 2011). These included: that it changed processes which do not necessarily make planning assessment processes any faster but can actually increase its complexity and inefficiency; alters powers which in this case, reduced local autonomy in the planning process; changed the work content, capability and capacities of local government planners; and changed standards and expectations. These are potentially the types of changes that may have impacted local planners and their roles in Christchurch with the introduction of the CER Act to a certain extent to remove the 'red tape'.

This helps highlight the power of legislation and how it could impact on a particular disaster event and those professions like planners' who are involved in the post-disaster recovery.

2.4 Planning in a post disaster recovery context

A number of studies have been undertaken looking at planning in general and the recovery process after a natural hazard event has occurred (Chandrasekhar et al., 2014; Johnson & Olshansky, 2016; Murakami et al., 2014; Olshansky & Johnson, 2010; Zhang et al., 2015). The same issue that government faces in regards to the dilemma of speed versus deliberation is directly impacting on planning (Iuchi, 2014; Johnson & Olshansky, 2013; Olshansky & Johnson, 2010; Olshansky et al.,

2012). Planning by its very nature involves deliberation, discussions, analysis and evaluation. As a consequence, this takes time and because planning is inherently political, planners often do not get to determine how planning can and should be undertaken (Albrechts, 2003; Smith, 2010). Capacity and capabilities, particularly in the public sector of planning were one of the issues that persistently came up in the literature reviewed (Alexander, 2015; Johnson & Olshansky, 2016; Olshansky & Johnson, 2010). Often, local government simply do not have the manpower to conduct comprehensive planning. This leaves two options, either to increase capacity with private planners/experts (Barrios, 2011; Becker, 2010; Comfort, Birkland, Cigler, & Nance, 2010) or to reduce planning to a rudimentary function (Cleary, 2014; Sutton, 2014).

One case in China, after the devastating Tangshan 1976 earthquake showed, how the government chose to initially take a comprehensive planning approach which did significantly extend the time of recovery (Zhang et al., 2015). This consisted of a series of phases. The first phase was between August 1976-September 1979 with planning and recovery defined by the national government striving to implement a re-imagined city. During this time, a planning task force was formed, assisted by a series of other experts (i.e. engineers and surveyors) (Zhang et al., 2015). Ten months later, a draft recovery plan was completed. The Chinese President at the time wanted to make Tangshan the safest city in the world and through doing so would highlight the supremacy of socialism. To see this ideal realised, multidisciplinary teams of experts were engaged from January 1978 to September 1979 to work on and add to the recovery plan. The final plan was completed three years after the earthquake. The next phase was between October 1979 – February 1982. Despite the comprehensive planning undertaken in the first phase, progress was underwhelming. For instance, temporary housing still remained, forcing residents to take action by converting them into semi-permanent housing to improve living conditions. Dramatic revisions were made to the recovery plan to increase the speed and quantity of housing (Zhang et al., 2015). It essentially recalibrated the initial grandiose vision to a more pragmatic one. The next phase was from March 1982 – October 1986, essentially this was where plans were actually implemented, buildings constructed and achieving a recovered Tangshan. Today, despite the 10 years it took to achieve the overall recovery outcomes it has resulted in a modernised functional Tangshan region supporting networks of industry, infrastructure and transport that allows for strong economic growth and good quality of life (Zhang et al., 2015). Overall, it appears that the initial extensive planning approach lacked capacity forcing a distillation of planning to a more rational function to produce results.

This helps to highlight the need to assess the type of capacities and capabilities and processes that exist post-disaster for the desired type of recovery planning. This will determine what is or is not needed. For example, Comfort et al. (2010) explain how Hurricane Katrina saw a government breakdown that resulted in a lack of coordination in both the response and recovery. Coupled with

this was the crippling effects the event had on local recovery planning efforts. Due to the lack of capacity, this meant they needed outside experts to come in and assist with the development of recovery plans (Becker, 2010; Comfort et al., 2010). Some academics have argued that neoliberalism is to blame for the collapse of government capacity, where the government as a whole is reduced to its very basic functions. This means that there is no redundancy in the governance system. As a consequence when a shock like this occurs, the government is incapacitated and requires those experts from the private sector to do or assist in performing those basic functions (Jerolleman & Kiefer, 2015; Klein, 2007). In developing countries, NGO's, The World Bank and foreign aid provide critical resources, capacity and expertise that enables effective recovery and recovery planning (Johnson & Olshansky, 2016). Thus, we see how governments face the situation of needing additional capacity in forms of expertise or resources in post-disaster recovery planning to varying degrees.

The literature also reveals the differing planning approaches taken in disaster recovery. This includes a trend of moving toward a more empowering and participatory planning approach (Chandrasekhar et al., 2014; Horney, Nguyen, Salvesen, Tomasco, & Berke, 2016; Murakami et al., 2014; Ying, 2009). For example, in Japan, one of the most experienced and advanced countries in disaster management and planning seems to be adopting this approach. Murakami et al. (2014) explain that most modern techniques and mechanisms in Japan's urban planning originate from post-disaster legislation. This consists of two types *toshikeikaku* (city/urban planning) and *machizukuri* (community development). *Toshikeikaku* is a top-down technocratic planning approach which was dominant in the 20th century. Disaster recovery planning was centralised and government led, examples of this include the Imperial Capital Revival Plan of 1923 created after the Great Kanto Earthquake and in post-war recovery. *Machizukuri* has been incorporated into everyday participatory planning practices on the ground. Disaster helped conceive *machizukuri*, championed by the 1995 Great Hanshin Awaji Earthquake (Kobe earthquake) which recognised residential-based community groups within the formal planning system (Murakami et al., 2014). In the immediacy of the earthquake, a *toshikeikaku* approach was taken, *machizukuri* emerged from the bottom-up by the local community. *Machizukuri* had already begun in the 1960s in the suburb of Mano which was designed and organised through community-led planning (Mamula-Seadon, Kobayashi, & Maki, 2015b). An Ordinance for *machizukuri* activities and Mano were recognised as the first *machizukuri* council in 1982 which followed with the establishment of other *machizukuri* organisations throughout the district of Kobe. Therefore, the *toshikeikaku* approach first taken created a sense of disempowerment and dissolution from people and their communities. It was advocacy planners who formed the Disaster Supporters Network for Community Development *machizukuri* who brought together stakeholders to undertake planning initiatives (Mamula-Seadon et al., 2015b). The government then realised the extent of demand from citizens for involvement in the planning and recovery process. As a result, the local government

encouraged and supported the establishment of more machizukuri organisations (Mamula-Seadon et al., 2015b). They played a key role in the collaboration with local government in the planning and design of a number of suburbs in Kobe such as Noda Hokubu, Matsumoto and Rokkomichi. Kobe today is a successful, innovative and dynamic city that was enabled through a collaborative participatory planning approach of machizukuri. It has even been suggested by Mamula-Seadon, Kobayashi, and Maki (2015a) that if this approach was taken in the Christchurch earthquakes, it may have afforded a better outcome.

Machizukuri's maturation over time has seen it become a key factor in other disaster recovery in the 21st Century including the recent 2011 Tohoku earthquake and tsunami (Murakami et al., 2014). Hein (2002) explains how the approach is now instilled within the normal day to day local government planning systems. This was perceived to be a paradigm shift towards a decentralised participatory planning approach, with some going so far as to state Japan is now in the era of recovery machizukuri.

In contrast in other situations, the speed of recovery has been prioritised. A number of countries are choosing to adopt a top-down technocratic planning approach, excluding the public to ensure that recovery is expedient and minimises economic loss (Johnson & Olshansky, 2016; Le Mentec & Zhang, 2017; McLean, Oughton, Ellis, Wakelin, & Rubin, 2012; Paul & Che, 2011). For instance, China took this approach in the 2008 Wenchuan Earthquake (Johnson & Olshansky, 2016). The emergency response and recovery were undertaken at an unprecedented rate which was led by China's central government. The States Council established the Post-Earthquake Reconstruction Planning Group within two weeks of the earthquake occurring. The vice Minister for housing stressed the need for the rational and scientific organisation of post-disaster reconstruction, resonating with the modernist-technocratic ideals of planning. The reconstruction planning was then undertaken by The National Development and Reform Commission in tandem with its agency in Sichuan Province, who developed a work plan that distinguished the planning principles for the recovery. A final plan was produced within five months of the event occurring. The plans focus was around restoration and recovery and the reconfiguration and infrastructure improvement for rural and urban areas. The reconstruction was separated into three distinct categories on the basis of an expert report. Suitable for reconstruction; suitable for appropriately selected reconstruction; and unsuitable for reconstruction. Relocation of Beichuan occurred due to the geographic instability of its original site. Recovery provided the central government with the opportunity to speed up a number of economic development policies and the modernisation of the Sichuan region. The recovery was heralded as a success due to the rapidness of recovery. Yet the community and key stakeholders were essentially excluded from disaster recovery planning, meaning that adverse effects and lost opportunities were inflicted on the community (Johnson & Olshansky, 2016).

However, in these situations where a top-down disaster recovery planning approach is applied, it can lead to revolt and the advent of informal recovery groups being created and undertaking their own planning and coordinated activities (Dynes, 1994; Kato, Passidomo, & Harvey, 2014; Klein, 2007; Reardon, Green, Bates, & Kiely, 2009; Stallings & Quarantelli, 2015). An example of this relates to the 2004 Indian Ocean earthquake and tsunami which affected coastal areas of Thailand (Klein, 2007). The Thai government at the time opted for a top-down command and control planning approach, with the intention of evicting Thai fishing communities from their coastal settlements. The government placed villagers in a temporary camp, promising a reconstruction plan to rebuild these settlements. The villagers were sceptical and as a result, they banded together and undertook land 'reinvasions' taking back their lands seized by the government for luxury coastal developments (Klein, 2007). This direct-action reconstruction spread along the Thailand coast with communities taking back their land and rebuilding their own resilient housing. Support was provided from University students and professors, volunteering their time to help these communities with the design of homes and rebuilding plans exclusive of the government. This highlights how these informal groups took power from the 'system/establishment' and gave it back to the people because of disempowerment and disillusionment imposed by the government's approach. The approach taken in Thailand helped inspire other informal approaches when an exchange occurred between Hurricane Katrina survivors and leaders of Thailand community's informal reconstruction efforts. Endesha Juakali, one of the hurricane survivors realised from this that the people of New Orleans needed to push aside FEMA and the state and local governments and start doing things themselves, taking back the power (Klein, 2007). As a result, groups of residents came together and reinvaded their old homes and neighbourhoods, and began planning, repairing and rebuilding their community. Other examples of emerging informal groups coming together to plan and act in response and recovery after disaster has occurred in Italian and Slovenian earthquakes (Pipan & Zorn, 2013). This demonstrates how informal groups emerge in the face of top-down government planning approaches (Cole & Connell, 2012; Stallings & Quarantelli, 2015).

Three forms of planning arise in the post disaster recovery context. Technocratic, participatory and informal planning. These planning forms may be similar to what exists under normal settings, as was shown in a New South Wales case study of its current planning system (Schatz & Rogers, 2016). However, it appears where neoliberal approaches to planning and regulation are dominant in normal times, it is substituted with informal planning in a post-disaster recovery context. Central government is usually placed at the centre for initiating these planning approaches (Figure 1). The actions and exertion of power through legislation will likely determine which planning approaches are weighted most strongly.

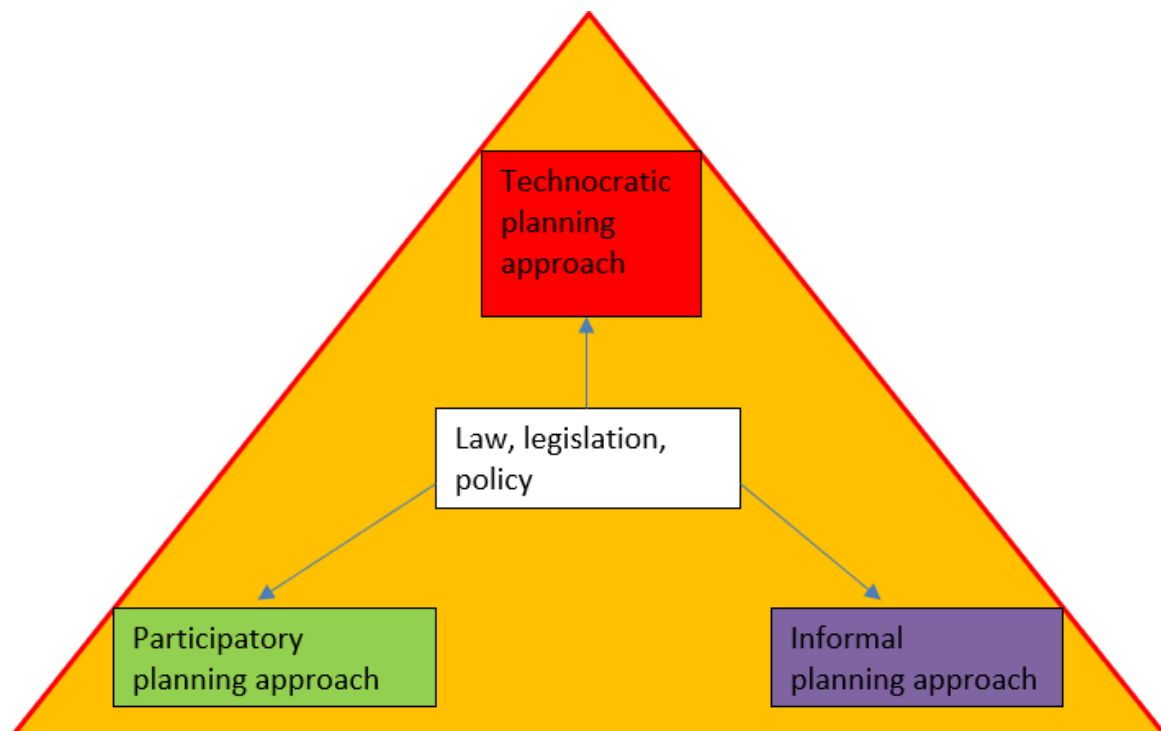


Figure 1. Planner approaches that emerge in recovery after disaster in accordance with the literature.

2.5 Summary

The literature review found that little to no research has been implemented that mirrors my research. This was reinforced in the planning literature indicating scarceness of studies in this post disaster recovery area and the need for further research to contribute to building greater knowledge and understanding.

This review has shown that there are gaps in defining the general role of the planner in a disaster recovery context. The literature revealed the different types of planners along with questions regarding the identity or type of planner that is needed in normal times. However, none of the literature investigated the type of planner needed during a recovery. Interestingly, one aspect which emerged in the literature was the skills or competencies that a planner should have or develop over their professional careers. This was not considered in the original research objectives, but has emerged during the review and is addressed where relevant in later chapters.

In the case of the role of the central government in disaster recovery, more research has been done in this field relating to its expected role in recovery. It confirmed my assumptions that often in a major disaster it is the central government who take power. This leaves the local government weakened. The literature also revealed the two themes of speed vs deliberation and lack of ability to define the particular role the state had in recovery. Each of these factors regarding the central government in recovery probably impact on planners. Yet this has not been looked into. Therefore,

gaining an understanding of planner's experiences and perceptions of the central government's involvement in recovery planning would help fill that gap in the literature.

The disaster recovery legislation literature review showed that there has been limited attention paid to this topic. Of the literature that was found, the themes which emerged were that disaster management legislation in place prior to an event occurring, tended to be incapable of actually addressing the key issues in a post disaster context. Emergency legislation is subsequently needed (or perceived to be) whether it is in a developing or developed country to increase capacity and capabilities of the affected areas. Interestingly the concept of 'red tape' frequently appeared in the literature. This demonstrated a theme of using disaster recovery/emergency legislation to cut through the 'red tape' and change systems and frameworks to provide more efficient recovery which can last for a reasonable length of time. Some of which relates to the planning systems and frameworks. Yet, no one has asked how this has impacts on the planner, their role and functionality in this transformed environment.

The final review looked at disaster recovery planning, the dilemma of speed vs deliberation continued to be an issue which impacted on planning as to whether it should be comprehensive or basic. This is dependent on capacity, which is usually depleted in the case of local government, leaving the central government in the driver's seat to make the call on whether to increase capacity to comprehensively plan or opt for a more basic planning process. The literature also revealed the differences between a top-down and bottom-up planning approach and their subsequent impacts. Finally, I identified that there seemed to be three main planning approaches that emerge in disaster recovery. Technocratic, participatory, and informal planning all driven by the legislative or policy environment created by the government. However, none of the literature reviewed investigate the effects on the planner in defining what they do and how they operate in this planning environment. All of these aspects are interconnected, the figures who are in the midst of all of this making the decisions are the politicians. Obtaining the perspectives of politicians actually involved in the daily governance at the time regarding, the role of the different tiers of government, emergency legislation, and expectations of planning and planners would offer an alternative insight into why planners were placed in that role, in that environment, at the time.

Chapter 3

Methodology

3.1 Approach

3.1.1 Introduction

Due to the lack of research and precepts to build on the topic the study investigates as shown in Chapter 2, an exploratory research design was adopted (Creswell & Clark, 2017). Using this research design allowed me to have greater freedoms as to what and how aspects of the research could be implemented. Consequently, the methodology was flexible and able to adapt, as the gathering of data may have revealed new information (Silver, 2013).

3.1.2 Overview

The decision to use a qualitative research method in conjunction with the exploratory research design was due to the research question and objectives of the study (as shown in Chapter 1) which determines the setting. The aim of the research was not to test a hypothesis but instead to discover and build a better understanding about planners in disaster recovery, and the impact from the introduction of emergency legislation on how they operated. I was concerned with words, actions, and records rather than assigning numbers to those particular data streams. I was interested in understanding planners who were placed in the context of a disaster recovery environment. I wanted to uncover any observable patterns and trends that took place in the particular case of interest, rather than generalise findings from a small sample across contexts. This demonstrates the setting of the study applied relatively better to use of a qualitative research method rather than a quantitative research method. This was beneficial in terms of the richness of results produced to gain insights into planners' experiences, observations and reflections on their time operating in post-disaster Christchurch.

In this study, the response phase is defined under clause 1 of the National Civil Defence Emergency Management Plan Order 2005 as "actions taken immediately before, during or directly after an emergency to save human lives and property, and to help communities recover". The recovery phase is defined under clause 1 of the National Civil Defence Emergency Management Plan Order 2005 as "the co-ordinated efforts and processes used to bring about the immediate, medium-term, and long-term holistic regeneration of a community following a civil defence emergency". The determination of a disaster period and definitions for the response and recovery phases have been deliberately chosen because this was the regulatory context for disaster risk management at the time. The study's period of focus is on recovery beginning in Christchurch on April 19 2011 and ended on April 19 2016,

the period in which the CER Act was in force. The focus of this research is how the CER Act impacted on how planners operated in a post-earthquake Christchurch. Therefore, the research does not directly focus on anything before or after this period.

The case study research method was used because it met Yin's (2018) criteria for when a case study approach is most appropriate: The types of questions in the research are 'what' questions that are exploratory mixed with 'how' and 'why' questions which are explanatory, this meets the first criteria for use of a case study. The second criteria was the extent over actual behavioural events. Relevant behaviours are not able to be manipulated in this instance, due to questioning of the interviewees being the focus of the past with the period of interest occurring between 2011-2016. The research could not control the behaviours taken by planners or public officials performing their respective roles in the recovery period between 2011-2016, instead, it wanted to understand what roles they performed, how they operated in those roles and how it was affected by the enactment of the CER Act, and why certain planning approaches were taken. This meets the second criteria. The third and final criteria are the degree of focus on contemporary as opposed to historical events. The research looked to examine a contemporary event being the Christchurch Earthquake in 2011 and the recovery phase occurring in 2011-2016 ending with the repeal of the CER Act. This met the final criteria for use of the case study method. As a result, this justified its use in my research. Case studies allow for use of evidence from a variety of data sources including interviews, documents, observation and artefacts (Yin, 2018). It was also the most common approach used in the literature reviewed, suggesting that there is not yet a sufficient body of cases to enable a general theory to be generated for testing.

Overall, the case study method allowed me to focus specifically on planners and related professionals operating in post-disaster Christchurch following the 22nd of February 2011 earthquake, the response and the impact of the CER Act and how that affected the role of planners and how they operated in that context.

3.1.3 Data collection

The data collection was undertaken through interviews and document collation as described in the following sections. This combination of data collection methods has been used by previous researchers in the disaster research field (Comerio, 2014; Mannakkara & Wilkinson, 2013; Osei, 2007).

3.1.4 Interviews

Qualitative interviews were utilised because they can produce rich and in-depth information that is typically unable to be collected through a quantitative research collection method like surveys (Leavy, 2017; Warren & Karner, 2005). The interviews undertaken as part of the research are

particularly important because they enable the researcher to understand nuances and idiosyncrasies that came with operating as a planner under the CER Act legislation. It helped to provide further insight into the experiences, roles and operating environment planners faced in this disaster recovery process. A quantitative survey is unable to reproduce the type of data desired.

3.1.5 Sampling method for interviews

I did not have access to a database from which to be sure that I was able to select a representative group of people. As a result, I decided to find people who were likely to have significant experience to draw on, in considering the issues that I raised based on the criteria for selection below.

Criteria for interviewee selection:

- Must be a qualified professional planner², politician, or from a relevant profession.
- Worked in Christchurch between 19 April 2011 and 19 April 2016 in either public or private or tangata whenua organisations, ideally they would have worked before, during and after this specified period.
- In the case of the interviewee being a politician, they must have held the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery portfolio, or currently hold the Greater Christchurch Regeneration Portfolio, or held or currently hold the Christchurch mayoral position.

The rationale for these criteria was to ensure that interviewees were actually working in Christchurch under the CER Act. Public and private planners were selected based upon my theoretical review chapter. This revealed that both tended to play a significant role in post-disaster recovery with private planners being brought on to increase the capacity and efficiency of the recovery. I anticipated that private planners may have different skill sets compared to the public planners given that they operate in different contexts and may conduct different types of work compared to those in the public sector. For the public sector, both city and regional councils were sampled as each was tasked with duties and responsibilities by the CER Act. Planners from a Tangata Whenua organisation were sought because Ngāi Tahu, an iwi organisation was specifically mentioned in the CER Act. The literature search did not reveal any previous disaster events where indigenous communities were involved in the recovery planning.

² To become an accredited professional planner in New Zealand you are required to be a member of the New Zealand Planning Institute (NZPI). There are various classes of membership including student, graduate, intermediate, full and associate. Each class has different requirements for eligibility and for maintenance of the membership (NZPI, n.d.a.).

The inclusion of persons from a relevant profession was a decision made because of the realisation following discussions from early interviews that there were individuals involved in recovery planning who were not necessarily 'planners'. Furthermore, two of the planners I interviewed were not members of the New Zealand Planning Institute (NZPI). However, both had over 15 years' experience in the planning field and would be eligible for NZPI membership. In the results, they have been identified as public and private experts respectively. An urban designer was also interviewed who was previously a member of the NZPI, but now see themselves in a different role. There was no indication that they left the profession for professional reasons. All of these persons interviewed appeared to have approached the process as would have a professional planner.

Politicians were chosen firstly because the literature revealed them to be the key decision-makers and influencers in planning and secondly because they have specific powers, roles and responsibilities under the CER Act. Interviewing these selected groups of people supported obtaining rich information that was desired to produce high-quality results. The number of persons interviewed was 21. This consisted of six planners and one expert from the public sector, seven planners and one expert from the private sector, one planner from Ngāi Tahu, an urban designer and four politicians.

Due to the preselected set of criteria being applied to interview participants, a purposeful sampling method was chosen (Patton, 2015). Purposeful sampling is designed prior to research starting and is able to be redesigned throughout the research process (Emmel, 2013). Sampling is driven by practical and pragmatic reasons rather than by theoretical aspects (Emmel, 2013). The strategies used to engage purposeful sampling was a mix of criteria and 'snowball' sampling (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981). To first identify potential interviewees I used my own contacts which I have gained from previously working in the planning field over the summer holidays. Contacts were also sourced from my supervisor who has many years of experience working and teaching in the planning field. Following the completion of my initial list of interviewees compiled from myself and my supervisor's contacts, 'snowball' sampling occurred when interview participants would nominate a person who could provide insight on the research topic because they had knowledge and experience in the phenomena investigated and met the criteria being used. Once the interviews appear to be yielding no new knowledge theoretical saturation is accepted as having been reached and no more interviewees are sought (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981). Collectively, by employing these two strategies, it enabled purposeful sampling to occur for the research undertaken.

A potential risk that could occur is bias from both the researcher and potentially the interviewees. Response bias can take different forms (Wetzel, Böhnke, & Brown, 2016) such as where the interviewee tries to influence the outcome strategically by answering in a particular way; difficulties

in answering certain questions because respondents also have a relationship with you; and bias in CER Act due to how it was applied to past work with or under it. This may be countered by the professional status of those who are members of the NZPI. Regardless of whether they were a professional planner or not to avoid bias, questions were structured and formed in a way that invites objective responses and where possible were triangulated with contemporary document analysis. In the case of bias with the CER Act, it is considered that this interview provides an opportunity for reflection by participants. The distance from the event lends perspective that while it may lead to some post-hoc rationalisation it may also avoid the immediacy effect where people's response to thoughts are dominated by issues they are dealing with most recently. There is also an acceptance that interviewees were purposefully selected and consequently have the bias of experienced people who have lived and worked through the recovery. This results in the potential for strategic bias, occurring where I want a certain outcome. However, this is mitigated because the research is exploratory and is not testing a hypothesis but instead exploring the role of the planner in post-disaster recovery. Therefore, bias in the study has been managed as best as possible.

Once a person was selected to be a potential interviewee, contact was made through a general approach email (see Appendix A: Interview documents and related information) asking whether they would be willing to be interviewed about the research topic. In the cases (two) where the potential participant emailed back and did not wish to participate in the study, I would thank them for replying and then cease communication. Comparatively, where the potential participant was willing to be interviewed about the research topic I would thank the participant, organise a time and place convenient for the participant to be interviewed, and send through the set of structured questions I intended to ask and a research information sheet to explain how the interview would be conducted and how the recording would be used in my research (see Appendix A: Interview documents and related information). This was all undertaken through multiple email correspondence and in some cases over a phone call.

The location of where face-to-face interviews took place either occurred at a café or in a meeting room where the participant worked. If the interview took place in a café, I would offer to purchase the participant a coffee. The interviews all happened during work time. In the case of the Skype telephone interview, it took place in a closed off meeting room at Lincoln University to prevent any interruptions which had reliable internet to avoid loss of connection during the Skype interview. The interview occurred when the participant was at work. The interviews themselves varied in time from the shortest being 30 minutes to the longest being 1 hour and 30 minutes. The majority of the interviews were approximately 50 minutes. There was no difference in terms of time length for the Skype telephone interview.

There were some difficulties that did occur with interviews. For example, because it was a Skype telephone interview, I was unable to read expressions which may have been beneficial information and instead had to rely on aural cues like sighs and laughter. Location did become a limitation. This was particularly when interviews took place in cafés that were noisy which meant that asking questions and listening to the participants' response was strained, which sometimes made it difficult to ask follow on questions to further explore participants responses because there was a disparity in understanding. To mitigate this, interviews were recorded, interviews took place in a quiet area in a café, and cafes that were noisy were avoided. Another factor that was a limitation to the interviews was time limitations placed on interview lengths. This meant that in some cases not all questions were answered or certain insights participants gave were not explored further, limiting the richness of information collected. To mitigate this impact, questions were targeted to obtain the critically rich information required for the research from the participant interviewed.

Following the interview, a further email was sent to each respective interview participant thanking them for giving up their time to contribute to my research. Initially, I was going to provide each participant with a coffee gift card upon the completion of the interview as a token gesture. However, after some of the initial interviewees refused to take the gift card, I decided not to give the gift cards so that each participant was treated the same. As a result, the thank you email was substituted for the gift card.

Interviews were semi-structured, this was to create a more comfortable atmosphere for participants involved, allow exploration of ideas that emerge during the interview and to better engage free-flowing dialogue (Brinkmann, 2013). Brinkmann (2013) expands on the core generalist elements of a qualitative semi-structured interview which is made up of four parts. First, the interview has purpose, it is set up in order to serve the researcher's goal of generating knowledge (this may include other ulterior goals like obtaining a degree or furthering your career). Second, description, interviews are aimed at obtaining an interviewee's description of their experiences in the world. Third, life world, which is the interchange of thoughts and feelings between the interviewee and interviewer regarding the experience of phenomena in the real world. Fourth, interpretation of meaning, this is where the interviewer must engage in interpretations of people's experiences and actions as described by interviewees. When combined, these elements create semi-structured interviews that can produce a richness in data or knowledge which is critical for achieving this research's intended outcomes. Although this does not mean that these elements must be strictly adhered to, they can be altered or challenged. There is no one correct way of doing qualitative interviewing because it is dependent on the circumstances. Essentially it can be tailored to fit the purpose of the research (Brinkmann, 2013). In this instance, participants were able to choose where interviews occurred within reason to allow for comfortable and open dialogue and enabling the building of rapport

between the participant and interviewer. I compiled a set of structured questions however, this did not mean necessarily that all the structured questions had to be asked. The flexibility of a semi-structured interview allowed me to diverge from structured questions or choose to alter or remove certain questions where they saw it appropriate. It also allowed the interview participants to determine how long the interview would go for.

