

Kia tahuri i te riu, kia tika

Indigenous Participation in Earthquake Recovery Planning:
Insights from Taiwan and Canterbury

Hauauru Rae

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment for the degree of

Master of Planning

University of Otago, Dunedin,

New Zealand,

April 2013

Abstract

In 2006 governments around the world adopted the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, signalling a monumental step towards international recognition of the indigenous voice in decision-making as an indigenous right. It comes as political reforms give rise to governance frameworks that are more accommodating of indigenous participation, and acknowledges the need to empower the indigenous voice. This progress is fundamentally challenged, however, by recovery planners who, Pearce (2003) argues, fail to integrate recovery planning and participation.

The aim of the research is to investigate the extent of indigenous participation in earthquake recovery planning. A case study approach was utilised to guide this investigation, with a deep study into the extent of indigenous participation in the 921 Earthquake and Christchurch Earthquake recoveries. The case study approach was conducted in three stages of data collection and analysis. The first stage involved identifying and collecting relevant secondary data, while the second stage entailed conducting semi-structured interviews with individuals who have experience of earthquake recovery planning and indigenous participation in Taiwan and Canterbury. The third stage involved analysing the collected data for themes conducive to understanding the extent of indigenous participation in earthquake recovery planning.

The research finds that indigenous participation is indeed enabled in earthquake recovery planning. Moreover, it illustrates that participation is more empowering for indigenous peoples than ever before in colonial history. The extent of indigenous participation varies depending on the willingness of a government to both recognise participation as a process that ensures efficiency in planning and address indigenous claims for self-determination.

An implication of the research is that indigenous groups can anticipate how they may be involved in recovery decision-making before a disaster occurs. Another implication of the research approach is that different levels of government can assess how existing processes accommodate indigenous peoples and how these may be promoted in recovery processes. Ultimately, the research informs different government levels of how recovery planning is an opportunity to progress the realisation of indigenous rights, which the research shows is being taken advantage of.

Acknowledgements

Kotahi taku aro ki te ao wairua, reira koutou ngōku tūpuna e whakatā ana, e whakangāhau ana, e noho hāneanea ana. Ka tuku mihi ki a koutou. Ka whakahoki taku aro ki konei, ki te ao tūroa, ki a tātou te hunga ora e ngana ana kia whai oranga ai mō ngā reanga ā muri ake nei. Tīhei mauri ora!

Ki te marea kua tautoko i tēnei kaupapa kia whakatipu whēnei ai, ngā mihi māhaki. Mei kore ake koutou hei aki i a au kia tūtuki i tēnei rangahau, me kī, kia ora ai te iwi.

To everyone that has supported this research to become what it is, thank you so much. If it were not for your guidance, this work would not have been possible.

To the respondents, the interviewees, thank you for sharing your invaluable time and knowledge with me. I treasure your experiences and passion for indigenous development, and I am grateful for having not only met you all but being able to get to know you. I genuinely hope that this research meets your expectations.

To all the University staff that have helped me at any time throughout my studies, thank you. Thank you for all the advice, whether it was about grammar, data collection or even what food to eat for studying. I am truly grateful for all your guidance. Without it, I would not be the person I am today.

To my friends, whānau and flatmates, you probably don't remember me since I've been locked away in the office for an entire year, but now I finally have time to make guacamole and creamy rice (not together). So, if anyone is keen, let me know. Ta.

To all the planning students of 2012... 5C17's where it's at! Good memories shared and hope to see you all in the near future... on bikes... along the Brisbane River.

To my supervisor, Michelle Thompson-Fawcett, thank you for supporting me. There were so many times throughout this research process where I felt confused, and some times where I did not even realise I was confused, but every time you would give me advice to get through and remind me to 'just relax'. I truly cannot express how grateful I am for your dedication to my research. Ngā mihi māhaki.

Contents

Abstract.....	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
List of Figures.....	viii
List of Tables	viii
Acronyms and Abbreviations	viii
Notes and Clarification of Terms	ix
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
Chapter 2: Methodology.....	6
2.1 Introduction.....	6
2.2 Decolonising and Indigenising Methodology	6
2.3 Indigeneity and Qualitative Research	7
2.4 Adopting a Kaupapa Māori Approach.....	8
2.5 Utilising a Case Study Research	11
2.5 Scope of Research.....	12
2.5.1 Stages of Research	12
2.6 Conclusion	16
Chapter 3: Participation in Planning.....	17
3.1 Introduction.....	17
3.2 Planning	18
3.2.1 Governance Frameworks: Planning Models.....	19
3.3 Understanding Participation: A Dichotomy.....	22
3.3.1 Participation as a Mechanism for Empowerment	23
3.3.2 Participation as a Mechanism for Efficiency	25
3.4 Measuring the Extent of Participation: Typologies	26
3.5 Indigenous Participation in Planning.....	30
3.5.1 Indigenous Planning and Colonisation	30

3.5.2 Claiming Self-Determination.....	31
3.5.3 Self-Determination and Participation	32
3.6 Conclusion	33
Chapter 4: Indigenous Peoples and Recovery Planning	35
4.1 Introduction.....	35
4.2 Recovery Planning	36
4.2.1 Defining Recovery Planning.....	36
4.2.2 Recovery Planning Institutions and Framework.....	38
4.3 Participation in Recovery Planning	39
4.3.1 Participation in Recovery: Ensuring Efficiency	40
4.3.2 Participation in Recovery: Shaping Power	41
4.4 Indigenous Participation in Recovery Planning.....	44
4.4.1 Indigenous Peoples as Marginalised Minorities: Empowerment.....	45
4.4.2 Indigenous Knowledge and Efficient Recovery	47
4.5 Conclusion	48
Chapter 5: Indigenous Participation in the 921 Earthquake Recovery.....	50
5.1 Introduction.....	50
5.2 Background: Taiwan.....	51
5.3 Indigenous Peoples and Colonisation: Historical Participation.....	53
5.3.1 Settlement and Civilisation	53
5.3.2 Japanese Imperialism and Land Reform.....	54
5.3.3 The Taiwanese Voice under Martial Law.....	55
5.3.4 Democratisation and Empowering the Indigenous Voice in Recent Decades.....	56
5.4 Current Participation in Planning.....	60
5.4.1 Public Participation in Planning.....	60
5.4.2 Indigenous Participation in Planning	62
5.5 Participation in 921 Earthquake Recovery Planning	62

5.5.1 The 921 Earthquake	62
5.5.2 Earthquake Recovery Planning.....	63
5.5.3 Indigenous Participation in the 921 Recovery	66
5.6 Conclusion	68
Chapter 6: Indigenous Participation in the Christchurch Earthquake Recovery.....	70
6.1 Introduction.....	70
6.2 Background: Canterbury Region and Christchurch	71
6.3 Ngāi Tahu and the Crown: Historical Relationship and Colonisation.....	74
6.3.1 Settlement and the Treaty of Waitangi	74
6.3.2 Undermining Political Institutions and Land Alienation	75
6.3.3 Ngāi Tahu Engaging the System: Post-Settlement and Mātāwaka.....	76
6.4 Planning, Community Participation and Ngāi Tahu	79
6.4.1 Planning Legislation, Local Government and Community Participation.....	80
6.4.2 Statutory Provisions for Ngāi Tahu Participation	82
6.5 Participation in the Christchurch Earthquake Recovery	86
6.5.1 The Christchurch Earthquake	87
6.5.2 Christchurch Earthquake Recovery	88
6.5.3 Community Participation in the Recovery.....	90
6.5.4 Indigenous Participation in the Recovery: Māori and Ngāi Tahu	93
6.6 Conclusion	96
Chapter 7: Indigenous Participation in Earthquake Recovery Planning.....	98
7.1 Introduction.....	98
7.2 Historical Extent of Indigenous Participation.....	98
7.3 Current Extent of Indigenous Participation	101
7.4 Extent of Indigenous Participation in Recovery Planning.....	105
7.4.1 Governance Reform and Centralised Power.....	105
7.4.2 Integrating Community Participation in to Recovery Planning.....	106

