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Stories of relocation to the Waikato: Spaces of emotion and affect in the 2010/2011 Canterbury earthquakes, Aotearoa New Zealand

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Abstract

Emotion and affect are enmeshed in the lives of relocated Cantabrians. A project on the lived geographies of relocation disrupts the predominance of model based approaches in hazards and disaster literature. The previously taken-for-granted aspects of how people relate to one another and are in turn shaped by those relationships are of central concern.

The research brings together the stories of people from 19 households who moved to the Waikato region of New Zealand as a result of the Canterbury earthquakes and aftershocks. It is argued that exploring relocation through the lens of emotion and affect can give rise to an understanding of the collective aspects of non-conscious, embodied and emotional life-worlds of relocatees. Semi-structured interviews, spontaneous focus groups and follow-up interviews were used to access emotional and affectual geographies and participants' life experiences.

Three main themes are addressed in relation to disasters: 1) bodies which are proximate and connected to other bodies; 2) sub-conscious and psychosocial aspects of relocation, especially ambivalence; and 3) the co-mingling of materials (buildings, architecture) with an emotional and affective sense of self. To explain each of these themes in turn, attention is paid to what bodies *do* to illustrate that proximity and connection are both present and desired by respondents in post-disaster and relocated spaces. The second theme of sub-conscious and psychosocial impacts explores how ambivalence exposes complexity and contradiction, which are tightly bound to the experience of relocation. The third theme of materiality is used to make clear how bodies and buildings are co-constituted. Homes, churches and other city buildings can become containers of memory inspiring feelings of dread, loss, and grief but also, comfort, belonging and identity. Emotion and affect, then, are critical to understanding the impacts of the earthquakes and relocation on people and communities, they are a call to think about complexity and are considered to be a large component of the human experience of surviving a disaster.

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Contents

Abstract ..... **iii**

Acknowledgements ..... **v**

Contents ..... **vii**

List of figures ..... **xi**

List of tables ..... **xii**

Chapter 1: Introducing emotion, affect and disasters **1**

Thesis outline 9

Chapter 2: Christchurch earthquake sequence and its impacts **13**

A tale of two cities 22

Was there an exodus from Christchurch? 31

Summary 32

Chapter 3: Earthquakes and personal accounts: a renewed focus on geography and disasters **35**

Embodying disaster research 39

Looking at gender and disasters 45

Disasters and mass media 46

Challenging the continuity principle 48

Some terms and explanations 57

Performativity of language and the body 64

Affect and things (the built environment) 72

Affecting context 73

Summary 75

Chapter 4: Creating fluid and flexible methods **77**

'Participant sensing' in Christchurch 79

Semi-structured interviews 83

Focus groups 89

Performance thinking: theory behind practice 93

Affect, intensity and earthquake experiences 95

Body language – unheard noises 100

Empathy 102

Analysis and presentation of findings 110

Summary 115

Chapter 5: Proximate and connected bodies 117

Spatial scales of disasters 118

Managing children's bodies and emotions 122

Collective living 126

Shame and the body 130

Proximity in the city 134

Canterbury and Waikato 141

Global disaster 'skin' 145

Isolation 151

Summary 154

Chapter 6: Embodied ambivalence 155

Saying one thing, doing another 157

Missing family 163

Should I stay or should I go? 170

Guilt 172

Are earthquake survivors refugees? 177

Gender and relocation 179

Summary 187

Chapter 7: Bodies and buildings 189

Home but not as we know it ... 194

Building a life in Waikato ... 200

Rhythmanalysis ... 207

Cities and memory ... 208

Christchurch Cathedral ... 218

Summary ... 223

Chapter 8: Conclusions and future research ... 225

References ... 241

Appendices ... 281

Appendix A Newspaper article ... 283

Appendix B Participant information sheet ... 285

Appendix C Proposed research questions ... 287

Appendix D Example of research diary ... 289

Appendix E 'Cantabrians in Waikato' picnic 30 January 2012 ... 291

Appendix F Suggestion sheet ... 293

Appendix G Memoralising 22 February 2012 ... 295

Appendix H Example of 'open coding' ... 297

Appendix I Example of mind map ... 299

List of figures

Figure 1.1: Human response: rescue teams search for survivors at the collapsed Canterbury Television Building (CTV) in central Christchurch 2
Figure 2.1: Map of New Zealand, showing Christchurch/Canterbury and Hamilton/Waikato regions and the location of the Murchison, Napier and Christchurch earthquakes 14
Figure 2.2: Damage to buildings in central Christchurch 15
Figure 2.3: A ruined house on the corner of Ferry Road and Lancaster Street, east Christchurch 16
Figure 2.4: Student Volunteer Army (SVA) removing mud and silt from east Christchurch 18
Figure 2.5: Map showing the September M7.1 (Darfield), the February M6.3 (Christchurch), the June M6.3, and the December M6.0 earthquakes together with aftershocks above M3 and fault ruptures in Canterbury 20
Figure 2.6: Eastern suburbs of Christchurch showing technical categories for land 24
Figure 2.7: Christchurch Cathedral before earthquakes in 2010.......................... 30
Figure 2.8: Damage evident to the Cathedral after earthquakes 30
Figure 3.1: Schematic representation of the disaster resilience of place (DROP) model 40
Figure 3.2: Pressure and release (PAR) model: the progression of vulnerability (also featured in Routledge Handbook 2012) 40
Figure 3.3: Models of models: possible evolution of models of disaster 41
Figure 3.4: Crafts of kindness: a gift made by the Lost and Found Project (2012)49
Figure 4.1: Orbiter Bus Route around major suburbs in central Christchurch 80
Figure 4.2: Through the CBD cordon: mangled remains of a trading store near the Cashel Mall 81
Figure 4.3: Overview of approximate Christchurch location of participants in research.. 88

Figure 5.1: Bodily proximity: in the immediate impact, a father shelters his daughter from noise and potential falling debris in Christchurch's CBD as people search for survivors 117
Figure 5.2: Eerily quiet in the CBD 141
Figure 6.1: A reality of living in Christchurch 169
Figure 7.1: Collapsed Pyne-Gould Corporation Building which Chris saw out his work-place window (see page 132) 189
Figure 7.2: Car versus concrete, Gloucester Street, central Christchurch 202

List of tables

Table 2.1: CERA criteria for land zones 22
Table 4.1: Respondent attributes 85

Chapter 1: Introducing emotion, affect and disasters

> Loren:[1] When I say I couldn't get to my son and I was terrified and I was crying and I didn't know if my son was okay—I mean, there were power-lines down and silt [from liquefaction] with raw sewerage up to my waist in parts—it was just a nightmare! And I don't think people can understand what it's like to not know if your child is okay, or to weigh up risking the child in your arms for the child where you don't know what's happened to them! That's one thing about moving up here [relocating to Waikato]; it's like a different world. The reality is people just don't know, they don't realise, that it's not over quickly—it's not like you move away and everything's okay, that it's finished (Interview 2 February 2012).[2]

The statement above describes a terrible situation for a mother, Loren, trying to reunite with her young son whilst carrying a small baby in a disaster torn suburb of Christchurch soon after the major earthquake on 22 February 2011. Loren relocated to the Waikato and the emotional trauma has continued. Relocation is not an easy decision, far from it, and some experience it as painful and isolating. The disconnection that people can experience when living in an unfamiliar place or part of a country, often cut off from close family and without support networks, challenges the view that choosing to move away from a disaster-zone ameliorates some of the emotional and affective impacts of disaster. Migration, whether permanent or temporary, whether national or international, has long been a coping strategy for people facing environmental changes such as disasters (among many other things). People have sought out environments that might potentially support both survival, as well as aspirations to a more stable existence (Warner *et al.* 2010). The on-going emotional impacts and affects are far-reaching, yet, they receive relatively little academic attention.

Earthquakes have been the cause of many of the most devastating natural catastrophes in the 20th Century. Unlike some other natural disasters, there is no

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[1] Pseudonyms have been used throughout.

[2] I have based my transcript codes on Hay (2000: 74). They are as follows: ***italics*** indicates stressed discourse; **...** indicates material that has been edited out; **[*laughs*]** indicates non-verbal actions, gestures, and facial expressions; **[added material]** indicates explanation to make the statement or sentence clear to the reader; **//** indicates interrupted speech.

warning, the impact is often widespread, and the effects multifarious. Furthermore, in the aftermath, the overhanging threat may continue for months or even years, and social and economic disturbances may be experienced for long periods to come.

Figure 1.1: Human response: rescue teams search for survivors at the collapsed Canterbury Television Building (CTV) in central Christchurch
Source: Neil Macbeth/Barcroft Media

In this thesis it is argued that post-disaster relocation is a valid and important disaster response that carries with it significant emotional and affectual experiences (see figure 1.1). Internal (and external) migration or 'distress migration' (Hunter and David 2009) is an extremely varied and complex manifestation. At the same time it is a component of equally complex economic, social, cultural, demographic and political processes operating at the local, regional, national and global levels (Castles and Miller 1993). In this project I concentrate on internal migration in New Zealand after a disaster, which has been conceptualised by respondents as 'distress migration'. It also reflects the complex processes and scales outlined by Castles and Miller (1993).

Relocation in western countries after a major disaster is often considered to be a conscious choice that is underpinned by 'push' and 'pull' factors. Neo-classical

approaches to human migration, with an emphasis on economic structures, have incorporated complex formulations of push and pull factors. These formulations, however, sometimes fall short of describing spatial inequalities which have been taken up in feminist focused works (for example, see Dwyer 2000; Hunter and David 2009; Lawson 2000; Silvey 2004; Yeoh and Huang 2000). The co-joining of migration research and social theory has emphasised "the interplay of desires, identities and subjectivities in multiple sites in order to understand processes of belonging, exclusion and affiliation that are produced through migration" (Lawson 2000: 173). Lawson[3] hopes to reveal the empirical disjuncture between expectations of migration and the actual experiences of migrants. Similar to this line of thought, I also wish to make apparent the experiences of participants who have relocated following earthquakes, and explore the norms, challenges and constraints that these experiences pose.

I argue that combining emotion and affect with relocation experiences is crucial for understanding the collective aspects of emotion and embodiment, as well as acknowledging the 'missing' experiences of those who chose to move from the post-disaster environment. I am especially interested in the 'turn to affect' which has been conceptualised as a means to link together the physical, subconscious and psychosocial dimensions of lived experience. Emotion and affect imply a collective and relational ontology which may expose some of the breaches in borders between self and other (Gatens and Lloyd 1999) and create a growing appreciation of what phenomenology and psychoanalysis share in common (the unconscious). Specific feelings and impressions then are considered to be spatially focused and place attached in different ways.

In the past decade emotion and affect have become major themes for human geographical research. The sheer volume of expanding work is testament to the growing recognition amongst academics of the significance of emotion and affect

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[3] Johnson (1989: 87) discusses the lack of first names used in academic articles. By omitting first names the gender of the author is obscured which creates androgynous geographies that continue to support 'masculinst assumptions about the world'. While I acknowledge the importance of her critique, for the preservation of space in this thesis I include only surnames.

in all aspects of people's personal, professional and social lives (for an overview see Pile 2010). The academic focus on affect is a burgeoning field of enquiry, yet, empirically led research is still largely missing. Affect is generally considered to be an ontological construct (for example, see Anderson 2006, 2009; Anderson and Harrison 2006; McCormack 2007; Pile 2010; Thrift 2004, 2008; Tolia-Kelly 2006). Likewise, Barnett (2008: 188) argues that affect is presented "as an ontological layer of embodied existence". He continues, the "ontologisation of theory has been associated with a strong preference for models of ethical and political agency that focus attention upon embodied and affective dispositions of subjects" (Barnett 2008: 188). The nature of affect makes combining it with empirical work a challenge, yet a challenge that is worth perusing. Therefore, I examine emotion and affect within the lives of relocated Cantabrians[4] in order to extend current geographical knowledge.

From a geographical perspective there is relatively little known about emotion, affect and the everyday experiences of people who have survived a major disaster and then, based on that experience, have decided to permanently relocate.[5] Previous work on the emotional aspects of disasters has tended to have been conducted by social psychologists (Drury *et al.* 2009; Zagefka *et al.* 2011) and mental health experts (Davidson and McFarlane 2006; Riad and Norris 1996). Still, this previous psychological work tends to skip over a deeper understanding of the complexities and contradictions of people's emotional responses to disasters (Whittle *et al.* 2012). It also tends to skip over the place-based nature of emotion, affect and trauma (see also Morrice 2013).

[4] I use the term 'Cantabrians' throughout this research to denote people who were living in Christchurch before the earthquakes and who *self-identify* as being from Canterbury and use the term to identify themselves. Many respondents were 'born and bred' in Christchurch. Although, some people who were born outside of Christchurch and who *intended* to live long term in the area but relocated due to the earthquakes and aftershocks, still identified with Canterbury more than with other areas of New Zealand.

[5] In this project relocation is conceptualised as a permanent decision. All respondents involved in this research relocated out of Christchurch with thoughts of staying for at least a number of years, rather than weeks or months (i.e. temporary relocation). A year after the initial interviews for this project, only two families out of 19 had moved back to Christchurch.

To date, there has been little social and cultural geographical research published on the Christchurch earthquakes and aftershocks (however, see Cupples 2012) probably because they are still relatively recent disaster events. But there are some notable works emerging that are based on the Christchurch earthquakes, especially around aspects of resilience, such as: resilience in the global north (Crowley and Elliott 2012); indigenous resilience (Lambert and Mark-Shadbolt 2012); Haiti and Christchurch viewed through a resilience lens (Mitchelson 2011); community resilience and recovery (Vallance 2011); and community resilience and social memory (Wilson 2013).

The *Australasian Journal of Disaster and Trauma Studies* (2011) has produced a special issue that is focused on Christchurch earthquakes from a social science perspective. The Joint Centre of Disaster Research and GNS Science Reports from 2010 onward have a specific focus on earthquake geological data. These data have been presented at conferences and workshops, as well as written into reports. All the same, these research contributions tend toward physical geography, seismic data and psychological support networks. Although technically astute, the reports tend to leave out the life-worlds of people who have experienced and survived the earthquakes and upon whom the processes of recovery impact.

The question that drives this project is: *how and in what ways are emotion and affect enmeshed within the experiences of Cantabrians who have chosen to relocate to the Waikato?* A geographical understanding of emotion and affect allows for a collective focus and for highlighting spatiality and embodiment. The inclusion of unconscious processes of communication, that is, how emotion and affect circulate within and through bodies are emphasised by empirical examples. This thesis then aims to extend dialogues on the permeable boundaries of bodies, how feelings, moods and affect facilitate communication beyond the borders of self and other and includes non-human others. So, I work to tease out emotion and affect, which are also at the same time are gendered,

classed and spatially articulated to work toward a politically motivated ontology of disaster response and recovery, in short, an ontology of relocation.

The research has three main objectives. First, to examine how emotion and affect can offer a collective focus on bodies and what they do. Using Ahmed's (2004a,b,c) work as a basis, I explain how being proximate to others and other bodies was desired by respondents both in the post-disaster phase of the earthquake, as well as after they relocated. Importance is placed on emphasising how the disaster experience hooks into, and remains within, bodies. Second, the research analyses how relocation creates an ambivalent, complex and entangled emotional framework for respondents. This ambivalence became apparent in the interviews and in the descriptions from participants. Third, the work draws on, and pays attention to, the role of materiality in the lives of relocatees. Emotion and affect circulated among people and the built environment which has allowed an examination of the enabling and constraining processes of material objects in participants' lives. I particularly focus on buildings. Therefore, the thesis seeks to bring together and advance four main areas of research: emotion and affect; geographies of disasters; psychoanalytical geographies; and empirical examples that incorporate emotion and affect.

Phenomenology, feminism and Non-Representational Theory (NRT) can all strengthen emotional geographies, and therefore inform this work by providing me with the theoretical underpinnings to conduct a thorough reading of the competing discourses. Humanistic geographers in the 1970s turned to phenomenology. They were concerned with the essences of human experience of place and space (Simonsen 2012). The essentialism evident in these works was later criticised along with charges of idealism and voluntarism. A notable exception, though, was Seamon (1979), who used the work of Merleau-Ponty (1962, 1968) to co-join material life and thought as a way to capture a finer grained meaning of place. What resonates through Merleau-Ponty's philosophy are "materiality and ideality, matter and meaning, body and mind which must be

conceived of as irreducibly interwoven and folded at every level" (Simonsen 2012: 15).

For more than two decades feminist geographers have acclaimed the importance of the body to geographical analyses. This scholarship underpins and informs much current work. Many feminist geographers place emphasis on the politics of knowledge production (Clifford and Valentine 2003: 4) because the process and results of research cannot be separated from the people who have produced it. Feminist scholars not only acknowledge this personal relationship to research, "they actively celebrate it" (Letherby 2003: 6). Feminist geographies have highlighted the prevalence of emotions in the context of situated approaches to knowledge production (England 1994; Massey 1994; McDowell 1999; Moss 2005; Moss and Al Hindi 2008). While emotions are often ubiquitous in research, there is also a good deal more that is exchanged over and beyond language. It is not always the case that the words in human language can represent interior mental and emotional states. Such non-representational geographies address the 'performativity' of everyday practice by concentrating on the 'unsayable' (Thrift 2004; Thrift and Dewsbury 2000). This has led some academics to place importance on what remains unrepresented in the experience and dynamics of daily life.

One aspect of thinking through emotion and affect is through Spinoza's (2000) philosophy of the mind and body. Spinoza (2000) understands the body as a series of intensities which are constantly in relation with and in connection to other bodies (as opposed to 'the [static] body'). Relationality is one of the driving forces of emotion and affect, or how bodies come to be composed in alignment with and from other bodies. The trans-individual nature of affect which 'opens-out' among bodies requires examining a social ethics of interrelations and connection. Gatens and Lloyd (1999: 14) argue that "the contagiousness of 'collective affects' exposes the breaches between self and other". Emphasis is weighted on how bodies come together in collectivities and what sort of energies

are then co-produced. That is, scholars explore the dynamic contributions to the (re)production of everyday life.

In turning to performance thinking, following Dewsbury (2010) and taking some direction from McDowell (2010), performance research can be interpreted as a shift in focus. The emphasis lies more toward experiencing the research encounter than toward representation. In short, it is the accounts that count. Taking inspiration from the philosophy of Nietzsche (1967), Dewsbury (2010: 325) works with the idea that "there is no 'being' behind doing, effecting, becoming" instead, he argues that "the deed is everything" (Dewsbury 2010: 325). What becomes important then for performance thinkers to consider is the 'empirical metaphysics' of their work and to clarify the ideas formed by the project's researchers to make meaning. Thus, some capture of the experience of the investigation is allowed to edge into view. The point Dewsbury (2010) makes is salient. It is not solely the methods themselves that produce data but also the combination of experiencing the research, the attempt at articulating it, and the subtle shifts or differences between experience and representation that can be key inclusions.

McDowell (2010) and Dewsbury (2010) have provided some insightful moments for me on performative thinking. Both scholars argue that researchers need to be mindful of what their own particular vision brings into view and they emphasise the need to make this awareness explicit at every step of the way (Dewsbury 2010; McDowell 2010). The importance of thinking about for whom the research is aimed colours the whole project. The challenge is to keep this in mind from the very outset, and to stay present. This is not 'new' ground but something that has initiated a range of questions that has dominated human geography for the past three decades (see Dewsbury 2010; McDowell 2010).

The research project began as the communities in and around Christchurch were coping with the impacts of a 7.1 magnitude earthquake in September 2010. Then days before submitting my initial proposal, the Christchurch many knew changed

forever and the core focus of this research needed to be shifted. The earthquake and aftershocks on the 22 February 2011 transformed many things for people in and around Christchurch. Some suburbs became unliveable, the central business district closed and many key services (water, electricity supermarkets) were also badly affected.

Furthermore, ongoing tremors, large aftershocks and new earthquake events that continue (such as 13 June 2011, 23 December 2011) have delivered hard psychological blows for residents who had hoped the seismic activity would cease or at least, ease.[6] McDowell (2010: 163) advocates that researchers "should be aware of the provisional nature of their intended research focus" and need to be flexible and open to possible (re)definitions of the project. For this research, it was only the minor consideration of a project focus that changed, for some residents the earthquakes and aftershocks caused a significant change in location and life-style as they fled or moved in order to stabilise at least one part of their lives.

Thesis outline

This thesis then is devoted to exploring emotion and affect which are diverse and complex and enmesh with the relocation experiences of Cantabrians in the Waikato region. Three substantive chapters have emerged from data collected in a series of interviews and spontaneous focus groups. But before I discuss the findings of this research, I begin by contextualising the parameters of the project. I explain a little of the circumstances which led respondents to relocate out of a disaster zone to a region that is perceived by them to be geologically relatively stable. I then outline the theoretical foundations of this research, linking it with current literature in the social sciences, and geography more specifically.

In chapter 2 I locate the research within the New Zealand context detailing the series of earthquakes and aftershocks experienced in and around Canterbury

[6] As of December 2013, the tremors have eased, with no more causing damage. But they are yet to cease, with 'able to be felt' shakes recorded on seismic monitoring websites.

(the region in of which Christchurch is the dominant urban centre). I start with the Darfield earthquake on 4 September 2010 and follow the 'disaster time-line' which includes the major earthquake on 22 February 2011 and a number of significant earthquake and aftershock sequences that have continued through 2012. Several facets of the Canterbury earthquakes and aftershock sequence are unique to the area, as well as the human response and regional migration movements. It is noted that Christchurch was considered to be an economically divided city before the earthquakes and the disaster events have further exacerbated this. In the time this research has been conducted residents in Christchurch have had a long and unfinished involvement with various governmental departments and insurance companies. Buildings and the built environment too come under scrutiny, as the disasters underline the co-mingling of people, places and things (including technologies and materials).

The literature review and concepts that underpin this research are outlined in Chapter 3. I begin by sketching how mainstream disaster literature in geography and sociology has largely overlooked the personal accounts of people caught up in disasters. The favouring of 'technical monologues' (Hewitt 1997: 14) and diagrammatic examples in hazards and disasters literature tends to bracket out the people, their experiences and sense of place in which the (often catastrophic) event unfolds. Much of the chapter is centred on the turn to affect. I begin by summarising phenomenology, feminism and non-representational theory. I then consider the literature in a number of ways. I examine how emotion and affect are described and utilised in geographical theory: as a relational ontology, through focusing on bodies, the performativity of language, methodology, the psychological concept of 'skin', context and how affect encompasses materiality.

Chapter 4 addresses the methodological processes used to conduct the research. In this chapter I extend discussion on the importance of emotion and affect in recent geographical thought. I outline my main methods for gathering empirical data and discuss the theoretical background to these approaches. At the

beginning of the project performative methods were employed such as walking the city and building a digital story to explain my embodied and situated experiences of Christchurch. I then describe the methods used, including semi-structured interviews and focus groups in order to garner thoughts and feelings from respondents about their relocation experiences. A key feature of the methodology was flexibility and allowing participants' needs to drive the investigation. Micro-attention to bodies and research moments facilitated an exploration of unconscious communication that occurred both in and beyond the space of the project.

Chapter 5 draws attention to the body, and how bodies became close and proximate in the immediate post-disaster environment, but also how this proximity was desired and practiced in relocated space. Affect implies a relational ontology and is central to thinking about modes of relatedness. Thus I examine the post disaster environment in Christchurch where strangers hugged, held hands and supported one another and where families conducted their everyday lives together. Importantly, though, in the Waikato, respondents also desired closeness, bodily proximity and face-to-face interaction. Although a good part of the chapter is centred on proximity and connection, isolation and disconnection were also interwoven through the relocatees' accounts. I finish the chapter by acknowledging that (paradoxically) respondents also desired body-space, alone-time and separation from, not only the present-ness of earthquakes in their lives, but also from other bodies.

Chapter 6 examines some of the psychological impacts and how these feelings and affects are located spatially. A complex interweaving of changing emotions played out in the Waikato and in Christchurch, which exposed the ambivalent nature of experiencing relocation. Within the interviews, feelings of contradiction and, indeed, contradictory feelings surfaced. Nonchalance and humour were sometimes employed to cover distress and anxiety. The deep conflict between the emotional pull of family and close friends in Christchurch and the need for security, 'normality' and stability (geological, economic,

personal and social) was overtly evident. I then, move on to discuss gender roles and relations, and how these have been reinforced amongst respondents but also, and crucially, how they have been challenged.

Chapter 7 outlines the inter-mix of emotion, affect, bodies and the built environment. Buildings have been important to respondents and their feelings about being in and around buildings are complex, fluid and negotiable. The co-mingling of flesh and stone is addressed throughout the chapter. I illustrate that buildings and bodies are co-constituted rather than as belonging in a separate sphere or realm of existence. Buildings were significant for participants both in Christchurch and in the Waikato. The changing relationships interviewees had to the built environment explain how affect transfers feelings from 'bricks' to 'flesh'. Geographers have explored the ways in which the built environment is shaped and given meaning through active and embodied practices by which it is produced, appropriated and inhabited. I contemplate particular buildings (such as the Anglican Cathedral), homes and shopping malls as well as cities as a whole.

In Chapter 8, I bring my line of reasoning to a close and suggest pathways for future research. I also revisit the research objectives and summarise the main arguments. In looking forward, I indicate how these key themes might be developed and tailored in order to expand geographical knowledge around emotion, affect and disasters.

Chapter 2: Christchurch earthquake sequence and its impacts

New Zealand is one of the geologically most active countries in the world, dissected by several active fault lines associated with the subduction of the Pacific Plate under the Australian Plate. As a result, New Zealand regularly experiences severe earthquakes, with a number of destructive events having occurred prior to 2010. In recent memory there has been the Murchison earthquake in 1929 (northern South Island, magnitude (mag)[7] 8.2, 9 fatalities) and the Napier earthquake in 1931 (North Island, mag 7.8, 256 fatalities) (see figure 2.1). New Zealanders' perceptions of earthquake vulnerability, however, changed dramatically after 2010 when a series of severe earthquakes and aftershocks affected Christchurch (Wilson 2013). It has been argued that the Christchurch sequence of events was unique in recent earthquake history in New Zealand because the number and severity of aftershocks has been unprecedented (for example, a long drawn-out process instead of a sudden rupture as with the Napier and Murchison earthquakes). Respondents to this research relocated from Christchurch to the Waikato region of the North Island. Most moved to the major urban settlement, Hamilton City (see figure 2.1).

Christchurch is situated in the region of Canterbury, in the South Island. It is the largest city in the South Island of New Zealand, and the country's third-largest urban area. Christchurch lies one third of the way down the South Island's east coast, just north of Banks Peninsula which itself, since 2006, is within the formal limits of the city. Christchurch has a population of 367,700, estimated in June 2011 (see *Statistics New Zealand* 2011). To the south and south-east the urban

[7] Wilson (2013: 214 emphasis in original) states that: "the severity of an earthquake is expressed in terms in intensity and magnitude" (abbreviated to mag in text). "Intensity is based on *observed* effects of ground shaking and building damage. Magnitude is the amount of seismic energy released at the hypocentre of the earthquake (i.e. where the rupture in the plate has occurred; epicentre = point on surface above hypocentre). Magnitude is based on the 'Richter scale', which *measures* the amplitude of earthquake waves. It is logarithmic, i.e. an earthquake of magnitude 6 is 10 times larger than a magnitude 5 earthquake (c.30 times the amount of seismic energy). Depending on hypocentre and epicentre location, 'moderate' earthquakes often have a magnitude of between 5 and 6, while 'strong' earthquakes have magnitudes above 6."

portion of the city is limited by the extinct volcanic slopes of the Port Hills separating it from Banks Peninsula.

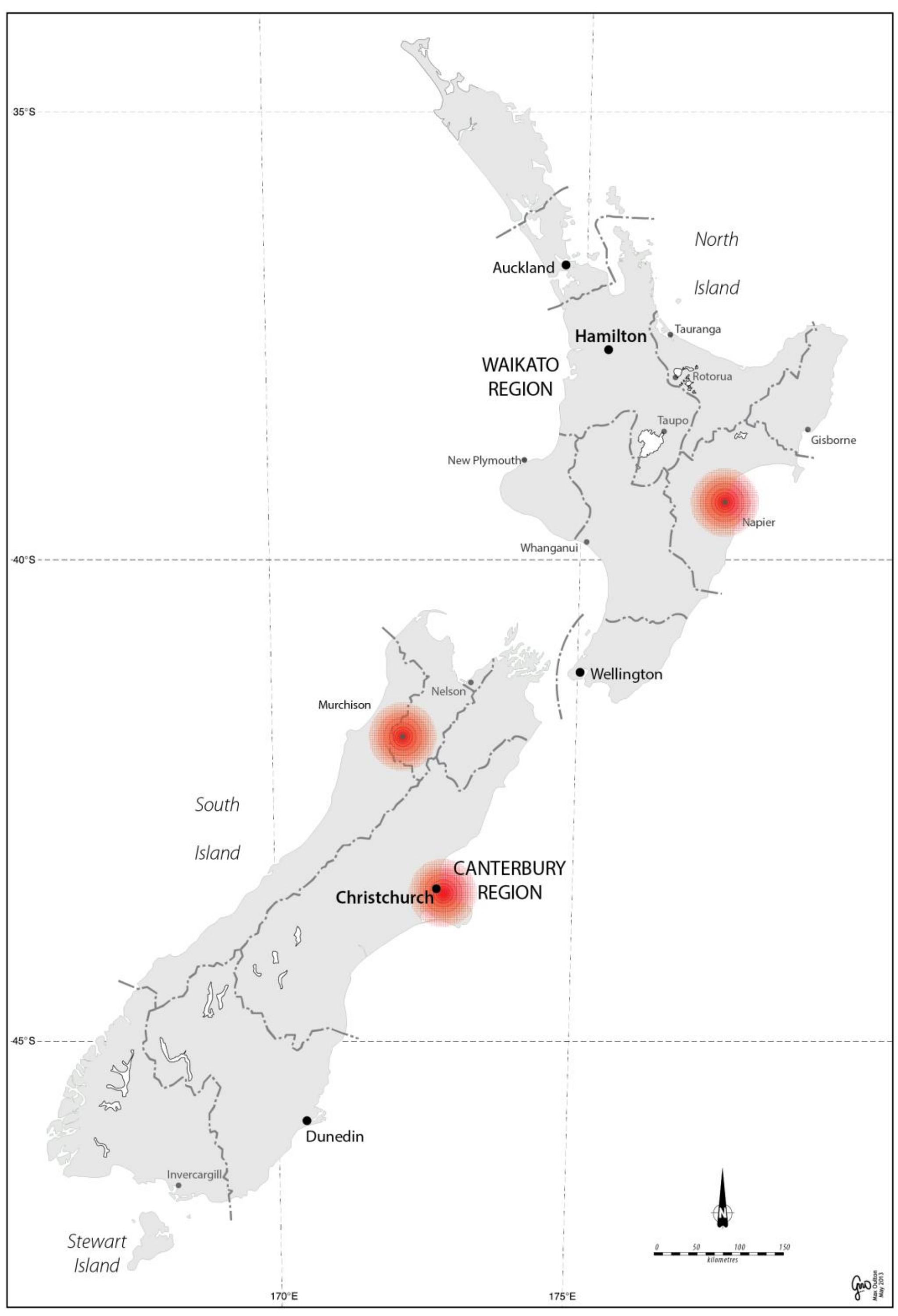

Figure 2.1: Map of New Zealand, showing Christchurch/Canterbury and Hamilton/Waikato regions and the location of the Murchison, Napier and Christchurch earthquakes
Source: Max Oulton, Geography Programme, University of Waikato 2013

To the north, the city is bounded by the braided Waimakariri River. Christchurch is regarded as a beautiful and scenic city with the Southern Alp mountain chain as a back-drop and stunning coastal views from the hillside suburbs. Christchurch is renowned throughout New Zealand for having historical buildings, such as the Anglican Cathedral, and is named the 'Garden City' due to its 3,000 hectares of parkland, making it a city of parks and gardens with a substantial amount of land used for recreation and open space. Hagley Park, close to the city centre, currently hosts the Ellerslie International Flower Show. The CBD is bordered by the Avon River which winds its way through the grid of city streets. Punting on the Avon is one of the iconic tourist attractions in Christchurch. But, the earthquakes and aftershocks now often link Christchurch to images of damage and disaster, not to historical buildings, gardens and punting (for example, see figures 2.2 and 2.3 below).

Figure 2.2: Damage to buildings in central Christchurch
Source: BeckerFraser Photography 27 April 2011

One of the most distinctive features of the Christchurch earthquakes is the on-going nature and plurality of the disaster events. The spate of earthquakes and aftershocks experienced in and around Christchurch started with a 7.1 mag

earthquake at 4.35am local time on Saturday, 4 September 2010. This event is commonly called the Darfield Quake as the epicentre was 40km west of Christchurch near the rural town of Darfield. It caused pockets of damage in the eastern suburbs, with widespread damage in Kaiapoi (a satellite town north of Christchurch), power outages and silt damage from liquefaction – the phenomenon of soil losing its strength and stiffness due to applied stress (see Powrie 2004) in the low-lying areas. Following months of 'swarms' or clusters of aftershocks there was another major earthquake (6.3 mag), on 22 February 2011. This time it was at 12.51pm on Tuesday local time and the epicentre was shallow and close (2 km) to the central city (followed by two large aftershocks of 5.8 and 5.9 mag) (Fry 2011).

Figure 2.3: A ruined house on the corner of Ferry Road and Lancaster Street, east Christchurch
Source:http://www.odt.co.nz/news/national/152357/factors-combined-worsen-christchurch-quake

The initial earthquake at 12:51pm contained a powerful vertical force that caused significant damage to Christchurch and produced some of the most severe ground shaking ever recorded anywhere (Pawson 2011). This earthquake resulted in the collapse of several buildings already weakened by the September

2010 tremor, and 185 people died. Well over half of the deaths occurred in the six-storey Canterbury Television (CTV) building, which collapsed and caught fire. Silt damage (from liquefaction) was also widespread, particularly in the eastern suburbs and low-lying areas (Zahn 2011). The reconstruction has been estimated to cost NZD$20-30 billion. Since February 2011, there have been two more events causing damage: 13 June 2011 (mag 6.4) and 23 December 2011 (mag 6.0), as well as scores of aftershock clusters.

After the Napier earthquake of 1931, Christchurch was New Zealand's second largest recent disaster, triggering a state of national emergency with large-scale military-led rescue and recovery operations (see Yarwood 2011). In the days that followed February's quake, large aftershocks continued to rattle the city. Residents and recovery experts worked against the clock to find people alive among the rubble in the CBD (which was cordoned off and patrolled by the New Zealand Army). Triage centres sprung up in Hagley Park, and temporary shelters were made available for homeless survivors. Power, telephone links, water and sewerage were temporarily unavailable to most of the inner city and also large numbers of major suburbs. The scale of the disaster meant many people went several days without official contact, so neighbours were encouraged to attend to those around them.

Electricity was restored to 82 per cent of households within five days, and to 95 per cent within two weeks. Concurrently, 50 per cent of the city was without water for the first days following the quake and more than a third of households were without water for a week (NZPA 2011). Water provision was provided through tankers, desalination plants and bottled water. Emergency latrines, chemical toilets and port-a-loos (portable toilets), and portable shower units were made available in the severely damaged suburbs. Fundraising and support efforts were established throughout the country, with many individuals, community groups and companies providing food and services to the city, for welfare and clean-up. Many impromptu initiatives gained significant traction.

Thousands of people helped with the clean-up efforts – involving the removal of over 40,000 tonnes of silt brought to the surface by liquefaction, provision of over 250 tonnes of water, medical supplies, and food from the nearby town of Rangiora delivered by helicopter and trucks (see Theunissen and Mersham 2011). Canterbury University student Sam Johnson initiated the University of Canterbury Student Volunteer Army (SVA) after the September quake. He utilised the social networking site Facebook to organise volunteer workers for non-lifesaving tasks (see figure 2.4 below). While the central task was the mass-deployment of volunteers to shovel silt from properties, a strong focus was placed on the wellbeing of residents.

Figure 2.4: Student Volunteer Army (SVA) removing mud and silt from east Christchurch
Source: Platt (2012: 34)

The SVA's presence in the streets offering hot meals, clean water and guidance to professional assistance was welcomed by many. The SVA also supplied and managed operations for various organisations including multiple government departments, civil defense, and city council. Their objective was to increase the efficiency in specific services, such as, delivering chemical toilets and information pamphlets, laying sandbags, staffing data entry and operating call centers (see

Johnson 2013). In a similar vein New Zealand Federated Farmers (a farmers' union) also created a volunteer group from their organisation dubbed the 'Farmy Army'.

From September 2010 to February 2011, in Christchurch and some of the surrounding areas of Canterbury, GeoNet recorded 3934 aftershocks and earthquakes above 3.0 on the Richter-scale (able to be felt) (GeoNet 2013). GeoNet is a product of the collaboration between the Institute of Geological and Nuclear Sciences (GNS Science) and the New Zealand Earthquake Commission (EQC). The website provides public access to hazards information, including earthquake reports. It was (and still is) often the most popular 'first port of call' for relocated respondents to access data on the latest aftershocks and earthquakes, mainly in Canterbury, but also across New Zealand. Figure 2.5 (see below) shows the clusters of significant earthquakes and aftershocks to the greater Christchurch region. In total, it is estimated that there have been "more than 10,000 earthquakes which have occurred in the region, of these, 400 have been more than mag 4, and over 40 have been more than mag 5" (Wilson 2013: 210).

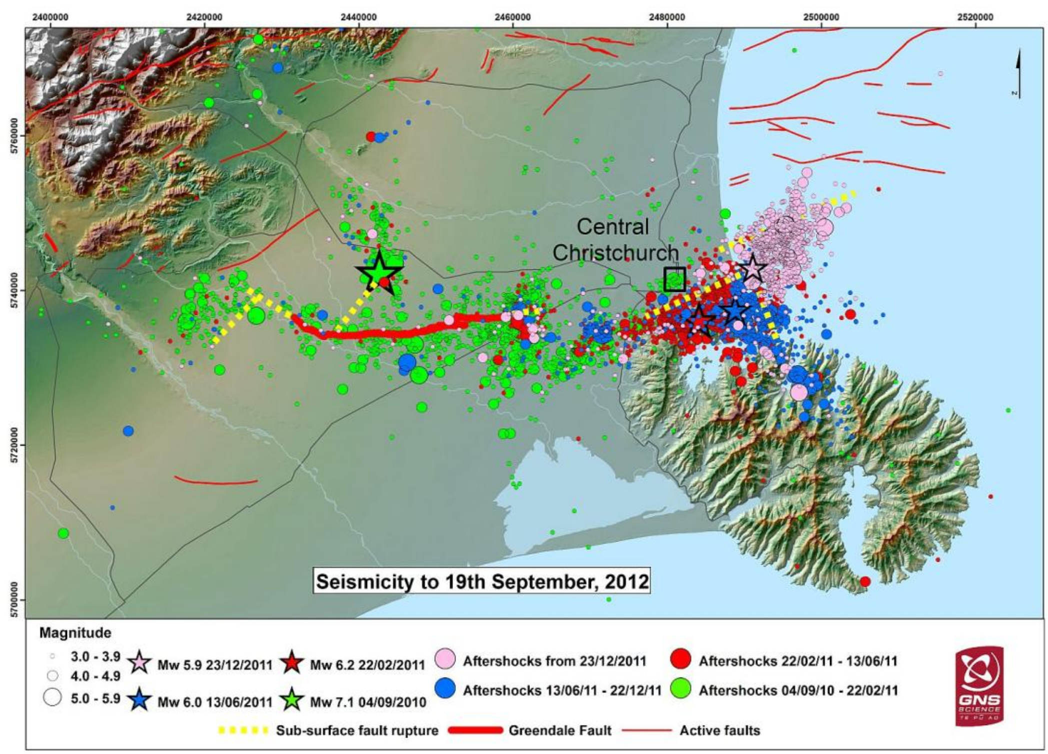

Figure 2.5: Map showing the September M7.1 (Darfield), the February M6.3 (Christchurch), the June M6.3, and the December M6.0 earthquakes together with aftershocks above M3 and fault ruptures in Canterbury
Source: http://info.geonet.org.nz/display/home/Canterbury+Quakes

While international media focused mainly on the two ‘large’ earthquakes (September 2010 and February 2011) it is important to stress the impacts of the many small and medium-sized aftershocks that continued to affect the city. Wilson (2013: 211) states that “while most respondents argued they could cope with the first two quakes (despite the death toll)” it was the following significant aftershocks in June 2011 and December 2011 “that particularly dented residents’ psychological resilience”. This evidence was borne out by this research with nearly half of the respondents in this project relocating *after* June 2011. The last major jolt in December 2011 was especially cruel, prompting a great deal of angst, doubt and (re)trauma among the people who stayed. Wilson (2013: 211), comments that the large aftershock in December 2011 “was the straw that broke the camel’s back” for many residents. It also caused significant stress among those who relocated but still had family, close friends and colleagues in Christchurch. The see-saw pattern of large quakes, followed by gradually

declining magnitude of tremors, followed by another large quake, and another declining magnitude of quakes (and so on) wore away at people's confidence. Confidence levels decline because the ongoing nature of aftershocks may cause people to lose faith in both themselves and the authorities to cope with the disaster. They increasingly feel that the problem is not going away (Wilson 2013).

In order to deal with the rebuild, the Christchurch Earthquake Recovery Authority (CERA) was established, reporting to the newly appointed Minister for Earthquake Recovery, Gerry Brownlee (CERA 2013). As previously mentioned, the CBD was cordoned off, it was also declared a 'red-zone'. Initially the red-zone of the CBD was large, but as demolitions were conducted (as of September 2012, approximately 1350 buildings have been demolished or partly demolished) the borders of the cordon shrunk. Buildings and residential homes in Christchurch were zoned based on a traffic-light system of colours: green means safe for habitation, red means buildings are in danger of collapse and unfit for habitation, while orange means that a decision has yet to be taken as to whether residents are able to stay. Other categories (such as white and blue) were added as the assessment of land became more complex (CERA 2013). Whether residents could stay in their homes in the orange zone, which affected thousands of properties in early 2012, has had important repercussions for insurance claims (Wilson 2013), and has been particularly problematic for many residents. After the building zones were established, it was decided between central government and CERA that some residential land was unstable and should not be allowed to be rebuilt upon. Possible remediation dictated the zoning of land, and assessment was then carried out.

Table 2.1 explains the breakdown of different zones that were defined and shows the criteria that the land had to meet in order to be categorised. Over time, the orange and white zones have been phased out as cases have been reassigned either red or green. People living in red-zoned areas, approximately 7583 homes, (Dally and McDonald 2012), 2074 which have been demolished

(CERA 2013) were offered two options for compensation with crucial services to their homes shut-off by 31 March 2013.

Table 2.1: CERA criteria for land zones

Zone	Criteria
Red zone	Areas in the flat land residential red zone have area-wide land and infrastructure damage, and an engineering solution to repair the land would be uncertain, costly, and is likely to be highly disruptive. In the Port Hills, red zone areas are those which are either: • affected by cliff collapse and there are immediate risks to life, land remediation is not considered viable and infrastructure would be difficult and costly to maintain, or • affected by rock roll and the risk to life is considered unacceptable, is unlikely to reach an acceptable level in a reasonable timeframe, and protective works to mitigate the life safety risk are not considered practicable.
Green zone	Green zone areas are generally considered to be suitable for residential construction. What happens next and when will depend on a number of factors including: • the status of the land (TC1, TC2, TC3 or TC N/A - not applicable) • council consent requirements • on-going seismic activity • foundation guidelines
White zone	Land classified as white meant that complex geotechnical issues relating to land slip and rockroll required further assessment and observation before land decisions could be made. There are no longer any white zones, all such zones having now been rezoned to red or green.
Orange zone	Land classified as orange meant that engineers needed to undertake further investigation. There are no longer any orange zones, all such zones having now been rezoned to red or green.

Source: CERA (2013)

A tale of two cities

In social and mass media, there was much discussion about Christchurch being a 'divided' city between the generally wealthier and less earthquake damaged

western suburbs and the generally ‘poorer’ (lower socio-economic) more damaged eastern suburbs. Less was publicised, however, about the response, recovery and experience of the earthquakes by Māori, who exhibited their “own culturally attuned collective responses to the disaster” (Lambert 2013: 20). Christchurch was a planned colonial settlement established in 1850 by the Canterbury Association which “dreamed of founding a happy, well regulated Church of England community” (Braithwaite 1972: 51). The settlement was to be “a transplanted English community, possessing English ideals and English institutions, and completely free of crime and poverty” (Braithwaite 1972: 51). McBride (1999: 5-6) reminds us that “Englishness has formed the basis of the city myth of Christchurch, and has hegemony over other representations of the city”. Therefore, the relative invisibility of Māori representation and action in the earthquakes is underwritten by a culture of colonial, settler heritage that effectively side-lines or ignores other histories and other heritages. Throughout the disaster Māori institutions and cultural practices enabled considerable networks and resources to be available to Māori through *whānau* (extended family), *marae* (sacred place or meeting house) and *kura* (school) (see Lambert 2013).

Government officials and civil defence staff were criticised for taking too long to get crucial services into the eastern suburbs. In general, the eastern suburbs were badly damaged, structurally as well as by silt infiltration onto land and into houses, making many uninhabitable (see figure 2.6).

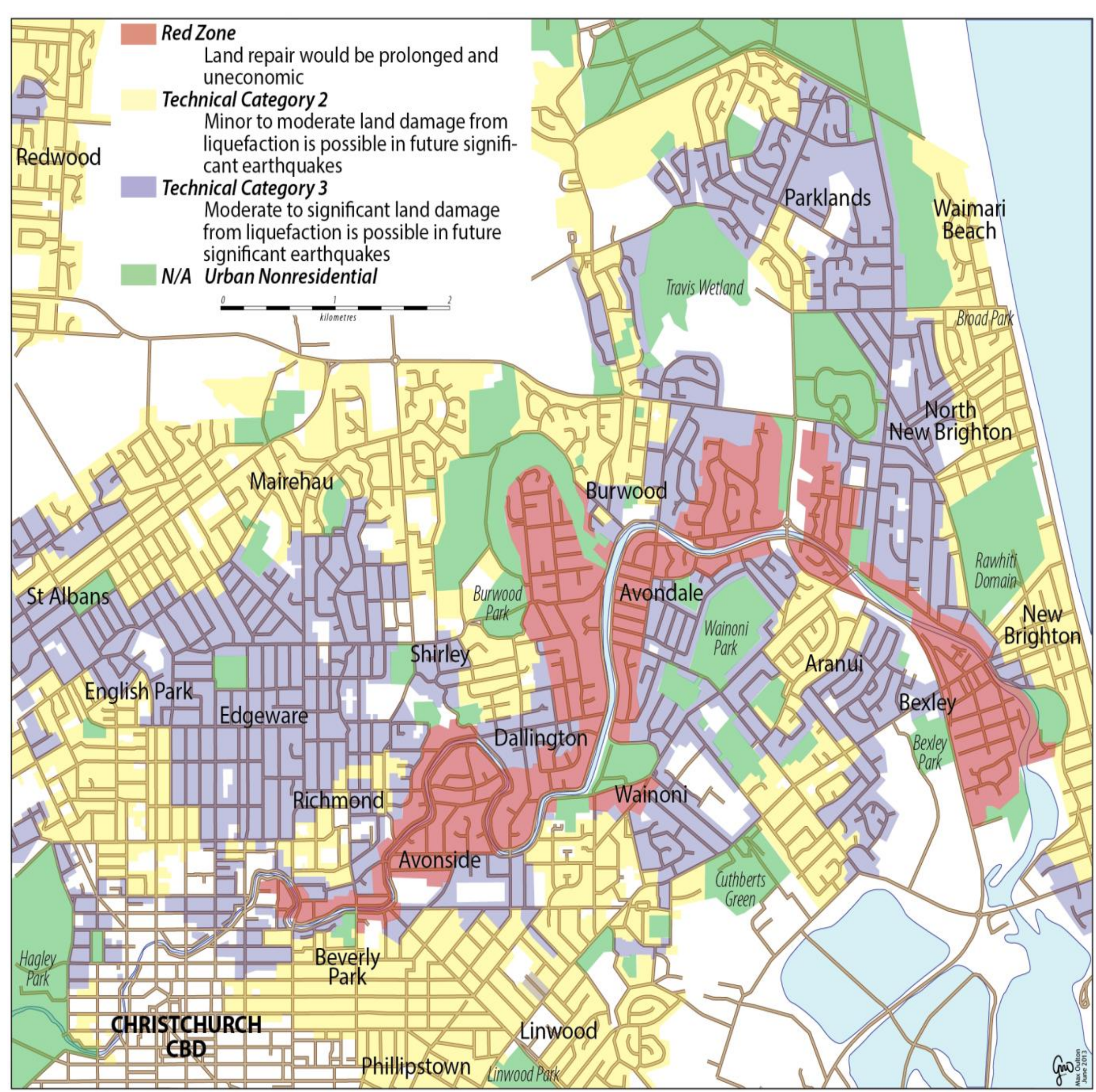

Figure 2.6: Eastern suburbs of Christchurch showing technical categories for land
Source: Max Oulton, Geography Programme, University of Waikato 2013

Issues resulted with seeping sewerage, lack of clean running water and power outages. For nine days many residents were without electricity, water or access to toilets and often roads and infrastructure were severely damaged. Earthquake Recovery Minister Gerry Brownlee has admitted the city's eastern suburbs were neglected (Donnell 2011: unpaginated). Popular blog-sites contain long passages about 'surviving' in the east after February's earthquake. For example, Hyde (2011: unpaginated) writes:

> Their houses may or may not be intact. Their streets may be clear, broken, or full of silt, or sewage. There are no showers, or ways to wash clothes, or to wash dishes. Or to heat the "must boil" water

> that is available – assuming they can make it to the nearest water truck, day after day. No refrigeration. No working toilets and precious few portaloos. No face masks to defend against the blown silt. They have no internet either, and usually no phones. The official response has not been enough to contain the growing crisis.

Disaffection with the pace of recovery in the eastern suburbs, where thousands of homes were unsafe, ran high. Communities in the east, especially those which still await a government decision on whether their land is viable for rebuilding, were considered to be "boiling over with frustration" (Manhire 2013: unpaginated). Residents were frustrated with insurance companies, with the authorities and with a sense of being overlooked. "In the east people don't feel resilient, they feel tired, frustrated, like nothing's happening. There is very little vision, very little leadership, and very little co-ordination" (Manhire 2012: unpaginated; see also Carville 2012). Time-wise, moving on from recovery in the immediate aftermath of the earthquakes, feelings are not considered to be any less emotional or divided. In mid-2013 there were still media articles critical of the slow resolution of insurance claims for people living in the eastern suburbs. "Depending on where you live in the city, there is a real disparity on how you are treated and that backs up what people in the eastern suburbs have been saying for a long time, that they are getting a raw deal" (Gates 2013: unpaginated).

Respondents in this research agreed with the general sentiments of these criticisms, problems with insurance, issues of living in eastern suburbs and the divide within Christchurch all came up in the interviews as participants discussed some of the motives for relocating. One participant spoke at length about the east-west 'divide' in earthquake experience which also underpins a significant discord of feeling around recovering from the earthquakes. Holly tells me of a discussion she and a friend had about the difference in earthquake experience from one side of Christchurch to the other. She explains:

> The earthquakes are hard, even for the people on the west-side and everything is back to normal—and even they struggle—a friend of mine said: "I never knew anybody on the east-side until I met you." And I said: "Well that's fine you don't have to know someone on the

> east-side—you know it's not compulsory!" And she said: "I take myself off over there about once every two to three months and I drive through the eastern suburbs just to remind myself that this did happen in my city because it's so easy where I live to believe nothing's happened." She said: "Every now and again I find myself thinking, you know, I'm sick and tired of hearing what people over there [east] are going through then I pull myself up short and I drive over. But I don't take my children, I wouldn't risk them over there – isn't that bad?" I said: "Well the roads are crap, I wouldn't be risking my car over there let alone the kids, and I lived there!" She said: "I drive around but not into the red-zone. I don't want to upset those people by looking but I just go over there to remind myself just how lucky I am. Life is moving on for us and life is pretty normal but the kids are affected and every so often I have to bring myself down to reality" (Interview 20 February 2013).