3.1.6 Document collection

The categorisation, investigation, interpretation and critique of primary and secondary sources included: specific earthquake recovery legislation; reports and documents commissioned to review the Christchurch earthquake recovery and actions taken in that situation; certain plans produced in the recovery limited to Christchurch City were selected on the basis of being required under the CER Act or directed by the Minister for Earthquake Recovery; and other relevant planning documents relating to strategies, analysis, reviews, and critique regarding that recovery. The documents collected are listed in Appendix B. A documentary research method was employed for the study (Mogalakwe, 2006). To collect these documents an internet search was undertaken through the Google internet browser, Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet website search engine, New Zealand Parliament website search engine, Christchurch City Council (CCC) and Canterbury Regional Council (ECan) search engines, and Parliamentary Counsel Office search engine using a series of key terms (see Table 1 below). Another approach was also used that looked at specific statutes that may have had relevance to the Canterbury Earthquake (see Table 2 below).

Key term searched	Search refine	Explanation
Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Legislation	'Assessment' of Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Legislation 'Review' of Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Legislation 'Critique' of Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Legislation	This is the emergency recovery legislation enacted to enable a transition to recovery in Christchurch following the 2011 earthquakes.
Canterbury Earthquake Recovery	'Assessment' of Canterbury Earthquake Recovery 'Review' of Canterbury Earthquake Recovery 'Critique' of Canterbury Earthquake Recovery 'Impact' of Canterbury Earthquake Recovery	To obtain a general overview of the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery and any planning related material.
Christchurch earthquake recovery	'Assessment' of the 2011 Christchurch earthquake recovery 'Review' of the 2011 Christchurch earthquake recovery 'Critique' of the 2011 Christchurch earthquake recovery 'Impact' of the 2011 Christchurch earthquake recovery	To find specific documents relating to Christchurch City rather than Canterbury generally, Waimakariri District or the Selwyn District.

<p>Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority (CERA)</p>	<p>‘Assessment’ of Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority (CERA)</p> <p>‘Review’ of Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority (CERA)</p> <p>‘Critique’ of Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority (CERA)</p> <p>‘Impact’ of Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority (CERA)</p> <p>‘Assessment’ of Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority (CERA) in the earthquake recovery</p> <p>‘Review’ of Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority (CERA) in the earthquake recovery</p> <p>‘Critique’ of Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority (CERA) in the earthquake recovery</p> <p>‘Impact’ of Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority (CERA) in the earthquake recovery</p>	<p>This was an organisation established in 2011 under the State Sector (Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority) Order 2011 and given responsibilities and powers under the CER Act to do a number of things, including planning in the recovery.</p>
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Table 1. Key search terms used in document collection.

<p>Statutes examined for Canterbury earthquake recovery relevance</p>
<p>Civil Defence Emergency Management Act 2002 (different versions reviewed)</p>
<p>National Civil Defence Emergency Management Plan Order 2005</p>
<p>Resource Management Act 1991</p>
<p>Environment Canterbury (Temporary Commissioners and Improved Water Management) Act 2010</p>
<p>Canterbury Emergency Response and Recovery Act 2010</p>

Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act 2011 – Additionally Orders in Council issued under s 71 are shown in figure 4
Hawke’s Bay Earthquake Act 1931
State Sector Act 1988 (March 2011 version)
Building Act 2004
Hurunui/Kāikoura Earthquakes Recovery Act 2016
Local Government Act 2002
Greater Christchurch Regeneration Act 2016

Table 2. Statutes examined for relevance to the Canterbury earthquake recovery.

Through these techniques, I was able to collect relevant documents that would add greater understanding and depth to my research.

3.1.7 Data analysis

The data analysis methods taken include textual analysis and thematic analysis. The approach to the textual analysis follows the post-structuralist method set out by McKee (2003). This was applied to analysis of legislation and documents. It helped me to make sense of these texts and build a greater understanding of the different agendas, purposes and powers that each document consists of. Thematic analysis of the data was used for both the interviews and the documents collected to draw out key themes in the data. Thematic analysis allows the researcher to identify, analyse and distinguish themes within the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This is done through the summarising, organising and segmentation to capture those themes and engage in interpretation of the research (Given, 2008). The advantage of thematic analysis is the flexibility in its application and its ability to help achieve a more in-depth and richer account of the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Thematic analysis was used to identify themes in both documents and in interview transcripts. This was done by first reading through the texts. Coding was then undertaken to identify key terms. This was followed by categorisation of terms into key themes. Collectively these analysis methods helped to produce a rich study that fosters a greater understanding of planners in post disaster recovery.

3.1.8 Ethics

As a student member of the NZPI, I am bound to abide by the NZPI Code of Ethics³. This requires under section 8.2.2 to treat planners in a professional manner. The research that I conducted was in accord with the Lincoln University guidelines for conducting ethical research involving human participants. As the participants were being interviewed in their professional capacity about professional matters, specific Human Ethics Approval was not required for this study. Steps were taken to ensure the study was morally and ethically appropriate. For example, making sure questions were appropriate and behaving in a respectful and professional manner. All participants in the interview were provided with a Research Information Sheet and the set of questions intended to be asked (See Appendix A: Interview documents and related information) at least 7 days prior to the interview taking place. All interviews were undertaken on the understanding that the interviewees' identities would not be revealed. Pseudonyms have therefore been used for quotations. The exception to this is politicians who are constantly in the public arena. That made it difficult to ensure anonymity. Therefore, this did not apply to politicians. Politicians were given the option of requesting that certain things they stated in the interview were off the record. In those instances, that information was excluded from the study.

3.1.9 Limitations and risks

Limitations

All research has limitations and this study is no exception. The study had limited resources. Firstly, only a \$500 budget has been given for the research which meant that any funds needed to support the research had to be used sparingly. This also restricts the breadth and scope of the research that could have potentially been done. Time is also a limiting factor, the dissertation has to be completed in its entirety over a 9 month period. Concurrently, I have courses to complete along with other commitments to meet.

The limitations on resources meant that I could not fund trips outside the Canterbury region to do face to face interviews with planners who were involved in recovery. This may have limited the richness of data I could obtain. To mitigate this, I used the minimal cost Skype telephone call internet service. This enabled me to undertake interviews with people not located in Christchurch. The limited time meant that there was a restriction on the breadth and scope of the research undertaken meaning that the study could not be as comprehensive as was first anticipated. To mitigate this the

³ See https://www.planning.org.nz/Category?Action=View&Category_id=663

research had to be more focused. Time management techniques were employed with the use of targets and Gantt charts in order to support the delivery of the dissertation.

A final factor that was a limitation to the research was in regards to interviewees. Firstly, I was not able to interview every planner or politician involved in the Christchurch earthquake recovery. This was due to a series of factors including time constraints, the 'busy-ness' of potential interview participants, and potential participants not willing to be interviewed about the topic. However, due to the sampling method taken and the research design, a sufficient response was garnered to address the goals and objectives of the study.

Given these constraints, I am confident in the robustness of my methods and the quality of data generated.

Risks

In any research, the researcher must also be mindful of any biases that they may have and must be aware and ensure that, to the extent possible, an objective and transparent analyses and writing occurs. As I am currently a planner in training and have worked in a planning office during study breaks my approach was biased to a certain extent as a result of expectations and opinions formed through those experiences and learning. However, this is considered to be outweighed by the insight and relatively informed approach to the substance of the decisions made and the processes involved that a non-planner would not have. To further counter any bias I may have brought, I set time aside to reflect critically on both interviews and data collected and the ways in which I had conducted myself throughout the research process.

These are the primary risks or problems that could impact on this dissertation. As described above the necessary steps have been taken and provide confidence that these risks have been either avoided or mitigated.

Chapter 4

Analysis of legislation

4.1 Introduction

The following chapter and Chapters 5 and 6 form the results that have been collated from the research undertaken for this study. This is split between an analysis of the legislation and analysis of interviews conducted. The analysis of the legislation looks initially at the historical legislative approaches to emergency and disaster risk management in New Zealand. It then explores the current emergency legislation that exists in New Zealand. Combined, this helps to form the legislative reasoning to justify the enactment of bespoke legislation. Bespoke legislation enacted in New Zealand is then explored which is followed by an analysis of the CER Act.

4.2 Historic legal responses to an emergency

To understand how the CER Act, a bespoke piece of legislation, eventuated following the Canterbury earthquakes, it is important to look to the history of New Zealand's legal response to earthquakes. Belton-Brown (2012) has undertaken such a review, retracing the various legal responses for earthquakes over time from 1848 to 1948. His findings revealed that throughout that time period there was a progressive evolution in the official response of the central government to earthquakes. For example, in 1848 the Marlborough Earthquake occurred on October 16th and is estimated to have been 7.5 in magnitude. The majority of damage was situated in the Wellington region. The provincial government at the time did very little in regards to the response for settlers. No relief fund or form of state assistance was established. The only order made was by Lieutenant-Governor Eyre, to stop all ships from leaving Wellington in an attempt to allay the feeling of mass exodus, due to the fear that debtors would use the crisis to escape their debts. Eyre admitted that the order was legally contentious in nature, but the local government would deal with any legal ramifications that arose from that order. Belton-Brown notes that,

“This was an early indication that a disaster of this kind can at times give rise to an ‘extra-legal’ form of authority, where the governing body takes action that has legal force, but has no legislation or common law precedent to support it. It is of interest that the response to the 2010/11 Canterbury earthquakes encompasses this extra-legal component” (2012, p. 214).

In 1929, the Murchison earthquake brought about a more extensive response in the form of grants from the government; establishment of a central earthquake committee (various sub-committees and a Disaster Relief Committee were set up to make recommendations of provision for relief); compensation for damage and loss of a business; a relief fund provided pensions for widows, orphans and injured persons as a result of the earthquake; and the government commissioned a geological report to be done which recommended that building bylaws be put in place to reduce the potential devastation caused by events similar to this.

Further still, the Hawkes Bay earthquake of 3 February 1931 prompted a different legal response, similar in nature to the Canterbury earthquakes (Belton-Brown, 2012). This resulted in the setup of a relief committee and Hawkes Bay Relief Fund to finance urgent needs. It also led to the passing of the Hawkes Bay Earthquake Act 1931 which was only repealed in 2017 by section 3(1) of the Statutes Repeal Act 2017. The powers embedded within the Act were extensive and included provisions for what needed to be done to achieve the purpose of the Act. For example, under section 66 it allowed central government to make regulations concerning the earthquake affected areas by an Order-in-Council, bypassing Parliament. The Act also established the Hawkes Bay Adjustment Court to administer claims for relief and to address other legal issues and putting in place financial provision for the restoration of the district. Further changes were made to other legislation to better regulate robust building construction. This helps demonstrate how specific bespoke legislation that invoked significant powers for central government was not an anomaly of the Canterbury earthquakes. Instead, it is an evolution of the legal earthquake response that has evolved over time in New Zealand (Belton-Brown, 2012). In a way, it has set a legal precedent for this type of bespoke legislative emergency enactment (Greater Christchurch Group Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet [GCGDPMC], 2017). It appears that a consistent model has been set for emergency legislation and what its contents should include. For instance, relief funds and finances, extraordinary powers, and coordination of roles and responsibilities.

“It was these early events that gave the New Zealand government an effective blueprint for a response; ...The events of the past have enabled us to evolve our legislative policy and infrastructure, and sharpen our preparation for events of the future” (Belton-Brown, 2012, p. 231).

4.3 Emergency legislation that currently exists

More generally, the key piece of legislation for dealing with disasters in New Zealand is the Civil Defence Emergency Management Act 2002 (CDEMA)⁴. Its purpose, under section 3, in essence is to promote the sustainable management of hazards in a way that contributes to the social, environmental, economic and cultural wellbeing and safety of the public and physical property through the implementation of the “4 Rs” of emergency management (reduction, readiness, response, and recovery) (Ministry of Civil Defence and Emergency Management, n.d.). The CDEMA requires local authorities to establish civil defence emergency management groups under section 12. The functions of the group are determined under section 17 of the Act which centres around identification, assessment, management and response to risks and hazards as well as develop a civil defence emergency management group plan to coordinate the 4 Rs. The Act also requires the creation of a National Civil Defence Emergency Management Plan (section 39) and strategy (section 31). The strategy sets the goals of the Crown for civil defence emergency management in New Zealand supported by objectives and targets to achieve those goals. The plan aligns with the strategy and determines how risks and hazards will be managed and the roles that different agencies, organisations and local authorities will play throughout the phases of emergency management (McLean et al., 2012). The strategy and plan set the precedent for management of risks and hazards by CDEM groups. In the event of a local or national emergency, extensive power is given to a director or national controller⁵. Other emergency powers are also given to the Minister for Civil Defence and Emergency Management, and to CDEM groups and other organisations or agencies involved in the emergency response. However, despite the Act requiring the management of the 4 R’s powers under the Act are restricted to the response in a state of emergency. Once the state of emergency is lifted the powers must be relinquished by the respective persons and bodies. But when a disaster strikes it does not just stop when a state of emergency is lifted, it signals a transition to the next phase from response to recovery. Arguably at that time, it may still be necessary to retain some of those extraordinary powers in order to engage in more efficient recovery (Imperiale & Vanclay, 2019; Johnson & Olshansky, 2013; Stuart-Black, 2015).

⁴ For a comprehensive review of New Zealand’s disaster risk management legislation see (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (2012); Saunders and Beban (2012)).

⁵ To review what the national civil defence emergency management strategy and plan was at the time of the earthquake please refer to these websites.

National Civil Defence Emergency Management Strategy 2008:

<https://www.civildefence.govt.nz/assets/Uploads/publications/national-CDEM-strategy-2008.pdf>

The guide to the National Civil Defence Emergency Management Plan 2006:

<https://www.civildefence.govt.nz/assets/Uploads/publications/The-Guide-v1.3-complete-web.pdf>

New Zealand's national legislative framework has been viewed as being relatively comprehensive for both addressing and engaging in disaster risk management (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 2014; International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies & UNDP, 2014). However, the praise that is given to New Zealand's national legislative framework is concentrated on reduction and response. As previously expressed in Chapter 2, often the recovery phase receives little attention or acknowledgement in the legislative framework even though it is a critical phase in a disaster risk management cycle. In a review undertaken by Stuart-Black (2015) it became evident that the CDEMA has significant shortcomings in regards to managing recovery from an emergency or disaster event. At the time of the 2011 earthquake, the version of the CDEMA⁶ that existed referred to the word "recovery" 31 times and appeared in 11 sections of the Act. Recovery initially appeared to be a critical component of the Act. For instance, its purpose under section 3(c) was and still is to provide for planning and preparation for emergencies and for response and recovery in the event of an emergency and section 3(d) which required local authorities to coordinate through regional groups, planning, programs and activities related to civil defence emergency management across the areas of production, readiness, response and recovery and encourage cooperation and joint action within those regional groups. Under section 4, the interpretation of recovery activities meant activities carried out under this Act or any civil defence emergency management plan after an emergency occurs, including and without limitation: the assessment of the needs of the community affected by the emergency; the coordination of resources made available to the community; actions relating to community rehabilitation and restoration; and new measures put in place to reduce hazards and risks. At the time, the Act did allow for the use of extraordinary powers to exercise the initial recovery. Yet, once the national state of emergency was lifted, those powers ceased. This would have meant that certain recovery activities would have likely been inhibited by normal regulatory planning frameworks, compromising both the speed and efficiency of recovery. The review of the legislative framework found that those individuals, groups and organisations responsible for managing recovery had no legislative mandate (Stuart-Black, 2015). As a consequence of this absence for recovery in the CDEM framework, it diminishes the importance of recovery in regards to resourcing and advanced planning (Stuart-Black, 2015).

The review found three key issues that existed within the CDEMA which included a weak legislative direction and planning for and management of recovery; a lack of powers to support the immediate transition from response to recovery; and an administratively burdensome Crown reimbursement process (Stuart-Black, 2015). In summary, the review found the framework that existed was incapable of adequately addressing recovery. A series of actions were proposed to address the deficiencies which included providing a mandate for recovery managers; requiring recovery planning;

⁶ The 1 October 2008 version of the CDEMA is being referred to here.

providing powers for the initial stage of recovery through a transition notice; and providing permanent legislative authority to improve the Crown reimbursement processes for response and recovery costs (Stuart-Black, 2015). The majority of these actions have been taken and incorporated into an amended CDEMA. However, at the time of the quake, the state of the CDEMA was one which contained those key issues identified in the review and its inability to effectively address recovery matters. This both justified and necessitated the creation of new bespoke legislation including the Canterbury Earthquake Response and Recovery Act 2010 (CERR Act) and the CER Act.

Other criticisms have been pointed towards the general legislative framework for recovery. Rotimi (2010) undertook a thesis examining the improvements required to legislative provisions for post-disaster reconstruction in the New Zealand context. He highlighted that legislation and regulatory requirements can have a significant influence on the rate of recovery after a disaster event. After a disaster happens, pressures mount to rebuild critical infrastructure and their associated networks quickly. Often the need for quickness is increased by central and local government. However, this can lead to an increased vulnerability of a poorly designed built environment that lacks resilience for future disasters. Furthermore, the need to undertake reconstruction and rebuilding at a fast pace can potentially compromise the social, economic and environmental aspects and increase their weaknesses.

Rotimi (2010) highlights that the RMA imposes an impediment on recovery because it is highly time demanding due to its participatory nature and lengthy planning processes. Following the results collected from a literature review, online survey and focus group undertaken by Rotimi (2010) it was suggested that the amount of consent applications would overwhelm local councils' capacities in a post-disaster recovery situation resulting in further delays. The Building Act 2004 (BA) also generates the same type of issues. Based on Rotimi's (2010) review of New Zealand recovery case studies (the Manawatu-Wanganui flood in 2004 and Matata (Bay of Plenty) Flood in 2005) and international case studies (e.g., the Northridge earthquake 1994 and Hurricane Katrina 2005) he concluded the legislative environment can negatively impact recovery.

In summary, Rotimi (2010) indicates that poorly constituted legislation can result in the recovery experiencing a loss of efficiency, commitment and deliverable difficulties in conjunction with an inability to accelerate the process, and an impairment on the overall community recovery and quality of life. Following data collection and analysis on the topic, certain recommendations came to the fore for disaster legislation. Some of the key recommendations included in the case of the CDEMA, to extend provisions beyond emergency services and into recovery management to enable a more holistic engagement of the 4 Rs; an improved alignment of the CDEMA with the RMA and BA so all recovery related provisions within these regulatory documents are streamlined to avoid confusion

and conflicting interpretations and implementations. Recommendations for the RMA included: the need to streamline critical reconstruction projects following the event of a significant disaster as being nationally significant, this requires immediacy, necessity and sufficiency to be applied as per section 330 of the RMA; reducing the scale of notification to expedite the consenting process; and, enhancing coordination and implementation of recovery planning and management between territorial and regional authorities (Rotimi, 2010). In comparison, for the BA Rotimi (2010) recommended that there needed to be the necessary protocols in place to increase capacity to handle spikes in building consents; and, the preparation of policies and guidelines for the exercise of discretionary powers by a Building Consent Authority during disasters. To address these issues, he concluded, there needed to be greater emphasis on recovery planning which has received little attention in New Zealand legislation. Another general recommendation made was to develop a National Policy Statement to guide post-disaster reconstruction to essentially better enable collaboration of key stakeholders in recovery, processes and frameworks to follow or guide in a recovery, and to coordinate and better align between disaster legislation. Overall, Rotimi (2010) identifies the need to produce a legislative environment that enhances the recovery and reconstruction process to improve the functioning of an affected community to build resilience against the risks from future disaster events. Wilkinson et al. (2014) & Mannakkara and Wilkinson (2013) also highlighted how legislation can create inefficiencies and impediments in recovery, suggesting that legislation needs to apply compliance (to enforce compliance in recovery) and facilitation (to remove the red tape and assist with speeding up recovery activities and processes).

This helps to establish how each of these factors may have contributed to influencing the creation of the CER Act through the legal precedence set by historical disaster legislation, the legislative environment that existed at the point in time for disaster recovery, and academic thought.

4.4 The creation of bespoke legislation

At 4:35 AM on September 4, a 7.1 magnitude earthquake hit 40 km west of Christchurch in close proximity to the small rural township of Darfield in the South Island of New Zealand (McLean et al., 2012). No fatalities occurred directly as a result of the earthquake. However, significant damage was sustained to properties and buildings throughout the Christchurch and greater Christchurch region. The three territorial authorities affected by the event included the Waimakariri District Council (WDC), Selwyn District Council (SDC) and CCC. Each declared a local state of emergency and subsequently established respective Emergency Operations Centres as a result of the earthquake (McLean et al., 2012). Additionally, the CDEM Group Emergency Coordination Centre provided by ECan was activated, however no regional emergency was declared (McLean et al., 2012). New Zealand urban search and rescue teams were deployed to Christchurch within 48 hours of the event.

The extraordinary powers invoked under the CDEM Act through the declaration of a state of emergency were utilised by the appointed civil defence controller to coordinate the immediate response. This resulted in CDEM Act powers being used to streamline existing processes to address threats of public safety or potential damage to other buildings along with other risks. However, the wide-ranging powers were only able to be exercised during a state of emergency which would expire. Concern was raised by the central government at the time that when the state of emergency was lifted, burdensome legislation would unduly hamper the recovery phase as essentially the legislative environment would return to business as usual (GCGDPMC, 2017). The government was inadequately prepared to engage in recovery planning and the transition from the response to recovery phase, the scale of the event had not been anticipated and as a result, it was perceived that the legislative environment at the time was incapable of effectively engaging the appropriate needs and requirements in a recovery phase (GCGDPMC, 2017). It was concluded that a legislative response was required to manage and support recovery (GCGDPMC, 2017).

This resulted in the creation of the Canterbury Earthquake Response and Recovery Bill on the 14th of September 2010 (New Zealand Parliament, 2011a). The purpose of the Bill was to ensure that the government had adequate statutory power to assist with the response to the Canterbury earthquake. One of the Bill's key mechanisms was the ability to create Orders in Council which would enable the change or suspension of certain statutory requirements to as an example: secure focused resources on the efficient recovery of damage and minimisation of risks from the Canterbury earthquakes, enable activities to be compliant, and/or facilitate the sourcing of information on infrastructure affected by the earthquake to improve understanding of how to minimise damage caused by earthquakes. Further still, the Bill established the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Commission to advise Ministers regarding any Order in Council that may be required and how resources could be prioritised and funding allocated for the response to the Canterbury earthquake. The Bill also put in place protections from liability for certain acts or omissions and provides that the Bill does not create a right to compensation. In essence, the Bill was enabling the streamlining of other legislative processes to increase the speed and efficiency of recovery efforts and cut through any planning red tape.

The Bill was modelled on the emergency provisions in the Epidemic Preparedness Act 2006 and the Environment Canterbury (Temporary Commissioners and Improved Water Management) Act 2010 (ECan Act) (Gall, 2012). In the case of the ECan Act, it was created following an investigation into ECan commissioned by the Minister for the Environment and Minister for Local Government (Creech, Jenkins, Hill, & Low, 2010). The report determined that ECan had a poor record of performance around water management due to a number of contributing factors and that central government intervention was justified (Creech et al., 2010). As a result, the ECan Bill was introduced and passed

under urgency (Gorman & Watkins, 2010). The ECan Act was to address the issues raised in the report with the primary effect being the replacement and election of central government appointed commissioners (Mueller, 2017). However, this has been viewed as an inappropriate use of central government powers, constitutionally objectionable and an action that may have further damaged local democracy and governance both for Canterbury and New Zealand (Brower, 2010; Mueller, 2017). Therefore, central government had already inserted themselves to be a key influencer of Canterbury's local democracy prior to the earthquakes.

The Canterbury Earthquake Response and Recovery Bill was passed under urgency in Parliament through all stages on 14 September 2010 only 10 days after the earthquake had occurred⁷. The CERR Act was mired in controversy regarding the extremities of the emergency powers given to central government and the limited constraints placed on the exercise of those powers (Anderson et al., 2010; Gall, 2012; Knight, 2010). However, it was seen as critical and criticisms laid against it were dismissed by the Minister for Earthquake Recovery (Brownlee, 2010) and the media (Foote, 2010; Heather, 2010; The Press, 2010). Overall, it was perceived that this Act had assisted in providing a more efficient and effective response and recovery to the Canterbury earthquake (Gall, 2012).

Then approximately five months later at 12:51 PM on Tuesday, 22 February 2011 a magnitude 6.3 earthquake occurred (McLean et al., 2012). Geoscientists identified it as technically being an after-shock. Its epicentre was close to Lyttleton, 10 km south-east of the Christchurch CBD, 185 people lost their lives as a result of the earthquake with over 30 nationalities amongst the dead or injured (McLean et al., 2012). The devastation that was inflicted upon the greater Christchurch region was greater than any New Zealand had previously experienced. A state of emergency was declared by the CCC on 22 February and that ended the next day when a national state of emergency was declared on 23 February which lasted until 30 April 2011 (McLean et al., 2012). The Minister of Civil Defence and Emergency Management at the time John Carter (2011) expressed in Parliament that the reason the declaration was made was due to the civil defence emergency management at a local capacity being beyond their capabilities to respond on their own. The national state of emergency would help ensure the maximum possible coordination and cooperation between central and local resources along with international assistance (McLean et al., 2012). In regards to powers, there was no difference between a national or a local emergency with the exception of the director of civil defence emergency management having the power to control the emergency instead of a controller. This was the first ever declaration of a national emergency under the CDEMA (GCGDPMC, 2017). Essentially the same issues presented themselves in relation to what occurred in the September 4, 2010 earthquake albeit at a magnified level. The broad and far-reaching powers under the state of

⁷ (14 September 2010) 666 NZPD 13899

emergency were required longer than the standard 7 day expiry period under section 70(3) of the CDEMA. The national state of emergency was first declared on the 23 February 2011, this was extended for almost 10 weeks and expired on April 30 2011⁸. Entertaining a continuous extension of the state of emergency would have been untenable (Gall, 2012; Palmer, 2011). However, the CERR Act and other mechanisms put in place “were not adequate to support recovery from the cumulative effects of both earthquakes” (GCGDPMC, 2017, p. 38). Once again it was viewed that normal legislative processes would be an impediment to the rebuilding and recovery of Christchurch (Gall, 2012; Palmer, 2011). Stronger governance and leadership was needed beyond the current capabilities of existing agencies which included the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Commission and local government (GCGDPMC, 2017). A new authority was considered necessary by the Government, that would be headed by a government Minister who was able to coordinate and direct planning, spending and reconstruction of Christchurch. New legislation was deemed to be the most appropriate and effective option given the circumstances that Christchurch was facing (Gall, 2012).

As a result, the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Bill 2011 was introduced to Parliament on April 12, 2011. The Bill repealed the CERR Act but validated measures or decisions already made in the CERR Act to continue on. It established the appropriate measures that enabled the Minister for the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery and/or the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority (CERA) to facilitate and direct, if necessary, greater Christchurch and its communities to respond to and recover from the impacts of the Canterbury earthquakes. The new legislation was argued to be required based upon the need for community participation in decision-making processes whilst at the same time balancing this against the need for timely and coordinated recovery processes. The Bill also identified the need to put in place stronger governance and leadership arrangements for rebuilding and recovering greater Christchurch from the cumulative effects of the September and February earthquakes. The Bill’s explanatory notes identified certain factors that were taken into account when putting in place these new arrangements which were, in summary, recognising that the scale of reconstruction effort the 2011 February earthquake required was incomparable throughout New Zealand’s history to any other natural disaster; taking lessons learnt from international experience and from the recovery planning after 4 September earthquake which indicated the need for a single entity responsible and in charge of the recovery efforts; the need for timely and effective decision-making powers; significant coordination needed between local and central governments, residents of greater Christchurch, Ngāi Tahu, NGOs, business interests and the private sector. The involvement of an iwi (Ngāi Tahu) at this level was unprecedented (Keene, 2013). It has been suggested the reason for this was due in part to the emergency response undertaken by Ngāi Tahu immediately following the February 22nd 2011 earthquake (Phibbs, Kenney, & Solomon, 2015). The Bill reiterated that the

⁸ (3 May 2011) 672 NZPD 18239.