7.4.3 Empowering Indigenous Peoples in Recovery Planning	107
7.4.4 Engaging Indigenous Political Organisation	109
7.4.5 Informing Recovery Policy and Indigenous Knowledge.....	109
7.4.6 Recognising the Un-recognised: Mātāwaka and Plains Indigenous Taiwanese ...	111
7.5 Summary	112
Chapter 8: Conclusion.....	114
8.1 Approaching the Research	114
8.2 Key Findings	114
8.3 Implications of the Research.....	116
8.4 Limitations and Further Research	117
8.5 Kia tahuri i te riu kia tika	120
Glossary	121
Appendices.....	122
Appendix A: Information Sheet.....	122
Appendix B: Consent Form	124
Appendix C: Interview Question Guide	125
Appendix D: Key Informant Profiles.....	126
References.....	128

List of Figures

Figure 1: Ladder of Participation.....	27
Figure 2: Typology of Participation in Recovery Planning.....	43
Figure 3: Map of Taiwan	52
Figure 4: The local planning process in Taiwan.....	61
Figure 5: Institutional Framework for Recovery Planning.....	64
Figure 6: Map of South Island and Canterbury	73
Figure 7: Canterbury Recovery Framework	89

List of Tables

Table 1: Continuum of Spaces.....	25
Table 2: Interests in Participation	29
Table 3: Five Stages of the 921 Recovery	65
Table 4: Limitations of the Research	118

Acronyms and Abbreviations

CERA	-	Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority
CERAct	-	Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act 2011
LGAct	-	Local Government Act 2002
RMAct	-	Resource Management Act 1991

Notes and Clarification of Terms

Certain conventions and terms have been used in this thesis that need to be explained.

Non-English words

The first time a non-English word is used, the English translation will generally be given. A glossary of all non-English words has been attached towards the back of the thesis.

Macrons

Māori words have been spelt with macrons, rather than double vowels, unless they appear with double vowels in direct quotes or are conventionally not spelt with macrons. For example, ‘Māori’ instead of ‘Maaori’.

Direct quotations

Short direct quotations, of two or less lines, have been incorporated into the text with double quotation marks. Long quotes have been typed in 11-point font, single spaced, and indented. Quotation marks are not used for long quotes.

Citation/Referencing system

The Harvard system has been appropriated in this research according to the referencing conventions of my academic department.

Anonymity

The names of interviewees have been withheld to preserve confidentiality. There are certain findings of this research that some may disagree with, placing the safety and integrity of interviewees at risk. Confidentiality of their identities is therefore maintained by referring to interviewees as Key Informants. A list of key informants by title and organisation-type has been provided in Appendix D.

‘indigenous peoples’ refers to those individuals and collectives that claim descent from the original inhabitants of a territory. Although it is increasingly spelt according to the naming conventions of social and geographical groups, whereby the initials are capitalised, ‘indigenous peoples’ in this thesis has been made consistent with reviewed literature, and spelt with lower-case initials.

‘Taiwan’ is used in this thesis, rather than its official name ‘Republic of China’, to clearly distinguish between the context of this research and mainland China.

‘Taiwanese’ is used in this research to denote any collective or organisation that is identifiably distinguishable from mainland China. This includes indigenous Taiwanese and ethnic groups that have resided in Taiwan prior to 1949. Those who immigrated to Taiwan after 1949 are referred to as **‘Mainlanders’**, consistent with the literature.

‘indigenous Taiwanese’ is intended to denote those individuals and collectives that claim descent from the original inhabitants of Taiwan. This definition provides for both ‘recognised’ indigenous groups and other groups that continue to seek to be recognised by the government. ‘indigenous Taiwanese’ is used inter-changeably with the terms ‘Aborigines’ and ‘indigenous Austronesians’, which are often used in Taiwan.

‘Māori’ is a term that is used to refer to all indigenous groups of New Zealand. The group that is specifically indigenous to Canterbury is **‘Ngāi Tahu’**. As such, the indigenous people of Canterbury in this research refer to Ngāi Tahu, not Māori. ‘Māori’ in this research is used instead when encompassing Ngāi Tahu as well as non-Ngāi Tahu indigenous New Zealanders to highlight shared experiences through history and in government. To avoid confusion, Ngāi Tahu people are sometimes referred to as **‘tangata whenua’**, while non-Ngāi Tahu Māori are referred to as **‘mātāwaka’**.

1

Chapter 1: Introduction

On 3 September 2010, my friends and I travelled to Christchurch to spend time with another friend. Eventually after arriving at our accommodation, however, all the lights across the city, as far as we could see from our window, blacked out. The five-storey building we were staying in then began to lean to one side before violently shaking to and fro to the other side. The shaking felt as if it went forever and then it suddenly stopped. We were all in a state of shock. Not only confused about what had happened, but we were also uncertain of what to do. We eventually ran out of the building and on to the streets where hundreds of others were standing confused or walking to open areas, trying to avoid collapsing masonry. Many cars had been crushed from fallen debris and people were screaming, giving directions to keep away from dangerous buildings. We were weary and decided to retrieve our belongings from our accommodation. Once we had retrieved our things, taking the risk to run through the building in complete darkness, we fled the city centre to a friend's family home.

There were several aftershocks throughout the day that would shake the house. We were constantly 'on edge'. During the power-outage, we could not contact anyone and had no idea of the impact of the earthquake on the city. When power was restored, we were able to watch the television and got a full glimpse of the physical damage throughout the city. That afternoon, we were able to refuel our cars and returned home. Although we were there for less than 24 hours, we were traumatised by the event. It is difficult to understand then how those from Christchurch City and the wider Canterbury Region have been able to cope not only through the aftermath of that earthquake, but also subsequent earthquakes and aftershocks that have been even more devastating.

Earthquakes can be devastating. They are, of course, considered disasters because of the subsequent social, environmental and economic devastation experienced by communities (Redmond, 2005; Rosenthal and Kouzmin, 1997). Understanding this devastation requires information, which necessitates research, to identify immediate community needs and aspirations for disaster-related planning. The months following the September earthquake demonstrated this, as several governmental and non-government organisations undertook

research to determine how to provide a sense of security within communities by preparing for future events.