There has been dissatisfaction with the response and services to the eastern suburbs, frustration with the pace of insurance settlement and repairs, as well as anger over specific cases for demolition. Market research which involved conducting a survey of around 400 Christchurch residents about their home repair experiences revealed a "divided city in the wake of the Canterbury earthquakes. People in the west of the city were more likely to have had their repair work completed than the eastern residents, while respondents from the east of the city were less happy with their damage assessments than those in the west" (Gates 2013: unpaginated).

According to Olshansky *et al.* (2006), post disaster recovery is heavily influenced by pre-event patterns of governance, behaviour, social structures, expectations and cultural competencies. The Christchurch City Council had been described as adopting a 'corporate' approach before the earthquakes where employees reported individually to their managers at the civic offices rather than as community-based teams (Richardson 2008). The role played by CERA was heightened, taking over many of the Christchurch City Council's functions resulting in residents being uncertain as to who is responsible for what. "Their dissatisfaction came to a head at a protest attended by over 4,000 people demanding mid-term elections and the Council's CEO's resignation" (Vallance 2011: 395). The role of Christchurch politicians and senior level bureaucrats

involved in earthquake-related planning and the political scandal[8] that followed has “severely affected public trust in political decision-making regarding alleviation of earthquake related problems such as housing shortages, poor services and decision-making regarding the zoning of damaged properties” (Wilson 2013: 210).

In addition to the stress of political wrangling around the rebuild and recovery, residents have had an ongoing and complex settlement interaction with insurance companies (both government [Earthquake Commission-EQC] and private). Given the extended nature of the earthquake sequence, finding companies to insure infrastructure in the post earthquake environment has proved difficult and has slowed recovery (Vallance 2011: 389). The slow residential settlement of insurance claims has not just been because of the ongoing seismicity but also delays related to land zoning, the wait for foundation repair guidelines from the Department of Building and Housing and apportionment issues between EQC and insurers. Residential claims have also been slowed down simply by the sheer numbers of claims (470,000 in April 2011), along with land remediation and geo-technical reports, which has meant that people have needed to make a number of separate claims on a singular property involving both EQC and insurance companies. “In most cases residents have been dealing with a double-up of assessors, engineers and surveyors many of whom are offering contradictory opinions or estimates wildly out of synch” (Morrall 2011: unpaginated).

Amid conflicting information and delays, tensions have risen. Mass media continue to highlight specific cases of insurance woes from people who feel angry, stressed, and frustrated both with their insurance companies and also with the governmental departments EQC and CERA (TV3 News 21 May 2013). Residents presented their concerns through video-taped dialogues in a TV3 News

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[8] Christchurch City Council failed to delegate responsibility appropriately for the city’s earthquake cover after its chief executive, Tony Marryatt, also joined the board of Civic Assurance, a local government-owned infrastructure insurer [conflict of interest] which meant that insurance decisions were not properly authorised (see *National Business Review* 2012).

caravan parked outside TV3's temporary premises in Christchurch which also prompted significant emotional responses from relocated participants. Alexis rang me to say that she had just been watching TV3 in "floods of tears, for those poor people fighting the unfairness meted out by insurance moguls" (Telephone communication 22 May 2013). Respondents consistently tuned in to and absorbed media programmes on Christchurch and the ongoing politics of reconstruction, including heritage buildings.

Some participants engaged with the debate over whether to demolish or rebuild the Christchurch Anglican Cathedral and the plight of other heritage buildings zoned for demolition. Christchurch was considered to be unusual in New Zealand for the consistency and high quality of its Gothic Revival public buildings along with Victorian and Edwardian character buildings (see Lochead 2012). While I concentrate on the Anglican Cathedral in this section due to its prominence in media debate and in the lives of respondents, there were many other significant historical buildings that were also damaged in the earthquakes (and some demolished in the aftermath).

The most serious architectural loss was the collapse of the Canterbury Provincial Council Chamber (built in 1865), a remarkable colonial example of High Victorian Gothic by the local architect Benjamin Mountfort (who also worked on the Cathedral). The St John the Baptist Church, the Regent Theatre and the Horse Bazaar were demolished for economic as well as safety reasons against the advice of the New Zealand Historic Places Trust. Platt (2012: 31) reminds us that "sadly much of the architectural heritage and social history was either damaged or destroyed by the earthquakes or has been demolished by a controversial policy of demolition". The values of heritage buildings lie in their educational, environmental, cultural, aesthetic, historical and social aspects, linking economic recovery, psychological recovery and repair to civic identity. The Anglican Cathedral has become the building most associated with emotion and affect. Debates centred on its demolition or restoration have divided, not only

Christchurch residents, but also, relocatees, experts and scholars (see Bayer 2013).

For 163 years the Christchurch Anglican Cathedral was a major landmark and the large open square built next to it has been a focal point since 1881. The Cathedral has been called the 'heart of Christchurch' (see Schöllmann *et al.* 2001). Located in the centre of the city and flanked by the Cathedral square it was often thought that the Cathedral symbolised the ideals of the early colonial settlers. The cornerstone was laid on 16 December 1864, but financial problems in the fledgling city saw its completion delayed between 1865 and 1873 (Belton 2013). Public access to the bell tower provided a good viewpoint over the centre of the city. But the spire has been periodically damaged in earthquakes. In 1888 it was destroyed. In 1901, 1922 and 1929 the main body of the Cathedral was damaged (Platt 2012).

It was the February 2011 earthquake, however, that carried enough vertical force to exact major structural damage to the main building and destroy significant parts of the bell tower (see before and after images figure 2.7 and 2.8). The tower originally contained a peal of ten bells, cast by John Taylor & Co of Loughborough, and hung in 1881. Many residents connect the peal of bells to central Christchurch even if they had not set foot inside the building itself. It was considered to be memorable, iconic and special (Lee 1997).

Figure 2.7: Christchurch Cathedral before earthquakes in 2010
Source: Greg O'Beirne, Creative Commons 20

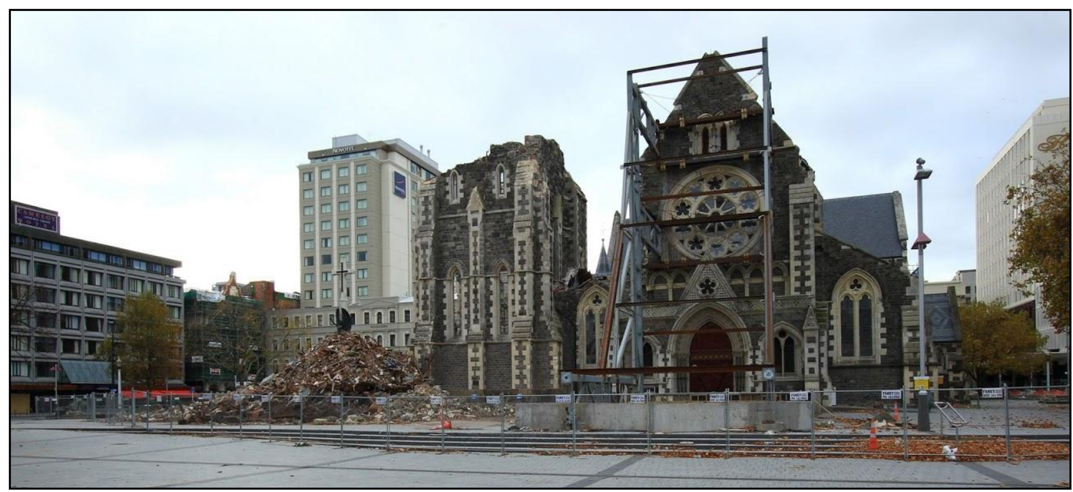

Figure 2.8: Damage evident to the Cathedral after earthquakes
Source: BeckerFraser Photography 27 April 2011

In the first months, the desire to rebuild the 'heart of Christchurch' was strong. To restore the former glory and reinstate a house of worship was deemed

important and necessary (see Belton 2013). As time went on, the extent of damage to the Cathedral and across the wider city was considered massive and expensive. On 2 March 2012, Bishop Victoria Matthews announced that the building would be demolished. She questioned the safety of the building and stated that rebuilding the Cathedral could cost NZD$50 million more than the insurance cover and that a new cathedral would be built in its place. CERA backed the demolition due to safety concerns (Gates and Moore 2012).

The decision was supported by 70 local Christchurch churches and Christian groups. But there has also been ample opposition to the demolition of the building, with heritage groups including the UNESCO World Heritage Centre opposing the action (*Great Christchurch Buildings Trust* 2012). The Bishop's nationality was sometimes questioned by respondents and supporters of restoring the Cathedral and she has been called a 'controversial cleric' as she was born and lived in Canada until 2008 (see Cropp 2013). A petition was launched, opposing the demolition and the High Court ordered a halt to demolition of the Cathedral in 2012. In April 2013, three options for restoration were discussed and public consultation was held via an online website. The future of the Cathedral and what it may eventually look like is unknown at this stage (September 2013).

Was there an exodus from Christchurch?

Post-disaster out-migration is not unusual, due to the immediate loss of homes. An accurate estimate of the numbers involved is difficult, and often does not include people who left following the September 2010 earthquake and the following months. In the immediate aftermath of the February 2011 earthquake, it has been estimated that 20 percent of residents (70,000) left the city (Love 2011). Nissen and Potter's (2011) analysis of cell phone data comparing voice calls made by Christchurch users over the first six months of 2010 and 2011 indicated that a much larger proportion of voice calls were made from outside the city in the week after the February earthquake (Nissen and Potter 2011; Price 2011). Extrapolating from this sample indicates that around 15 percent (55,000)

of the usual Christchurch population are likely to have left the city over this week (Newell *et al.* 2012). This statistic reveals that the initial 'flight' from Christchurch was significant.

People were terrified and they left: "I was just quite terrified, to be honest, it's always something that happens to somebody else, but when you've been through it everything changes" (Collins 2012: unpaginated). Almost all of my respondents got out of Christchurch for up to a week within hours of the February quake. Many went to friends, family or popular tourist places and small towns in the South Island (such as Amberley, Rangiora, Hamner Springs, or Kaikoura). *Statistics New Zealand* figures reveal that Christchurch lost 10,600 people in the year to June 2011, a significant proportion of the population loss is made up of women and families with young children (see Collins 2012; Newell 2011; Newell *et al.* 2012) and the demography of relocated people is borne out by this research. The rebuild, particularly in the area of construction, has complicated figures with people moving in to Christchurch for work in the demolition and rebuilding phase.

Unfortunately, the 2011 New Zealand Census was not held on 8 March 2011 as planned. At that time the 2011 Census could not have been successfully completed given the national state of emergency and the probable impact on census results (*Statistics New Zealand* 2013). The latest census was conducted instead on 8 March 2013 with the results being released from the beginning of December 2013 onwards into 2015. Not only is it difficult to assess how many people have left Christchurch on a permanent basis, but it is also difficult to find out where they went. As of late-2013, the official numbers of people who have moved to the Waikato area from Christchurch is still largely unknown.

Summary

This chapter has contextualised the research project by providing an overview of the major earthquake sequences that struck Christchurch beginning on 4 September 2010 and continuing through to 23 December 2011 and beyond. The

earthquakes and aftershocks caused widespread damage across the whole of Christchurch, and closed the central city for almost three years as demolition of approximately 1350 buildings took place. Rebuilding in Christchurch, at the time of this research (in 2013) is considered to be in its infancy. Although there were some great examples of a city pulling together, such as the students from Canterbury University coming together to move silt from liquefaction, there was also significant attention given to the idea that Christchurch is a divided city, in terms of economic conditions, insurance settlements and earthquake damage. In light of these circumstances some of the residents decided to leave. The sheer number of earthquakes and aftershocks separates out Christchurch from prior earthquake events in New Zealand, and possibly remains one of the most impacting influences on the decision to relocate away from friends, family and the city many grew up in and loved. In the following chapter I outline the theoretical frameworks that underpin this research and offer an in depth discussion of the lack of attention paid to the personal scale in disasters and hazards research.

Chapter 3: Earthquakes and personal accounts: a renewed focus on geography and disasters

> First the earthquake, then the disaster (Doughty 1986: 48).

In this project there is a sense of combining two quite different literatures, social and cultural geography literature and literature on disasters. By addressing a gap in research that combines these literatures, as outlined in chapter 1, this project offers a fresh element to both. The gap identified centres on embodiment, so I present an emphatically human account of disaster relocation through emphasising emotion and affect. Adding the micro or personal-scale to disasters and natural hazards frameworks and providing empirical examples means that life experiences, bodies and intimate encounters are fore-grounded. Drawing on, and extending the strengths of both 'sets' of literature may provide a fresh pathway to examining what it is people do, what their bodies do, what they say and what their senses convey when everyday 'normality' has been severely disrupted by a disaster.

Hewitt (1983) outlines a problematic gap in the geographical analysis of natural hazards. Human experience and places, he explains, are largely 'missing'. I consider that this gap has, as yet, not been addressed in a significant way. In a section titled the 'disaster archipelago' he explains in more detail than here, that mainstream natural hazards research is predominantly based on "technological monologues" (Hewitt 1997: 14). There is a tendency toward over reliance on diagrammatic examples that often bracket-out human experience. He states that "[diagrams] often bear little or no relation to actual places or conditions, the material interactions or human experience involved" (Hewitt 1983: 13). These diagrams allow scholars to speak of hazards *alone*, as if all these 'events' and all that happens within each one belongs to a separate domain (Hewitt 1983).

Similarly, in cultural geography, Non-Representational Theory (NRT) came about as a response to (or a reaction against) approaches in cultural geography that concentrated on the politics of representation. It was argued that, by focusing on

text and representation, people were effectively removed people from analysis. Pinpointing representation has tended to leave behind the active world and obscure the more elusory nature of everyday life (Lorimer 2005, 2008). Responding to calls for more 'enlivened' geographies', scholars have argued for attention to be paid to that which is considered to be beyond text and perhaps eludes discursive forms of representation (Thrift 1996, 2000; Thrift and Dewsbury 2000). Utilising emotion and affect is a call to think about complexity, to add people, their flesh, senses and experiences into accounts of disasters.

In this chapter, I outline mainstream scholarship on hazards and disasters. That is, a political economy and political ecology approach, a human ecological approach and a sociological approach. I then discuss how this research poses a challenge to disaster literature, in particular the tendency toward a technological monologue, diagrams, as well as Quarantelli and Dynes (1977) 'continuity principle' which underlies many studies on risk, resilience and vulnerability. I then examine in-depth the predecessors to scholarship on emotion and affect (phenomenology, feminism and non-representational theory) which are briefly outlined and followed by an overview of literature that utilises affect theory. I move on to consider how emotion and affect are approached from, and embedded in, differing perspectives, such as: language, body, psychoanalysis, methodology, context and the built environment.

The study of disasters has a long history. During the past 125 years there has been a gradual shift of emphasis in the natural and social sciences from the impact of the environment on people, to humanity's impact on the environment (Alexander 1991). The varying schools of thought include approaches in: geography, anthropology, sociology (with social psychology), science and technology (volcanology, geomorphology, seismology, engineering and other geophysical approaches), development studies, disaster medicine and epidemiology. Some of the disciplinary boundaries blur closely and become difficult to define such as between anthropology, geography and sociology; while

others have a dichotomous relationship, such as development and technical approaches.

In the disaster literature, sociologists and social psychologists investigate people's reactions, responses and behaviours before, during and after crises. Sociologists consider disasters in terms of patterns of human behaviour and the effects of disasters upon community functions and organisation. Many early studies examined the notion of mass panic. People were thought to revert to 'animal' [irrational] behaviour and be consumed by fear. Developments in the examination of mass panic have taken place in the past 60 years, from the view of people in panic situations reverting to 'animals' overwhelmed by fear to Quarantelli's (1957) analysis of panic as 'asocial' behaviour. Examination of collective behaviour and disasters begun to take hold as a major focus in the 1960s. For example, Barton's (1969) book *Communities in disaster: A sociological analysis of collective stress* has been widely used in sociological work on disasters and the ongoing commitment sociologists have to examining collective behaviour, communities and the social aspects of disasters.

Johnson (1987) was one of the first to propose that people, rather than panic irrationally and abandon social ties in disasters, continue to be social actors embedded in social relations who were deeply concerned about others in the same or worse plight. Indeed, it was found that people often put their own lives at risk for others. Therefore, theories have come full circle with a recent view of people who, rather than panic, create social and affiliate behaviour during crises and disasters (see Aguirre 2005; Tierney *et al.* 2006). These ideas were outlined by some respondents who experienced being in Christchurch's central city. Although they found the inner city to be chaotic, there was not a sense of mass panic. Chris explains trying to get to his son in the outer suburbs:

> I had to turn around on the road a couple of times because bridges were up and out of the ground and you couldn't get across. Yeah, so it was pandemonium really but people were composed to the point

> of being courteous on the road. Everyone was in the same boat, and yeah, everyone knew it was bad (Interview 1 November 2011).

Barton (1969) calls this affiliate behaviour 'therapeutic communities' which have an ambience of solidarity to them (however socially patterned and exclusive they may be). Since Barton's (1969) work there have been more sophisticated analyses that explain the complexity of disasters and that the effects on the social elements of societies are equally complex (for example, see Drury *et al.* 2009). Collective behaviour perspectives have provided considerable insight into organised social behaviour in the immediate post-impact periods of disasters. Nonetheless, there has been less information on the longer-term processes (Nigg and Tierney 1993). The idea that people are greatly affected by disasters is hardly new and collective responses to disasters are seen as firm ground for analysis from social scientists including geographers.

A geographical approach stems from Barrows (1923) work on human ecological adaptation to environments and White's (1945) monograph on flood perception. Burton, Kates and White (1978) summarised and synthesised decades of research and practice on flood management, geo-hazards and major technological hazards to look at perception of risk and international collective action. Adger (2006: 271) states that "they [Burton *et al.*] demonstrated that virtually all types of natural hazard and all social and political upheaval have vastly different impacts on different groups in society". These ideas have been borne out in the Christchurch earthquakes, whereby, many people in the eastern suburbs of Christchurch have suffered significant damages to their homes and neighbourhoods due to developers building cheaper homes on marginal (in some cases reclaimed) land. A significant portion of developed land was once alluvial flood plains, marshes or wet-lands that have been drained. Scores of people in the eastern suburbs also face uneven opportunities in the recovery process (see Wilson 2013).

In the past 30 years the idea of a natural hazard has been significantly undermined (O'Keefe *et al.* 1976; see also Blaikie *et al.* 1994; Wisner *et al.* 2004)

and there is “now much greater acceptance of the idea that disasters occur only when a vulnerable population ‘gets in the way’ of an extreme event” (Cannon 2008: 350). For these writers, though, vulnerability is created through social, political and economic processes. While there is an overpowering view that disasters are ‘natural’, and they are most often presented that way in the media, it is the havoc they cause to a population that makes them ‘disasters’ (Cannon 2008). This work, informed by social science perspectives, follows on from a long-standing critique that traditional natural hazards research, despite the influence of the work of White (see for example, White *et al.* 2001), has been framed largely within biophysical science disciplines (Burton *et al.* 1978; Hewitt 1983; Kates 1971; see also Eriksen *et al.* 2011). More recently the influence of poststructural perspectives on natural hazards and natural resource management has shown that the dichotomy of nature and culture is implicit in biophysical and behavioural approaches to hazards.

Embodying disaster research

> To embody something is to give it understanding (Franz Boaz 1940).

In returning to Hewitt’s (1983) critique (in which he includes his own work), the bulk of mainstream disasters and hazards literature has followed the major trajectories outlined above, that is political economy, political ecology, human ecology and sociology. These literatures do still, in general terms, view disasters as an intractable problem for scientific rationalism and technocracy. Hewitt (2012: 85) continues to outline that “the primacy of scientific data and models is taken for granted and the focus tends to be on technical solutions, the work of professionally trained personnel, officials and non-governmental organisations (NGOs).” He considers how this utilitarian approach to research encourages the encapsulation of the ‘problem’ in various models of human-nature relationships (see figures 3.1, 3.2, 3.3).

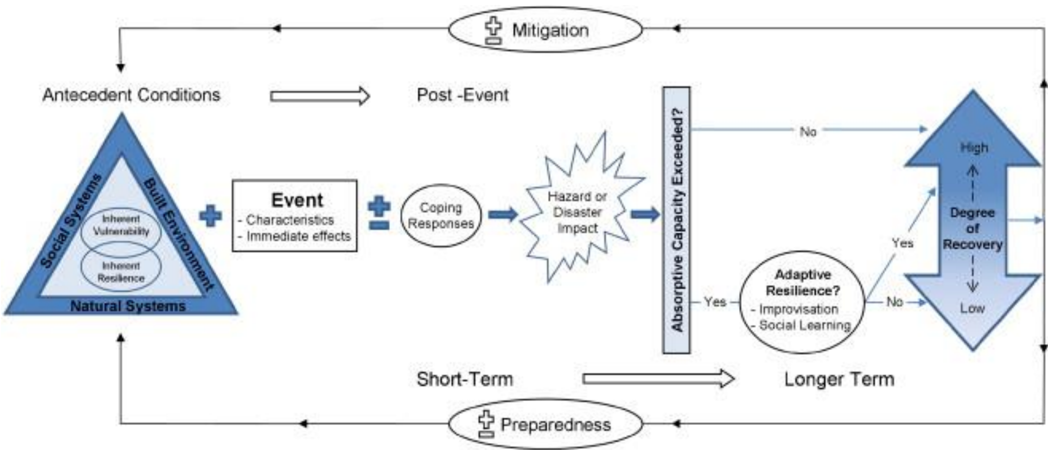

Figure 3.1: Schematic representation of the disaster resilience of place (DROP) model
Source: Reprinted from Cutter *et al* (2008) with permission from Elsevier

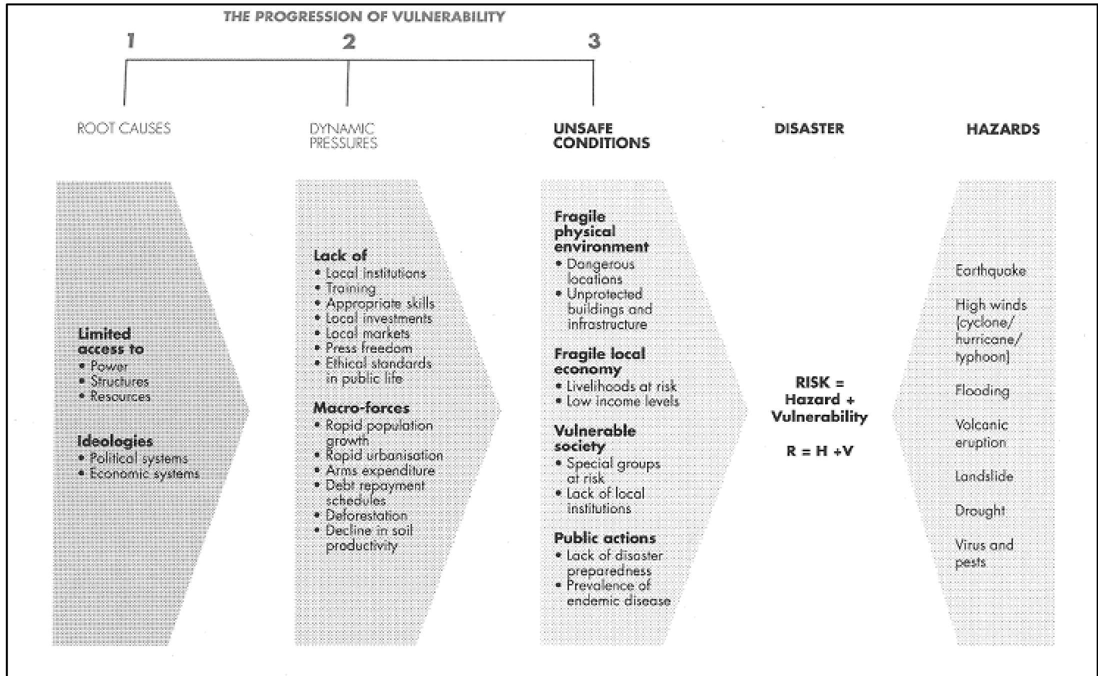

Figure 3.2: Pressure and release (PAR) model: the progression of vulnerability (also featured in Routledge Handbook 2012)
Source: Reprinted from Wisner *et al*. (2004: 51) with permission from Routledge

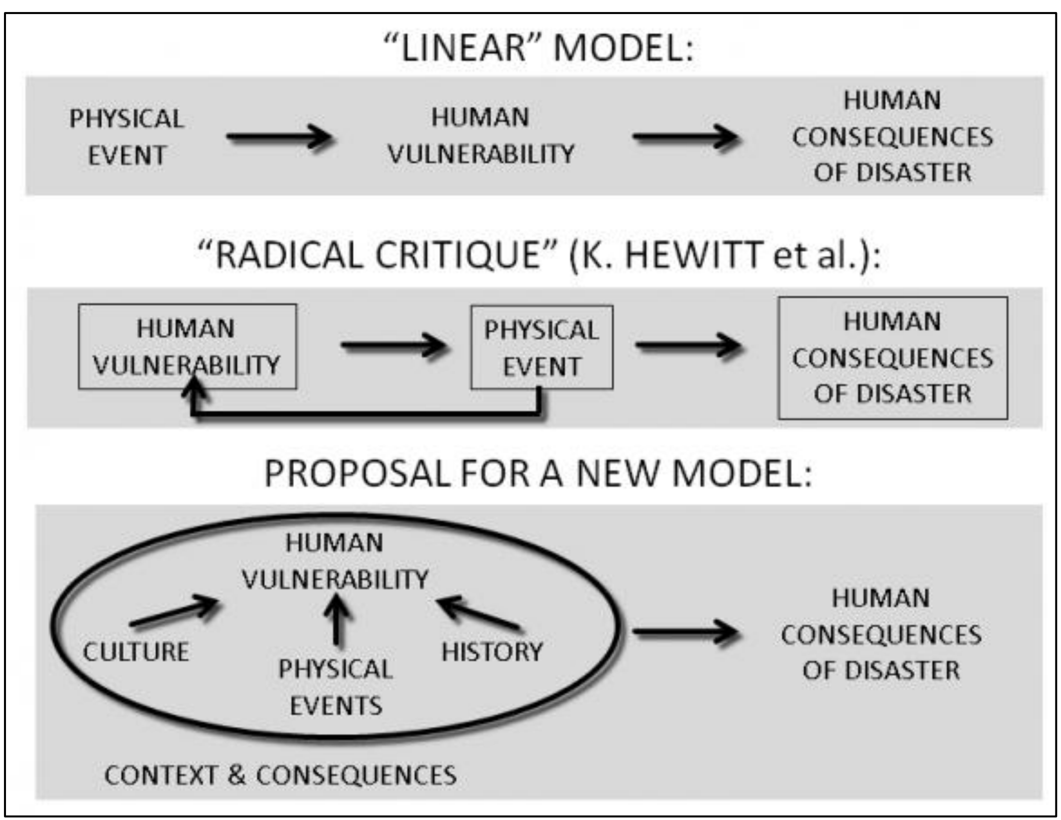

Figure 3.3: Models of models: possible evolution of models of disaster
Source: Reprinted from Alexander (2012: 48) with permission from RCCS Annual Review and David Alexander

The power of Hewitt's (1983, 1997, 2012) assessment unfolds as he argues that by using models the problem (or disaster) is then neutralised and objectified, and I would argue that personal accounts are easily overlooked. The gap this project addresses is the lack of 'people' in hazards research. The gritty experiences of calamity that happens to bodies, places and spaces are obscured by models, diagrams and technologically associated monologues. "The forces involved (in a disaster), so charged with drama, emotion and blame in the everyday world" he argues, "become subordinate to objective dimensions and impersonal dynamics" (Hewitt 1983: 14).

Hewitt (1997) maintains his critique in *Regions of risk* introducing 'geographies of fears and cares' as a small but important approach to the risks and hazards literature. He includes testimonies of disaster survivors who convey feelings of grief, loss, loneliness, feelings of strangeness and the shock of remembrance to

underscore “how disasters affect people” (1997: 45). Hewitt explains that these ideas need special emphasis because they highlight people and places “whose plight is our foremost concern” (Hewitt 1997: 42) and, he argues are “often neglected in the technical literature, in official and professional responses” (Hewitt 1997: 42). For example, in the 2012 edition of the *Routledge handbook of hazard and disaster risk reduction*, a thick tome of close to 900 pages, the emotional impacts of disaster on people features in a small section of 10 pages on psychosocial recovery by Aloudat and Christensen (2012). The editors take time to point out the importance of a macro view to enable solutions to poverty and inequity by changing large-scale processes (Wisner *et al.* 2012: 17; (see also National Research Council 2006; 2011). They acknowledge a fine grained view of vulnerability and marginality is significant, yet, this is rarely conducted at the scale of the individual.

Like researchers in other disciplines studying disasters, sociologists have posited a number of models to clarify how people behave during disasters. Cognitive psychological and psychometric models bring together processes such as emergency evacuation, social cohesion (mutual assistance), leadership skills, resources, human imagination and perceptions of dangers and risks by a collective. A sociological focus, then, identifies mechanisms or processes that facilitate the emergence of behaviours in order to tease out behavioural ‘norms’ when there are large numbers of affected people often dispersed across geographic and social space (Nigg and Tierney 1993).

Lupton (2012: 4) contends, and I agree, that this view of “cognitive psychological and psychometric models attempts to discipline emotion by placing it into a model or a relationship of cause and effect, rending it into a variable that may be measured and its effects calculated”. There is little space here for recognising emotion and affect which highlight the ambivalences, contradictions and ambiguities of post disaster experience, and are organised and reorganised according to context. Lupton (2012) draws on geographical work with emotion to expand an anti-essentialist perspective on risk. Emotion and risk create one

another in an 'emotion-risk' assemblage with the intention of being viewed as a configuration of diverse phenomena (material, non-material, experiences, discourses, practices, space, place and flesh).

Representing disaster research in geography and sociology as consisting only of technocratic models and being consequently devoid of human experience is not, however, entirely accurate. There has been engagement with the close and personal scale of disaster, although these studies make up a relatively small portion. For example, in sociology, Klinenberg (2002) takes the specific event of the Chicago Heat Wave in 1995, to extrapolate how the American cult of individualism turns out to have deadly consequences for the elderly and poor. Klinenberg (2002) talks about Joseph Laczko (68 years) who died alone in an apartment on the North-West side of the city. There are also pictures of over-heated school children being hosed down by fire-fighters and seen by paramedics. He joins faces and names with his theoretical exposition. This is also true of Drabek (2010) who uses descriptive vignettes from survivors of disasters to provide powerful explanations of how people think, act and behave when immersed in a disaster situation.

Enarson and Morrow's (1998) book *The gendered terrain of disaster: through women's eyes* too contains personal accounts and includes a section of case-studies of women responding to disaster. For example, Hoffman shares close-up experiences of the Oakland Firestorm (her own home burnt down). She uses these experiences to inform a later piece of work with an anthropological focus in *Catastrophe and culture* (2002) co-edited with Oliver-Smith. These accounts, though, continue to be sporadic and relatively marginalised in mainstream disaster literature.

There is a small but growing body of literature, however, that highlights the place of emotions in disasters. Publications encompass emotions in a number of ways, through examining recovery processes (Convery *et al.* 2004, 2008; Tapsell and Tunstall 2008; Whittle *et al*. 2013), methodology (Lund 2012), return decisions

(Morrice 2013), and politically motivated emotions (Pini *et al.* 2010). Different 'types' of disaster are analysed, including flood, disease, tsunami, and economic disasters. Even if such scholarship shows that it is possible to see how emotions can be employed as a useful analytical lens through which to better understand the wider impacts of the disaster recovery experience, few of them are published in disaster related journals.[9] In a number of these studies Hochschild's (1979, 1983) theory of emotions, as intersubjective, socially constructed and ideologically formed, has taken precedence to describe 'emotional labour' or 'feeling rules'. That is, "the individual ... works on inducing or inhibiting feelings so as to render them 'appropriate' to a situation" (Hochschild 1979: 551). These processes of managing emotions are complex, often require mental gymnastics (smiling when you would rather cry) and are intimately entangled in the social context in which they appear.

Emotion work has been used to construct a fuller picture of disaster recovery and can be "helpful in enabling us to understand what goes on within the family and how disaster can impact on the activities and relationships contained within it" (Whittle *et al.* 2012: 62). Researchers have used this work as a platform to examine family life during crises. The concept of emotion work is used to illustrate the effort that goes into 'doing family' emotionally as well as more practically through tasks of caring such as cooking meals and creating 'homely' spaces. DeVault (1999) describes the 'braided' nature of emotion work "whereby physical tasks like cooking or tidying go hand in hand with loving, nurturing and being 'emotionally present' for someone" (Whittle *et al.* 2012: 62). These ideas have sometimes exposed the gender divisions that may be present, with some authors arguing that emotion work has traditionally been viewed as a more feminine activity (see DeVault 1999).

[9] For example, Lund (2012) and Whittle *et al.* (2012) appear in *Emotion, Space and Society*; Pini *et al.* (2010) in *Social and Cultural Geography*; Morrice (2013) in *Area*; Mort *et al.* (2004) and Tapsell and Tunstall (2008) in *Health and Place*; and Convery *et al.* (2005) in the *Journal of Rural Studies.*

Looking at gender and disasters

As disasters are considered to be, in part, human constructs which reflect the global distribution of power, so too is disaster risk socially distributed in ways that reproduce the social divisions which already exist in society. Gender and disaster researchers draw on feminist theory. More specifically, there are theoretical openings for understanding disaster risk in "socialist feminism, postmodern feminism, multiracial feminism and eco-feminism, although most researchers draw on liberal feminism or gender and development theory" (Enarson *et al.* 2007: 131). Gender in disasters as an explicit study, was not researched extensively until the 1990s. Feminist geographers who engage with gender disparities were prompted by Hurricane Andrew and later Hurricane Katrina to assess how women face an uneven 'playing field' in coping with, and recovering from, a major disaster.

Disaster researchers use ideas (such as, gendered division of labour, gender violence, and limitations on reproduction choices) to explain why some women and girls may not have access to equal resources and information in a disaster situation or face discrimination in the aftermath. This approach also leads researchers to investigate how gender stereotypes affect disaster services and emergency operations. The field of gender and disaster research has grown considerably over the past two decades, particularly since Hurricane Katrina (probably due to the overt nature of inequalities played out in mass media on a global level) which has sparked a plethora of studies focused on race, class, gender, and inequality. According to Seagar (2006), disasters are seldom gender neutral (see also Enarson and Morrow 1998; Fordham 1998 2003; Neumayer and Plumper 2007).

The gendered division of labour literature is important in scrutinising how women in this research often carried additional burdens in the recovery phase, including the logistics of relocating and, particularly, in their care-giving roles. Women's care-giving roles stretch when they help their families to prepare for and cope with disastrous events, and some researchers reflect that it is "women

who have held their families together after a disaster" (Enarson *et al.* 2007: 136; see also Fothergill 1999; Morrow and Enarson 1996). In a disaster and in the aftermath, mothering becomes more difficult and complicated as children require much greater attention and reassurance. The immediate responsibilities of parenting and caring for dependents (including older relatives) are usually placed on women's shoulders. In short, the emotion work can take a large toll on women (Enarson and Scanlon 1999).

Disasters and mass media

I have outlined above that mainstream disaster literature tends to exclude or at least marginalise personal accounts. Mass media, however, delivers disasters into our living rooms on an almost daily basis. Because panic theories have generally been overturned in social science literature, negative emotions and reactions (such as fear, hysteria and anger, breakdown in rational thinking, disruption to social order, and looting created by the depersonalisation of a crowd in response to a disaster) are generally found to be 'myths' (Mawson 2005; Tierney *et al.* 2006). It has been successfully argued, nonetheless, that these panic modes of behaviour do continue to exert a powerful influence on popular (mass media) representations of disaster/emergency behaviour (see Quarantelli 2002).

Mass media are an increasingly important facet of disasters and how they are interpreted, disseminated and 'defined'. Scanlon (2005) and Quarantelli (1991) reflect on the agenda setting role of mass media in determining what disaster theorists think about and write about. The role of mass media in deciding what is a disaster and what is not cannot be downplayed and has salience for my research. Quarantelli (1991: 2) states:

> So where do people get their images of disastrous phenomena if they do not base them on personal experiences? Some of the pictures they have undoubtedly come from deeply rooted cultural beliefs ... But we think a strong case can be made that what average citizens and officials expect about disasters, what they come to know on ongoing disasters, and what they learned from disasters that have

> occurred, are primarily if not exclusively learned from mass media accounts.

Couch (2000) too discusses that in the modern world, the meaning of disaster cannot easily be disassociated from how it is portrayed and interpreted by mass media. News is basically whatever people are interested in and is defined by people's interest levels. "Newsworthiness depends on the systems of values between the purveyors and consumers of news" (Alexander 2006: 33; see also Skelton 2006). The Christchurch earthquakes received widespread and ongoing coverage throughout New Zealand on all aspects of the disaster. Unfortunately, distressing details of the deaths and misery exacted on Christchurch's people have been extensively reported by multi-media sources in a sort of highly selective spectacle-driven frenzy, referred to by some as 'grief-porn' or 'disaster porn' (see Kitch and Hume 2008).

Yell (2010: 118) points out that, when talking about the affective impact of media coverage of the 2009 Australian bushfire,[10] the "public sharing of private emotion has become orthodox and mainstream". Further, journalists tend to believe that emotional images allow the truth or 'real story' to be revealed, with the recipient becoming more intimately engaged with the victims (Yell 2010). Social media has rapidly expanded in the past decade, with eye-witness accounts and the immediacy of images and narratives from citizen journalism allowing a sense of proximity to events. Mass and social media, then, have the potential to create an aura of affect by maintaining a collective response to the earthquakes from a trans-locational perspective where feelings, thoughts and actions are disseminated on a daily basis. Following the Christchurch earthquakes, social media were used in specific ways. As stated in Chapter 2, University of Canterbury students were mobilised by Facebook (a form of social media) to

[10] 7 February 2009 was dubbed "Black Saturday" in Australia. Deadly bushfires swept through the southern state of Victoria, leaving 173 people dead and 500 injured. In addition, more than 2,000 homes were destroyed, and experts estimated that the number of affected wildlife (killed or injured) was well into the millions (see Yell 2010).

respond to and reduce the effects of silt damage from liquefaction in the eastern suburbs. Still the Christchurch earthquakes did not happen in isolation, and social media drew information on the disaster into the global context.

Challenging the continuity principle

In a 1977 assessment of disaster research, pioneer researchers Quarantelli and Dynes remarked that the 'principle of continuity' was to be increasingly used in studies of organisational change and personal behaviour (see Henry 2011). They outlined that the principle proposed "pre-disaster behaviour is probably the best indicator of trans-and post-event behaviour" (Quarantelli and Dynes 1977: 34). The principle ultimately challenged the belief (widely held at the time) that catastrophes "usher major changes in organisations and people in victimised populations" (Henry 2011: 222). In short the 'principle of continuity' reviewed work published in the preceding decade which argued that (i) little organisational change happens following a disaster and that if it does take place it is along the dimensions present in the pre-disaster period; and (ii) contrary to expectations no large increase of mental illness takes place after a disaster (Henry 2011: 222). This principle, however, was qualified to allow that unique events may actually "cause drastic personal and social changes" (Quarantelli and Dynes 1977: 34).

A major current in geographical theory that links with the continuity principle emerged when disaster studies shifted the focus from the impacts of environment on people, to investigating risk, vulnerability and resilience. The focus on the normal order of things in pre-disaster situations (continuity principle) is marked by conditions of inequality and subordination. A powerful articulation of this perspective is found in *At risk* (Blaikie *et al*. 1994, reprinted as Wisner *et al*. 2004; see also Bankoff 2004; Findlay 2005; Pelling 2003). Vulnerability can be described as people being likely to be harmed by something – a natural hazard (or extreme event) – and having various social characteristics that make them likely to be harmed by a particular hazard to a greater or lesser extent than others (Cannon 2008). Emphasis is given to the spatio-temporal distribution of risk, impacts and vulnerability but also includes social processes

(Wisner *et al.* 2004). What the focus on vulnerability and risk tends to leave behind, though, is the micro level or personal scale, the emotional, affective and embodied nature of people who experience, respond and recover post disaster.

For the respondents, there was no feeling of continuity in the earthquake aftermath. Regular social organisations (schools, work-places, sports facilities) became non-existent while others sprung up, and habitual patterns of behaviour ground to a halt as the city closed. On social organisations and especially the role of volunteers, Dynes (2002: 34) argues that they "are not spontaneous, random acts of generosity on the part of isolated individuals but are extensions of pre-disaster relationships". It cannot be denied that post-earthquake Christchurch stimulated waves of random acts of kindnesses from individuals. Many people made offers on websites for residents to have respite. Many also personally loaded up light trucks and drove in supplies. Radio stations devoted channels to put in touch those offering help with those in Canterbury needing help.

Figure 3.4: Crafts of kindness: a gift made by the Lost and Found Project (2012)
Source: Walsh (2013): http://www.facebook.com/LostAndFoundProject

But further from more practical offers of help, people also aimed to help bolster the spirit of Cantabrians by creatively engaging with social spaces, through using music, film, temporary structures and projects such as, 'crafts of kindness' (see figure 3.4 above).[11] In mid-2012 the Christchurch City Council contracted specific individuals to set up a 'grass-roots' urban regeneration initiative called 'Life in vacant spaces' which enabled post-quake temporary projects to reinvent and reimagine the way people live in cities. This initiative dubbed 'Gap-Filler' aims to temporarily activate vacant sites within Christchurch with creative projects for community benefit. It also stimulates other ideas and creative teams or individuals to flourish (see Gap Filler 2013).

In response to the second part of Quarantelli and Dynes (1977) continuity principle, it also cannot be denied that people do experience an increase of mental illness post-earthquake, especially in relation to increased stress suffered by relocating. Riad and Norris (1996: 167) found that relocation may contribute to the environmental, social and psychological stress experienced by disaster victims. "Most studies show", they argue "that relocation is stressful and increases victims' risk of experiencing depression or anxiety". Further, Kiliç *et al.* (2006: 194) established that earthquakes cause high rates of psychological distress, which tend to last for many years, even if the survivors live in a low-risk area, and relocation has an "added effect of earthquake-related distress, most notably depression". This was also found by other studies centred on earthquakes, such as by Najarian *et al.* (1996) who illustrate that women who had relocated in the aftermath of the 1988 Armenian earthquake suffered higher rates of depression than those women who did not (and there were similar findings for men after the Italian earthquakes in the 1980s; see Bland *et al.* 2005). In post-disaster circumstances such as in Christchurch, it is the seemingly involuntary nature of relocation that was found to be stressful.

[11] Two Christchurch friends embarked on a craft based project to encourage Cantabrians to spread kindness by making and hiding small gifts in public places for strangers to find (such as bus seats, cafe tables, shopping carts). Dubbed the 'Lost and found' project and supported by the team from Gap Filler, the pair have left little knitted animals, mug hugs, key rings, pin cushions and fingerless mitts (see Walsh 2013).

Sanders *et al.* (2003) explain that the removal of other alternatives makes relocation most stressful, but I think the impact of relocating goes much deeper than lack of alternatives. Many disasters result in temporary displacement but certain events in both developed and developing countries have led to the permanent relocation of affected populations. Uscher-Pines (2009: 1) claims that "despite the frequency of post-disaster relocation and evidence of its effect on psychological morbidity, there is a relative paucity of studies". I direct my attention to the impacts of relocation on interviewees, which has been considered here as involuntary and, for some, sudden. Crucial to relocatees' experiences of stress and anxiety has been the lack of social networks, feelings of isolation and separation from family and friends.

So, there is a danger that studies which focus solely on mental health issues may miss the complexity of people's emotional responses to disasters and the ways in which responses are interwoven with environmental, social and economic changes which take place during disaster recovery (Whittle *et al*. 2012). In short, participants experienced the earthquakes as a severe disruption of continuity that has remained for three years post earthquakes (in 2013) and are likely to be so for years to come. The power of close-in examples which act to challenge broader scale studies is not designed to discount previous work, but rather, to add complexity. Emotion and affect, then, are critical to understanding the impacts of the earthquakes and relocation on people and communities.

Quality of life, which was interrupted by the earthquakes, caused changes in residents' attachment to community, home and city. The earthquakes changed life satisfaction and trust or ontological security. The term ontological security (Giddens 1990) manifests from the psychological trust in the reliability and consistency of the world existing in the way it is supposed to exist (Hawkins and Maurer 2011). The Christchurch earthquakes and aftershocks suspended people's ontological security, throwing them into new formations of day-to-day existence. The notion of ontological security has its conceptual roots in social psychology and the mental health literature but has also been picked up by

disaster theorists in sociology. Ontological security provides stability, predictability and order in knowing what to expect and is fundamental to the experience and meaning of everyday life. It is intimately embedded in ideas about place and identity.

Hawkins and Maurer (2011) reason that disaster response and recovery policies need to take into account the interconnections between people and their immediate environment. Immediate environment can (but not always) be read as home and community. The larger concept of home (rather than house/dwelling) is understood to provide ontological security and the constancy of a secure base around which individual and community identities are constructed and daily life is routinised (see Padgett 2007). Hawkins and Maurer (2011) maintain that the long-term psychological implications of disasters and the impacts they have on individuals and their communities still remain under researched in sociology. This confidence in routine, the constancy of social and material environments gives people 'psychological protection' from uncertainty.

In the latter part of 2005 a group of geographers and inter-disciplinary experts asked themselves and others some searching questions about the Indian Ocean Tsunami (2004) one year on. Contained in an open plenary session[12] were marine biologists/biogeographers, geomorphologists, developmental geographers and cultural/social geographers who sought to engage holistically with a lively and volatile world shaped by the tsunami. They gathered, debated and thought together on a single event. Some of the questions discussed where concentrated around the reach of disaster research and what it actually means to local communities. There was a challenge to think about obligations. To, perhaps, not just be politically accountable or ethically reflexive, not only theoretically insightful and empirically rigorous *but also* generous, engaged, responsible and effective.

[12] RGS-IBG Annual Meeting 2005, Tuesday 30 August, in London.

It was argued that "on altogether more intimate geographical scales; at a more individual level we might feel touched by stories of help and survival" (Greenhough *et al.* 2005: 370). As well as showcasing how a mix of geographical perspectives might provide an appropriate way to begin to address the tsunami event, geographers took inspiration from local people who also blended different forms of knowledge mixing religion and mythology with scientific understandings of how waves are formed.

In the atmosphere of the plenary session, Clark (2005: 386) reminded scholars to "try and hold open the moment of disturbance or shock, to feel the disaster also as a disaster of thought, something which fractures and fissures the ground *we* stand on, work on, think from". He argued it is important to find "a way of looking at the world that tries to be true to the events or the encounters that throw us off course or draw us down strange pathways" (Clarke 2005: 386). Clark continues "somewhere in the midst of a disaster as vast as the Indian Ocean tsunami, we might think of many small things going on, at once ordinary and extraordinary, just as there are in any event. These are the things that make new worlds" (2008: 386). The emphasis, then, as Clarke reminds us, is sometimes the micro-scale and small variances are important.

I build a similar case for including empirical work with emotional geographies, and in *neither* situation do I wish to substitute the close-in personal scale for broader poststructural emphasis on representation or technocratic approaches. In addition, I envisage that this work will add depth and nuance to both literatures taking a fresh perspective on what has come beforehand by allowing an embodied analysis to take place. As such, this project takes up a thread in disaster literature that has been significantly overlooked.

Some terms and explanations

In the broadest sense this research is guided by the theoretical premises of socio-cultural geography. Recent work in social and cultural theory and socio-cultural geography has incorporated complex philosophical theories of emotion

and affect. Far from being internal phenomena, or the property of individuals, emotion and affect are understood as occurring within the ongoing relations among people (and people and things) which exist in an unfolding dialogue of meaning. The recent upsurge of interest in emotion and affect within geography can be based on acknowledging the important role they play in maintaining geography's critical edge by challenging what constitutes knowledge (see Davidson *et al.* 2005).

Emotion, affect and feelings are inseparable from human experience. Since our bodies are always located in a context or a particular space or place, it becomes important to examine the interplay between embodied materiality, immateriality or non-human things (technologies, buildings) and, in this case, extreme earthquake events. Sharp (2009) discusses a debate which had kindled over the distinction between emotion and affect, such that emotion can be considered as individual/personal and affect as transhuman/political (see also Ahmed 2004b; Thien 2005). I follow Wright (2010: 821) when she states that she sees: "no need to insert cleavage between otherwise friendly terms". Throughout this thesis I choose to consider emotion and affect as intimately connected and depart from a tendency in some work (Deleuze and Guattari 1988; Grossberg 1992; Lacan 1992; Massumi 2002; Pile 2010) to separate them.

Bondi and Davidson (2011) surmise that emotion and affect don't quite map one over the other directly but, perhaps, that may be the point. "Emotions and affects might be considered disagreeable in many ways, but their rough edges, the very wildness that frustrates domestication is precisely what gives them such power" (Bondi and Davidson 2011: 595). Similar to Lorimer (2008) I find there are synonyms for emotion and affect which I also use throughout this thesis. Mood, passion, intensity and feeling all encompass something about affect within their descriptors but cannot be collapsed entirely. Regardless of where one stands on this debate, however, emotional and affective intensities are not neatly confined to the body of the individual experiencing them. Thus, the terms are used as a platform from which to explore notions of collectivity and post-

disaster relocation. Generally speaking, studies of affect all at some point announce that there is a subtle ‘shift’ from the trans-subjective way of thinking about the processes and practices of research to a more gregarious formation of works that includes relational conceptions of embodiment (see Blackman 2010).

The predecessors to studies on emotion and affect come from phenomenology, feminism and Non-Representational Theory (NRT). In seeking an understanding of emotion and affect in which the terms are connected to and with practice, embodiment and spatiality has led geographers to consider ideas from phenomenology (see Davidson *et al.* 2005; Thrift 2004). Phenomenology suggests that we are never ‘untouched’ by the world around us, and people’s understanding of the world comes out of their everyday practices. Phenomenology aims to blend notions of self, bodily experience and perceptual environments, while Thrift (2004: 60) views the phenomenological tradition as offering a means to develop descriptions of how emotions occur in everyday life.

Merleau-Ponty’s (1962; 1968) sensuous phenomenology of lived experience, among other things, meshes the body into the perceptible world (being-in-the-world) through the notion of *intercorporeality* (for a lengthier engagement see Simonsen 2007). The phenomenological threads that have been taken up by geographers centre on how bodies and experiences are animated. Corporeal involvement in the world is seen as a ‘intermediate-point’ between mind and body. These active processes concern the whole sensing body (a lived body) “which ‘knows’ itself by virtue of its active relation to this world” (Simonsen 2007: 172) and which also includes language.

Further, the phenomenology of place is one in which all its material substance, colours, shapes, sounds, textures and smells are experienced giving it character and ‘atmosphere’ (Spinney 2006). The world’s significance emerges with the sensory perception of the perceiver creating dialectics between body and place or ‘sense of place’ (see Buttimer 1976; Buttimer and Seamon 1980; Lorimer and Lund 2003; Seamon 1979; Tuan 1977; Wylie 2002). In the past two decades,

Merleau-Ponty's (1962) theory of the 'lived body' has been used to inform the work of some feminist theorists, for example, Bordo (1993), Butler (1993) Grosz (1994) and Young (1990), to study the politics of difference (see also Longhurst 1997).