CERR Act was not adequate for addressing the recovery and greater powers and mechanisms to streamline regulatory processes/cut through red tape were needed in order to meet the challenges of recovery.

CERA was established under section 30A(1) of the State Sector Act 1988 through an Order in Council made through the CERR Act⁹. The Bill had a series of purposes to guide decision-making by the Minister for Canterbury Earthquake Recovery and CERA. In essence, the purposes are about ensuring that there is adequate statutory power to enable community participation in decision-making whilst ensuring a focused, timely and expedited recovery of greater Christchurch and its communities. The extensive powers given to CERA were based upon those given to the Queensland Reconstruction Authority under the Queensland Reconstruction Authority Act 2011 (Gall, 2012).

Following its first reading on 12 April, it was referred to the Local Government and Environment Committee to hear submissions for the rest of that day and on 13 April (Cunliffe, 2016). Submitters were selected and the committee was only able to hear submissions and report. They were unable to make any recommendations on amendments to the Bill (Cunliffe, 2016). There were a number of criticisms raised around the select committee process, although this was an improvement to the Canterbury Earthquake Response and Recovery Bill 2010 which had no select committee and no call for public submissions (Cunliffe, 2016). The CCC and two councillors made submissions on the Bill.

The CCC in their submission accepted the need for a single government agency to coordinate recovery in Christchurch, the broad powers provided to the Minister and CERA, and the balance of efficient recovery with normal democratic checks and balances of local government to ensure public confidence in the city's future (Christchurch City Council [CCC], 2011d). The council raised concerns around the lack of clarity over the roles of the council in recovery. There was also concern that the CBD recovery plan would not acknowledge the knowledge, experience and expertise the council had on the city because CCC was seen under the legislation as an equivalent to other organisations involved in the recovery (CCC, 2011d). The council also raised concern that the definition of "RMA document" in clause 4 of the Bill, did not capture requests for private plan changes. The council suggested this would mean that the Minister would be unable to prevent plan changes causing uncertainty as to whether it is inconsistent with recovery strategies or plans (CCC, 2011d). Therefore, the submission from the CCC can be said to be balanced.

Comparatively, submissions from councillors focused particularly on effective community participation (Johanson, 2011; Williams, 2011). Johanson (2011, p. 1) was particularly concerned about the recovery needing to be "more of a partnership approach with local people at the heart of

⁹ State Sector (Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority) Order 2011.

it". He also sought for the determination of the recovery structure to be a transparent process that listened to and involved the community rather than be hastily pushed through behind closed doors. A number of his recommendations centred around the improvement of public participation in the recovery stating that "now is the time for more democracy not less" (Johanson, 2011, p. 1). In summary, the councillors wanted to ensure that the community would be meaningfully involved in the recovery of their city rather than excluded from it. Following the submissions on 14 April 2011, the remaining stages of the Bill passed under urgency. Forty clauses were amended by the Committee of the whole House via a Supplementary Order Paper. These changes were made to clarify the Bill's purpose and improve its alignment with legal principles and practical reality (Gobbi, Gordon, and Lincoln, 2011, as cited in Cunliffe, 2016, p. 7). The CER Act was enacted on 18 April 2011 and came into force on 19 April 2011 (New Zealand Parliament, 2011b).

Taking a planning lens on the legislation we will now investigate its impacts through document analysis.

4.5 Analysis of the CER Act

4.5.1 Facilitation and compliance

The planning regime set out in the Bill for recovery of the greater Christchurch region was to occur through the creation of a long-term recovery strategy to be developed by CERA in consultation with the CCC, ECan, SDC, WDC, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu and other parties that were deemed necessary by the Minister for Canterbury Earthquake Recovery under section 14(4). The Bill stated that the recovery strategy would set the overall direction for recovery efforts. Its purpose (recovery strategy) was to address high-level questions needing to be answered in order for the recovery to occur in a timely and coordinated way. This was to be produced within nine months of the Act coming into force. Sitting underneath the recovery strategy was the expectation of a number of detailed recovery plans to be developed, setting out in detail what needed to be done specifically and how it would be implemented.

The recovery plans could cover any social, economic, cultural and environmental matter; any particular infrastructure works or activity on a site-specific or wider geographic basis within greater Christchurch. The Bill itself indicates that its provisions enable planning and implementation processes to be streamlined. The recovery strategy was to be produced by CERA in collaboration with key stakeholders. The development of recovery plans was to be determined by the Minister for Canterbury Earthquake Recovery. The Bill provided for the Minister for Canterbury Earthquake Recovery to require as necessary, the preparation of recovery plans by CERA, relevant government agencies, councils or other bodies, authorities or entities.

“It is expected that processes for community consultation will be an integral component of the development of such plans. This participation will however, need to be carefully balanced with the need for a timely, focused and expedited recovery of greater Christchurch. The necessity for such plans will be determined by the Minister for Canterbury Earthquake Recovery and set out in a schedule notified in the Gazette for the purpose of public notification. Recovery plans must give effect to the recovery strategy. The Bill provides for a mandatory recovery plan to be produced for the Christchurch commercial business district (CBD) within nine months of enactment. CCC will lead the development of the CBD recovery plan (including community engagement) importance was to be provided by CERA, Ngāi Tahu and ECan. It was expected that CCC would develop a consultation plan to engage the many views from within Christchurch communities. The Minister for Canterbury Earthquake Recovery may identify other parties to be consulted in the development of the plan. Once approved, the Bill provides for a recovery plan to read into statutory plans (including the Local Government, Resource Management, Land Transport Management, Reserves and Wildlife Acts) and prevail to the extent it is inconsistent with those statutory plans” (Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Bill 286-1, p. 4).

The Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Bill set the scene for the recovery and remained largely intact when it passed and became the CER Act. To analyse the Act two themes will be distilled, facilitation (enabling) and compliance (enforcing) as has been undertaken by Mannakkara and Wilkinson (2013) and Wilkinson et al. (2014). However, their analysis is from a post-disaster reconstruction perspective, here it is analysed from a planning-centric perspective as to how the manifestation of this legislation may have changed planning processes, inputs and outputs and subsequently the effects on how planners could have operated in the post-earthquake recovery environment.

The first critical component of the Act begins at section 3(a). It explains that one of its purposes is to provide appropriate measures to ensure that greater Christchurch and the councils and their communities respond to, recover from, the impacts of the Canterbury earthquakes. This purpose comprises of both facilitation and compliance. Two keywords appear in this purpose, they are ‘provide’ and ‘ensure’. Provide relates to facilitation because as one of the purposes of the Act, it is to provide appropriate measures. The second keyword, ‘ensure’, is to ensure that greater Christchurch and the councils and their communities respond to, and recover from, the impacts of the Canterbury earthquakes. This is compliance because it is requiring that the facilitation of appropriate measures are used to ensure that greater Christchurch and its key stakeholders are able to respond and recover from the impacts of the Canterbury earthquakes. Part of this purpose does

relate to planning as one of the appropriate measures necessary to be taken to ensure response and recovery from the Canterbury earthquakes is planning.

Section 3(b) establishes the purpose to enable community participation in the planning of the recovery of affected communities without impeding a focused, timely and expedited recovery. Two keywords emerge, here 'enable' and 'without'. Enabling community participation in the planning of the recovery of affected communities embeds a facilitation theme. However, this facilitation occurs with the condition that community participation in recovery planning does not slow down or restrict focused, timely and expedited recovery. This purpose is requiring a participatory planning environment to remain but is designed in such a way as to prevent it from slowing down recovery efforts.

Section 3(c) states to provide for the Minister and CERA to ensure that recovery (includes restoration and enhancement). Again this comprises of both facilitation and compliance. Facilitation is enabled through provisioning for the Minister for the Canterbury earthquake recovery and CERA the and resources necessary. This is in order to comply with ensuring that recovery happens. Planning is one of the components that needs to be resourced and administered to ensure that recovery happens. In essence, the responsibility of ensuring that recovery occurs rests ultimately with the Minister and CERA, meaning that recovery planning rests with the Minister and CERA.

Section 3(d) has a purpose to enable a focused, timely and expedited recovery. This consists of the theme of facilitation through that keyword of 'enable'. It wishes to enable focused, timely and expedited recovery. This means that factors that comprise part of the recovery, like planning, needs to be enabled, to be focused, efficient and sped up to increase the speed and efficiency of the city.

Section 3(e) has a purpose of enabling information to be gathered about any land, structure, or infrastructure affected by the Canterbury earthquakes. This adheres to the theme of facilitation because it enables the gathering of information. This relates to planning because information regarding land, structure or infrastructure affected by the Canterbury earthquakes would likely filter into recovery plans and documents.

Section 3(f) is the purpose of facilitating, coordinating and directing the planning, rebuilding, and recovery of affected communities, including the repair and rebuilding of land, infrastructure, and other properties. Focusing specifically on planning, facilitation explicitly occurs here with the word facilitate being used as a core component of its purpose which is to enable planning. At the same time, compliance requires that there be management and direction in the planning occurring in the recovery.

Section 3(g) has the purpose to restore the social, economic, cultural and environmental well-being of greater Christchurch communities. This corresponds with the theme of compliance. This is because this purpose is putting in place a directive to restore the four well-beings of greater Christchurch communities. This will mean that recovery plans and related documents will need to incorporate the necessary objectives, designs, rules and structures to help restore those four wellbeings.

Under section 3(h) its purpose is to provide adequate statutory power for the purposes stated in paragraphs (a) to (g). This aligns with facilitation with the keywords being 'to provide'. In regards to planning and planning processes, it is about providing sufficient statutory power to achieve the type of planning which is demanded by paragraphs (a) to (g).

Section 3(i) repeals and replaces the CERR Act's purpose. This is a compliance theme as it has a directive to repeal and replace in its purpose. From a planning perspective, it signals a transition from a differing legislative environment which did not have planning as a direct focus to a new legislative environment which sets planning as a key focus.

Collectively, each of these purposes helps to paint the picture of the desired form of planning undertaken in a post-quake recovery through a specifically designed/purpose-built legislative planning environment. This reflects a technocratic – participatory planning model that the purposes are trying to create and enforce planners to adhere to.

4.5.2 Participation in planning by the community in the Act

The participatory component of this planning model is evident within the CER Act. For example, under Part Two of the Act which consists of functions and powers to assist recovery and rebuilding section 6, relates to community participation. This requires the Minister of the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery to arrange a community forum to be held for the purpose of providing the Minister with information or advice in relation to the operation of this Act. The Minister, in this case, must invite at least 20 people who are suitably qualified to participate in the forum; ensure that the forum meets at least six times a year; the Minister and the Chief Executive (CE) of CERA must have regard to any information or advice that they are given by the forum. This contains both compliance and facilitation themes. There is a requirement for the community forum to be established to provide information or advice regarding the operation of the Act which could relate to planning aspects, and both the Minister and CE of CERA must have regard for this. This comprises the compliance component. Facilitation is provided through the use of the phrase have regard for. This means that the Minister and CE do not have to accept and Act on the advice or information given by the community forum. Autonomy rests with them in the end. In this case, participation is tokenistic

and the technocratic component of the planning model prevails. It is down to what the Minister or CE wants in planning rather than the forum.

Another participatory action occurs in section 11(4) which requires consultation with CCC, ECan, SDC, WDC, Ngāi Tahu and any other persons or organisations the Minister considers appropriate. The recovery strategy provides the overarching framework for recovery planning. Here, there is a compliance theme stating that this strategy must be developed in consultation with the different tiers of governance structures. Interestingly, Ngāi Tahu who is not a statutory or regulatory body is required to be consulted with on the strategy. Perhaps, their incorporation into this was influenced by the Māori Party as a coalition partner to the National lead government at the time, or it may simply be a greater acknowledgement of the Treaty partnership to be upheld by the Crown and to avoid any further marginalisation or discrimination. Facilitation takes place here in the form of the Minister being able to determine whether any other persons or organisations should be consulted with on the recovery strategy. Further to this, under section 12(1), the process for developing a recovery strategy must include one or more public hearings as determined by the CE at which members of the public may appear and be heard. This once again shows both compliance and facilitation occurring, with compliance requiring there to be at least one public hearing, however facilitation enables the chief executive of CERA to determine how many of those hearings there will be. Section 13(1) also requires public notification of a draft recovery strategy undertaken by the CE and section 13(2)(b) requires the notification must invite members of the public to make written comments on the document in the manner and by the date specified in the notice. This ties into the purpose section 3(b) where community participation is enabled but is constrained to ensure that recovery occurs in a focused timely and expedited manner. If any changes are made to the recovery strategy under section 14(3) then the same consultation processes under section 11(4) and community participation under section 12 applies. Although participation is constrained as per section 3(b).

Recovery plans generally do not have a requirement for public consultation under section 16 of the Act. However, under section 17, the recovery plan for the CBD, mandated under subsection 1 must be developed by CCC in consultation with the affected communities. Subsection 2 requires CERA, ECan and Ngāi Tahu to have the opportunity to provide input into the development of the recovery plan for the CBD. Both of these subsections resonate with the theme of compliance. The keyword used in both of these subsections is 'must'. Therefore affected communities were required to be consulted in the development of the CBD plan. Again Ngāi Tahu as a non-statutory or non-regulatory body are specifically empowered under this section to have the opportunity to provide input in the development of the recovery plan for the CBD. Facilitation in this section comes under subsection 5 where the development of the proposed recovery plan for the CBD must include one or more public

hearings as determined by the CCC where members of the public may appear and be heard. This gives the CCC the power to determine the extent of public hearings. They are guided in their decision-making by the purposes of the Act, which ultimately encourages a more truncated public participatory process.

Conversely, under section 19(1) the Minister may subject to section 17 and 20 determine how recovery plans are developed including any requirements as to consultation or public hearings. This means that with the exception of the recovery plan for the CBD, the Minister for the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery can determine at his or her discretion, whether to engage in consultation or public hearings. Under subsection 3 states that neither the Minister nor any responsible entity has a duty under this Act to consult any person about the development of a recovery plan except as provided under this section or in section 17 or 20. In addition to this, under subsection 4 nothing in section 32 or schedule one of the RMA applies to the development or consideration of a recovery plan. Each of these actions are examples of facilitation that enables planning to be undertaken with significantly less community or public participation. This is particularly highlighted in subsection 3 explicitly stating that there is no duty to consult and subsection 4 with particular regard for schedule 1 of the RMA which removes extensive consultation. Subsection 4 also comprises of compliance and the fact that it is enforcing that nothing in section 32 or schedule one of the RMA applies to the development or consideration of a recovery plan. This restriction of public participation is offset in part through section 20 the public notification of draft recovery plans. Under subsection 3(b) the notification must invite members of the public to make written comments on the document in the manner and by the date specified in the notice. This resonates with compliance as it is using the word 'must' requiring that the public are able to make written comments on the recovery planning document. If any changes are made to a recovery plan under section 22, subsection 2 enables the Minister to decide whether consultation with persons identified under section 19(1) and consulted in the development of the draft recovery plan is appropriate. This engages facilitation where it enables the Minister to decide whether it is appropriate to engage in consultation or not. Overall, the production of recovery plans does facilitate and in some cases require community participation. However, the degree and depth of participation and involvement are limited. This is likely to ensure that development, approval and changes to recovery plans occur in an efficient, timely and expedited way to ensure that the recovery of Canterbury is efficient and the purposes of the Act are met.

A final aspect of participation relates to appeal rights which were significantly reduced under the Act. Under section 68(1) there is no right to appeal against the decision made by the Minister or the CE acting or purporting to act under this legislation except as provided for in sections 69, 70, 79 and 80. Subsection 4 explains that while the Act is in force, there is no right of appeal under the RMA against a decision on an application for a resource consent or a notice of requirement for an activity or use

specified in a recovery plan with the exception provided in sections 69 and 70. This is both a compliance and facilitation initiative where compliance is concerned, it relates to enforcing the rights to not appeal and facilitation occurs where this restriction on the ability to appeal enables a relatively faster recovery process. However, this means that the public are practically unable to appeal against decisions made under the Act. This could potentially result in decisions made that may be subject to the cost of poor planning outcomes because the public has been barred from engaging. This could mean planning decisions failing to capture critical community knowledge and desires resulting in adverse outcomes.

The exceptions to exclusion of appeals appear to be the retention of some red tape or safeguards to prevent certain decisions from resulting in undesirable products and outcomes. However, these are limited to compensation (s 69(1)(a)), certain Ministerial decisions relating to the RMA (s 69(1)(b),(d),(e)), resource consents or notice of requirements for an activity specified in a recovery plan subject to this section (s 69(1)(c)), and certain disputes relating to LIMs (s 69(1)(f)). The Act also places limitations on the persons who are able to appeal to the High Court (s 69(2)). An appeal to the Court of Appeal may be made against a decision of the High Court in a case referred to under section 69 – based on a question of law (s 70(1)(a)) or on another question only with the leave of the Court of Appeal to be given if that court considers the appeal necessary in the interests of justice (s 70(1)(b)). The decision of the Court of Appeal is final (s 70(1)(3)) with the exception of a case relating to compensation which may be appealed to the Supreme Court on a question of law (s 70(4)). The other instance where an appeal can be made is where a person subject to a compliance order is able to appeal to the High Court against the making of the order (s 79(1)). The decision made by the High Court may be appealed to the Court of Appeal but the decision made by that court is final (s 80(4)). The ability to appeal is an instance of facilitation where it enables a person(s) or organisation(s) to appeal decisions that have been made that may relate to a planning issue to obtain a more favourable outcome. Compliance also plays a role here which enforces certain restrictions on who can appeal, the subject of the appeal, and the appeal process. This ensures that facilitation of expediency of recovery is not unduly hampered by appeals.

Ultimately, this demonstrates how public participation within the space of both technocratic and participatory planning models, appear to be more tokenistic rather than instituting citizen empowerment. A mix of facilitation and compliance actions is used to initiate participation as well as circumvent or constrain it in planning processes to better ensure an efficient and timely recovery.

4.5.3 Technocratic top-down planning component of the planning model seen within the Act

The other component of the Act is its technocratic top-down planning nature and approach instigated by experts or appropriately qualified persons. As explained previously, the history of

emergency legislation in New Zealand and other experiences from significant disasters around the world typically results in a centralisation of power is in decision-making to be undertaken by the central government. The CER Act continues this trend. In essence, it places the Minister and the CERA at the apex of the governing statutory food chain. The person and body that planners working in this environment ultimately answer to.

For instance under section 8, the functions of the Minister includes establishing a community forum in accordance with section 6 and cost by the Parliamentary forum in accordance with section 7; recommending for approval a recovery strategy for greater Christchurch under section 11; reviewing the recovery strategy and approving any changes to it under section 14; directing the development of any matters to be covered by recovery plans for all or part of greater Christchurch under section 16; approving recovery plans in the review and changes to them under sections 21 and 22; suspending, mending, or revoking the whole or parts of RMA documents, resource consents and other instruments applying in greater Christchurch in accordance with section 27; giving directions to councils or council organisations under section 48; directing a council to carry out certain functions of the council within a specified timeframe under section 29; issuing a call and notice under section 15 assuming certain responsibilities, duties, or powers of the council if a timeframe under this section is not complied with; compulsorily acquiring land in accordance with subpart four; determining compensation in accordance with subpart five; appointing a Canterbury earthquake recovery review panel under and for the purposes outlined in subpart seven regarding development of delegated legislation; reporting to the House of Representatives on the operation of the Act and in accordance with sections 88 and 92; any other functions provided in this Act. The extent of the functions for the Minister of the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery is significant and cannot be understated, particularly when it comes to planning. The powers vested with the Minister enabled facilitation and compliance to be placed over virtually any aspect of the recovery including planning. Few safeguards existed in the Act with the exception of section 10(1) which requires both the Minister and CE of CERA to ensure that when exercising powers under the Act they do so in accordance with the purposes of the Act and (2) that the use or exercise of those powers is considered reasonably necessary.

Planning powers include the Minister's ability to, under section 11 subsection 2 recommend to the Governor General by an Order in Council approve a recovery strategy. When the actual development of the recovery strategy occurs, certain consultation must be undertaken with local government bodies and other organisations but the Minister also has the ability to determine whether any other persons or organisations should be consulted with under section 11 subsection 4. The Minister under section 14(1) is also able to review and propose an amendment or replacement of the recovery strategy noting that under section 15 subsection 3, no provision of the recovery strategy is

incorporated in an RMA document under subsection 2(a) can be reviewed, changed or varied under schedule 1 of the RMA. This significantly cuts down the amount of planning processes that have to occur in order for the strategy to be operational. It requires that there be compliance with planning processes under the Act to trump the RMA. In addition to the processes that have to be followed, planning and developing the recovery strategy under section 11 subsection 3 outlines what the recovery strategy recommends to include in it, provisions to address the various areas where rebuilding and/or other redevelopment may or may not occur and the sequencing of rebuilding or other redevelopment; location of existing and future infrastructure and possible pattern of repairs, rebuilding, and reconstruction; the nature of the recovery plans that possibly need to be developed and relationships between the plans; additional matters to be addressed in particular, recovery plans including who should lead development of those various plans. In this instance the Minister through powers available acts as mainly a compliance officer ensuring that the process of developing and approving a strategy run smoothly and engage powers of facilitation such as being able to change the recovery strategy or influence who should be consulted on the strategy to accomplish a strategy that the Minister is happy to recommend to the Governor General. The strategy forms the overarching framework for recovery planning that coexists with the RMA and planning documents but will eliminate any inconsistencies for a smooth recovery framework.

In the case of recovery plans, the Minister holds greater powers. Under section 16 subsection 1 the Minister is able to direct one or more responsible entities to develop a recovery plan for all or part of greater Christchurch for the Minister's approval. Under subsection 2 the Minister is able to direct the specific matters that need to be dealt with by the recovery plan. This is in contrast to planning under the LGA or RMA which require a planning process to direct a plans formation. In the CER Act's case, a plan's direction is determined by one single person. In the case of a recovery plan for the CBD, there was a requirement under subsection 4 that a draft recovery plan for the CBD be developed within nine months after the date the Act comes into force. This is an example of compliance which is ensuring that plans are produced quickly. The Minister in this instance, is slightly less influential in the development of a recovery CBD plan. However, under subsection 3 the Minister is able to require the CCC to determine other persons or organisations to have the opportunity to provide input into the development of the recovery plan for the CBD. This allows for the Minister to still influence the plan's development through selected individuals or groups. Under section 19(1) the Minister can subject to section 17 and 20 determine how recovery plans are developed which include any requirements as to consultation or public hearings. However under subsection 2 when determining how a recovery plan is to be developed, the Minister must have regard to the nature and scope of the recovery plan; the needs of people affected by it; possible funding implications and sources of funding; the New Zealand disability strategy; the need to Act expeditiously; the need to ensure that

the recovery plan is consistent with other recovery plans. The Minister can also change recovery plans under section 22 which can be undertaken under subsection 2 using the processes the Minister considers appropriate.

This is facilitating an expedited recovery by essentially giving the Minister the necessary powers to enable him to dictate what the plan consists of and his perception of whether the matters dealt with in the recovery plan are effectively addressed to achieve the purposes of the Act. In essence, it enables the Minister to define the type of planning and processes that are undertaken by planners to construct a plan not for the community but for the Minister, because the Minister of The Planners knows what is best. In conjunction with the compliance initiatives that enforce control on local government and the public in what they can and cannot do, the development of a recovery plan removes the red tape of bureaucracy and public participation. This leads to a streamlined process controlled by the Minister and the ultimate controller of the planner.

The Minister's power is not limited to just the development of recovery plans it also encompasses existing plans and related documents. Under section 27(1) the Minister may, by public notice suspend, amend, or revoke the whole or any part of following as shown in Table 3.

Legislation	Effect from CER Act
Resource Management Act 1991 (RMA)	The Minister (Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Minister) can by public notice suspend, amend or revoke the whole or any part of RMA documents (s 27(1)(a)). The Minister by public notice can suspend or cancel in whole or in part in the Greater Christchurch region any resource consent; any use protected/allowed under section 10, 10A or 10B of the RMA, and any certificate of compliance under the Act (s 27(2)).
Local Government Act 2002 (LGA)	The Minister can by public notice suspend, amend or revoke the whole or any part a plan or policy of a council under LGA (with an exception of a funding impact statement in an annual plan or a long-term plan) (s 27(1)(b)). The Minister can also by public notice revoke any changes or variation approved to a plan under the LGA (s 27(4)(a)).
Land Transport Management Act 2003	The Minister can by public notice suspend, amend or revoke a regional Land Transport Management Act

	<p>2003 (s 27(1)(c)). The Minister can also by public notice revoke any changes or variation approved to a plan under the Land Transport Management Act 2003 (s 27(4)(a)).</p>
<p>Conservation Act 1987</p>	<p>Minister can by public notice suspend, amend or revoke:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • General policies approved under section 17B of the Conservation Act 1987 (s 27(1)(d)(i)). • Conservation management strategies approved under section 17F of the Conservation Act 1987 (s 27(1)(d)(ii)). • Conservation management plans approved under section 17G of the Conservation Act 1987 (s27(1)(d)(iii)). <p>The Minister can also by public notice revoke any changes or variation approved to a plan under the Conservation Act 1987 (s 27(4)(a)).</p>
<p>Reserves Act 1977</p>	<p>Minister can by public notice suspend, amend or revoke:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • General policies approved under section 15A of the Reserves Act 1977 (s 27(1)(d)(i)). • Conservation management strategies approved under section 40A of the Reserves Act 1977 (s 27(1)(d)(ii)). • Conservation management plans approved under section 40B of the Reserves Act 1977 (s 27(1)(d)(iii)). • Management plans approved under section 41 of the Reserves Act 1977 (s 27(1)(d)(iv)).

	The Minister can also by public notice revoke any changes or variation approved to a plan under the Reserves Act 1977 (s 27(4)(a)).
Wildlife Act 1953	<p>Minister can by public notice suspend, amend or revoke:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conservation management plans approved under section 14E of the Wildlife Act 1953 (s 27(1)(d)(v)). <p>The Minister can also by public notice revoke any changes or variation approved to a plan under the Wildlife Act 1953 (s 27(4)(a)).</p>

Table 3. Effects of CER Act on different planning legislation.

This highlights a provision of facilitation to enable the Minister to usurp or amend these plans and related planning documents under a variety of different legislation. When applied, this would change the pre-existing planning environment as to what planners could use in the application of their daily planning work along with their role in regards to what work they were doing. It could result in amending one or more of these plans and documents, redirecting them to processing consents at a quicker rate or working on recovery plans by way of removing existing barriers created by plans and related documents.

The Minister's powers extend beyond this to engage in making directions. Under section 48(1) the Minister may direct any council or council organisation to take or stop taking any action, or to make or to not make a decision. Under subsection 2 subsection 1 applies without limitation to any action or inaction that is required authorise or prevented by or under

- (a) A resource consent that is current or has expired, whether or not the consent has been or is being exercised.
- (b) Section 9 or 124 of the RMA.
- (c) An abatement notice or enforcement order.
- (d) A rule in a plan that permits an activity.

- (e) A designation or heritage order.
- (f) A certificate of compliance under the Act.
- (g) Existing use protected or allowed under section 10, 10A, or 10B of the RMA.

Section 49(1) enables the Minister by written notice to require a council or council organisation to perform or exercise specified responsibilities, duties, or powers of the council organisation within the time specified by the Minister.

Both of these provisions engage in facilitation where the Minister can either direct actions or require a council to perform functions, responsibilities or duties. These can relate to planning actions as indicated particularly in section 48(2). This allows the Minister to determine how planning is to occur and what planners and the council can and cannot do. Further still if under section 49(1) a notice is given to the council to require them to perform a function or otherwise and has not been complied with, the Minister under section 50(1) may assume the responsibilities, duties, or powers specified in the notice through issuing a call-in notice. This enables the Minister to become the kingmaker, s/he can decide if s/he chooses to be the planner, decision-maker and developer concurrently.

Compliance is set under this section both to enforce the Minister's powers and to moderate them. For example, under subsection 2 the Minister in the call-in notice must specify the responsibilities, duties, or powers assumed. This essentially is the declaration of what the responsibilities, duties and powers the Minister assumes which is to Act as a reminder for the Minister to adhere to those specific responsibilities, duties, or powers that are assumed and not step out of that. Subsection 3 requires the council or council organisations concerned are not able to do anything inconsistent with the terms of the call-in notice. This means that the council or council organisation is bound to adhere to the call-in notices terms and not to interfere with the Minister's actions. Subsection 4 is a mixture of both compliance in facilitation where the Minister must relinquish any responsibility, duty, or power taken under subsection 1 which enforces him to comply but facilitation exists here where this only occurs as soon as he is satisfied that the need for it has passed. Essentially it means that the Minister must relinquish those responsibilities, duties or powers taken under the call-in notice but this is on the Minister's terms. These directions resonate with a deeply technocratic planning regime where the Minister can Act as God and direct his or his disciples (the planners) to fulfil his or her wishes. Additionally, the Minister has the power to recommend to the Governor General to compulsorily acquire land taken by the Crown under section 55 by proclamation. This enables the facilitation of plan-making and achieving plan outcomes.