In recent years, there have been increasing efforts to understand disasters and disaster management in planning. Disaster management is understood in four inter-linking stages – mitigation, preparedness, response and recovery (Berke *et al.*, 1993). The least researched of these stages is recovery, although greater attention is being granted to it as governments begin acknowledging their limited knowledge of how to appropriately plan for the restoration of communities following disasters (Peek and Mileti, 2002; Quarantelli, 1986). Governments have a key role in facilitating and co-ordinating recovery efforts, and undertake institutional reform to empower planning processes that are prompt and thus appropriate to swiftly addressing the implications of disasters (Berke *et al.*, 1993; Fiorino, 1990). The fundamental changes of these frameworks have been submitted by Rosenthal and Kouzmin (1997) as contradicting those that underpin public participation, which has led to what Pearce (2003) considers a failure by planners to enable participation in recovery planning.

Denying public participation is heavily criticised by a number of academics, including Herek *et al.* (1987) and Starbuck (1983), who argue that it results in uninformed and inappropriate decisions being made. Planning has demonstrated gradual shifts towards enabling more empowering forms of participation, although this progress has been less forthcoming for indigenous peoples who feel alienated within colonial bureaucracies (Goldfrank, 2001; Chou and Nathan, 1987; Fischer, 1993). As such, if recovery planning employs processes that preclude community participation, then it challenges the progress that has been made in conventional planning towards empowering public involvement in decision-making (Sandercock, 1998b; Arnstein, 1969). Moreover, if reforms involve centralised power then it potentially perpetuates the marginalisation of indigenous peoples who have for centuries sought greater political influence in decisions that affect them (Hills, 2008; Hibbard and Lane, 2004). The failure to enable participation is, therefore, highly questionable.

In order for planning processes for disaster recovery to be effective, any decisions made need to be informed. The principle resource for information is people (Twigg, 1999). The public maintain information critical to recovery, which governments do not possess and often choose to ignore. This is a particularly significant issue facing indigenous peoples, whose knowledge and interests have historically been perceived as irrational, which can be attributed to what has been claimed as a failure by planners to provide for indigenous peoples

(Turpel, 1992; Volmert, 2010; Hibbard *et al.*, 2008). Communities are able to identify local problems, assess damage and vulnerabilities, and evaluate the pros and cons of reconstruction policies (Wates, 2000; Phelps and Billand, 2010). It can even be assumed that community participation is perhaps central to ‘good recovery practice’. Nevertheless, it is assumed that participation is insufficiently enabled in recovery planning.

The aim of the present research is to investigate the extent of indigenous participation in earthquake recovery planning. Limited research has been undertaken into both indigenous participation and recovery planning, necessitating an exploration into research on historical and current conventional planning practices of participation (Peek and Mileti, 2002; Quarantelli, 1986; Hibbard *et al.*, 2008). Accordingly, the following objectives have been developed to guide the investigation:

1. To identify how indigenous peoples have historically participated in planning;
2. To ascertain how indigenous peoples currently participate in planning.

From undertaking an exploration into these aspects of planning, it is intended that a theoretical approach to measuring the extent of indigenous participation will be developed to examine its integration in recovery planning. The following objectives seek to guide the investigation further, specifically to understand recovery planning with regard to earthquakes:

3. To examine how indigenous peoples participate in recovery planning
4. To examine and appraise how indigenous peoples participate in earthquake recovery planning.

While the former objective will largely involve an examination of the literature, the latter objective will be addressed by analysing primary and secondary data gathered from Taiwan and Canterbury, demonstrating how indigenous peoples have been engaged in recovery planning.

The thesis has been structured according to these objectives. The following chapter explores the methods employed to undertake this research. Reasons for adopting these particular methods will also be within this exploration. The following will begin with a discussion of indigenous methodology, upon which this research has been founded and approached, followed by an appraisal of qualitative research and its appropriateness for the present research. The research strategy, a case study approach, employed to collect and analyse data will then be presented, including the rationale for employing such a strategy.

Chapter 3 will contextualise the concept of participation within the field of planning as it has existed both historically and currently. This chapter begins with the examination of participation as an indigenous right and then goes on to discussing how community participation has become an integral concept and practice in planning. The chapter's scope then focusses on indigenous participation in planning, specifying the particular issues that inform participatory mechanisms for indigenous engagement, and also the constraints that indigenous peoples have had to confront in order to influence decision-making.

Chapter 4 seeks to develop on findings from the preceding chapter by investigating how indigenous peoples participate in recovery planning. It follows a similar approach to Chapter 3 by first examining community participation, thereby presenting how indigenous peoples may participate as citizens, and then how indigenous participation is specifically provided for. As limited research on this issue exists, an examination of the participation of marginalised minorities has been undertaken to offer some insight into how indigenous peoples may be engaged in recovery.

Chapter 5 explores the extent to which indigenous peoples participate in earthquake recovery planning in Taiwan. As will be detailed in Chapter 2, limited existing research has necessitated an analysis of an earthquake recovery case to exemplify how an increasingly democratic government has chosen to engage with indigenous peoples in their development and implementation of recovery policy. Chapter 5 explores how indigenous peoples in Taiwan have been able to participate historically and also currently, both as citizens within the community and as recognised ethnic minorities. Chapter 5 then carries on to exploring how indigenous participation has been incorporated into the 921 Earthquake recovery.

Chapter 6 aims to investigate how indigenous peoples in the Canterbury Region have been enabled to participate in recovery planning following the 2011 Christchurch Earthquake. Accordingly, the case study approach to illustrate existing practices of indigenous engagement adopted in Chapter 5 will also be employed here. Indigenous participation in the Canterbury Region will be contextualised first, with an analysis of the relationship between indigenous peoples in New Zealand and the government, followed by the participatory mechanisms that have been informed by this relationship. The mechanisms employed in the recovery will then be examined, illustrating how indigenous peoples have been engaged.

Chapter 7 provides a discussion, drawing on the various literature, documentation and qualitative data gathered, on the extent to which indigenous peoples have been enabled to

participate in recovery planning. Chapter 8 concludes this research by addressing the aim of the research.

2

Chapter 2: Methodology

2.1 Introduction

A culturally-appropriate case study approach is intended to be employed in the present research. This chapter detail the methods encompassed within this approach and explain the reasons for adopting these methods. The chapter will begin with a discussion on indigenous methodology, upon which this research is founded, followed by an appraisal of qualitative research and its appropriateness here. The research strategy employed to collect and analyse data will then be presented.

2.2 Decolonising and Indigenising Methodology

The research examines indigenous issues and thus requires a research process that is appropriate to indigenous research. Such a process encompasses a need to adopt an indigenous-appropriate methodology. An indigenous-appropriate methodology refers to the adoption of approaches, methods, techniques, and rules that are respectful, ethical and beneficial from an indigenous perspective (Porsanger, 2011; Smith, 2005).

Indigenous methodologies seek to deconstruct Western paradigms of investigation and understanding that perpetuate the invalidation of indigeneity, and attempt to constitute paradigms centred on indigenous worldviews (Porsanger, 2001; Smith, 2005). Indigenous methodology has become a process of both decolonisation and cultural reclaim. This means adopting research techniques that are culturally appropriate and politically empowering for indigenous peoples. In so doing, we can contribute to both the decolonisation of indigenous knowledge and the promotion of indigenous aspirations.

[Indigenous methodology] allows indigenous research to break free from the frames of Western epistemologies, which are in most cases very different from the indigenous ones and are, indeed, suited to Western academic thought, but which are nevertheless foreign to indigenous ways of thinking (Porsanger, n.d.: p.107).