Feminism in geography stemmed from the challenges to strictly 'rational' and 'masculinist' social science. Historically geography was seen as a discipline that began with a predominately masculine focus. A reworking of how geographers look at social life emerged with an explicitly feminist approach, to make visible and challenge gendered spatial divisions (McDowell and Sharpe 1999). Drawing on poststructuralist ideas, feminist geographers aimed to destabilise binaries (a set of interrelated and mutually reinforcing dualisms that explain the 'naturalisation' of hegemonic gender oppressions) in which knowledge production took place. Accordingly, men were equated with traits, such as rationality, superiority, science, independence, public space and culture, while women were equated with traits, such as irrationality, emotion, dependence and private space, and nature (Longhurst 2001; McDowell 1999; Plumwood 1993; Women, Geography Study Group (WGSG) 1997). Feminist geographers also argued for emotion to have a place in 'serious' scholarship (Davidson and Milligan 2004; Davidson *et al.* 2005; McDowell 1992; Smith *et al*. 2009).

Feminist geographies have then emphasised the fluidity and pervasiveness of emotions in all aspects of our everyday lives. Investigating emotion and affect means remaining attentive to the dynamics of how life is lived and how life takes place. This means that studies include a heterogeneous range of phenomena. Bondi and Davidson (2011) point out, the very nature of working with emotion and affect demands a more 'fuzzy logic' that often defies boundaries. Theorists in the fields of bodies, emotion and affect have advocated the breaking down of boundaries by celebrating the fluidity and complexity of social science research (see Jones 2008; Law 2004; Longhurst *et al.* 2008). Bondi and Davidson (2011: 595) surmise that geographers need to acknowledge and explore the intrinsic messiness of what they do and what can be known. Emotion, feeling and affect

present scholars with complicated matters to work with. Indeed, Bondi (2005b: 231-246) writes that “[emotions] are tough to ‘see’, hard to hold, even trickier to ‘write up’”.

Emotions, however, can be powerfully encountered in some situations and representations, yet, they are elided in others. This has led some geographers to focus on the ‘unsayable’ or on what remains unrepresented in everyday life, there may be “non-correspondence between words and things” (Parr *et al.* 2005; see also Lund 2012: 96). NRT came about as a response to (or a reaction against) approaches in cultural geography that focus on the politics of representation. Focusing on representation has tended to leave behind the active world and obscure the more elusory nature of everyday life. Responding to calls for more ‘enlivened’ geographies’, scholars have argued for attention to be paid to that which is considered to be beyond text and perhaps eludes discursive forms of representation (Thrift 1996, 2000; Thrift and Dewsbury 2000). NRT is considered to be a difficult body of work to summarise, with scholars drawing on numerous arrays of diverse resources and inspirations. Non-representational geographies attend to life *and* thought as practiced, rather than splitting mind from body, continuing to challenge residual Cartesianism (Thrift 2004).

The value that geographers who engage with the myriad of transient and inarticulable practices [NRT] add is to bring ‘new’ theoretical resources to everyday issues and examine what it is that people do, rather than what they say they do. Some NRT theorists have turned to the notion of affect as a way of expressing the force or potentiality of bodies (and things) which impact on everyday objects and others. Drawing on the spaces of emotion and affect as a relational ontology, I reconceptualise the links between disasters and every day experiences of relocation.

Some terms and explanations

Emotion and affect afford a focus on the curiously rich and unruly nature of what is usually unspoken in everyday life, as well as rhythms, vibrations, moods and

bodily capacities and the ways in which these seemingly disparate elements collude into complex assemblages. This convergence of many factors leads to a conceptualisation of the research as a ‘place of convergence’ and ‘fusion’ that draws the various analytical elements into a conceptual ‘whole’ (after Crang 2005b). Understandings of emotion and affect as evolving are not so much viewed as something ‘new’, but rather, as something supple and flexible and as something not yet ready to be fixed.

Theorists envisage an open ended formation (of life) that is always ‘in process’ of being or *becoming* (Cadman 2009), or a potential for being-otherwise (Dewsbury 2009; Harrison 2007). From Deleuze and Guattari’s *A thousand plateaus* (1988), translated by Massumi (2002), the term ‘becoming’ has been widely borrowed by scholars to explain the *potential*, or force for bodies to affect and be affected.[13] This expands thinking to include the transpersonal capacity of bodies to impact on each other through (sometimes barely) perceptible practices that are *both* conscious and non-conscious. The appeal that affect theories can have is linking the unconscious and conscious mind and body together as well as including (re)formulations of bodies (bringing the body back into focus) by extending embodiment to include aesthetics, movement, rhythm and patterns.

Scholars using emotion and affect as a lens to study particular encounters and moods aim to do so in order to expand geographical knowledge. Bodily affects, sensations and knowledges are co-joined in order to examine the (re)production of everyday life. For example, Anderson focuses on boredom (2004) and hope (2006); Bissell uses examples of pain (2010) and jet-lag (2013); Jayne *et al.* (2010) discuss drinking and drunkenness; Jones (2005) cycles the city; and Popke (2008) studies care and consumption. Further work utilising emotion and affect incorporates different modes of encounter, including language (Bondi and Davidson 2011; Riley 2005; Thrift 2008), film and media (Curti 2008; Moreno

[13] Massumi (2002: 212) writes “when you affect something you are at the same time opening yourself to being affected in turn, and in a slightly different way than you might have been the moment before”.

2009), geo-spatial technologies (Kwan 2007) and history and archival work (Lulka and Aitken 2011).

Recent work on emotion and affect in geography has been informed by a nuanced reading of Spinoza's *Ethics* (published posthumously circa. 1677) and its various 'reinterpretations' in contemporary theory (notably by Deleuze and Guattari 1988; Massumi 2002; and Negri 1991) which examine the interplay of affective and subjective registers (see Woodward and Lea 2009). While Bondi and Davidson (2011) stress the importance of emotional life and the performativity of language, Curti *et al*. (2011) and Dawney (2011) explore identity and difference through an attentive reading of Spinoza (2000). For Spinoza (2000), affect can be conceptualised as "part of an ontology of material force relations unfolding between bodies" (Woodward and Lea 2009: 156) which are a series of intensities that are constantly in connection to, and in relation with, other bodies. Emotion and affect, then, are critical to understanding the impacts of the earthquakes and relocation on people and communities. They are a call to think about complexity and are considered to be a large component of the human experience of surviving a disaster.

"Is there anyone who has not, at least once, walked into a room and 'felt' the atmosphere?" (Brennan 2004: 1). Affect can be explained as something like 'collective impressions' or a 'felt' atmosphere or perhaps an overall mood. It can be felt as a mood in a room, or understood as the experience of being 'sapped', 'tired' or 'depressed' in the company of someone, while conversely feeling 'energised', 'inspired' or 'invigorated' by others (Brennan 2004). In this way, Brennan (2004) sees affect as a process that is transmittable, transmutable, picked up, transformed, re-shaped and re-shared. For me, one of the best descriptions of affect is provided by Wood and Smith (2004) in their article 'Instrumental routes to emotional geographies'. This description speaks to my experience of affective feelings. Wood and Smith (2004) explain the heightened mood of live musical performance. For both the performers and the audience there are moments of sublime feeling that are difficult to describe, some

intangible higher plane of consciousness that is spoken in terms of *energy* or *hype* (2004: 536-538). Emotion and affect connect strangers in the room, it creates a momentary unity, and the feelings are subtle, complex and hard to articulate. What I wish to gain is the notion of encounters *between* bodies, and a sense of plurality. I am interested in movement and flows among people and among things (such as technology, animals,[14] buildings and materials).

As Gorton (2007) has noted, there is a long history of theoretical work on emotion and affect. Affect theory traverses psychoanalysis, psychology, and psychiatry and has an interdisciplinary and malleable 'feel' to the literature. In a way this makes the notion of affect seem liberating, as there are many differing possible trajectories which theorists can take or build upon and as such the literature is broad and variable. Over time, authors have appropriated an impressive range of material in their examination of emotion and/or affect, which often includes the insights of writers as diverse as Sigmund Freud, Karl Marx, Michel Foucault, Charles Darwin, J.L. Austin, Raymond Williams, Judith Butler and Silvan Tomkins (Wright 2010), and this list is by no means exhaustive.

One can be sure, though, that although affect is not a new concept, its popularity and importance in shaping recent theory is obvious, with an increasing inclusion into geographically focused material.[15] While geography has seen an abundance of theoretically astute research on the concept of affect, these works sit beside interdisciplinary borrowings and geographical analyses of affect in philosophy

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[14] While I have not discussed animals in great depth, and they only briefly appear in respondent transcripts, domesticated pets were a main part of five families' lives. Television New Zealand also hosted a special programme that followed a unique specialist animal rescue operation in Christchurch's central red-zone (see Society for the Protection of Cruelty to Animals (SPCA) 2011).

[15] See Kim and Bianco (2007) *The affective turn: theorising the social*; Gregg and Seigworth (2010) *The affect theory reader*; Stewart (2007) *Ordinary affects* and the journal *Body and Society* (2010) volume 16 issue 1 special issue on the theme of affect. Affect is also a chapter entry in a number of geographically focused books, such as: Anderson (2013) 'Affect and emotion' in *Wiley Blackwell Companion to Cultural Geography;* J.D. Dewsbury's (2009) 'Affect' in the *International encyclopaedia of human geography*; Woodward and Lea (2009) 'Geographies of affect' in the *SAGE handbook of social geographies.* See also Anderson and Harrison (2006) 'Questioning emotion and affect'; Pile (2010) 'Emotion and affect in recent human geography'; Pile (2011) 'For a geographical understanding of emotion and affect'; and Thien (2005) 'After or beyond feeling? A consideration of affect and emotion in geography'.

(Ahmed 2004b; Deleuze and Guattari 1988; Sedgwick and Frank 1995; Massumi 2002), in political theory (Bennett 2010; Williams 2007), and feminist studies (Berlant 2000; Probyn 2005; Riley 2005). The tapestry of geographical ideas on affect is rich, and can be empowering, nevertheless, to make the most effective use of the concept, it is worthwhile to be explicit about how one intends to use affect. What comes into sight is an oscillation of potentialities (forces) among bodies which exist in an affective register of feelings that include bodily forms of knowing.

Place is often a central motif in geographical work. It also has been conceived as harbouring emotional and affective elements. Places can be perceived as being 'concrete' locations. They may also exist through the inflections of emotional memory, and they can be bounded by the experiences that are encompassed in their borders, therefore, place sits at the cross-roads of subjectivity and objectivity. In this research, the feelings different places elicit in respondents have been vitally important. On the one hand, even if Christchurch was devastated by earthquakes, it was still considered to be the 'heart-home' of relocatees, sometimes existing in an idealised state in memory (often linked to childhood). Waikato, on the other hand, appeared to be a place of safety from earthquakes, but it was not imbued with any particular feelings of homeliness. Entrikin (1991: 59) argues that:

> From a decentred vantage point of the theoretical scientist, place becomes either a location or a set of generic relations and thereby loses much of its significance for human action. From the centred viewpoint of the subject, place has meaning only in relation to an individual's or group's goals and concerns. Place is best viewed from points in between.

The implied diversity and mobility of Entrikin's (1991) 'points in between' offers up a perspective on place as a continuum that includes both objectivity *and* subjectivity, rather than as two opposing poles. The viewpoint, or ever-moving platform from which to think about place, exposes the potential to capture a multitude of subtleties that are intrinsic to place (see Sullivan 2011).

Sense of place is connected to individual and social processes producing deep emotional connections with specific locations. Place, then, remains compellingly important in framing and sustaining individual and collective identities (Cosgrove 2009). Sense of attachment to places draws upon emotion and affect such that memory, desire and experience both of the individual and also of other people explain relational interactions among a collective. Place attachment provides anchors of significance and meaning for people, it is integral to self-definitions, including individual and communal aspects of identity. Disruptions to sense of place expose self-definitions and individuals frequently struggle to define their losses (see Brown and Perkins 1992). These disruptions threaten to overwhelm humans with change. Ideas about place attachment are often taken-for-granted by relocation authorities (Brown and Perkins 1992). Research in this area is lacking, yet it remains powerfully present in the narratives of relocatees.

In taking relocation into account, Hurricane Katrina which ravaged the Gulf Coast of the United States in 2005, initially displaced over a million people. A year later the figures show that approximately half the population of this major US city had permanently relocated (*Louisiana Department of Health and Hospitals* 2006). Disasters disturb not only the physical structures of a locality but also the emotional attachments people feel toward places. Those that are displaced by these extreme events are forced to leave behind the familiar and head towards the unknown, and these journeys are commonly imbued with emotion (see Morrice 2013). It is the emotional bond people have to places that can sometimes drive the displaced back to the localities of disaster. Although, sometimes it is not possible to return (for example, in Christchurch large tracts of suburbs remain uninhabitable or have been declared as red zones). Disruption to sense of place can stir deep emotions “as individuals attempt to regain a sense of identity continuity through recognising and redefining a shared past” (Milligan 2003: 381).

This area of scholarship could be extended by examining emotion and affect, which draws attention to the transferable quality of feeling among people and

place. The impacts of disruption to place attachment (sense of place), routines, and the ethical judgements (Anderson 2005) residents make about their immediate environment could then come into sharper focus. Geographers are well positioned to critically examine these key spatial concepts (such as home and community) and include the contextual conditions (emotion and affect) around which the notions of security and belonging come together.

Indeed, Solberg *et al*. (2008: 5) recommend that “researchers widen their scope to include non-conscious psychological processes (such as the influence of environmental cues), as well as incorporating cultural and social representations” into their explanatory frames. Further, Bissell (forthcoming) has included the micro-politics of routine and habit into his analyses. He shows how habit can be understood by cultural geographers as a “transformative force” which “acknowledges how the intensity of habit’s operation is irreducibly contingent on milieu” (Bissell forthcoming: unpaginated). When investigating post-disaster collective responses and the often intense and unqualified aspects of those responses, a geographical interest includes space and place. Why people have resolutely chosen to relocate from, or to stay in, post-disaster Christchurch brings into focus *more-than* behavioural geographies. By attending to the affects that are going on, a ‘radical decentering’ (Bissell 2010) of the body as an individual or singular item takes place.

These ideas are important, as place is not conceptualised as static, but rather, as something that is evolving and fluid. Thus place is both the centre of meaning, and the external context of ‘our’ actions (Sullivan 2011). Entrikin’s (1991) sliding scales of place or ‘betweeness’ opens up possibilities for alternatives to the either/or system of thought that is implied in binary thinking, which is considered to be endemic to traditional western epistemology. Some of the supposed excitement held in the ‘turn to affect’ has centred on rethinking frameworks as being fluid assemblages that are mobile (polyvalent), and perhaps even, as a way of eluding the supposed western bi-polar dogma through a “fractal ontology” (Massumi 1995: 94).

Performativity of language and the body

The use of emotive expression in theories of affect requires paying attention to the excessive and unqualified aspects of social experiences. Words, at times may be considered to be 'not quite enough' to articulate that which is elusive to language. More to the point, though, is the actual struggle to communicate affect. The struggle then renders partially visible that which would remain incommunicable. "Emotions are then affects as clothed in language such that we can retrospectively communicate the affective dispositions ... and begin to understand their impact on us with the help of others" (Dewsbury 2009: 23).

Massumi (2002) contemplates the openness of language in *Parables of the virtual*. He sees language as having a sense of 'elasticity' between constraint and room to manoeuvre, giving a flavour of how he sees affect as a liberating force, one that expands out from text and representation. Language seems to be set when thinking of communication as a means of signification, a course of correspondence between people, and a way to convey meaning. Still, for Massumi (2002) there is always suppleness between meaning, experience, signification and perception. These ideas are integral to this research, as I consider the ways (embodied and non-conscious) in which respondents talked about their experiences. Bondi and Davidson (2011) explain that language, whether written or spoken, is always performative. Words escape our intentions, are subjected to interpretation and can be subjectively translated.

> When you think about it [affect], though, there's a unique feeling to every experience that comes along, and the exact details of it can never be exhausted by linguistic expression. That's partly because no two people in the same situation will have the exact same experience of it – they would be able to argue and discuss the nuances endlessly. And it's partly because there was just too much there between them to be completely articulated (Massumi 2003: 19).

The performativity of language and its ability to move people into action is interesting. Riley (2005) considers how language affects our sense of self and place in the world. She looks at racist speech and how the words can be injurious by conjuring and evoking past memories for victims. Riley (2005)

suggests that early experiences of emotion will affectively frame our reactions in later life. She begins her book by stating that:

> The worst words revivify themselves within us, vampirically. Injurious speech echoes relentlessly, years after the occasion of its utterance, in the mind of the one at whom it was aimed: the bad word, splinterlike, pierces to lodge. Its violently emotional materiality, the word is indeed made flesh and dwells amongst us – often long outstaying its welcome (Riley 2005: 9).

Equally, an impassioned speech could heal or mobilise, creating joyous feelings, a sense of unity and belonging (for example, Martin Luther King on equality). Language is powerful. It has the power to impact materially on the body and to course through and among bodies (Riley 2005).

Much of NRT is at pains to emphasise that language can be understood *nonrepresentationally* (Thrift 2008). Language *is* creative but also, language is only part of the equation. Contemporarily, what is more often being included in academic work is the notion that language is only one of a number of ways to access experience. Emotion and affect are caught up in manifold forms of non-verbal communication (for example, aural, visual and haptic sensations) that can also be folded into work. Experiences are palpable and do not exclusively operate through the structures of language, discourse and meaning. The different forms of knowing suggest a tangle of connections that take place through and between bodies and can be 'felt' in a number of ways (Blackman and Venn 2010). One of the important dimensions of affect studies is the attention to that which remains as an excess to the practices of the 'speaking subject'.

This project aims to add to geographic conversations on emotion and affect by linking the psychoanalytical concepts, transference and countertransference to nuanced methodological conversations on reflexivity, that is, the "self-critical sympathetic introspection and the self-conscious *analytical* scrutiny of self as researcher" (England 1994: 82 emphasis in original). Feminist geographers have

explored how power differentials impact on research, the ways in which subjectivities are enacted, and how they can disrupt the research context (England 1994; Kobayashi 1994; McDowell 1992). Intersubjectivity then, weaves in and out of the conversation and takes on an almost 'felt' atmosphere or presence.

Bondi (2003; 2005a) in her work on psychoanalysis and geography argues that the interview is considered to be a shared space, experienced as an 'oscillation' of thoughts and feelings. The interview is deemed to be a social encounter in which the researcher knows some aspects of what is going on, and concurrently, is prevented from knowing other aspects. By pausing to contemplate the unconscious and embodied nature of conversational flows within research, forms of affect are produced and reproduced which can be expanded by the inclusion of psychoanalytical concepts of transference and countertransference.

In psychoanalysis, Freud's early formulation of the concept of transference (how we feel toward others in the present is influenced by, or transferred from, our past relationships) has been controversial and much criticised (see Bondi 2003; Callard 2003). Freud also acknowledged that, within the clinical relationship, the psychoanalyst's responses to the patient might also be marked by the encounter (countertransference) and should be bracketed out in order to "receive, in uncontaminated form the patient's transference (Freud 1912/1958)" (Bondi 2005a: 441). Later understandings of countertransference, though, have shifted to viewing it as a crucial resource (see Bondi 2005a; Hughes 2004). The feelings that researchers experience in relation to those with whom they work are then understood to be interpersonal, moving across bodies in the research setting.

Bringing to light the affective flows of feeling extends conversations on reflexivity to include bodies (what they do and how they do it) as well as non-conscious forms of embodied communication. Extending or reinterpreting the psychoanalytical ideas based on Freud's transference and countertransference allows scholars to think about bodies and their boundaries as porous, pushing

further out from the physical limit of the skin. By concentrating on emotion and affect earthquake experiences are not just bounded to the individual body but they also impinge on others, even at some distance. Emotion and affect are here considered to be a key avenue for dispelling the "fear of the unconscious" in geographical inquiry (Philo and Parr 2003: 285). Massumi's (2002) idea of *the virtual* is important for extending emotional geographies to include non-conscious processes. He states that:

> The virtual dimension of affect is accounted for by the fact that much of what happens in a world of activities and relations happens before it is registered by the conscious thought, or, in other words, by the fact that "the skin is faster than the word" (Massumi 2002: 25 cf. McCormack 2003: 495).

Unconscious forms of communication link with ideas about the movement of emotion, the way emotion moves us both literally and metaphorically - we are also touched by experiences both through direct corporeal perception and through non-conscious mediation of those worldly experiences. The Christchurch earthquakes were a disaster, and the response to someone who has suffered a disaster has a kind of mutual affinity or resonance. Clark (2005) talks about the Indian Ocean tsunami and geographies of generosity, but I consider his comments to be a base-line when working with survivors. He captures well the affective relationships that are exposed in the research setting explaining that: "to experience a disaster is to feel your world fracturing or tearing. But to respond to someone in need is also a kind of rendering or opening of your world" (Clark 2005: 385).

I explicitly engage in 'doing', seeing, sensing and 'being' (intimately relating) through examining the processes of research. Research processes impact on the methodological underpinnings of the project, and they implicate me as researcher. But, processes (re)draw attention to what bodies, senses and feelings are, and how they interrelate that also includes the landscapes in which they are encountered. Using a relational ontology says something about the emotional and affective commitment to a research project. Disasters tear lives apart, but

they also throw them together in all sorts of new configurations (Clark 2005). While I actively engaged in this project, there is also a sense of being drawn in further, to open myself up to the emotional responsibility of coping with participants' stories. There is sometimes a momentary sense of being thrown off course, of being wrenched out of the circuit of your usual movements and activities. Clark (2005: 385) states:

> You can fall into such acts as you might fall asleep, fall ill or fall in love; not so much out of intention, but because something comes over you, takes hold of you, won't let you go.

Even though this may sound like an un-healthy way to conduct research, Clark (2005) does sketch the ways in which emotion and affect are embedded in the processes of researching disasters. He is careful, though, to emphasise the ways in which generosity too has a place in research encounters. The focus on countertransference and resonance offers a challenge to how we conduct research, not just ethically, but also with generosity.

It has been established quite readily that we have bodies, indeed we *are* bodies (see Longhurst 2009), and all of our activities as humans may be construed as being in some ways embodied (some times more obvious, other times less so). Emotional and affectual geographies draw on phenomenology to explain that emotion and affect are 'housed' in bodies. Bodies are where we sense, experience and express ourselves. These experiences and feelings are socially embedded, but they are localisable in the body and in the relationships among bodies.

> There's an affect associated with every functioning of the body, from moving your foot to take a step to moving your lips to make words. Affect is simply a body movement looked at from the point of view of its potential – its capacity to come to be, or better, *to come to do* (Massumi 2003: 15 emphasis in original).

Massumi (2002) remarks on his reading of Spinoza's account of affect and bodies. He helpfully suggests that the way we live is always entirely embodied,

living is never all contained in emotions and conscious thoughts. The concept of affect, then, "undoes bodies and spaces as individualised entities and shows them to merge as durational, relational processes through which intensities course" (Dawney 2011: 3). Considering bodies in relation to one another and indeed to other things exposes relationality and how it is thought about in this project. Dewsbury (2009: 21) suggests that:

> We are understood as subjects who are caught and situated as bodies within radiating ripples and circuits of feeling, intensity, response, and sensation, the flows which wrap into and fold out of the body that we call our own. There is then no such thing as a singular subject but rather a series of subjectivities that are multiple and emergent. Affect places the body in different ways and toward different understandings of selfhood.

Ahmed's (2004a) work on 'collective feeling or the impressions left by others', unpicks the notion of collectivity. She discusses the movement of bodies both toward and away from one another through the lens of racism. Love and hate, shame and paranoia coalesce and delineate bodies (including the bodies of nations), and these feelings create moments of both inclusion and exclusion that are felt among a collective. Ahmed points to a relational understanding, that is, she examines how people *relate* to one another in a collective. How people feel about others is "what aligns us with a collective" and allows us to "track the emergence of 'feelings-in-common'" (Ahmed 2004a: 27).

Ahmed (2004a) uses the notion of skin or mark or impression left on the skin to refer to how past histories of association impinge on our lives and wellbeing and mark us out from others. Our experiences have an impact, and they also align us with (toward) and without (away from) others. Philosophically the notion of skin as a surface is felt in the 'event of being impressed upon' in the encounters we have with others (Ahmed 2004a: 29). In the interview situation, the researcher is unlikely to remain *untouched* by what the interviewee presents, the material often has an impact. In the case of my research respondents were indelibly

marked by their earthquake experience. For them, life will never be the same again.

These ideas of difference, of being marked-out as feeling different impinged on the everyday lives of interviewees, but also being ‘marked-out’ drew them perceptibly toward others (at least initially). The perception of others as ‘having’ an emotional response involves a form of ‘contact’ among self and others, which is shaped by longer histories of contact (Ahmed 2004a: 31). These longer histories of contact link respondents intimately to their shared history in Christchurch. Moreover, the ‘moment of contact’ which is shaped by those past histories often deems that others who have not witnessed earthquakes are perceived as ‘unable to comprehend’.

Ahmed (2004a b) states that the (racial) other is perceived as threatening. By co-joining her ideas to this research, Waikato people were not viewed as threatening as such to Cantabrians, but they did threaten heightened feelings of otherness. Because Waikato people were *unable to comprehend, sympathise or understand*, at times contact with them was avoided by relocatees. Therefore, these histories have already impressed upon the surface of the bodies at the same time as they created new impressions, they are repeated. The impression is a sign of the persistence of something or someone, even in the face of its absence. The ‘skin’ may, in this way, record past impressions, but also these impressions are transferrable, creating affective resonance between (in this case) researcher and researched.

The ideas around the use of skin or psychic skin have been used by Walkerdine (2010) who investigates affect and ‘beingness’ in an ex-industrial community. The psychoanalytic concept of skin is based on Bick (1968) who explains that skin is an important means to create emotional ‘holding’ from a mother to a baby. Bick (1968) argues that the skin of a mother to an infant provides an embodied relational process (in a sense of literal holding as well as being emotionally held and contained within skin) which provides a “bedrock for being able to

experience oneself as whole and therefore as safe" (Walkerdine 2010: 95). Walkerdine goes on to consider that the psychic notion of 'skin' is just as important as the physical skin "because it provides for us an affective sense of our boundaries" (2010: 96) thus "our experience of our bodies in space is both perpetual and sensate in the phenomenological sense, but also emotional and unconscious" (Walkerdine 2010: 96). Concurrently, it is thought that the sense of losing the boundaries, or having unstable boundaries, is very frightening indeed.

Walkerdine (2010) ponders whether a community can 'hold' its members and what happens when ideas of containment break down. One could say that in general, the earthquakes caused such a rupture to the everyday. They marked people out through experience, a disaster survivor community delineated people who had experienced earthquakes from those who did not. The earthquakes created an affective relational dynamic through which the relations (however uneven they may be) of the community are sustained and which became visible in particular ways through the crisis that confronted them. Then, for respondents, there was the added difficulty of moving away, and breaking the containment, breaking from the skin in which they had been 'held'. Such impressions leave traces on the skin's surface. Importantly, even what is kept at a distance must still be proximate enough if it is to make or leave an impression (Ahmed 2004a, b).

Examining the sociality of emotion has its roots in Durkheim's (1966) analysis of crowd behaviours and feelings. The rise of emotion in crowds underscores the social form of emotion rather than emotion as individual self-expression (internal). Durkheim considers the rise of emotion in crowds, suggesting that such "great movements" of feeling "do not originate in any one particular individual consciousness" (1966: 4). His analysis brings about an examination of emotion that is not 'something' within or that comes from the individual body, but instead, emotion is what holds or binds the skin of the social body together. Ahmed (2004a) takes Durkheim's (1966) analysis further by considering that emotions create surfaces and boundaries that people are shaped by, that is, the

‘I’ and the ‘we’ are shaped by and even take the shape of contact *with others*, including other things. Emotion and affect are important also, to underscore the dimensionality of feeling that goes beyond bodies, and includes materials, technologies and the built environment.

Affect and things (the built environment)

In order to reflect on buildings and the built environment from an emotional and affectual perspective, I consider how cities are often thought to have a ‘vibe’ or ‘buzz’. These affective feelings exist in a fluid context. For example, Christchurch changed from a tourist orientated ‘Garden City’ that resonates with the energy of a colonial settler past written into and onto historic buildings, to evoking a feeling of destruction, gaps, dead-space and silence, and then, a ‘rising from the ashes’ noisy amalgam of construction vehicles, workers and technologies. Thrift (2004, 2008) explains that cities may be seen as roiling maelstroms of affect. Particular affects, he argues “are continually on the boil, rising here, subsiding there” (Thrift 2004: 57), and these affects incessantly “manifest themselves in events which can take place either at a grand scale or simply as part of continuing everyday life” (Thrift 2004: 57). Take the idea of a building as a fixed entity or a given, stable object (which is the standard notion of a building today). A building is made up of other spaces within it that move and change, even if its own walls remain fixed. The idea of the mobility of buildings and within buildings is one possible idea of Deleuzian thought that has been of value in architecture (see Grosz 2001).

Geographers have been interested in the meaning that inhabitants attach to places, and especially buildings such as the home (Blunt and Dowling 2006; Tuan 1974). It allows geographers to “explore the way that the built environment is shaped and given meaning through the active and embodied practices by which it is produced, appropriated and inhabited” (Lees 2001: 56). Grosz (2001) examines the co-constitution of bodies, space and architecture. Her work is a good starting point from which to think about the engagement of affect and the

built environment – not just what people think about buildings but also what they do in them and how buildings make them feel.

Every day practices give life to the built environment and allow us to consider how (buildings) impinge on our thoughts and on our lives. Participants in this research had multiple interactions with the built environment (involving fear, terror, loss, nostalgia, fondness and hope) both in Christchurch and also in relocated space. We are reminded that the importance of emotion and affect in constructing everyday understandings of place should not be underestimated (Anderson and Smith 2001). Emotional connection to place is an intensely personal and visceral phenomenon. The usefulness of affect as a concept is in the way that these intensities are not confined to the body of the individual but can become shared and (re)imagined.

Affecting context

Integral to the notion of affect is context. Thrift comments that "context seems to be a vital element of the constitution of affect" (2008: 176). I argue that by examining affect and disasters there is an explicit focus on context, the 'excessive' nature of the earthquakes and their impacts link with affect. Affect is situational, and as Anderson and Harrison (2010) explain while people may not be actively conscious of it, they are involved in many differing practices and activities. People's conscious reflections, thoughts and intentions, they argue, "emerge from and move with this background 'hum' of ongoing activity" (Anderson and Harrison 2010: 7).

For Spinoza, affects are entirely situational, but not always given in a set context. Massumi (2002) considers whether a person is going to joke or get angry when they are in a tight spot and this produces an affective change in the situation (uncertainty) – how it plays out is the ethical act. Uncertainty affects where people might go or what they might do as a result. The ethical value of an action "is what it brings out *in* the situation *for* its transformation, how it breaks sociality open" (Massumi 2003: 18 emphasis in original). Theories of affect can

tell us some important things about desire, the constitution of bodies and the powers of duration, and therefore, exactly what transformation is which redraws the ways in which scholars focus on everyday life. Ethics is about how we inhabit uncertainty together. 'Good' then, is defined as what brings maximum potential and connection to the situation, and is defined in terms of becoming (potentiality). People are caught up in the fabric of the world and thus, the social is affective and it is often through affect that relations are interrupted, changed or solidified. For some people the effects of the earthquakes, the affect that swirled around the events were strong enough for them to give up their various attachments to Christchurch and relocate.

Even though the contexts of Katrina in 2005, Pakistan/Kashmir in 2010, Haiti in 2010, Christchurch in 2010/2011 and Japan in 2011 as disaster events vary widely, the loss of lives, infrastructure and property damage in each case has been wide-spread. Hurricane Katrina is cited with the two recent earthquakes in Christchurch because of the disaster's location in a western context, and the numbers of displaced people (some of whom have permanently relocated). According to Chandra (2009: 3), in 2007, displaced New Orleans residents numbered approximately 70,000, while 4,800 residents were still in Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) trailers or were receiving housing assistance. These numbers are somewhat lower than figures reported in the Louisiana Health and Hospitals survey (2006), and underscore the difficulty of finding concise numbers of relocated or displaced people, as is the case in New Zealand. Morrice (2013) writes on the influence of emotion in post-disaster return decisions. While she makes many similar linkages to this research by incorporating displacement and emotions, and examines loss and nostalgia in motivating a decision to return to New Orleans, her work does not focus on people who relocate, or intend to relocate, permanently. The people in her study often have nostalgic and idealised memories of 'home' as a place of security, familiarity and a place that is 'safe'.

Henry (2013) also considers decisions to return or relocate in response to Hurricane Katrina. Yet, he does this through an inductive analysis of decision-making processes (values), rather than through making a connection to the emotive life worlds of respondents. Hurricane Katrina caused widespread devastation and the failure of levees to hold flood waters contributed to the death toll and the destruction of wide swathes of the city. Katrina was considered to be a ‘one-off’ disaster – a culmination of a set of terrible circumstances with which New Orleans residents, governmental frameworks, Federal Emergency Management Association (FEMA), and local governing bodies *should be* better prepared for in the case of future events (Kapucu 2008). Christchurch too will always have the underlying threat of the unknown (more earthquakes) hanging over people, who may still consider moving away from the city.

Summary

The emotional and affectual impacts of disasters are substantial, yet they remain relatively un-examined in disaster literature. In this chapter I have argued that mainstream disaster literature has largely overlooked the personal-scale. The utilitarian approach of many disaster scholars occludes emotional and affectual impacts and couches research in pragmatic examples and models rather than exposing personal accounts. Similarly the continuity principle, a background feature of work on risk, vulnerability and resilience, also turns attention away from psychological impacts and random acts of kindness that can form in the post disaster environment. There has also been a lack of attention paid to empirical evidence in literature utilising emotion and affect. However, my respondent accounts are often replete with emotion and affect and include the often unsayble and non-conscious life worlds of people as an important resource upon which they draw to communicate, share and explain their intimate realities.

Much of the focus of the chapter has been on the ‘turn to affect’ in research in order to understand the complexities, transformations and nuances of everyday

life. Geographers have drawn on philosophers such as Spinoza (and the subsequent reinterpretations of his work) to extrapolate ideas around how bodies can affect and be affected. Life, then, is envisaged as open ended formations that are always in the process of being or becoming (potentialities). Through discussing Ahmed (2004) and psychoanalytic conceptualisations of 'skin' (Bick 1968), impressions (being pressed upon) and being marked by an event, I explain how emotions move us both toward (a collective) and away from something (otherness). But also, I examine how we are moved by experiencing emotion. It is through how others impress on us that the skin of the collective begins to take its form. Buildings too inspire feelings of connection which both shape and attach meaning to places in a dialectical relationship. In the following chapter, I outline and discuss the methodological processes that have enabled this project.

Chapter 4: Creating fluid and flexible methods

Qualitative methodological approaches have been, and continue to be, used to verify, analyse, interpret and understand the complexities of human behaviours in ways that quantitative methods cannot. Understanding difference and diversity has led feminist geographers toward identifying, and then learning from, specific subject positioning (Larner 1995; Pratt and Hanson 1994; McDowell 1999). The focus on subject positioning creates micro-geographies where people's subjective realities come to the foreground as valid producers of knowledge rather than the researchers being omnipresent narrators. Inspired by the work of Haraway (1991), ideas about situated knowledge have their roots in feminist critiques of science, but now critically inform research across the humanities and social sciences (see Blunt *et al*. 2003). Situated knowledge provides a framework that engages with qualitative in-depth information (data) that pays significant attention to power relationships and the sensitivity of engaging in human research (see Leatherby 2003; McDowell 1992; Rose 1993, 1997; Shurmer-Smith 2002). The hard won territory of feminist methodological deliberations is rich ground from which to draw material.

The range of methodologies available to geographers has expanded in the past two decades. Empirical work has included collecting visual materials, focusing on bodies (human, non-human and hybrid), senses, art, dance-movement, and so on, as well as an understanding of methods as poetics, narratives and/or as intimate encounters (see Law 2004). Contemporarily, in social science there is far less emphasis on certainty. Instead, the world is deemed to be vague, complex, slippery, ephemeral, unfixed and changing. Law (2004: 9) writes that he "wanted to broaden method, to subvert it, but also to remake it". In doing so, it was considered necessary to *unmake* many methodological 'habits', including "the desire for certainty; the expectation that we can usually arrive at more or less stable conclusions about the way things *really* are ..." (Law 2004: 9 emphasis added).

If certainty is not the goal in social science, then what is? Instead of a certainty, I had to imagine how this research could be shaped to offer more fluid results, using a more fluid methodology. Ideas about the world are rarely still. Instead they are, in a poststructualist sense, regarded as being ‘in flux’. Initially, my proposed suite of methods included: digital story vignettes of my research experience, semi-structured interviews, focus groups, deconstruction of mass and social media sources, and further interaction with respondents on a collective website and through follow-up interviews. Through these methods, I hoped to ensure rich and nuanced encounters with respondents. When it came to employing the suite of methods I had proposed, my respondents’ needs directed and changed my choices. The face to face character of interviews and focus groups became overwhelmingly necessary and important when participants’ traumatic stories unfolded. In the initial stages of being in the field, participants meeting and conversing with me via an online context soon became an obsolete idea.

In what follows I discuss the *main* methods I used and explain how these methods were utilised throughout the project. First, I focus on my positionality which is considered to be an important facet of feminist methodological analysis, and detail my visit to Christchurch. Second, I examine semi-structured interviews and focus groups and provide details of the research pragmatics. I also describe the resulting support-group ‘*Cantabrians in Waikato*’. Third, I discuss the methodological ideas that directed the research with relevant literature and reflections gathered from my research diaries. Emotion, affect and the sensory-communication that transfer between respondent and researcher are explored. Finally, the practical aspects of research analyses are briefly examined, sketching some of the ways in which the ideas that form the basis of the chapters that follow have been approached. I finish by outlining and explaining the inclusion of follow-up interviews which became important and necessary and the research progressed.

Narrowing my focus to the Waikato was a practical (I live here), emotional, moral and personally-political decision. I would not have felt comfortable flying down to Christchurch and asking people information-gathering questions about their earthquake experiences both because the topic was still so raw (and the ground still shaking) and because of my position as an outsider to the location and disaster events. The expressions insider and outsider have been examined by scholars wishing to tease out issues of positionality (Bennett 2002; Dowling 2010; Edwards 2002) and how these impact on research. Yet, the terms insider/outsider deny a more complex interaction that often takes place during data collection and empirical work (see Dowling 2010).

Acknowledging my position in this research is important. I am an educated Pākehā (non-Māori – New Zealander) from a middle-class background. I am in my forties, married and a mother of two young children. Multiple and complex subjective positionings weave in and out of research relationships which are continually mobilised and negotiated in order to react and respond to, in this case, conversational interactions (interviews and focus groups). Although it is often difficult to gauge which characteristics influence data collection (and these shift), I know for certain that at times my role as a parent was an overwhelming point of empathetic connection with participants.

'Participant sensing' in Christchurch

As part of the background to interviewing relocatees, I visited Christchurch between the 21 and 23 September 2011. Upon my arrival at the airport I hired a car which enabled me to visit many suburbs outside of the central city and Cashmere where I stayed with friends. On the first day I rode the 'orbiter' bus that circumnavigates the central business district (CBD) via suburbs to be able to observe parts of the city without having to drive (see figure 4.1 below). In a research diary, I wrote about my first impressions of everyday life and damage in and about Christchurch. On the 22 September 2011 I visited the University of Canterbury Geography Department to talk with postgraduate students and then spent four hours in the afternoon with a contact who drove me around her

parish district and took me to talk with a friend who is a resident of Bexley, a hard-hit ‘red-zoned’ eastern suburb in Christchurch.

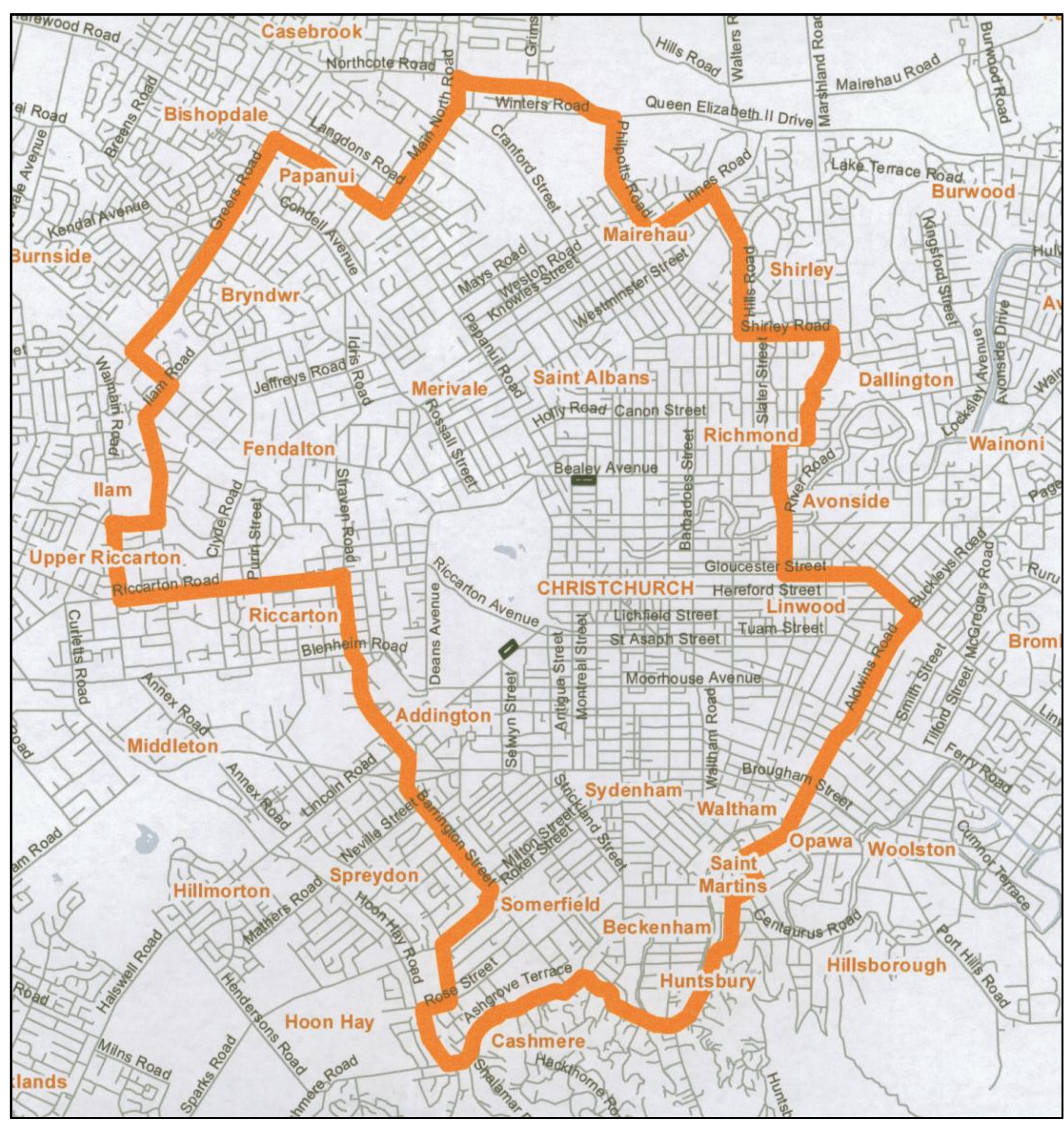

Figure 4.1: Orbiter Bus Route around major suburbs in central Christchurch
Source: Adapted by Max Oulton, Geography Programme, University of Waikato 2013

We also visited Mt Pleasant, Ferrymead, Heathcote Valley and Riccarton (see figure 4.3 below). During the afternoon drive I took many photographs and was free to ask questions. I found that spending time with Christchurch residents deepened my understanding of the extent of the earthquake damage and the way it has infiltrated so many aspects of people’s daily lives.

On the last day I spent three hours walking around the cordon in the CBD to get a feel for the city and see and/or photograph some of the earthquake damage

(observation through performance, see figure 4.2) which I anticipated might provoke a number of different conceptualisations of place, creating a sense of immediate geographies (Davies and Dwyer 2007). Consequently, I made a digital story about my visit to Christchurch, as a way to record my thoughts and feelings in narrative and photographic form.[16]

Figure 4.2: Through the CBD cordon: mangled remains of a trading store near the Cashel Mall
Source: Author's own photograph

The exploratory and performative nature of walking has been found by Duffy *et al*. (2011: 17) to be an imperative part of an embodied geographical knowledge based on 'participant sensing'. Theoretically, participant sensing is informed by work that incorporates affect in order to examine the significance of (dis)connective responses that "are integral to the co-constitutions of self and space" (Duffy *et al.* 2011: 20). Bodily rhythms which include walking (among

[16] The term 'digital storytelling' has been used to describe a wide variety of new media production practices (see McClean 2007; Ohler 2008). Digital stories are a relatively new research method within social sciences and are generated by using a software package to import digital photographs and images and add personal voice by way of narrating and recording a story (see Lambert 2006).

other things), they argue, forge a different configuration of body-space relationships that include concepts such as mobility, embodiment and fold. Thus, the feeling – thinking - social body comes alive *in situ.* In short, the body is used as a tool to (in this case) connect to life in Christchurch through the physiological event of walking the city and suburbs. In a dis-connective sense, I felt more than a little uneasy about the possibility of continuing earthquake voyeurism. Christchurch residents have been vocal and scathing about 'rubberneckers' and the resulting earthquake 'tourism' (Freedman 2011; McIver 2012; *New Zealand Herald* 2011; see also Stone 2011), with mass media cited as the most common culprit. As I walked around the city and suburbs, my camera was hidden in a backpack. I felt like a visible outsider intruding and tried, and probably failed, to remain inconspicuous.

As Wylie (2005: 236) states "walking corporealities and sensibilities: moments and movements, events, allow for reflection on the more-than-rational – for example, the shifting mood, tenor, colour or intensity of places and situations". Going to Christchurch was beneficial for me. I had a new (contextualised) understanding of what post-disaster spaces looked like and *felt* like. I was able to talk with residents, walk the (often broken) streets, smell the silt (from liquefaction), hear buildings being ripped apart, see the empty spaces, damage, dust, bricks and pollution. Scholars working with geographies of emotion and affect pay critical attention to the ways in which spaces and feelings shift and interweave both inside and outside the immediate spaces of research.

My trip became an important means to explore the day-to-day interface between people and a disaster and facilitated a deeper relational and empathetic understanding with interviewees. On a number of interview occasions it became imperative to say that I had been in a particular suburb or street and understood (at some level at least) the damage that would otherwise defy accurate description. Once I had returned from Christchurch I began searching for, and recruiting participants.

Initially, I contacted relocated people who had already spoken to the media, but soon found that I needed to approach media personally in order to recruit respondents. My project was reported on in the *Waikato* Times, a regional paper (see appendix A), as well as in local papers from Hamilton City, and the satellite townships of Cambridge and Matamata. It had become clear that relocated Cantabrians had few social networks - they did not even know of each other. As I had no social or familiar links with people who had relocated, I could not use the snowballing technique often employed by social researchers. Initially, some of the respondents were tentative about the prospect of an interview or being involved in formal research. Four families took a matter of weeks to discuss and decide whether they should be involved with the project, while others required me to visit and discuss the proposed research in person.

Having a clear, well written information sheet and a copy of proposed questions aided respondents with their decision of whether or not to participate (see appendices B and C). There was close scrutiny of my research intentions. Still, it was obvious in those early meetings that people *did* want to talk about their experiences. The article reporting on my research in the *Waikato Times* made an important difference to the response I received from further interviewees. Being able to communicate a little about myself, especially being a parent, and my thoughts and aims of the research helped respondents identify with me and my ideas.

Semi-structured interviews

In the main I was to interview households. This gave a range of responses, for while people may have lived together their experiences of the earthquakes were often very different and were based in different locations around the city and suburbs. The household aspect of the interviewing process was not thought of in my initial proposal, but became immediately obvious as I embarked upon the interviewing process (on doing household research see Valentine 1999). I conducted 19 semi-structured interviews, 18 of which were carried out with households constructed as family groups. Nonetheless, one respondent joined a

family as a friend and I interviewed both of them at the same location, and finally one interview was with a single person. On the whole, interviews were conducted in the private homes of respondents with only one couple deciding to meet at the University and a single person in a disability day-care facility. Jessica, who has cerebral palsy and epilepsy relocated, at the request of her sister, to full time care facilities in Hamilton City (for a report on disability and the Canterbury earthquakes, see Phibbs *et al.* 2012). Interviews ranged in length from twenty minutes to three hours, however, most were approximately two hours in duration. Whereas many researchers provide a table of respondent attributes, for example, age, gender, class and/or ethnicity, I found other qualities such as parenthood, housing status, location in Christchurch and date of relocation, to be informative (see table 4.1).

Table 4.1: Respondent attributes

Pseudonym of adults[17]	No. adults	No. children	Location and date of interview	Location in Christchurch	When Left Christchurch	Focus Group	CIW[18]	Follow-up interviews
Holly, Bill, Paul + Aaron	4	3	Hillcrest 4-Oct-2011	Linwood/Wainoni	March/April 2011	No	Yes	Yes
Alexis	1	3	Cambridge 7-Oct-2011	Avon Loop (CBD)	23-Feb-2011	No	Yes	Yes
Mark + Zoe	2	3	University 7-Oct-2011	Parklands	March/April 2011	No	Yes	No
David + Julia	2	0	Frankton 11-Oct-2011	Avon Loop (CBD)	Feb-2011	No	Yes	No
Geoff + Ruby	2	1	Cambridge 20-Oct-2011	Halswell	July-2011	Yes	No	No
Jade + Cameron	2	3	Glenview 21 Oct-2011	South Brighton	Feb-2011	No	Yes	No
Carrie	1	0	Hillcrest 22-Oct-2011	Linwood	May/June 2011	No	Yes	No
Ally	2	2	Nawton 24 Oct-2011	Addington	May-2011	No	Yes	No
Mel	2	2	Fairfield 24-Oct-2011	Aranui	18-March-2011	No	No[19]	No
Susan + Greg	2	0	Glenview 25-Oct-2011	Heathcote Valley	June/July 2011	Yes	Yes	Yes

[17] Children's responses to the research questions were asked by parents/guardians to be kept private and are not included in text.
[18] *Cantabrians in Waikato* support group.
[19] Mel and family returned to Christchurch one month after the initial interview.

Ross + Kathryn	2	2	Rototuna 28-Oct-2011	Mt. Pleasant	Feb/March 2011	Yes	Yes	No
Jessica	1	0	In care facilities 31-Oct-2011	Ferrymead	June-2011	No	No	No
Josh	1	2	Hamilton East 31-Oct-2011	Linwood/Woolston	June-11	No	Yes	No
Lucy + Chris	2	1	Woodridge 1-Nov-2011	Heathcote Valley	March-11	Yes	Yes	Yes[20]
Helen + Scott	2	3	Hamilton East 1-Nov-2011	Brooklands	Feb/March 2011	No	Yes	Yes
Jackie	2	0	Te Kowhai 4-Nov-2011	North West	June-11	No	Yes	No
Liz	2	3	Hillcrest 7-Nov-2011	Beckenham	Feb-11	No	No	No
'Caller'	1	0	Rototuna 6-Dec-2011	unknown	unknown	Phone call	No	No
Loren	1	2	Glenview 2-Feb-2012	Dallington	Feb-2011	No	Yes	No

[20] Lucy and Chris were planning to stay In the Waikato, but were made redundant December 2012 and returned to Christchurch March 2013.

Even though respondents varied in age and household composition, it was clear there were some common elements. First, the majority of the people I met and interviewed were relocated families with children who had moved in order to introduce stability back into their family lives. Second, all but five households were from rented accommodation in Christchurch. Freedom from mortgage responsibilities allowed most of the other participants the option of relocating immediately. Third, all but one household were from areas that were badly damaged in the earthquakes (either Port Hills, near the epicentre or low-lying areas subject to liquefaction) and physically felt a considerable number of the aftershocks and/or had silt damage, from liquefaction, to their homes, streets and suburbs (see figure 4.3 below). In some cases their homes were unliveable immediately after the February 2011 earthquake. Finally, only slightly fewer households (seven) moved after the June earthquake than after the major event in February (eleven). This was partly due to ongoing city-wide damage, personal stress and job, rental and insurance uncertainties.