A final aspect of the Minister's impact regarding planning relates to delegated legislation. Under section 71(1) the Governor General is able to (by Order in Council made on the recommendation of

the Minister for Earthquake Recovery) make any provision that is reasonably necessary or expedient for all or any of the purposes stated in section 3(a) to (g). Subsection 2 enables an Order in Council to grant exemptions from, modify, or extend any provisions of any enactment for all or any of the purposes stated in section 3 (a) to (g). Subsection 3 lists the different enactments that can be subject to an Order in Council, a number of which relate to planning. Subsection 5 explains that the reason for an exemption from, modification of, or extension of a provision may be for the purposes of enabling the relaxation or suspension of provisions in enactments that could potentially divert resources away from the recovery effort to efficiently respond to the damage caused by the Canterbury earthquakes; to minimise further damage or may not be reasonably capable of being complied with or comply with fully owing to the circumstances resulting from the Canterbury earthquakes. With regards to planning, modifications, exemptions or extensions of any provisions in enactments are without limitation. Despite the Minister not being given the power to approve an Order in Council, s/he is ultimately influencing the composition of an Order in Council and what exemptions, modifications or extensions will occur. Subsection 5 of section 71 and subsection 2 clearly detail why it is necessary and how an Order in Council may be made to facilitate a relatively more efficient and expedited recovery. This allows for key planning legislation to be significantly altered to cut through the planning red tape to ensure that planning processes do not unduly hamper efficient recovery. Statutory planning is fairly consistent and without dramatic changes. In this recovery environment created by this legislation statutory planning and its processes can be 'flipped' on its head in an instance. This would force planners to adapt to different processes, interpretations and application of how planning is undertaken. A level of compliance is incorporated into the recommendation of an Order in Council through the appointment of a Canterbury earthquake recovery review panel under section 72 which under section 73 provides advice on request to both the Minister for Earthquake Recovery and the relevant Minister in relation to Orders in Council that may be required for the purpose of the CER Act. Although, under section 74(1) the relevant Minister only has to take into account the purposes of the Act on the recommendations of the recovery review panel. Under subsection 2 the recommendation of the relevant Minister is not able to be challenged, reviewed, quashed or called into question in any court. This applies another level of compliance to ensure that the recommendation is immediately addressed by the Governor General rather than being burdened by bureaucratic processes.

Overall, it appears that the Minister for the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery is given extensive powers under the Act to dramatically reform planning processes and planning itself and the Canterbury earthquake recovery. It is evident that these powers if exerted would likely have an impact on all planners operating in the greater Christchurch region in the Canterbury recovery. It seems that this would particularly impact more so on public planners (those working in council or

Crown organisations) in contrast to private planners (those working in consultancies or private companies).

4.5.4 CERA

Comparatively, it is also important to assess the powers of the CE of the CERA in regards to planning. It should be noted that the powers vested in the CE, in essence, are the powers given to CERA. Furthermore, the CE under section 10(3) of the Act had the ability to delegate any of the CE's powers or functions under this Act or any other Act as well as functions or duties delegated to the CE under any Act to any employee of, or person seconded to, CERA. Therefore, I will refer any functions, responsibilities, duties or powers given to the chief executive as CERA.

Under section 9 the functions of CERA includes the development of a recovery strategy to submit to the Minister; reviewing and preparing amendments of a recovery strategy; developing a recovery plan if directed to do so by the Minister; consenting to specific types of contracts that councils may enter into under section 28; requiring the provision of information, disseminating information, commission reports anchoring at investigations under subpart four; exercising qualified powers to enter property; directing the approval of cadastral survey datasets by Land Information New Zealand processes for issuing of computer registers by the registered general land; carrying out and commissioning building, demolition and removal work; restricting access to specified buildings and areas; partially or totally closing roads or restricting access roads; giving directions to property owner where they have a sufficiently linked interest to Act for the benefit of an adjoining owner; acquiring, selling, and otherwise dealing with land and property; receiving claims for compensation; applying to the High Court for compliance orders where compliance with a direction has not occurred; giving effect to other matters that may be delegated to him or her by the Minister; any other functions provided in this Act. The breadth of functions required by CERA is significant as a large component of those functions comprises of planning in the sense of planning processes, plan-making and planning itself. In order for CERA to be effective in this environment, it is also necessary that they are given the appropriate powers and responsibilities to fulfil their functions in the case of planning.

A large component of plan development undertaken by CERA is engaged through compliance due to it being a central government authority. For instance, under section 11(1) that CERA must develop a recovery strategy and submit the document to the Minister for his consideration. Under section 12(2) a draft recovery plan must be completed within 9 months of the Act coming into force. This helps indicate both the top-down and quickness of planning to be undertaken. Interestingly, CERA in the case of the recovery strategy is in charge of public participation. Which as already mentioned is required but truncated. Facilitation is applied in this case under section 14(1) where CERA is able to review her recovery strategy and can propose that it be amended or replaced. Under subsection 2

after a review, CERA must prepare the appropriate documentation that gives effect to the proposed action and submit it to the Minister for consideration. Ultimately what this shows is that CERA is compelled by the Minister to do the tasks that s/he wishes to be implemented. CERA acts as the Minister's experts to produce the strategy as the overarching recovery planning framework in the way that he wants but in a professional format. In the case of recovery plans, CERA is not explicitly stated as the sole developer. However, under section 16(1) the Minister may direct one or more 'responsible entity' (which includes under section 4 CERA(the CE)). In some ways the phrase 'may direct 1 or more responsible entities' may be implicitly implying the desire for directing CERA to produce recovery plans in general. This is an example of facilitation where the Minister can direct his organisation to be involved in recovery plans alongside the council or solely producing a recovery plan. This also facilitates the ability to increase capacity to produce plans at a faster rate than being undertaken by just one entity.

CERA is also empowered to carry out or commission works under section 38(1). Under subsection 2 the works include without limitation the erection, reconstruction, placement, alteration, or extension of all or any part of any building, structure, or other direction on or under land; the demolition of all or part of the building, structure, or other direction on or under land; the removal and disposal of any building, structure or other direction on or under land, or material. Under subsection 5 works under this section are allowed to be undertaken on or under public or private land and with or without the consent of the owner or occupier. This is engaging and facilitation where CERA can undertake any works it wishes to without the requirement of consent from the owner or occupier of land. However, they are still required under subsection 6 to apply for any building or resource consents which are applicable to the works undertaken in this section. Although it notes that this can be varied by Orders in Council. However, it does enable the overriding of property rights meaning that previous planning processes and regulatory documents are vetoed. This essentially removes democratic decision-making. This also highlights that it facilitates CERA not only being the creator of recovery strategies and plans but also implementors and developers. This is further emphasised under section 43(1) where CERA may subdivide, re-subdivide, amalgamate, improve and develop all or any land acquired by the Crown under the Act. Also, under subsection 2 nothing in section 11 or part 10 of the RMA applies to any subdivision under this clause. This facilitates CERA being able to implement subdivision without having to be compliant with parts of the planning processes for undertaking subdivision under the RMA. This is to ensure that the process is efficient.

Under section 44(1) CERA can erect or authorise the erection and use of temporary buildings on any public reserve, public land, road, or street and provide for the removal. This is able to be instigated without the need for a building consent or resource consent. This is facilitating the ability for CERA to erect temporary buildings without having to go through normal planning processes in order to speed

up recovery. CERA can also under section 46(1) facilitate the closing and stopping of roads. Compliance for how the road closure or stoppage occurs involves consultation with the relevant road controlling authority under subsection (5). In the case of closing and stopping roads under subsection 6(a), there is no right of appeal. This facilitates the recovery effort and implementation of plan implementation and actual development.

Provisions are also given to CERA under section 52(2) to direct owners of two or more adjoining properties to Act for the benefits of any other adjoining or adjacent property owners in a manner specified by CERA. This facilitates the realisation of plans being implemented to fulfil their objectives and intended outcomes. It gives CERA the power to force owners to Act which prevents any unwanted deliberation or time-wasting and enables recovery efforts to progress. CERA can also acquire or dispose of land under section 53(1) in the name of the Crown. This essentially facilitates the recovery in the form of planning by better ensuring the vision, objectives and intended outcomes are achieved by obtaining greater control of the outcomes through property acquisition or disposal. In the instance where CERA wishes to exercise the power to dispose of land, CERA must offer to sell the land by private contract to the person whom that land was acquired from or that person's successor under section 58(2). This is an example of compliance through the use of the phrase 'must offer'. This ensures a sense of fairness so the previous owner of the land has the opportunity to purchase it back.

The Act gives both responsibilities and powers to CERA to be the key strategizer, plan maker, implementor, developer and monitor of recovery. It is the right arm of the Minister for the Canterbury earthquake recovery exerting his or her influence through their planning functions.

4.5.5 Other relevant planning provisions

There are other relevant planning provisions addressed in the Act that apply to the recovery phase. For instance, under section 23(1) councils are not to Act inconsistently with a recovery plan upon its notification. This means that any person exercising functions or powers under the RMA must not make a decision or recommendation that is inconsistent with the recovery plan on the series of matters. These include: the application for resource consent for a restricted discretionary, discretionary, or noncomplying activity; notice of requirement; application to transfer resource consent under section 135, 136 or 137; application to change or cancel the conditions of a resource consent under section 127; a review of a resource consent under section 128; the preparation, change, variation, or a review of an RMA document under schedule one. This is an instance of compliance where councils must not be inconsistent with the recovery plan to ensure that it is implemented appropriately and without hindrance. Similar circumstances under section 24(1) apply where councils are required to amend an RMA document if a recovery plan directs so to include

(from the recovery plan), or remove or change any objectives, policies, or methods in a document that the recovery plan requires. Amendments must be made as soon as practicable without the schedule 1 or section 32 processes of the RMA under subsection 5. This is also engaging compliance to further reinforce the need for expedited recovery and the removal of the planning red-tape processes. Furthermore, under section 26(1) various other plans and instruments must not be inconsistent with the recovery plan approved by the Minister. A recovery plan has to be read together with and forms part of the instruments and prevails where there is any inconsistency between it and an instrument. Furthermore, under subsection 4 if required by a recovery plan the responsible entity must amend the instrument to give effect to the provisions of the recovery plan. Ultimately this is an application of compliance which enforces the hierarchy of the recovery plan to ensure that there is consistency in the approach to recovery and that other planning instruments do not create a barrier to efficient and timely recovery.

A final key planning aspect is section 25(1) which results in section 88(1A) of the RMA not applying in any application for a resource consent for any activity specified in a recovery plan. Which means that any application lodged may not retain the same type of activity category in the case where the consent applies to a recovery plan. This again is the implementation of compliance to avoid any unnecessary impediments in recovery. However, this is dependent on the recovery plan class being more permissive of the activity than would otherwise be the case.

4.6 Summary

Overall the Act is used to empower the Minister and CERA to coordinate, develop, implement and successfully achieve an efficient and expedited recovery through the utilisation of facilitation and compliance factors within provisions of the Act. The Act demonstrates the use of a technocratic-participatory planning model and the struggle of both coexisting with one another. Participation is associated with informing, consultation, and placation (through public hearings and written submissions) resembling a weakened tokenistic form of participation. This may have been done to allow the community to play a 'role' in recovery but not a key role. In contrast, technocracy within planning and planning process is evident with central government in the controller's seat. The Act wishes to simplify and streamline planning and its processes through a combination of enablers (facilitation) and enforcers (compliance). This significantly changes the landscape and environment for planners. For public planners in particular, it appears the Act seeks for them to be controlled and to be the handmaidens to power rather than the 'harassers'. Regardless of whether a person is a public or private planner of greater Christchurch, it is likely to impact on the way they operate and the overall planning model and environment that is constructed by the Act.

Chapter 5

Interview results from politicians

5.1 Introduction

As my analysis in Chapter 4 shows, the nature of planning was potentially affected by the recovery legislation, possibly posing challenges to planners' skills and knowledge, and to some degree their ethics as professionals with the diminution of public participation. In this chapter analysis of the results from interviews with politicians is undertaken. The results are broken down into key themes that were determined from the interviews. This includes in the following order: the CER Act, governance structures, recovery planning, determination of the professional planner, expectations of planners' and changes made to the CER Act. A short summary is provided at the end of the chapter to provide an overall perspective on the results. These results are intended to help build a picture of the political environment at that time, highlight different political perspectives and experiences, and present politicians' interactions with planning and planners during the recovery.

5.2 Politicians

Four politicians were interviewed, this included the current Mayor of Christchurch City Hon Lianne Dalziel, former Mayor of Christchurch City Sir Bob Parker, Hon Gerry Brownlee MP for Ilam from the National Party and former Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Minister, and Hon Dr Megan Woods MP for Wigram from the Labour Party and current Minister for Greater Christchurch Regeneration. A series of structured questions were asked to each politician (see Appendix A: Interview documents and related information). Due to the semi-structured nature of the interview in some instances, there were questions asked that were not part of the list of structured questions. In some cases, certain questions did not need to be asked because they had already answered them or implied a particular opinion or perspective. Each of the politicians interviewed had different political roles at the time. Lianne Dalziel has had two roles over this time. Initially, she was an opposition MP for Christchurch East and then became spokeswoman for the earthquake recovery and civil defence and emergency. In October 2013 she was elected as Mayor of Christchurch and has helped lead the transition to the regeneration phase of recovery. Mr Parker was the Mayor of Christchurch City and had recently been re-elected following the September 4, 2010 earthquake and already had experience dealing with disasters. Following the February 22, 2011 earthquake, as Mayor, Mr Parker declared a state of local emergency, stood as the key leader of the CCC and represented the community in decision-making. The role also involved being the hub of communication, providing information about the earthquake and relaying that back to central government and the public.

There was also the need to work and coordinate with central and local government for response and recovery efforts. Mr Brownlee was already appointed as the Earthquake Recovery Minister following the September 2010 earthquake in Canterbury. After February 22, that became his full-time government portfolio. His role essentially involved coordinating central government support and “..... to assist Christchurch with its recovery”. In contrast, Ms Woods only recently became an electorate MP for Wigram in late 2011, but had previously been a community board member for the Wigram area. Between 2011 to 2016 she was in an opposition party. She became a spokesperson for not only her electorate but for the people of Christchurch (New Zealand Parliament, 2019) and aimed to hold those in power in check. The formation of the 52nd Parliament in 2017 saw the Labour Party leading a new government (Ardern, 2017). Ms Woods was then appointed as the Greater Christchurch Regeneration Minister on 26 October 2017 (New Zealand Parliament, 2019).

5.3 The CER Act

When asking each of these politicians whether the enactment of the CER Act was necessary, most answered yes. Mayor Dalziel agreed that “legislation was necessary” given the circumstances, although she did not “...believe [the model they chose] was correct, it wasn’t based on good [political] practice”. Whereas the other politicians were more definite in their response that this regulatory action had to be done. Each of their justifications for why it was necessary appeared fairly similar. This related to the sheer scale of the event and the need to remove the regulatory checks and balances of decision making in planning processes. Mr Brownlee and Ms Woods shared the perspective that it was needed to better coordinate central government response and use of emergency powers. Although Mr Brownlee went further and iterated that, “...there was quite a need to have empowering legislation that let things get done quickly to support the local population and it was unanimously supported by Parliament¹⁰”. Mr Parker shared a similar view stating that,

“The enactment of the CERA was a vital part of getting the recovery underway. In essence, it extended the powers of a declared emergency to continue beyond the end of the period of declaration. Given the scale of destruction we faced (this event remains New Zealand’s only declared national disaster) this ability to cut through normal planning red-tape and actually get the recovery moving was vital to our survival. This disaster was beyond any imagined scenario in our planning”.

¹⁰ It was near unanimous support, there were 109 ayes and 11 noes. The noes were made up by Green Party and independent MP’s (New Zealand Parliament, 2011). I believe what Mr Brownlee was referring to here was the cross-party support received from the majority of political parties in Parliament at the time with the exception of the Green Party and independents.

For Mr Parker, it was obvious that central government would be needed to support the Christchurch recovery.

One aspect that appeared to receive positive consensus from the politicians was the decision to include Ngāi Tahu as a key partner in the recovery under sections 11(4), 17(2) and 20(1) of the CER Act. This gave Ngāi Tahu the opportunity to influence the recovery of Christchurch. Mr Brownlee explained that this was undertaken because Ngāi Tahu was already sitting on ECan as a result of the ECan Act, Ngāi Tahu are also very big stakeholders in all of the South Island and significant landholders in Christchurch. Mr Brownlee saw in the immediate response Ngāi Tahu were very active as a single entity supporting the eastern suburbs and taking on a leadership role.

“Because we were setting aside a lot of established processes where there might have been consideration around Treaty issues...the smartest thing to do would be to actually have Ngāi Tahu at the table and it went very well ...they were significant. It was totally the right thing to do because the Recovery Act itself suspended normal...the prevailing law you would say....it was only appropriate that they continue to have a voice”.

Likewise, Mayor Dalziel acknowledged that making Ngāi Tahu a key stakeholder in the legislation was positive because, “....it’s been a really strong basis for developing relationships”. Ms Woods and Mr Parker also shared similar positive perspectives on this decision. By ensuring they were involved during that recovery period it would appear that Ngāi Tahu and CCC has been able to develop stronger relationships and engagement with one another according to Mayor Dalziel.

This highlights that although answers correlate to an extent, each consisted of a different angle, reflecting different political roles and, perhaps, perspectives.

5.4 Governance structures

In contrast, when asking the politicians about the impacts of the CER Act on governance structures and powers, answers appeared to be divergent. Mr Brownlee was adamant that CERA did not have all the power but they did take the lead to coordinate and manage recovery. This was because,

“The council (CCC) had determined that they would handle post September and in early stages of post February... the recovery of the city as adjunct to business as usual..... In other words, everything would carry on as before.... Nothing would particularly change and they would just deal with the bits and pieces that they needed to..... That was totally unrealistic.... So we made a decision that actually it was a bigger role here... that needed to be more centrally organised”.

As the Minister for Earthquake Recovery the CER Act did give Mr Brownlee significant powers and responsibilities. He indicated that as the Minister at that time, it was frustrating because he was faced with “a lot of expectations”, having to deal with protestations of local government and different political forces all while dealing with the pressures of recovery and trying to ensure that efforts were occurring “at pace”. As Minister, he had to do some “pretty big things” like the SCIRT¹¹ programme.

“It was New Zealand’s biggest ever civil construction project... The council was feeling unhappy about that, they wanted to be involved.... You could not go through the processes that they would normally go through and get the pace that was required.... A compromise was they got a place at the alliance board structure..... Which frankly I would never do again but that’s the sort of thing you have to put up with”.

This demonstrates the pressures of wanting to move at what he perceived as the ‘right’ speed for recovery, impliedly faster than the ‘business-as-usual’ pace of the city council, and the tensions between central and local government. Especially interesting is his conclusion that this is not what he would do in future and that at least in this aspect of the recovery, the elected representatives of the affected community (the city) would not be included. The importance of infrastructure and hence of the SCIRT mechanism to recover and rebuild that infrastructure and choosing to exclude the city might have been significant.

Conversely, Mayor Dalziel expressed “we had in place already a civil defence emergency management regime which had a national plan, most of which replayed in the local plan but the government hadn’t even looked at it or considered it before they introduced new legislation.....”. This resulted in central government overriding existing civil defence emergency management plans and instituting CERA, a government department which reported to the Minister for the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery. She stated that “.... I have a very strong view on the inappropriateness of the model that was constructed”.

Mayor Dalziel, an opposition MP at the time, so viewed that central government acted hastily. Central government put in place their own recovery framework which consequently overrode

¹¹ SCIRT (Stronger Christchurch Infrastructure Rebuild Team) is an alliance that was finalised in September 2011 of three public entity owners CCC, New Zealand Transport Authority, and CERA and five non-owner participants City Care Limited, Fulton Hogan Limited, Fletcher Construction Company Limited, McConnell Dowell Constructors Limited, and Downer New Zealand Limited (Office of the Auditor-General, 2013). SCIRT was assigned the task of repairing and reconstructing pipes for water, wastewater, and stormwater in addition to the roading network that included walls and other roading structures (horizontal infrastructure) (Office of the Auditor-General, 2013). “Planning for the horizontal infrastructure rebuild connects closely with the Land Building and Infrastructure Recovery Plan” (Office of the Auditor-General, 2013, p. 16). Ultimately this infrastructure planning was to coordinate with other recovery plans and programmes.

existing civil defence emergency management frameworks. This may have been because central government wanted to instil confidence for both Cantabrians and potential investors by showing they would lead the recovery, as was shown in the Blueprint launch video produced by CERA in 2012¹². However, the central government's desire to get things underway quickly, may have been to the detriment of the local community by disorganising established local authority structures for addressing recovery. From her perspective, the governance model set up was destined to experience problems. This provides a centre-left perspective on the approach to recovery.

In an answer to questions about the Central Government appointing commissioners to ECan Mayor Dalziel expressed the view that "they [central government] sacked the council [ECan] and replaced it with commissioners....and in my view, that's the only reason that this council [CCC] wasn't replaced by commissioners. The government couldn't have acted in that way because.....it would have been a step too far....but I think that's what they would have preferred to do.....". This helps to highlight the fragile governance system in Christchurch at the time. The belief put forward by Mayor Dalziel that the central government had a desire to take over CCC does somewhat reflect Mr Brownlee's comments. Ultimately, Mayor Dalziel's perspective seems to be that central government wished to usurp the local government and community decision-making.

As an opposition MP, Megan Woods expressed concerns regarding the impacts of the CER Act on governance structures and powers. From her perspective, "Operatively there could have been far more of a closer working relationship between central government and the city council...When you have a piece of legislation that centralised so much of that power that wasn't a good place for the city to be in". This refers to the Act's re-centralisation of power back to central government causing the disempowerment of CCC.

Another concern raised by Ms Woods was regarding the "...centralisation of powers, some of them needed to be....in the immediate aftermath and this is where I'm saying..... there needs to be that clear delineation.....with extraordinary powers comes extraordinary responsibility". She suggested that there needed to be better governance structures in place to safeguard the use of those powers. This would involve putting checks and balances in place so the Minister was not directly involved with CERA and would instead be accountable to a representative local community voice. She did acknowledge that the community forum was in some ways anticipated to perform this role, but in her eyes, "...those voices weren't utilised enough". She felt as though there is a time for speed in decision making in the immediacy of the disaster. However, once "...you get into that recovery phase, then you certainly need the 'Share an Idea' kind of ability to have people's voices heard coming

¹² See this link to view the Blueprint launch video <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WH4CQ-qkEAO>

through that” rather than being shut-out. Ms Wood believes a shut-out was what happened in the Christchurch recovery with CERA leading the Central City Recovery Plan (CCRP) and Blueprint.

This highlights the contrast in pressures between those politicians who were in power and those in opposition. The opposition is to act as a check and balance of sorts, holding those in power to account. Ms Woods highlights what she would have done had she been in power and faced with those pressures. This may also be a reflection of the difference in expectations between the Labour Party and the National Party and the subsequent actions that may have been taken by either party in this type of scenario. It helps to show the importance of those in opposition and how they can provide a different voice and perspective to the situation.

As the face of the recovery (Roughan, 2014) from 2010-2013, Mr Parker stressed that “one of our big learnings from the 2010 earthquake was around efficient, targeted and consistent communication of information. Too many sources of information become confusing in the chaos of the post disaster period of early recovery” and that it would be key post February 22 2011. Mr Parker stated that,

“To sustain belief in the future of the city it was vital that as a community we had a vision that would keep us focused on a period beyond the shattered environment we were inhabiting on a daily basis. That is a vision in which we could see ourselves and want to be part of. This could carry us through the uncertainty post-quake and motivate us to believe in a positive future. This is where ‘Share an Idea’ grew from”.

Central government provided the platform to do this through provisions in the CER Act¹³. Mr Parker expressed that,

“The ‘Share an Idea’ vision drew on work we had already completed pre-quake. Projects such as the Greater Christchurch Urban Development process, and in the Central City numerous public meetings around how we could create a revitalised City Centre. We at the CCC drove this consultation with our community. Ultimately ‘Share an Idea’ became the basis for the CERA Blueprint”.

Essentially, Mr Parker felt that through ‘Share an Idea’ the community was able to cultivate their vision for Christchurch City through the draft Central City Plan (DCCP). However, because of the way the finalised CCRP and Blueprint were developed and delivered it came across as central government taking over (GCGDPMC, 2017). These feelings may have been transferred onto the community through media stories, further magnifying it (International Recovery Platform, 2007).

¹³ Section 17

This highlights the differences between perspectives based on the roles that each politician assumes, despite their common routes and interests in helping Christchurch to recovery. Not surprisingly, the politicians' responses appeared to reflect the positions they held at the time. The empowered, feeling the local authority was an obstacle, and the local representatives, feeling disempowered, despite their ongoing presence in the process indicating that they were, in fact, empowered to a certain degree.

5.5 Recovery planning

In the case of planning undertaken in recovery as a result of the CER Act, it seems that the politicians held differing views. One view which was consistent for the politicians interviewed related to Christchurch being fortunate that a significant amount of planning, research and analysis had already been undertaken with the formation of the Greater Christchurch Urban Development Strategy (UDS) (Christchurch City Council, Canterbury Regional Council, Transit New Zealand, Selwyn District Council, & Waimakariri District Council, 2007). This meant that with the red zoning of over 10,000 properties the UDS could be drawn on to unlock land on the periphery. This resulted in the UDS being used to inform the development of the Land Use Recovery Plan (Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority [CERA], 2013a; Canterbury Regional Council, 2016) which accelerated growth significantly in the outlying Christchurch suburbs and in the Selwyn and Waimakariri districts (Saunders, Vallance, & Mamula-Seadon, 2014). The only concern with this was raised by Ms Woods with regard to "the inability of coping for infrastructure" to handle that significant growth. This suggests that this component of the recovery planning was viewed as being appropriate.

Comparatively, the recovery plans developed for the central city received more divided opinion. Mayor Dalziel raised a different point that there were already recovery plans in place and that the government at the time "...didn't even look...they didn't even read the National CDEM Plan which has a whole chapter on recovery and which puts the community at the centre of everything". She viewed the blueprint process as having "undermined the incredible results of the 'Share an Idea' campaign...". She also raised concerns around anchor projects and the Minister for Earthquake Recovery acting as the 'master planner' in the recovery. For Mayor Dalziel, recovery planning was not necessarily a failure but one that missed opportunities. From discussions with Ms Woods, she also felt that opportunities were missed with public participation, but acknowledged the central government at the time was doing what they thought was best. For Mr Brownlee, he found the council to be frustrating and considered that was the reason why CERA had to get involved with the CCRP "to do it properly". From discussions with Mr Parker it seems like he felt that overall, the recovery planning undertaken had worked.

Differing perspectives were given by politicians regarding if they would have made any changes in the planning approaches taken during the recovery of Christchurch. Mayor Dalziel would have opted for a more localised planning approach and “...taken a lot more advice” from experts regarding the recovery planning. However, she does not “...blame people...” and inferred that the central government did what they thought was best and “...the one thing that keeps me going is the determination to learn the lessons of what we did wrong so that no one else repeats them”.

Mr Parker viewed that the planning approaches taken were appropriate and has enabled a relatively efficient recovery of Christchurch. However, he did express the need for more integrated planning between local and central government (which, he noted, did occur in some capacities). Mr Parker also felt “disappointed after I left where the following council has delayed everything...It has cost us five to ten years in terms of how the city will appear...”. In essence, Mr Parker's concern was more so with how the plan is being implemented by the current CCC.

Ms Woods reemphasised that loss of opportunities theme, particularly around transportation and the plan's division of the central city into precincts, which she saw as being a 20th-century approach that was “outdated and old-fashioned”. Another problem she saw was the cost of anchor projects which, as Regeneration Minister she claimed to have “tried to strip out costs for some of them.”. But, essentially considered that she is limited in terms of what can be done there. She speculated that if the Labour Party was in government at the time of key planning decisions, “we would have had a lighter touch that would have involved the local population a lot more in making those decisions about their city.....I think there are a lot of people who feel those things were imposed upon them”. Ultimately, Ms Woods wanted to see a city planned and designed for the future generations “...we have to think beyond the present...”. Planning decisions were needed that were not necessarily allowed for because of, perhaps, the political ideology of the government in power at the time. Mr Brownlee, on the other hand, believes that the recovery planning has “...by and large worked and if it hasn't then why have they not made changes to the plans”. Some of the politicians expressed the feeling that opportunities were missed that has not necessarily led to the best outcomes. If that is the case, we have yet to see any significant changes to recovery plans given that these politicians are to an extent empowered and can do so. However, this could now only be done through normal processes and constrained by provisions of the legislation.