Appropriating methodologies for indigenous research does not imply the disestablishment of Western constructs of understanding indigenous knowledge all together. Rather, this

emerging scholarly movement encourages researchers to evaluate their perspectives and how their perspectives have been shaped. Such an approach demands ‘outsider’ researchers to embrace a new consciousness of indigeneity and, in turn, for ‘insider’ researchers to develop their research around their own realities and worldviews.

Indigenous methodologies provide new terrain, however, for indigenous researchers as we seek to negotiate colonial-drenched paradigms and discourse, which for some such as myself seems to be a unnerving journey. Reclaiming and redefining our documented histories and modern realities is no easy task. Indeed, such a task is complex with ethical issues, including advocating for indigenous-centric perspectives, empathy for research participants and reciprocity (Lui, 2004). Yet it is not a journey of one individual. It is instead an assumption of academic space and academic power by indigenous communities around the world to self-determine positive change (Smith, 2005). It is this movement that gives me hope and inspiration.

An indigenous-appropriate methodology has thus been incorporated in to the research. The specific implications of this will be elaborated on in the following section.

2.3 Indigeneity and Qualitative Research

Indigenous methodology is a field that “privileges indigenous concerns, indigenous practices and indigenous participation as researchers and researched” (Smith, 1999: p.107). It is a field that is constantly growing with indigenous researchers finding ways to imbue their own epistemologies into their work (Kovach, 2009). It is this imbuelement that distinguishes indigenous methodologies from Western practices. Yet one traditionally Western paradigm that has become increasingly inclusive of indigenous methodologies is qualitative research.

Qualitative research is grounded in a subjective paradigm conceived by the individual, which is best understood through close researcher-participant relationships and open participation. It represents a set of approaches that seek to understand people within their realities as they experience them (Vishnevsky and Beanlands, 2004). Indigenous methodologies encompass or, at least, compliment many characteristics of qualitative research. Both approaches have emerged from similar contexts, that is, from a struggle for more subjective research that respects difference and challenges traditional Western assumptions of so called objective quantitative research. With this said, although the similarities can seem obvious, it should not preclude that distinction between the two approaches. As indigenous methodologies slowly

(re)emerge, we become more aware of the distinctions that exist. For instance, traditional qualitative research does not account for methods such as storytelling, research circles, conversations and journaling (Kovach, 2009). Identifying these distinctions, however, is not conducive to this research or, I would argue, conducive to indigenous development in general. Identifying these distinctions merely acknowledges that a void exists within Western paradigms for investigating indigenous realities that needs to be addressed through the adoption of indigenous epistemologies.

In accordance with adopting an indigenous-appropriate methodology, the methods employed in this research are qualitative. This research approach has been guided by the fundamentals of kaupapa Māori research, which are explained in the following section.

2.4 Adopting a Kaupapa Māori Approach

As this research partly focusses on indigenous-New Zealand research (that is, Māori research), it is imperative that a methodology that is culturally appropriate to Māori is adopted. Moreover, I am a Māori researcher which, according to Smith (2005), suggests that such an approach is unavoidably inherent in my practice. It is, therefore, important to acknowledge so that the foundations of this research are understood.

Māori have historically been concerned over the use, production and distribution of their knowledge, and also the validation of its representation within academic institutions and civil society. Increasing discontent with Western research methodologies has resulted in the emergence of kaupapa Māori research (Bishop, 1999). Kaupapa Māori research ultimately seeks to promote the legitimacy of Māori knowledge and worldviews. It refers to research on, by, or for, Māori (Wilkie, 2000). Kaupapa Māori research is described as “a discourse that has emerged and is legitimated from within the Māori community” (Bishop, 1999: p.2). It concerns the validation of Māori worldviews and acknowledges the power-relations that exist within society that have undermined these worldviews (Smith, 2005). Such research aims to empower Māori agency within institutional processes through understanding issues relating to indigenous struggles for rangatiratanga, self-determination, through a culturally-appropriate lens.

Kaupapa Māori research is predicated on the concept of rangatiratanga, which refers to research practices and knowledge that is determined and prescribed by Māori communities. Such a research approach ensures that Māori are empowered and that the integrity of their

correspondence is maintained. Empowerment can emerge in different forms, including ‘procedural’ and ‘outcome’ empowerment (Cram, 1993). While procedural empowerment refers to the adoption of indigenous perspectives to understand indigenous participation in post-earthquake recovery planning, outcome-oriented empowerment relates to how the indigenous communities will ultimately benefit from this research. With this research, I seek to empower the indigenous communities represented within this research, particularly by way of highlighting their aspirations for participation in institutionalised planning.

Recognising Māori aspirations requires greater dialogue between the researcher and their Māori participants, and therefore necessitates mutual investment by both parties into a research project (Walker *et al.*, 2006). I have attempted to acknowledge this by maintaining communication with research participants through the research process. Moreover, I reported my data to my research participants to ensure they understood their contributions. If they did not agree with the data presented, they were invited to make changes or remove their participation completely at no disadvantage to themselves. According to Walker *et al.* (2006), this is consistent with rangatiratanga because the research involves a collaborative process, rather than being entirely dictated by the researcher.

Rangatiratanga promotes the value of researcher accountability, that is, to ensure that the research does not contradict the aspirations of the research participants. Involving the participants in the research, as much as practicable, ensures the validity of the research and maintains the mana, or prestige, of a research participant and researcher. Fostering this relationship is achieved through the practice of tauutuutu (reciprocity). Tauutuutu refers to a responsibility by the researcher to give a koha (gift) to the researched for any guidance received or that could be received. A koha can be tangible, or intangible, and must reflect the mana of the researcher and the value of their contribution. I ensured that the value of tauutuutu was incorporated in to this research, by gifting koha to those who guided me in my research.

The underlying principle of many of these values is whakapapa, or genealogy. Whakapapa implies a responsibility to recognise the importance of relationships in research. Whakapapa also necessitates the researcher to position themselves within the research and, in so doing, acknowledge the implications of this positionality. Within social sciences, this is commonly referred to as reflexivity. This can be summarised with the following tongi (prophecy):

Maaku anoo e hanga i tooku whare. Ko ngaa poupou o roto he maahoe, he patatee. Ko te taahuhu, he hiinau. Me whakatupu ki te hua o te rengarenga. Me whakapakari ki te hua o te kawariki.

I shall build my house, with pillars made of maahoe and patatee. The roof shall be made of hiinau. Raise the people with the fruit of the rengarenga, strengthen them with the fruits of the kawariki. (adapted translation of that provided by Moorfield, 2005).

This tongi was stated by Kīngi Tāwhiao, a former patriarch of the King Movement. Within it, he alludes to his aspirations for his people. The whare (house) that Kīngi Tāwhiao speaks of is a metaphorical representation of the King Movement, supported by the steadiest foundations that will never falter, and fostered by the opportunities that arise. My whānau (family), hapū (sub-tribe) and iwi (tribe) have been a part of the King Movement since its inception. I have cited Kīngi Tāwhiao's words because they encapsulate my heritage and inspire my aspirations for this research. The King Movement was immediately denounced by the British Crown when it was established in 1885, which eventually resulted in war with those who claimed allegiance to the King Movement and the confiscation of their land. Subsequent struggles for survival were guided by strategic leadership and self-determination. The King Movement was and has been able to move from a time of impoverishment to an era of economic prosperity. Tāwhiao's tongi is slowly being realised. The historical experiences of my people inform my hopes for this research, that is, to serve indigenous aspirations and support indigenous prosperity. These hopes are founded on historical experiences that are reflected in those of the indigenous communities represented within this research.