All of the interviews, and one focus group, were transcribed verbatim as soon after the interview as possible. All but one interview were held in quick succession in October and early November 2011 following publication of the newspaper articles advertising the research. This condensed empirical data gathering meant I had a considerable build-up of transcribing which took two months to finish with the help of transcribing services. My research diary (see appendix D), which was written immediately after each interview, was a valuable resource that enabled me to connect with and contextualise the interview experience during transcription, as well as to 'capture' impressions of affect.

Figure 4.3: Overview of approximate Christchurch location of participants in research
Source: Max Oulton, Geography Programme, University of Waikato

One of the main reasons for choosing the home as an interview site was that respondents may feel more comfortable relating their stories in the private space of their home. Being emotionally secure enough to tell me details of earthquake experiences in an uninterrupted environment was an important facet of shifting the power balance in order to allow the participants some control in the research process. Indeed, Elwood and Martin (2000: 656) state that

“participants who are given a choice about where they will be interviewed may feel more empowered in their interaction with the researcher ...” and I agree that this was largely the case. Only one couple out of the 18 households wanted to be interviewed outside of their home. In one case, though, being able to talk with participants post-interview revealed that not all the participants felt comfortable with my presence. Holly, mother of four, told me at a later date that she had a “personal battle” over letting me into her home. She commented:

> You know I had a real problem letting you come into my house and talk about the earthquakes. I didn’t want to let you in my house, but the others did want to talk and the majority rules, it was good, we needed to bring it out and talk about it, it’s all part of the process of living through this thing (Research diary 30 January 2012).

I was glad of this conversation because I had sensed and noted hesitation during the opening stages of the interview. There was a definite ‘atmosphere’ in the room (see Brennan 2004). I was given a somewhat blustery welcome followed by silence as I over-explained my reasons for conducting this study, then Holly made some small noises of wavering which are audible on the interview tape. Transgressing into someone’s private space (see Cresswell 1996) may be a sensitive issue that can be felt but often remains unspoken. These non-verbalised feelings nevertheless do influence interview material and participant rapport. Working with the slippage between participant accounts and my interpretation of events exposes the unspoken terrain of emotion and affect. The myriad complications and complexities that permeate social interaction are, in a sense, more closely observed.

Focus groups

During interviews, respondents were curious about other relocated Cantabrians. Often participants asked me who I had met and wished for some details. Due to the need for confidentiality, however, I was unable to answer their questions. Consequently, it became clear that a focus group meeting would be a good option for exploring a collective response to the earthquakes, plus enable some respondents to meet, share and affirm their experiences. Geographers have

written about the potential for focus groups to be empowering (Gross 1996; Johnson 1996), cathartic and transformative (Chui 2003), and how they may decrease, reshape or rework the power of the researcher (Pratt 2002). Because I had already conducted 18 interviews, I decided that one focus group would be sufficient, and was cautious about overburdening participants who had already given time to the project. I chose the group carefully, four households who had lived in similar geographical locations in Christchurch, and who had expressed an interest in meeting others. Thus, the focus group respondents had similar earthquake damage to their homes, as well as similar economic, ethnic and educational backgrounds.

I contacted relocatees for the focus group and arranged a mutually agreeable time and venue which was at the University on the 27 November 2011. It was also decided that children would be welcome to attend, so I chose a large room and arranged a circular table for eight adults to discuss topics while the children were able to play together. I recorded the meeting which was two hours in length. My main aim was to stay alert to the general feeling in the room, the body language and affective dimensions of the exchanges. I wrote these impressions in a research diary after the meeting had finished. As an outsider to the disaster it was important that I took an observational role because, unlike the participants, I had not experienced the earthquakes.

On the one hand, a drawback of the focus group was that I did not live close to many of the participants so I needed to use the University as a setting which I think stifled the relaxed atmosphere that was characteristic of many of the interviews. On the other hand, a casual luncheon was organised to take place after the focus group in which relocatees furthered their interactions on a social level. During the luncheon I noted that earthquakes were generally *avoided* as a topic of conversation as participants established new connections with each other. The luncheon was lively, warm and convivial as respondents got to know one another better. There was an underlying feeling of “ease among people who had been through the quakes and intuitively knew what others had experienced,

the sharing was at a deep level and warmly felt" (Research diary 27 November 2011).

Hopkins (2007) maintains that there has been limited reflective practice in relation to analysing data collected using focus groups. He advocates critical and creative thinking about focus groups that encompasses not only social differentials but also composition, location, timing, context and the sensitivity of topic. At the beginning of the focus group I decided to play my digital story as a way to lead into the earthquake topic, but also to put myself on the line. I pushed the play-button and sat among earthquake survivors while they watched (on a screen that seemed enormous) my impressions and dialogue of the earthquake damage in and around Christchurch.

Chris walked up to the screen and pointed out where his office was and his location for experiencing the "terror and carnage in the CBD" on 22 February (Focus Group 27 November 2011). I suddenly felt filled with doubt at my (perhaps melodramatic?) version of visualising the damage when I had not been there in the disaster. I searched respondents' faces for clues as the DVD seemed to go on and on (even though it was only 8 minutes 49 seconds long). In one particular part I was talking about Redcliff School saying that I wondered, "if the children would ever return" (Digital story 4 October 2011). I looked up and Kathryn's children were looking at me – she and her brother clearly had not returned. It was an uncomfortable moment. In the end though, the overall reaction to my digital story was positive. Greg, Susan's partner (they were the only couple without children) said:

> It's the understanding of it really isn't it? I mean it's not the earthquake event, it's everything else. It's the year of madness afterwards that really gets to you and sometimes it seems that nobody even noticed—that was what was so good about your photographs earlier [in the digital story]. It was the fact it was all those suburbs and you know you could see the mess that was actually affecting real people. Yeah I mean it was awful with what was going on in the CBD, you know, that business, but it's actually

> really different when it’s just someone going on trying to live their life (Focus Group 27 November 2011).

Stemming from the focus group and luncheon, it was established that the participants would like to meet one another again and begin a semi-formal support group. Lucy suggested a Bring Your Own (BYO) picnic and offered to co-organise the group with me. I then rang everyone on my respondent contact list and asked them what they thought about a picnic for relocated Cantabrians and their friends. There was overwhelmingly positive feedback. I liaised with Lucy via email and phone to organise a date, time and venue for the first meeting. We decided to meet for a social picnic on 30 January 2012. I collaborated with Lucy and drew up a suggestion-sheet to gain support, thoughts and information from Cantabrians at the picnic, especially for memorialising 22 February 2012 (see appendices E and F) and local media were invited.

This role was considerably more than I had initially anticipated, but I was happy to be included. On the day of the picnic, I met Lucy and organised a suggestion-box to put the filled-out question sheets in, while she greeted people as they arrived and provided name-tags. We sat in an open area of the Hamilton Botanical Gardens and enjoyed BYO picnic lunches with guitar music and the children joined together to play. Once everyone had arrived and settled, I made a small welcome speech along with Chris (Lucy’s husband) and I remained an integral point of contact for everyone (approximately 45 people).

I had an overwhelming sense of ease during the event. Nevertheless, I chose to view the support group meetings as a type of ‘spontaneous focus group’ and maintained alternation between participation and observation throughout the meetings. I described my thoughts and feelings in the research diary, which included the excerpt below:

> I couldn’t believe that most of these people hadn’t met each other before. There was some underlying draw that was immediate and obvious. The place felt buoyant and convivial. As I went to meet people it felt easy and warm and then with Sam on a guitar and Rick

> on harmonica under the trees the place came alive, kids ran everywhere and 'Boss' the dog among them. I should have known that Cantabrians would know how to socialise. I was thrilled with how the day went and felt richly rewarded for embarking on this topic (Research diary 30 January 2012).

Performance thinking: theory behind practice

As outlined above, the main methods used to conduct this project were semi-structured interviews and focus groups. Despite the appeal of performative and innovative online methodologies, I did not consider the shift in my methods to more 'traditional' empirics such as interviews to be a failing, nor did I think that the research was any less performative or creative. In the end, the ways in which the research interactions took over how the project was considered and conducted, meant performativity shifted from the methods *per se* to the manner in which we continued to enact the research as a collective group.

Using affectual language that felt 'new' has been a challenge. Ideas in theories of emotion and affect such as assemblage, flow, becoming, and striation, seem 'slippery' and often appear to defy description. McCormack sums this up well when he writes "the affective authenticity of an emphatically human experience will always remain asymptotic – or a matter of faith" (2006: 331). My quandary was how to fold these dense theoretical suppositions full of contradictory flows of information into an empirical framework. Can emotion and affect be adequately captured in retrospective practices?

The methods used to explore ideas of emotion and affect warrant careful consideration, and should not be taken-up uncritically. One of the draw-backs of studying emotions, and particularly affect, is that most of the interpretation and theoretical knowledge is on the side of the researcher. One has to be careful not to "cast participants as unknowing actors responding to affective triggers and that the judgement of the theorist is not substituted for the self-understandings of the respondents" (see Barnett 2011 unpaginated; Pile 2010). These misgivings about affect theory in particular, but also about performative frameworks, have required geographers to ask, what is at stake when claiming to represent the

feelings, affects and emotions of others? One of the fundamental contradictions that I faced was how to negotiate the inherent paradox of representing the non-representational facets of someone else, and how to move the lived, sensed world into academic text.

Quite simply researchers cannot or should not evade or deflect the academic or political responsibility of speaking for or on the behalf of others. Making my own position explicit, and concurrently making the research agenda explicit is an important step to negotiating the power and politics of representation. For the participants, reflecting on the earthquakes and aftershocks as a past event from the relatively (geographically) stable grounds of the Waikato, provoked moments of struggle between remembering and articulating the images that remain 'locked' into memory. The visual flashes of horror and re-surfaced feelings were often considered to be individual. Yet, as the research developed, it became clear that common themes ran through the interviews. Jones (2005: 206) poses a question: "can we go back to past terrains and past encounters which are mapped inside us and which colour our present in ways we cannot easily say"? By examining the earthquake experiences, it is not so much *can* 'we' go back, but instead remembering and re-exploring the traces that remain in the body. The processes of retrospection that filter into the present, that *become,* are embodied and expressed on a multitude of levels. Jones (2005: 206) continues:

> Each spatialised, felt, moment or sequence of the now-being-laid-down is, (more or less), mapped into our bodies and minds to become a vast store of past geographies, which shape who we are and the ongoing process of life. The becoming-of-the-now is not distinct from this vast volume of experience, it emerges from it, and is coloured by it, in ways we know and ways we don't know. If we are all vast repositories of past emotional-spatial experiences then the spatiality of humanness becomes even deeper in extent and significance.

So emotional and affectual analyses may open up avenues toward understanding more about the fission that occurs between remembering, (re)telling and

(re)feeling the past, as well as, when, why and how people feel and felt about relocating.

Affect, intensity and earthquake experiences

This study is based on an examination of the research material as a co-production between the researcher and the researched. Emotion and affect are often viewed as being able to place an individual in a circuit of feeling and response, which draws analysis into a co-operative space rather than a particularised domain. Acknowledging Bondi's (2003; 2005a) work on psychoanalysis and geography, the interview space is shared as an oscillation of thoughts and feelings, the intersubjectivity that weaves in and out of the conversation takes on an almost felt atmosphere or 'presence'.

I highlight how sensory experience and perception collide within the experiences of relocated Cantabrians. Utilising emotion and affect there is a sense of attempting to, in Sedgwick's (2003: 62) words, "touch the textures of social life" which brings enchanting, funny, humbling and harsh affects into the realm of academic scrutiny. Emotion and affect are judged as being 'free radicals' (Sedgwick 2003) in that there can never be a carefully circumscribed emotional or affectual geography neatly separate from other geographies. There is also a mingling of analyses that sit at the very interstices (or overlaps) of a number of disciplines that have at times the most arbitrary of separations. Also brought into consideration are the everyday politics and ethics of researching people who have relocated following a series of earthquakes and aftershocks.

When investigating stories, thoughts and feelings of people who have experienced a disaster, the researcher, by engaging with emotion and affect, needs different skill-sets. As such, being able to 'read' stressful and sensitive situations becomes an issue of importance. The significance of what is being said by respondents relies on the researcher's ability to comprehend and trust his or her own emotions about what is going on and being able to contextualise the experiences within the parameters of research conventions. While the research

tends to 'take on a life of its own', the researcher and respondent have an ethical agreement of conduct to follow. In these situations, the researcher's emotional wellbeing and intuitiveness comes to the foreground as an analytical device.

When the earthquakes struck and in the moments afterward, it seems that people felt like they were propelled into situations which were impossible to explain. Particular note was taken of interview moments when the conversation halted and respondents struggled to describe what they felt. In these instances, the feelings of the respondents had an almost transferable quality to them which I noted in my research diary. For example:

> Alexis was struggling to articulate what it was like, the excessiveness of the whole [earthquake] event, the body's struggle to cope with anxiety, fear, survival, the over-stimulation, the highs, lows, the physical-ness of running, no day to day 'normality', no-one knew what was happening from one minute to the next or when the next quake would strike (Research diary 7 October 2011).

Alexis didn't tell me these things directly, but I could *feel* it as she spoke and infer it from her body language.

The bodily affects too were plain to see. She sweated and shifted in her seat, cried, sobbed, became incensed, exploded into shrill laughter and emanated warmth when sharing the trauma. Training research senses to locate subtle affects is not something easily accomplished, when there are many things going on at the same time during an interview or focus group. I was alert to instances of *excess* or perhaps instances when language escaped the respondents, when they worked hard to pin down a feeling or notion that seemed as Blackman and Venn (2010: 9) put it, "in excess of the speaking subject". So, examining emotion and affect means that there is emphasis on hesitations, halts, silences and gaps that are choreographed with the fleshy body and include sweat, shifting weight, redness, tears and laughter that rupture and punctuate research spaces with unrehearsed resonances of performance. Manning (2010: 124) describes affect

as “a chorus of feelings barely felt through which events begin to take form. A body is an event for affective resonance.”

Participants’ words, emotions and affects made an impression, an indelible mark on our research interactions (in Ahmed’s (2004a) words, the skin of the collective). For example, Mel and I were speaking when she suddenly got up and said: “I’m going to have a cigarette; I’ve got goose-bumps!” (Interview 24 October 2011). This statement was a moment when Mel seemingly involuntarily responded to the emotions and memories of talking about the February earthquake. Goose-bumps etched themselves on her skin, causing her to shiver and withdraw from reliving the earthquake and the creeping, insidious feelings that a disaster can happen anywhere, anytime.

We were talking about social media and that she was communicating with a friend on ‘Facebook’ when the 13 June 2011 earthquake happened. Mel’s friend’s condemned house “basically collapsed while she was in it” (Interview 24 October 2011). Remembering that moment provoked a response through the body (goose-bumps) and for Mel, the world now seems a lot less certain, a lot less solid. She displayed a deep distrust of life’s rhythms and an undermining of her ontological security (Giddens 1991). To Mel the earthquakes feel like a spectral shadow that hovers over her life and that caused the flesh to rise in response.

Somehow the connection between researcher and participant becomes more intense when people have related intimate details of their harrowing experiences. This is not to sensationalise trauma and down-play more ‘mundane’ aspects of people’s lives. Rather, it has to do with the levels of trust and confidence people have in you as a researcher to enable them to open up sensitive parts of their lives, and also open themselves up to (re)living trauma (see Hutcheson 2013). In an interview Lucy felt that I was able to understand her family experiences on some level, and stated:

> I mean for someone who wasn't there on the day [22 Feb], I think you're very in tune with what people went through and obviously with people who did leave and why they left, and so you've, I guess, benefitted from some really raw emotions about that [earthquakes] (Interview 1 November 2011).

Hochschild's (1983) work alerted me to 'emotionally sensed knowledge'. When researchers use emotion in their analyses to gain insights into data and give meaning to their interpretations about the subjects they are investigating, they are creating knowledge through an emotional framework. This form of knowledge production is based on divisions of labour between the researcher and the researched, and much of it is considered to be instinctive.

By highlighting the affective moments of research interaction, one has to reflect on what it is that one is trying to achieve. Is affect contagious (after Brennan 2004)? Do we pick up on something at a subconscious level? Or is affect projected from ourselves onto another body or bodies, based on our own experiences. For example, are we able to feel sad because we have experienced sorrow (Bondi 2005a)? Yet, it was more than that too. In thinking about the different and similar accounts of respondents, and my engagement with them, there was something more than empathy, more than attentive and sincere listening.

At the heart of conversations about emotion and affect *are* similarity and difference, affinity and distance. Why was it that some experiences could be intimately shared and, yet, with others the 'sharing' was on a relatively superficial level? Using the body as research instrument (Longhurst *et al.* 2008) and taking on a sensorial knowledge framework, means admitting desire, disgust, angst, friendliness and a range of complex emotions and affects that ebb and flow as forces of knowledge construction within the research environment. Emotion and affect are then, political, gendered and spatially articulated in obvious and less obvious ways. Gorton (2007) argues that our actions are guided not just by what we think, but also by how we feel *and* our bodily response to those feelings.

It was not long into the interview process when I realised how much the interviews revealed about the people themselves. When talking with someone on an emotionally sensitive topic the sub-text, the language of the senses, externally and internally across bodies, was sometimes as revealing as verbal information. Rodaway (1994) building on the work of Porteous (1985, 1986) and Tuan (1977) examines the sensorial dimensions of environments. While there are many interesting trajectories that have emerged (see Edensor 2000; Spinney 2006; Tolia-Kelly 2007) this research flows from Thrift's (2008) ideas on space through a paradigm that recognises both senses and the affective aspects of human interaction.

Mood, feeling and affect were strongly encountered in some instances. Such as with Josh, who became extremely agitated, sweated and became incensed and angry during the interview. He turned red in the face, barely containing his rage at life, the political decisions of others and the miserable blow the earthquakes had struck. During the interview my heart thumped, I also felt harassed and surprised at Josh's anger. Pile (2010) is scathing of these evoked moments in research when emotion and affect are evident through shame, fear, laughter, jokes, anger and so on. His critique stems from the contradiction that affect cannot be represented, especially in language:

> ultimately, the non-representational theory's approach to affect demonstrates two things: first, that it is fundamentally a representational practice, that is, importantly unable to recognise itself as such; second, that it is not a theory, but a chain-gang of metaphors (Pile 2010: 17).

Pile (2010: 17) calls the contradictory nature of affect theory "straightforward hypocrisy". But, I think emotional evocations, even if representations in text, speak to all the unsaid, unwritten, day to day processes of conducting research. I anticipate that by reading this excerpt about Josh, a researcher may be reminded of their own personal experiences. Therefore, my experiences are not wholly internalised but reach outwards linking to others as shared understanding in the research collective. These (research) encounters are the partial stories of our

own academic lives, as elucidated by Oakley (1979: 4) that "academic research projects bear an intimate relationship to the researcher's life".

Further, powerful emotions such as anger and sadness are often easier to interpret because there is a strong response through the body (crying, redness, running nose, heat, sweat, bodily tension) and they provoke a response in the other (empathy, sadness, embarrassment, or fear) more readily. Massumi explains that "affective expressions like anger and laughter are perhaps the most powerful because they interrupt a situation" (2003: 16). Put simply, subtle affects could go under the radar and are sometimes just not registered by the other person. It is difficult to be acutely aware of every minute and fleeting affectation. Certainly, I could not break down each interviewee's every emotion and affect and quite often I struggled to untangle the multiple signals of a complex exchange. I ended up with research diaries filled with my interpretations and observations of the more expressive examples of emotion and affect. My aim was similar to Dewsbury (2010: 327) who wrote "in immersing ourselves in the [research] space" the goal "is to gather together a portfolio of ethnographic 'exposures' that can act as lightning-rods for thought" (Dewsbury 2010: 327).

Body language – unheard noises

Piecing together various physical signs or bodily language and examining what and how the respondent is speaking as well as considering reactions to what has been said may allow emotion and affect to edge into view. It also explains that emotion and affect are inherently relational. As an example I discuss just one fleeting research instance, my notations about that moment and a follow-up discussion which helps to contextualise (or piece together like a puzzle) the instance that was experienced. Bill, husband and father, began to tell me (and the family, I later realised) of his earthquake experience:

> That's one thing too, that on the day [22 Feb] the amount of alarms that were going off after the quake, the *noise*! The noise of the quake was still in my mind, you know, that's the thing that reminds me, but

> the noise was horrendous! You don't—there is no noise that you can describe of it—you know, the noise is just horrendous and you want to, sort of, you know, block your ears [clamps hands on ears] because it was horrendous and once it had stopped it was just the screaming of everybody, you know the screaming and the alarms (Interview 4 October 2011).

Notes and personal reflections were written immediately after the interview sitting in my car under a street light. By re-examining the notes, it was obvious the excerpt above triggered something because I vividly remembered the moment when Bill was describing the alarms. In this way the intersubjective space is a fruitful source of knowledge between myself and Bill, allowing further understanding of how Bill was framing his disaster narrative. It was the first time he had much to say during the interview, and everyone focused intently on him as he spoke. I took note of his facial expressions and recorded his bodily responses. Somehow I had caught the gravity (or atmosphere) of what was being said. Notes in the diary explain:

> I looked at Bill clamping his hands over his ears. I could almost feel the noise, the distress and the screaming. His face showed signs of remembering, a twitch of pain, lines etched downwards, eyes red and watery, looking at me as if to say, "Can you really begin to understand?" I felt as close as I have ever been to the earthquakes in that moment, the research has become emotionally 'real' for me (Research diary 4 October 2011).

During the interview, the atmosphere within the room became perceivable, transferring from respondent to researcher. The body language was not always clear, but, the general affective flows were perceptible. After Bill spoke about the alarms, *which I sensed was a poignant moment* (affective transfer), another of the family members discussed that they had not, until then, thought about the noise and how "terrifying" it must have been for Bill in central Christchurch. It then became obvious that the interview was one of the first times these sorts of experiences had been shared by the whole family. This emotional and affective sharing explains some of the social and interconnected patterning of human feelings. Bill created an *impression* (Ahmed 2004a) on other family members, as

well as on the researcher. Bill's dialogue underscores that neither the researcher nor the participant is an "autocentric individual bringing to bear purely internal spaces" (Dicks 2010: 9), but rather, research is deemed to be a social encounter, or collective 'skin' (see Hutcheson 2013).

It is fair to say I did not write such in-depth analyses with all of the participants and the research diaries echo the momentary nature of affect. Often affect can slide past un-noted in the maelstrom of complex interchanges such as interviews. By foregrounding emotion, affect and empathy, however, interview material (including bodies and unconscious dimensions) can take on a fresh perspective. It also has to be noted that at times emotion and affect seem clearer and resonate strongly enough to shift attention from *what* is being said, to *how* it is being said and what bodies are doing at that time.

Empathy

In most human interactions there is either a conscious and/or subconscious desire to connect and share in some way. Then again, research is a purposeful interaction with various levels of power-laden differences that weave in and out of the exchange and colour the experience at every level. What I was interested in, by choosing to focus on affective dimensions within research, was exchanges of empathy within my encounters. Bondi (2005a) discusses the researcher and some of the unconscious impacts of another person's distress (however, using affect, moments of lightness, hope and laughter can also be exchanged through non-conscious impacts) through the examination of empathy. She maintains that most of these personal interchanges within interview moments are done non-cognitively and non-verbally, and that the participant can then feel understood "emotionally and experientially as well as cognitively" (Bondi 2005a: 71). Therefore, this research includes unconscious communication as a routine part of everyday experience. An investigation of research interactions and relationships also entails thinking about how interviews and focus group meetings are dynamic exchanges of intersubjectivity. Finlay (2005: 272) explains that the research process:

> Involves engaging, reflexively, with the participant's lived body, the researcher's own body, and the researcher's embodied intersubjective relationship with the participant, I call this reflexive embodied empathy. I argue that empathy is not just about emotional knowing, it is a felt, embodied, intersubjective experience. It is also an experience that underpins researcher's ability to understand their participants.

When discussing relationships of understanding with research participants, I note that I did not consciously mobilise empathy as a research strategy. Thus, empathy was not turned off and on but I felt it differently with different people. The examination of empathy within the research context interconnects the fleshy body with the subconscious mind and co-joins emotion and affect. Bondi (2003) discusses the unconscious processes of introjection and projection, which are usually applied in psychoanalysis, to examine fieldwork interactions. She argues that identification and empathy are valuable resources for understanding dynamic interpersonal exchanges. For Bondi (2003: 72), importance is placed on the researcher's ability to 'oscillate' between participating (imaginatively entering into another person's experiential world) and observing (retaining awareness of the difference between one's own unconscious experiences and those of the participant).

In a number of interview exchanges the respondents became very emotional as the realisation of moving to a different part of the country and their homesickness for pre-earthquake Christchurch sank in. I felt sorrow at their distress and could 'put myself in their shoes', identifying with the conflicting emotions of leaving friends and family, as well as adjusting to an unfamiliar environment. But somehow the connection just was not there in the same way with some other participants. At first this difference in feeling toward respondents was puzzling. Bondi (2003: 73) conceptualises empathy to be a kind of "psychic space" in which the interviewer can 'move' between affinity and distance, and this is not just between people but also between and within the unconscious experiences of empathy.

As I began to interview participants, the most overwhelming point of connection I had was my position as a parent. Being able to empathise and understand the very specific emotional connections a parent has with his or her child(ren), and the trauma and anxiety that separation causes in a disaster event, underwrote many affective moments during the interviews. This does not mean that other connections and differences were unimportant, but, time and again the deepest sense of emotive connection and empathy centred on the harrowing and anguished experiences of parents rushing to be with their child(ren). Alexis' account of running to be with her five year old daughter, who had just started school, hit me hard because my own daughter was roughly the same age. She said:

> I was there within ten minutes of that first quake. I just went into, you know, adrenaline save-my-kids mode ... Even though my boss was saying "don't drive, you can't drive" and I was just like "nah [*waves hand dismissively*] I'm outta here". No one can hold me back [*laughs to break tension*].
>
> Gail: Umm [*eyes welling up*].
>
> Alexis: I'm gone. I'm on a mission to get my children umm [*pauses*] and I reckon every parent in Christchurch was feeling that in that moment that is— that's the first thing as a parent you know—am I alive? Am I alright? Can I walk? Can I— [*pauses*] Yep okay I'm bruised, I'm hurting, but I'm up and I'm walking I'm getting my kids that's just— [*snaps fingers, tear rolls down cheek*] I wanted to save my kids—I wanted to hold my babies (Interview 7 October 2011).

Ultimately exploring emotion and affect entails paying close attention to my own feelings and the differences between research experiences and accounts. Much as Bondi (2003) uses empathy and identification to explore the unconscious dimensions of research relationships, I utilise emotion and affect as a relational ontology, which means that this research has been approached as a connective medium. Unanticipated similarities and/or differences come to the foreground to explain the uncertainty of fieldwork and what values (if any) this uncertainty can bring to knowledge production. My aim was to tease out some of the more puzzling moments of the research where (unconscious) affect seemed closer to

the surface. By doing so, I intended to offer a glimpse of the potential for this framework for stretching the way research encounters are conceptualised.

The interview with Alexis stuck in my mind, and still does. I met her for coffee to introduce myself before organising an actual interview and something just clicked between us. I felt comfortable, relaxed and like I had known her for longer than the minutes and coffee implied. When I conducted the interview Alexis was very connected to what she was telling me (re)living her earthquake experience closely and I did too. My notes (written after completing the interview) suggest something of the exchange:

> Her body was curled up in defeat, tired and wrung-out. I feel emotionally wrung-out too, reliving her experience and putting myself there, putting my children there, and imagining what I would do and how I would feel. Often her story brought tears, her experience feels so large and intense and literally too much, so excessive and horrible and terror stricken. I am welling up again thinking of it. I just can't immediately get it [interview] out of my mind and realise for Alexis that it [Feb earthquake] was the most dreadful and horrific experience (Research diary 7 October 2011).

Bondi (2003) explains that within this kind of research communication there needs to be an alternation between identifying with the interviewee (and their story) *but* also not losing hold of the fact that the experience belongs to the interviewee and not to the researcher. While I did not imagine that Alexis' experience was my own it took me some time to adjust to the emotional impact of what she said and I could visualise myself in her situation. What is crucial is that I *was* able to reflect upon what was happening at the time of the interview and retain the observer position. Bondi (2003: 72) clarifies that:

> imaginatively entering into another person's experiential world at the same time as retaining awareness of the difference between one's own unconscious experience and that of the other means being an observer of the process at the same time as being a participant.

Alexis and I hugged warmly after the interview. I apologised for making her relive such a traumatic event. She said "it's fine, it felt good talking to you". So

a special relationship of sharing binds us over and beyond conventional researcher-researched based discussions, but how and in what ways does this proceed, and what does it mean for research? These questions, I feel, are in need of more deliberation. One of the possible concerns about creating research friendships (or not) is how to mesh these complexities into research, how do these personal interactions proceed ethically and responsibly as well as remain fluid and unconstrained?

Hall (2009) outlines personal interaction in the research environment by examining the difficulties and dilemmas when dealing with friendships with participants in an online context. An initial ethical consent form is signed to negate breaches of ethical conduct in the research relationship and outline the rights of respondents. However, as time goes on, there can be numerous levels of interaction with participants which become less and less about research data and more concentrated on social events which are not outlined in the initial document (Hall 2009). It is difficult to know when the research relationship has stopped and when everyday friendships (life) have begun (see Blake 2007). Anonymity becomes a more 'sticky' concept as socialising replaces research and when individual participants all come together in one space.

This blurring of boundaries is especially relevant in the social context of spontaneous focus groups. After organising the picnic in the Hamilton Botanical Gardens (explained above), a 'memorial day' was organised by Lucy and I to remember 22 February 2012, a year after the deadly earthquake struck Christchurch and surrounding districts. We decided on an inner-city (Hamilton) café so that a live broadcast of the memorial event in Christchurch could be viewed and shared in the Waikato (see appendix G). It was an emotionally intense day for Cantabrian people, the prior week's build-up was evident in conversations I had with respondents suddenly ambushed by their resurfaced feelings. That participants rang me to express their fears 'spoke volumes' about the expansion of relationships from the initial interview. Nonetheless, I was a little apprehensive at being the only non-Cantabrian at the memorial event.

At the inner city cafe I greeted everyone and shared warm hugs on a difficult day. The atmosphere, before the two minutes silence at 12.51 (marking the moment when the earthquake struck the previous year), was powerful and the emotion palpable. Rather than feeling excluded, we stood as one. I could almost hear the memories crowding to the surface and saw quiet tears on the grief-stricken faces. The room was pulsing with affect. Once the minutes had passed there was a collective sense of relief. Some said they felt a "cleansing" or that they had a "degree of closure" and many felt "better for sharing the day among friends and their Cantabrian-family" (Research diary 22 February 2012). I was equally an observer and a friend and found it difficult to untangle one from the other.

How and why research friendships are negotiated and maintained (or not) and what the impacts of these subjectivities can be, is a key aspect of utilising feminist methodologies. Ethnographic research methods can lead researchers into lengthy (and changing) research relationships. Anthropologists Crick (1992), Hendry (1992) and Newton (1993) have described how they became friends with their participants during the research process and offer fruitful discussions of the prizes and pit-falls of engaging with ethnographic processes. Geographers have also critically analysed research relationships. Cupples (2002) examines notions of desire and sexuality in the field, and Hall (2009) discusses the changing terrain of research friendships especially when technologies, such as social media, complicate the ethical aspects of research friendships.

Browne (2003) too, writes about creating a research space with already existing social networks, although, less is said about strangers becoming friends *entirely* through the research process. By getting 'so close' to Alexis was I failing as a (professional) researcher and succeeding as a friend, or was I succeeding/failing at both? These developing dialectical research relationships are often fraught with slippage between research and everyday life. Therefore social relations and research relations are viewed as being continually (re)negotiated and messy.

And what happens when the opposite is true? How do researchers cope with 'failed' research relationships? I had one particular experience of what I consider to be a failed research relationship. Josh was angry when I met him, and the fear that played a part in our research encounter still lingers. Fear arose in part because he dead-bolted the door behind me after I entered his home, instilling an instant feeling of being trapped. I also felt trapped being alone with a man who was physically tall and strongly built and filled with anger. I wrote:

> I asked if I should sit at the table to which he briskly said, "You'd better sit on the couch as the chairs are all *stuffed* [slang word for broken]"! He then walked over and not only locked the sliding door but bolted it as well! He lit a cigarette and lent forward elbows on knees and surveyed me as I began (Research diary 1 November 2011).

His being a man, his general demeanour and anger makes the interview stand out. I felt fearful. If it were an interview with a woman, for example, I am sure I would have felt differently. Gender relations along with other axes of difference generally simmer under the surface of fieldwork interactions and most certainly influence the emotional and affective flows of conversation. In part, the disconnection and fear I experienced with Josh was underpinned by gendered power relations. As I re-read my research diary I felt the anger that Josh expressed over again:

> I adjusted to sit further back on the edge of the end of the couch – out of reach – I was seeing where this was going, he was angry at life, angry at circumstance and angry pretty much all the time – an anger at his feeling that other people were stupid, other people didn't get it, life had a personal vendetta against him – I felt uncomfortable at this because I hadn't been through the earthquakes and clearly wouldn't really 'get it' either — I thought he might blow up at me if I said the wrong thing and started to think that I had to extricate myself from this negative situation without causing even more anger (Research diary 1 November 2011).

When considering the disconnection that took place in the above interview, I read my interview notes and remembered again the repugnant tang of stale and fresh smoke that permeated not only the house and belongings but also Josh's

body. Longhurst *et al.* (2008) regard the body as 'an instrument of research', examining how 'we' as researchers respond to objects and others. Longhurst *et al.* (2008) use the subject of sharing food to discuss how researcher reactions were integral to interrogating different subject positions. The notion of food as highlighting difference, (Other's) food as possibly disgusting to taste and the shame this may bring, links with affective contagion (Ahmed 2004b; Probyn 2004a).

Ahmed (2004b) takes into account that disgust works in ambivalent ways that include attraction and repulsion, affinity and distance. The closer one is to an object or person deemed to be disgusting, the more one's body wishes to pull back in abjection. I left the house with the realisation that I had been breathing as sparingly as possible, and wished to literally wash my hands of the whole experience. With Josh I walked away and did not renew contact. But there is a niggling doubt that he may come rushing back into my life angry at the research outcome or non-inclusion in the further social encounters with Cantabrian people. It became clear, then, that one cannot gauge in advance the reaction and interaction among people and things, each interview had its own complexities, characteristics and surprises.

My remarks to the media that I wished to influence disaster response and recovery policy came with a bigger responsibility than I could ever have imagined. As I sat in my office transcribing, my phone rang and a ragged and emotional sounding woman[21] (not a respondent whom I had already met) told me she wanted to end her life. The caller had got my phone number from the newspaper story. I sat shocked and totally unprepared. My brain scrambled to be alert to a possible diffusion of this pathway. She talked and calmed and then got hysterical again, but at every moment she made clear that she was to remain anonymous and refused any form of help or contact. She seemed bitter and tired. The caller had moved to the Waikato and "hated" it. She had a history of

[21] The caller would not allow me to know personal details of any kind and declined to give her name – therefore I very simply refer to her as 'the caller'.

depression. The caller wanted me to publish some important information to possibly help other Cantabrians who were considering relocation before she suddenly ended the conversation. When she did end the conversation, she left me no clue of her identity or whereabouts. I felt ill.

Had I falsely over-stated my 'power' as a graduate student? Or was it her interpretation of the newspaper article? I am sure I am not the only researcher to have a moral quandary about what to (or not to) include in a study and what action (if any) to take with information given in a research context. Bondi's (2005b) work on the complex and mixed emotions that fluctuate when researching as a post-graduate student is helpful. Not all impacts and emotions within research are positive, far from it, and Bondi (2005b) outlines the possible need to address the emotional demands placed on researchers.

This work (and the world) has been considered to be in-flux but not in 'free-fall'. Emotional and affectual geographies come with their own sets of issues, responsibilities, norms, costs and expectations. A freer (unconstrained) and flexible framework had its own challenges and unexpected twists. The 'suicide call' will remain I suspect with me forever, I will always wonder – did she end her life and what could I have said differently? In my case, I was fortunate to be well supported and comfortable enough to open up any areas of concern with both of my supervisors and received welcome guidance. My chief supervisor was the first person I saw after receiving the call.

Analysis and presentation of findings

I began my structured research analysis immediately after the focus group meeting which came after I had completed the initial interview sessions. Using the typed verbatim transcriptions I began to sift for emerging themes that related to my literature review. I used a form of 'open coding' (see Crang 2005b) to note reoccurring themes on my transcription pages with highlighter pens (see appendix H). Examples of themes included looking for geographical concepts such as 'home' and 'community', emotions, such as 'fear', 'guilt' and 'hope', as

well as affects such as silences, rhythms, bodily cues and so on. Creating knowledge through attention to, and close scrutiny of, the senses meant that I deciphered and recorded affective moments. Affective registers and sensorial impressions include, sight, smell, taste, touch, hunches, impressions and bodily reactions. These can include goose-bumps, sweat, heart-beat, redness and heat as well as complex emotions such as shame, fear, and desire. My research diaries became important in this regard. When reflecting on a moment at the picnic held for respondents, I wrote:

> There was definitely a positive 'vibe' [at the respondent picnic], bodies were seated close together, there was a mingling of food wrappers, clothes and blankets which overlapped one-another. Food and the smell of different lunches wrapped around the group. A couple of people said they felt quite emotional and tears welled up as the strains of guitar music reminded them of family gatherings at home in Christchurch. The sun was hot inviting laziness to the afternoon. Everyone slowed down and became still, even the children momentarily stopped running about to sit and eat. Everyone was relaxed with each other like a deep un-communicated knowing of what each had been through. I felt like, for a moment at least, these people had come 'home' (Interview diary 30 January 2012).

The 'non-verbal' impressions of group interaction were an important inclusion to the empirical data. I added open codes to my own pages of notes about interview and focus group observations in the research diaries. One of the advantages of the support group meetings was the setting, which was considered to be neutral and far less like a formal interview process (see Kearns 2001). I was able to freely observe the social interactions of respondents, giving data a different contextual basis. The research diaries were filled with detailed notes and recollections (field-notes) that were complementary to the interview and focus group data. In this manner I built up the dominant themes from all sources to form the findings chapters that follow. However, the gathering of empirical data did not have as 'clear-cut' a timeframe as I had anticipated. The spontaneous 'focus group' meetings that evolved into a support group for Cantabrian people meant that my involvement with the group, even in the role as part-time organiser, remains open.

In order to approach open coding through a kind of content analysis, it was important to become fully immersed in the interview material. By this I mean that my primary goal was to complete detailed and repeated readings of the transcripts (see Crang 2005b; Dunn 2010). I noted down initial ideas that would form the basis of themes in my chapters. While I enjoyed seeing interesting themes emerge from the data, I also acknowledge that this form of analysis is deeply subjective. I found it personally challenging to choose which data to include and which to leave out. As I began to group themes under headings on a separate piece of paper that could be termed as a 'brain-storming' space, this was used to create mind-maps (see appendix I) as a way to visualise the linkages and differences in interview material. I also analysed media information, including social media and 'comment threads' after online news articles to garner further information surrounding the earthquakes and leaving Christchurch.

Thus, I could develop headings into themes, such as emotion and affect, and sub-themes, such as, body language, fear, hope and connection. In spite of this, the neat separation was not replicated in the research experience. Often themes overlapped and seemed difficult to contain or constrain by the process of organising into headings and so on. Whatmore (2003) notes that the written and spoken word constitutes the primary form of 'data', whereas within this project there was also close attention paid to body language, senses and silences, and 'unsayable' communicative resonances (like hunches, feelings and impressions). There should not be separation of written and spoken data on the one hand, and sensorial data on the other. These different forms of knowledge are perceived as deeply relational and have been analysed together.

Furthermore, the process of data analysis can be thought of as organic, in that, I found I had to write through my ideas and consolidate them over time. As my interpretations of the interviews advanced, along with learning and reading of relevant theoretical literature pertaining to emotion and affect, so too did the ideas change, develop and become refined (see Crang 2005). The process of

refining data was further strengthened by conducting follow-up interviews. I was able to verify some of my impressions that were written up in research diaries directly with respondents.

Keeping to a data time-line, from the beginning of the project to the latter stages, I conducted follow-up interviews with five families. As I have indicated above, the research project has been an organic process, in that I have been flexible and open to re-assessing the aims and needs of respondents and also the research itself. It was not my initial intention to conduct follow-up interviews but it was deemed both important and necessary as the project progressed. Being able to draw on the friendships and continued contact with respondents through *Cantabrians in Waikato* meant that recruiting potential follow-up interviewees was not an arduous task.

Because I had conducted the initial interviews so soon after families had arrived in the Waikato, the data centred on relocation was more like ‘first impressions’. Respondents often had little time to settle into their homes and neighbourhoods or they were renting, looking for more permanent housing options. Many had not yet unpacked their belongings and seemed to be ‘in transition’. While analysing the initial data and formulating substantive chapters, it become obvious that, when focusing on relocation, obtaining data approximately one year on from the initial interviews would enrich the project. Therefore, rather than having follow-up interviews as a set phase of the research, the process was more akin to re-interviewing, with the purpose of gathering more data, rather than confirming and validating data already collected (see Hewitt 2007).

I sent out an email request via the data-base built up from the *Cantabrians in Waikato* group. Four families and one couple, with whom I had the most contact, replied. Similar to the initial interview, I was mindful of the potentially traumatic nature of the research topic, and again provided respondents with research questions, ethical agreements and spoke directly with families before embarking on another interview. When asked about whether respondents still experience

physical reactions to earthquakes or even talking about them Susan explains some of the hesitation she had in continuing to be a participant in the research:

> And the most obvious first physical response I still experience is that I don't want to be talking about it [22 Feb]. I don't! No, no, no don't worry, I thought very long and carefully before I sent you an email and said "Yes I will" because I knew it was going to upset me, which is fine ... But it's been interesting talking about it [relocation] and finding what an immediate response I'm having just talking about it. Please don't worry, I knew what I was getting into and I was happy doing it, and for the same reasons I said at the beginning [initial interview], very interested in your research, so half an hour of feeling a bit emotional is absolutely fine [*laughs*] (Follow-up Interview 12 February 2013).

The benefits of being able to re-interview families and couples was that I could get a sense of how their lives and feelings had changed or 'moved-on' since I last interviewed them approximately 16 months earlier. In general, participants seemed more settled in the Waikato, three families had bought homes, one couple had moved to a more secluded location and were happy to continue renting and one family was in the process of unexpectedly relocating back to Christchurch. Returning to Christchurch was considered to be a drastic readjustment. Both parents had been made redundant at the end of 2012, while Chris was offered a prime position and 'step up the corporate ladder' back in Christchurch. It also meant the family had to re-think their future. The family were again suffering the effects of relocation, albeit from a reverse position. Lucy explains:

> Chris's job is a great step up the corporate ladder, but it's in Christchurch [*looks to the side*]. I mean first we had the redundancy and then the realisation that it's [the job] back in Christchurch! We had a lot of tears. As far as my personal feelings about going back, they're really mixed ... It's really emotional and challenging, yeah, really challenging. We've got all this change going on *again* and all we wanted to do was buy a house up here, you know? We've already decided if we don't like it we will be back! (Interview 14 February 2013).

Being able to track some of the changes in the lives of respondents is important for exposing that lives are constantly in-flux, contextual and fluid. Lucy saw these changes in terms of learning, and said: "Out of everything I think that's the biggest life-lesson for us, that you're on this path and it's the only way for you when all of a sudden everything can change, it can go in a completely different direction. The earthquakes have taught me – just be prepared for change!" (Follow-up Interview 14 February 2013). This drew attention to the ways in which the two places (Christchurch and the Waikato) cannot be neatly separated, but instead they maintain a porous connection.

As participants 'life narratives' were only just beginning in the Waikato, accounts were far richer and more detailed when they discussed their previous lives in Christchurch. Time and time again the discussion which was aimed to elicit information about relocation to the Waikato turned back to the experiencing the earthquakes, even within the follow-up interviews. Rather than failing to capture ideas on relocation, this project has facilitated a unique opportunity to examine the very first instances of people's movement from the aftermath of Christchurch. It underlines the enormity of surviving a disaster and how the earthquakes have shaped all participant interactions. I stress that the following chapters reflect respondents' overt need to discuss the earthquakes more fully. The courage with which they shared stories of survival has been humbling.

Summary

In this chapter I have outlined my main methods for gathering empirical data as well as discussed the theoretical background to these approaches. Qualitative, feminist inspired and performance methods were deployed in order to explore the spaces of emotion and affect for relocated Cantabrians. Initially I used the exploratory act of walking the city and suburbs of Christchurch as a way to facilitate a deeper relational understanding with participants and to produce my own consideration of what a post-disaster landscape looks and feels like. As this study was based on traumatic and sensitive information, face to face interaction when conducting work 'in the field' became overwhelmingly important. The

ways in which the methods translated into support group meetings in cafes and parks was highly performative, open and dynamic.

Emotion and affect demand a close examination of the slippage in research accounts of the moments that 'go beyond' conversation. Thus, reflective practice and research notes became an important means of comprehending the experiences of respondents. Filtering the interview experience through emotion and affect allowed a shift in attention from *what* was being said, to *how* it was being said. This micro-attention paid to bodies and research moments facilitated an exploration of how unconscious communication is shared among a collective, even when distant from the disaster. The objective of exploring these research negotiations has been to extend geographical conversations about emotion and affect. In the chapters that follow I draw on the empirical material to discuss participants' experiences of relocating from post-disaster Christchurch.

Chapter 5: Proximate and connected bodies

> Bodies do strange things under stress. They act out. Like plants, our bodies are tropic, and twist and turn in reaction to different stimuli (Probyn 2004b: 224).

The quote above is linked to the 9/11 terrorist attacks in New York. Probyn notes that the "warmth of another body, being held and holding" is a "momentary balm for frayed nerve endings" (2004b: 224). Images and text that appeared in news reports on the Christchurch earthquakes also dealt with the 'welter' of emotion and overflow of affect (see figure 5.1). This chapter focuses on movement, proximity and connection. Although I have argued for the inclusion of relocation in this thesis, participants were still embroiled in their earthquake experiences. They considered the interviews as an opportunity to explain what surviving a disaster is like. Therefore, much of this chapter explores participants' life-worlds *before* relocating.

Figure 5.1: Bodily proximity: in the immediate impact, a father shelters his daughter from noise and potential falling debris in Christchurch's CBD as people search for survivors
Source: Iain McGregor/Christchurch Press/ Reuters

Examining the flows of emotion and affect helps to move thinking from concentration on the individual subject and body to a concern with bodies as an amalgam or collective, providing an analysis that foregrounds collectivities. It is also important to include not only what the participants *said*, but also what they *did.* This analysis too implicates self as researcher and requires close attention to interactions with participants and the research process alike. The fluidity of boundaries among emotions, embodiment and interconnected processes of affect also draw other elements into analysis which impinge on, and make up the 'mind-body-world' (after Venn 2010: 133), such as locations, rumours, news, virtual spaces, dwellings and other material objects.

Spatial scales of disasters

It has long been acknowledged that natural disasters have the ability to cause substantial disruptions to both people and places. Disasters are inherently spatial, happening to bodies in homes, suburbs, workplaces, cities, regions, and on national and international scales. Disasters fragment and turn upside down not only physical structures of a locale, but also the emotional attachments people have to and with places (Blunt and Dowling 2006; Brown and Perkins 1992). Nonetheless, there is something a little more than people, place and social patterns. What it is that bodies do in these disaster-ruptured spaces is examined.

I highlight the affectual resonances within the complex formations of people-place relationships, because emotion and affect flow across bodies and things. Affect then is the driving force in collectivisation and relationality. That is, it is modes of relatedness to other individuals and groupings. I investigate how proximity and connection inscribe, move and reverberate through participant accounts that are loosely organised by geographical scale. However, scale is somewhat arbitrary, because affects happen in, through and across a body or bodies. Therefore, the body as a distinct geographical scale (see Howitt 2002; Marston *et al*. 2005; Mountz 2004; Swyngedouw 2000, 2004), is challenged by affect that is at once internal and external, rippling out among a collective. The

body, then, struggles to remain confined to the scale 'closest-in'. Once again, there is a reminder that emotion and affect are intrinsically messy to work with.

Geographers have explored, worked and re-worked the concept of scale. The 'politics of scale' need to be mentioned because scale is a powerful organising structure creating boundaries, exclusions and inclusions. There is nothing inevitable about global, national or community scales, they are not natural nor given. Further, scales such as the body or the home do not present coherent spatial structures, namely, they are not discrete, independent, compartmentalised or opposing spaces. Rather than accept scale as a naturalised category, I consider scale as a "relational element in a complex mix that also includes space, place and environment – all of which interactively make the geographies we live in and study" (Howitt 1998; cited in Marston 2000: 221). Every place is formed out of intersecting social relations which can be stretched and scale is conceptualised as open, porous and entangled with potentialities or the processes of *becoming* (Marston *et al.* 2005; Massey 2005; Moore 2008 and Valentine 2001).

Then again, Moore (2008) cautions that taking into account the social construction of scale is not sufficient to dispel the politics attached to the term. Scale, he argues, remains as a category reified as an ontological entity. Moore's (2008: 221) work engaging with cognitive processes (exploring the metaphors of scale), is thought provoking and aims to open up "new and fruitful avenues for investigating and theorising the politics of scale". Bearing in mind Marston (2000; 2005) and Moore's (2008) critiques, I still venture that scale is a useful tool to conceptualise relational kinds of socio-spatial processes or multiple spatialities. Through their participation in interpersonal networks, individual people may give rise to larger assemblages (like communities, institutions and government organisations and so on) and likewise, respondents operated at a range of micro and macro scales (see Escobar 2007). Scale, then, becomes a 'conversation' between interpersonal networks and people held within them which contains both limiting and enabling processes (Escobar 2007: 107).

Scale, in this chapter starts with an implied closeness, that is among bodies. I discuss the relationships between parents and children that correspond with connection and proximity. When thinking about emotions such as fear and hope in different spaces, I consider how proximity and connection are met in the different spatial contexts of the homes, suburbs and neighbourhoods. I also describe affective registers in workplace relations through bodily comportment, shame and frustration (anger). Then I follow a ('nested') hierarchical scale, that is, scales that radiate out from a centre but also have a 'Russian Doll' effect of being interconnected, to place emotion and affect in cities. I particularly concentrate on Christchurch and then the Waikato region. The national and global cohesiveness of disasters and the connections they engender are outlined. Finally, to allow for the multidimensionality of emotion and affect, I offer a brief discussion of the accounts of isolation in interviewees' narratives, which contrast with the themes of proximity and connection.

The emphasis on the body is used to tease out collective aspects of place experience which have prompted people to become mobile, but also to congregate and connect through feeling fear, hope and loss. In geographical work, scale has often been linked with bodies. All sorts of bodies have been used in geographical foci, such as: bodies in pain (Bissell 2010), disabled bodies (Hansen and Philo 2007), fat bodies (Longhurst 2005), pregnant bodies (Longhurst 2008), bodies on the beach (Obrador-Pons 2007) and bodies in medical diagnoses (Parr 2002). Utilising emotion and affect also places importance on how bodies move, how they feel different physical manifestations of affect that weave across and through them. For example, fear like pain is felt as an unpleasant form of intensity. It is an embodied experience. The heart thumps, blood races around the nervous system, sweat beads on the skin; the whole body comes 'alive' and it does so by the pronunciation of the possibility of injury, pain or perhaps even death (Ahmed 2004b). Fear, like emotion and affect involves movement, not only (sometimes) the desire for flight, but also through anticipation of harm in some way which projects one from the present to an imagined (anxiously anticipated) future (Ahmed 2004b).