5.6 Determining a professional planner

Comparatively, when asking each of the politicians whether they could tell the difference between a professional planner versus a non-member one, none of the politicians were able to distinguish between the two during that recovery period. For instance, Mr Brownlee stated that “in the end, a lot of planning strikes me as...the opinion of planners at the time and they inflict those opinions, and

I mean that quite seriously, on the rest of the public". He went on to say that "to be honest with you, I struggle to see what the skill was in their (planners') advice". It became clear throughout the interview that Mr Brownlee saw planners more as barriers rather than guardians of placemaking and land use, although he did acknowledge that they do have a part to play in recovery. The answer from Mr Brownlee suggests either a lack of knowledge or understanding about planners or alternatively, it may have been the case that planners did not actually bring any specific skills to the table.

Mr Parker has a more positive view of planners stating that

"...planning is about how do you make it work. Its everything from traffic planning to the design of buildings. To that, our planners really had no equal...you have to translate the vision the politicians have given you into a set of rules that actually work...to get an outcome.....The role of the planner was then and is now and will always be absolutely crucial....because there is no group in the whole organisation that holds all of that information, and understands it and translates it easily and can see in many cases, the unforeseen pitfalls that the political vision might be trying to embrace...".

He noted that he was not able to tell the difference between a professional (i.e. a member of the NZPI) versus a non-member planner however, "...you could tell the difference between a non-local and local planner". He explained that local planners are invaluable in regards to the local knowledge, understanding and networks that they are connected into. Whereas, those who were not local planners struggled to understand the context and local systems making them less productive. This perhaps supports the idea that planners are more effective at communicating locally and understanding local politicians needs as oppose to central government.

Ms Woods also had a different take on the question. Despite her being unable to identify the difference between a professional versus a non-member planner she acknowledged that, the

"....boundary broke down between who was a professional planner and who was an opinion in terms of what needed to be in the central city. This was evident in the discourse of the media and we had people talking about how the city should look and feel from more of an aesthetic rather than a planning perspective, so that was evident.....".

This is regarding a number of planning opinions being made through the media who were not necessarily planners, thereby distorting the role of the planner. She too acknowledges they play a key role in the organisation and functioning of the city, as she has had previous experience with planners from the council and understands what they do, how they work and their role.

Conversely, for Lianne Dalziel as an MP “...it wasn’t a requirement for me...” to be able to differentiate between a professional and non-member planner. Since Lianne Dalziel’s appointment as Mayor she claims to now be able to distinguish between a professional versus a non-member planner, “...because I’ve obviously had a lot to do with the NZPI since I have come into this role”. This suggests that over time through her interactions with NZPI it has helped her to recognise the difference between a professional and non-member planner.

It seems that the planning profession has not necessarily promoted professional planners in a way that can distinguish them from non-member planners. There does appear to be a distinction between politicians at the national level where they are likely more used to policy advisors. Whereas politicians at the local level appear more grounded in place, having more interaction with planners but not being able to identify the difference between a professional versus a non-member planner. It shows that perhaps through interaction and explanation from NZPI a politician may be able to distinguish who a professional planner is.

5.7 Expectations of planners

Expectations of planners before the earthquake and then during the recovery period also received differing answers from each respective politician. For instance, Mr Parker’s expectations did not change at least for the planning teams he was involved with. This may relate to Mr Brownlee’s perception of the city council putting their heads in the sand and acting like it was business as usual. This also may be a reflection of the disempowerment of the CCC and the ability to control their planners. It may also be an insight into the complexities of local government and the expectation that planners do engage in disaster risk management planning, it is simply just another part of their everyday job which applied in the earthquakes more prevalently.

In comparison, Mr Brownlee did accept that his expectations of planners changed at the time. He wanted planners to provide clarity about “what people could do in the CBD...”. This was done to give confidence to investors and developers.

It was revealed, in discussions with interviewees that in some cases, planners were perceived to have been unreasonable or lacked practicality whilst working in the recovery. This is in reference to being overly obsessive about rules and policy to the point where it may have been off-putting for potential investors and developers in the Christchurch recovery. As an example, a developer might have proposed the construction of a commercial office building that was slightly below the minimum threshold for landscaping. This decision was made by the developer because meeting that threshold would mean having to redesign the whole building, which would result in the incursion of significant extra costs. The planner, suggested constructing the building on an alternative site in a different

zone. However, the developer had already purchased the land and invested a large amount of capital into making this development successful. If the developer was to purchase another site and redesign the building again in order for it to be profitable and comply with the rules, a significant financial loss would be the outcome. If the developer was allowed to go ahead with the current proposal, it would inject millions of dollars into the Christchurch economy and provide a number of employment opportunities in construction and operation phases. Despite the positive effects of the development, the planner was insistent that the landscaping threshold be met. It is understandable in these situations that politicians may get frustrated with the planner preventing recovery progress. The planner in this case, in their view is failing to see the bigger picture and apply a more reasonable response. In this case it may or may not be justifiable that a politician, if empowered, override the planner's judgement and allow the development to proceed to ensure the recovery progresses. However, a trained planner, would consider the long term consequences rather than be blinkered by a developer arguing for a short term profit.

In summary, it is important that the planner is reasonable when making a judgement and that means taking into account the given context and being holistic in the judgement made.

This helps to highlight that planning principles may have acted to hamper the recovery's progress. It is critical that these principles are made flexible so that they can be appropriately applied to the context. This is also a reflection of expectations; they are not static and they do change. Planners need to recognise when expectations change of them and account for those expectations when they undertake planning, whilst upholding planning principles and codes of ethics and/or practice.

Ms Woods' perspective was that the planner's job changed from "tinkering to city making" and as the role changed so did people's expectations. This was particularly evident for planning around the re-imagination of Christchurch City. As an MP Lianne Dalziel did not have a lot of interaction with planners, but when I asked her this question, she had to contemplate what that actually meant. She explained to me that ".....as an MP there isn't sort of a module that you do on land-use planning and the association with your particular electorate...". This is despite it being directly relevant to electorate MP's and politicians who are empowered to make decisions for the people they represent, who are affected by those decisions. Following the earthquakes as the spokesperson for civil defence and emergency management, the earthquake recovery and being directly affected by planning decisions that resulted in her home being red zoned, "...the connection between land-use planning and natural hazards and how you mitigate or avoid..." became apparent. She now has an expectation of New Zealand's cities and towns for planning preparedness for natural hazards and recovery following a disaster to help build more resilient communities.

In summary, different expectations of planners reflected the nature of the political role and the expectations about the way and pace in which recovery should occur.

5.8 Changing the CER Act

The question was asked whether any of the politicians had the opportunity to change the CER Act and what changes would they make if they could have. Each of the politicians provided differing views. Mr Brownlee exclaimed that “I think sometimes the appeal rights that are written into law don’t anticipate circumstances like this [earthquake recovery]”. In essence, Mr Brownlee believed it was important to have appeal rights but not to the extent that it would stifle the planning process and the recovery. This comment may have potentially stemmed from experiences of frustration by having his decisions around the residential red zoning be appealed and deemed unlawful by the court of law¹⁴.

In contrast, Ms Woods saw a number of flaws in the CER Act with,

“...the powers lasting too long in the shape that they were put in. I don’t think there was a clear definition between immediate disaster response and moving into the recovery phase in terms of ratcheting down to more local decision-making through the life of the Act..... I think some of the planning laws....the emergency powers that were put in around planning were necessary. I think there could have been some more checks and balances on some of them”.

She gave an example of how powers in the Act enabled the demolition of a number of heritage buildings. However, she acknowledged that some of the issues that occurred with the Act related to its operational use rather than the actual fundamentals of the Act itself. This suggests the Act’s use by particular persons empowered under the Act may have been a central cause of these perceived problems. Perhaps if more checks and balances were in place as Ms Woods suggests then a more judicious use of powers may have occurred, meaning a clearer definition between response and recovery.

A recurrent issue with the legislation that continued to be raised by Ms Woods’ referred to the difficulty between delineating between response and recovery. She iterated this point stating that, “...what we need to do differently next time is to actually have a clear delineation within any disaster recovery legislation that did foresee a point when recovery would start to occur and that there would

¹⁴ Quake Outcasts v The Minister for Canterbury Earthquake Recovery [2015] NZSC 27.
Quake Outcasts v The Minister for Canterbury Earthquake Recovery [2016] NZHC 1959.
Quake Outcasts v The Minister for Canterbury Earthquake Recovery & ANOR [2017] NZCA 332.

be a change in those extraordinary powers”. She reiterated this again stating that the Act was a “cliff face¹⁵ piece of legislation..... There was no transition within it”. As a consequence of this lack of delineation between recovery and regeneration, it necessitated the creation of the Greater Christchurch Regeneration Act 2016 according to Ms Woods. This criticism raised by Ms Woods is made post-CER Act and therefore in hindsight. However, if the legislation did delineate between those phases, this would mean that the legislation would be foretelling the future and how each phase would occur, which is not possible. A more feasible alternative could have been putting in place certain thresholds for uses of power which may have helped to clarify the different phases of disaster risk management.

Mayor Dalziel stated that the legislation was not correct “.....it was not based on international best practice”. For Mayor Dalziel, it seemed that she would have preferred the legislation to utilise the existing recovery plans and frameworks and “...reinforce the importance of placing communities at the centre of the recovery process”. “It wouldn’t be an external government department coming in to run a city’s recovery, reporting to a Minister who reports to a government. The political structure was wrong and too susceptible to politicisation”. She noted

“...a better combination would have been a degree of independence. It needed some sort of board that it was accountable to so that the minister wasn’t directly involved but....that would still need a sense of ownership....it really had to have representatives from the different parts of the community....”.

Mayor Dalziel also stressed that,

“The key to ‘building back better’ is ensuring that the recovery governance arrangements strengthen local institutions, so when central government leaves town, which they will eventually, the local authority and local agencies are in better shape than they were before the disaster. Bleeding capacity from local institutions to create the government department, which is ultimately dismantled, was the fundamental mistake”.

In essence, through this action as well as the utilisation of existing recovery plans and frameworks it would have engaged a more bottom-up approach, where the community were ultimately driving the recovery.

¹⁵ Meaning that once a piece of legislation is repealed there is a drastic change to the new normal rather than a gradual transition.

Mr Parker chose a different angle where he stated there needed to be better integration between central government and local government in decision-making “...so that the CCC did not feel disempowered by what was going on”. Mr Parker noted that there were instances where they had collaborated and consulted with the community on, for example, anchor projects, “...but with it being announced by central government it made it harder to get community buy-in”. He went on to say that “I would have liked to have seen final decisions to be able to be made and to be able to be seen to be made by the council...”. Essentially, the community was lost along the way.

5.9 Summary

Overall, it is apparent that the politicians' views reflected, not unexpectedly, their roles at the time and their political ideologies and agenda. In considering the role of planners the inherently political nature of planning must be recognised (Albrechts, 2003; Baum, 1988; Taylor, 1998). It appears that in Christchurch, with three different post-disaster-event pieces of legislation and changes in political masters at both local and national level (at least for the regeneration period), planners would have been working in times made more difficult by the need to cater with agenda that they may have been relatively powerless to influence.

Chapter 6

Interview results from planners and related professionals

6.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter's results reflected the political nature of planning. This chapter presents the results from interviews with planners and related professionals. The results in this chapter are also broken down into key themes. These include in the following order: the role of the planner, skills of an effective planner, recovery skills, role in recovery following the enactment of the CER Act followed by general comments made by planners and others working in the planning field, governance structures, overall planning response and transitioning out of recovery. A summary is provided at the end of the chapter to provide an overall perspective on the results. These results should provide some insight into what the environment was like for planners at the time, their experiences and impacts from performing in their various roles in a post-recovery situation, perspectives on CER Act, and the changes in and interactions with governing structures and their powers.

6.2 Role of the planner

There was no standardised view or definition given by planners around the role of the planner. This suggests that the role is fluid, not static and will be dependent on the context that the planner is situated in. It was inferred and in some cases explicitly stated by public planner (PuP) 1 that "...sometimes planners can have many different roles". A planner is not typically bound to one singular role, instead they tend to operate between multiple roles. It was suggested by a number of planners interviewed that this occurs because of the generalist skills, competencies, and expertise the planner possesses.

Despite there being no standard definition, there were a number of consistent elements that came up for public and private planners and other related professionals. One of which was part of the planners' role was as a facilitator in a number of different ways. For example, PuP 2 stated that "...you also have to have a high level of understanding of a range of different disciplines which you are often required to coordinate". Private planner (PriP) 1 explains that "...it is quite a legalistic system here and in a legalistic system where ultimately the environment falls at the top of the food chain, the technical expert becomes king.....whereas the planner is trying to bring all those things togetherjack of all trades master of noneSo for the last few decades, our role has been

watered down somewhat”. PuP 3 stated that “the planner is really kind of a facilitator...trying to get the best outcomes for the wider community”. Private expert (PrE) explained that as a planner you are “...considering a lot of things, coordinating a lot of processes and people but at the end of the day you are facilitating a better or improved outcome”. Other key aspects or roles that were frequently mentioned by interview participants were: being an advisor to decision-makers, future-focused on looking towards future outcomes, holistic when performing their role, providing certainty, acting as problem seekers and solvers, being a generalist, managing and working within the planning framework, being informed and aware, and upholding professionalism.

There were however differences between public and private planners’ answers. In a general sense, private planners saw the role of the planner as being open, flexible and in a way acting as an enabler. This may reflect the nature of the type of work undertaken in a private planning context. Comparatively, public planners tended to see the role of the planner as more of a collaborator with different stakeholders and a guardian for the community. This again may reflect the more community-centric work environment that they are situated in and their perceived responsibilities are to the community, as that is who they work for, rather than a company or client or even the managers of the council. PuP 6 explained to me that can result in conflict where often, “...there’s a combative relationship between consultant planners for their clients and council planners for the council...”.

6.3 Skills of an effective planner

The majority of planners agreed with the NZPI’s list of skills needed to be an effective planner¹⁶. However, many of the planners in addition to that list identify other skills which are needed in order to be an effective planner. Planners and related professionals interviewed suggested that a set of soft skills be combined with the NZPI’s technically orientated skills list to promote a more comprehensive toolkit for the planner. The majority of the other skills needed that were suggested by other planners fall into the category for being defined as soft skills (Figure 2).

¹⁶ The list of skills needed to be an effective planner according to NZPI (n.d.b.) include: problem definition, listening and observation, analysis and evaluation, solving problems, implementing plans, negotiation, mediation, monitoring and team work.



Figure 2. Soft skills planners needed as expressed from public and private planners and an urban designer.

Comparatively, others interviewed determined that all of the NZPI skills listed were relevant. But as PriP 3 states “...all of those [skills] are relevant to varying degrees and at different times”. What this and other planners were implying was that a planner was not necessarily using all of those skills at once, but instead using a selection of skills at one time and another selection of skills at a different time, depending on the situation. A point that was brought up by PrE was that “...the ability to demonstrate those skills can be influenced by who else is involved in a project. Technical disciplines or other areas may take precedence over a planning outcome. We have to always remind ourselves of those skills, they are tools to ensure that we get the best outcome”.

What the expert was arguing here, is that planners do not necessarily have the ability on some projects to showcase the skills they have, instead they can be directed to use a particular skill or skills. Therefore, it is the planners’ duty (as a professional) to use those other skills even when not directed to do so, to ensure a positive outcome is achieved. Despite their different views on the role of planners, both public and private planners, generally agreed with the list of NZPI skills. However, the additional skills suggested were slightly different, with public planners promoting the need for communication and facilitation skills and private planners promoting communication, pragmatism and strategic thinking.

6.4 Recovery skills

A number of planners considered that they mostly used the same skills in a recovery context. For instance, PuP 6 stated that “ I feel like for me it was using the skills I already had...”. This was similarly expressed by PrE explaining that “...I felt the skills I had were enough to navigate the waters”.

Furthermore, both planners and other related professionals viewed that they had honed their skills during that time. As stated by the UD “skills are not static you cannot ever have all the tools that you need, you are always learning and always developing and if you’re not then maybe it is not the job for you”.

For some planners, they perceived that it was less about learning new skills but instead about learning new things that were introduced like the new legislation, new planning processes, and new topics around natural hazards and earthquakes and technical information associated with it. This is summed up by PriP 6 stating that,

“...for me the skills around planning around that sort of integration, understanding stuff and pulling it together, negotiating, people’s skills hadn’t changed. The statutory framework that you were applying them in obviously changed. You had to get up to speed with that and some of the topic areas changed so you had to get up to speed with that but the....core points of difference I guess that planners should be able to bring to a process were the same”.

The planners who were involved in Crown agencies at the time emphasise that a skill needed was ‘political nous’. This is referring to learning the machinery of government as well as working and making decisions in an expeditious manner. For instance, PuP 5 explained that this involved “...Understanding that machinery of government and those processes on getting advice up to the Minister, and also not thinking about it in terms of an RMA process as well not putting the RMA lens over it...that’s some of the things. Then having to write concisely as well... Other things included listening to strategic partners and...understanding what they’re saying and trying to convey that information concisely and aware that you are working in a...really political environment and you’ve got tensions with the Minister and local government as well”. Adding to this was the skill of teaching and this was explained by PuP 3 that,

“... quite often they [central government politicians and policy makers] didn’t have a planning background it was in policy or some other professional background. So starting from scratch in a lot of cases in terms of explaining planning generally. That was a new skill....you’re working in a planning environment that’s a lot of the times taken as read that you can understand what everyone in the room is kind of on a similar sort of page but in a

lot of the cases in a post earthquake environment there was a... need for planning 101 perspectives some of the times and building that up pretty quickly. So that was a new skill...explaining planning to people with a policy background particularly and a central government perspective and learning from them vice versa...”.

This helps to explain what types of skills were needed as a planner operating in a central government environment at the time which perhaps was different to those needed in a normal context. A trend that came up also in the interviews was the emergence of skills relating to adaptation, flexibility, agility, and resilience. This is not unsurprising given the context that planners were operating under at the time. These skills would likely have been a necessity just to operate.

There were no significant differences in recovery skills identified by public and private planners. Most considered that they used their existing skills. Although it would appear that the importance of certain skills differed based upon the role each respective planner had.

6.5 Role in recovery following the enactment of the CER Act

The creation of CERA as a Crown agency created a number of roles for planners as a result of the CER Act which were not necessarily distinctive planning roles. Planners expressed how they had to learn and understand a significant change to the planning frameworks, processes, powers and drivers created by the new legislation. This was emphasised by PuP 3 stating that,

“I spent a lot of time pouring over the definition of recovery, the objectives of the Act, the processes that need to be followed, all those kinds of things.... It certainly changed the way that planning was done in Christchurch.....significantly from what the normal practice was under the RMA”.

This shows that there was a large degree of learning involved to actually understand the CER Act and how that affected the planner’s role and how they were to operate in this recovery context.

For some of those persons interviewed, they either commented or inferred that the CER Act meant that the planner, in some instances were the handmaidens to those who were up the chain on the political hierarchy, and in a way were disempowered. For instance, PriP 4 exclaimed that,

“In organisations at the lower level, staff get on and do it and they ring up their contacts in other organisations and talk to each other. As you go up the food chain relationships become more strained, tenser and more protectionist or secretive because they are closer to their political masters and that is in my experience anyway”.

Comparatively, in other instances certain planners were empowered and liberated. For example, PriP 3 expressed that It was

“...scary, risky but also incredibly liberating because you could actually do what would normally take three years-five years... in twenty days without a whole lot of intervention from others.....If we thought it was right we did it.....we didn't have to justify it....We didn't necessarily have to go through the same degree of review and rigour by others...”.

PriP 3 also stated that,

“It gave me and others involved an ability to actually exercise what they really knew from their experience and their training and apply it to quite a different circumstance and be reasonably comfortable that it actually....produced a good outcome”.

This demonstrates the experience of a planner who was liberated and the nature of the planning freedom. It also provides an insight into the stress and burden of responsibility that is attached to that type of freedom. Perhaps because of those pressures, it meant that only a select group of planners could be vested with this role in the recovery or that there were few planners who could see themselves operating effectively in that role.

The CER Act had a series of provisions including Orders in Council to alter or remove planning legislation which dramatically changed prescriptions of how planning occurred. This was confirmed by interviewed planners as especially shown during the recovery environment. Planners consistently expressed how they were expected to work at speed whilst retaining quality in their work which increased pressures and stresses. For instance, PuP 6 explained how “....suddenly we had this new plan....to some extent it was looser and easier....but there was also some tightness around urban design and provisions and really really tight time frames for getting consents through”. PuP 6 went on to say that “...a decision was supposed to be made in five days from having a complete application coming in...”. PuP 6 also believed that this pressure would have been felt by the development community and private planners. This helps to highlight the challenge of having to plan at speed in the recovery.

A further theme created as a result of the CER Act was that its impact on the planner's role was dependent on the planner's situation in the particular context. For example, PuP 3 expressed,

“I think it [CER Act] changed everyone’s role and generally how we operated as planners’ as well. I don’t think it fundamentally shifted the general principles that we have as planners...the skills that we have, the need to protect the environment and have the best outcomes for the community.....but certainly... the process of plan-making and decision-making fundamentally shifted”.

PriP 3 expressed that it “...set a whole new mandate (It)Removed RMA framework, we were operating under the new legislation.... it totally changed how I operated in the role I was performing and subsequent guises to a continued degree...”. Whereas PuP 4 expressed that “My role as a professional planner didn’t change, although some of the issues did...For example probably a lot more emphasis was put on hazard management requiring me to broaden my knowledge in this area”. This helps demonstrate the varying degree of impact that the Act had on planners. It ultimately depends on the context you are in as to the extent of the impact.

In the case of public and private planners, it seems that impacts ‘unintentionally’ affected private planners more so than public planners. A number of private planners expressed the view that the creation of the CER Act resulted in a loss of work, particularly in those initial few years following the earthquake. PriP 7 stated that,

“When the earthquakes occurred...we weren’t a big office, we had about 25 people and our office was in town and it was completely destroyed. We couldn’t even get our records and things out. So, we were quite disrupted for a while and even our workflow became disrupted because business as usual work around Christchurch...didn’t exist anymore and I was working mostly out of town so I ended up doing a lot of work in Marlborough, I was seconded up to Wellington. So...in the first couple of years until people worked out what was going to happen....the new processes kicked in and new roles became...available here...”.

PriP 1 highlighted that,

“...from planners, the irony for us was...you talk to people and they would go ohhh Christchurch must have had a truckload of work on central city, well no, regulations actually reduced...so what you normally would have done in terms of producing a resource consent, you didn’t need to do anymore cause the regulation...cut some of that stuff out”.

PriP 5 also iterated the difficulty of finding work stating that,

“...it [CER Act] cut out a lot of work for local government and private sector planners because...everything was fast-tracked....Essentially if you were just a normal planner in Canterbury, it pretty much limited a lot of your input and that was because it was a Crown process, it was tightly managed”.

This shows that unless you were employed by CERA or the public sector, private planners were having to look outside of Christchurch for work. It also appears that all of those private planners that I interviewed were involved in more high-powered planning roles if they managed to be employed by CERA. This might reflect the structure of the industry generally – senior planners in private companies being better able to accept paying jobs in CERA than planners in council positions elsewhere in New Zealand being able to leave their jobs to assist the earthquake hit councils. Alternatively, it may have been potentially because private planners aligned relatively better with the ethos of the National government who were in power at that time. Private planners are perceived to be more focused on getting through the planning process quickly and getting optimal outcomes for their clients (Dear, 1989; Norton, 2005). Comparatively, public planners are viewed as being able to better understand the wider communities’ desires and public interest due to their roles in working with the community to prepare plans and feel a greater responsibility to protect the integrity of plans developed by and for those communities (Grijzen, 2010). Furthermore, private planners may be more used to being directed by a client who may not know a lot about the planning process and producing an outcome and enabling things that happen (Løwendahl, 2005).

In contrast, a number of public sector planners indicated that they were under intense pressures with work. For example, PuP 1 expressed that “...we had to do a district plan review in what normally could take between 10-12 years, we did it in 3 and it was basically straight into an Environment Court situation.....The role was extremely intense”.

PuP 6 expressed similar sentiments stating that,

“Everything had to have resource consent for buildings in the CBD...a decision was supposed to be made in five days from having a completed application....If it came in on Monday, in theory it would have been assessed, you have expert comments, you set up a hearing, you write a report and you have...what was called the joint management board three-party decision-making thing which sat before Friday to make a decision on the application...It’s just insanely short timeframes”.

Therefore, the CER Act enabled certain decisions and actions that resulted in increased work for those in the public sector and reduced work in the private sector ostensibly to help ensure an efficient and expedited recovery.

There was also a perception from people working in CERA from the public sector that they were limited or restricted from being able to engage with the community. For example, the UD expressed that following the DCCP with the development of the CCRP “one of the hardest things is if you are used to engaging with the community and you didn’t feel close to the community. It [CCRP] didn’t have that same level of engagement...”

I inferred from this a sense of wrongness of not fulfilling the responsibility of someone who works in the public sector. Planners from the public sector also implicitly through their comments, felt a sense of disconnect from the communities that they work for.

Overall this highlights the broad spectrum of impacts that the CER Act had on planners operating in Christchurch at that period of time. It seems to show a more distinct difference in those impacts between the public and private sector planners than has previously been found.

6.6 Governance structures

There were a number of themes that emerged from interviews with planners regarding governance structures and central government.

One aspect was the tensions which existed between local government organisations with particular reference to the CCC and ECan as well as tensions between central government and CCC. In the case of ECan and CCC, it appears to be more a historical tension that may have escalated or became more publicised in the time of the earthquakes and the recovery. For example, Public Expert (PuE) commented that there was political tension between ECan and the city council, but “...at the staff level we remain professional, we get on with it, we just do our job”. This tells us that perhaps the tensions and conflicts that existed between these two organisations was primarily at a managerial or a political level rather than at the staff level.

Interviewees also commented on tensions between central government and CCC that appeared to exist within the level planners were operating at. PuP 2 suggested that one of the reasons this may have been caused was due to

“...CERA and this organisation [CCC] having a raft of overlapping responsibilities and in some instances that worked...in spite of that because people worked together to achieve a shared goal. But for the most part, it created a lot of confusion and inconsistency and I think churn and you can see some of the results of that in terms of the slowness of the recovery....”.

PriP 2 explains this strain more explicitly stating that,

“There were tensions with central government in town and the local authority expressed dissatisfaction with them there. In the end, there were issues on pace of recovery and what we needed to achieve. One of my roles was to help that relationship [this was just one area after PriP 2 came off the Blueprint and for a specific project] ”.

This helps illustrate the tensions that existed between the two organisations and this may have made planning more complicated or difficult to undertake in the circumstances.

Another theme which arose from planner interviews, echoing those expressed from some politicians was the disempowerment of CCC when central government came to town. In essence, there was a clear distrust of the city council. For example, PuP 1 expressed the view that,

“...they cut out the council, it was very obvious that is what they did....Working in CERA, I saw that and I heard those conversations and I heard they just didn't trust the local body which was a shame....I don't know [whether] that was down to some personalities..... My general manager at the time ... worked extremely well with the Crown, but it didn't always happen on all levels.... The way Crown and council work together now is so much better..... I wish in some ways that it was more like that back then, whether the outcomes would have been any different I don't know.... It could have been the same outcome but undertaken in a more convivial manner”.

This demonstrates that there was a strained relationship between CCC and central government. Perhaps due to central government's distrust of CCC, it resulted in its disempowerment. A series of other planners interviewed seems to agree with or infer that this was the case.

A select group of planners, particularly those who worked in CERA, expressed the view that there were two different cultures and languages. One for local government and another for central government. At the time of recovery, particularly between 2011 to 2016, this was apparent and as a result, may have prevented effective integration. For example, PriP 4 identified the existence of the different cultures noting that,

“There were different cultures in central government organisations versus the local government and local government appears to more be beholden to and aware of the local communities needs and interests and is more responsible to the local community,

whereas central government is less so....and I think in many ways, central government in what I saw, is more driven by.... party ideology sometimes.....My impression is that local government is more responsive to the community and more responsive to evidence and central government is more responsive to party political ideology and that's the impression I got....how that translates through to these different organisations in recovery planning, is quite subtle but I think it is there".

PriP 5 explained to me about the different languages stating that,

"...My perception of local government is.....they've worked at the coal face with people and there's a whole local government language and then there's a whole central government language. I think perhaps there were people in Christchurch City...who hadn't quite fundamentally understood those differences.....Parties were talking at different angles....".