A qualitative methodology honouring of Māori worldviews has been employed in this research. The characteristics of this methodology have been determined in accordance with their ability to provide research that is respectful, ethical and beneficial for indigenous peoples. With this methodology I seek to empower indigenous peoples, their knowledge and lived experiences, while also attempting to avoid adopting an alienating and stigmatising perspective stereotypical of Western researchers. While the approach is fundamentally considered indigenous appropriate within a Māori framework, it has been framed within case study approach. The following section explains this approach and how it has been developed for this research.

2.5 Utilising Case Study Research

A case study method has been adopted to investigate, contextually, indigenous participation in post-earthquake recovery planning. Largely ignored by social scientists and ill-defined by its advocates, little consensus exists around what case study research actually involves (Gerring, 2004). Gerring (2004: p.342) describes it simply as “an intensive study of a single unit for the purpose of understanding a larger class of (similar) units”. In application to this research, the ‘unit’ can be conceived as indigenous participation in post-earthquake planning following the 921 Earthquake, whereas the ‘larger class’ can refer generally to indigenous participation in post-earthquake planning. Of additional note, the cases (that is, the broader context of the unit) can be considered as the countries of which this unit is being investigated. This would suggest Taiwan as the ‘case’ in this example.

The research, therefore, seeks to undertake a deep study of the suggested unit for the purpose of understanding indigenous participation in post-earthquake planning. In this research, two units have been selected for study. These are, again, indigenous participation in recovery planning following the 921 Earthquake, and also indigenous participation following the Christchurch Earthquakes. Accordingly, the cases are Taiwan and Canterbury. These case studies were selected because both have been severely affected by earthquakes, and both are considered home to indigenous peoples of Austronesian heritage.

Case study is a term that encompasses a number of research methods that focus an enquiry on a particular event, place or programme. It is an eclectic approach, incorporating qualitative data collection methods such as observation (researcher and participant), interview, and document collection (Adelman *et al.*, 1976). I have employed a case study approach that involves identifying a particular issue, which will then be investigated within the selected cases. Adelman *et al.* (1976) state that this approach will seek to generalise findings that emerge from the selected case studies. With this research, I intend to explore the issue of participation in earthquake recovery planning within Taiwan and Canterbury, and then generalise my findings within international discourse on indigenous planning and rights within planning.

This section has explained the use of a case study approach and has acknowledged that it needs to be appropriated in accordance with indigenous methodological values. The

following section will expand on how these methods and values have been implemented in the collection and analysis of data.

2.5 Scope of Research

This section outlines the scope of this research. The specific methods adopted will be presented, as well as the rationale for adopting these methods.

2.5.1 Stages of Research

The research was approached in three stages. Stage 1 involved identifying and collecting existing research and documents relating to indigenous participation in planning, particularly in regards to historical experiences. Stage 2 of the research included the collection of primary data through semi-structured interviews. This stage was instigated to understand how indigenous participation was enabled in Taiwan and Canterbury respectively. The final stage, Stage 3, involved analysing the collected data to illustrate how indigenous participation is enabled in earthquake recovery planning, internationally. The following sections elaborate on each stage.

Stage 1: Existing Research and Relevant Documentation

The first stage involved identifying and collecting existing research and documents relating to indigenous participation in planning. This stage of the research is commonly referred to as secondary data collection (Heaton, 1998). Existing research and documents entailed reviewing relevant literature, accessing government reports, plans and strategies, identifying legislation and international mandates, and video recordings. The components of this stage are not without their criticism, however. Szabo and Strang (1997), for example, note that criticism exists around the collection and use of secondary data as it is seldom considered to create any so called ‘real’ knowledge. Moreover, they note that secondary data is not viewed as contributing anything to existing understandings of significant value (Szabo and Strang, 1997). In regards to such criticism, I submit that this is indeed not the case in this research.

Secondary data is vital to this research because it guides the exploration of an uncharted field of issues and potentially how to appropriately address these. Collecting literature involves identifying past research of necessary consideration and delving into these to understand the context of this particular research topic. Legislation, government reports,

plans and strategies, further this contextualisation by presenting the institutional framework within which the processes of this research operate.

Despite there being few sources to enable an in-depth exploration of this research field, secondary data is nonetheless significant to contributing to understanding a field within which little documented knowledge exists. Literature, legislation and other relevant documentation, has been identified and collected to provide a broad understanding of indigenous participation in post-earthquake recovery planning. It is intended that the data collected shall guide the collection and analysis of primary data gathered through semi-structure interviews.

Stage 2: Primary Data Collection - Semi-structured Interviews

The limited amount of existing research on indigenous participation in earthquake recovery necessitates the collection of undocumented information. The consequent phase of the research to collect such information, commonly referred to as primary data, is vital to realising the aim of this research. A case study method has been adopted for this research, as outlined earlier, to address these questions sets. In consideration of this approach and the limited amount of existing research, participants for this research needed to be sought and engaged with who have experience, or are involved, in earthquake recovery planning, including: government officials; members of indigenous groups and non-government organisations; and also university academics, whose fields relate to indigenous rights, hazard planning or resource management.

Prior to engaging with participants, however, this research needed to be assessed to ensure that it would be in accordance with appropriate ethical considerations. Undertaking interviews requires permission from the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee. This research necessitated an Ethics A application, which was submitted and subsequently endorsed by the committee. This application included a Participant Information Sheet (see Appendix A) and a Participant Consent Form (see Appendix B). The Information Sheet is intended to outline the research aim and objectives to potential participants, while the Consent Form informed participants of any necessary considerations for participating. In anticipation of engagement with non-English speaking participants, the Information Sheet and Consent Form were translated into Traditional Chinese script. These documents ensure that the safety and wellbeing of the research participants are not adversely affected throughout the research.

This research also concerns Māori knowledge and worldviews and thus necessitates that it be in accordance with kaupapa Māori values, including rangatiratanga, as discussed earlier (Cram, 1993). This particular value requires the researcher to empower indigenous aspirations. In accordance with the University of Otago's commitments to rangatiratanga within research, consultation was required with the Ngāi Tahu Research Consultation Committee. The committee assesses whether the research is in accordance with culturally-appropriate values, and also Ngāi Tahu's aspirations for Māori research, which then provides recommendations or suggestions to develop the research further. Consultation was undertaken with the committee and recommendations were provided in response. These recommendations have been recognised in this research. Engagement with research participants could now commence.

Research participants were sought via a number of methods, including email, phone, and social media websites. Initial participants were inevitably those who could be contacted. Subsequent participants were contacted via these initial participants. Research participants were informed of the research aim and objectives. Times and venue to meet were arranged, if they were interested in participating. Research participants were interviewed on their experiences in planning issues relating to indigenous peoples and earthquake recovery. The interviews were semi-structured and conducted in a language that the research participant felt comfortable communicating in. Interviews that were not conducted in English were guided by an interpreter.