Fear brings together aspects of the personal, the social and the spatial in interesting ways, and geographers have contemplated the spatial aspects of fear from different approaches. Humanistic geographers have examined emotional attachments to place, especially through the influence of Tuan (1974; 1979), who examined people's experience of place through the concepts of *topophilia* (love of place) and *topophobia* (place as unpleasant, dangerous or frightening). Tuan (1979), in *Landscapes of fear*, investigates fear through and within the landscapes of the imagination. He opposes *topophilia* by using examples of how places are imagined as having negative attachments (causing stress, alienation and detachment). Humanistic geographers, however, have often been levelled with the charge that they were scrutinising the 'pure' individual experience of place leaving out the importance of social influences and power relations. Feminist geographers have 'politicised' fear to include power relations and the collective social production of space. Fear is also conceived as having differentiated scales that include both micro scales (individual mobility), and recently, macro scales (for example, terrorism threats post 9/11).

I consider the ways in which fear remains as a physical sensation within the body, which infiltrates into the daily lives of respondents. But also, these sensations are triggered by specific events that cause the past (earthquake) and the present (reliving the earthquake) to meet. I hone in specifically on the bodily reactions that Alexis described when she was watching a DVD of the movie *When a City Falls*. One of the astounding things about the movie is that it began after the September 2010 earthquakes and, therefore, captures 'real time' footage of February's earthquakes and aftershocks. The synopsis by *New Zealand On Screen* (2011) states that:

> Gerard Smyth's acclaimed documentary about the Christchurch earthquakes is the story of people coping — for better or worse — with the huge physical and emotional toll that the quakes, and continuing aftershocks, inflicted on them, their homes and their city. It began as a home movie while the devastation of September was surveyed (with thanks given that no-one had been killed); but, as shooting of the recovery

continued, the February quake compounded the destruction and claimed 182 lives (including their researcher and 16 colleagues at CTV).

In a follow-up interview with Alexis (who I knew had seen the movie), I asked her about her feelings when she was viewing *When a city falls*. Alexis told me that she made herself watch it as a test to see whether she had recovered. The expectation to be 'recovered' from the earthquakes in a matter of months or years was strong with respondents. They all found it traumatic to still have bodily reactions nearly two years later:

> It was heartbreaking. It's more a sort of internal [*thinking*] –I don't know how to articulate it. I can make myself sort of feel sick and anxious. I do relive the anxiety and fearful side of it and it's –you know somewhere in my brain I'm sort of trying to dumb it down, because it's too [*leans back and sucks in air, eyes wide].* You know, "Oh God!" But actually watching the movie I felt quite physically ill and anxious and I immediately needed to pee. I had strong physical reactions exactly like I had done on the day [22 Feb]. My body was reliving it, so maybe that means I'm nowhere near over it (Follow-up Interview 19 October 2012).

I had also seen the documentary and could barely begin to imagine what watching it after having lived through the earthquakes would be like. Alexis talked about just 'going straight back there' and feeling ill, exhausted and drained because it felt like a literal reliving of the event physically and mentally, co-joining body and mind to experience. Shifting emphasis from within the body to considering what bodies do, I explain how spaces and managing emotions are entangled. As stated in the opening of paragraph of this chapter, the story begins in post-aftermath Christchurch prior to relocation and moves toward time spent in the Waikato.

Managing children's bodies and emotions

Discussion of post disaster behaviour in the interviews drew attention to managing emotions in (and in front of) children. What struck me the most was the similarity in the stories of participants who experienced the earthquakes in different parts of Christchurch. Inserted below are excerpts from four respondents which show some common threads that came up during interviews:

> Mel: I got to the school and I could hear my son screaming, because he's got quite a high-pitched scream, and it was horrible. He was like, "I'm going to die Mum". And I was like, "No, you won't honey". He's seen the library collapse and one of his shoes had come off when he was running. But he was like, "I just about lost my shoe and I was so close to dying!" And I was like, "No, you're not honey; you're not going to die" (Interview 24 October 2011).

> Ally: They do eh? They [children] say "I'm gonna die! I'm gonna die!" (Interview 24 October 2011).

> Mel: Yeah, and you're saying "It's alright, it's gonna be alright". But inside you're going, "Oh my God, are we actually going to [die]?" (Interview 24 October 2011).

> Alexis: So all of a sudden we were in a field where the ground's opening up and we've got fountains as high as the children of mud [silt] (...) it just started coming up to your ankles and umm I just thought, "Oh my God, this is the end of the world!" You can't isolate it in your brain! You can't think that this is just happening here, it feels like the whole world is falling apart. (...) Meanwhile trying to externally say, "It's OK [to daughter] we are gonna be fine, there's nothing to worry about darling you're safe with mummy" (...) trying to stay strong but on the inside just going [*whispers*] "This is it!" (Interview 7 October 2011).

> Holly: I'm sitting at the house trying to keep these two [her children] calm, trying to keep Paul [father] calm, and freaking out myself, quietly, because Bill [husband] sent me a text photo of our demolished building [shop in the CBD] and I'm thinking, "How did they survive that?" And, "How am I going to survive this?" But at the same time, saying to the kids, "It's OK, it will be alright" (Interview 4 October 2011).

A source of anxiety for many participants was managing fear in other people, especially their children, as well as trying to deal with fear and the stress of keeping their own feelings internalised and contained (unexpressed verbally or manifested physically). Geographers have examined how emotions and place have a co-constitutional relationship, and how the interrelationships between embodiment, emotions and space become entangled (Anderson and Smith 2001; Davidson and Bondi 2004; Thrift 2004). Parents in this research often felt they had the double duty of managing their emotions and the emotions of their

children (after Hothschild 1979), in a bid to control fear and appear 'rational'. Even in times of great anxiety and stress 'feeling rules' were strongly applied both in public and private spaces. Josh explains how he managed his feelings as a parent:

> You do feel the panic inside but what does it help to—I've got a four and a two year old, so what am I supposed to do? Lose it? [*angry again*]. That's not helpful! I put them in bed and reassured them everything was going to be alright, that nothing was going to happen to them. Of course that is something you can't guarantee and I get a sickening feeling inside (Interview 1 November 2011).

Alexis also relates in more 'veiled' terms how if adults physically expressed a lack of coping, it was harrowing for children to witness:

> It's quite hard for kids to see that adults are just children underneath it all, and in a moment like that [earthquake] a lot of adults just won't cope you know? And they witnessed their teacher who is a beautiful lovely man, he kept it together until he got back [into the school grounds]. We saw him literally fall apart and he just broke down in the arms of the principal. And umm there were other teachers fainting with aftershocks (Interview 7 October 2011).

The people in these two particular interviews are both single parents, one male and one female, who had the extra stress of coping with children, and their anxieties alone. It is also intimated in both quotes that men are supposed to 'keep it together' or that it is extra-distressing for children to see men (in particular) fall apart. According to Fordham and Ketteridge (1998: 93) "men have been constrained to hide emotional responses because of their stereotyped association with the active and the practical". That is, men appear to cope well with extreme events, but often simply do not express the anxieties that they feel. Emotion, affect and the bodily relationship to the world, which also involves connections and boundaries of permissible behaviour, takes shape by thinking about containment and suppression.

Parents had long conversations about the guilt they endured because they felt compelled to lie to their young children about the earthquakes and aftershocks.

They used strategies such as ‘no, it was not an earthquake it was just a truck darling, now go to sleep’ to explain seismic activity to young children following September’s earthquake. Parents frequently (along with professionals dealing with anxiety) assured their children that they had lived through the worst, which was completely undone when the February earthquake struck. Alexis explains a situation, that in one form or another, many other parents also found themselves trying to deal with:

> He [her son] said to me from the moment he saw me, “Mummy you promised me, you said if, you know if it ever happened again you’d take us away from here”. And because the counsellor kept saying to him “Don’t worry there won’t be another big one”. And, well, me too, I had said if there was another one we wouldn’t hang around. So he [her son] was like, “You promised me and the counsellor lied to me!” And he kept saying he would *never* trust what an adult tells him ever again and this is the kind of shit we are dealing with the children of Canterbury (Interview 7 October 2011).

Keeping credibility is often considered to be an important part of maintaining respect with peers, but it is also considered to be a fundamental part of parenting young children. Alexis felt betrayed herself by circumstance and was angry that her son had to lose his implicit trust in the security and protection provided by adults. Losing credibility unbalances the embedded relationships of trust many young children have in their parents’ ability to protect them against harm (see Proctor *et al.* 2007). Participants frequently considered that the only way to reinstate safety was to stay together and remain close, to personally reinstate protection by physically being there for children (proximate). For Alexis, the length of time it took to make sure her children were safe was an overpowering source of anxiety which remains vivid, and which she feels contributed significantly to the children’s levels of disquiet.

Like the opening quote to this thesis suggests, being parted from children was particularly harrowing, which, for many spurred a decision to relocate. Often the most paralysing angst and fear was separation from a body-collective. Alexis’s only thoughts were about creating proximity to her children’s bodies, to “hold

my babies" (Interview 7 October 2011). It was crucial for participants during this post-impact period to find, be with, and stay close to family members and loved ones. When assessing the need for proximity, there is a notion of physical proximity, that is, bodies sharing space. But what sort of proximities and what sort of spaces are worthy of reflection.

Collective living

> Holly: I went from hating being home—because I used to hate being at home, I used to go stir-crazy if one of the kids was home sick, it used to nearly drive me nuts—to what?—For about three months I hardly left the property, and to me it felt normal that you [children] stayed at home (Interview 4 October 2011).

The period after the February earthquake and its resulting aftershocks often meant repositioning bodies to stay close. Dreading going out and the possible dangers of travelling around the city during an intense period of aftershocks, kept the threat of future harm in the forefront of participants' minds. Fear also worked to contain bodies within spaces and constituted the bodily surface through an expected withdrawal from a world that might yet present itself as dangerous (Ahmed 2004b). There is also a relationship to space and movement, within the experiences of fear, participants variously mobilised and lived in spaces differently. Living close to fear (of another earthquake) in Christchurch meant that relocatees often inhabited their home spaces differently, or friends' and families' homes (because many houses were deemed unliveable). For example, Lucy said that they went to her parents-in-law's house in a relatively unaffected suburb and "we all slept every night in the lounge, with a sliding door open [to outside] and things like that" (Interview 1 November 2011). Families frequently slept in one room, both because of damage to parts of the house and so on, but also because of the desire for physical proximity to other bodies (loved ones, family, friends). Ross explains what many parents in this study experienced with their children:

> The children wouldn't sleep on their own. We were all in the same room or the same bed. Even outside of Christchurch, if we stayed

> somewhere we had to take the mattresses off while we moved the beds close (Interview 28 October 2011).

These protective feelings toward children and the desire for proximity also went beyond the walls of the family home. Some interviewees struggled with separation anxieties, they expressed that the earthquakes and constant aftershocks coloured every choice they made, especially concerning family. Many discussed the anxiety of needing to second-guess every decision when their older children wished to leave their home or temporary dwelling for school, sport, recreation, socialisation or anything else which did not always dissipate when in the Waikato.

A number of the participants relayed that, soon after the earthquake, if they went anywhere (for example, food shopping) the whole family would go together. Going everywhere collectively was not only due to the closure or disruption of work, school or other social spaces, but also because there was an overriding sense of *needing to be together* and fearing being apart. Several respondents were still struggling with separation anxieties from their children in the beginning of 2013 (two years after the 22 February quakes). Holly describes her internal struggle to let her daughter attend the school camp on a relatively remote island in the north with no phone contact:

> When I first got up here I needed to know where my children were, they were not to be out of my sight. I struggled with letting them go to school and I struggled massively with letting [daughter] go to Great Barrier Island. That *really* tested me. It was only because she adores that kind of stuff that I let her go. And even though she's still dealing with earthquake issues, I knew she was strong enough to go and be okay. But it was me! I didn't want her to go. It was for three weeks and there's no phone contact on the island. I struggled so hard but I couldn't bear to look at her in five years time and know that I stopped her doing that (Follow up Interview 18 February 2013).

In the days beyond the earthquakes, while aftershocks constantly invited both fears and flashbacks, there was a strong wish to be with family, or be together as a family, and also to spend time with neighbours and friends. Few people

particularly desired to be alone in their experiences, and from participants in general, there was a sense of renewed (or newly formed) contact with those who 'lived through the fence' or in the same street and/or area. Loren explains:

> After the earthquake in September [2010], we just went to our neighbours and we stayed there until it got light, you know, day-light and then after each aftershock I used to duck between a gap in our fence and check on our elderly neighbours. And they would check on us and we'd have a hug and you know, say "Phew!" And we'd talk about it and whatever so there's a huge sense of unity among this trauma and you just help each other out (Interview 2 February 2012).

In some of the more significantly damaged areas where there was a lack of basic infrastructure and services, people needed to access to collective resources such as food, water and sanitation facilities. As social communities (work, school, sports and entertainment 'communities') broke down or were temporarily unavailable, people largely spent more time at home and in the local neighbourhood. In many instances the earthquakes appeared to have reignited 'community spirit' as networks of helpers formed and reformed in response to (mainly) silt damage (for example, the 'Farmy Army' and the 'Student Army') and communal relationships became more significant in many participants' daily lives. Loren talks about how her neighbourhood, which suffered substantial silt damage because the area flanks the Avon River, came together through meeting at a water truck or using communal showers, toilet facilities and/or at food drop-offs. People lingered at these strategic points to share stories, support each other and to have time out of the house. Loren said: "sometimes we would just wander down for a chat and I think that knowing your neighbours and that sense of community has been amazing" (Interview 2 February 2012).

Communities of feeling are akin to or found in mutual self-help groups, whereby people with similar emotional experiences meet, talk and give each other support (proximity of experience). The positive meanings associated with community such as comradeship, solidarity and mutual support (Valentine 2001) are extended to incorporate empathy and a deeper emotional support which

includes (in this case) sharing disaster survival. Even though the concept of community has been challenged and expanded to include virtual, imagined, as well as, location-based entities (see Anderson 1983; Rose 1993), the term remains even across differences. A community of feeling implies that the respondents felt the same when in actuality, experiences may be perceived dissimilarly by different individuals who claim to be members, and the idea of community may be deployed differently at different times and in different spaces.

Not everyone in this study felt part of a community of feeling. The caller who had telephoned me in a state of distress, found the media attention given to city-wide community togetherness, and the Cantabrian strength of spirit - the 'she'll-be-right' - attitudes were harmful to her. She felt acutely affected by these attitudes and told me:

> I felt I was weak or that something was wrong with me because I wasn't coping while others pretended to soldier-on and made the best of it. Especially after the September quake and the aftershocks that were hitting us daily, people were not taking it seriously enough. I was working in an after-school care programme when a child was hit by a falling desk off the school stage. He was hurt because no-one had taken real heed of the [aftershock] dangers or had taken them seriously enough. They were all so busy trying to show how they would just carry on as normal. I just couldn't cope. The responsibility for other people's lives was too hard. I felt that at any moment something really bad was going to happen. And then in February it did (Notes from telephone call 6 December 2011).

When I asked Josh an open question about his neighbours he became indignant and replied:

> Gail: What was it like post-disaster where you live, did you see neighbours? Or//
>
> Josh: Well let's put it this way [*angry*]. At some point I felt like *throwing* something at the TV every-time Bob Parker [then Mayor of Christchurch] said: "Oh the community of Christchurch is pulling together". And I went like: [*really angry, struggling to express his*

> *angry outburst*] "*Oh go away*!" [*flips his hand at TV set*] "Forget about it!" *Yes*, I was walking on the way back and this stranger helped me carry my child until I was home, and I still don't know his name. But, that is in the *most* immediate aftermath. I can't leave my kids in the home to see how my neighbours are doing! (Interview 1 November 2011).

Although Josh was angered by the assertion that everyone was helping each other out in Christchurch, he did later say he checked on his neighbours who had silt from liquefaction bubbling up inside their flat in a similar manner as his own place. In the end there was an underlying acknowledgement that, as neighbours, they *were* able to commiserate with each other about coping with silt inside their flats. Josh's anger spilled out into the research space on several occasions, particularly if he detected I was not fully understanding or appreciative of his earthquake experiences. At one point he said: "As you can see I am sweating profusely and it's *not* because it's warm in here [*pauses*] have *you* experienced any quakes?" Josh wanted to connect to someone in the Waikato who could understand the stress and anger he was feeling and (dramatically) embodying.

Shame and the body

Emotion and affect are felt to be both individual (narrations of the self to the self) as well as social (collective) but they also rely on alignments of public and private spaces. Probyn's (2004a) investigation into *everyday shame* brings together ideas of the everyday through a consideration of shame in post-colonial societies. I use her work to deliberate on the body and bodies feeling out-of-place in everyday spaces (Cresswell 1996). Space is both everyday and yet, in this case not, because everyday spaces were invaded by disaster. Shame as affect keeps the body in focus but also acknowledges narratives of place and permissible (social norms) behaviours. As Probyn (2004a) asserts, the notion of shame can be used as a platform to examine how the social and personal constantly intermingle while retaining the importance of space. Shame extends the conversation on proximity of bodies and affects to allow a teasing out of how the physiological experience of shame intersects with the physicality of (work) place.

I aim to examine what the feeling body *does* in shame and fear, as well as what happens *in* the body. As Probyn (2004a) explains, the experience of shame most often causes the body to shrink away, or hide, or cover up. The body moves and is moved. She states:

> The disjuncture of place, the everyday, self and interest can produce a particular visceral sensation of shame. It is felt in the rupture when bodies will not fit in the place – when, seemingly, there is no place to hide (2004a: 329).

In the interviews, some relocatees discussed a residual feeling of guilt and shame for not staying in the city centre longer to help other people, but instead running to find family members. When talking about shame directly, however, it was usually centred on work-place relationships. The earthquake caused a disruption in workplace interactions that are usually choreographed in particular ways. Professionalism, ranking in the work place and bodily comportment can be constrained and stylised by regulatory regimes of workspace practices (see Halford and Leonard 2006; Hanson and Pratt 1995; McDowell and Court 1994). The sudden and violent nature of the earthquakes meant that people had virtually no time to react or prepare. In short, regulatory regimes 'left the building'.

A number of respondents remembered in vivid terms seeing colleagues acting in ways that were distressing for both them as witness as well as for the person. For example, Chris talks about seeing a colleague crying and crawling along the floor in a suit. This was mentioned in the context of feeling distressed about having to witness a respected colleague in a position of weakness. Chris felt ashamed he had to see his colleague 'like that', as well as shame on behalf of the colleague when they realised they were being observed in a moment of emotional 'weakness'. The loss of bodily comportment too was far from their usual office persona. This shows the circulation and intersubjectivity of an affect (shame) across bodies. Chris's shame was outward, but also returned to him through observing his colleague. It was shameful for Chris to see his colleague

crying and crawling, but at the same time, it was shameful to be caught looking (observing), while also his colleague was ashamed to be seen.

When thinking about actions as out of place, Cresswell (1996) exposes the ways in which social expectations and ideologies meld behaviours to places. The constraining practices of the workplace, although ideologically embedded, also become mixed. The alternation of shame from body to body also blended with other emotions and affects such as empathy, understanding, guilt and fear. While Chris felt ashamed, it was momentary. He also felt empathetic toward his colleague, (it could have so easily been me), and guilty for his observation, as well as fearful for everyone in the building. "I thought I was going to die, I thought our building would come down, like from what I saw out of the window [Pyne Gould Corporation PGC-building collapse]"[22] (Interview 1 November 2011).

Interviewees pointed out that they frequently had a deeper personal connection with work colleagues in Christchurch after the earthquakes compared to before the seismic activity started. This close connection remained after they had relocated. For example, Susan who managed a large team of workers in Christchurch before she moved to the Waikato explains her continuing connection with the Christchurch colleagues:

> I had a team of 60 people and there's a huge sense of community with that team, a sense of community that came out of being through everything we'd been through (...) Even when I had left, which was horrible, just absolutely horrible, it was an awful wrench away from them (...) But I am still very much in contact with the team, as in daily – several emails a day and sometimes by phone. I am just either supporting them through stuff or talking through stuff, yeah (Interview 25 October 2011).

Susan felt connected to her 'old team', even when distant from them. She also felt very disconnected from her new Waikato work colleagues. In addition, the experience of threat meant she felt a discord in connection with her new

[22] The Pyne Gould Corporation (PGC) building 'pancaked' in the 6.3 earthquake (see figure 7.1 on page 189) killing 18 people, trapping and seriously injuring many others (numbers of injured are not available).

colleagues through feelings of anger, shame and the un-coupling of 'normal' (predictable) emotions. Susan discussed at length two instances at her new workplace in the Waikato, a bomb-scare and a fire-drill, in which her reactions seemed excessive and out-of-place. Analysing emotion and affect elucidates the *becoming* of shame which is encountered on a continuum, that is, from understanding (someone losing composure in an earthquake) to anger and frustration (emotions out-of-place).

Probyn (2000) describes how the transmission of shame is marked by awareness that one has trespassed unwritten rules of proximity and can lose a sense of (emotional) boundaries. Shame then, is imbued with a "back and forth movement of distancing" that translates into "a heightened awareness of what one's body is and does" (Probyn 2000: 139-141). Thinking about affects as having a contagious element, (Brennan 2004; Gatens and Lloyd 1999), means that the analysis encompasses the borders between self and other as movement, as bodies moving toward bodies. When regarding work spaces, though, bodies are confined and constrained in ways that attempt to sculpt a professional (rational, not emotional) comportment that does not always imply bodies moving toward other bodies.

When Susan received email updates about a bomb scare at work [in Waikato] and the need for staff to evacuate, she felt the dread in the pit of her stomach. Next the appointed fire-wardens were asked to report to their areas. Two fire-wardens arrived outside of Susan's office chatting and giggling about whether they should wear their florescent jackets or not. The nonchalance was more than Susan could take. She had explained earlier in the interview that in her position of responsibility for staff in the February earthquake, people had "endangered her life" (Interview 25 October 2011) by running back into the building for mobile phones and personal belongings. So, for Susan the bomb-scare was a threatening and frightening reminder of the earthquakes and she took the warnings extremely seriously. She rounded in on the fire-wardens:

> I think I screamed at the pair of them: "Go put your jackets on! Get out of here! Get the fuck outta here!" They gawped at me as I went back to my office. I sat down and burst into tears. I shook for 20 minutes afterwards trying to work out what was going on [with me]. And then—yeah just such an absolutely intense reaction (...) Incredibly extreme responses, absolutely insane, yeah (Interview 25 October 2011).

Susan had "exactly the same thing" in response to the fire-drill. She had considered that she was a 'rational' and resourceful professional throughout the February earthquakes. Susan took responsibility for her team members' safety and spent considerable time making sure everyone evacuated the buildings and were accounted for in the pre-appointed meeting places. All of these tasks were carried out without panic or 'outbursts'. Then unexpectedly, in the Waikato, she did have an (unprofessional?) outburst of emotion. While not panicking, her reaction was deemed by herself and others as completely over-the-top, bringing a sense of movement from anger to shame ("I thought I was pretty sorted until I got completely hysterical" Interview 25 October 2011) and disconnection from the new team. The lingering effects of the earthquakes bring to light that spatiality and context are important to the expression of feelings (in and out of place).

Proximity in the city

Throughout this research I attempted to tease out the affective moments that infiltrated narratives. As participants sat with me and told their stories of the earthquakes and aftershocks, they relived the moments as fluctuation between their individual feelings and the feelings of being caught-up in an event that encompassed a (sometimes, city-wide) collective. Much like the opening quote to this chapter from Probyn (2004b), there were numerous mass media accounts of strangers hugging and hanging onto each other. Fear caused bodies to come together, to congregate and to support and comfort each other. One special-edition article in the *Waikato Times* explained that: "with each aftershock strangers clung to each other, some prayed. We [survivors] walked en mass down the glass strewn street, strangers united by fear" (Anderson 2011: 1-2).

The respondents, too, discussed a general desire to connect with other people socially (especially after the September earthquake) and Lucy explained that:

> The need for people to be with people! That was really interesting, because, like, umm—the next day after, on the Saturday, after the September one, cafés were just chocka [full capacity] you know. People having coffees and talking and things and that just continued, and after February too, but on our side of town there was nowhere to go of course (Interview 1 November 2011).

When writing about, and researching people who have experienced a major disaster, there could be a tendency to imagine that a focus on emotion and affect would generate data on fear, loss, despair, guilt, pain and so on. Yet, interviews were punctuated with laughter, funny quirks of fate, generosity, warmth of spirit and connection. Disasters have been identified with 'the best of times and the worst of times' (Hoffman 1999) and in many instances participants said that they thought the earthquakes had brought out both the best and worst in people. Adversity seemed to, they thought, exaggerate some personality features that were there before. Anderson (2006) considers affect and being hopeful, and hope's intimate relationship with the notion of movement, of being *not-yet*, a potential or possibility. With his focus on hope, Anderson (2006) explains that a part of being able to hope or being hopeful is its antonym, despair. For example, the persistence of hope of emancipation during slavery in the American south illustrates that the concepts are somewhat entangled. He states: "it is always from the context of diminishments that becoming hopeful emerges" (Anderson 2006: 743).

Alexis, during some of the most terrifying moments in the CBD after the February earthquake, felt the entwinement of hope and despair. She relayed in detail trying to reunite with her three young children who were all in different places close to the CBD (where most of the deaths occurred). Although the despair of reliving the event indelibly marked the interview, we often laughed together and she expressed such hopefulness about her future as well as the future reconstruction of Christchurch. Alexis also related two moments of close

connection in the city which go some way toward expressing the movement of affect from despair to hope as well as the movement of bodies toward bodies.

The first connection was with approximately six 'rough looking' young people in a car. Everyone was 'stuck' in their cars on a concrete bridge, desperately trying to escape from the central city. Alexis, realising that her child was beginning to really panic in the back-seat, 'blasted-out' music as loud as the car stereo would go with the windows open in a bid to cover any noise from further aftershocks. The faces in cars on the bridge were all etched with the same thing – not now [aftershock] the bridge may collapse. The young people looked directly at Alexis' car and yelled out to her: "if we're going to go down, we're going to go down dancin' – yahoo – dance with us" (Interview 7 October 2011). This example illustrates that the *way* in which these young people looked at Alexis, the connection that held her gaze and blazed itself into her memory, the desire to share even death –"dance with us"! The young people did not want be separated by cars and remain isolated from other people, other bodies. "Affect is this passing of a threshold, from the point of view of the change in capacity ... a heightened sense of belonging with other people ... and it is crucial to remember that Spinoza uses this to talk about the body" (Massumi 2002: 12-13). Alexis describes her momentary passing of a threshold into a heightened sense of belonging as *connection*, stating:

> So there is an amazing connection. It broke down [*pauses to think*] all the bull-shit. There was just no bull-shit anymore, you know, it was just [*pauses trying to articulate*] connecting heart to heart with people. You know, it didn't matter whether they were black or white, rich, poor, it didn't matter. There was no class. All of a sudden Christchurch lost its crap and that was a really special moment for me [*big sigh out*] (Interview 7 October 2011).

It seems that for the briefest of moments people may have emotionally entered a collectivity which negated difference (a liminal space, betweeness or suspension). By examining affect, the social differences of ethnicity, class, gender and economic situation are not entirely conflated, for which affect theory has

been critiqued (see Tolia-Kelly 2006). But it is a seemingly contradictory point to make, while social differences *are* experienced and significant, moments can also go beyond difference, be more-than merely differences. Saldanha notes that 'the body' should not be conceptualised "as [a] mere *target* of socialisation – gendering, racialisation, disciplining – as if it sits alone until its senses and viscera are stirred by the environment" (2010: 2410 emphasis in original). Hence, he continues, "bodies do not merely adapt to circumstance, but create circumstance, and always together". The moment passed though and the large aftershock did not hit. Cars were able to move again, the young people left, Alexis drove onward. Although the instant seems burned on her memory, she is likely to never meet these people encountered on the bridge again.

Particular affectual seconds (such as above) were often moments of such clarity and intensity that they impress upon the interview like a visual flash that I had experienced myself – its transference felt almost total. Redman (2009), a sociologist, writes a theoretical exposition on transference and countertransference, which is used in clinical psychology to examine emotion and affect as intrinsically relational concepts. He views transference as potentially interesting, as it suggests that feeling, affect, emotion may have unconscious dimensions. Redman states that "transference can be taken to refer to the process, largely unconscious in character, in which our experience of 'external' reality is imbued with feeling and takes on subjective texture, colour and shape" (2009: 53). And then, countertransference, it is argued, refers to what is happening in the analyst (or researcher), that is, what the transference stirs-up in his or her unconscious. Redman's (2009) ideas link with both intersubjectivity and affect as relational concepts and have gained ground in thinking through affect and affective communication (see for example, Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) 2009-2010).

In her recounting, the *impression* or imprint of Alexis' interactions remains like personal memory attached with a visual imagining that both is and is not mine. The force or potential for bodies to affect and be affected (after Spinoza) draws

analysis into different trajectories of body, memory, and affect. It also challenges assumptions that emotions are private and internal, that, as Ahmed (2004a: 27 emphasis in original) argues: "they [emotions] simply belong to individuals and ... they come from within and *then* move outwards toward others ... emotions are not simply 'within' or 'without', but ... they define the contours of the multiple worlds that are inhabited by different subjects".

This 'flash' of affect left Alexis with feelings of renewed possibility, of hope as she continued the drive to reach her other children. When contemplating embodiment, affect, performance, there is a complex dialectical relationship between movement and stillness, because one implies various levels of the other. That is, a moving body must come *from somewhere*. While definitions of affect remain relatively unfixed, most definitions tend to incorporate a "sense of push in the world" (Thrift 2004: 64), a force or focus on energy as bodily capacities. Perhaps there is value in examining stillness, but not as a lack of movement, instead including a contingent relationship between different forms of stillness and movement (see Cresswell 2006).

The second instance of connection for Alexis was a bodily closer touch(ing) moment of sharing that seemed to be a second of stillness (Bissell 2007) within the maelstrom of sound, dust, and silt, as well as the excessive anxiety, fear and panic. She states:

> I had two amazing connections on that drive into the CBD with total strangers (...) the second was with a woman in her sixties umm just before I ditched my car, we, our cars were just like this close [*tiny gap between hands*] with me going one way and her going the other. Because the buildings had fallen down, we were all driving in the centre of the road and [*pauses*]. Yeah, I looked at her when we stalled. She looked so afraid and so fragile and I just reached out and I just held her hand for a while [*tears*]. And I just said "It's going to be okay". Yeah, 'cause, I just—[*pauses, sniffs*], yeah, just connecting with her and getting comfort somehow from holding her hand (Interview 7 October 2011).

In this moment of not knowing what was going to happen next, still without two of her children Alexis felt connected and comforted by the presence of another body. Without really needing words (in excess of language) they felt understood and they clung to each other's hands through the car windows being hopeful about their immediate future: "It's going to be okay". The movement or potential of hope or hopefulness is accounted for in Alexis' dialogue. The will to go on and remain positive about finding her children was bolstered by sharing instances of hope and connection with strangers. Anderson (2006: 744) also found that by studying the time-space of hope "we can witness the animating effect of different dispositions of hopefulness when hope takes place to enliven bodies in the context of different forms of suffering".

By pulling out moments of connection, proximity and collectivity through examining, hope and fear, the analysis risks becoming too one dimensional. People are able to feel many emotions and physical sensations in an instant that can mix and blend and which can be hard to decipher accurately. Generally, contradictions surfaced in the interviews, especially when discussing phenomena in retrospect. That is, reliving experiences well away from impinging earthquakes and aftershocks is totally different from the actual moments. In between talking about running through the city, exchanging greetings and hugs with people she knew, Alexis also said that people were very much on their own 'missions' to be with loved ones. At one point in our conversation, she retracted to the part in her narrative where she had to abandon her car. A police officer told her to "run like the rest of us". Alexis says about the authorities around her:

> You know it was like every man for himself [sic] I mean the fear was in the army [troops arrived in the CBD to help rescue people] it was like [*struggles to articulate, tears welling in eyes*] looking into the cop's eyes, I could see he was only just holding it together. And you realise that you're actually quite alone [*pauses*]. It was really just about trying to survive yourself (Interview 7 October 2011).

Historical associations with fear ignite Alexis' reaction to what was happening around her. Disaster researchers have long understood that the general public

and organisational actors tend to believe in disaster myths. Through popular mass media, we are often presented with disasters as times of chaos, where rationality is suspended and lawlessness ensues. The notion that disasters are accompanied by looting, social disorganisation and deviant behaviour are myths that are often 'fed' by media representations (see Tierney *et al.* 2006). So, although Alexis desired closeness to other bodies, she also felt (at times) disconnected emotionally from others and quite alone despite being surrounded by other people. It is also inferred that she feared the resulting chaos if the police, army and other authority figures lost composure.

Furthermore, the differences in general damage across the city, as discussed in Chapter 2 (lower socio-economic regions often suffering significant damage and long periods of basic infrastructure disruption), challenges the discourses of collectivity, unity and community. For Christchurch, the east-west divide, often fuelled by media, became far more exaggerated after the earthquakes (Carville 2012). Loren who had talked about the unity of her neighbourhood, also talked about the supposed division in Christchurch, and this was a general sentiment among many participants. She said: "The division! Christchurch is in some ways a really divided city between a real east-west mentality, because the east side is also a more concentrated area of lower-socio-economic suburbs and the west side tended to be more affluent" (Interview 2 February 2012). The earthquakes and aftershocks it seems exacerbated these 'differences'. Respondents talked about the disconnection of experience between some of the east-west residents. For example, Loren explains:

> And she [friend from work] drove over to my house [about 1 month after February] and when she got there she was crying and she said: "I had no idea it was like this! I had no idea; it's just like a war zone! I can't imagine how you lived through this". You know? I think the consequences of each earthquake have been very different depending on what your situation was and in a lot of ways depending on where you were geographically. And so I think that has created a bit more of a division (Interview 2 February 2012).

I think it is worthy of pointing out here that context and timing is crucial. My experiences of being in Christchurch in September 2011, and creating the digital story were very different from post-disaster proximity and connection. A good part of my dialogue about visiting the eastern suburbs and walking around the fenced-off CBD was discussing the lack of people, the absence of noise, colour and the general 'hues' of everyday living (for example, almost no tourists, few runners, hardly any people walking dogs, many schools shut, little traffic and so on) (see figure 5.2).

Figure 5.2: Eerily quiet in the CBD
Source: Author's own photograph, digital story 4 October 2011

Canterbury and Waikato

Anthropologist Susan Hoffman (1999) in her chapter *The best of times, the worst of times: toward a model of cultural response to disaster* examines the Oakland firestorm (1991) which destroyed homes and took lives in Berkeley, California. Her illuminating chapter synthesises disaster experience into basic models of

behaviours, but she is careful to acknowledge diversity of experience. As part of her insights into the "aftermath nexus or secondary phase" Hoffman (1999: 141) examines unity or the social cohesion of disaster survivors. While I think behaviour models can sometimes be problematic in that there is a tendency to generalise, common bonds through experience were frequently discussed by participants.

Erikson too (1994: 240-242, emphasis added) underlines that "they [disaster survivors] look out at the world through different lenses. And in that sense they may be said to have experienced not only a) a changed sense of self and b) *a changed way of relating to others* and c) changed worldview altogether". The models miss out an investigation of the *places* in which these feelings of collectivity emerge and change. I found that respondents *did* express a changed world-view, yet, what became difficult for them was to experience this difference in perspective at the same time as being surrounded by people (in the Waikato) who had no idea of what surviving a major disaster is like.

As stated in Chapter 4 it was not long into the interviewing process when respondents began to ask about others who had, not only experienced the earthquakes and aftershocks, but who had also experienced moving away. Ahmed (2004a,b) focuses on the alignment of bodies. The desire for proximity was strong in the post earthquake environment, and although the places were familiar to participants, the disaster had ruptured the social and physical environments and feelings of security causing deep anxiety. Conversely, in the Waikato safety and some of the feelings of security returned, but the places were entirely *unfamiliar.* Interestingly, the need for proximity was not diminished once respondents had left Christchurch, if anything, it was just as strong.

> Ross: Oh I'm so glad it's not just me! (Interview 28 October 2011)

This brief comment from Ross was a sentiment that seemed prevalent among participants. They generally expressed relief that a wider group of disaster

survivors felt similarly to themselves. Weighing up the social cohesiveness of a group of respondents, though, can be fraught with contradictions. A number of relocatees stated their reservations about creating a group based on disaster experiences (some wished to forget and 'move on'). Those reservations, however, were not entirely easy to untangle, because people who had reservations also willingly joined and participated in the *Cantabrians in Waikato* support group. Contradictions in research bring into focus the disjuncture between what people say they will do and what they actually do. Despite being cautious about joining a 'disaster collective', the feelings of isolation and the reality of being surrounded by people who could not share the disaster narratives was hard. For many the dislocation was two-fold. In the conversation below Geoff was anxious about his wife coping with the move to the Waikato. He worked in the public realm, but his wife spent long hours at their home in a new place with no established networks of friends and/or family:

> Gail: I don't think many people were mentally prepared for the hardships of moving, you know, one thing at a time maybe?
>
> Ruby: I always thought I was a reasonably strong person.
>
> Geoff: But you *are* dear.
>
> Ruby: But, yeah, I have days when I find it really difficult.
>
> Geoff: But you're the head-musketeer!
>
> Ruby: Yeah, but it's difficult.
>
> Geoff: Well, maybe there will be enough people that have moved up here for a little Cantabrian club. But then all we'd do would be sitting around talking about earthquakes, so//
>
> Ruby: [*brightens*] No, no! We could talk about all the good things we do up here!
>
> Geoff: And about all the things we miss in Christchurch (Interview 20 October 2011).

Indeed, the need for sharing the emotional experiences of the earthquakes, aftershocks and relocating was required in an embodied sense and turned out to be important for respondents. They wanted to be close to one another – face-to-face – they needed to talk together, spend time and support one another. Alexis explains her reasons for wanting to connect with people who have survived a disaster:

> Gail: Some of the people I have interviewed have said a similar thing and let's face it if Hamilton and the Waikato weren't considered to be 'safe' then why would you move?
>
> Alexis: Hallelujah! Wow, yeah why would you put yourself through that without at least some assurance? [*laughs*] Oh that's interesting! Oh well, because I do feel isolated here so it's great to hear that other people have thought the same thing. So the motivation for people moving has predominantly been the children's emotional need to leave?
>
> Gail: For some yeah, I mean they have noticed the children slowly relax, but they [children] are still a little on edge, still looking for cracks in buildings and that sort of thing.
>
> Alexis: Yep, yeah umm it's good for me to hear that because I felt like I am—well, like, are my kids and I a bit loopy that we're traumatised by this you know? Do we just need to toughen up? (Interview 7 October 2011).

Here then, geographical work on embodiment, emotion and affect offers a productive way to understand such experiences of relocation. I began interviewing households and then the respondents moved my methods into collective 'territories'. The research started in private homes but quickly spilled-out into restaurants, parks and picnic grounds as the desire to be a collective group grew. Ahmed's (2004a,b,c) view that emotions are significant is noteworthy, especially in how they shape action or movement, and align individuals with and into wider communities (of feeling) that circulate through 'affective economies'. Her work links with Gregg and Seigworth (2010) when considering how emotions and affect circulate (move) to form collectivities of shared affective experience. In following the circulation of emotion through

relationships of shared understanding, Ahmed (2004a: 11) comments that emotions are "not only about movement [among people], they are also about attachments or about what connects us to this or that". So within this project there was considerable movement not only physically but also in forming social networks based on affective resonance.

Global disaster 'skin'

The time/space 'choreography' of the Christchurch earthquake is connected to and underpinned by rituals and routines of collecting disaster information. Living a relocated existence away from the earthquakes, aftershocks and the damaged city, meant the respondents still routinely accessed and interacted with as much information about earthquakes and the burgeoning Christchurch reconstruction as possible. Information technology and media keeps the disaster narrative 'alive' in virtual space, which is easy to access and view on a daily basis. Many accessed the GNS Science network website (GeoNet) among others, to check for frequency and magnitude of earth tremors on a daily basis. They turned the radio or television up if Christchurch was mentioned and many used mass and social media to discuss any news, information or politics. In this way respondents are able to continue their narrative, and not feel 'cut-off' from the disaster collective. Loren talked about being almost "addicted to checking GeoNet" (Interview 2 February 2012) and that it helped dispel feelings of disconnection and isolation from what had just happened. In this way, participants reported feeling 'held' by and connected to the disaster.

Walkerdine (2010) uses the notion of 'psychic skin'; that is, an affective sense of boundaries based on Bick's (1968) psychoanalytic concept of 'skin'. 'Skin', in Bick's (1968) analysis, provides a sense of emotional holding for a baby. Walkerdine (2010) uses skin to understand community relations and trauma following the closure of a steelworks in the South Wales valleys in 2002. In much the same way as Walkerdine's (2010) study on the industrial community as a place that can hold its members and can quell feelings of anxiety and loss of identity (unfixed boundaries), most respondents wished (at least initially) to be

'held' by the disaster narrative. Further, many talked about feelings of connection and solidarity with other places (globally) that have suffered similar disasters, such as Haiti and Japan, although in reality they knew and described how different these other experiences would be.

It may seem as if 'holding on' to disasters, rather than turning away from them would be a negative experience (failing to move forward from trauma). In the first interviews, the emotional experiences of relocatees show otherwise as the desire to stay connected and to stay close is strong. Over time emotions and affects change, though, and participants' responses are considered to be placed on a continuum rather than as static. This analysis provides only a snap-shot of experience, but goes some way towards opening up discussion on movement, connection and the psychoanalytic geographies of relocation. Ahmed (2004c: 120) comments that:

> Psychoanalysis allows us to see that emotionality involves movements or associations whereby 'feelings' take us across different levels of signification, not all of which can be admitted in the present. This is what I call the rippling effect of emotions; they move sideways (through 'sticky' associations between signs, figures and objects) as well as backward (repression always leaves its trace in the present – hence 'what sticks' is also bound up with the 'absent presence' of historicity).

In returning to review Ahmed's (2004a) conceptualisation of a collective 'skin' being held by disaster narratives and then combining this with Walkerdine's (2010) notion of beingness, interviewees were 'marked out' from others through the experience of surviving a disaster. They were also marked for life by that experience. Ahmed (2004a) reflects on how emotions are not only directed at nearby others, but a feeling for and with others can occur when others are remote or distant. This co-mingling of both proximity-familiarity (being drawn toward others who have experienced post disaster relocation) and distance-otherness (feeling that earthquake experiences have drawn them away from local people in Waikato) underpins feelings that experiencing disaster 'sticks' to respondents.

The idea that people can be imbued with emotion and affect echoes Ahmed's (2006) interest in the way objects can become 'sticky' with affect, which is what such an object "picks up on its surface which 'shows' where it has travelled and what it has come into contact with" (Ahmed 2006: 40). Similarly, respondents felt that the earthquakes had 'stuck' to them forever. By seeing the unbelievable, things that are never meant to be seen (in normal circumstances) the earthquakes become embedded in their lives affecting and perceptibly changing countenance. Alexis states:

> We all have this heightened sense—well we're always going to be just slightly on edge. You know? "Where's the next surprise coming from?" We no longer cruise like people up here [Waikato] and have that sort of blissful "Oh we're in New Zealand, and what a safe place it is". Yeah (Follow-up Interview 19 October 2012).

Susan makes a similar point:

> I worry much more when I'm travelling. I worry much more about being in communication. So that, to me, is a really clear [physical] response to it. I am just generally more anxious. Also I am arachnophobic [fear of spiders and other arachnids], which is okay, but my responses are much more heightened since the quakes, so it takes longer for me to calm down and that's the same with almost anything these days [nearly two and a half years since the quakes began] (Follow-up Interview 12 February 2013).

Indeed, Lucy and Bill said very similar things to Alexis and Susan. In the follow-up interviews all of the respondents, at one point or another, indicated that their lives had changed forever. Experiencing the earthquakes had opened a 'Pandora's Box', such that they felt physically marked by the event. Bill states "the anxiety is still there, underneath. It's something like having a bad car accident, you never get over it—it changes you forever, it's always going to be at the back of your mind" (Follow-up Interview 12 February 2013). In these experiences all sorts of unlikely materials fold in and stick to the lives of participants.

So far, I have only hinted at the disconnection and feelings of isolation that contradict the argument for proximity and connection. Erikson's (1994: 233) work, in part, centres on a psychoanalytic notion of 'community body' when studying traumatised communities following disasters. He argues that "collective trauma is (like) a blow to the basic tissues of social life that damages the bonds attaching people together and impairs a prevailing sense of community". But it also draws people into a different sort of 'survivor community'. The 'protective envelope' (things do not have to be explained because all carry the same pain – Walkerdine 2010) produced in Christchurch is disrupted in the Waikato context. The difficulty of moving away means that people are compelled to tell their story, and in retelling experience a sense of disjuncture. Interviewees often talked about Waikato people asking them specifically if anything terrible had happened to them. Three participants explain:

> Carrie: One thing I found really difficult was the number of people who asked me if I have been badly affected. So it was like, did people want to hear something terrible? I don't know, I don't understand sometimes why people ask that question because it's a really hard one to answer. And what do you do if you haven't had that same sense of loss as some other people experienced? (Interview 22 October 2011).

> Jade: Everyone's very friendly up here [Waikato] but its like, "Oh did your house get damaged, did it move, how was it?" And after the first few ones I got a bit sick of it and I would say, "Yeah, yeah yeah the house got wrecked, and it rocks, yeah cool thanks, bye!" (Interview 21 October 2011).

> Ally: And basically it's like "Oh how did it happen for you, how did it make you feel?" And then you get stuck in a position that you just don't know what to say. Do you want me to say that my house has been smashed? (Interview 24 October 2011).

Respondents were often reminded of the traumatic difference between knowing what an earthquake looks, feels and sounds like and what seeing one represented by mass-media is like. It marks them out from those who have not. The immediate trauma is often deep enough that language is inadequate to sum up the experience. Seeing things that are just not supposed to be seen, or should

never occur in one's life, draws emotion and affect to the surface. Although, once relocated and talking with someone who is trying to understand, respondents did eventually find some ways to describe the moments that seemed to lie beyond reality. There were many instances throughout the interviews where participants attempted to outline how their lives had changed irreversibly. Holly talks about how 22 February cut off an innocent-type of trust in solid ground, from a new perspective of what can happen in the world. She describes the earthquakes and being near the East-Gate Mall in Linwood as it partially collapsed:

> Holly: I will never be the same. When you see a house shake like a dog, the fences move and trees sway and bend – that's not supposed to happen. Its disbelief, you're not supposed to look at the road and see cars going up and down [*waves hands*] like that. You know, it's the things that you don't believe you've seen. But you've seen them all the same! Like watching a two metre concrete wall falling slowly and there's people underneath – watching and feeling helpless. I can still see those people backing off slowly and the traffic coming towards them, not stopping because they're being pushed by the earthquakes. The cars were almost right on them. I took off to protect the children from seeing mayhem (Follow-up Interview 18 February 2013).

It is not uncommon for disaster survivors to feel like the experience was similar to being in a movie (see Sontag 2003). Respondents needed to place the 'unreal', 'surreal' and situations that were 'like a movie' into narrative or representation in order to deal with the life-changing trauma of the earthquakes, thus, the filmic and the actual blur (Timmins and Lombard 2005). Paul, Holly's elderly father talks about driving into the street where his house was located in the eastern suburbs:

> I came around the corner and it was like a mini-volcano had arisen in the middle of the street! I could see the man-hole cover sitting on top of a water spout. You know, how they show you on the movies. And you think "Oh yeah, like that's ever going to happen". But it was literally the metal cover sitting on top of the water spout and it was level with the window of my car! And I was looking at it thinking [*pauses*] "that's weird" (Interview 4 October 2011).

Alexis too saw unbelievable sights in the central city, but understandably avoided describing specific gory details. She gave a more general sense of the running, screaming, smoke, fire and alarms. Alexis says:

> I saw all sorts of crazy stuff. I felt like I was in a movie. You know it felt like one of those real bad Tom Cruise end-of-the-world movies. That's what I kept thinking. Yeah just bizarre, seeing people running, seeing people that I knew, everyone was running. Just seeing people flash by (Interview 7 October 2011).

Witnessing a disaster and seeing the unbelievable links different modes of being, or, in particular, different modes of being present. People fall back on their memories, associations and perceptions from familiar and compelling movie experiences to try and interpret what is taking place, an 'inverse presence' if you will (see Timmins and Lombard 2005). Inverse presence is where 'real' experience seems mediated (like a movie). These ideas draw together and extend relationality through involvement, flow, empathy and consciousness as ways to relate to what has happened (or is happening).

The respondents wished to convey the impact of the earthquakes, to continue to bear witness but not to specifically relive the destructive forces which killed, maimed and traumatised people on 22 February. Witnessing has an intimate component because only when we, as audience, share suffering can we become witnesses to the suffering, witnesses who testify with and in and across bodies (Nayar 2009). The witnessing component, though, was more a part of the initial interviews. The difficulty of moving away reinforces the notion of being etched by experience and introduces regulations of speaking and silence. As time moved on, respondents were less likely to want to talk about and relive their experiences in Christchurch. Susan says: "No I honestly just don't want to have the conversations. I may begin to deny I am from Christchurch [*laughs*]. It's clear the only people who really understand have lived in, say, San Francisco or Japan or something" (Interview 25 October 2011).

Isolation

Moving to the Waikato region and being marked by the earthquakes was one thing, but participants also felt loneliness and isolation from the years of living in Christchurch, from their friends, clubs, sports centres, schools and the myriad social connections that people have. Loneliness has a special significance when many have gone through the same disaster and it reflects how much of a person is tied up with a particular place (Hewitt 1997). While New Zealand is considered to be a somewhat small country in geographical size, moving from Canterbury in the South Island to the Waikato in the North Island was considered to be a shock. Participants all discussed the differences in general climate, city size and culture to what they were used to in Christchurch. These sensations of shock reflect respondents' feelings of being 'alone', 'lost, and 'strange'. Hewitt (1997: 43 emphasis in original) identifies two related meanings of being lost: "of not being able to find one's way and of being *misplaced"*. And both of these ideas are interwoven in relocatees' accounts. For example, Carrie says:

> Well, even though Waikato is a part of New Zealand and there's supposed to be a lot of similarities I still feel like a stranger in a strange land. Yeah, there's a different culture up here, and parts are completely different, like the weather and lack of the Southern Alp's, yes it's all very strange to me. I feel completely lost, lost in orientation and lost in what to do with myself, you know? How do I go on? There's no reference point. I feel like I am in a different world from what I knew in Christchurch (Interview 22 October 2011).

There were also examples of participants wishing for isolation. Perhaps somewhat paradoxically the proximity of bodies was both a source of strength and at times, a source of hopelessness, often expressed as a desire to get back to normal. Thus, proximity became both necessary and problematic. The decision to relocate had a lot to do with trying to get back to regular everyday life. It has been argued that recovery from displacement (including disaster survivors) is better understood as a process grounded in the resumption of everyday life which unfolds in a new physical and social context (see Almedom and Summerfield 2004).

Ultimately, relocatees thought that to begin (emotional) recovery, one had to leave Christchurch and begin to resume 'normal' life (not in the post-disaster environment), albeit somewhere completely different. But what then happens to emotion and affect and the relationship between the social? Far from a great conglomerate of mutual co-existence and proximate bodies, on occasion participants wished to be alone, anonymous (not labelled as earthquake survivors), and simply be 'normal' families again. One of the many cited reasons for moving away from Christchurch was to get the children back into school and back into routines. But also, crucially, back into their own rooms and beds. Many parents also said, while they wanted the children close, they also wanted to sleep alone and regain a sense of bodily space and self. Therefore, complex and contradictory emotions and affects (fear, hope, loss, connection, isolation and proximity) intermingle.

Further, Ross explained on a couple of occasions (in his interview and in the focus group) how perturbed he became with the generosity of strangers, both in and around Christchurch and on the journey from Christchurch to the Waikato. Many people (in media accounts) described the comfort and solace they got from the kindness of strangers and a renewed contact with neighbours. Nonetheless, after a while Ross found it overwhelming and the kindness seemed to symbolise difference, or (marked him out as) not coping. He explained how a friend of a new work colleague whom Ross and his family had not met, offered her house for them to stay in when they arrived in the Waikato. He states:

> Ross: Yeah, you see, it's that kind of thing [house lending], you know we [*pauses*]—it's difficult to explain. We sort of, struggled with how nice people were and helpful. Some people were too helpful, if you know what I mean? We wanted to cope alone and move forward as a family (Interview 28 October 2011).