There also appeared to be a particular type of attitude that central government had at the time. This is identified by PriP 4 who expressed that,

"I mean generally you could say local government's like well, we know our communities, we know our people, we know our infrastructure, don't tell us what to do and central government's like well, you're just local government, you don't really know what you are doing anyway..... We're central government we're in charge, (the attitude was) we know what we're doing, we're all the intelligent people. The people that aren't good enough to be in central government go to local government".

From experience in CERA PriP 4's stated that,

"I think there was a little bit of that attitude amongst the staff and amongst the organisations that I picked up which made it a little bit challenging at times when you were working for this organisation and you say, well actually we should be working more closely with the city council cause they actually know what they are doing....and there was often a reluctance to do that".

Collectively, these comments show a clash of cultures that meant central government built a reluctance and distrust to collaborate and engage with local government even though they are the ones who knew the local environment best. Other planners also highlighted or inferred this attitude existed for those who worked in CERA or Crown agencies. For instance, PuP 3 stated that,

“He [Minister for Earthquake Recovery] thought that one person in power was better than a community trying to make decisions in a way. But I think that in the long term, [that] had an adverse impact on the culture of the way things were done and the sharing of power with local councils and the local decision-making process that would otherwise normally happen”.

A series of planners also raised questions regarding the actual set up of CERA. For instance, PriP 2 expressed to me that “A big challenge was possibly governance... I understand that the Minister was advised not to use that... structure...that very traditional mandate but the Minister was insistent that he would do it that way...”. This may have been one of the reasons why there were issues with integration and collaboration between local government and central government. PriP 4 identified that there were different models that could have been used such as taking the whole CCC staff planning team and pulling them over into CERA or sharing staff; “If that other approach was taken, transition would have been easier”. This highlights the perceived difficulties in regards to that transition following the repeal of the CER Act because of the governance model used. PuP 3 suggested,

“The message that we got from planners elsewhere was that there should be people working alongside the local planners rather than taking all of the best planners from the local council and putting them in the central government set up in the Christchurch case of CERA. That probably could have been done the other way around... You have some outside expertise sitting alongside the planners... Whereas, what happened was we picked out the best planners from the councils and [they] ended up sitting within CERA and that was the best way to respond to the governance establishment that was set up, but an alternative might have been a different approach working slightly more collaboratively and building capacity as you go with other planners and maybe less experience to go and sit in beside them and help them in the office and work through things”.

This highlights that planners had thoughts on what may have been a more appropriate governance structure set up following the earthquake compared to the setup of CERA. Perhaps if planners were given powers to make decisions around the governance structures better outcomes may have eventuated”.

Another theme that emerged was the different perceptions expressed by local planners who operated, particularly in CERA, about planners and other professionals who did not come from Christchurch. PriP 5 highlighted that,

“...the government set up CERA and brought external people in and sometimes there was definitely a position.....that people from outside were 1...weren’t effected so therefore they were going to be more effective but 2... that people, particularly from overseas, must be better than local people....there was expertise that got brought in that you kind of went, “really”? Examples of where things didn’t go well when external people were brought in particularly were around understanding cultural issues”.

PriP 5 went on to state that “...the difference between central and local government is that there were career people coming in from central government to deliver...but didn’t understand or care too much sometimes, actually about the local context”. Whereas PuP 3 stated that,

“...there were a lot of different planners and international experts that were invited and often paid for to come down to Christchurch to offer their expert advice in previous experience from New Orleans, or earthquakes in Kobe or best practise urban design and principles in the UK and Europe and places like that which was really valuable and I think the planning profession got an enormous amount out of that....but they weren’t always listened to by politicians and central government bodies as much as they should have been...”.

In essence, what planners were trying to tell me was they had different experiences operating within that governance structure, and those experiences shaped the planner’s perception over certain components within that structure, like its personnel.

There were however, positive themes regarding the governance structure. For instance, some planners commented on how refreshing it was to see Ngāi Tahu being made a strategic partner and thus having a stake in re-shaping the city. The Ngāi Tahu planner expressed that,

“Because the Crown became involved a lot more....the iwi....partnership really was emphasised....we found ourselves more integrated into planning processes which was great.....there was that stronger direction from Crown that the councils needed to be involving us and often we were referred to as one of the partners”.

Likewise, PriP 7 stated that,

“...the structures...set up in terms of the boards and being involved...so both CERA and Regenerate have ended up involving Ngāi Tahu in a much more fundamental way than

they ever have been involved in planning and development and planning actual development and design....you can see it when you walk around the place...”.

This helps show how central government did take certain actions in the governance structures established that better incorporated and involved key stakeholders like Ngāi Tahu in the recovery. Overall, the governance structures put in place by the central government appeared to cause a variety of impacts for planners who operated in that recovery period. The results from the interview derive a number of key themes being conflicts between local and regional authorities, conflicts between central and local government, culture clashes between local and central government, power plays, criticism of the governance structures, personnel politics and involvement of key stakeholders. This demonstrates the highly active governance environment that planners found themselves in during this time.

6.7 Overall planning response

On balance, the majority of planners interviewed considered that an appropriate planning response was taken to the Christchurch recovery. Further to this, a number of planners expressed that it was not perfect but given the context, the actions taken were done for what was thought to be the best at the time. This is summed up by PuP 4 who stated that "I think overall yes [it was appropriate].... planning is a product of its context and you can always look back and say 'well in retrospect we shouldn't have done this and we shouldn't have done that' but at the time...generally the right decisions were made - planning's not perfect...". This reflects the sentiment that in hindsight, there are things that should have been done differently, but unfortunately, that is a luxury you do not have at the time. Decisions have to be made and sometimes they may be wrong, but ultimately people will do their best to try to make the right ones in the given context.

Some planners expressed that it was critical that central government was involved to support the recovery. This was identified by the Ngāi Tahu planner, who stated that,

“...central government needed to come in and make sure that things were enabled to happen in a much quicker way and that there were dedicated people looking after different people and things to get things going. If the business as usual city planning framework was used, things would have grinded to a halt. It was definitely needed. Whether all of it needed to be done.....whether some of these things were recovery or could have been dealt with slightly differently....kind of on a case by case basis... but I am pleased central government came in, it could have been a real mess otherwise”.

Likewise, PriP 3 expressed that,

“You can debate...forever as to whether that sort of centralisation of power and authority was the right approach...Recovery legislation of the day effectively pulled back power to a very national level, in fact it centralised that power in the hands of very few.... It did that deliberately....The government of the day enacted that legislation with very much that in mind. We will debate for eternity as to whether we should have done that as a country or devolved more power more broadly to others or retain it where it already was in terms of regional or local government. I guess from my perspective... to do what we did as a planner would not have been possible without that sort of legislation. If we were faced with trying to...prepare a recovery plan, an Act, a recovery strategy and implement very direct regulatory control over recovery under normal processes, it would not have been achievable...It would have taken too long to do.....it would have become much more political than it was and as a consequence probably would not have been as successful in my view”.

PuP 6 also thought “...it was necessary for central government involvement. Maybe you could have had a more bottom-up local response but....it is usually top-down”.

This shows that central government’s involvement in the recovery appeared to be a necessity based on the comments expressed by planners. Central government provided a sense of certainty in the way that they supported the recovery as well as through actions taken to establish the CER Act to help ensure an efficient and expedited recovery. However, there was an acceptance that it was not perfect. This seems to be in relation to the top-down planning approach that was in some respects heavy handed and pushed aside local government and the community. However, the situation was unprecedented and does in some ways justify the approach taken.

There were questions raised by planners over the appropriateness of the governance and decision-making structure. This was particularly centred towards the power that was vested with the Minister for Earthquake Recovery along with CERA and whether that may have undermined or inhibited the recovery. This was detailed clearly by PuP 3 who stated that,

“There was a need to expedite everything, nobody quite understood what had happened and the scale and magnitude of that or what there had to be done to recover from the disaster....He [Minister for Earthquake Recovery] thought that one person in power was better than a community trying to make decisions in a way. But I think that in the long term, it had an adverse impact on the culture of the way things were done and the sharing of power with local councils and the local decision-making process that would otherwise normally happen. So, it disempowered the city council in particular and I think

in a way, slowed things down a little bit around that and then while things got done reasonably quickly at the start, like the Christchurch Recovery Plan, that was done in fairly swift time. But actually, the process of getting to that decision took a long time to get Gerry [Brownlee] over the line as well as understand the issues properly to make a well-informed decision and to finally sign off on things. Not just him, but his advisors and the bureaucracy, that kind of fed up to him”.

Linked to this was the feeling from other interviewees that there was a missed opportunity for more bottom-up or participatory planning with the community. This was expressed by the UD highlighting that it is,

“Important to get that community engagement and that grassroots involvement and people feeling they have a big stake in their city and a role to play. It’s not just about investment, but everyone feeling they are part of it.....that's the part that could have been done differently, it would have led to different outcomes.....but there still would have needed to be some type of framework to support that”.

Essentially what we see from comments here is the tenuous nature of governance structures and how they impact, not only on planning, but also on the wider democratic sanctity of what it means to be a government during this time.

There were also concerns raised around planning outcomes, two were of particular interest. First, there was the issue of the Christchurch Replacement District Plan as to whether it should have been undertaken, given the context and subsequent outcomes. For example, PriP 1 stated that,

“What should have been done...that is a failing of both government level and council level is that you could have repackaged the old plan....We were in recovery...It is better the devil you know sometimes..... We all knew it and its faults....deal with the issues that needed to be dealt with and put it back out.....instead, they went for a whole new plan”.

PriP 6 was of the same opinion where reconfiguring the old plan would have meant “....less stress on council staff and people would have known what they are dealing with...They [CCC] had to get their head around an entire new plan....”.

PriP 1 went into further detail about the replacement district plan explaining that it was

“...bizarre in recovery situation to do a whole new plan going from an effects-based plan to an activities based plan....a whole new structure.....Part of that was personality driven....[the] feeling here [was], it was done wrong....The government was criticising the old plan and that was why we needed a new one but the reality was, I don't think they could have pointed to too much wrong with the old plan....Yes, it needed to pick up new zones and greenfield zones, that was obvious.We ended up with a situation on which was probably nowhere anticipated and worse than what it was”.

PuP 6 also raised this in the interview highlighting that “the district plan review...it didn't possibly need to be quite so widespread across the whole plan.... I mean there was pieces you would fix....to make things easier. The bulk of the plan could have waited...It didn't need to be compacted heavily into this little tight timeframe...it hasn't necessarily yielded fantastic outcomes”. This is essentially about being pragmatic and logical and may also be an indication of the rashness of making the decision to do the replacement district plan. It would appear from planners' perspectives that the new plan has made planning more complicated and generated more confusion.

The second point of concern related to the missed opportunity to radically recreate Christchurch City. PuP 6 stated “That suite of powers that Gerry Brownlee had was just massive, it was like wartime stuff. He could have done anything. My overwhelming feeling all along was that they didn't really get used in any useful way....The central city could have been completely reshaped”. PriP 2 had a similar perspective stating that “there were some missed opportunities to develop a more future focused city”. What is shown here is that planners felt a sense of conservatism embedded in the approach taken in the recovery planning that has resulted in the development of a similar but updated city. Christchurch had the opportunity to do something radical, to plan a more sustainable future-proofed city, but that may have been missed.

Ultimately, the interviews identified that the role planners' were situated in impacted on the planner's perception and experience. This seemed to determine how they would review the overall appropriateness of the planning recovery response. There were no definitive yes or no answers, instead there was an underlying acceptance of the approach taken.

6.8 Transition out of recovery for planners

When asking planners what it has been like transitioning out of recovery after the repeal of the CER Act, a range of answers were given. For instance, some questioned whether we are actually out of recovery and does it stop on the repeal of the CER Act or does the Greater Christchurch Regeneration Act 2016 signal another phase of recovery. The determination of when recovery ends appears to be a hazy one. The theme came from those particularly working in the public sector. For

instance, the UD expressed that there are “different stages of recovery, the part where we are now is transitioning into that latter part. There are other challenges like getting people to connect with and feel the city is for them which is part of the next phase, we are not there yet. I don’t think we are there yet, it’s not just about putting back a building, it’s about how you bring back the whole life of the city together”. PuP 2 also infers this by expressing that “we are still eight and a half years later, trying to deliver on that vision..... There is still work to do..... That is why I am still here..... I want to see outcomes that I think are important for Christchurch to happen and that is still a debate with Crown and partners in the Greater Christchurch Partnership”. This helps to highlight that for some planners they believe that the recovery is not over, we are simply moving into a new phase of recovery that may not necessarily be as visible about rebuilding but about reconnecting people to Christchurch City.

Comparatively, most other planners consider that we are transitioning out of recovery and into more of a business as usual environment. This was generally viewed positively by planners being able to take a break from that intense environment. For example, PriP 7 expressed that it is “good to be moving out of the recovery phase back into business as usual processes”. Essentially, what we have here is planners feeling a sense of relief. A number of the planners that I interviewed were put under intense pressure in that 2011 to 2016 recovery period. This highlights how planners are now able to live and work a happier and more balanced lifestyle, rather than one that was perhaps chaotic as a result of the earthquake. Therefore, with less pressure gives the opportunity to reflect on what has occurred. For instance, PuP 4 stated that “...what it has enabled me to do, is to reflect back on what happened, learn from it, improve processes and maybe apply learning points to RMA reform”. It is surmised that most planners interviewed would have reflected on working during this time. The interview would have provoked that had they not yet done so.

For other planners, they see that the Christchurch recovery has furthered a trend to more central government involvement in local government planning. PriP 3 shares a similar view and expressed that,

“Some of those differences in process go to the heart of the philosophy behind the Resource Management Act in terms of inclusion and local decision making, participatory rights. Some of those things. You look at the Unitary Plan process, you look at Christchurch, you look at bespoke processes that have been signed to get things made. You know that's quite a transformation across the planning world and others. That's something not likely to go back to the pre-earthquake normal.....”.

PriP 6 went further and stated that the

“...big moves of central government getting involved in placemaking in urban growth I think was very much a paradigm shift.... You to go back to the 1960s, back to the Ministry of Works days from when the government used to be involved and stepped completely out of that space in the 80s to 90s and 2000s. Really, the experience of Christchurch has almost made it acceptable for the government to get back into that space”.

This infers that the legislative impacts on central government involvement in Christchurch appear to have resulted in a further trend or even paradigm shift from a devolved neoliberal planning system to a more technocratic centralist one.

A final aspect of the transition that came through was certain frustrations and challenges that have emerged following that period of recovery. For instance, PriP 3 expressed that sometimes

“What I feel most frustrated by, is other people’s lack of awareness of what that recovery strategy is trying to achieve. People who don’t understand the context, are critical of those things..... People actually need to go back and look at the time and context people operated in to get a better understanding of why things are the way they are”.

For PriP 1 and PriP 6, they see challenges and frustrations in regards to the Christchurch Replacement District Plan. For example, PriP 6 expresses that there is “...more regulation now under the new plan than the old plan.....We still have a consenting environment that is probably more regulatory, or difficult on the whole than it was pre-quake....”. PriP 1 expressed that “...it is not that they are harder in terms of the threshold set by what the RMA sets... It’s a practice issue... A lot of things are restricted discretionary but you are now battling away with urban designers....and experts to the extent where you were not previously.... The new plan has meant more work, more cost and more battles”. For the Ngāi Tahu planner, it appears that it has been positive commenting that it has been “Great to have more capacity back into the planning team because we have to deal with other regions we support....”. They also noted the toll not only the recovery has taken but in general, all the other central and local government planning policy and regulations that the iwi have been involved in, highlighting that “We don’t get government funding for our response, we just have to do it or we get left behind”. This highlights the continued struggle for Maori to be represented and the difficulty of realising that bicultural planning heritage that exists in New Zealand.

Overall, what this demonstrates is the symptoms from both planning and decision-making that has occurred in the Christchurch recovery which has not necessarily created the intended outcomes that were imagined. Interestingly, private planners are the ones who appear to be experiencing the frustrations more so than public planners.

6.9 Summary

Overall, the results presented indicate that based on the role of the planner during normal times as well as the skills they possess, planners seem to be uniquely suited for being able to operate effectively in a post-disaster recovery environment. Furthermore, most planners were affected by the CER Act and that came with different challenges and opportunities. During that time the results also suggest that planning became more political as a result of the CER Act and subsequent central government involvement in the recovery. Ultimately, context appeared to be a key determinant for the role of the planner in the recovery and the subsequent experiences interviewees had during the recovery and into the transition following the repeal of the CER Act.

Chapter 7

Discussion

This chapter interprets the key results from the analysis of the interviews and the document analysis undertaken on the CER Act. The interpretation of the results looks to address the objectives of this study and make connections with the literature reviewed. From the interpretations of these results, broader ramifications can be inferred from a local to a regional, national and even global level. The discussion is broken down into five main sections. The first section makes an attempt to define the role of the planner in recovery. The second section looks at the skills of a planner in a post-disaster recovery situation. The third section discusses the CER Act and its impact on the planner. The fourth section evaluates the transition out following the repeal of the CER Act. The final section looks at the political aspect of the recovery and how it connects with planners. This consists of politicians and their influence and use of the bespoke emergency legislation, politicians' interactions with planners, and the governance structures set up. There is a brief sixth section which summarises the discussion and provides an overarching perspective.

7.1 Defining the role of the planner in recovery

In a normal context, the literature reviewed from practising practitioners or retired planners determined that the role of the planner was not static and instead fluid (Ericksen, 2004; Fischler, 2012; MacDonald et al., 2014; Thompson, 2000). This appeared to be the case for some of the planners interviewed during recovery. This was suggested by some to be due to the fact that planners are perceived as having a generalist skillset. This meant that planners were able to be agile, mobile, and adaptable in the post disaster recovery context, placing themselves in a variety of different roles that were not necessarily considered to be within the ambit of planning. Examples of this include planners working in the Canterbury Emergency Operations Centre, managerial roles, and communication roles. For others, the roles may have changed but the nature of the work that they were doing was the same, just placed in a different context created by the earthquake and subsequent emergency legislation. Alternatively, there were those planners who operated outside the recovery related framework. What this suggests is that a planner's role was determined by the context that they found themselves in or inserted themselves into. Regardless of the role planners and others were performing at the time, it is clear that it was diverse rather than singular. Hence, it is not possible to definitively pin down a specific role that planners were performing. What is clear is that planners were involved in post disaster recovery in many different scales, levels and capacities demonstrating the versatility of the planner.

Despite the variation in roles, as PuP 3 stated “I don’t think it fundamentally shifted the general principles that we have as planners...”. Planners’ roles were affected either directly or indirectly from the 2011 earthquake and the post-quake recovery period. However, as indicated by PuP 3, despite roles and operation changing, planners’ principles did not. These principles emerged from the question regarding the general role or purpose of the planner. There was no consensus on a specific definition of what the planners’ role was, but interestingly there was consensus around the principle of facilitating good outcomes for all parties involved. Throughout the majority of interviews, it became evident that this was a principle applied by planners before, during and after the post-disaster recovery. The consensus on this principle may have been brought about by one or a combination of factors such as tertiary education, the NZPI code of ethics, the CER Act, the New Zealand planning system, or the general theory of planning. Another contributing factor may have been that most planners interviewed had lived in Christchurch prior to the earthquake and had a vested interest and connection to the city. Hence, this principle may have taken on added meaning for these planners. Regardless of the roles they were in and how operating as a planner changed, it appeared critical that good outcomes occur from the planning that they were doing directly or indirectly for Christchurch.

Context appeared to have a significant impact as to how influential planners were at facilitating good outcomes through the roles they found themselves in. For some planners, it was difficult and unsettling because they were no longer situated in an environment that orientated around the planner in a participatory or collaborative role. Instead, these planners seem to have landed in roles that resonate with Sandercock’s (1998) rational comprehensive model “planners, in this model, are handmaidens to power and in their ideal moments they speak truth to power” (pg 87). It is in these instances where planners were operating under this model, they felt frustrated because of the disempowerment and lack of control they had over the information they produced. The advice they gave was judged on like and dislike from bureaucrats rather than on its merit of evidence. In contrast, there were those planners who were liberated under their role in the recovery and through the enactment of the CER Act. They were put in a role which harkens back to the rational comprehensive model (Sandercock, 1998), implementing planning through blueprint or master planning as was done by the seers of planning and into that post-war setting (Hall, 1992; Taylor, 1998). The planner in this setting sees themselves gain a degree of omnipotence as the expert that can produce detailed plans about the future state of a town or city to provide certainty (Hall, 1992; Taylor, 1998). However, at the same time these planners were also required to harness their information power through assuming a structuralist role. This involved validating and enforcing those political powers and structures because ultimately, they too were a servant to those in political power (Forester, 1988). Most planners interviewed adopted a hybrid planning type or praxis (Howe

& Kaufman, 1979). This was due to the increasingly political landscape planning was placed in during that 2011-2016 recovery period and the technocratic nature of expert involvement. This was also overlaid by a facilitative approach to planning. Through assuming this planner type, it seemed that they were better equipped to navigate the complex planning waters. Interestingly, there were moments when planners' roles could assume collaborative and participatory planning approaches with things like 'Share an Idea'. Again, it highlights how context was the determiner of the planner's role.

An interesting point that was raised by some planners was the concern over lawyers assuming or encroaching on the planner's role during that time. They were required to interpret the replacement district plan because planners were unable to. For example, PuP 6 identified

“...now you've got this whole new plan and then you start through that whole process again of having to reach an agreed understanding of what it all means...The planners can't read the plan and understand what it means without getting some lawyers to tell them what this says [the plan]. It's supposed to be our job to tell other people what it [the plan] says....”.

This may suggest that the delineation between the planner's and lawyer's role is blurred. It could be the result of the inherent nature of our planning system which essentially 'pigeon holes' planners into statutory planning as mentioned by PriP 1. The system subsequently fails to demonstrate the full breadth scope and capabilities of the planners leading to a more indistinguishable profession. At the same time, it can be said the recovery also helped to expose what planners can actually do when released from the bindings of statute as iterated by PriP 1 and 3. It suggests the need for the planning profession and NZPI to do a better job at promoting what planners can actually do. Underlying all of this, is the need to establish a professional identity as recently mentioned by the New Zealand Productivity Commission (2017). Disaster appears to be the only time when planners and planning are put in the spotlight. It reveals good and bad planning. In normal times planners and planning become invisible to the rest of the world because you cannot visually see it happening (Myers & Banerjee, 2005). You can see what an engineer does, they build infrastructure, doctors treat patients, and lawyers defend their clients in the courtroom. It is evident there is a need to better promote planners and planning (Campbell, 2014; Dredge & Coiacetto, 2006; McClendon et al., 2003). McClendon et al. (2003) implore the need to develop the brand name for the profession to build awareness and understanding about planners and planning. They make a point of relating key market principles to planning which includes the use of imagery to establish emotional value. To help bring the brand to life, the planning profession needs to visually show what planners do. This could come in the form of a documentary or TV show which has been successful at informing, educating

and building the public's understanding of certain professions (European Commission, 2007; Machura, 2017; Van den Bulck & Beullens, 2007). Through undertaking this action, it may help to build the brand and identity of the planner.

It is evident from the interviews conducted that the CER Act had an impact on most planners roles either directly or indirectly for those operating in Christchurch as planners between 2011-2016. Comparatively, analysis of the CER Act revealed some interesting nuances in relation to the planner. Of particular interest is how the Act enforces the type of planner you could be at the time. For example, as one of the purposes of the Act section 3(d) is to enable focused, timely, and expedited recovery. The purpose under s 3(f) is to facilitate, coordinate, and direct the planning, rebuilding, and recovery of affected communities, including the repair and building of land, infrastructure, and other property. This more explicitly states the type of planner desired in the recovery, a 'facilitative' one. This essentially meant to be an enabling planner for development and rebuilding, working with rather than against the recovery to expedite it. The enforcement of this type of planner is woven into the Act through provisions given to the Minister for Earthquake Recovery particularly. For instance, being able to approve, review, or make changes to recovery plans; suspend or revoke the whole or parts of the RMA; direct council and council organisations actions; and 'recommend' Orders in Council. All of which can and did in theory, enforce a facilitative type of planner and denounce the combative or frustrating ones, as explained and/or inferred from my interviews. This demonstrates how planners locally were subject to the legislative framework that governs how they can operate, ultimately all planners must bow to their political masters and this, as shown from the results can sometimes conflict with professional ethics. This leaves planners having to decide who they answer to. This partly aligns with how in normal times legislation does govern how planners can operate and who they answer to (New Zealand Productivity Commission, 2017), although not necessarily to the same extent. The CER Act could be considered whether intended or not as a legislative experiment to test the acceptability threshold of central government involvement in local planning.

However, some planners believe that Christchurch's recovery has continued to set a precedent for national intervention in local planning systems around New Zealand. This was illustrated by PriP 1 explaining that,

"From a planning point of view we were crying out for it [central government involvement and direction] well before the Christchurch earthquake. This is nuts, every local authority is left to themselves to deal with this stuff. There was very little central government policy.....From a planning point of view, we had a National Coastal Policy Statement.....but there was no big national policy statement on anything. Now we are starting to get a few of those coming through and national environmental standards and stuff like that. Now

we've got....National Planning Standards which never existed before. So you have had a greater input [from central government] and.....I think a lot of that can be put down to the Christchurch earthquakes....”.

This perhaps reflects the traditional tension that exists between the national level government and the local government, and that this is a more noticeable example (than one of the first signals being New Zealand Coastal Policy Statement 2010) of a swing back to greater central government control following a period that gave local government considerable latitude in planning matters (Cheyne, 2015). It would be interesting to compare if this is similar to what happens in other areas that have experienced disaster in regards to the nuances of legislative control over the planner.

The final aspect which is important is to delve into the challenges and opportunities that came with operating as a planner during that period. The interviews revealed a variety of particular challenges that received varying levels of consensus based upon the role the planner or related professional had at the time which have been summarised in (see Appendix C). These challenges fell into three distinct categories: challenges of working in a recovery environment, planning challenges and general challenges. A challenge that was particularly interesting from working in a recovery environment was the conflict that existed between central and local government, particularly between CERA and the CCC. Some planners felt that there was distrust from central government on the CCC capabilities and capacity to fulfil its responsibilities in the recovery, PuP 2 explained that the council and CERA had overlapping responsibilities meaning there was confusion as to who had responsibility for what. When this was mixed with a particular attitude exercised by those working in a central government agency as expressed by PriP 4 and PuP 1, communication disjuncture between local and central government as highlighted by PriP 5 and the feeling of disempowerment for CCC as expressed by other planners, it was inevitable the conflict would arise. Planners were having to operate in that environment and in some cases had a role in navigating that relationship. This resonates with the literature which also found instances of conflict between central and local government in disasters (Col, 2007; GAO, 2012; Olshansky & Johnson, 2010). It was evident from discussions with planners and expressed by PriP 4 that “There were different cultures in central government organisations versus the local government...”. Local government understood the local on the ground implementation and infrastructure aspects but struggled to understand the higher-level policy conceptualisations and the big picture beyond Christchurch. Central government was able to effectively engage in higher policy and big-picture strategic and spatial thinking but had difficulty in understanding the day-to-day on the ground planning, policy and implementation. What resulted was a culture clash. This is likely a consequence of the devolvement of power that occurred during the local government and resource management reforms of 1980-1990s, particularly with the RMA that separated central government from engaging in local plan-making and empowering local

government to undertake their own plan making (Gleeson & Grundy, 1997; McKinlay, 1998; Wood & Rudd, 2004). This created a disconnect and consequently meant that they had not engaged in working relationships regarding planning and perhaps were unfamiliar with how one another operated in this field. This in some cases, meant that planners were not necessarily utilised as effectively as they could have been. For instance, planners were brought in from around New Zealand and internationally who did not understand the local context which resulted in certain issues occurring as indicated by PriP 5. Following discussions with some of the interviewees, there was a feeling that more local planners should have been involved, particularly in CERA because they had local knowledge and understanding of the area. Those non-local planners may have been more effectively utilised in a support role to assist local planners in recovery planning.

Another challenge found in the case of planning related to planning at speed. As highlighted by PuP 3 “...a lot of people called it planning on steroids...”. A significant amount of planning occurred in a short space of time with the creation of a draft Recovery Strategy completed within 9 months of the February 22 2011 earthquake (CERA, 2016a), the final CCRP and Blueprint was compiled in 100 days¹⁷ (GCGDPMC, 2017), a dramatically truncated Christchurch Replacement District Plan occurred through an Order in Council¹⁸ and was completed in a period of 2 years (Independent Hearings Panel, 2017) which would typically take over 8 years (Dormer et al., 2009). This indicates a part of the recovery planning that occurred during the 2011-2016 period (see Figure 3). As a result, planners had significant workloads pressures, undertaking planning at speed but at the same time expected to retain a high-quality product. This dilemma of speed versus deliberation was also found in a report conducted by CERA (2016b) reviewing the organisation's experiences in the recovery process. It reflects other recovery situations that faced the same inevitable dilemma in recovery (Johnson & Olshansky, 2016).