Interviews were semi-structured. Semi-structured interviews are interviews where the researcher poses questions to participants to encourage conversation, without seeming controlling of the knowledge that participants may wish to share. This type of interview is valuable to understanding participant knowledge and experiences, while also allowing the researcher to guide the participant in sharing knowledge of particular interest to the research. This method can be considered consistent with kaupapa Māori research because it enables the participant to determine what knowledge they share and, therefore, what experiences can be documented in this thesis. The questions posed during the interviews were open-ended questions, further allowing the participants to determine what information they shared, while ensuring that the information was appropriate to addressing the aim and objectives of this research. These questions have been attached in Appendix C.

Interviews were conducted between 1 April 2012 and 20 August 2012. Seven interviews were conducted in total with eight research participants (Appendix D). While several trips to Christchurch were made to conduct interviews, only one interview was undertaken as many individuals contacted were busy or did not respond to an interview request. The remaining six interviews were undertaken in Taiwan between 31 May 2012 and 14 June 2012 with participants that both responded to an interview request by initially-contacted individuals and were available during this short period of time.

Prior to the interview, participants were given the Information Sheet and Consent Form. Interviews commenced once permission was granted by the participant to audio-record their correspondence. Interviews conducted in Mandarin Chinese were translated and transcribed in to English, while interviews conducted in English were transcribed and returned to research participants for their approval or amendment. Once approval was given, the transcripts were able to be analysed.

Stage 3: Data Analysis

Utilising data collection methods that are culturally appropriate to acquire knowledge is a central concern for indigenous communities. Of equal concern, however, is the way in which acquired knowledge is understood. Qualitative research is founded on meaning, and relates to the exploration of meaning (Van Maanen *et al.*, 1982). The data that we collect and are confronted with can be understood differently by different researchers, participants or readers (Stake, 2010). It is therefore imperative that meaning be sought from the data in a way that does not disempower or denigrate indigenous communities.

The secondary and primary data collected were documented and read through thoroughly. Themes that emerged from the data were identified and the data was coded according to these themes. Similarities, differences and discrepancies of data within each theme were identified. The various themes that emerged were then collated in accordance with the question sets and objectives of this research. Analysis in this way ensured that different perspectives and issues were accounted for, particularly those of indigenous participants and those participants who shared knowledge of significant interest to this research. The data was then developed in to the subsequent chapters of the research.

2.6 Conclusion

Utilising the aforementioned methodology and appropriate methods, it is hoped that the research has been approached in a way that respects participants and empowers indigenous peoples. A three-stage case study analysis of indigenous experiences is intended to be a culturally appropriate approach to the research as it seeks to highlight indigenous experiences, while upholding the principles of rangatiratanga and whakapapa.

3

Chapter 3: Participation in Planning

3.1 Introduction

In 2006, governments around the world adopted the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, signalling a monumental step towards international recognition of the indigenous voice in decision-making as an indigenous right. In accordance with Falk *et al.*, (1985) conception of indigenous rights, participation is a right inasmuch as it pre-existed the established legal system and was conditioned according to the distinct, lived experiences of indigenous peoples. Indigenous rights are derived “from their own history, culture, traditions, laws, and special relationship to their lands, resources and environment” (Home Rule Parliament of Greenland, cited in Stamatopoulou, 1994: p.73). The rhetoric of participation within this broader discourse of indigenous rights seeks the amelioration of pre-existing and existing systems in a way that enables greater discussion, negotiation and compromise to heal the past and restore the indigenous voice in influencing and stipulating decisions that are of importance to them.

Indigenous participation, therefore, involves an on-going process, whereby institutions are reformed to be inclusive of pre-colonial, self-defined nations (Falk *et al.*, 1985). Colonial-established legal systems play a defining role in producing and maintaining legacies of land dispossession, cultural alienation, political marginalisation, and genocide. Such realities are characterised by an indifference, or even hostility, to empower the indigenous voice in decision-making, which has become “one of the most important issues confronting post-colonial states today” (Hibbard and Lane, 2004: p.97).

The indigenous voice has become increasingly empowered through political reforms that have made governments more accountable to communities. While participation can indeed be conceptualised as a process of political empowerment, governments around the world have acknowledged its capacity to make decision-making more efficient (Bracht and Tsouros, 1990). Political reform has been guided by this dichotomy, to provide empowerment and efficiency, often involving the amelioration of governance systems to better accommodate the

indigenous voice. Planning theory provides some insight into understanding community engagement in decision-making within these reforms and the extent to which governments have enabled indigenous participation, in particular.

The field of planning has demonstrated gradual strides in empowering the indigenous voice in recent decades. This progress, however, is yet to be evidenced in recovery planning. Understanding participation in conventional planning practice and theory can therefore guide a conceptualisation of how, and to what extent, governments may enable indigenous participation in recovery planning. Theoretical tools for investigating the extent to which participation may be enabled must be examined to determine this. Accordingly, the objectives of this chapter are to understand participation in planning and to develop a theoretical framework to measuring the extent of indigenous participation.

This chapter will first examine planning models and explore how participation may be provided for within these models. Following this, the dichotomy that has informed the governmental uptake of participation, as a process of empowerment, or as a means of ensuring efficiency, will be examined. To measure the extent to which participation may be enabled to empower or bring about efficiency in decision-making, two typologies will be analysed. Finally, the historical and modern realisation of indigenous participation as a right will be discussed.

3.2 Planning

Planning has failed indigenous peoples, according to Hibbard *et al.* (2008). They explain that indigenous participation in planning has largely involved their integration into an alienating governance system, which fails to consider their views and customs. The extent to which indigenous participation has been enabled thus requires an understanding of planning and the processes that indigenous peoples must navigate to be accounted for.

Planning can be defined as the processes through which government institutions embody, implement and evaluate decisions to promote community wellbeing. It has a particular focus on resource management, urban design, rural development and disaster resilience, and generally has a problem-solving focus (Hibbard and Lane, 2004). Decision-making in regards to planning as interpreted in the present research broadly refers to central and local government legislation and policy development, implementation and review. Indigenous participation in planning thus involves the integration of indigenous peoples into institutional

frameworks and decision-making processes to promote their wellbeing. If Hibbard *et al.*'s (2008) claim is credible, then the capacity for governments to administer planning to promote indigenous wellbeing, whilst alienating indigenous peoples within a bureaucratic system, can be assumed to be marginal.

Planning is approached in a number of ways that are informed by decision-making models, which more or less accommodate public participation. By identifying which models governments subscribe to, the potentiality for participation to occur can be projected. Moreover, by examining different approaches to planning, the types of participation that can be enabled in recovery planning may be pre-determined. Accordingly, the aim of this section is to explore planning models and examine the extent to which they may enable participation.

3.2.1 Governance Frameworks: Planning Models

The governance framework is referred to in the research as the institutional embodiment of any particular planning model. It is a structural manifestation of a political system, such as autocracy or democracy, which can be understood by the planning principles that inform such governance. These principles are prescribed by and vary within different planning models. Four planning models will be examined to give insight into fundamentals of decision-making and how participation has become increasingly accommodated.