Further, the focus group were explaining their welcoming experiences of generosity in the Waikato when Ross again said:

> Ross: Yeah, we found that too [talks about house lending] people couldn't do enough for you and it got to the stage where people were being too bloody nice! And everyone's trying to do everything for you.
>
> Susan: That's the Kiwi [New Zealand] way though!
>
> Ross: It gets a bit too much after a bit. It was really nice that they were being nice, but it got to the stage: "Just leave us alone!"
>
> Lucy: [about the house] Wow that was generous!
>
> Ross: And we never even met the owner because she'd left before we got there and she said she would stay with a friend and we could be there [at her house] longer. I thought: "No, we want our own house".
>
> Susan: Yeah, you desperately want to get back to normal (Focus Group 27 November 2011).

Lorimer (2005: 90) is quick to point out that when 'emotional scholars' focus on affective registers, the full spectrum of "emotions, passions and conditions felt in social life" also comes into focus. Therefore, anger, disgust, alienation, isolation, fear, dread, terror and decay are enmeshed within accounts as the "daily self-defining realities" (Lorimer 2005: 90) that come across the more-than-representational life-world of people. And scholars have not backed away from experiences of isolation within various sections of the population, such as, the aged (Milligan 2005), people with HIV/AIDS (Thomas 2007), people living in poverty (McQuoid and Dijst 2012), and youth (Gaskell 2008). Isolation, in this sense, is thought through a lens of 'refuge' from the scrutiny of others on the emotional lives of the participants. Frequently, there was a sense of desire to be released from feeling obligated to others and particularly, in the Waikato, from feeling obliged to share their earthquake experiences with strangers time and time again. The multidimensional accounts of the respondents, outline the contradictory and paradoxical nature of emotion and affect. In the following chapter I discuss in more depth this ambivalence in relocation experiences.

Summary

In this chapter I have discussed connection and proximity within the relocation experiences of participants. Using Ahmed (2004a), I examined how people are moved emotionally and positioned into collectives, as well as how those movements are embodied and enacted on different scales (what bodies are doing). Participants found they needed to manage their feelings of fear in both public and private settings, but also to deal with their children's anxieties. Proximity in a bodily sense was a desirable ally to dispel angst, children were held close, kept close and families stayed together, lived together and slept together (bodies sharing space). Some of the participants found themselves confronted with both troubling and heartfelt moments of interaction with relative strangers that, in a contradictory manner, both connected them to, and disconnected them from others.

Focusing on the *potentiality* of emotions and affects, I traced how situations of despair moved bodies together (holding hands through a car window, for example) and within that proximate 'moment', despair moved to hope. Respondents found emotional affirmation through research spaces but also bodies came together and formed a social network underpinned by affective resonance. Although experiencing trauma held respondents in a protective 'skin' and drew them into collectives, it also marked them out, making an indelible impression on this collective skin. Crucially, emotion and affect were unconsciously practiced outside of, as well as filtered into the interviews, 'sticking' to respondents but also, 'sticking' with the researcher.

Chapter 6: Embodied ambivalence

Feelings and moods fluctuate and resonate both among people and among people and things. There are objects (such as, mobile phones) in our lives that we love to hate. In this chapter I highlight ambivalence because, as a theme, it surfaced throughout the interviews. But further, ambivalence underlies the research material. The interview data encompass reflections of post-impact moments in Christchurch as well as present life in the Waikato. The two places are constantly interwoven and entangled. As a place to start, the *Oxford English Dictionary* defines ambivalence as "the coexistence in one person of contradictory emotions or attitudes (as love and hate) towards a person or thing" (OED 1989). Affect, in this respect, is considered to have an unqualified intensity, a non-human force of movement and sensation that is implicated in intercorporeal relationships. Massumi (2002) calls this force the *virtual,* which has little in common with the world of the digital (see McCormack 2003). Massumi considers the virtual as:

> Something that happens too quickly to have happened, actually, is *virtual*. The body is as immediately virtual as it is actual. The virtual, the pressing crowd of incipiencies and tendencies, is a realm of *potential*. In potential is where futurity combines, unmediated, with pastness, where outsides are infolded and sadness is happy (happy because the press to action and expression is life). The virtual is a lived paradox where what are normally opposites co-exist, coalesce, and connect; where what cannot be experienced cannot but be felt (2002: 30 emphasis in original).

Therefore, any position is imagined not only as being located in multiple social spaces, but also as at both poles of each dimension. Ambivalence, then, is considered to be an oscillation between centre and margin, as well as, an occupation of two positions at once with constant movement back and forth between them. The idea of movement is important in theories of emotion and affect because people are not only moved by certain situations, but crucially, they experience affect as a push or force of being-in-the-world (Thrift 2004). On closer inspection it could be argued that affect is not just experienced as a 'push'

but also a 'pull', and as a complex alternation between and including two poles at the same time.

Recent work on affect in geography has included notions of movement in order to "exemplify the importance of affect to geographical efforts to apprehend and intervene in the non-representational powers of spaces of embodied movement and practice" (McCormack 2003: 488). Some of what could be termed 'movement works' are examined through focusing on: emotions (Ahmed 2004), rhythm (Duffy et al. 2011; McCormack 2002), cycling (Jones 2005), dance (McCormack 2003), landscapes (McHugh 2009) and walking (Tolia-Kelly 2007; Wylie 2005). But here, feelings too contain a sense of movement. There is the paradoxically situated phenomenon of proximity and distance whereby one can *feel* close to geographically distant others, as well as *feel* distant to geographically close others. These moods are asymmetric constructs which refract on the perception of actual and emotional distance (Simonsen 2007; Thien 2005). Ideas situated around perception shift the conceptual boundaries of movement to include how we are moved and how space is stretched and compressed. The complexities of emotion and affect may seem obvious and over-stated, but they add a rich dynamic to life and experiences. They also challenge and expose the more idealised notions of how people may respond to a given situation.

Thinking about ambivalence shifts analysis to examine capriciousness, the way feelings can erupt unexpectedly, sometimes with surprising force disrupting what we think and what we know (see Rose 2004). But there is also an embodied trail (traces in the body) that may follow these outbursts. A gasp that draws the body upward and pulls it in, a sob that collapses the body downward, or perhaps an exploding laugh as the head is thrown back. These movements all accompany changes in mood. Thus, people are often moved emotionally and affectually, and this chapter aims to examine how they are moved toward ambivalence. The term ambivalence is useful for furthering understanding of the respondents'

feelings about relocating which encompass separation *and* connection as well as drawing the opposing poles together.

By paying attention to emotion and affect, data are stretched to include what Clough (2010: 224) terms "infra-empirical" practices in the social sciences, "or what might be called an empiricism of sensation". In this chapter, the empiricism of sensation is exactly what I am aiming to examine, and this has required me to consider different "technologies of attention" (Clough 2010: 224) in order to broaden the data to consider bodies, the conscious mind and non-conscious inflections together.

Ambivalence sits at the heart of emotional knowing, creating and exposing a rich depth to the respondents' life-worlds. First, I discuss how ambivalence becomes entangled in webs of expression. Coping strategies, such as humour, can sometimes muddy the waters between what people seem to be feeling and what they express, or how people choose to 'read' what others are feeling. Emotion and affect can sometimes be, and probably often are, interpreted in different (and conflicting) ways. Then, I examine fluctuations of feeling and how they were encountered in interviews as well as linking these ideas with family (that is, the ambivalence that trails behind leaving family in Christchurch). Leaving family and close friends in a disaster zone underscores that, at times, respondents felt forced to relocate and at times felt ambivalent about being somewhere unfamiliar. I then analyse relocation narratives in mass and social media. Finally, I look at how relocation is porous, constraining and shaping feelings in a city-wide and regional context.

Saying one thing, doing another

In Chapter 5, I examined proximity and connection and the affective timbres they engender. Here I explore sentiments of ambivalence. What happens when our feelings are not returned or shared, and what happens when we mask or misinterpret the affects that are supposed to oscillate? Within certain parts of the interview material there is an understated sense of discord between some of

the families' experiences and their desires to relocate. On the one hand, household interviews worked well with thoughts and feelings prompted by trusted family members and emotional support being offered by others within the household (see Valentine 1999), but it was not always the case.

In one particular interview with a retired couple, the husband (David) had struggled to cope (emotionally or physically) with the earthquakes and aftershocks and had 'demanded' that the couple relocate. His wife (Julia) found the tremors unsettling, but she also considered that moving away from her committed friendships which spanned decades to be far worse. In the interview they embodied separation. At first Julia would not join the interview and she remained in the kitchen, the couple sat apart and talked apart too. Once her husband left the room Julia says:

> David wanted to move and I didn't! Because I loved Christchurch but after the February one and so much damage, well that finished him off and he didn't want to be there (...) But I still miss Christchurch, I really do! I love it! But I'm slowly accepting it that Christchurch is not what it used to be, so I'm moving on because that's what I've got to do! (Interview 11 October 2011).

The above example was not the only one where one member of the family sacrificed their feelings of belonging to move with the family unit. In some of the familial relationships, there was a strong sense of one partner towing-the-line in order to keep the family together. For instance, Holly stated that after a particularly big aftershock she had just had enough and 'put her foot down' about moving. She said:

> He [son] went up a foot from one side of the lounge to the other, and I just thought: "How much more can this house take?" And I'd had enough! I said: "That's it!" (...) So I basically said to him [husband]: "You've got two choices [*pauses*] me and the kids are going [*pauses*] come or stay!" [Turns to husband sitting beside her] "I didn't really give you a hell of a lot of choice did I [*laughs*]?
>
> Bill: No, not really! [*Family erupts into laughter*] (Interview 4 October 2011).

The above excerpts clearly show complex intra-household relations. These relationships are processes of negotiation that can change over time or fluctuate depending on the context. But they also show that experiences are 'socialised' emotions which are not always easily shared or that affect flows unhindered between or among bodies. There can be a general expectation that when people have experienced something monumental, frightening and traumatic that is out-of-the-ordinary, those closest will empathise, understand and implicitly support people's actions, or at the very least, allow for their (re)actions.

How participants 'acted out' their responses to the stress and anxiety caused by the earthquakes and aftershocks is imbued with ambivalence and contradiction. Emotions and affects are not simply straight-forward, but can also be employed strategically. For example, Liz, who has three small children, felt that her family were being dismissive of her reaction to the earthquakes and aftershocks. She also felt that they admonished her for (re)traumatising the children with her 'panic mode' behaviour when aftershocks hit. Liz said that her brothers: "acted tough" during big aftershocks and they would "laugh it off, but when it [aftershock] happens they were different, and then afterwards they would hide it, but I couldn't help worrying and grabbing my baby. They told me I was freaking the kids out" (Interview 7 November 2011). Further, when Liz talked to her mother about her feelings and the aftershocks, her mother would say: "Oh, but that's life". Liz ended up leaving Christchurch without saying goodbye at the airport because she felt the family did not support or understand her. She states:

> And my family didn't really care. They didn't see anything that I was going through, how I was panicked and scared, you know what I was going through. They were just like: "Oh your bags weigh too much!" I said "Who cares?" So I just ran and sat up at the top [of the departure lounge] and waited because I just—I regret not saying goodbye—but they just drove me mad and they didn't care (Interview 7 November 2011).

When contemplating what bodies were *doing*, Liz felt she received no warmth, no hugs of consolation and so she grabbed her son both to protect him, but also to feel bodily closeness, his warmth and his weight in her arms. Her ambivalence about being in the Waikato was exacerbated by this disjuncture in feelings between herself and family members. However, given time, Liz also came to realise that humour and nonchalance were coping strategies employed by her family as a way to get through. She comments:

> My brother, he was like, "Oh it's alright [in Christchurch]". And finish [talking about the earthquakes] but really, when he came up here [Waikato], he—oh he would sleep like, a, you know, like he'd never slept properly in ages and ages. And when he went home [to Christchurch] I cried and cried for days (Interview 7 November 2011).

Liz had trouble reading the affects (anxiety, fear, vulnerability) that were hidden amongst her family's exterior facades of humour and nonchalance. Sociologists Parkhill *et al.* (2011) have exposed how humour can both mask and carefully reveal affectively charged states when living with nuclear risk in Britain. They use the notion of affect to encapsulate the idea that, through the expression of one emotion (for example, anger), there may be more emotions and feelings underneath (for example, anxiety and vulnerability). There are often complex double meanings and gendered responses to emotion work (see Hochschild 2003), which challenge a linear model of emotive life-worlds, or that bodily reactions are a clear and unambiguous sign of internal feelings. Frequently something more seems to be going on, and reading bodily affects does not always mean transparency of the inner dialogue. Sometimes people can wilfully direct their reactions to portray a particular outer-countenance.

Actions and reactions to trauma and anxiety are conceptualised as being embedded in byzantine-like webs of interactions between interior and exterior emotions and affects. While Liz's brothers chose to act "tough", her mother tried to keep family members calm by appearing nonchalant. How these affective resonances were drawn on and received remained variable. Certainly Liz found the family strategies to cope with anxiety hard to reconcile with her

own panicked responses in Christchurch. But once she stepped-back and removed herself from the earthquake stress, Liz began to re-assess her family's responses and missed them terribly. Ambivalence, or 'being-in-two-minds' about relocating permeated the interview.

By examining the interview material the idea of ambivalence surfaced as a sense of twisting fluctuations which permeated in and through the researcher's and the participants' bodies. It had a felt presence which is an important facet both of conceptualising the body as a research instrument (Longhurst *et al*. 2008) and attempting to filter research through affect. Several of the interviews had a considerable and distinctive vacillation or uncertainty and when reading the transcripts, those feelings also transferred affectively across the research spaces. During a number of the interviews participants expressed feeling ambivalent toward their current situation in the Waikato. Relocating was found to be difficult, with many participants starting from scratch with housing, employment, schooling, and often they did not know another person. By relocating they not only removed the physical shaking of the earth, but they also removed themselves from loved ones, friends, family and their wider support networks.

In general, people can hold conflicting emotions about a singular topic. Bondi (2004: 5) discusses the inseparability of ambivalent feelings and her own experiences as an academic, arguing for "creating spaces in which tensions, contradictions, and paradoxes can be negotiated fruitfully and dynamically". Ambivalence is considered here to be an integral part of the participants' emotional lives. For most of the people in this study there were times when they felt a number of different ways about relocation simultaneously, and affectually, the push and pull of feelings were felt like a transferable force. Emotionally, I felt the paradox too and at points during interviews almost interrupted conversation saying: "But what are you going to do?" I had been so gripped by the ambivalent zigzag of the conversation. For example, Mel had outbursts of being 'in two minds'. During the conversation she just kept swinging to and fro from wanting to stay in the Waikato and wanting to go back to Christchurch. It was like she

was trying to elicit comment from me on a possible solution. She expresses well what many participants appeared to feel:

> Mel: But I do want to move back, but it depends if my partner wants to move back or not and he changes his mind weekly [*laughs*]. I did it [relocated] for my kids and my partner because he wanted to and it was like I wanted to but I didn't. Like, I wanted to [move] because I couldn't stand being shaken awake anymore and, you know, even being able to try and get to sleep. But then I didn't because like all my best friends, all the friends I'd grown up with you know? And my family! (...) it's like now it's been six months I want to go home [*tears in eyes*] and it's like can I handle it? That's what I keep saying to myself, I want to but I don't know what I'll be like once I get there. I don't know if I'm going to freak out or how my son's going to be (Interview 24 October 2011).

With Mel's interview I wrote in the margins "see-saw, see-saw" as the conversation circled around the difficult conundrum of leaving or staying. Liz, another respondent, also swung back and forth in her interview. She said that she left Christchurch because her children were sick with [silt] dust which aggravated their asthma. They couldn't sleep and Liz was overcome with worry about her family's safety. Yet she also felt they left in a panic, without thinking about the social and economic consequences of relocating. The to and fro in some of the interviews, is an example of 'supra'-communication, in that it is communication both within and beyond the actual interview time-space. The more I re-read the interview transcripts the more I sensed the deep ambivalence that 'sat at the heart' of the respondents' dilemma - that of *having to relocate*:

> Liz: It was just panic-mode every time an aftershock hit. I couldn't relax, I'd always have these bags packed and I'd make sure there were no hazards and I just drove myself mad. Like, I just left and if I'd thought about leaving, I probably wouldn't have (...). It's so hard to be away from friends and family and have no money. But I couldn't live there absolutely panicked all the time and seeing them [children] so sick with the dust [silt] (...). I'm not sure if, like, when I go down [to Christchurch] I wanna go, because I might wanna stay 'cause I'd be, like: "Oh my Gosh" you know? (Interview 7 November 2011).

In the above excerpt Liz displays a commonly felt ambivalence among respondents, which is based on feelings of relief at being away from earthquake and aftershock danger and stress. But at the same time, Liz feels aggrieved to be separated from family, loved ones, a comforting support network, and familiar spaces. These ideas resonate with research on geographies of migration and migrant experience, where migrants have complex subjectivites produced through their experiences of multiple and contrasting places. Looking at multiple sites of migration is a way to understand the processes of belonging, exclusion and affiliation which are produced by migration itself. Radcliffe (1996, 1999) pays particular attention to ambivalent national identities, while Lawson (2000) examines narratives of rural to urban migration to Quito, Ecuador. She discovers that, more than simply revealing the operation of difference, the ambivalence about migration reflects the respondents' hopes and desires for modernity while at the same time, underscores their exclusion and the limits of the current model of development.

Although the respondents involved in this research have internally migrated their experiences are reflected in the above literature. In much the same way, relocating to the Waikato was considered to be a place away from earthquakes and stress (desirable), but enmeshed with loss of familiarity (processes of belonging) and, importantly, loss of close social ties (affiliation). A loss of sense of belonging illuminated the harsh reality of the destruction wrought upon Christchurch. Similar, to Morrice's (2013: 5) examination of displacement after Hurricane Katrina, returning (or not) "no longer signifies a straight forward journey" but instead underscored many examples of ambivalence in the interview material.

Missing family

Relocating within six months of the major earthquake in February 2011 (and for nearly half of the interviewees very soon after the 13 June 2011 earthquake) meant that the decision to leave was made under fairly high levels of stress and uncertainty. Being tired and worried for months, living through constant

aftershocks, living in a disruptive environment and having no definitive answers from insurance companies and/or employers over-rode emotional 'pull-factors' such as family, friendships and shared history. It was only when people had actually relocated and removed some of the stress that they had time to consider the impacts of their decision. For a lot of participants the decision to relocate was like being wrenched away from everything they and their children had known. Interviewees discussed some of the emotional hardships that impinged on their families, the double impact of the earthquakes and relocating:

> Loren: I mean she [baby daughter] pretty much got taken away—it wasn't just the whole earthquakes which was pretty scary—but I had moved them away from everything they had known and everyone who had loved them [*trails off*] (Interview 2 February 2012).

> Alexis: Yeah, you've got no preparation for it. No [*pauses*] yeah, you know, just being wrenched away from your environment, your family, friends, your work, yeah everything. (...) And it became very clear to me that the kids and I were alone in our grief and alone in our loss and yeah that's still hard (Interview 7 October 2011).

> Mel: I miss all—like I miss my Mum [clears throat]. I want to go home, it's only because I had [*pauses*] my mother-in-law come up for the holidays and it was just like, it bought it all home to me. It's like birthdays and stuff, it was my niece's birthday on Sunday and it was so hard not to be there (...) After the June one [earthquake] my friend's house just basically collapsed while she was in it and, yeah, I'm glad I wasn't there for that. But I wish I was there to cuddle her and make sure she was alright, but I couldn't be [*sniffs*] (Interview 24 October 2011).

If the circumstances are considered to be so difficult for respondents, then one has to think about why, exactly did they relocate? They had to live with the possibility of (re)traumatising the family, albeit this time with the anguish of living separate from friends and family, rather than seismic shocks.

The idea of 'plurilocality' (Kaumf 1990), complexity and nuance has been influential in geography, as well as in the wider social sciences more generally. It signifies well the impressions of relocation, both in a literal sense (two or more

places at once) and as a fine-grained understanding of movement. When talking about moving to the Waikato Alexis considers that initially she: "still had [a] foot very much in the Christchurch camp, but now [one year on] I guess I have got both feet up here and my *heart is still down there*, but I have got my feet here" (Follow-up Interview 19 October 2012: emphasis in interview). This joining of two places simultaneously, feeling connections to both Christchurch and the Waikato has a strongly embodied focus (of feet and heart). 'Plurilocality' illustrates that emotion, affect and places become thoroughly entangled and feelings about relocating become clouded and ambivalent. Geographers have been interested in metaphor since the 1960s when spatial scientists first discussed the linkages between models and metaphors, Tuan (1977) used metaphor to illustrate something of the human imagination and creativity.

More recently, critical geographers have emphasised the power politics of assumed metaphors in epistemological issues (see Barnes 2000; Cresswell 1997; Macpherson 2010). Like Barnes (2000: 500) I found that "the importance of metaphor is not its meaning but its use, which is changing beliefs through the jolt, or frisson that a novel metaphor can produce". Although respondents' use of metaphor was perhaps not considered to be novel (your heart in one place and feet in another), it was often employed to drive home the entanglement of feeling, mood and place, that is, the emotional and affectual push and/or pull of relocating. At times participants had a way of speaking that gave pre-eminence to the body as a metaphor intermingling ideas of a fleshy body within a locale. Physical landscapes are also implicated in what the body is and what the body is likely to do in any given moment (Deleuze and Guttari 1988; Grosz 1994; Latham and McCormack 2004).

Moving away from the suburbs, and from people who had been through so much together required judging whether the community would be worth staying in, or was it better to 'cut your losses' and go. Emotion and affect were encountered strongly in the post-earthquake communities, because feelings about being together 'cemented' people into a locale. Residents in the Port Hills suburbs of

Mount Pleasant created an impromptu campsite on the large lawn at the local primary school. People pulled together, but importantly, they wished to *remain in place*. Manhire (2012) interviewed residents in the camp, where families (including children) minutes from their own homes, brought camping equipment and supplies to share. A resident (un-named) stated that:

> The school grounds have become something of a psychological refuge. I don't want to know what's going on out there. I can't bear to think about it. I just want to stay in these tents, in our bubble here (Manhire 2012: unpaginated).

The government provided 350 campervans as emergency accommodation for displaced residents, yet only one was occupied before the idea was scrapped. Greg and Susan likened it to a "sort of *Suburban Stockholm Syndrome*"[23] (Interview 25 October 2011), where people in badly damaged suburbs stayed in increasingly dire circumstances (lack of power, sewerage, important services and dangerous roads). They said:

> Greg: Nobody wanted to leave they just wanted to be there, despite the fact that it [suburb] was getting noticeably worse day on day. And you're dealing with port-a-loos and the power's going out and you still don't have any water. And so it's off down to the great big water tank down the end of the road, Oh! And it's not there today, but luckily some bloke up on the hill has set up a hose-pipe. And of course there's nowhere to buy anything anywhere close by. *But*, you don't want to leave! Daily life is a nightmare, but you don't want to leave.
>
> Susan: You get sucked in. You actually get really, really sucked in!
>
> Greg: Actually, yeah, boy, it hurt to leave. It really did.
>
> Susan: It was horrible leaving, absolutely horrible (Interview 25 October 2011).

[23] Stockholm syndrome, or capture–bonding, is a psychological phenomenon in which hostages express empathy and sympathy and have positive feelings toward their captors, sometimes to the point of defending them. These feelings are generally considered irrational in light of the danger or risk endured by the victims.

The context of the disasters has an impact, whereby the location and situation residents found themselves in has an ethical influence on place attachment. Suburbs are judged as being ‘good’ or desirable for residents, as they face uncertainty together as a collective force, *at the same time* they are judged as being ‘bad’, ‘broken’ and ‘unhealthy’. As part of the digital story, I included a visit to Edna, a woman in her mid-70s. She was one of the last remaining residents in her street, which had been declared a red-zone. Even though there was a deep hole at the end of Edna’s right-of-way, wet silt lay in the broken street, the area felt deserted and she missed her neighbours, Edna was reluctant to leave her home of 30 years.

She told me when the dog looks up and the sliding doors to the lounge rattle it’s a 4 point- something aftershock. There was security in staying put. Edna was considerably stressed at the thought of being forced to move into another area where her cat might run away. She wouldn’t know anyone or where the shops were located or how the new place would react in an aftershock or further earthquake. At the same time though, Edna was anxious to leave before something terrible happened and the house and its plumbing would not sustain the impacts. She was trying to imagine herself in a new house at the same time as grieving for her old one (Researcher diary 22 September 2011, Bexley, Christchurch). Edna’s plight came back into my mind as I was listening to Susan and Greg, helping me to understand some of their descriptions of post-quake suburbs and the feelings people attach to them. The digital story and my time in Christchurch resurfaced often during interviews, prompting in me empathy with respondents. When investigating a bit deeper into people’s feelings about suburbs, it emerged that ontological security was sought in any form. The ‘enemy’ of feeling secure was change or going into the unknown. People were attempting to create a sense of security by remaining in place. Helen and Scott, a retired couple living in a badly damaged suburb explain:

> Your house has basically survived so far, you know how it feels, all the quirks. You know which appliances, pictures or fittings will move or change, you know what I mean? Don’t put things on this wall; it

> always shakes when we have an aftershock. You know what the roads are like, where the pot-holes are or where the liquefaction [silt] will bubble up. The thought of going somewhere else is terrifying, you just don't know how everything will be, and I couldn't start over somewhere else in Christchurch (Interview 1 November 2011).

Everyday life is a combination of togetherness and fragmentation of multiple topologies of space-time (Anderson 2005), which highlights the contextual and momentary nature of decision making (or judgement). It also brings together past histories of association, present realities and ideas for the future (before, during and after) that make up everyday life. How many people felt about their suburbs is generated by a multitude of emotional and affectual experiences that are overpoweringly ambivalent. In Christchurch, there is said to be a lot of loyalty in the local community, and that the "old school values of 'conservative England' run deep through many residents, which means these loyalties are upheld but rarely spoken about" (see Miller 2013). The historically rooted loyalties inscribe affect onto bodies creating a circulation of feeling among residents and their suburbs. But also, the continuation of living in somewhere known intimately creates a circulation of feeling between residents and their material environment.

Figure 6.1: A reality of living in Christchurch
Source: Author's own photograph

Connolly (1999: 27) argues that visceral modes of appraisal "are often invested with considerable intensity, carrying considerable energy and fervency with them into registers of being – the 'life' of everyday life". While Anderson (2005) uses practices of judgement to assess different modes of listening and music in everyday domestic geographies, I am interested in how respondents judged and assessed different spaces and places in a multitude of conflicting ways. The uncertainty that was produced and enacted by experiencing an earthquake also brought forth connection to the situation (living in a broken suburb) which was defined in terms of its potential to be something else (*becoming*), that is a space

of togetherness and comfort. This entire trope (place attachment, togetherness, hope) was flipped in reverse when encountering suburbs in the Waikato.

The new suburbs were devoid of attachment but concurrently presented security and stability for relocatees. While participants felt that it was good to be away from the earthquakes and felt they were 'moving on' with their lives, they (at the same time) felt a keen loss of the 'community of hardship' that was particular and shared in Christchurch. Aaron said, "It's hard to leave the people who you'd been through so much with, I mean I knew the people down there back to front, people up here have no idea, but it's also time to make non-earthquake connections" (Follow-up Interview 12 February 2013).

Should I stay or should I go?

> Loren: We pretty much walked away with the shirts on our back. I mean to begin with that's pretty much all we had the shirts on our back. And for me, that didn't matter at all—I mean I didn't care at all because I had my kids and that was all that mattered (Interview 2 February 2012).

Economically, the respondents tended to fall into two camps, first, those who had lost everything and decided to start fresh somewhere else, and second, those who had the wherewithal to move. Almost all of the relocatees had left where they lived in Christchurch relatively quickly and in circumstances which most considered to be 'forced'. Frequently, there was very little planning behind the move, several respondents expressed that they felt they had no choice. Some deemed their homes to be un-liveable or the areas around them were un-safe, often with little or no infrastructure and basic services. So most stayed with friends and/or family or at temporary locations around Canterbury directly after the February earthquake, and *then* relocated to the Waikato. Family members generally flew or drove back to Christchurch to pack up belongings once accommodation had been secured in the Waikato. A number of interviewees had not been back to their home since the February earthquake:

> Jade: It must have been horrible going into the house when you packed it up! Even our eggs from lunch and stuff would have still been sitting there.
>
> Simon: It was [horrible]! Everything was still sitting there. There was still no power, still no water, this is like weeks after the earthquake, and the eggs still looked the same but they were green and black, still sitting in the pan [*laughs*] (Interview 21 October 2011).

Commonly respondents felt a sense of upheaval which began to take hold immediately. Packing up possessions, attempting to find family pets that had disappeared after the earthquake and notifying friends and colleagues was often random, last minute or not done at all:

> Alexis: We got to our house [*pauses*] it was had it [*pauses*]. I managed to get one suitcase out of the shed and just stuffed kids-clothes into it. And yeah I wasn't really thinking straight, it was hilarious what I ended up with! But anyway, then I told the neighbour to look out for the cat: "Here's her cat box". I said: "Please keep an eye out for her". And then I told the kids and they cried and cried (...) but it wasn't safe we had to go right there and then (Interview 7 October 2011).

Those who had the ability and choice to move commonly felt they needed to reduce the risk of harm to their immediate family members. Because some respondents had the financial capacity to relocate, the decision to move was often based in a difficult and unsettling emotional context:

> Lucy: The decision to go, while it was good for us, it was really interesting the reactions that we got from—especially my family. (...) My sister, who I am particularly close to, she was angry! (...) She felt we were doing the wrong thing by leaving, she felt we should be 'united we stand' kind of thing (Interview 1 November 2011).

It is important to note that the above discussion tends to reveal a neat, two-sided focal point of a very complex environmental, social and economic disaster. For many people, leaving Christchurch was not really an option, and this was *not* based on emotional attachment to place. Many of the respondents were from rental homes and had either lost everything (businesses, houses, jobs, rental

agreements) or they had sufficient means and few financial ties to Christchurch and could afford to relocate. Numerous people continue to feel trapped in Christchurch by circumstance (see Lallemant 2013). The notion of being stuck in Christchurch arose a lot in the interviews and in the focus group. Respondents knew of people who would move if they did not have mortgage or business obligations. Adding to the resonance of ambivalence, respondents felt guilty about leaving Christchurch, especially their families, but they also became frustrated and sometimes a little angry at the lack of support for their decision to move. In Christchurch, it felt like they were criticised for leaving, but also in the Waikato, their levels of trauma and feelings of social isolation were not understood either.

Guilt

This rushed nature of the departure added to post-disaster shock and feelings of being unsettled, and several respondents felt wrenched out of Christchurch. Examining relocation patterns and feelings disrupts the prevalent picture built up in social media of relocated people being the 'lucky ones' who got out [of Christchurch] or that they 'ran away'.[24] The excerpts below are common examples found in the discussion sections of social media blog posts. While I acknowledge that sometimes the quasi-anonymous nature of using a blog-name allows for some more radical views to be aired without fear of personal repercussions, social media do present forums for popular opinion to be vocalised:

> Angry of Ilam #34: The people who left didn't care and consider the economic/social trauma they will cause to others. They put their own lives ahead of the community. Fight or flight? They ran. They don't care that their children's teacher is about to lose her job at the end of the year because of falling rolls, they are safe in their new home (...) they have a better life (...) and they can't wait to tell

[24] For example, Survivors of the exodus: 'There is guilt that we ran away', Collins (nzherald.co.nz 6/09/11); 26,000 hit the road after quake, Sachdeva and Levy (*The Press*, www.stuff.co.nz 30/09/11); Shaken Cantabrians debate packing up and leaving, Scott (http://tvnz.co.nz 17/06/11).

> everyone about it (...) they are making victims out of others, the very stalwarts, true Cantabrians who had the fortitude to stay.
>
> Eastie #33: Good riddance to them. Runaway. We don't need you here if you can't stick it. Bye-bye (Sachdeva and Levy 2012: unpaginated).

The desperate telephone call I received from a caller (see Chapter 4) highlights the impact that these attitudes can have on emotionally vulnerable people. The caller rang my number in order to issue a warning to people who relocate. She said social media discussion on people who relocate was 'damaging', and this sent chills down my back because I had read some of the awful dialogues posted on comment threads and sites. My notes, which she insisted I write down as she spoke, underscore her frame of mind. The caller explains:

> The widely publicised attention given to the criticism of people leaving Christchurch meant that I didn't discuss leaving with my friends and family. I shot myself in the foot by not doing so. The media attention was totally unfair and I faced being hounded for going – that's how I felt! And now I am here I hate it and I can't cope anymore (Notes from telephone call 6 December 2011).

In actuality, respondents also felt far from smug about their new lives in the Waikato. Traces of guilt, sometimes strongly felt like a pang, and sometimes more of a background ache, were embedded in their experiences. Longhurst *et al.* (2012) write an emotional and affective geography of a group of lone mothers and their experiences of higher education in New Zealand. This group of mothers, they argue, have intermingled feelings of guilt and shame. "Both shame and guilt reveal mothers' dreams, hopes, worries, concerns, values and aspirations not only for themselves but also for their children" (Longhurst *et al.* 2012: 299). By utilising Probyn (2005), Longhurst *et al.* (2012) link pride, guilt and shame (which are visceral, embodied and emplaced) through daily practices. They highlight the idea, which I wish to consider, of *lingering* guilt.

During the interviews most participants discussed, and often struggled with, their feelings of guilt about leaving Christchurch. Below three participants discuss the different aspects connected to the guilt they felt:

> Lucy: It's like the guilt, the guilt of leaving and feeling like you're abandoning the ship when the ship needs you. It's sort of like us and them in a way. None of our friends have pushed it upon us, but I do feel as though they possibly think that we've chickened out (Interview 1 November 2011).

> Chris: I think Lucy said you feel guilty and that, but I don't think I will ever lose that guilt. (1) about on the day itself [Feb 22] for not helping more in town, and (2) just the longer term guilt about ditching the place really for very good reasons and I don't regret what we've done and where we've gone. But you never lose the guilt about the people you've left behind and what they're going through, because they didn't have the options we had. I don't feel guilty I survived, it's more the leaving others behind (...) those that didn't have opportunities, those that are stuck (Interview 1 November 2011).

> Loren: If you'd planned and you'd packed and you'd talked about it with family it wouldn't be so bad. With leaving there is an element of guilt attached to it (...) there's a part of me that feels like I am missing out or feels like [*pauses*] I've done something disloyal. There is a part of me that's like: "Oh I've shared this big traumatic experience and I've shared that with them and then I've moved away from them" (Interview 2 February 2012).

The above passages relay the intermingling of feelings of guilt, but also and underneath the guilt felt on a personal level, the guilt of leaving behind the people you love, the guilt of letting people down by leaving 'when the going gets tough'. Although respondents did not use the word shame in this context, I find it easy to replace the term guilt for shame. A part of the guilt was feeling ashamed about leaving Christchurch, the terms do seem entangled. Like Longhurst *et al.* (2012: 297) "guilt was not a 'fleeting emotion' (Probyn 2005: 46) but a daily reality" that lingers with participants. For relocatees, a crucial part of themselves *was Christchurch* the city, the place, the buildings and, importantly, the people. In order to leave respondents faced the difficult task of turning their backs on an integral part of themselves and the togetherness that was witnessed and

experienced in the post-disaster days, weeks and months, and this infused them with lingering feelings of guilt. Julia explains how she felt about leaving:

> I felt guilty, quite guilty because I had left all of my friends to deal with it [aftershocks]. I felt I was running away from it and that's how I continue to feel – guilty (Interview 11 October 2011).

Probyn (2005: 8) views positivity in shame. She "wants us to embrace the sometimes painful ways shame makes us reflect on who we are – individually and collectively". In much the same way, respondents' guilt surfaced when they centred on reflecting on who and what they were. But also, who and what they were leaving behind and had lost. I also consider the type of lingering guilt felt by respondents directly associated with comments made in social and mass media, in a public signing of *'The Pledge*'. '*The Pledge'* was considered to be a movement started by Christchurch lawyer Garth Gallaway for residents to publically sign a declaration that they would stay in Christchurch and support the rebuild and local economy. It was made into a series of books which were distributed to locations around Christchurch for people to sign so they could "make an emotional and spiritual commitment to Christchurch and Canterbury" (*Television New Zealand* 2011). The books were gathered and collated into a leather bound volume and presented to Mayor Bob Parker[25] and the Christchurch City Council in May 2011, adding authenticity and political meaning to an emotionally charged document. I discuss '*The Pledge*' because it reinforced some of the moral undercurrents when respondents were considering leaving or staying in Christchurch. '*The Pledge*' implies that those people who leave *do not* have an emotional and spiritual commitment to Christchurch. Further, loyalty to Christchurch was then being presented as a location (Christchurch) rather than a matter of heart. These issues came up in the focus group discussion:

> Geoff: Well, we didn't sign 'The Pledge'!
>
> [*general agreement from focus group about not signing*]

[25] During the later stages of writing (12 October 2013) Bob Parker chose not to stand for re-election as mayor of Christchurch. The current mayor is now Lianne Dalziel.

> Greg: Well in theory 'The Pledge' should have been a wonderful thing but people have to cope with harsh realities and we would have loved to stay living in our house which we are very fond of! But the earthquakes 'killed' it [the house] and Susan was going to be made redundant (Focus Group 27 November 2011).

By deconstructing social and mass media surrounding relocating individuals, it can be seen that a divisional and moral framework was set up which impinged emotionally on respondents. Deconstruction also draws out absences. By ignoring some things and elevating and situating others, a sense of what is natural and normal is created. Largely missing from mass media were relocated individuals' responses to the moral compass set by leaving discourses along with their stories and their place in the long-term earthquake recovery processes. In three separate interviews participants briefly outline some comments they received:

> Ruby: You do get friends that are still down there, and you know, they make the odd comment, you know umm [*long pause*] like, "why do you think you're better than us; that you've got to go?" (Interview 20 October 2011).

> Jackie: I mean a lot of people got really shitty with people that were moving, "Oh you're being a wimp and you're just leaving everyone to it". And it's like well, you've got to look after yourself as well, you can't be made to feel bad about it! (Interview 4 November 2011).

> Mel: Yeah, yeah, yeah! I get that a lot with friends, "Oh you took the easy way out". And I say, "*No*! I took the best way out for my family" (Interview 24 October 2011).

It is important to note that the discourses surrounding leaving or staying are much more complex than these few excerpts imply, although, the lingering guilt adds a sense of ambivalence to moving away. Social and mass media also tended to assume that people who chose to relocate were not emotionally connected to Christchurch and perhaps had a transient life-style, and therefore, a predilection toward moving:

> (...) and maybe those that do a runner never had their hearts here in the first place (...) and where the heart is for me is where my family, friends and memories are. Christchurch needs people who love her – for it is they who will ensure her rebuild is done with pride and honour (Donnell 2011: unpaginated).

These media discourses work to set up a 'moral compass'. Does this then mean that people who internally migrated after the earthquakes and aftershocks are not 'true' Cantabrians and live without pride and honour? Ambivalence, the internal contradictions felt and expressed by respondents, underscores the flux of feelings across discourse. Bauman (1991) argues that ambivalence is a failure of *language*. Bauman (1991) considers that modern language relies upon the effective discovery of proper technologies of ordering. Thus the world can be classified and segregated into discrete entities, and therefore, ambivalence emerged through the possibility of assigning an object or event more than one category (Legg 2008). Likewise, Bondi (2004) considers that a feminist academic is a contradiction in *terms.* Indeed, although respondents moved to the Waikato to start a new life, they chose to call themselves *Cantabrians in Waikato,* identifying with one place and living in another in a fluid form of subject positioning and a state of 'between-ness'. By exploring the affectual responses to processes of belonging and identity formation there seemed to be an empirical disjuncture between the expectations of the relocation experience (from others in mass and social media), and the actual experiences of that migration. It is also important to note the term *refugee* was used often in media accounts and was also met with ambivalence by respondents.

Are earthquake survivors refugees?

There are specific political uses for the words 'refugee'[26] and 'displacement' and sometimes the terms are used interchangeably. They tend to conjure up images

[26] UNHDR (1979) define a refugee as follows: "A refugee is someone who has been forced to flee his or her country because of persecution, war, or violence. A refugee has a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group. Most likely, they cannot return home or are afraid to do so. War and ethnic, tribal and religious violence are leading causes of refugees fleeing their countries".

of war-torn countries and long-onset disasters such as drought and famine (see Black 2001; Malkki 1995). Within academia there have been debates over terminology about who is and who is not a refugee (Black 2001; Malkki 1995). Media, environmentalists, and Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs) examining population displacement from natural disasters often use the term 'environmental refugees', to denote those affected by earthquakes, volcanoes and floods among other things. In these publications there is an understated assumption that 'environmental refugees' are a function of the number of vulnerable people living in the region, such as Pakistan or Bangladesh (see Lonergan 1998).

In the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina in 2005, many evacuees were called *refugees* which caused a debate to surface about whether the term was appropriate for a developed nation such as the United States of America (Masquelier 2006). Not everyone agreed with using the term refugee. It was argued that it stripped survivors of their dignity, while, conversely, it was a particularly suitable term because it "hinted at the horrific conditions that many of Katrina's survivors have eventually escaped. The word *refugee*, as this war on words suggests, carries a heavy semantic load" (Masquelier 2006: 736, emphasis in original). And seeming to mirror this debate, respondents in New Zealand also grappled with the expression, but it did not attract a similar country-wide debate.

The term refugee was used extensively throughout mass media accounts, and was stretched to include people who had moved out of Christchurch in the immediate post-impact period of the disaster.[27] The reporter who wrote the article advertising this research for prospective respondents (see Appendix 4.1) also stated that I was conducting a "study into quake refugees" (not my term) and subsequently people contacted me stating "I am an earthquake refugee".

[27] For example, Christchurch earthquake: towns give shelter to shaken refugees (*NZ Herald* March 2011); Christchurch earthquake: refugees fleeing Christchurch (*Hawkes Bay Today* 24 February 2011); Earthquake refugees create boom (*Timaru Herald* 3 March 2011): Christchurch earthquake: thousands of refugees heading to Auckland (*NZ Herald* 5 March 2011).

Nonetheless, the expression refugee has been appropriated in a wide range of differing situations, and relocatees often self-identified as being refugees, but importantly, some also actively resisted the label, as they felt it denied them self-determination and agency (see Masquelier 2006).

When asked to fill in a 'suggestion sheet' at the social picnic, to garner ideas for memorialising 22 February and the formation of Cantabrians in Waikato support group, question six stated, *'Cantabrians in Waikato': is it a good name for the group?* One household replied, "Yes, please can we stay away from the word 'refugee'? And two others made similar statements. Discourse is a view of language as an element of social life which is closely connected and interconnected with other elements, such as political power, gendered relationships, and racial discrimination (Fairclough 2003).

Gender and relocation

Everyone in this study agreed that at some level they were lucky not to have deaths in the immediate family, but also it has been established that the impacts of the earthquakes *and* relocating often took an emotional toll. As this project uses emotion and affect as an overarching focus, I have argued that power differentials are important, including gender. Disaster literature has identified women in vulnerability analyses as being at higher risk than men and has investigated how gender makes a difference to disaster recovery. Female-headed households, for example, are often disadvantaged both politically and economically with limited resources and influence (Enarson and Morrow 1998). Further, and significant for this project, Enarson and Morrow comment that "women's 'emotion work' is vital to children and dependent elders, spouses and life partners as they come to terms with evacuation, losses, *relocation*, injury or death, both as experienced family health providers and caregivers" (1998: 7 emphasis added).

Women's long-term care-giving responsibilities for disaster-impacted family members position them to materially and emotionally sustain kin throughout the

experiences of disaster and recovery. This role does impact on women who often become emotionally drained or divert their own healing for those of the immediate family. This was something that came up often in the interviews as a shared moment between respondent and researcher, often mother to mother, advancing the affective flow of relations. Holly states:

> It was four hours before I saw [husband and son] and five hours until [older son] came home and we were getting massive aftershocks. I was looking after the other two [children] and Dad was wondering around in a total daze. And I'm thinking: "Who put me in charge?" [*laughs*] "Why do I have to be the person in charge here?" But they all just turned around and stared at me and I was thinking, no actually I just want to stand here and scream, but I don't get that option. I'm a mummy! You'll know what I mean. I'm a mummy so I don't get the option to scream and break down. So I just cleaned up Dad's house. He couldn't handle it and he just switched off. And I was thinking: "Well I didn't get to switch off until last year! [two years since the first quake] It was just go, go, go and everybody just expected that I would know what we were doing (Follow-up Interview 20 February 2013).

Enarson and Morrow (1998) remind us that women with responsibility for children and elder family members have intensified care-giving roles during a crisis, rather than those roles being abandoned. While it is more commonly accepted that women can bear an increased and unrecognised burden in disasters in developing countries, it is less likely to be acknowledged that a similar model also applies in the developed world (Fordham and Ketteridge 1998). For this project there was the added complication of relocation on top of disaster events. According to Riad and Norris (1996, 167) "most studies show that relocation is stressful and increases victims' risk of experiencing depression or anxiety" and part of the reasons that these feelings may surface "is because strangers may find it difficult to create new support networks" (see also Quarantelli 1985).

In the initial stages of this research women were often impacted disproportionately more so than their spouse by the decision to relocate, because many lost employment (nine households) and remained in the

(unfamiliar and/or temporary) domestic sphere on a full time basis. *The Human Rights Commission* (2012) argues that "the Christchurch earthquakes have had a disproportionate impact on female job loss in the retail trade, accommodation and food services sectors in particular. Canterbury accounted for 7400 lost jobs of the 9000 job losses for women nationally towards the end of last year [2011]". Ruby talks about her time in the Waikato and at home as being difficult and isolating. She explains:

> I do find it difficult because here in [the Waikato] we don't know anybody [*turns to husband*] you know, you're at work all day and interacting with other people and [daughter] goes to pre-school and it's really difficult meeting new people. Suddenly I don't have a support network or even work colleagues to talk to. I know we're lucky to be able to move but some days I find it really difficult. It is the people I miss and that hits really hard (Interview 20 October 2011).

Furthermore, not all members of a household felt equally certain about relocating. Four women felt the decision to relocate was forced upon them, where they had to choose between staying in Christchurch or being with their children and spouses. Mel says: "Oh I just really, really want to go home [to Christchurch] but my partner doesn't want to and he won't let the kids go back, that's just the way it's been since we've come up here and I'm depressed all the time" (Interview 24 October 2011). Two solo-parent mothers came under heavy scrutiny from family members in their decision to move away with the children and faced considerable pressure to return to Christchurch rather than to permanently relocate. On the night of February's quake Alexis was going to leave Christchurch after finding that her own home, her brother's and parents' homes were all unliveable. She had the children in the car screaming for her to leave:

> My kids fought me the whole way to my parents' house, they just wanted to leave straight away and I was really torn between my father's [*thinks*] demand, almost like he was using authority on me to stay, like I was a child. He said "You *have* to stay, you can't just go". I think he knew he was going to lose us, I think he knew this was it. He said again: "You have to come and stay with us." But their house was severely damaged and my kids were all just hysterical at that point

> saying that they hated me and how could I do that to them and how could I make them stay, that I didn't love them, you know how it is, blah blah blah. It was just *horrible*! I was so torn between everyone's emotions and no-one asked about what I wanted to do (Interview 19 October 2012).

There is a level of expectation that a significant portion of the emotional labour in disaster recovery is taken on by women (see Enarson and Morrow 1998; Enarson *et al.* 2007) but what do 'we' do with emotional men? The instances of men coping with disaster are not often examined, and challenge the view that 'men must work and women must weep' (Fordham and Ketteridge 1998). Men in this study sometimes felt inadequate for being traumatised by the earthquakes (unable to cope) and they often experienced high levels of stress and anxiety about the responsibility of undertaking decisions on behalf of the family. These processes of trying to decide sometimes played out across bodies in an affectual manner. At times, unease and stress resonated 'beyond words'. For example, Chris and Lucy discuss what it was like trying to decide about the family's future from outside of Christchurch immediately after February's earthquake:

> Lucy: We spent a week [in Kaikoura approximately 180km north of Christchurch] and that was where I started to realise how much it [earthquakes] impacted on Chris. Yeah just the way you were talking you know? I thought: "It's not my husband". To talk [like that] the way he was speaking. And he would cry! Umm and yeah it was horrific wasn't it?
>
> Chris: Umm yeah, oh it was.
>
> Lucy: It was horrific just to see him like that.
>
> Chris: I think it was just the responsibility, because you did, sort of, say: "It's your decision whether we stay or go".
>
> Lucy: I didn't want to [decide] because he's the major 'bread-winner'.
>
> Chris: There's an awful lot of men on pills down there. They're used to being the pillar [of strength] and they've got no control over this. That's the scary thing for a lot of guys, is that they can't do anything about it [protecting the family] (Interview 1 November 2011).

The above conversation signals a gendered discourse based around emotions and rationality. I concentrate on the affective registers, the crying and *the way* Chris was talking. The dialogue went 'beyond' and in-excess of their usual bodily knowing– ("it's not my husband")—highlighting the 'unsayable' which adds depth to the analysis of why people felt ambivalent and 'forced' (at least emotionally) to relocate. Chris also commented that he was not entirely 'in-control' of his body or his emotional state, even when he had relocated. He talked about being highly anxious at work when talking in front of other colleagues "even in small groups". He suffered anxiety attacks and explains that he got: "a really weird breathless chest, real anxiety attacks [in the Waikato]". For Chris this was "weird, really weird" (Interview 1 November 2011).

In contrast, Lucy spoke at length about how she became fearful of their family home, refusing to sleep inside it and when she did, she was in a state of readiness (fully dressed and with a torch). Lucy also explained that for a time she needed to take sleeping tablets and anti-anxiety drugs to cope with the aftershocks that 'rocked' the area continually. In the interview, her responses were not questioned by Chris in the same way ('this is not my wife', for example), nor were they marked out as 'horrific' or 'weird'. Instead when Lucy spoke of her fear and anxiety during and after the earthquakes, Chris often quietly responded with 'yeah' or supported her physically by putting a hand on her arm when she became upset.

When interpreting emotionality and how it was encountered, there was a general discussion of emotional expression (as healthy) and emotional repression (as unhealthy). Women were far more likely to be expressive, while men tended toward suppression. The conversation above between Chris and Lucy, mentions how men in Christchurch have had considerable (emotional) problems coping with the earthquakes. And, in particular, men spoke about their inability to control circumstances and protect their families from possible harm. Emotionality, often feminised, is also associated with the irrational, the unruly and the shameful, and as something to be controlled. Chris explained his

experience of the earthquakes in February. He was in a multi-storey building in the centre of Christchurch and says:

> I thought I was going to die. I thought the building was going to come down, cause from what I saw out the window [the collapse of the PGC building] I knew people were dead and I thought we were next, so that really affected me, I think, quite badly at the time in terms of our decision making because, you know, as the man – I guess you're quite— people look to you for strength and stuff but I was a mess (Interview 1 November 2011).

Being emotional ("a mess") was seen as negative, something that had to be overcome in order to regain the self, and return to (pre-quake) rational decision-making ability as soon as possible. In some ways Chris's experience is understood as conforming to hegemonic performances of being a man (being strong and rational and not a mess and emotional). But at the same time, he was partially open to talking about his experiences, feelings and the 'inner turmoil' that continued in the Waikato caused by earthquakes. He said: "I used to get pretty emotional about it [quakes] early on in the piece, but I've always been comfortable talking about the earthquakes" (Interview 1 November 2011). In contrast Ross spoke about his earthquake experiences and anxiousness in dismissive terms. He contributed only short sentences before steering the interview back to more 'neutral' subjects. When I asked him directly how he felt about experiencing the earthquakes he said: "I didn't want to stay there [in Christchurch], I just wanted to get out as soon as I could. It was silly" (Interview 28 October 2011).