A further general challenge raised was the burden of responsibility. This was explicitly raised by PriP 3 who noted that sense of responsibility. There were no points of reference to look to in what other cities had done around the world because nowhere in the world faced the same issues as Christchurch had. The fear of creating a recovery plan that would fail the city was evident, planners wanted to make sure they made the right decisions to help produce a plan that would lead to a successful recovery of Christchurch. PriP 4 adds to this highlighting the struggle of making decisions in a knowledge vacuum and not having the full extent of information available. This meant that they were having to place faith in their own ability and on the process. These common challenges shared by most planners have similarities to views expressed by other planners that were involved in

¹⁷ In reality the planners actually had to produce the CCRP and Blueprint in around 60 days and the remainder was left for discussion and decision making by the Minister and his advisors.

¹⁸ Canterbury Earthquake (Christchurch Replacement District Plan) Order 2014

disaster recovery efforts (Olshansky & Johnson, 2010). Despite each disaster being unique, the context created has similar parallels that seem to create common challenges for planners.

There was one clear differentiation between private planners and public planners when it came to challenges. For private planners, the enactment, powers and decisions made under the CER Act resulted in a loss of work. This was because the CER Act removed aspects from the RMA planning process. For example, certain activities became permitted activities and no longer required consent¹⁹, a moratorium was placed on the Christchurch Replacement District Plan for a five year period²⁰, and large tracks of land were given the green light for development following the issuing of the Land Use Recovery Plan (CERA, 2013b). This meant that some private planners had to find work outside of the greater Christchurch area. Other private planners were able to obtain employment at CERA, local authorities or other council or Crown related organisations. In one case a private planner became one of the Commissioners for the Independent Hearing Tribunal²¹ for the Christchurch Replacement District Plan. Comparatively, those working as public planners were overwhelmed with work and lacked capacity. It seems that to a degree, both groups of planners were able to help one another to resolve this issue. This appears to draw some similarities to what has occurred in Hurricane Katrina, where local government lacked the capacity to fulfil the required planning tasks and private planners were then brought in to help build capacity and address those tasks (Olshansky & Johnson, 2010). There are differences to the Christchurch 2011 earthquake and Hurricane Katrina for New Orleans. For instance, the American Planning Association undertook an assessment to determine the capabilities of the New Orleans City Planning Commission to undertake recovery planning (New Orleans Planning Assessment Team, 2005). They found that the New Orleans City Planning Commission prior to the Hurricane had a staff of 24 for a city of approximately 455,000 people, only half of which were professional positions (New Orleans Planning Assessment Team, 2005). Then following city budget cuts, the staff numbers were reduced to 8 with only 4 professional planners retained (New Orleans Planning Assessment Team, 2005). Therefore, public planners in New Orleans were severely lacking in capacity following the hurricane. It was evident that there would be a need for private sector planners to support the recovery planning of New Orleans (Olshansky & Johnson, 2010). Comparatively, in the Christchurch earthquake to my knowledge NZPI did not undertake an assessment for recovery planning capacities for CCC. This is potentially an

¹⁹ Canterbury Earthquake (Resource Management Act Permitted Activities) Order 2011. This was done under the CERR Act and was allowed to continue under section 89(2) as an order made under the CER Act.

²⁰ Canterbury Earthquake (Christchurch Replacement District Plan) Order 2014.

²¹ The Independent Hearings Panel (2017) was established under the Canterbury Earthquake (Christchurch Replacement District Plan) Order 2014 (the Order) by the Minister for the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery and the Minister for the Environment. The panel was required to hold hearings and make decisions on proposals that formed the Replacement District Plan (Independent Hearings Panel, 2017). The Order gave broad powers “to amend or reject the Council’s proposals and to direct the preparation of new proposals where appropriate” (Independent Hearings Panel, 2017, p. 5).

initiative that NZPI could undertake in future disaster scenarios. However, based on discussions from planners who worked at CCC during that time they had a staff of around 40-50 to serve a population of approximately 386,100 for Christchurch City (Stats NZ, 2012). CCC were able to fulfil their requirement to produce a draft Central City Recovery Plan (GCGDPMC, 2017). It was when the central government organisation CERA, decided to take over the implementation of the final plan that it was realised they lacked the capacity to do so and needed planners and other professionals to undertake that task. This ended up with CERA taking planners from both the public and private sector. The need for private sector planners in a post-disaster recovery as shown in this research as well as by Olshansky and Johnson (2010) may well be a representation of a general characteristic of such events. They help to break traditional barriers between public and private sector planners and confirms the generality of the skill mix. But it also needs to be recognised that in the New Zealand context, there is much movement between the two sectors and as my research focused on members of the NZPI with shared entry and skills maintenance requirements, this finding may be constrained to such settings.

An overarching challenge that only a handful of planners mentioned, but I believe applies to all planners and professionals working during that period was the struggle to be resilient. Planners faced both professional and personal challenges on top of continual aftershocks. Dealing with all of these challenges at once is difficult and heightens the level of resilience required.

In the case of opportunities, as summarised in Table 5, most planners interviewed raised the same ones in discussions. One of the key opportunities identified by the majority of the planners was the ability to redesign and rebuild the city. This opportunity links to the one identified in the literature being the planning of a city's rebuild and redesign to make it better and more resilient (Blanco et al., 2009; Olshansky & Johnson, 2010). Underlying this opportunity is the ability for planners to showcase what they are capable of. Although the extent of that opportunity was largely dependent on the role the planner found themselves in during the recovery.

7.2 Skills a planner needed in recovery

The results of my research reinforce the views of Alexander (2005), Dawkins (2016), Guzzetta and Bollens (2003) and Keeble (1969) that the skills which largely correspond to those contained in NZPI's list²² are especially important for planners. The majority of planners considered the NZPI set of skills "was a good list" as to what makes an effective planner. However, some participants questioned the list, expressing that those skills mentioned by NZPI relate primarily to technical, intellectual and

²² The list of skills needed to be an effective planner according to NZPI (n.d.b.) include: problem definition, listening and observation, analysis and evaluation, solving problems, implementing plans, negotiation, mediation, monitoring and team work.

generic skills ('hard skills'). They stressed the need to have interpersonal and personal skills ('soft skills') also in order to be effective. Interestingly, of those planners who suggested other skills be added to that list, a large majority of those skills could be considered either interpersonal or personal. For instance, communication, pragmatism, showing initiative, being creative, having political nous and demonstrating adaptability. This aligns more with Reeves' (2016) views on skills required to be a successful planner. This better represents the full breadth of skills needed to be an effective planner. It is not just about the 'hard skills' but also about having the 'soft skills'. This suggests both sets of skills are interdependent on each other and reflects the point made by Reeves (2016) that select skills from all the capacities will need to be used at different times. Particularly from the soft skills standpoint, it appeared that private planners valued a more facilitative, pragmatic and strategic set of competencies, whereas public planners tended to look toward innovation, initiative and being politically aware and holistic. However, this does not appear to correlate with the limited literature found on this subject (Linovski, 2016). Perhaps the skill set, particularly the soft skills favoured private planners over public planners in the recovery period because that better aligned with what the government and the Minister at the time wanted.

Comparatively, in the recovery period the majority of planners suggested that they did not need to learn or adopt new skills. Instead, they were able to both utilise and hone their existing skills over that period of time. Planners readily acknowledged that they had to learn new technical information about natural hazards, legislation, planning systems, governance structures, politics and the machinery of government. However, this learning was undertaken by using existing skills. Skills of adaption and resilience were perceived by some planners as new. However, as expressed by the UD, I would question whether the skills are 'new' but may instead form part of planners' existing skill sets which they use in an everyday manner, but which were not recognised (even by themselves) until the earthquake gave realisation to these skills that they had. Furthermore, again context seems to influence the skills needed based on the roles each respective planner had. In some cases, it was perceived that the skills utilised were at a heightened level. For others, it was using different skills at different times and then in other instances it was about honing skills. Ultimately, this suggests that planners interviewed in Christchurch had the necessary skills to be effective in a post-earthquake recovery environment. This suggests that the education and training planners receive in New Zealand was appropriate and was able to be effectively translated into applicable skills in a recovery situation²³. Yet it appeared that only some of the planners interviewed were able to fully utilise the broad scope of skills in their planner toolbox. This could mean that there is a lack of understanding or

²³ The NZPI recently conducted a planner education and skills study this year and are currently analysing the results (New Zealand Planning Institute, 2019). There is an opportunity from that study to investigate whether there is a correlation between planners in the Canterbury region and the need for the skill of natural hazard planning as part of the curriculum of a tertiary qualification in planning.

underestimation of the capabilities of planners. This also feeds into the frustrations some planners had during that period of time. In summary, it suggests that the planning profession and NZPI need to do a better job at promoting the skills and capabilities of planners so it is better understood what planners can do.

7.3 Disaster legislation its purpose and impact on the planner

The CER Act as already highlighted had an impact on the role of the planner. It deliberately invoked a specific type of planner, empowered CERA and produced new roles for a number of planners, it created a new and novel political and governance environment with central government taking on a lead role in the recovery and recentralising significant powers. There were extensive changes to planning frameworks, processes and powers. Planners were no longer operating primarily under the RMA and LGA. The planning hierarchy had changed with the CER Act at the top. The RMA and LGA were subservient and answerable to the CER Act. Essentially, the whole planning system and landscape changed and this meant that planners had to learn a whole new planning system in a very short period of time. As expressed by planners, there was no guide or how-to manual for application and compliance with the CER Act. It essentially was learning by doing. Parallels can perhaps be drawn with other countries who introduced emergency legislation following a disaster (Ballano, 2017; Johnson & Olshansky, 2016; Umeda, 2016).

It was apparent to most planners that the Act was focused on speed, efficiency and expediency in recovery, which meant the same applied to planning. Subsequently, the Act was used as a tool to cut through the red tape of existing planning processes, reflecting what has happened in other disaster events (Ballano, 2017; Johnson & Olshansky, 2016; Takeda & Helms, 2006). As mentioned, it changed legislation. These changes essentially were about removing any cumbersome processes or barriers that prevented quick planning and action. One of the consequences of this was the alteration in public participation. There were a number of sections in the Act which both facilitated and restricted public participation. Following discussions with planners and related professionals, it became apparent that there were mixed feelings of openness and constraint. The DCCP and the CCRP planning processes demonstrated those two feelings. This was highlighted by the UD stating that, "One of the hardest things is if you are used to engaging with the community and you didn't feel close to the community. It [CCRP] didn't have that same level of engagement...". The UD's remarks also reflect the difficulty particularly for those public planners and related professions who felt a sense of responsibility to involve the people. This effect can be traced back to the purpose of section 3(b) of the CER Act. It enabled public participation whilst acknowledging the normal trade-offs between the time needed for public participation and the speed of taking action is not available here. This meant public participation had to fit within pre-determined timelines. What eventuated was

public participation that traversed different rungs of Arnstein (1969) ladder of citizen participation. The DCCP process initially resonated with 'partnership', whereas the CCRP process likened itself to 'informing' meaning the DCCP process, in reality, reflected more so with 'placation'. The result was parts of the community feeling disempowered and disillusioned (GCGDPMC, 2017; Vallance, 2015). Attempting to undertake public participation under these contexts was going to be difficult, especially given the scale of devastation caused by the earthquake. Overall, it can be said that it went alright given the circumstances. Adopting the machizukuri approach taken in Kobe through both regulation and planning as suggested by Mamula-Seadon et al. (2015a) may lead to more effective public participation in future disaster scenarios of a similar scale in New Zealand.

The national level interests in involving Ngāi Tahu in a strong governance role is indicated by the way they had been incorporated into key decision-making roles in both the ECan Act and the CER Act. As expressed by the Ngāi Tahu planner it seemed that Ngāi Tahu had a more significant and influential role in post-earthquake recovery planning than in normal times. Mr Brownlee, Ms Woods, Mayor Dalziel, and Mr Parker all expressed in the interview or on other platforms how positive it was for Ngāi Tahu to play a role in recovery. It is interesting to consider why the central government felt the need to do this given the provisions for Tangata Whenua and Mana Whenua in the RMA and for Maori in the LGA. This was answered by Mr Brownlee who stated that "Because we were setting aside a lot of established processes where there might have been consideration around Treaty issues... the smartest thing to do would be to actually have Ngāi Tahu at the table and it went very well...they were significant". At the time the RMA and LGA were by in large suspended. In order to uphold Treaty obligations, it was appropriate that they be made a strategic partner. A supporting reason for this may have been due to the criticism laid against the RMA and LGA and the poor delivery of outcomes it has produced for Māori (Department of Internal Affairs, 2009; Waitangi Tribunal, 2011). The CER Act presented an opportunity to deliver better outcomes for Māori. Planners representing that iwi were able to channel that influence and undertake a form of bicultural planning in Christchurch's recovery (Pauling, Awatere, & Rolleston, 2014). However, this came at a cost for Ngāi Tahu to play a part in these processes and influence planning, recovery, and rebuilding outcomes. This required significant capital expenditure for lawyers, planners and other professionals to effectively engage in the process. Even though the Act enabled and empowered iwi to be involved, costs were still imposed on iwi to engage as indicated by the Ngāi Tahu planner.

The CER Act itself invites three different types of planning approaches. The first and preferential approach is the rational comprehensive/technocratic model where the experts will produce the necessary information and assist decision-makers in making a decision (Sandercock, 1998). In essence a top-down planning approach. There are a number of sections in the Act that encourage facilitation of expediency and efficiency in the recovery and rebuilding process. This invokes the need

for experts to perform their roles quickly and to restrict or exclude the public to avoid any hold-ups. To put it bluntly, the experts and decision-makers know what's best for the people. However, the Act also provides for public participation. Therefore, we have a conflicting participatory planning approach imposed concurrently with the rational comprehensive model. This necessitates a tokenistic form of participation to enable both approaches to operate without destabilising each other. The third type of planning relates to a neoliberal planning approach that allowed the market to dictate where development should happen to a certain extent. Interestingly, informal planning approaches appeared to not be prominent in the recovery in contrast to the literature (Dynes, 1994; Klein, 2007; Reardon et al., 2009) and may be worth further investigation. The collective of planning approaches appears to resemble similar planning approaches incited by legislation during normal periods of time in an Australian context (Schatz & Rogers, 2016). The difference, in the Christchurch context, being that the technocratic planning approach was heightened, which is justifiable due to the circumstances created by the disaster. This is similar to what has occurred in other countries following disaster, which is used to add weight to justifications for the use of the technocratic approach (Johnson & Olshansky, 2016). Planners showed a mixed response as to whether the appropriate planning response was taken. However, the planner is not the person who gets to decide whether it is appropriate. The politicians, the decision-makers are the ones given that responsibility (Albrechts, 2003; Forester, 1988; Krumholz, 2001) even though most of the time they are not planning experts.

7.4 Repeal of CER Act – the new transition

The transition from the CER Act left most planners with a feeling of relief, because it was a very intensive high-pressure planning programme and appeared to exhaust planners. It has given planners the opportunity to recharge, reflect, recognise, and utilise the learnings and experience taken from that period of time and applying it to planning today. At present, planners appear to still be busy but are not under the same types of pressures and issues. Planners and related professionals are divided as to whether the recovery is over. For those that believe that we are still in recovery, this is potentially because the international experience and research suggest that a full recovery can take over 20 years and that was the projections made by CERA (2016b). For those planners that believe that the recovery is largely complete may be because of the nature of the work that they are doing is no longer related to the recovery. What the CER Act has done suggests a continuation of a trend set by the ECan Act, which is greater central government involvement and intervention in local government planning as highlighted by some of the planners interviewed. It can be argued that the CER Act has further fuelled the trend. This is evident with central government implementing the Housing Accords and Special Housing Areas Act 2013, proposed urban development authority (Twyford, 2019), National Policy Statement on Urban Development Capacity 2016, the

Hurunui/Kaikoura Earthquake Recovery Act 2016, the introduction of National Planning Standards (Ministry for the Environment [MfE], 2017), proposed RMA reforms (Parker, 2019) and the introduction of other proposed National Policy Statements like for Highly Productive Lands (MfE, 2019). All of which arguably are instituting greater central government involvement in local government planning. It would be interesting to look at the Hawkes Bay Earthquake Act 1931 to see if a similar trend followed after its enactment. The trend itself seems to indicate a return to the activities-based town & country planning approach and the end of the effects-based approach instituted by the RMA. The effects from the enactment of the CER Act forms as part of a trend of heightened involvement by central government in local government planning matters. This will impact the New Zealand planner's role and how they operate today and into the future.

7.5 Political side

Politically, the recovery period was an interesting time. In general, most of the politicians interviewed agreed that the enactment of the CER Act was necessary due to the sheer scale of destruction and devastation that the earthquake had caused, the need to coordinate a clear path for efficient and expedited recovery, and introducing emergency powers to cut through the red tape and to get on with the necessary tasks. This links back to the literature on red tape and how disaster legislation has a tendency to be enacted with one of its main purposes to remove and cut through red tape to prevent it from slowing down progress (Ballano, 2017; Johnson & Olshansky, 2016; Moynihan, 2012). However, the extent of powers given to the Minister and CERA for this was extraordinary. They were compared to powers that only had been seen in wartimes (Wright, 2016). For some politicians, the powers themselves under the CER Act lasted too long in the shape that they were in, or the way the CER Act was constructed was not based on international best practice. For others, the powers were necessary to remove the red tape to ensure an efficient and expedited recovery and were generally used appropriately. In summary, this has meant there are views of success and concern with the CER Act outcomes. This highlights different party and government ideologies as to why certain rules and regulations are in place. It can be perceived in two ways, either as a barrier or a safety net. The CER Act gave the tools both to remove the red tape, particularly associated with planning and resource management and also the choice not to.

Flaws have been identified in the Act by the politicians interviewed, but ultimately it is the way that the Act was used and implemented that would determine what its impact would be. Ms Woods explained to me that as the Greater Christchurch Regeneration Minister she has, to an extent some of those extraordinary powers and she exercises caution and use of a threshold for when there is an intention to use those powers. Perhaps this suggests that those who are implementing and administering the Act result in the Act becoming a personification of that individual, their beliefs,

values and ideologies or those tied to the political party. One planner raised the view that you can distinctly see the Minister's vision embedded into the Christchurch CBD. This seems to be the case when emergency legislation is enacted and broad wide-ranging powers are available for use in the way that those implementing and administering that legislation want to. Although it must be acknowledged that the way a politician will act is also likely based on pressures that originate from degrees of accountability (Green, 2016). As explained to me by Mr Brownlee that pressure of accountability during his tenure as Earthquake Recovery Minister was significant. This was coming from the Cabinet, the Prime Minister, the House of Representatives, his political party, New Zealand, the local Christchurch community and the media. The situation was unprecedented and it can be said he acted accordingly especially with those mounting pressures. Comparatively, the nature of accountability is different for a city council or mayor who is much more electorally accountable to the local population. Then it is different again for MP's in the opposition party in government. Therefore, each politician faces a differing nature of accountability and this will ultimately have an influence on how they will act and use their power. Had a different politician been in Mr Brownlee's position at that time we may not have seen a significantly different response or perhaps we may have because that politician faced a differing nature of accountability. What this potentially indicates is that the politician administering an Act not only personifies that person but also who they are accountable to.

In regards to perceptions around the planning that occurred as a result of the CER Act, each of the politicians recognised how fortunate Christchurch and greater Christchurch was because of strategic planning and preparedness in regards to the UDS. Plans were already in place and all the central government had to do was to alter it to fit the context and make it statutory through the Land-Use Recovery Plan. Each of the politicians here are acknowledging the importance of planning and preparedness. As a result, central government were able to relocate those people in the red zone. This point raised was critical for Mayor Dalziel who expressed the need to be better prepared for disaster recovery. Each of the politicians highlighted the significance and the benefit of having Ngāi Tahu as a partner in recovery and development but it was clear that from a central government point of view, the city council was frustrating and that was the reason why CERA had to step in and assume the role of creating and producing recovery plans in the appropriate way. Although again Mayor Dalziel, Ms Woods, and Mr Parker felt as though there was a disconnect between the community, a lack of integration with council and local government and status quo top-down heavy-handed approach taken by central government. Mayor Dalziel went further to exclaim that central government overrode existing recovery plans that put the community at the centre of recovery processes. But this top-heavy approach may have been necessary and it might not have been as

effective using an alternative approach. Further still, if the outcomes were unsatisfactory then why have the politicians in power not changed the plans as expressed by Mr Brownlee.

Although only four politicians were interviewed, it appears that regardless of their level of involvement with planners and planning, they were unable to differentiate between an NZPI member and a non-NZPI 'planner'. This suggests that, to an extent, when it has attempted to promote what it means to be a professional planner, the planning profession and NZPI have not been successful. Alternatively, it may be that there is little difference between members and non-members (who operate as planners), or that the differences are subtle and nuanced and not obvious to the untrained eye. This is important because at least one politician did not have a favourable view of planners. For that politician, planners were a frustration and barriers to action and their role and purpose were opaque: "to be honest with you, I struggle to see what the skill was in their [planners] advice". This suggests that different political ideologies and expectations influence views of planners. For instance, one politician's expectations of planners at the time was to provide clarity as to what could be done in the CBD. He wanted planners to be enabling and facilitative for development. The Act appears shaped to support this type of planner and this was reinforced by that politician. When planners produced what the politician wanted the politician could then see their value. However, this is too simplistic an explanation. Alternatively, perhaps the politician here has uttered an underlying truth that planners are not needed, they do not possess any unique skills, they are not experts and are instead generalists whose role can be fulfilled by other experts. However, to argue this is to assume that other professions are capable of concurrently "Promoting the common or collective interests of the community considering the external effects of individual and group action, improving the information base for public and private decision making, and considering the distributional effects of public and private action" (Klosterman, 1985, p. 15). Planners' do have purpose and value as was shown in the earthquake. It is just the profession has been unable to definitively show this (Myers & Banerjee, 2005).

The politicians with local government experience had different expectations and understanding of the role of the planner. They saw these as especially comprising facilitation to produce good outcomes, regulators to enforce the policy and rules of district or regional plans, advisors on courses of action and place-makers in relation to planning where things should go. At least one suggested they could favourably distinguish between advice from an NZPI planner and a planner who is not a member. However, the ability to differentiate between a member and non-member has come from interactions with NZPI. This suggests that there is a division between central and local government in terms of understanding how things actually get implemented on the ground. This issue may stem from that devolution and separation of power that began with Rogernomics and the Lange government and continued by the National-led government (Peet, 2012). Under that separation,

policy direction was supposed to come from central government but councils had a large degree of autonomy in deciding whether and how to implement national policies. As a result, it would appear that central government and their politicians who have had limited involvement in local politics are disconnected with what occurs on the ground. Better education is needed for those in central government to understand how local government, planning and planners operate and vice versa. This supports a finding by the New Zealand Productivity Commission (2017, pp. 421-422) "...that capability and knowledge of local government and urban planning is poor within central government." and that "In a future planning system, central government should substantially improve its understanding and knowledge of, and engagement with, the local government sector, who are important implementers of much legislation". If MP's understand planning and what the role of the planner is, they can potentially be more effectively utilised in disaster risk management. This might also result in legislation being written differently to more effectively harness planners.

7.6 Summary

What this research demonstrated was that planners played a critical role in the post disaster recovery of Christchurch following the February 22 earthquake. From discussions with planners, there was consensus that all planners can play a critical role throughout all phases of disaster risk management. Particular emphasis was given to preparedness and the need for planners to be able to ensure that districts, regions and nations are resilient to natural disasters. Although as mentioned by one planner, they need to be given sufficient scope to be able to perform their role effectively. It was also highlighted that due to the generalist skill sets that planners have, at least in a New Zealand context means that they are versatile, mobile and able to operate in different phases, multiple roles and engage in a variety of different projects, programs and tasks. This aligns with the limited literature available which suggests that planners do play a critical role in disaster risk management (Blanco et al., 2009; Johnson & Olshansky, 2016; March & Kornakova, 2017b). However, as pointed out by most planners, planners only play one part in disaster risk management and there are a number of other professionals, community groups, politicians, members of the public and other stakeholders who also play a role. The research undertaken here suggests that planners were able to be relatively effective in the roles that they were given to an extent, were equipped with the necessary tools in their planners toolkit to be able to operate effectively in the recovery, and played a vital role in supporting Christchurch's recovery and regeneration following a significant disaster. At the same time, the research also suggests that some planners were undermined and underutilised by politics and legislation. This drives to the issue of the identity crisis for the profession as to who planners are and what we do. Promotion and actions to increase awareness of planners and their capabilities by the planning profession and by the NZPI are needed to define the planner's identity.

This highlights the different aspects of the planner's role in relation to the recovery, impacts from the CER Act, general experiences of different planners and related professionals from different sectors, and perspectives from politicians on the recovery and planners' themselves. Some interesting points are made here and it is hoped this will invite further interest and investigation around the topic.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

The overall aim of this dissertation was to explore the role of the planner in disaster recovery in the case study context of Christchurch and the introduction of the CER Act and its impact on planners' roles and how they operated. Twenty-one interviews were undertaken and document analysis was performed on relevant legislation with particular attention to the CER Act.

The key findings from the research included the role of the planner both in normal and in recovery periods being fluid rather than static; and that context plays a significant part in terms of determining the experience, effectiveness and role each respective planner had in the recovery. In this recovery setting, planners did not require any additional skills in recovery but instead honed their skills and learnt and experienced new things particularly relating to natural hazards, politics and central government. Although it was highlighted that this consists of technical skills and behavioural skills, both are interdependent with one another and both support the planner being effective in their roles. The CER Act introduced new legislation that affected both the private and public sector planners. The Act required and enforced planners as facilitators and enablers in regards to the type of planner that they had to be in recovery. In the end, the Minister for the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery was ultimately the decision-maker and the one who applied the Act in the way that it was. Despite politicians being key decision-makers or influencers in planning outcomes, none were able to distinguish the difference between a professional versus a non-member planner during that period of time investigated (2011-2016). The combination of the Act and actions taken by the Minister and CERA led to the overall planning approach consisting of three types of planning forms including: technocratic or rational comprehensive, participatory and neoliberal. It seems that the CER Act was part of a trend to shift planning power and decisions from local authorities back to the centre. Overall, what was found from the research was that planners did play a key role in disaster recovery in Christchurch and will likely continue to do so around the world.

Certain limitations are attached to this dissertation. Firstly, because a qualitative research approach was taken the sample size is not representative of all planners who operated in Christchurch at that time. This potentially means that the opinions given by planners in particular, will not be considered generally representative. However, given the positions held and their experience, I am confident the findings are reasonably robust. Another issue in relation to interviews was they were post facto and recollections only. Therefore, they may not be entirely accurate pictures of what actually happened. It is argued that this is an appropriate time to undertake such research because planners have had

time to reflect and take into account what they had done over that period of time which potentially made it more genuine rather than hyperbolic or reactionary.

Moreover, there are clear similarities between the findings of research overseas on international disasters and the experiences and information recorded in this study.

Ultimately, this dissertation helps to lay the foundation for future research regarding the role of the planner in disaster recovery or disaster risk management. It would be interesting to make a more direct comparison between planners' experiences here in Christchurch with those in another country who have experienced significant disasters like in New Orleans with Hurricane Katrina, Kobe or Tohoku earthquakes in Japan, and the L'Aquila earthquake in central Italy.

I found that planners appear to play a critical role in disaster recovery and have the necessary skills, competencies and versatility to operate in many different roles, scales and levels. Disasters reveals why planning is important. However, it also appears that planners were undermined and constrained. This suggests there is a need to better promote the planning profession by both the planning profession itself and through the NZPI.

To summarise, planners did play a critical role in disaster recovery and disaster risk management in Christchurch following the earthquakes. If we are to truly harness the full potential of planners, they must be given the freedom to do so. A planner can facilitate not only the reconstruction of a city but also help to create a resilient one.

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State Sector Act 1988.

Wildlife Act 1953.

Appendix A

Interview documents and related information

A.1 Research information sheet for participants

Lincoln University

Faculty of Environment, Society and Design, Department of Environmental Management.

Research Information Sheet

I would like to invite you to participate in a research project entitled “The role of the planner in recovery after disaster: A case study of the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act 2011 and its impact on planners operating in post-quake Christchurch”.

The aim is to assess how the emergency recovery legislation impacted on the planner’s role and how they operated during the recovery period from 18 April 2011 to 19 April 2016. The study also looks to investigate the difference between normal and disaster times in terms of the skills used, planning approaches taken and tasks assigned to planners and the power structures. The study also seeks perceptions of planners with regards to planning in Christchurch before, during and after the earthquakes.

You have been asked if you would participate in this study as you have identified yourself as a professional planner who practised planning between 18 April 2011 and 19 April 2016.