The first planning model is the Chicago model, which emerged in the late-1940s. The objective of this model is to provide as a comprehensive, rational model to bring about efficient, organised development (Sandercock, 1998a; Sarbib, 1983; Palermo and Ponzini, 2010). The Chicago model is a system that holds its epistemological roots in scientific and technical reason, and embodies a rationale that seeks to liberate planning of ideologies, superstitions, and prejudices (Sandercock, 1998b). This model positioned modernist planners at the top of a political hierarchical system of decision-making as it was perceived that they possessed the knowledge to objectively develop and implement rational decisions, indicating the system's epistemological foundations:

Faith in the possibility of this kind of knowledge [has] enabled planners to claim that their expertise transcended specific interests and gave them the privileged ability to determine what was, or was not, in 'public interest'. In this way, planners avoided the issue/problem of the compatibility of planning and democracy (Sandercock, 1998b: p.26).

Sandercock (1998b) summarises the five foundations of the Chicago model as: (1) planning that is visionary, future-orientated, and founded on an instrumental rationality; (2) planning

that is most effective when it is comprehensive, involving the development of planning legislation that directs planning in a way that is hierarchical, coordinative, and integrative; (3) planning as a science, whereby theory and methods qualify decision-making processes; (4) planning as part of a government modernisation imperative that is detached from the economy; and (5) planning as operated to address government-prescribed community interests.

The second planning model is Advocacy Planning, which emerged during the 1960s in response to the so-called comprehensive planning approach to decision-making (Sandercock, 1998b). It was a movement that challenged the assumption that planners knew what was in the best interests of their communities and its proponents demanded that provision be made to recognise the voice of those historically unrepresented in the system (Damer and Hague, 1971; Andrews, 1997; Sandercock, 1998b). Advocacy Planning asserts that “any group which has interests at stake in the planning process should have those interests articulated” (Peattie, 1968: p.81). Essentially, Advocacy Planning promoted the inclusion of marginalised groups in planning so as to voice their concerns and develop responses that governments failed to formulate adequately.

From Advocacy Planning emerged another approach, Equity Planning. Equity Planning recognises that planning serves as an emancipatory mechanism of power relation and distribution between stakeholders (Sandercock, 1998b). Accordingly, equity planners are defined as planners that deliberately seek to “redistribute power, resources or participation away from local elites and toward poor and working-class city residents” (Krumholz, 1994: p.150). Although this approach to planning promotes more consideration of community needs, Sandercock (1998b) notes that it retains the assumption that planners are experts and places them in the upper tiers of a political hierarchy, from which they bring about change.

Equity Planning thus involves the promotion of power distribution through outcome, rather than as a means. In so doing, it validates the rational-comprehensive paradigm, by seeking to address socioeconomic deprivation in a way that considered planners as knowing what was best for the community. What these models neglected to contest was the epistemological underpinnings of the Chicago model. It is clear that these decision-making processes are based on scientific and technical expertise. Bureaucratic ignorance is informed by these underpinnings insomuch that participatory planning is constrained from achieving any meaningful fulfilment. The technocratic attitudes to so-called non-scientific knowledge as

subordinate to scientific knowledge undermine any effort to empower community-based aspirations for development.

An alternative approach to Equity Planning has been the Communicative Action model. This model involves planners realising the significance of local knowledge and political skills to planning that seeks to bring about positive change for marginalised groups (Sandercock, 1998b). Friedmann's (1974) mutual learning approach, which encouraged planners to learn from communities as opposed to just 'informing' communities, has been influential in promoting some recognition of experiential knowledge. The Communicative Action model ultimately supports principles of the Advocacy and Equity planning models, with the additional amendment of recognising the importance of non-technocratic knowledge, thereby empowering community-based aspirations for development.

A major factor and trend that has transcended these models has been power and its gradual decentralisation from government to local authorities and communities (Scott and Pawson, 1999; Nischalke and Schollmann, 2005). The comprehensive-rational approach of the Chicago model promotes centralised power, while Advocacy and Equity planning models support some community control, and the Communicative Action model supporting the inclusion of communities into the sphere power. The democratisation of former authoritarian states, in particular, has demonstrated a rapid push towards enabling community control of decision-making and pursuing a bottom-up approach to planning (Goldfrank, 2001; Chou and Nathan, 1987; Fischer, 1993). While Dahl (1994) argues otherwise, Arnstein (1969) maintains that participation is a central feature of democracy and a product of decentralised governance.

A clear consequence of decentralisation has been greater recognition for the historically disempowered and their aspirations for development. Friedmann (1992) argues that centralised planning has failed to account for the views of marginalised groups and considers decentralisation as bringing about more responsive planning that is appropriate for achieving development that they aspire for:

Restructuring the areal division of powers by devolving central functions and resources to regional and local governments... goes hand in hand with the revival of political community at these levels and the formation of... responsive, and competent local states, for the longer-term aim here is to create a local (regional) political space that will allow issues of social integration and appropriate economic growth to be resolved through political means rather than bureaucratic fiat, through negotiation rather than blind imposition (Friedmann, 1992: pp.79-80).

It is within this broadening political space that communities and historically marginalised groups are able to negotiate, to vary extents, the realisation of their aspirations for development. Decentralisation can therefore be considered the establishment of a constructive relationship between governments and communities to increasingly accommodate the people's voice and their experiential knowledge (Verba and Nie, 1987).

Participation has developed overtime, contributing to the gradual disestablishment of systems that have inhibited bottom-up, community-based planning. Accordingly, examining these changes sheds some light on the way that planning is operated today. The advent of participation brings about the establishment of five alternative foundations for planning: (1) planning represents an intergenerational rationality, whereby decisions are informed by the past, but in a way that promotes future wellbeing; (2) planning is most effective when it is holistic, integrative and multi-layered; (3) planning is a complex and dynamic process that consolidates a number of perspectives, which are held equal to scientific and technical expertise; (4) planning is tied to the economy, and equally to the community and natural environment; and (5) planning is operated by communities, including groups within these, to meet community needs.

This section has explored different models of planning and demonstrated how these models have fundamentally opened governance to community participation. It is clear that planning continues to progress towards emphasising the need for participation, yet it remains subject to an on-going negotiation of power between governments and their constituent communities. The extent to which participation is enabled is ultimately founded on this negotiation and the power granted to, assumed by, communities. It is anticipated that, through identifying the foundations that inform recovery planning, the significance of participation can be identified and the forms of participation that are enabled. Prior to exploring this, however, a discussion on participation will be undertaken in the following section.

3.3 Understanding Participation: A Dichotomy

Participation is considered by Arnstein (1969) as the cornerstone of democracy, yet when it is applied to those historically disempowered groups it is reduced to 'polite handclaps'. As the previous section has illustrated, planning has largely ignored the community and denied their participation in decision-making. This disempowerment has been exacerbated, however, for those groups within communities that have been marginalised more than others, such as

colonised indigenous peoples. Moreover, as it becomes a central characteristic of democratising societies, participation remains a distant reality for those disempowered groups within non-democratic societies.

Planning models have increasingly promoted the integration of participatory principles into decision-making. These principles inform the shaping of a political space within which indigenous peoples may gain control of processes to guide the realisation of their aspirations for their own development. While it is a means towards achieving aspired outcomes, participation is indeed an outcome in itself – an outcome of negotiated power. In this sense, it is a process that represents a process of compromise and on-going contestation of control. Participation represents more than just power, however. It constitutes efficiency.