Women, though, talked of their emotional 'outbursts' as cathartic and as part and parcel of recovering (not covering-up or bottling-up emotions). In contrast to Ross's and Chris's statements, Alexis thought that unleashing her emotions and being "a mess" was positive. She recounts:

> I just had this big emotional purge [in Christchurch]. I was a mess. [She went to a remote hill-side not far from her parents' ruined house.] I howled and I cried and yelled out: "Bloody earthquakes! You've ruined all of our lives! And I just— grrrr! All this anger about

> the earthquakes, because where else do you put it? You can't really be furious with nature! All this bottled up— how it's impacted on just so many lives and all the people I love, it's just screwed up their worlds. And yeah, so I did, I had a really big cry ... I went home and hugged Dad and flew back to the Waikato the next morning and thought: "Oh well, I'll be free". Because I needed to go there and do that ... it's a good thing to have an outlet (Follow-up Interview 19 October 2012).

The sharing of emotions and emotionality through 'community' is also considered to be feminised (Thien 2009; Thien and Del Casino 2012) but it was something that evolved through this research (*Cantabrians in Waikato* and the focus group meeting). The research community that built up was cited by respondents as being a helpful and supportive space that often went beyond conversation. Ross was quiet at the opening stages of the focus group. He listened attentively and repeatedly nodded his head in agreement, but seemed reluctant to speak until conversation about 'what if things were ever so slightly different' sparked a reply. Ross elaborates about his children's school which sat directly in front of some large clay-based cliffs:

> Ross: After the earthquake happened I got in the car and went straight down the hill ... there were people sat on the grass outside and as you got around the corner all I could see was dust and rubble from the cliffs. I couldn't see the school.
>
> [*general gasping and horror at the thought of that moment].*
>
> Lucy: Jeepers! You must have been feeling sick [puts hand over mouth].
>
> Ross: And you know when I got further around the corner and I could see all these little kids in red sitting out the front of the school by the road [*pauses, eyes welling up*].
>
> Lucy: That must have been a very emotional time for you.
>
> Ross: It was [*pauses*] particularly [*pauses, swallows hard*].

> Lucy and Chris: Yeah, yep [they hold hands and look at Ross, everyone is quiet, emotionally linked to the moment] (Focus Group 27 November 2011).

In understanding more complex geographies of emotionality, bodies and sharing, the focus group was an instance of the collation of "bodies, gestures, and turns of phrase" which reshape the (emotional) relations with others (Ahmed 2004b: 166; cited in Thien and Del Casino 2012: 1149). The focus group unexpectedly functioned to offer significant space for "male feeling in a manner normatively accorded to a feminised repertoire of emotionality (that of community, sharing of emotions and emotionality through community)" (Thien and Del Casino 2012: 1149). These examples indicate the complexities and shifting, fluid realities of participants. In this research the emotion and affect that surround relocation are gendered at times, sometimes conforming to (stereotypical) response patterns, but then at times challenging these stereotypes.

Susan and Greg began their interview talking about having to leave Christchurch as an economic reality, and that it was an unemotional motivation to leave. In a contradictory sense, they talked about how much of a wrench leaving their house and community was. The point here though is that Susan's job offer was the catalyst for relocating, and Greg followed her to where her new work would be. They discuss the move:

> Greg: We kind of figured that Susan's department might well limp along for another six months, but there was no point us hanging around if she was ultimately going to be made redundant. So to stay in Christchurch with Susan not in work or not working at her level would have been just foolish.
>
> Susan: And even waiting to accept a redundancy package is no good because there are about 12 jobs doing what I do in New Zealand.
>
> Gail: Oh wow! Okay then. But you managed to find a position up here then? [Hamilton City].
>
> Susan: Yes, I jumped at it, and it's a pay increase, which was even better.

> Greg: But by then we were quite emotionally invested in our house and community and everything we'd been through by that point [July 2011]. So it was definitely something of a wrench having to leave. But it was a very cold, hard, logical and practical decision wasn't it?
>
> Susan: No emotion whatsoever! [*sarcastic*] (Interview 25 October 2011).

The conversation takes a somewhat ambivalent turn and contains some very conflicting dialogue about leaving. In this way the couple seemed to be trying to displace the deep-seated emotions they faced through leaving their community. In some cases the 'traditional' gender roles are switched. For example, Susan's work, her team in Christchurch, and her new team in Hamilton were promoted as the most significant factors in their decision to relocate. Greg's input into whether the couple should leave or not was never mentioned. With another family, I interviewed Ross because he had assumed the role of home-based father to the children in the Waikato, while his wife (Kathryn) had accepted a lucrative position that required her to travel. Ross also had difficulty coping with being "jumpy at nights. I'm a bit, like, "what was that?" And Kathryn doesn't seem bothered, but I am, I leave the light on" (Interview 28 October 2011). Ross got significant comfort from meeting other Cantabrians in the group meeting who had similar feelings. The crux of this chapter rests on examining ambivalence, and how emotion and affect are multifarious, complex and contradictory painting a picture of everyday life as having transformative potential. In short, narratives of the self are provisional rather than finalised, and the respondents' experiences are conceptualised as being in-flux, as *becoming*.

Summary

Instead of a singular, clear-cut decision to relocate away from Christchurch and the resulting earthquakes and aftershocks, I have examined how emotion, affect and places become entangled and imbued with contradictory feelings. Feelings of contradiction also surfaced when emotion and affect were purposefully masked to create the facade of coping. Nonchalance and humour were

sometimes employed to cover distress and anxiety. How these affects were transmitted and 'read' was not always successful, further feeding uncertainty and ambivalence. I could intimate these feelings through the unconscious resonance of conversation, the back and forth swing of dialogues. The lingering guilt, loss and grief of turning away from Christchurch intersected with mass and social media. For many, media discourses about leaving Christchurch created a sense of disloyalty toward the city itself as well as toward friends, family, neighbours and colleagues – 'abandoning the ship, when the ship needs you' heightened ambivalent feelings.

In the final sections I discussed the ambivalence surrounding being a refugee (or not) and how representations of the decision makers to relocate become enmeshed with gendered emotional work. Men, it seemed, had trouble coping with not being able to control the disaster, and sometimes became anxious when taking responsibility for the family's future. Gender roles and relations weave in and out of the data and were sometimes challenged and sometimes reinforced ('he's the breadwinner', for example). Emotion and affect are encountered, then, as facilitating sense making or are made available within certain parameters and gendered power relations that loosely script, code and influence everyday life. They are not just forces 'running wild' but are drawn back to context and meaning in the narratives of respondents. While at the same moment, emotion and affect exist in contradictory and ambivalent feelings that are felt, but are not containable in "joys and sadnesses, increases and decreases, brightening and darkening" (Deleuze 1998: 145 cited in McCormack 2003: 495).

Chapter 7: Bodies and buildings

Geographers have used theories of emotion and affect to explore the relationship between bodies and the spaces around them. In this chapter, I discuss emotion and affect in connection to the built environment, and in particular I focus on buildings, both domestic and public. Engaging with affect theory means including all sorts of non-human 'agents' in social life, such as, technologies, animals, plants and material objects. In this project buildings have played a dramatic role for respondents, engendering varied emotional and affectual responses. Buildings contain memories, they instil fear, and mobilise community responses, as well as creating moments of calm, grief, and feelings of entrapment. Interviews have been filled with accounts of the changing relationships relocatees have had to the built environment both in the Waikato and in Christchurch.

Figure 7.1: Collapsed Pyne-Gould Corporation Building which Chris saw out his work-place window (see page 132)
Source: John Kirk-Anderson, *The Press:* Reuters

Thinking through emotion, affect and buildings suggests that the material and immaterial are co-constituted. One could easily imagine that buildings have caused respondents to be fearful. After all, most deaths in February's major earthquake were due to collapsed buildings (see figure 7.1 above) or parts of buildings, such as falling masonry.

The crux of this chapter, then, is to follow the kinds of affective states evoked by bodies and buildings both in and beyond the disaster and into relocated space. Human and material objects, belongings and technologies combine to engender the affective experience of what it means to dwell – to make home, but also in this chapter, to leave a home, and to make a 'new' home. The notion of dwelling, then, is fluid and pervasive, stretching out over space to 'jump scales' from homes to cities. Taking a cue from Rose *et al.* (emphasis in original, 2010: 334) I combine "the feel *of* buildings, feelings *in* buildings, and feelings *about* buildings", but also I pay attention to how emotion and affect are encountered.

Geographers have "explored the way that the built environment is shaped and given meaning through active and embodied practices by which it is produced, appropriated and inhabited" (Lees 2001: 56; see also Adey 2008, Kraftl 2007, Kraftl and Adey 2008, Llewellyn 2003). An individual's attachment to his/her surroundings is constantly being negotiated as the body moves around space, which counters claims that place and space are static. The on-going interactions between bodies and things in the world alters the affective capacity of body and landscape "which in turn has impact on the depth and complexity of that relationship and the sense of attachment that results" (Jones and Evans 2012: 2321). This statement has salience for Christchurch residents as the debate about the restoration or demolition of the Anglican Cathedral has become heated. Proponents are divided along lines of place attachment, identity, religion, economics and self-representation through the built environment.

Jenkins (2002: 230) writes "instead of traditional accounts in which technology and society are separated falsely as different realms, there is a heterogeneous

mixing of human and non-human elements between which, in everyday life, there is a constant negotiation". This quote underscores the ever-changing mixture of human and non-human components that make up the life-worlds of the participants, including the buildings in which they work, play and live and which 'house' past and present memories. The earthquakes and aftershocks had a devastating impact on the built environment as well as the occupants of buildings, but also, buildings have taken on increasing significance in respondent accounts of their relocated lives. I diverge a little from the geographical literature on affect and architecture by concentrating on the embodied affective transfer that the buildings prompted in the respondents. I also look at the changing relationships relocated Cantabrians have had with buildings both in Christchurch and in the Waikato.

Cities are often recognised by their buildings and they become visually 'known' by particular buildings which make cities identifiable and unique. Buildings and architecture can become tourist attractions, as well as markers on the sky-line and a means for inhabitants to locate and orientate themselves. They are symbolic of economic prosperity and provide a standing memory of history and cultural richness. People develop close affections to buildings and the built environment because they are much more than the mere backdrop to everyday lives. Due to the entangled nature of place, emotion and affect, separating out relocatees' feelings between Christchurch and Waikato is not so easy or clearly defined. I loosely employ scale from the living space of the home out to a broader and bigger, but no less emotionally invested, built space of cities.

In the following sections I examine the changing notions of home, from a place of safety and sanctuary to a place of fear in Christchurch and then describe how moving from rented homes to dwellings in the Waikato have engendered atmospheres of calm but also anxiety and feelings of entrapment. I then explore buildings in the city, concentrating on memory, place and the loss of buildings and the social fabric in Christchurch. In particular, I discuss the Christchurch Cathedral and outline how, as an iconic building the Cathedral entangles

nostalgia, identity, pride, history and place attachment. The debate surrounding the future of the Christchurch Cathedral has divided residents in Christchurch, but also has impacted on some respondents in the Waikato as they remain connected to decisions surrounding their 'heart', home and remembered places.

Geographers have included the home as a specific geographical scale in order to examine the imaginative, material, affective and relational aspects of home as space (Blunt 2005; Blunt and Dowling 2006; Gorman-Murray and Dowling 2007; Tolia-Kelly 2004; Valentine 1993, 2001). Home and the roots that lie there are at the core of our personal identity, even if we are separated from them in time and space. In a sense, such places become a part of us (Teather 1999). Thus, homes are considered to be highly emotional spaces with a strong degree of personal significance for their occupants. Conversely, home as an ideal place has been challenged by feminist geographers through studies on homelessness, violence in the home, gender oppression and so on (see Valentine 2001). Home is also understood as the outcome of the relationship between material and imaginative ideas which separate home from the notion of dwelling. Some buildings, for instance, instil in us a pervasive feeling of homely comfort, even if they are not actually 'homes' (see Kraftl 2006). Gorman-Murray and Dowling (2007: 2) argue that:

> Home, then, is a fusion of the imaginative and affective – what we envision and desire home to be – intertwined with the material and physical – an actual location which can embody and realise our need for belonging, affirmation and sustenance.

Sims *et al.* (2009) examine how the notion of home can come to be 'inversed' during a disaster. They examine the 2007 flood in Hull, Northeast England, to allow for an analysis of home as a disrupted site and how that impacts on people's 'emotional landscapes' of caring. Sims *et al.* (2009) discuss how "'homes' can shape care work but also the impact on care from disruption to the home" (2009: 304). When a home is disrupted so are belongings, routines and the sense of ontological security which illustrates the bonds that exist between

inhabitants and the familiar objects and routines of the home. For example, Greg began to explain his feelings about a desk that was part of the furniture that survived the earthquakes. He says:

> I have an office just around the back of here [lounge] and on my desk, which is the desk I personally cowered under on several occasions [*laughs*]. On the 13th June earthquake I had a cup of coffee on my desk at the time and obviously the cup tipped itself over and it spilt all over my [computer] mouse and so on my desk is a clear coffee-mark impression of the outline of my mouse [*laughs*]. I'm sort of conflicted whether it is actually a good thing to see each day and often I will just put my mouse in its coffee-mark as if that's where it belongs you know? And sometimes I will just look at the coffee-mark and it brings back all sorts of awful memories. Yes [*draws it out*] it's very easy to traumatise yourself if you choose to, it doesn't take much, but I am also very attached to my coffee-mark, mouse and desk (Follow-up Interview 12 February 2013).

The relationship between emotion, affect and objects entangles senses, embodiment and movement. Feelings are directed toward objects and direct us towards objects "in the messiness of the experiential, the unfolding of bodies into the world and ... the drama of contingency"(Ahmed 2008: 10). And yet, feelings do not just reside in the objects or in the proximity to certain objects, but also extend outward to buildings, cities and landscapes. For most of the respondents, grappling with a multitude of changes was a large part of the decision to relocate. Not only were homes destroyed, but workplaces, the city and even the landscape vistas that were routine and familiar became unknown, unfamiliar and unsettling. Greg talks about his home before moving to the Waikato:

> It was so sad to see the Port Hills have changed. They're not safe, you can't walk in them and Castle Rock has changed its shape, you know the silhouette out our kitchen window has changed. I mean it's pretty weird to have your whole view changed! The hills even, you're, you know, used to how they line up in the window (Interview 12 February 2013).

This research builds on Sims et al. (2009) by considering the links between home and feelings of displacement, but also how homes are implanted into a physical

landscape. The landscape reflects feelings of being ‘at home’ and ‘feeling at home’. Ulrich (1979) considers how landscape aesthetics enhance or constrain the psychological wellbeing for the ‘viewer’, prompting a range of emotive and affective responses. Similar to this line of thought, a severe disruption to an everyday aesthetic (a view out of the window that one lives with which suddenly changes) instilled unease, and visually highlighted the immense changes brought about by the earthquakes. Helen and Scott a retired couple also considered the loss of landscape aesthetics which highlighted their sense of discomfort and caused stress. There is a sense of deep and profound grief at losing the places they dreamed that they would live in forever:

> Helen: It is unsettling and strange to be here [Waikato] and not see the Southern Alps from the window. We had bought our dream home in an area that we had longed to live in for some time. I particularly miss our secret picnic spot by the Upper Sticks River. We considered it our special place to just spend time soaking up the atmosphere of the place (Interview 1 November 2011).

Although people have the ability to change, most of living or daily life rests on time and space continuity. Too much change can be overwhelming and can cause stress. The affective consequences of external threats to the home are, therefore, considerable (Sims *et al*. 2009).

Home but not as we know it

Home is considered as an identity co-produced through the multiple transactions of person and place. It is an important facet of examining the social aspects and spatiality of everyday life which coalesce around dwellings in complex and important ways. Gorman-Murray and Dowling (2007: 1) explain that notions of home are “powerful, emotive and multifaceted” emanating feelings of security, privacy, belonging and stability. In short, homes are generally felt to be imbued with sanctuary and refuge-like qualities. Places, locations and dwellings also appear ambivalent in the participants’ accounts. For example, ‘home’ as a concept is experienced not only with nostalgia and loss, but also as dangerous and constraining.

It is not surprising to find that participants in this research experienced considerable rupture to the feeling of ‘home as sanctuary’. For many the first earthquake in September 2010 caused damage, disruption, silt invasion (from liquefaction), and changes in day to day routines. Belongings in the houses were broken, shattered and could potentially become dangerous missiles during heavy aftershocks or in another earthquake event. A number of participants particularly mentioned how the prospect of going back in to their home after the earthquakes was unsettling. Ross and his family moved out of their home immediately after February’s earthquake to Amberely (a town 47km north of the city). They only travelled into Christchurch to pack their belongings because they were not willing to stay in their house one more night:

> Ross: We would come in to Christchurch [from Amberely], just for the day and we’d pack up what we needed, your last minute sort of things for four or five days then we came up here [to the Waikato].

Other respondents too talked about being at home as stressful and nerve-wracking. I provide just two examples, but there are more throughout the interview material:

> Helen: I just clock watched all the time. I clock watched until we could back the car out and escape the house and get as far away as we could to Rangiora [30km north of Christchurch] which isn’t that far but far enough (1 November 2011).

> Mel: When my partner walked through the house you could feel it shaking and it would freak me out. I had to run outside it was too intense for me. I hated it! The whole house had gone like this [*shows with hands the house sunk in the middle almost breaking in two pieces*] (Interview 28 October 2011).

Lucy spoke in-depth about her home as it became a source of anxiety to go back to. For her, the September earthquake had sounded like a cross between an aeroplane and a train inside the ground which was trying to come up through the floor. The front door was jammed shut and she couldn’t get out. Standing at the door, Lucy frantically tried to open it while she could hear things falling, breaking

and smashing. It was a terrifying experience which fundamentally changed her concept of home as a safe place. Lucy had difficulty (re)engaging with her home again. She says:

> Chris and [son] slept at our home but I really struggled, I really suffered going back home. I was terrified. It was that daunting feeling of not knowing what to expect in the night that I really struggled with. There is a horrible sick feeling when your own home is something that frightens you (Interview 1 November 2011).

It was common among relocatees that they slept in a state of readiness, fully clothed and torches at hand. They lacked trust in their homes to protect them. The potential of the structure to harm them during another earthquake event was constantly at the forefront of their minds. David and Julia, a retired couple, describe living in their small central city flat between September's earthquake and the February one more than five months later:

> David: You know it was just shake, shake, shake! We'd go to bed at night and we didn't know whether we'd finish up out on the grass [clearing outside the building].
>
> Julia: We'd go to bed fully dressed with our shoes on and everything because it [aftershocks] happened so often.
>
> David: You just had to get out because it was a concrete slab building, it if started to crumble, the whole thing would come down like this [*smashes fist into hand*].
>
> Julia: They [walls in the flat] were already cracked, so it couldn't take much shaking.
>
> Dave: Yeah, well, we went out to the grass lots. I mean there were 10-12 shakes a day sometimes, big ones too. There were enough worries to send you round the bend! It was very harrowing (Interview 11 October 2011).

Homes are neither entirely the physical dwelling nor the feeling but a complex relationship between the two. At the time of the initial interviews (October/November 2011), 95 per cent of the respondent households were living

in rented accommodation in Waikato and most wished to have a more permanent dwelling arrangement as soon as possible. Generally, participants had not yet unpacked all of their belongings. And deciding where to live was often connected to their children's schooling, so for some the decision of where to live was directly affected by school zoning policies. Further, because of their often unplanned departures from Christchurch, many respondents just rented where they could. Still, they had an eye on the market for a future home once the family was settled and/or insurance issues and land assessments had been completed in Christchurch. Even though many respondents were relieved to find rental properties in order to (re)settle their families, renting sometimes underscored feelings of alienation and stifled home-making practices. For example, Mel states:

> Being up here [Waikato] is just nothing like home. It doesn't even feel like home. I've got a nice [rental] house, you know, but I can't put my photos up or my things. Pretty much everything got smashed in Christchurch, but what I have got I can't put on the walls because it says so in the rental [agreement]. I don't have a home I have a house, you know what I mean? I still think of Christchurch as home (Interview 24 October 2011).

A lot of respondents, including all of the people who I conducted follow-up interviews with, had moved houses from when I first interviewed them approximately one year beforehand. Most had bought homes, with only a couple remaining in rental properties, so the new places were a significant topic of discussion. The affective terrain of experience of the built environment became an important aspect behind feeling settled in the Waikato. Moving forward from feelings of disruption and waiting (a state of being between) was desirable. What was significant for respondents, at least from their first interview, was a process of moving forward, thinking forward and being forward looking. This was often thought to be established by renewing their relationship to the built environment. When I first interviewed Susan and Greg they were living in a small home adjacent to a major roadway into Hamilton City. The traffic was busy and often included heavy-weight articulated trucks. While they loved the house itself,

the vibrations from the heavy vehicles felt way too much like aftershocks. The follow-up interview was conducted in their 'new' residence. They answered question one, *have your feelings about the Waikato changed in any way since I last interviewed you,* by saying:

> Susan: I think having a good house makes it, doesn't it?
>
> Greg: Yes! This place is definitely better for our mental health [because it doesn't shake]. I mean it sounds ridiculous, but it means an awful lot to me!
>
> Susan: So moving from [the first house] has actually been quite crucial for us to move forward (Interview 12 February 2013).

Other families went a step further in their discussion of their new house. They were gaining an emotional and affective sense of the dwelling which instilled specific feelings of calm and tranquillity. Spinoza (2000) argues that the affects of an external body or object on our own bodies are dependent on the nature of the external object and body that affected us (see also Kraftl and Adey 2008). In one instance, members of a single household talked in two separate interviews about their new home. The subject of *how the house made them feel* was discussed at some length:

> Paul [Holly's father]: I have never felt as calm and settled as I have done in a long time. I think it's because Holly and Bill have got this house, because since I have been here I'm sleeping better, even my little cat is much more relaxed. I certainly am. I've stopped hanging on to my seat when trucks go by! (Follow-up Interview 12 February 2013).
>
> Bill: I think we've all got more settled and calm, especially the kids (Follow-up Interview 12 February 2013).
>
> Holly: It is a very peaceful, calm place to live. The guy who owned it was an elder in the Church and I get the feeling he blessed the house because it just has this calm peaceful feeling to it ... It doesn't get that wind-up feeling with the house, you know, some houses you think are just so 'busy' and you'd think with the colour-schemes that it wouldn't work, but it does, it's just the house, it's very calming (Follow-up Interview 20 February 2013).

Kraftl (2010) examines how affective states may be created by architects through the use of specific materials, colours and shapes. Indeed, Holly mentions how the colour scheme could work as a negative aesthetic, but somehow the colours work in the case of this particular building. Holly considers something beyond refurbishment, adornment, and interpretation of architectural space, she is trying to articulate how affect is encountered and becomes transferred whilst in her home (Holly: "We all feel it—the calmness, and we talk about it often" Follow-up Interview 20 February 2013). Emotion and affect are an important part of this interface that includes bodily behaviour, sensory perception, the feelings that buildings evoke, and how these feelings are *transferred* to others. I felt, that the new dwellings had impacted on some of the respondents and could pick up on the atmosphere. For example, post-interview, I wrote about Bill and Holly's family house in my research diary:

> Empty cardboard boxes lined the outdoor garage. The first thing they pointed out was their 'shrine' to Canterbury in the corner of the lounge (mainly sports memorabilia). Precious belongings that had been packed for nearly two years were finally shelved, sat-on, read and admired. There seemed to be a great sense or 'atmosphere' of relief at moving into this house. Even the cats, which were locked away at the other house [previous interviews], sprawled out on the carpet and didn't move when I came in. The sense of calmness and permanence overshadowed everything else (Research diary 12 February 2013).

Anderson (2009) points out that 'atmosphere' is often used interchangeably with mood, feeling, ambience, tone and other ways of naming collective affect, and certainly this is how I interpret the transference of affects here. The home as a building seemed to inspire feelings of calm and produce a state of being relaxed for family members. And yet, I personally did not find the home instilling anything particular in me. I did, however, pick up on how the household members felt. They embodied relief and calm in a way that was significantly different from our initial interview, but also went beyond the fact that we had met before. Similar to the findings of Rose *et al.* (2010: 339), there was a sense of affect being "just one element of complex and subtle geographies, both

human and non-human". The complexity and malleability of people's relationships to places reveals how, as dynamic relationships, they necessarily include an array of feelings and experiences. Time is an interesting and important dimension, as the affective states evoked by buildings are couched in an *ongoing* sense of place and place attachment, and as something that evolves on a continuum.

Building a life in Waikato

Exploring the fluid connections between bodies and buildings in the Waikato has thus far led to positive engagements with dwellings, and the process of 'moving forward' is associated with (in general) feeling more settled in relocated spaces. Not everyone, though, found that homes were 'welcoming', 'tranquil' or 'homely'. By underscoring the importance of human subjectivity and context, multiple accounts of the complex entanglements between people and the built environment are exposed. For Alexis, transitioning from renting to buying a home in the Waikato was accompanied with feelings of entrapment, anxiety, sadness and guilt. At the end of 2012 Alexis and her family were asked to vacate their rental property and were given the appropriate notice. While they spent the summer months searching to find new accommodation that would satisfy work and schooling commitments, buying a house became an option. Being relieved to find security in home ownership, however, was mixed with doubt and anxiety. Alexis said that even the process of moving (packing/cleaning up and so on) bought on "horrible feelings". She explains:

> I have been feeling really trapped and anxious since buying this house. I never thought I would be investing in the future after what happened and seeing so many people trapped by having mortgages post-earthquake, unlike me who could run from a rental. I think my feelings of being trapped are also because buying here in [Cambridge, 27km south of Hamilton] I have really closed the door on returning to Christchurch and with this comes sadness and perhaps guilt ... It is also a brick house with no self-sustaining features, so if there was a natural disaster we are all goners (Follow-up Interview 18 March 2013).

Context is vitally important. Past experiences and places have had an impact on how Alexis felt about her present engagement with the built environment. There is a tension between the material stability of homes and their somewhat ephemeral interpretation by respondents that "easily exceeds the mutability of signification, and is a function of haptic, *uncertain,* performative, affective and perhaps non-cognitive inhabitation" (Kraftl and Adey 2008: 226, emphasis added). I felt that families projected their own feelings on the buildings and vice-versa, which was more evident than a 'translated affect' induced purely by architectural design.

Massey (2005) describes "thrown togetherness" to mull over ideas around differing situations, context and experiences of different people and objects which have to "simply get along" and clearly some (people and objects) do, and some do not. Even though many respondents discussed how the earthquakes and aftershocks coloured their views and interactions with buildings (such as shopping-malls and car-parks in the city), only Alexis mentioned how her current home would fail to perform in an earthquake event:

> Lucy: I still have issues like driving into underground car-parks, the first time I went to Chartwell [shopping mall] it took my breath and I couldn't go in (Interview 27 November 2011).

> Bill: At Chartwell [shopping mall] I went to the outside of the mall because I just couldn't bring myself to park undercover or up in the building because I thought well actually that's a concrete slab and a death-trap! (Interview 4 October 2011) (see figure 7.2).

Figure 7.2: Car versus concrete, Gloucester Street, central Christchurch
Source: http://www.flickr.com/photos/britishredcross/5473621670

Lees and Baxter (2011) discuss an 'event of fear' that a resident experienced in a council tower block in inner London, weaving together the architectural context of emotion, affect, materiality and human subjectivity. They seek to explain how architectural geographies have moved toward a more active and embodied engagement with the lived experience of buildings. A building event of fear is complex, highlighting that the embodied experience of architecture (or design) is important. Fluidity is crucial, because it challenges the distinction between inside and outside. That is, fear is at once inside, yet outside the building *and the person experiencing it*. Through fear, not only is the very border between self and other affected, but the relation between objects that are feared (high-rise concrete buildings) is shaped by histories that 'stick' (for example, media representations of earthquakes often include: collapsed concrete structures; people buried under bricks; twisted highways and so on) making some objects seem more fearsome than others (Ahmed 2004b: 67). The focus group participants discussed how, for them, everyday places (including buildings) that people around them take-for-granted, remind them of earthquakes and aftershocks:

> Ross: It’s like your senses are tuned to different things.
>
> Chris: Yeah, you are more sensitive, I remember when I first came up here [Waikato] I looked at buildings thinking, “Well, that wouldn’t last a five [on the Richter Scale]”.
>
> Susan: I’m still doing it!
>
> Chris: You’re just as conscious of that now, yeah.
>
> Susan: No, you definitely look at the world differently.
>
> Chris: Oh yeah! And always will I think (Focus Group 27 November 2011).

All of the respondents talked about the impacts of the earthquakes and how the excess of those experiences infiltrated into their lives once they had relocated. For many the residue of surviving the earthquakes still continued to impact on their feelings in and about different places and spaces. As such, a number of interviewees still had survival kit bags, torches and water bottles that were packed and ready to use. For example, Greg and his partner state:

> Greg: What were they saying was the first fashion accessory in Christchurch?
>
> Susan: A torch!
>
> Greg: And as you can see we still keep our torches close by.
>
> Susan: And our water supply.
>
> Greg: You could go into people’s places [in the Waikato], look around and you’ll spot torches dotted around here and there and you’ll go “Oh Yeah, you used to live in Christchurch!” [*laughs*] (Interview 25 October 2011).

Surviving a major disaster impacts on people’s behaviour, and they, of course, live with a different sense of awareness to risk when compared to how they lived prior to the earthquakes. New Zealand Civil Defence periodically runs survival kit campaigns on national television to inform people about the dangers of natural

disasters and the need to 'be prepared'. Most people, however (myself included) are apathetic, imagining that 'it will never happen to me'. A number of respondents mentioned the advertisements directly. For example, Susan states: "I was never a great believer in civil defence, and I've always been terrified of civil defence advertisements on the television, threatening doom and disaster! And I hated it; I hated it with a passion" (Interview 25 October 2011).

Social psychologists have used differing models to explain some post-disaster behaviour and how these reactions may be grouped (for example, see Mawson 2005). Nonetheless, by incorporating spoken accounts from respondents and also combining these with attention to space, place and affect, the analysis moves beyond social psychological models to examine some of the spatial aspects of post-disaster behaviour. Goodman (2009) discusses the use of sound to induce a fear response. His book extensively examines sound and frequency/vibration through affect theory using some common technologies of fear such as alarms and warning sirens. Goodman depicts 'sonic boom' stresses on people or 'sound-bombs' which are remarkably similar to respondents' reactions to the earthquakes and aftershocks. He describes experiencing a 'sound bomb':[28]

> It's night. You're asleep, peacefully dreaming. Suddenly the ground begins to tremble. Slowly, the shaking escalates until you're thrown off balance, clinging desperately to any fixture to stay standing. The vibration moves up your body, constricting your internal organs until

[28] "In November 2005, a number of international newspapers reported that the Israeli air force was using sonic booms under the cover of darkness as "sound bombs" in the Gaza Strip. A sonic boom is the high- volume, deep- frequency effect of low- flying jets travelling faster than the speed of sound. Its victims likened its effect to the wall of air pressure generated by a massive explosion. They reported broken windows, ear pain, nosebleeds, anxiety attacks, sleeplessness, hypertension, and being left "shaking inside." Despite complaints from both Palestinians and Israelis, the government protested that sound bombs were "preferable to real ones." Fear induced purely by sound effects, or at least in the undesirability between an actual or sonic attack, is a virtualized fear. The threat becomes autonomous from the need to back it up. And yet the sonically induced fear is no less real. The same dread of an unwanted, possible future is activated, perhaps all the more powerful for its spectral presence" (Goodman 2009: xiii). And so too are the vibrations of heavy traffic a virtualised fear for the respondents in relocated spaces. The point I make is that respondents are also still resonating with the earthquake encounter that hooks into and stays within the body.

> it hits your chest and throat, making it impossible to breathe (...). The only thing is clear is that you won't be able to get back to sleep because you are still resonating with the encounter (Goodman 2009: xiii).

Thinking about vibration and frequency and the 'affective sensorium' (Goodman 2009) of the earthquakes and aftershocks, brings to analyses the notion of vibration sensitivity. The affective register of the earthquakes brought with them discomfort and an ambience of fear, dread or 'bad vibes' which was trans-located to the Waikato. All of the respondents, at one point or another in the interviews, described situations where sound and vibrations similar to the frequency/vibrations of earthquakes and aftershocks caused them to momentarily relive their experience. Thus they were, as Goodman (2009: xiii) points out "still resonating with the encounter". Josh described to me a situation that was recounted time and time again in its various forms. He says:

> I actually felt an earthquake yesterday at five minutes past eleven [*pauses*]. It wasn't an earthquake though, it was one of those big semi-trucks going past, the sound is almost the same and, of course, I know it's not an earthquake but my reaction is the same. I get an adrenaline shock and I have to wait a while for the tension to go and my heart-beat to settle down (Interview 1 November 2011).

What I note and feel is not explained by social psychology models, such as Emergent Norm Theory (ENT), Coping Self-Efficacy (CSE) or Acute Stress Response (ASR) (see Aguirre 2005; Benight and Harper 2002). Some respondents have had what I term vibration sensitivity in *particular places* (for example, shopping malls) when they did not have a traumatic experience in that specific place. Feeling insecure, vulnerable, panicked, immobilised and/or fearful in shopping malls, cinemas, underground car-parks and so on, is as much to do with *knowing* what happened to other people in those sorts of spaces and buildings as well as *knowing* what earthquakes and aftershocks feel like, the past crashes into the present and drags along with it a whole set of historical associations (see Ahmed 2004 on fear). For instance, Jackie who was at home in a relatively low-

impacted suburb of Christchurch when the earthquakes struck, found that being in shopping malls in the Waikato was a challenge. She explains:

> Oh and the malls! We just couldn't believe it, we saw 'The Base' [large concrete/glass shopping complex in Hamilton], like, we don't have to worry about the malls collapsing, or think there's a glass roof and where is a dodgy place to stand or not [in the Waikato], but I do! I couldn't go in there! I've never been anywhere where I've haven't sat and thought, "Where would I go if there was an earthquake (Interview 4 November 2011)?

Jackie was one of the few respondents not living in a badly damaged area and was not in the central city at the time of the earthquakes and aftershocks. Then again, the impact on her psychologically, the historical association attached to earthquakes through popular media, was similar to other participants who had actually been in the CBD and shopping malls. Jackie's feelings about shopping malls and the effect of the earthquakes and aftershocks on her outlook and future safety was a common thread within interviews. Participants often searched for cracks in houses, roads and path-ways. Or they had increased sensitivity to frequency and vibrations, as well as fear of particular buildings that were similar to the ones in Christchurch that people had been trapped and killed in. Relocatees embodied an acute spatial awareness, particularly around concrete structures, shopping malls, and glass which inhibited their interactions with the built environment. Holly describes going to a mall [in the Waikato] for the first time with her youngest son:

> It took us ages to actually go into a mall, and when we actually did [son] said, "Oh the best place to come and sit Mum, if you want a coffee is down this end". I said, "Why?" Then he said, "Well the escalators are there, you don't want to sit near them, you can see the exit from here and down the other end where they've got all those shops, there's a heck of a lot of glass and they've got hanging things on the roof". And that was within a minute of walking into the place and I thought, "You're nine years old, you shouldn't have to think like that", but you do automatically. Even now when we walk down the street he points out cracks in the pavement. And we all do it! We say, "Yeah, they need to get some serious work done on that building [to

bring it up to earthquake building standard]" (Interview 4 October 2011).

Rhythmanalysis

Discussing the participants' vibration sensitivity, and incorporating how cities, too, are a hum of activity, the role of bodily rhythm in constituting the social world and the distinct rhythms that permeate everyday life take central precedence (Edensor 2010; Lefebvre 1991; 2004). Rhythm has been used as a specific lens of inquiry for investigating urban spaces and practices, such as: shopping (Kärrholm 2009), walking (Vergunst 2010), expressive movement (McCormack 2002) festivals (Duffy *et al*. 2011), street performance (Simpson 2008), coach tours (Edensor and Holloway 2008), and dance halls (Henriques 2010). Many of these publications draw on emotion and affect to signal the impact that rhythm has on bodies and the ways in which the spatiality and temporality of emotions coalesce around and within particular places (Davidson *et al.* 2005). For relocatees there was a definite embodiment of trauma that involved frequency and vibration sensitivity, attuning bodies differently in the everyday. But further than sensitivities that remain in the body, the daily pulse and rhythm of life that often sits below our conscious thoughts, but somehow contributes to our overall sense of life, was halted abruptly by the earthquakes.

Lefebvre (2004) utilises aspects of affect to describe the movement of places (non-static), that places are "always in a process of becoming, seething with emergent properties" (see Mels 2004). It is the implied repetition of rhythm and habit that come into focus, creating a sustained focus on the embodied interactions between people and places. Everyday habits, schedules and routines become 'sedimented' in our bodies. The regular repetitive rhythms of life become "part of the way things are", which can lend to an "ontological predictability and security" (Edensor 2010: 8). Lack of these unconscious but organisational processes of rhythm and habit can lead to discomfort, distress and suffering and "many people attempt to restore familiar spaces, routines and timings to minimise discomfort" (Edensor 2010: 5). Reflection on the time-space of this disruption, one could deliberate on how respondents may restart and

retune their bodies away from the earthquakes. How long does it take to reintegrate a sense of rhythm in a new place? The focus on disruption is significant, because the earthquakes interrupted many aspects of participants' lives. Helen stated that:

> Our general rhythm of life has been upset by the earthquakes. I mean I could just about program the car to take us home and we would flow along the roads hardly thinking about it. Here [Waikato] we have a disjointed feeling, taking note of every little twist and turn. Life made sense down there [in Christchurch]. It had its own patterns and beats that we lived to and it felt proper, it felt right somehow (Interview 1 November 2011).

In turning to Lefebvre, and the idea of rhythmanalysis, cities have some sort of constant even with variant qualities. Thorpe (2013) considers how the Christchurch earthquake dislocated sporting lives. Linking these ideas with emotion and affect arrhythmia is described as the 'discordance of rhythms'. In the last three years Christchurch can be conceptualised as arrhythmic in character. But what impact does this arrhythmia have on residents and will a newly reconstructed Christchurch still feel discordant? The Christchurch earthquakes, in many ways, have forced residents to explore what was previously taken-for-granted. It has the potential to shed light on a heightened awareness of the everyday as well as the memories that are often co-present in this awareness of the everyday.

Cities and memory

The geographical literature on the built environment, big buildings and buildings as events includes the feelings buildings inspire, engender and facilitate. Clearly, the 'feeling' of buildings is an enduring concern of human geographers, and work that draws on affect theory and architecture is important to understand the human interactions with the built environment. Focusing on the embodied, affective details of inhabitation owes partly to a humanist geographical tradition which attended to inhabitation as a material, bodily connection with architecture and the evocation of place. But I wish to pay renewed attention to embodied practices, performance, emotion and materiality, and look at how "spaces are

made in an ongoing, contingent sense, in styles that are not only symbolic, but more than representational, haptic, performative, embodied, material and affectual" (Kraftl and Adey 2008: 214).

The physical landscapes of city centres or CBDs are basically structured around large conglomerates of buildings. In a general sense, cities frequently have a CBD that is defined by collections of high-rise and multi-storey buildings. Often one or more of these buildings (or structures such as bridges or towers) will be iconic, visually identifiable in the cityscape, such as: The Empire State building (New York), The Eiffel Tower (Paris), Burj Al Arab (Dubai) and Big Ben (London). Buildings can embody the literal act of place-making. They are a fundamental geographical setting at and through which spaces are made, negotiated and contested. Buildings and cities are far from simple objects and have complex and often contested histories (see Cook and Harrison 2007). Christchurch's major earthquake on 22 February was shallow and close to the CBD. Two high-rise buildings collapsed and the CBD was declared a 'red-zone' and off-limits to the public. Borders of the red-zone were barricaded with restricted access to the CBD enforced mainly by New Zealand Army and police. Although parameters of the CBD red-zone periodically shrink as buildings are demolished and areas stabilised, it is not yet fully open (three years on) and is a major focus of the planned rebuild.

Thinking about buildings in the urban setting, brings all sorts of co-minglings between bodies and things to bear on the geographies of cities. It also centres literature on how these are shared and remembered, and in some ways kept alive through social connection. Cities are perpetually in a state of change and they are continuously being transformed by use and by everyday spatial practices (see Amin and Thrift 2002). Following Massumi (2002) and Latham and McCormack (2004: 705) cities are conceptualised as being emergent, they are "always coming into being" and the affective materiality of the urban consists of a "constant (re)assembling of both buildings and bodies". Cities are a hum of activity and they embody routines, often through the mundane practices of

transport, work, and eating and so on. In part, habitual practices produce a city's time and space, they can be ordered and are often thought to have a rhythm. Habitual comings and goings bolster the sensation of living in and among big buildings - what could be termed as 'city life'. "The city is thus a pulsating, rhythmic force-field of encounters and practices which precedes any individual body or subjectivity", these encounters are conducted through the "mundane instruments" of everyday practices (Rose *et al.* 2010: 338).

As explained in Chapter 5, respondents desired proximity to share, not only the earthquake experiences, but additionally, the loss of everyday life in Christchurch and to remember life before the city was devastated. I draw on Latham (2003) to explain everyday city practices from a micro-level and how respondents framed their loss of more-than just buildings and homes. They also mourned their 'city-lives'. Latham (2003) addresses everyday life, new urban culture and café culture in and around Ponsonby Road, a prosperous hospitality strip in Auckland city (the largest city in New Zealand). Its ambience, he writes, is "worldly, confident, cosmopolitan" along with the rise of "a strong, self-consciously, urban public culture". This public culture has been built "in significant ways through places such as cafés, restaurants and bars" with actors "engaged in (often subtle) dialogue with people and objects" in the places they use (Latham 2003: 1995-1996). Latham (2003) interrogates cultural geographic methods. He captures well some of the embodied performances of everyday urban life and outlines the fragile and changing social textures and co-mingling of people and their built surroundings. As such, he describes the social fabric that makes up Ponsonby Road culture as purposeful and nurtured:

> [Joseph's] conversation with Scottie the barista is a careful improvisation involving a subtle mix of interest and nonchalance. The "somewhat of a friend" relationship Joseph has with Scottie is something that has been nurtured and sustained with dexterity. Similarly, the casual encounter with Gail ... is part of the fragile texture of friendship and community which is essential to the webs of sociality which make up Ponsonby Road (Latham 2003: 1996).

Theories of emotion and affect redraw focus on transformational practices and their co-construction with everyday experience. While architecturally focused geographical literature draws on the impacts of buildings on people and practices, I hone in on the transfer of affect between and among people and things. So, what happens when these rhythmic encounters which cities rest upon, come to a sudden halt? The overall feeling from relocatees has been that their city has been lost, that it's temporarily gone or at least broken.

Many respondents described their happy memories in the built environment and cityscape. They describe not only the bars, clubs and social hubs of the city, but also favourite shops, the library, doctor's offices, media houses and the staff within them that make up and choreograph the everyday relationships. Suddenly the people who shared daily routines and provided services were gone and no-one knew what had happened to all of those people. David and Julia explain:

> David: There was maybe [counts silently] 13 or 14 shops each side of the street nearest our house and we more or less lost the lot.
>
> Julia: There were two people killed in the fish shop and the chemist was only a couple of doors down from there and his veranda was right down.
>
> David: I wonder how they got out?
>
> Julia: I don't know (Interview 11 October 2011).

Greg too mentions the people whom he met on a daily basis through his shopping. He states: "I'm desperately sorry that I don't know what happened to them, and I saw those people every day and I wonder what happened to them" (Follow-up Interview 12 February 2013). Residents and workers in the CBD all talked about the heart-break of not knowing what happened to the people who make up and conduct the orchestrated heart of the city (no more chit-chat with the favourite barista). After literally decades of interaction with co-collaborators working in the city, they were suddenly inaccessible. These were not really

people that you had phone numbers for, but respondents desperately wished to know what had happened to them or if they were safe and well.

A large part of the initial interview material focused on fond memories of city life. Being able to discuss these memories was important for relocated respondents to make sense of their experiences. Holly mentions that:

> If we hadn't have met you, we wouldn't have met [relocated friends] and we wouldn't have had that little group of 'Cantabs' to talk to at the time when you really needed to talk to somebody—just not so much about the earthquakes, but just them knowing what you're talking about. Like I said if you talk about going punting on the river, they knew where you were. They could describe the city to you because they knew the areas and we sort of thought—if we hadn't had that it would have actually been a lot harder because you wouldn't get the opportunity to talk about random everyday Christchurch stuff (Follow-up Interview 18 February 2013).

The loss of connection with these city cohabitants was keenly felt along with the loss of actual buildings that housed memories of city life. Holly and Bill owned and operated a small business in Christchurch's CBD. They worked long hours in the shop, and incorporated their children into their 'shop lives'. Holly continued to work when the children were born, using a bassinette in the back portion of the shop. A family business meant the children conducted minor duties in the shop both before and after schooling hours. As far as the family was concerned, they felt they lived and conducted the main part of their lives in the CBD.

> Holly: Everyone knew everyone [in the CBD], all the shops around ours knew our kids, they knew Bill's dinner orders in Burger Wisconsin [*laughs*]. But no one knew how to find each other outside of work. The funny thing is, after the earthquake none of us have any way of getting hold of each other [*pauses*]. And yet, in the working day, you knew them so well.
>
> Bill: Yeah, it's really really sad.
>
> Holly: So every single thing we did is gone ... I mean the bank's gone, the food shops are gone, the library's gone, the doctor's office is gone, the coffee shop and clothes shops are gone ... everything

> except the schools, but they aren't open either. After the earthquake we were strangers in the suburb where our house is and we were cut off from our city life and the people who knew us (Interview 4 October 2011).

Like all spaces, cities are considered to be in flux and are constantly re-imagined. The traces and memories of life in the city continue to resonate with respondents, as places are porous networks of social relations (see Massey 1997). Emotional connection to place remains (even when in a different locale) and is an intensely personal and visceral phenomenon. The usefulness of affect as a concept is in the way that these intensities are not confined to the body of the individual but can become shared and (re)imagined and (re)magnified. In part, the strength of the support group, *Cantabrians in Waikato*, rested on sharing and regaining connection to (if not some of the people) remembered events and places in Christchurch's CBD.

Life in Christchurch and life in the Waikato were sometimes barely separated in an emotional and affectual sense. Numerous respondents still had unfinished business in Christchurch. Unfinished business could include: tenants in their homes, zoning decisions to be made on their property, insurance bills, rates bills, and Earthquake Commission (EQC) assessments to be finalised, as well as investments, stocks and emotional connections to rebuilding politics. Certainly relocated respondents cared deeply about the debates surrounding whether to rebuild or demolish the Christchurch Cathedral, the relocation, merger or closure of schools, and politics surrounding the rebuild. A number of respondents joined partitions supporting friends and family from afar, but also, they felt (re)connected to the continuing story of Christchurch.

Once moved away, the city of Christchurch becomes a topology of memory. Body and landscape become entangled with the individuals' memory of the on-going physical engagements with place (Jones and Evans: 2012). Affect is a valuable concept, therefore, because it reminds us that place construction is fundamentally embodied and dynamic. Wylie (2005: 240) prompts us to think

that the body and its surroundings should not be considered as one, but rather that the self and the world continually enfold and unfold (Jones and Evans 2012).

In the follow-up interviews, I talked with respondents about what it was like to return to Christchurch. Several had been back, and one of the most crucial interactions they had with Christchurch seemed to be returning to 'personally confront' the physical damage to the central city. Human behaviour and place attachment is deemed important because the way in which humans create emotional attachments to places emphasises that places are fundamental to the experience and meaning of everyday life. Physical settings reflect and shape people's understanding of who they are (see Brown and Perkins 1992).

Place attachment provides stability and change, and disruptions threaten to overwhelm humans with change (this has been explained by respondents who often said that too much change has been the most overwhelming impact of the earthquake disaster on their lives. Indeed Greg said "it's not so much the shaking but the year of hell afterwards" Focus Group 27 November 2011). Place attachments are integral to self-definitions. They are anchors in life orienting individuals to who they are including individual and communal aspects of identity. Disruptions, then, threaten those self-definitions (Brown and Perkins 1992). Two respondents in separate interviews explain:

> Lucy: It's really hard to orient yourself when it's something you've known all your life and then suddenly you're standing somewhere and you think, "Where am I?" [*laughs*] There are no buildings to put it all in perspective (Follow-up Interview 14 February 2013).

> Greg: How was it going back down to Christchurch? To answer your question, it was bloody awful! I think it was quite devastating, we went to the centre of town and what you immediately discover is there is no centre of town! You know we saw people driving down the wrong side of the road, because they didn't know which was the right side anymore ... We were just standing there looking at places – well we weren't looking at places we'd been because they weren't there anymore. It's just really rather traumatic, there's a wonderful little nest of bars that we have many happy memories of – and the whole thing is just gone (Follow-up Interview 12 February 2013).

What became notable for relocatees was being able to share past memories of the built environment. This was something that could only be carried out with the group of people who had heartfelt and close connections to Christchurch. It also drew attention to the value of visiting the city for me as researcher, because respondents were always relieved that I knew where they were talking about. This advances the argument about the porosity of boundaries between the body and its surroundings. Respondents felt the loss of buildings in Christchurch as markers with which one can orient oneself but also, as loss of identity and self-hood. An integral part of their lived self went missing along with the buildings. The urban environment both shapes and is shaped by all those who inhabit it. The myriad human and nonhuman relations that routinely connect people and provide ontological security were cut short. All residents were cut-off from the heart of their city, at the same moment, the heart of the city ceased to exist as it was before.

The smashing of damaged buildings, the demolition of bricks and mortar in Christchurch's CBD after the earthquake was traumatic to witness, and many felt like it was an erasure of their own childhood memories. Feelings reverberated between buildings and the fleshy self. Three different interviewees explain their connection to Christchurch's built environment:

> Holly: I grew up in the CBD, played there, worked there and spent most of my life there. There will be hardly anything recognisable left by the time they finish the demolitions. It's so hard to put into words, how that affects me now and will do for the rest of my life (Interview 4 October 2011).

> Jade: It's horrible, especially when you're 'born-and-bred' from down there and it's all you've ever known, Christchurch. And you look at it now, like the first time I went past town [CBD], and you look at it and I was like crying and stuff just to see the big empty spaces and the rubble everywhere (...) it's like "Oh man, where's the city gone, where's my heart gone?" (Interview 21 October 2011).

> Cameron: Someone on the radio said: "It's like seeing your best mate getting beaten up and you can't do anything about it". That's pretty

> much what it feels like, it does feel like your friend's getting smashed up and you can't do nothing about it! (Interview 21 October 2011).

Jones and Evans (2012) examine the affective connections people have to landscapes. They consider how place associations and people's embodied relationships to urban spaces prior to redevelopment can inform more authentic regeneration schemes. Focusing on affect and place, they explore the permeability of boundaries between the body and its surroundings, an issue highly relevant to my project. Jones and Evans (2012) used walking interviews to allow spaces to become object prompts, with the interaction of the body and environment stimulating reflection upon place identity and value. Spaces prompt recollection of place attachment, demonstrating an active connection between body, landscape and memory.

Participants sometimes described walking around the city. Places were rich in emotional resonance, elements of which were deployed to add layers of meaning to the (now often empty) building sites. Thrift (2008) talks about landscapes that are *soaked in affective connections*, but now the Christchurch landscape is 'soaked', or at least cloaked in dust and the remnants of lived experiences. "Destroying material traces of sites with deep place associations resets the clock on the embodied relationship between the individual and that environment – because material sites can act as prompts to recover the memories which have helped shape the affective connections" (Jones and Evans 2012: 2326). Although these are not new arguments about the importance of place, and the placing of memory, place is fundamentally an embodied phenomenon and thus benefits from exploration through the lens of affective and emotional geographies. For respondents it was distressing to be disoriented (lost in a city that was known intimately). Aaron recalls:

> I remember one time in particular, walking around with my friends in what's left of the central city red-zone. And we got to the site that was close to where our shop was, where the Canterbury Television (CTV) building was, and the Pyne-Gould Corporation (PGC) building was, you know, just around that area there [*eyes welling up with*

> *tears*]. How that hit me harder than I thought it was going to [*long pause*].
>
> Gail: Because it wasn't there?
>
> Aaron: [*sniffs*] Yeah. There was nothing. A big part of my life has gone completely [wipes eyes]. Where our shop was, that whole block is empty, there are no buildings whatsoever (Follow-up Interview 12 February 2013).