Your involvement in the research will be to participate in a semi-structured interview. The interview will be more informal and contain a series of questions on the following topics:

- Your role as a planner during the period of 18 April 2011- 19 April 2016.
- How the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act 2011 impacted on your role as a planner.
- Difference between planning during normal and disaster time.
- Skills used and tasks undertaken during the period of 18 April 2011- 19 April 2016.
- General reflections.

The interview is expected to take no more than 1 hour at a time and place convenient to you. The interview will be tape recorded with your consent; otherwise, notes will be written during the interview. Your participation in this research is voluntary and you have the right not to answer a question and can leave the interview at any time. Furthermore, you can review or withdraw any information you have given, up until August 1st 2019 by contacting me (Nicholas Beattie) or my supervisor (Hamish Rennie) through the contact details provided below.

The results will be published in my dissertation online at the Lincoln University Research Archive and in a physical copy at the Lincoln University Library for the public.

Your personal information will remain confidential. All data collected will be stored in a locked cabinet at Lincoln University, or on a password secured computer system.

Anonymity is given to participants. Any quotes that are used from participants result in their names being changed to pseudonyms. This is done to protect the privacy of planners.

Questions?

If you have any questions or concerns about your participation in the study, please contact me or my supervisor; we would be happy to discuss any concerns you have about participation in the study.

Researcher: Nicholas Beattie
Nick.Beattie@lincolnuni.ac.nz
Ph 021 214 5863

Supervisor: Dr Hamish Rennie
Hamish.Rennie@lincoln.ac.nz
Ph 03 34230437

A.2 Research Information Sheet for politicians

Lincoln University

Faculty of Environment, Society and Design, Department of Environmental Management.

Research Information Sheet

I would like to invite you to participate in a research project entitled “The role of the planner in recovery after disaster: A case study of the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act 2011 and its impact on planners operating in post-quake Christchurch”.

The aim is to assess how the emergency recovery legislation impacted on the planner’s role and how they operated during the recovery period from 18 April 2011 to 19 April 2016. The study also looks to investigate political aspects of the recovery in relation to governance, power structures, and decisions which directly or indirectly impacted the planner’s role and functions during that period.

You have been asked if you would participate in this study as you have identified yourself as a politician located in Christchurch between 18 April 2011 and 19 April 2016.

Your involvement in the research will be to participate in a semi-structured interview. The interview will be more informal and contain a series of questions on the following topics:

- Your role as a politician during the period of 18 April 2011- 19 April 2016.
- How the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act 2011 impacted governance in Christchurch.
- The relationship between central and local government during the period of 18 April 2011- 19 April 2016 and beyond.

- Impact of the 2011 earthquakes on recovery planning.
- General reflections on the effectiveness of Christchurch's recovery.

The interview is expected to take no more than 1 hour at a time and place convenient to you. The interview will be tape recorded with your consent; otherwise, notes will be written during the interview. As a politician, you have the option to have certain parts of the interview to be off the record. In this case, statements expressed off the record in the interview will not be used. If you do not express this it is assumed you are happy to be on the record for all parts of the interview. Your participation in this research is voluntary and you have the right not to answer a question and can leave the interview at any time. Furthermore, you can review or withdraw any information you have given, up until August 1st 2019 by contacting me (Nicholas Beattie) or my supervisor (Hamish Rennie) through the contact details provided below.

The results will be published in my dissertation online at the Lincoln University Research Archive and in a physical copy at the Lincoln University Library for the public. All data collected will be stored in a locked cabinet at Lincoln University, or on a password secured computer system. Anonymity is not given to politicians because they are public figures. Any quotes that are used from politicians will mean their names will be reproduced in the final paper. This is done to protect the privacy of planners.

Questions?

If you have any questions or concerns about your participation in the study, please contact me or my supervisor; we would be happy to discuss any concerns you have about participation in the study.

Researcher: Nicholas Beattie
Nick.Beattie@lincolnuni.ac.nz
Ph 021 214 5863

Supervisor: Dr Hamish Rennie
Hamish.Rennie@lincoln.ac.nz
Ph 03 34230437

A.3 Interview questions for public planners

1. Can you please explain your planning background?
2. What do you consider the role of the planner in general to be?
3. The skills for a planner are categorised by the NZPI as being problem definition, listening and observation, analysis and evaluation, solving problems, implementing plans, negotiation, mediation, monitoring and team work, What would you consider as the key skills needed in order to be an effective planner?
4. During the recovery period did you need to learn any new skills for planning and if so what were they and why were they needed? And if not why not?
5. Do you consider that the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act 2011 had an impact on your role and how you operated as a planner?
6. Can you tell me about the challenges and advantages that you faced operating as a planner during that time?
7. How were the governing power structures affected during that time?
8. What were the impacts of the central government involvement in the recovery on planning?
9. Have these impacts been perpetuated with acts like the Greater Christchurch Regeneration Act 2016, that enables certain planning to continue under the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act 2011?
10. Overall do you think an appropriate planning approach was taken in the Christchurch recovery?
11. What has the experience been for you as a planner transitioning out of the recovery phase?
12. Are there any other points you would like to raise?

A.4 Interview questions for private planners

Questions

1. Can you please explain your planning background?
2. What do you consider the role of the planner in general to be?

3. The skills for a planner are categorised by the NZPI as being problem definition, listening and observation, analysis and evaluation, solving problems, implementing plans, negotiation, mediation, monitoring and team work, What would you consider as the key skills needed in order to be an effective planner?
4. During the recovery period did you need to learn any new skills for planning and if so what were they and why were they needed? And if not why not?
5. Do you consider that the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act 2011 had an impact on your role and how you operated as a planner?
6. How were the governing power structures affected during that time?
7. Can you tell me about the challenges that you faced operating as a planner during that time?
8. During the recovery period what types of planning opportunities were created if any? If there were opportunities was this because of the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act 2011?
9. Did the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act 2011 allow clients consents to be processed easier even the potentially controversial ones?
10. Have these impacts been perpetuated with acts like the Greater Christchurch Regeneration Act 2016, that enables certain planning to continue under the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act 2011?
11. Overall do you think an appropriate planning approach was taken in the Christchurch recovery?
12. What has the experience been for you as a planner transitioning out of the recovery phase?
13. Are there any other points you would like to raise?

A.5 Interview questions for Politicians

1. What political role did you have during the Christchurch recovery between April 2011-April 2016 and what did that entail?
2. Do you believe the enactment of the 2011 Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act 2011 was necessary? Why or why not?
3. What do you think the impacts were of the 2011 Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act 2011 particularly with governance structures and powers?

4. From your perspective what were the impacts on planning and planning approaches taken during the recovery as a result of the 2011 Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act 2011?
5. To become a professional planner, you must become a member of the New Zealand Planning Institute. To qualify to become a full member you must have an accredited degree in planning and have worked in the planning sector for at least 3 years or have at least 7 years work experience in the planning sector. As a member, to retain your membership you are required to annually meet a certain number of CPD point which is fulfilled by doing planning education and professional development. Did you recognise during the recovery period the difference between a planner who was a member of the NZPI as opposed to people appointed to planning roles who were not qualified to be professional planners?
6. What did you expect from planners before the earthquakes? Did those expectations change during that period of the recovery between 2011-2016?
7. What are your expectations of planners now, or did you have the same expectations of planners throughout this time?
8. If you had the ability to go back and change the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act 2011 would you? If so what would you change and why and if not why not?
9. Is there anything you would have done to change the planning approach or processes taken during recovery?
10. Are there any other points you would like to make?

A.6 Approach email

Hello xxxx,

My name is Nick Beattie and I am a masters of planning student at Lincoln University currently undertaking my dissertation research.

My topic is on the role of the planner in disaster recovery with a specific focus on the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act 2011 and its impact on planners operating in post-quake Christchurch.

xxxx recommended I contact you as you are a professional planner who practised planning during the recovery period between 2011-2016.

I am inquiring whether you would be interested in being interviewed about the topic to contribute towards my research.

Thank you for taking the time to read this email.

Kind regards,

Nick Beattie

Appendix B

Recovery documents collected

B.1 Plans and strategies

Canterbury Civil Defence Emergency Management Group Plan 2005-2010.

Canterbury Civil Defence Emergency Management Group Plan adopted 2014 and amended in 2018 to incorporate strategic planning for recovery.

Canterbury Regional Policy Statement 2013.

Central City Plan: Draft Central City Recovery Plan for Ministerial Approval December 2011.

Christchurch Central Recovery Plan.

Christchurch Central Recovery Plan: Replacement transport chapter - October 2013.

Christchurch District Plan.

draft Central City Plan: August 2011 – Volume 1.

draft Central City Plan: August 2011 – Volume 2 Regulatory changes to the Christchurch City Council City Plan 2005 and Global Stormwater Consent.

Draft Land Use Recovery Plan.

Effectiveness and efficiency of arrangements to repair pipes and roads in Christchurch.

Greater Christchurch Urban Development Strategy Update.

Land Use Recovery Plan.

Recovery Strategy for Greater Christchurch.

Resilient Greater Christchurch Plan.

B.2 Reviews, reports and critique of the recovery

Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority: Assessing its effectiveness and efficiency.

EQ recovery learning.

Inquiry into Parliament's legislative response to future national emergencies: Report of the Regulations Review Committee.

Ministerial Review: Better responses to natural disasters and other emergencies.

Regulatory impact statement: Review of the legislative framework for recovery from emergencies.

Ripped apart: A city in chaos: Bob Parker's story.

Roles, responsibilities, and funding of public entities after the Canterbury earthquakes.

Walking the recovery tightrope.

Whole of government report: Lessons from the Canterbury earthquake sequence.

B.3 Legislation

Civil Defence Emergency Management Act 2002.

Canterbury Earthquake Response and Recovery Act 2010.

Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act 2011.

Hawke's Bay Earthquake Act 1931.

National Civil Defence Emergency Management Plan Order 2005.

Appendix C

Summary of challenges and opportunities planners and related professionals faced in Christchurch earthquake's post-recovery

C.1 Challenges

There were a number of different challenges that planners faced during the recovery period which were raised in the interviews. These have been synthesised into key themes (see Table 4 below).

Challenges of working in recovery	Example
Limitation of work for people in the private sector	"It took out a lot of that work that we would get involved in and try and promote, such as private plan changes not just in the planning industry but all the supporting trades that go with it (legal fraternity, specialists etc) a big chunk of work was missed out on". PrE
Conflict between CERA and local authorities	"There were tensions with central government in town and the local authority expressed dissatisfaction with them there. In the end, there were issues on pace of recovery and what we needed to achieve. One of my roles was to help that relationship [this was just one area after PriP 2 came off the Blueprint and for a specific project] ". PriP 2
Time pressures and significant workloads	"There was constant pressure...we had 5 years of unrelenting pressure so when we finally finished our District Plan Review for those of us who had been working for the council right from the first earthquake right the way through, we were exhausted". PuP 1
Difficult environment within CERA	"There were lots of challenges at a personal and professional level... It was a pretty toxic place to work in at times. There was a lot of bullying and a lot of egos to deal with". PriP2

Planning Challenges	Example
Planning at speed	<p>"...everything was trying to be sped up and a lot of people called it...planning on steroids, basically trying to achieve what would normally be quite a long time within a space of months to deliver on development and other things".</p> <p>PuP 3</p>
Planning with uncertainty	<p>"Some planners like to see the end game, the start game and see the steps on the way through, but we didn't necessarily know what the end game looked like". PriP 4</p>
Dealing with a whole new system and process	<p>"It set a whole new mandate....removed RMA framework.....operating under new legislation....gave CERA and the Minister and others massive powers, responsibility and freedom to exercise that responsibility.....totally changed how I operated in that role I was performing and in subsequent guises to a continued degree....but in those times very much so. It was new and untested. ... So it meant evolving around what the legislation was enabling at the same time as trying to apply it. PriP 3</p>
Communication issues	<p>My perception of local government is.....they've worked at the coal face with people and there's a whole local government language and there's a whole central government language. I think perhaps there were people in Christchurch City...who hadn't quite fundamentally understood those differences.....Parties were talking at different angles.... ". PriP 5</p>
Navigating and learning the machinery of government	<p>"The key was understanding the nuances of central government and how decisions were made and also learning that I was just a cog in the wheel. ... Navigating through the political landscape...that was very challenging". PriP2</p>

General Challenges	Example
Personal challenges	"Some of us still had families at home, broken homes, insurance claims to fight...my husband....he was with the civil defence teamwe consequently relied heavily on other family and networks at home to enable us to do the job for council and the community...". PuP 1
Adaptation	"...you were constantly adapting to different changes in information processes and people". PriP 4
Earthquakes	"Imagine the environment you were working in at the time. We were in the art gallery, I was located under the stairs at one point...and then we were in the gallery spaces. That's not a normal work environment. We were regularly evacuated when there were large aftershocks. Many times you would be under your trestle table desk.... imagine...working in that environment and trying to do your best". UD
Burden of responsibility	"...the risks and sense of responsibility I don't know if I would want to operate under that condition all the time" PriP 3
Resilience	"... it's being able to utilise the resources you have to sort of get through the kind of critical points so you can figure out where the next bit of normal is.....it definitely used all of your skills". PuE

Table 4. Key challenges planners and related experts faced operating in the recovery period.

C.2 Opportunities

In a post-disaster recovery period, whilst there were challenges for planners and other related experts operating during that time there were also opportunities. These are outlined in Table 5 below.

Career opportunities	Example
Greater mobility for planners	"Being in an organisation you can often move sideways...if the opportunity is there and if you were clever and you show a bit of nous and a bit of understanding and you're keen to do different things. But again that's all on speed in a response...or recovery period. You could basically move in any direction you want to a point...you could become a liaison person with the engineer...you can become a liaison person as a planner specialising in flood response ...same with community engagement or in various strands of different pieces of work. You can move in different directions very easily and planners are well placed to do that because we have those general skills, it's all transferable". PriP 4
Rebuild, redesign and reimagine the Christchurch City	"It's exciting to be contributing to the rebuild and recovery and how the city is shaped". PrE
Honing your skills and experience	"Understanding and working within new legislation always expands your experience, and from a technical perspective there were many opportunities to learn and gain a better understanding regarding earthquake related topics, for example I learnt a great deal about rockfall and cliff collapse...topics that sometimes you may never have to deal with in such detail...honing my evidence skills for the Independent Hearings Panel, through having to deliver, present and defend a number of sets of evidence in such a short timeframe, that earned me ten years worth of planning experience but squashed into three...I can still recall what went well and didn't and what can I improve on next time giving evidence...PuP 1

Learning and exposure to new things in planning and policy	"I learnt so much...with the opportunity to work on a range of high profile recovery plans and other strategies and things, legislation, a whole bunch of things that normally would otherwise not happen. I think a lot of the planners would say that as well. It would normally take a lifetime to get that kind of experience where you cross a division and range of planning policy approaches and a lot of things". PuP 3
General opportunities	Example
Planning freedom for certain individuals involved	"...that was the most rewarding and challenging time of my professional career as a planner that was fantastic. A once in a lifetime opportunity....I was privileged to be put in that position.....but very scared about whether you were getting it right or not. I'd never found myself with that degree of planning freedom....probably never will again". PriP 3
Improve the relationship between Ngāi Tahu, local government and the Crown	"Central government really put us into the mix.....really gave that strong direction that local government neededwe [Ngāi Tahu] were a key partner ...which has had long lasting impacts for us which has been fabulous". Ngāi Tahu planner.
Showcasing what you can achieve with planning at speed	".....interesting from a planning practise point of view just in terms of the speed and focus and actually if you do focus on something, you can actually achieve quite a bit in a 100 days....rather than usually planning processes that grind along and take forever to happen....quite positive from that point of view....but it also had a combination of design plus money, central government money, which resulted in placemaking....." PriP 6

Table 5. Key opportunities planners and related experts experienced operating in the recovery period.

Appendix D

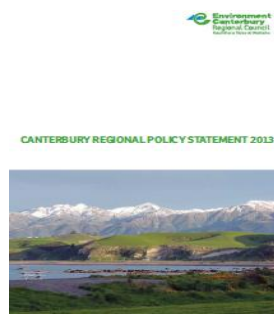
**Timelines of Orders in Council and planning documents from 2011-
2019**

Major earthquake – 4 September 2010

Major earthquake – 22 February 2011



Released in February

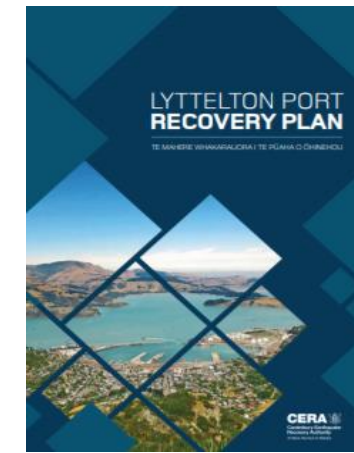


Operative in January



Began in May

Regional Coastal Environment Plan changes in June and November



Released in November



Mahaanui iwi management plan released February



Began in July

Canterbury Earthquake Response and Recovery Act 2010

Canterbury Earthquake Response and Recovery Act 2010

Canterbury Earthquake Response and Recovery Act 2010

Canterbury Earthquake Response and Recovery Act 2010

14 September



Created in March

Registered as at 19 April 2010

Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act 2011

Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act 2011

18 April

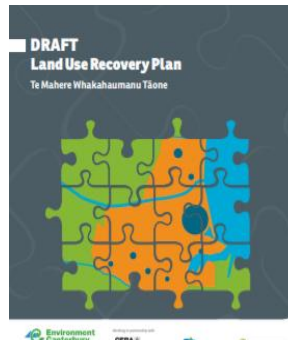
Regional Coastal Environment Plan Operative in June

Draft strategy released in January Final released in May

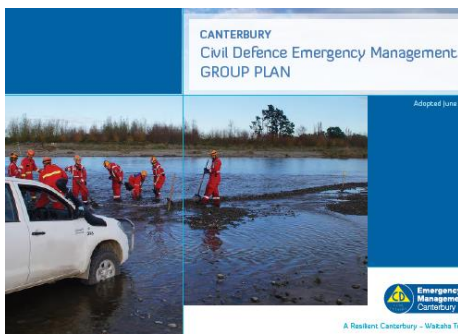
Christchurch Transport Strategic Plan



Released in June



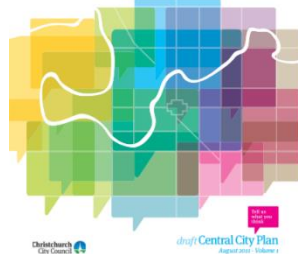
Released in June



Released in August

2010

2015



draft Central City Plan released for consultation in August

Sydenham Master Plan



Released in June



Released in August

Civil Defence Emergency Management Activity Management Plan

Long Term Plan 2015-2025

21 October 2014

Christchurch City Council

Released in October

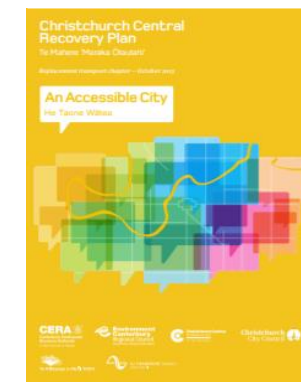


Revised draft Central City Plan sent for Ministerial approval in December

Lyttelton Master Plan



Released in June



Released in October



Released in November

2011

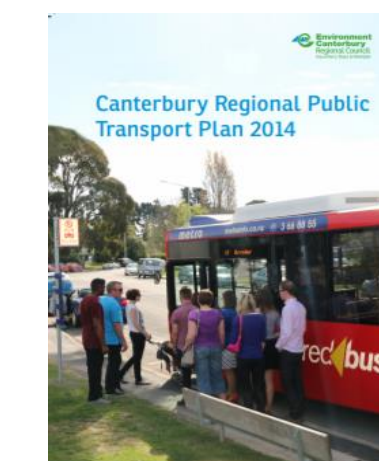
Selwyn Street Shops Master Plan



Released in July

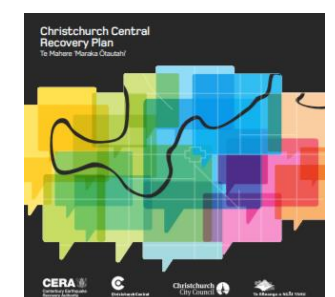


Released in December

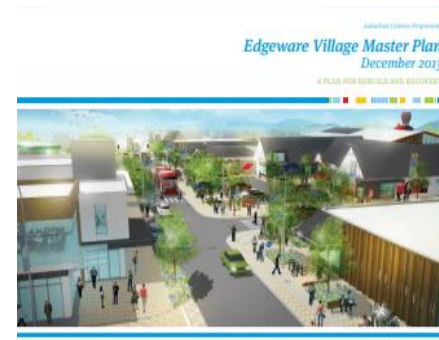


Released in December

2014



Released in July

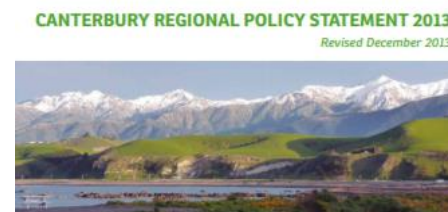


Released in December

Linwood Village Master Plan



Released in August



Released in December

2013

2012

Continued on the next page

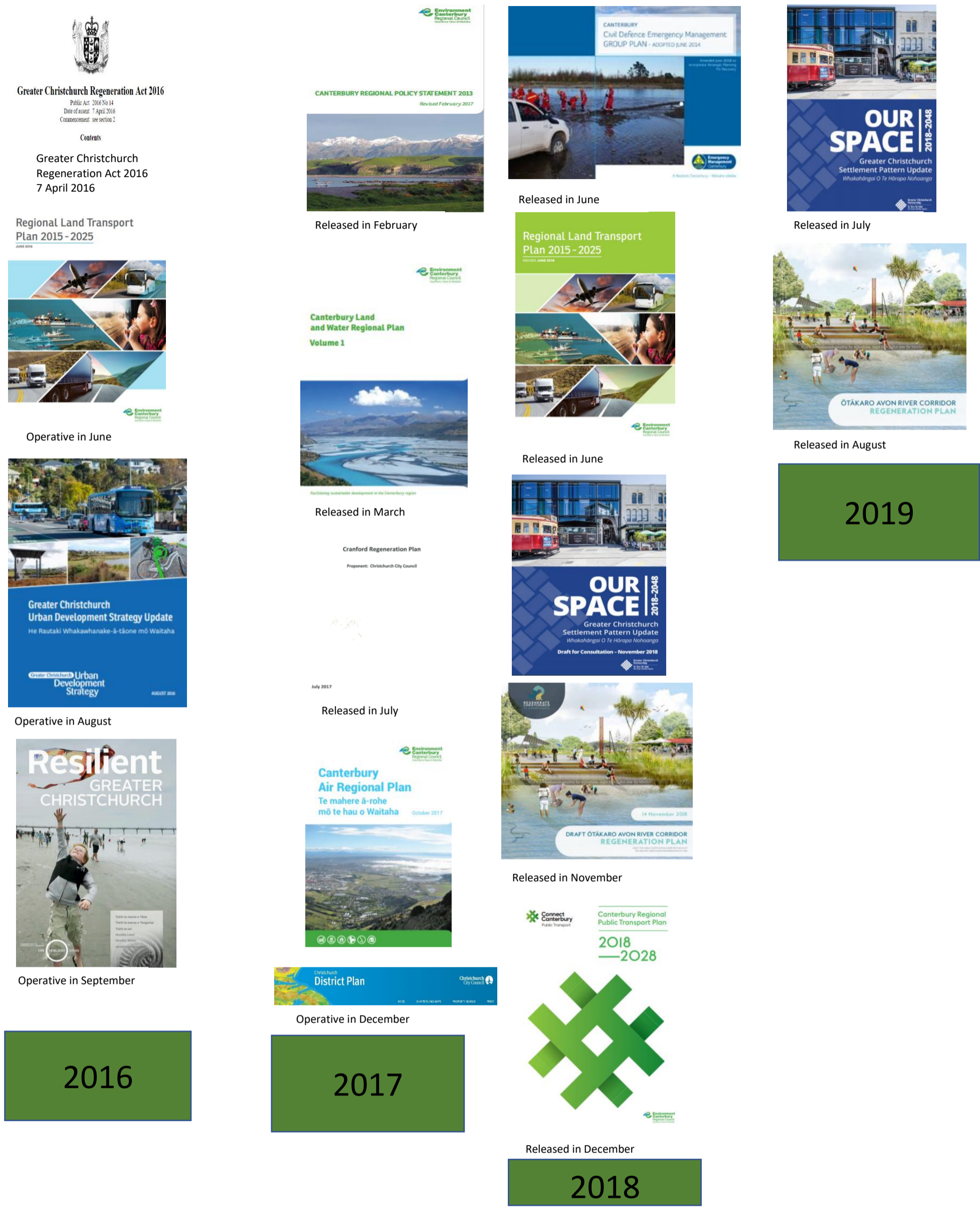


Figure 3. Key planning documents developed from 2010-2019.

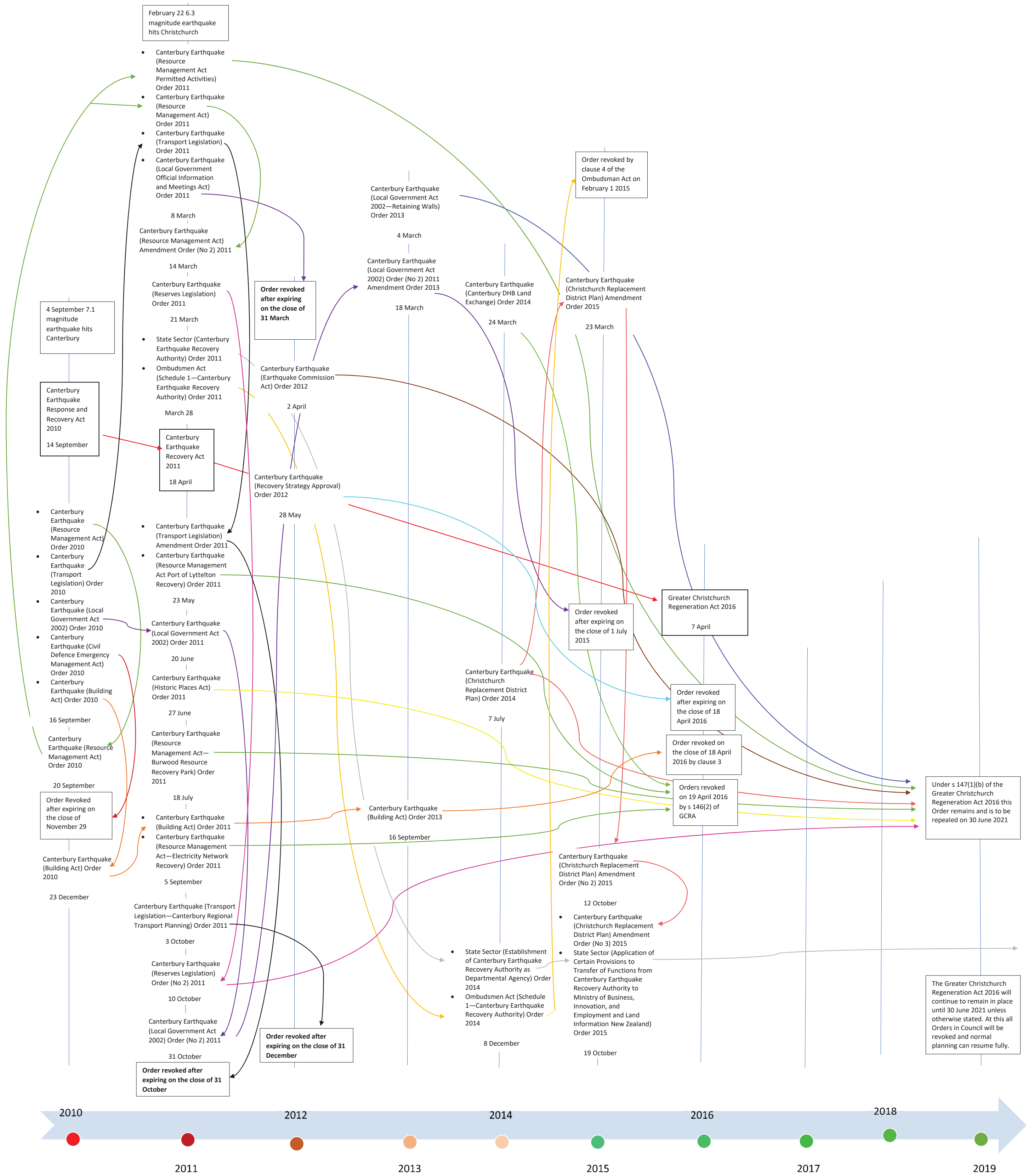


Figure 4. Overview of Orders in Council from 2010-2019.

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Picture of CERA logo taken by the author.

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