As Aaron walked around the city, the memories and connections were disrupted by the loss of buildings and the lack of physical context to his past. His memories and experiences of growing up in, and working/living in, his parents' shop had become somehow *un-tethered* from space. It was harder for Aaron to visualise, feel and remember the shop because the whole block that surrounded the area looked like a *tabula rasa*. There were few or no traces of previous material forms, including trees, shrubs, footpaths, rubbish bins and so on. In a sequence of photos as part of walking around the CBD cordon, I explain in the digital story that: "Christchurch is being ground into dust, it was eerily quiet in some places bereft of life, vibrancy and people, and where blank space is seen as progress" (Digital Story 4 October 2011). What I emphasise is that people's special relationships to a moment are "shaped by previous experiences, memory (of one kind or another) is then a fundamental aspect of becoming intimately entwined with space, affect, emotion, imagination and identity" (Jones 2011: 880). This could be shared with respondents because I had felt the desolation-like conditions in Christchurch. One of the stronger impressions I received in Christchurch was one of desertion of city-space and in some cases suburbs.

In 'Geography, memory and non-representational geographies', Jones (2011: 875) considers that memories are like embers: "for they retain a trace of fire – of life – and if disturbed, or fanned by a breath of air, can burst back into renewed life". I like the analogy, and consider memories to be like the imprint of strong light on the retina, an outline or afterglow that continues to illuminate the present. Memories are centrally important to the construction of place (see Cresswell 2004), they weave time and space and place together. On a personal

level, spatial relations are not merely relations between current body and current space, but a hyper-complex entanglement of past/present spatial relations. Places of memory include museums, monuments, cemeteries, statues, public buildings and squares, streets, historic preservation projects, plaques, and memorials as well as images and practices associated with them (Till 2006). They punctuate and create symbolic space, and function as nodes of collective politics at and through which notions of identity (such as race, class, gender, and the nation) are performed and contested.

When people memorialise they also attach emotions to places, thus, collective remembering is an emotionally charged event. As memorials are spaces specifically designed to impart certain elements of the past—and, by definition, to forget others—they are sites that can contain "raw" emotion for those (re)visiting them. As Jones (2005: 213) succinctly states, "clearly remembering being-in-place and perhaps remembering through place, through emotions of (remembered) place, are powerful elements of emotional geographies of the self".

Christchurch Cathedral

Till (2006: 9) has argued that places of memory are created by individuals and social groups to give shape to felt absences, fears and desires that haunt contemporary society. This statement suggests memory is a political project that contributes to the construction and transformation of spaces and places (see also Curti 2008). What needs to be illuminated here though, is the transfer of emotion and affect around a particular building, the Christchurch Anglican Cathedral, and how the building comes to 'stand in for' ideas around identity, emotion, memory and futurity. Emotion "glues" together chunks of experience through processes of emotional magnification and resonance, and thus, creates identity (Curti 2008). The Cathedral controversy (whether or not to rebuild the damaged building) outlines how, not only emotions are cemented into buildings, but also how identity, place and belonging are highly politicised. The earthquakes

and aftershocks have created huge social and spatial changes, and Christchurch has become the site of numerous total and partial erasures.

The urban fabric is littered with the remnants of the city and the earthquakes. The question for Christchurch is: does the city completely 'reinvent' itself or retain visible traces of the damage done? How might it incorporate earthquake damage into the future of the city plans, and as such, ubiquitous remnants become aspects of a shared history of the everyday. At the centre of this issue is a building. By focusing on the Christchurch Cathedral, emotion, affect, the entanglement of bricks and mortar and the more esoterically informed ideas around identity formation come to bear. For some the idea of something new is appealing. Christchurch's former Mayor Bob Parker says: "I love the idea of something new. I think it's about looking forward rather than looking back, and this [new] design helps with that". For those on the other side of the debate, to demolish the Cathedral unfetters Christchurch from a cherished past, obliterating memories and along with it the visual identity of the city.

The Christchurch Cathedral is not only an Anglican 'house of God' but also a symbol of the 'hopes and spirit' of residents (see chapter 2 for background on the Cathedral and the resulting damage from February's 2011 earthquake). Initially, there was stronger feeling of wanting to restore the Cathedral and also the 'heart' of Christchurch, ("it's an icon of Christchurch and without it we're not really Christchurch anymore")[29] but as the months dragged on and the full extent of the city-wide damage was made apparent, some feelings changed. For many, the Cathedral was the least of their worries, "we need to move on and the money that would be used for the [Cathedral] rebuild needs to be used for re-housing of people and getting them back into jobs". Alexis considered how feelings might be for people in Christchurch when she says:

[29] Quotes on this page come from anonymous survey entries posted on Christchurch Cathedral – readers comments at: http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/christchurch-earthquake-2011, and Gates (2013).

> I think a lot of people in Christchurch are exhausted, depressed, anxious, defeated and struggling still nearly three years on. And I understand that this would generate anger for some that so much focus is on one building when they simply want progress on their homes. It takes a mind capable of looking at the 'big' picture—the future—to appreciate the battle for restoration (Email 8 May 2013).

In March 2012 Bishop Victoria Mathews announced the Cathedral was too damaged, dangerous and costly to rebuild ($50 million NZD over insurance cover) and demolition was scheduled. By April 2012 the 'Restore Christchurch Cathedral' group had formed to oppose the demolition, UNESCO World Heritage Centre opposed action and a group of engineers from the New Zealand Society for Earthquake Engineering drew up a petition. A High Court ruling in November 2012 ordered a halt to construction and demolition of the Cathedral until further notice. Greater Christchurch Building Trust (GCBT) was granted an application for judicial review of the decision to pull the Cathedral down. Today opinion is firmly divided with a poll of 359 Cantabrian people 'torn' over the fate of the Cathedral, with a small majority favouring demolition. It was stated that:

> Comments from those polled revealed it was a tussle between our hearts and our heads; the former reflecting emotional attachment to the iconic heritage building, the latter understanding that repairs for the Cathedral would be costly and potentially dangerous (Christchurch Cathedral – readers comments 2012: unpaginated).

Anderson (2009) drawing on Dufrenne (1973) suggests that the intangible 'atmospheres' or the affective qualities of aesthetic objects, the way bodies and 'things' can make us feel, has a transferrable quality. Dufrenne's (1973: 179) account of the dynamism of aesthetic experience is explained through architecture among other things. Thus, architecture, he argues, can inspire feelings of "nobility, fervour, majesty, [and] tranquillity". These impressions of 'majesty' and so on, can give an object or being a feeling of intensity that 'overflows' the represented world. Architectural design enables the channelling of affects by organising materials, bodies and movement to create particular atmospheres through moments of connection and repetition between flesh and stone (Kraftl and Adey 2008).

The Cathedral's affect and meaning, although actualised in stone and glass, has changed from representing religious majesty and the power and glory of a colonial settler past, to becoming a metaphor for "hope, tenacity, strength and determination in the face of (earthquake) adversity" for some relocated families (Alexis – Email 8 May 2013). "Affect is not merely a random swirling of potential, coming to rest in one moment. Rather, elements of such 'fusional multiplicities' are entrained in the politics and ethics of meaning making, of more or less deliberately creating and pushing for particular affects" and encounters (Kraftl and Adey 2008: 227; see also Thrift 2004).

Places exist through emotional memory and are bounded by the experiences they have encompassed in their borders. The Cathedral as a building had very specific physical borders that separated a busy and bustling city centre outside, from a space of religious reverence and observance inside. And yet, experiencing the Cathedral is both within and without, the bells pealing across the Square cement the Cathedral as a central feature of the city. Its majestic presence transcended the actual physical area. People were able to admire and contemplate the building without setting foot inside or having any religious affiliations. Local people and tourists too could visit the interior of the building, climb the spire and admire the architecture. But the overriding mood of quiet contemplation and respect for religion generally scripts behaviour in religious buildings.

As outlined in Chapter 3 this research has been partially conceptualised through Crang (2005b), but I also use his notion of 'convergence' to underline the affective performativity of place. He states: the "special quality of place is created through long-term attachment and the convergence of many factors – the daily rhythms, personal histories and secular or religious rituals" which lead to a definition of place as a "convergence" and "fusion" of these various elements into a "whole" (Crang 2005b: 204; see also Sullivan 2011: 57). For Alexis the Christchurch Cathedral as a place, building and vital link to the past was highlighted by not only having family members as past choristers but also,

"by spending many a Christmas Eve in the cathedral singing in an exquisite building that transcends you" and "being as close to 'God' as I will ever feel (although my family are not religious)". These are cherished memories that provide a tangible link to Christchurch that resonate for some respondents (Email – 8 May 2013).

For the 'Restore Christchurch Cathedral' group who opposed demolition, appealing to people's emotional attachment to a building was an important facet of garnering support. The joining of flesh and mortar brings into focus how buildings are more-than representations of feelings and come to symbolise in stone, very personal attachments. For instance, the group's website states:

> We love the Cathedral. Its injury is part of our hurt. Its restoration will be part of our recovery, a project for all people of Christchurch to unify around and on which to rebuild our hope. We wish to restore the Cathedral as a symbol of hope and courage to represent the spirit of our city in its struggle through these times of hardship (see Belton 2013: unpaginated).

In a media article, Canadian Bishop Victoria Matthews states that the Cathedral was "left to die with no dignity" because of the ongoing legal wrangles about its fate. New images from inside the Cathedral showed ongoing damage to cathedral treasures from aftershocks, forces of the weather and birds. She continued that "a building that was used to glorify God, that was our 'mother church' and was a place of hope and life for the community, is now wasting away in a slow death". Her remarks were considered by restoration proponents as "tasteless" and that the Bishop "doesn't understand the culture of Christchurch" (Gates 2013: unpaginated). When asked how the loss of the Cathedral made her feel, Alexis answered with, "angry that a Canadian Bishop has the final word over our New Zealand Church!" (Email 8 May 2013). The Cathedral debate is intriguing because it strengthens ideas around nationality and "the intermesh between flesh and stone, humans and non humans, fixtures, flows, emotions and practices" (Amin and Thrift 2002: 9), as well as a clash between changing ideals and a struggle for identity reflected in the built environment.

On the one hand, to lose the Cathedral is to lose part of the 'self' as a resident of Christchurch, as it was considered to be the 'heart of the city'. On the other hand, the Cathedral was representative not only of 'a house of God' and important for religious devotion, but also, as a symbol of colonial and settler history (and the broader politics of culture). That is, history with nostalgic connections to the 'heart of the empire' (see Jacobs 1996) and the elision of *tangata whenua* (Maori – people of the land). The debate around the Cathedral, which has become a proxy for all the lost historical buildings, also speaks volumes about political economies of place, and about the importance of history, 'whose history' and 'which history' and 'by whom' it is written on the landscape and how that battle is personally relevant especially for those who have moved away.

Summary

In this chapter I have focused on emotion, affect and non-human 'agents', in this case, city buildings, homes and the Cathedral. The earthquakes and aftershocks invaded homes, making them unsettling and dangerous places for some, disrupting dialogues of homes as safe, stable and sanctuary-like spaces. The changing way in which respondents interacted with, and felt about, buildings is read closely. Shopping-malls, glass buildings and generally large concrete structures were met with suspicion and anxiety changing the patterning of everyday spatial interactions (several respondents have yet to re-enter a large shopping mall or underground car-park for example).

Concurrently, buildings also housed memories, emotion and affect which were conceptualised as 'parts of the self' that were unable to be regained, and walking in the city was a painful reminder of what was gone. The co-constitution of buildings and bodies was underscored by, not only the physical change on inner-city Christchurch, but also the lack of people, routines, and everyday social fabrics that make a city vibrate and hum with affective resonance. Finally, the iconic Christchurch Cathedral was examined as a 'more-than building event' where ideas that surround identity, history, future and collective "will" coalesce

in built form. The Cathedral restoration project is personally relevant for some relocated people, framing their feelings of hope and strength in the face of adversity even though they have moved away from Christchurch. In some way the Cathedral may be even more important to the Christchurch diaspora, because it symbolises a place left behind, whereas for those that stay, other icons will emerge.

Chapter 8: Conclusions and future research

The emotional and affectual impacts of disasters are profound, yet they remain relatively un-examined in disaster literature. Even though some hazards and disaster studies which utilise emotional geographies are emerging, this work is rarely published in journals or books specifically aimed at disaster scholars. Instead publications come under the general rubric of social and cultural geography. Further, relocation after earthquakes has tended to be the focus of specific health issue models (for example, ENT, CSE, ASR, see page 205) produced in social psychology. People's emotional responses to disasters are complex, and at times contradictory and intimately interrelated with place which may not be adequately represented in model form. By combining psychoanalytical ideas of the unconscious and working with the intersubjective spaces between perception and the body when examining post disaster relocation, this thesis challenges the lack of the attention paid to the personal scale in disasters and hazards research.

Drawing on the lived experiences 34 people who lived in 18 households and one individual who relocated to the Waikato region following the 2010-2011 Canterbury earthquakes, this research presents a small collection of stories from the 'coal-face'. It maps out an ontology of relocation. It is argued that relocation is a valid and important response to disaster which is largely overlooked, as much of the research and analysis is conducted at the site of the disaster. Further, emotion and affect are embedded in the experiences of people who survive a disaster in a multitude of ways, and are part-and-parcel of human experience. Utilising these frameworks also brings a dynamic and fluid conceptualisation of bodies into research. Bodies that move, which get moved emotionally and have the potential to be moved and move others are of central concern. In other words I am interested in bodies which affect and are affected (Spinoza 2000).

An important focus of this research has been to tease out the significance of emotion and affect in respondents' life-worlds. A body engages in interactions with circumstantial forces, other people and things as it moves around, making it different from before, and this difference is conceptualised as potentiality or *becoming* (Deleuze and Guattari 1988). This has meant paying attention to the micro-scale of interactions. When exploring people's experiences of relocation, all sorts of bodies, materials and things co-mingle. The enabling, constraining and transformational practices that make up everyday life, in a sense, come closer to the surface. The argument to centre on the relocation experiences of disaster survivors and, in part, monitor the emotion and affect within the accounts of respondents has been made with the intent of offering a means to reconceptualise disaster research. A project on the embodied geographies of relocation disrupts the predominance of 'technological monologues' in hazards and disasters literature. As Hewitt (1983; 1997) has argued, the technocratic approach has permitted hazards to be treated as a specialised problem for the advanced research of scientists, engineers and bureaucrats. Disasters have become so appropriated within a discourse of expertise that it almost 'quarantines' disaster in thought as well as practice (see Bankoff 2001).

This research has built on existing work in emotional geographies as well as in disaster and hazards scholarship. By deliberating on relationality, as the maintenance and breaches of psychosocial and bodily boundaries (on being 'moved' by others) such experiences show how what appears to be outside impacts profoundly on our emotional interiors (Davidson *et al* 2005). I also reflected on the relative paucity of empirical examples in scholarship utilising emotion and affect. This aim has been addressed throughout the theory, method and analytical chapters. So, I have provided a space to reflect on the enmeshment of emotion, affect and disasters in the lives of relocated Cantabrians by addressing three main objectives.

First, I thought about how bodies are drawn into collective spaces and examined what they do and how they relate to one another. Using Ahmed (2004a,b) as a

basis, I explained how being proximate to others and other bodies was desired by respondents both in the post-disaster phase of the earthquake and in relocated space. Importance was placed on emphasising how the disaster experience hooks into, and remains within, bodies. Second, the research analyses how ambivalence is encountered in interviews with respondents. Feelings and moods were far more complex and entangled than anticipated, sometimes deployed strategically and at other times laid bare. Although relocation was desired and carried out by respondents, they often felt a deep sense of ambivalence. Third, the work considered how the built environment impinged on the accounts of respondents. I discussed the role of memory in compressing past and present emotional and affectual encounters, leading me to sketch city life, favourite places and key architecture. Relocatees had a dynamic relationship with buildings which was constantly negotiated over time.

The research design has important implications for geographical research. By bringing together cultural geographical theories on emotion and affect and disasters frameworks I have extended both literatures to include people, their feelings, moods and social networks. These theoretical tools have provided me with a basis upon which to build. Geographical analysis of hazards and disasters has a long history and has encompassed political ecology, political economy and human ecological approaches. This thesis, instead, rests on challenging the, often supposedly objective, analysis of disasters and hazards by including place attachment and the personal-sensual dynamics that occur during a catastrophic event. At the same time, axes of social difference (such as gender, class and ethnicity) and media accounts about the earthquakes impinge on how the disasters are approached and framed by competing discourses. In contemporary analysis of disasters, the continuity principle, coined by Quarantelli and Dynes (1977) is particularly influential for assessing risk, vulnerability and resilience. Rather, than a continuation of prior social realities, however, this disaster in Christchurch threw light on spontaneity and creativity through random acts of kindness and artistic responses to stimulate novel social gatherings (such as Gap Filler and the Lost and Found Project).

Place is considered a central motif in geographical analysis, and importantly, place attachment and sense of place reflected the deep emotive interconnections relocatees had with their immediate environment. Many respondents were (self-titled) 'born and bred' in Christchurch, meaning that the city is and was all they had known, and this knowing was intimate. Using emotion and affect has prompted some excitement from researchers about the possibility of building on poststructural work, rather than focusing on the dualist structure of processes that hinge on representation. There is a move instead, represented in this thesis, toward utilising collective and relational analyses that foreground senses, bodies (including nonhuman ones), materials and non-conscious practices, in short, the 'more-than-representational' geographies of respondents.

The psychological protection of routines, social space and material environments drew attention to psychoanalytical concepts such as 'skin'. Analyses, then, are expanded to incorporate the idea of skin (emotional holding) as an affective sense of boundaries. Participants notions of being marked and marked out from others, impressed upon and held (contained) by the earthquake dialogues link intimately to the surfaces and boundaries which they are shaped by. But this also brings about an examination of how the idea of containment can be breached and what this means for participants.

The choice of methods used has been informed by feminist and poststructural debates. This research builds on poststructural ideas by including performative, non-conscious, embodied and 'extra-linguistic' communication. Attention from feminist scholars on the production of knowledge which also and always implicates the researcher (reflexivity) has been extended to incorporate affective contagation (Brennan 2004; Gatens and Lloyd 1999), or how affect 'travels' among bodies. A relational ontology includes the significant unconscious dimensions of research relationships and how they are formed differently with different people. I drew from five interconnected phases of qualitative research: performative 'sensing' and digital story-making in Christchurch; household interviews; research diaries and notes; spontaneous focus groups and follow-up

interviews. These methods helped create a nuanced account of the embodied, intersubjective and relational flows of research practice. Emotion and affect were enmeshed in respondents' understandings of relocation in a number of ways. They impacted on methodology and were present in empirical instances, infiltrating through all parts of the project.

Research instances were extracted to explore empirical examples of how emotion and affect were enmeshed in the responses, body language and general demeanour of respondents (including the material environment). Sensorial and affective dimensions were, at times, explicit, such as when Bill was discussing the alarms and the noise of the earthquake aftermath in central Christchurch. I was able to pick up on how he was expressing himself as well as the facial expressions, halts in speech and other clues that overflowed articulation. But also, when regarding relationality, I had to think of the clues I was 'sending' to Bill, my body language and the resonance of emotion and affect that played throughout the interview intersubjectively.

Important to this co-production of knowledge (transference) was countertransference, my emotions that were in part shaped by visiting Christchurch and seeing, hearing, feeling and smelling the damage in the city and suburbs. My empathetic reasoning was subtly changed by 'participant sensing'. Using embodied empathy and taking note of the choreographed nature of interviews challenged research to include non-conscious processes that blur interior and exterior boundaries. Throughout the research I also included my own thoughts, feelings and impressions to explain the oscillation of research experience. In the process, I have provided a strong case for paying attention to emotion and affect within research relationships.

While I have used geographical scale as something of a guide to organise the thesis, the scale of the body as closest-in, is difficult to define under the rubric of a relational ontology – wherein the body radiates out(ward) and includes other bodies and fluctuations of feeling between and among many bodies. Notions of

interior and exterior become blurred and difficult to separate, because feelings and bodily composures flow outward to affect another or others. Instead geographies of emotion and affect are multi-scalar and messy, lending to spirals, circles or zigzagging rather than to hierarchies. Nevertheless the general idea of geographical scale has not been completely abandoned and it does offer a means to organise data.

This thesis focused on three overlapping and interconnected ideas: bodies that are proximate and connected, unconscious processes (virtuality) that include ambivalence and the flows of feeling among, and impact of, material objects on people, such that buildings have a co-constitutional and changing relationship with relocatees. Starting at what is traditionally thought of as the scale 'closest-in' – the body, analysis has been extended to include how emotion and affect remain contained and hidden within the body, but also radiate outward to impact on others, even at a distance. This has meant that bodies are not just close-in but affect 'pushes' past and extends bodily boundaries. Further, the earthquakes and continuing aftershocks may leave a permanent impression on, or filter through, bodies. Emotion and affect are experienced as both within and without and can include continuing physical manifestations that remain and sometimes resurface.

I investigated how emotion and affect are encountered by parents with children in a post disaster environment. The management of feelings co-related to the spaces in which participants also found themselves (for example, work, shopping-malls, homes and so on). Managing fear in both public and private settings, and dealing with children's anxieties as well as their own, meant that proximity was desired. Proximity in a bodily sense was required to allay angst, children were held close, kept close and families stayed together, lived together and slept together. I concentrated on certain emotional and affectual experiences (fear, shame and hope) which drew together aspects of the personal, the social and the spatial in interesting ways. Participant accounts of the post-disaster aftermath in Christchurch outlined how emotion and affect can,

not only be moving (create a bodily sensation) but also move along a continuum, such as, when despair has the potential to move to hope (recounted by Alexis when she held hands with a stranger through the car window). These illustrations continue to highlight Ahmed's (2004a) conceptualisation of movement within emotional registers and the movement encountered in affectual moments.

Psychoanalytical concepts become central to this research. I used the concept of 'skin' to advance thinking about the affective sense of boundaries and the circulation of emotion. Respondents, at times, felt an ephemeral sense of being 'held' and 'protected' by the disaster narrative which moved them toward a collective. Solidarity and connection with other places and to other people brought consolation, because it relieved respondents from feeling isolated in their experience. Erikson (1994) ponders that the 'community body' becomes damaged by collective trauma, and the bonds attaching people ('tissue of social life') also become impaired. Instead I found that the protective envelope of collective experience carried respondents' sense of belonging through to a new place. There was deep comfort in knowing that someone else was able to understand what surviving an earthquake was like, and what moving away from disaster is like. But it also marked them out from others who had not. By seeing and witnessing unbelievable things the real and the unreal clashed.

The second concept of ambivalence, and paying attention to the unconscious processes of emotion and affect provided an in-depth examination of the human responses to relocation. The general and overarching feeling from respondents toward relocation was profoundly ambivalent. On the one hand, participants considered being able to move away from the terrifying and continual shaking, the insurance worries, and the processes of reconstruction that reassign how people live and interact in Christchurch as a blessing. On the other hand, the grief and loss of moving away from family, friends and the city or suburbs they loved and knew intimately was traumatic. Participants continually wavered back and forth between and within these subject positions, including in the follow-up

interviews. Ambivalent feelings meant that emotion and affect were sometimes encountered or deployed as ambiguous and sometimes as unambiguous. Feelings were not always considered to be the 'window to the soul', but rather, complex and strategic (for example, putting on a 'brave face').

By examining ambivalence I was able to show that relocation was a contradictory experience infused with deep-seated feelings. Bound up in ambivalent sentiments when moving away from Christchurch, was a lingering sense of guilt. Although social media and some residents briefly highlighted that people who left Christchurch were in some ways disloyal, it was sporadic and temporary. Deep down, very few people sustained a strong critique against relocatees, and many could commiserate or would perhaps move themselves if not for financial commitments. Nevertheless the guilt lingered with participants, that is, the guilt toward family members, neighbours and colleagues who had been through so much (especially considering the protracted sequence of earthquakes and aftershocks) together. Guilt attached, and embedded itself, sticking to respondents and filtering through their narratives. In the latter part of the chapter, I contemplated how gender as an axis of social difference was encountered in this project.

Women, it seems, did bear the brunt of emotion work during the earthquakes. They were also deemed as crucial in facilitating the successful relocation of the family, 'keeping the home fires burning' and caring for dependents. Often it seemed that women parented children and other members of a household first and neglected their own emotional needs. Gendered vulnerability and division of the households, however, were not as particularly clear-cut as expected, and traditional roles were sometimes reversed. Describing the experiences of relocatees at times challenged gendered 'norms' and at times reinforced them. Instead, what was illuminated in this context was that the affective environment drew attention to how men and women could differ in their emotional responses to the earthquakes. Being an emotional 'mess' was approached by many men

with restraint and medical intervention and by a number of women as a moment of cathartic 'purging' – a necessary step to recovery.

The third concept of emotion, affect, buildings and the material environment hones in on the co-constitutional relationship people have with the world around them including material items (buildings and cities as a whole). Rather than a 'mere backdrop' to our lives, homes and architecture inspired a myriad of emotional and affective responses in people. Landscape aesthetics reflected a personal relationship to everyday spaces. Rather than a 'static container', space is seen as *becoming* in that it holds the potential to affect and be affected in much the same ways as bodies do. This intimate relationship to our surroundings (such as a treasured picnic spot) are possibly able to instil a sense of security and comfort, and so too did particular buildings. Homes and cities, the places where we play, live, learn and work lend nuance to the emotional qualities of our lives. Homes, buildings and indeed the city of Christchurch became severely disrupted, throwing some people off balance as places changed from feeling secure to feeling scary.

Instead of looking at the affective states that architects create through using specific materials, colours, and shapes, I have considered how feelings transferred among people and their material surrounds. Anderson (2009) suggests that affective qualities of aesthetic objects (buildings) have a transferable component. We 'catch' something of the dynamism of how a building is shaped, connected to its surroundings, and makes us feel. It has been established here that buildings inspire different sensorial modes of being, such as calm, anxiousness, fearfulness, belonging, loss, and grief. But how these modes are transferred to others, places emphasis on the embedded nature of emotion and affect in everyday life (affective transmission).

This research is part of the growing international and interdisciplinary literature on emotion and affect, which includes embodiment (bodies: how they move, react, interact), non-conscious processes, and the inclusion of all sorts of

material others. It is applicable to a range of global audiences and academic communities. It makes a theoretical and empirical contribution towards social, cultural, emotional and affectual geographies by providing an explicitly psychoanalytic focus on the senses, and unconscious, embodied processes of relocation. Additionally it also extends scholarship on disasters and natural hazards, not only to include relocation as a specific post-disaster response, but also to incorporate people in analyses, to add in the often gritty and confronting experiences of people who witness catastrophic events (whether they be hurricanes, floods, tsunamis, earthquakes, droughts or fires).

Important to this research has been identifying some of the specific needs of participants. As argued throughout the thesis, work on relocation as a particular lens of inquiry, is yet to be a major topic of interest for researchers. Nonetheless, the impacts of both the earthquakes and relocating on respondents have been highlighted as significant. The ongoing nature of the earthquake sequence, especially the 13 June earthquake, meant that people relocated some months after the February 22 event. Unfortunately, the timeframe utilised for most support services were thought of as an initial response to the immediate post-quake. As such, many crucial services had been concluded by the time a significant number of relocatees were moving into new areas. Holly explains:

> There were people at the airport when we initially got out of Christchurch saying “Do you need counselling? Do you need this, that and the other?” But because we actually left Christchurch for good four months later, all that had stopped and there was nothing. And even coming to Hamilton there was nothing to say where anything was and it was really quite difficult to actually find out where things were and you thought, well if there was some system that you could have slotted into. Because for immigrants the system is there, but what about people who relocate? For us there was nothing to make the transition any easier because there was no recognition of the fact that you didn’t really want to be here ... so it was not a voluntary move in that respect, it was something that was forced on us ... it was never in our scheme of things to ever come to the Waikato. I mean we’d never even been to the Waikato before. I had to look it up [*laughs*]! (Interview 18 February 2013).

Respondents' needs are not considered to be intricate. But moving into an unknown city and starting again with work, schooling, doctors, sports and other social services is difficult and reinforced a sense of dislocation for new arrivals. As part of the network of services that surrounds response to, and recovery from a disaster, I argue that it is important to allow for the people who move away from the site of the event to be supported in a number of ways. In general, the most crucial type of support was ability to link to a social network which facilitates a means for relocatees to connect with each other and share their stories and experiences (even perhaps, from city to city). Support networks help to relieve feelings of emotional and physical isolation. An information package, made available upon arrival in the chosen area, would be considered as beneficial. Many participants, as the above quote describes, had not been to Hamilton City or the Waikato region previously. Access to appropriate information on housing, employment, education and key services for families could be collated and distributed through a link to the civil defence website or another key governmental site. Post-disaster, providing a supportive and informative framework for relocatees would to help make the transition to another region or city an easier and more connected experience.

Research possibilities

This research forges a new ways of understanding the interrelationships among people, disasters, emotion and affect and thereby provides some useful possibilities for future research. The first line of enquiry might be to focus more closely on communication technologies. As indicated in the methods chapter of the thesis, I had planned to utilise online interaction with respondents through creating a collective website. The aim was to facilitate an 'online conversation' among participants which would allow them to share their experiences together through a password accessed site. This site did not eventuate and was deemed unnecessary when compared with meeting face-to-face. Post-disaster cell phone data and social media, or information communication technologies (ICTs) have been assessed as tools that develop community resilience (Dufty 2012; Taylor *et al.* 2012), aid response (Palen 2008; Palen *et al.* 2010; Yates and Paquette 2011),

and have generated the phenomenon of citizen journalism (Allan and Thorsen 2009; Liu *et al.* 2008). However, the focus could be extended to include the use of ICT as important points of emotional and affective contact. This particular focus on the development and use of 'virtual connections' would enhance understanding of, not only how ICTs are employed post-disaster but also extend knowledge to include the transitional stages of virtual friendship to physical presence.

Participants in this research maintained links with online communities for emotional support, but also drew on these connections for many other forms of assistance (accommodation, food, storage of goods, water facilities and so on). Tracing affective modes of relation into the digital sphere may challenge scholars to consider how bodily boundaries and forms of emotion and affect are pushed beyond physical presence. In pausing to ask which *types* of social media connection are most desired, we may work toward understanding what role the body or bodies take in new forms of communication. For instance, is Skype and/or other forms of visual communication preferred above text or voice communication? What does ICT mean for public/private displays of emotion? Do these forms of communication purvey emotion and affect more readily? Longhurst (2013) has begun the conversation by examining mothering through the use of Skype with video. She uses Skype to assess the relatively new formations of space-time and the importance of visual connections to 'mothering from a distance'. I anticipate that by examining the use of ICT in post disaster relationships as a basis to explore the emotional and affective life world of survivors, research will be stretched to include a critical engagement between materiality and virtuality that pushes at conceptualisations of bodily boundaries.

Another line of enquiry might be to focus more specifically on different axes of social difference (age, gender, disability, ethnicity, indigenous status, migrants and/or class). These have yet to be a specific focus of inquiry. Taking a political economy approach, and including data from a developed nation could extend contemporary geographies of disaster. Hurricane Katrina painfully exposed

issues of social difference (class, ethnicity and gender) in Southern USA, somewhat debunking the tendency to centre such analyses on developing nations (such as Pakistan, Bangladesh, Guatemala, Haiti and so on). The discourse of vulnerability and risk analyses classifies certain regions or areas of the globe (mainly non-Western countries) as "disease-ridden, poverty-stricken and *disaster-prone*" (Bankoff 2001: 29 emphasis added).

While it was the earthquake in 1976 in Guatemala that was dubbed "A Class-Quake" or the "Poor Quake", there are similarities in this general discourse (of class-divide) in Christchurch. The events in Christchurch challenged some of the best enforced, high-quality building codes in the world and shocked resilient communities (Crowley and Elliott 2012). Still, as the thesis has explained Christchurch has been conceptualised as a divided city in economics, impact and recovery. In particular, people in the eastern suburbs of Christchurch (a predominantly working-class area) have been badly affected. This is because much of eastern Christchurch is built on poor quality land and was extra-prone to silt damage from the processes of liquefaction. Further, insurance woes and the centralisation of reconstruction activities in the CBD means many suburbs in the east are struggling to recover.

Indeed significant areas of eastern Christchurch are zoned for demolition, requiring residents to relocate internally within the city. There has been little research examining how the earthquakes impacted on people's connections to their homes and communities within Christchurch (see Tanner 2012). Some families, however, have resisted relocation and are living in virtually deserted suburbs in uninsurable homes. For example, a pocket of around 20 households dubbed the '*Brooklands Stayers*' have rejected government offers of a payout for their homes and are committed to their (largely abandoned) suburb (see Mead 2013). Fixing an emotional and affectual lens on internal city-wide migration would reveal its complexities and contradictions and may provide a more complete analysis of the earthquakes' wide-ranging impacts and the subsequent human responses. Similarly, some other relocated resident groups have emerged

in different parts of New Zealand, such as *The Movers and Shakers* in Nelson. Exploring the knowledge and understandings of other relocated Cantabrians would illuminate differences and similarities to this research and the relative influence of place-based analyses. Identity and memory are considered to be rooted in landscape, and are intimately entwined as part of individual and collective identities.

When contemplating the implications of relocation, there is an intimate link to work on migration and the flows of people who may have to consider leaving, or have left their homes due to other hazards or disasters. Pacific Island Countries (PIC's) are regarded as being "among those [countries] most likely to be effected by global environmental change (Nurse and Sem 2001) often through sea-level change. Campbell *et al*. (2005: 10) outline that there has been "very little research into the types of relocation that might be required, and the social, cultural, political, economic and environmental implications of such an adaptive option". More specifically, Farbotko and Lazarus (2012) contest the narrative of the 'climate refugee' subjectivity attached to the people of Tuvalu. They propose that Tuvaluan communities should be seen as strong and resilient, rather than as passive future refugees. Tuvalu is a Pacific atoll nation-state, they continue to argue, that has "come to stand for predicaments implicating climate change, forced emigration and resettlement, and loss of territory and sovereignty" (Stratford *et al.* 2013: 67). Instead climate change discourse concerning Tuvaluans and I-Kiribati could be enriched by emotional and affectual geographies, creating spaces of hope and reflection on migration experiences.

In outlining some of the dynamics of decision-making in Tuvalu and the fluid emotional geographies implied by the land and sea-scapes that surround and extend the communities (*fenua*), the authors expose a crucial lack of research. They concede that "we are convinced that it is short-sighted to ignore the particular emotional geographies of nationhood in thinking about climate change, *emigration* and sovereignty that are present among island and archipelagic peoples" (Stratford *et al.* 2013: 79 emphasis added). It would be

helpful to find new ways to speak about and represent climate change impacts – including their emotional and affectual geographies.

It will be interesting and valuable to see more research done in this area, and I anticipate publications will continue to emerge from the Christchurch earthquakes. Concurrently, I remain in touch with several respondents from this project and look forward to continuing being part of their network of friends. It is also hoped that, given time, the trauma and impacts of the earthquakes will become somewhat less 'raw' for respondents as they continue the task of making Waikato a part of their everyday lives.

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Appendices

Appendix A Newspaper article

pg: A11 Sat. 15 Oct

www.waikatotimes.co.nz

NEWS

Wrenched away to a stable, flat city

Gail Hutcheson hopes her study into quake refugees will influence disaster response and recovery policies. Louise Risk reports.

Waikato is geographically stable and it has a city in it.

It does not sound like much, but a PhD student's early research has found these two factors have been major drawcards for people who moved to the region after the Canterbury earthquakes.

Cambridge woman Gail Hutcheson, who is balancing being a fulltime Waikato University PhD student with family life and motherhood, hopes her research into people who have relocated from Christchurch will help influence disaster response and recovery policies.

Mrs Hutcheson said she had spoken to about a dozen people so far, but hoped more people who had moved to Waikato after the earthquakes would be willing to participate in her research.

"It's really hard to know how many people will come out of the woodwork but 25 or so would be good."

She said an exact number of how many Cantabrians were now living in the Waikato was difficult to know, but estimated it was about 500 people.

"We didn't have the census this year so that makes it even harder to tell."

Family first: Gail Hutcheson said having her daughters Amber, 17 months, and Baylea, 4, helps her empathise with the families she meets in her research about people who have moved to the Waikato since the Christchurch earthquakes.
Photo: Kelly Hodel/Fairfax NZ

Mrs Hutcheson said without fail, every person she had spoken to had told her how supportive Waikato people had been.

But many were still unsettled and with the earthquakes still a "raw and sensitive" topic, counselling was common.

"A lot of people are still in a very heavy grieving process," Mrs Hutcheson said.

"A lot of people who have relocated have been criticised for abandoning Christchurch, but I don't think that is fair."

She said the driving factor for most of her interviewees to move to Waikato had been for the benefit of their families, and, perhaps surprisingly, for many it was the first major move of their life. Not all had friends or relatives in Waikato.

"It wouldn't have been a decision they would have made for themselves," Mrs Hutcheson said. "Having children of my own has helped me to relate to that."

She said as well as its geographical stability, Waikato and Hamilton appealed because the region was relatively flat, and there were not many high-rise buildings.

Some still avoided malls and did not feel comfortable in concrete buildings, and the children wanted the desk closest to the classroom door.

Mrs Hutcheson did not know whether the people who had moved here from Christchurch would return to the south someday.

"It's really too early to know," she said.

"People have said they've felt wrenched out of Christchurch.

"[But] if they have another earthquake, forget it."

If you are a former Christchurch resident who would like to participate in this research, please contact Gail Hutcheson at gaila@waikato.ac.nz or on 021 264 5172.

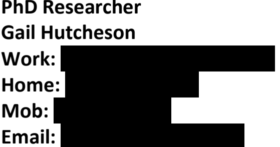
louise.risk@waikatotimes.co.nz

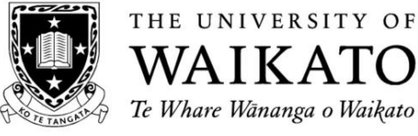
Source: Adapted with permission from *Waikato Times:* 15 October 2011

Appendix B Participant information sheet

Geography Programme
School of Arts & Social Sciences
Te Kura Kete Aronui
The University of Waikato
Private Bag 3105
Hamilton, New Zealand

PhD Researcher
Gail Hutcheson
Work:
Home:
Mob:
Email:





Spaces of emotion and affect
in the 2010/2011 Canterbury earthquakes, Aotearoa, New Zealand:
Stories of relocation

Thank you for taking time to consider this research. I am a postgraduate student at the University of Waikato. As a part of my Doctoral thesis I am undertaking research on affect (collective impressions) and the Canterbury earthquakes and aftershocks. Disasters are complex phenomena and have huge emotional and affective impacts on people, yet, this area is under researched. The overall goal of this project is to examine the experiences of people who have chosen to relocate as a direct result of the earthquakes.

Your involvement

In order to detail the experiences of people who have decided to relocate to the Waikato after the earthquakes, I would like to use a number of different methods in this research. I aim to conduct focus groups (discussion meetings of approximately 4-5 people) that are informal in approach to allow for the discussion of research topics to unfold in participants own words. I anticipate that the focus group meetings will last for approximately 60-90 minutes and hope to conduct a beneficial and thought-provoking discussion.

Following this focus group meeting I will invite you to participate in two further stages of this research. The decision to continue to participate in this research is entirely up to you. The second stage is an in-depth interview that will be semi-structured in approach, and approximately 40-60 minutes in length. I would like to audio record both the focus group meeting and the semi-structured interviews so that I have an accurate account of your views and opinions. Your insights are vital and you are welcome to bring up any issues which you view as important to my research.

Finally, I will make available an online research webpage via Wordpress.com™. The web-site is a forum where discussions can take place with myself and other participants to this research as well as gain updated information as the research unfolds. You will also be able to upload photographs that you may want to discuss, please send these to my private email address. I may use the website discussions and photographs for my thesis and will be creating pseudonyms in order to keep your 'user name' confidential. However, on the web-site other participants to this research may recognise your 'user name' when participating in discussions, if you want a comment to be fully confidential then do not post it (email me privately). Further, I will ask permission before reproducing any photographs in the thesis.

Confidentiality

I will ensure that all written notes and transcripts will be kept in my personal care and stored in a private office at the University. Any information stored on a computer will only be accessible through a regularly changed password. Only I will have access to the notes, transcripts and electronic information. All records held by Gail Hutcheson for the purpose of this Doctoral thesis will be destroyed five years after the completion of the thesis. Pseudonyms will be used unless you specifically request otherwise.

What are your rights as a participant?

If you choose to participate in my research, you have the right to:

- Decline to participate
- Decline to answer any particular question(s)
- Withdraw from the research up to a month after the focus group and/or last interview
- Request that any material be erased
- Ask any questions about the research at any time during your participation

The results

The results of my research will be used as part of my doctoral thesis. Four copies of my thesis will be produced; three hard copies and one accessible online. One hard copy will be made available through the University of Waikato Library. The findings may also be used in presentations, conferences and journal publications.
The recorded focus group meetings and interviews will be transcribed and if requested a copy of your contribution will be sent to you to ensure accuracy of information.

This research has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. Any questions about the ethical conduct of this research may be sent to the Secretary of the Committee, email fass-ethics@waikato.ac.nz, postal address, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Te Kura Kete Aronui, University of Waikato, Te Whare Wananga o Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3240.

What next?

If you would like to take part in my research or you have any questions, you can email or contact me, details are provided below.

Gail Hutcheson

Professor Robyn Longhurst
(Chief Supervisor)

Appendix C Proposed research questions

- **Leaving**
  - At what point did you decide to go?
  - What were some of the deciding factors for leaving Christchurch?
  - Why did you choose the Waikato?
  - Will you stay in the Waikato, move on or return to Christchurch at some time in the future?
  - How long had you lived in Christchurch?
  - If you can, please explain some of the excessive qualities of life directly after the earthquakes – what did it feel like to be in Christchurch at that time?
  - Do you stay in contact with people in Christchurch? If so, how and in what ways?
  - How did you feel about leaving Christchurch?
- **Home**
  - Did you own your home or rent?
  - Describe your area in Christchurch was/is it damaged?
  - Did you bring belongings with you? If so, what sort of things?
  - How do you feel about where you are living now?
- **Community**
  - How important is community to you?
  - How did you interact within your local community in Christchurch?
  - Explain some of your experiences since arriving in the Waikato
  - Have your feelings about community changed in any way? If so, how?
- **Media**
  - Was online or media information important to you throughout and after the earthquakes?
  - Did or were you able to access social media before you arrived in the Waikato? (For example, Facebook, Twitter, Blog-sites)?
  - Do you still 'tune-in' to mass media (TV, articles, newspapers, radio) accounts of Christchurch? [Please explain why/why not]
  - Do you currently use social media? If so how and in what ways?
- **I would you to reflect on this interview experience**
  - Can you describe some of the feelings you have had during this process?
  - What did you like/dislike about the interview?
  - Has this experience provoked any particular thoughts/feelings?

Appendix D Example of research diary

being safe or not safe. She felt affected by these attitudes, that she was weak or that something was wrong for her not to cope while others soldiered-on & made the best of it. Her work was at schools & she was part of an after-school programme when one of the children was hit by a falling desk in an aftershock, that fell off the stage because no-one had taken real heed of the dangers or had taken them seriously enough because they were so busy trying to show how they would just carry-on as normal. She found this gutting & difficult. She found that she couldn't cope with the responsibility for others' lives.

(4) The widely publicised attention to the criticism for people leaving Christchurch meant that she didn't discuss her move with friends & felt she'd "shot myself in the foot" by not discussing the move first and having time to think it through. She thought the media attention was unfair & people that wanted to relocate faced being 'handed' by friends & family. This aspect was bantered about on the web blog-rolls, pages in the local paper - signing of "the pledge" & other such discussions that seemed to pervey that one was being dis-loyal for leaving Christchurch & should stay & tough it out.

Appendix E 'Cantabrians in Waikato' picnic 30 January 2012

SUPPORT GROUP: Christchurch people who came to Hamilton after the earthquake are meeting again next Wednesday at Hamilton Gardens. Photo: SUPPLIED

Group brings quake refugees together

By LOUISE RISK and GEOFF LEWIS

BEFORE the Christchurch earthquakes the people who gathered in the Hamilton Gardens in January were strangers.

But their traumatic experiences and the decision to move to the Waikato has given the group a common focal point and a desire to get to know each other.

Cantabrians in Waikato, a support group for Christchurch earthquake refugees had its inaugural meeting at the Hamilton Gardens in late January, attracting about 45 people for a casual picnic lunch.

The idea to form the group followed research by first-year Waikato University geography PhD student Gail Hutcheson that showed people who had relocated from Christchurch following the earthquakes had no organised channels to contact each other. So she and a couple of other volunteers decided to launch the social support group.

"They have commented that the people they have met in the Waikato have been amazing but our understanding of what they have been through is limited."

Mrs Hutcheson, from Cambridge, said she and her volunteer researchers had heard many comments about how people felt isolated but very little attention was paid to people who re-located within New Zealand and although people from Canterbury and the Waikato were all New Zealanders the regions had very different cultures.

"I hope my research will influence disaster recovery policies. These people are technically refugees but they are unlikely to go to a centre to get help."

Co-organiser Karen Mullaly said the group of Canterbury ex-pats was growing and she invited other families and individuals who had moved to Hamilton from Christchurch to join for further events and outings.

Karen and her family moved from the Heathcote Valley to Hamilton in March last year and while they miss their familiar community they are sure they made the right decision.

"The majority feel there is value in being together and to be connected with Christchurch and other Cantabrians."

Mrs Mullaly said the Cantabrians in Waikato Group plans to meet again on February 22 to commemorate the first anniversary of the devastating event which hit the city last year. The venue will probably be a local cafe in order to take advantage of any television coverage of events down south marking the day.

For further information on the Cantabrians in Waikato group, contact Mrs Hutcheson 021 264 5172 or Mrs Mullaly 021 830 331.

Source: Adapted with permission from *Hamilton Press* 2012 – photo obscured to preserve the anonymity of respondents.

Appendix F Suggestion sheet

- Name(s): (please include all family members)

____

____

____

- Please state your preferred means of contact (e.g.) telephone number, email or postal address

____

____

- Suggestions for 22nd February 2012

1. Meet for lunch at 11.30 (circle) YES NO OTHER(please explain)

____

____

____

2. Venue: Outside/Inside or Other (please explain)

____

____

____

3. 12:51pm: Duplicate what CHCH is doing? (circle) YES NO OTHER (please explain)

____

____

____

4. Would a video-link to CHCH or TV link to view CHCH events be good? (circle)

   YES NO OTHER (please explain)

   ____

   ____

5. Local media present (purely to cover the event)? (circle) YES NO OTHER
   (please explain)

   ____

   ____

6. "Cantabrians in Waikato" is it a good name for the group? (circle) YES NO OTHER
   (please explain)

   ____

   ____

7. Any additional suggestions or comments?

   ____

   ____

   ____

   ____

   ____

   ____

   ____

A4.

www.waikatotimes.co.nz

NEWS

Waikato welcome helps ease pain for quake exiles

Maryanne Twentyman

Reporter Maryanne Twentyman gathered with fellow Cantabrians at Keystone Bar in Hamilton yesterday to mark the anniversary of the February 22 earthquake.

Earlier this month I got married at The Boatshed Cafe on the banks of Lake Karapiro. It was a beautiful day, the perfect venue, but it was bitter-sweet as our wedding was meant to take place in Christchurch, which is where both my partner Barry and I come from.

But last year's February 22 earthquake took out potential venues. Friends and family wanted out . . . wanted something to look forward to in a place where they could enjoy a celebration without the threat of the ground shaking beneath their feet.

More than half the guests were from Christchurch . . . but an important one was missing. Barry's father died in August last year, and although he isn't included in the official earthquake death toll of 185, we have no doubt that the stress of losing his home for many months and the constant barrage of earthquakes contributed to his demise.

I have to wonder how many more earthquake victims have departed this world in the same vein over the past 12 months.

It was an interesting talking point with around 40 fellow Cantabrians who yesterday came together at Hamilton's Keystone Bar to mark the one-year anniversary. Specially made red and black ribbons were carefully attached to a number of Crusaders and Canterbury rugby jerseys.

Few words were needed over the poignant gesture . . . the sad eyes and grim faces spoke volumes.

Those Cantabrians – who now call Hamilton home – openly wept, held hands and stood as one at 12.51pm. The emotion in the room was palpable.

Earlier a Maori elder, sitting in the corner with a guitar slung over his shoulder, played along to the national memorial service on television as *How Great Thou Art* was played from Hagley Park . . . for those few moments we were all transported home.

Despite the sadness of the day, those who had gathered at the Victoria St bar were keen to speak of new beginnings and about being overwhelmed at the support and generosity from people in the Waikato who had made their transition so much easier.

Scientist Dr Adrienne Ember was joined by her husband Stefan, a former Christchurch City Council human resources manager, and two of her three children, Viola, 10, and Flavian, 12.

"My youngest, who is six, is too traumatised to be here. She hasn't forgotten," Dr Ember said.

But Ngaruawahia born and raised Maire Duffell wants to return to the city that was her home for nine years.

"But I have to say being away has made me more scared – it's hard to explain," she said.

"But my children and grandchildren are there – and Christchurch is still the most beautiful place in the world."

Source: Adapted with permission from Waikato Times 2012

Appendix H Example of 'open coding'

[general gasping and horror at the thought of that moment]

KB: Jeepers you must have just been feeling sick

CM: and you know you got around the corner and you could see all these little kids in red sitting out the front

KB: that must have been a very emotional time for you

CM: it was (pause) particularly (pause) but they were both fine

KB,NB: yep, yeah (both quiet solid and there with Colin living his anguish for a second)

NB: It was a terrible time waiting at school, I couldn't get hold of Karen she was in town and I was in town

KB: 'cause we were stupidly trying to phone rather than text because the texts were getting through and not the calls

LH: we know that now though [everyone laughs] and it's a lesson we've learned

NB: but waiting at the school for various parents to turn up and you know some parents didn't get there till 6pm (general sighs) and you're thinking "Oh no what about these poor kids! They're going to be orphans you know because that was a high probability" from what I'd seen in town you know people under stuff and—

CM: I was sat on the grass with the kids and the teachers because I was one of the first parents there and gradually parents were turning up and there was a couple that only lived two doors down and they had a little lad and I sent her a text because I knew she works in the city centre you know I sent her a text saying he's here he's fine and she said she'd get there as soon as she can she was on the 10th floor of the Foresyth Barr building and they've got no stairs

NB: oh yeah

(silence)

CM: From the balcony of our house you could see over to the centre of the city and it was just dust

NB: yeah

(silence)

Me: so a lot of you were near the centre of the city when it happened

TE: It's amazing how fast you can run from Colombo Street to Halswal when you have to (everyone laughs) 'cause I always run home you see so i was quite lucky but I probably did a couple of sub-4 minute miles in the first bit (laughs) so yeah everyone was stuck in traffic while I was running past everyone

JE: you got home way before I did didn't you?

Handwritten annotations: relationality; CM needs to explain his struggle to cope & why; empathy; Collective emotion; fear + separation; Sympathy & understanding for that moment; each reliving their own experiences at that moment but collectively sharing earthquake stories; Collective emotion; home; humour to release tension

Appendix I Example of mind map

Hope, fear, guilt
grief, sadness,
relief, joy,
peace, isolation
disjointed feelings

ethics
mood
apprehension

↔

<- resonance -> unconscious processes - senses

in research
in experiences

Space + place

Emotion and Affect

connected
disconnected
why??

bodies
[plural]

fluidity

movement

proximity

potential

materials
houses < desks memorabelia
shopping-malls
city architecture
Cathedral
Concrete Structures

favourite places – place attachment
sense of place.
picnic grounds
rivers, parks, mountains