Governments are largely conceived as extremely bureaucratic and, as a result, are viewed as distant, unaccountable and corrupt (Gaventa, 2002). For indigenous peoples, governments are even considered alienating (Cosgrove and Kliger, 1997). The cost of such a reproach has been public resistance to policies and the legitimacy of ruling regimes, in a struggle for some accountability. In a bid to undermine such dissent and curb public resistance, governments have responded by attempting to ensure that decisions are informed and responsive to community needs. In so doing, some governments endeavour to employ efficiency in decision-making. That is, if decisions are informed through community participation, the arduous and costly process of rectifying decisions can be avoided.

Participation is therefore conceptualised within a dichotomy, of empowerment and efficiency. This section seeks to understand participation by exploring this dichotomy further. First, participation as a mechanism for empowerment will be discussed, and then a brief discussion of participation as a mechanism for ensuring efficiency will be presented. By understanding participation, indigenous participation in recovery planning can be conceptualised and projected.

3.3.1 Participation as a Mechanism for Empowerment

As aforementioned in Section 3.2.1, governments increasingly provide for the disempowered as more community-focussed planning models emerge. Governments empower communities by engaging with them, which has become a prominent feature in planning models, including Advocacy and Equity planning, and also the Communicative Action model. These models represent the decentralisation of power from centralised governance to more community-

based decision makers. This dissemination of power, through the accommodation of participation, is empowerment.

Planning and participation are inconceivable without the concept of power. Inasmuch as it concerns decisions that affect the future and environment of an individual, planning is essentially power and embodies the distribution of power (Young, 1990; Friedmann, 1992; Foucault, 1982). Accordingly participation refers to the available access granted to individuals to planning processes to control decisions that affect them and, therefore, represents the political power disseminated by government (Friedmann, 1992). Consistent with this understanding, the increased control that individuals have over planning processes is empowerment.

Cornwall (2001) conceptualises planning processes as a space through which planning institutions convey their authority. Throughout history, she observes, this space has been opened up and has become wider for greater public engagement. In other words, planning institutions have engaged communities to be involved in decision-making. Participation represents the empowerment of the public within this space and the varying extent to which participation is enabled reflects the on-going shaping of this space by governments. Spaces, therefore, embody the potentiality for political repression or liberation as governments seek to determine the value of empowering communities to achieve their own objectives.

Cleaver (2001) has assessed similar theories to those presented by Cornwall and has summed her findings up into a continuum (Table 1). As illustrated in Table 1, the classifications represent a range of power-negotiating spaces that seek the empowerment of communities in decision-making, though to various extents. All three classifications of space enable participation, yet the parameters of closed spaces and invited spaces are ultimately determined by planning institutions, while claimed spaces are confined to the boundaries stipulated by communities or specific social groups. Claimed spaces can therefore be considered the most empowering and liberating of the three for communities.

The conceptualisation of space is neither as fixed nor as distinguishable as Table 1 portrays. Participation continues to evolve, as does the negotiation of space to provide for such transformation, which suggests that each space is dynamically related and inter-linked. That is, spaces that are closed may gradually become opened as invited spaces reflecting governmental paradigm shift to greater empowerment, while claimed spaces may be

subsumed by closed spaces as power is used by governments to subordinate community-based initiative.

Table 1: Continuum of Spaces (adapted from Cleaver, 2001: p.35)

Closed Spaces	Invited Spaces	Claimed Spaces
Though we want to focus on spaces and places as they open up possibilities for participation, we must realize that still many, many decision-making spaces are closed. That is, decisions are made by a set of actors behind closed doors, without any pretence of broadening the boundaries for inclusion.	Efforts to widen participation involve the creation of new or ‘invited’ spaces, that is, institutions of various authority invite the public into spaces. Invited spaces may be regularized.	There are spaces which are claimed by less powerful actors from or against the power holders, or created more autonomously by them. These spaces are considered as organic, which emerge out of common concerns raised by like-minded people that have joined together in common pursuits.

Ultimately, the extent to which participation is enabled can be assumed to be determined by the level of power that governments are willing to grant to communities. Why governments may grant power to communities is dependent on the extent to which participation serves or inhibits the government’s ability to efficiently realise its own objectives for development. Accordingly, the following section will explore how participation serves efficiency.

3.3.2 Participation as a Mechanism for Efficiency

The comprehensive-rational, top-down approach to planning, subscribed to by the Chicago model, postulates efficiency as prompt decision-making. This approach precludes participation as it is considered to be time-consuming and, thus, inhibiting of efficiency. According to Bracht and Tsouros (1990), however, by enabling participation decisions are informed and responsive to community needs, thereby possibly avoiding a time-consuming rectification of the public-opposed decisions. In other words, participation involves efficiency – simply with a different understanding of the concept.

People are “invariably the best source of knowledge and wisdom about their surroundings. Better decision-making results if this is harnessed” (Wates, 2000: p.4). Efficiency requires

planning to be consistent with community needs. By ‘harnessing’ public knowledge, decisions can be considered accountable to communities and therefore consistent with their needs and aspirations for development. This does not suggest that public opposition to decisions will not emerge, but rather supposes that community acceptance of the decisions is more likely to occur.

The bottom-up approach to planning, as promoted by Advocacy and Equity planning, and particularly by the Communicative Action model, recognises the potential for aspired development to occur through mutual learning, where planners learn from communities about their needs and work with them to address these needs. It involves having informed decisions to make planning processes more inclusive of and accountable to the public, and supported and trusted by the community (Tolbert *et al.*, 2003; Bracht and Tsouros, 1990). Without informed decisions, it is assumed that communities will resist imposed policies and challenge the legitimacy of governing regimes, which can be costly to remediate and therefore inefficient.

This section has illustrated that participation can be understood within a dichotomy, yet empowerment and efficiency are evidently complementary concepts in planning. The extent to which participation is enabled may, ultimately, be determined by examining how much power governments are willing to grant to communities to support government objectives for development. This may be indicated by the types of participation that governments employ to inform their decisions. If this is the case, indigenous participation in recovery planning can be assumed to be enabled insofar as it serves government aspirations for community restoration and reconstruction. It thus seems valuable to addressing the aim of the research that different types of participation be explored. As such, the following section will examine two typologies of participation.

3.4 Measuring the Extent of Participation: Typologies

Typologies have been developed by academics to acquire a deeper understanding of participation in planning. They classify forms of participation according to their extent to empower communities or bring about efficiency. Typologies can be considered as tabulated forms of the dichotomy that participation is generally understood through; as discussed in the previous section. Two typologies have emerged from the reviewed literature. This section will first examine a typology that is based on power distribution, and then the second

typology will be examined, which is a comprehensive conception of participation as both a means of empowerment and efficiency.

The first typology is referred to as Arnstein's 'ladder of citizen participation', which has been used for the past 40 years to categorise levels of participation. It presents "a hierarchical typology of participation in terms of the amount of power devolved to the participants in the participatory process" (Bond, 2007: p.20). Figure 1 illustrates Arnstein's ladder, presenting eight rungs to correspond with the extent of assumed or granted power. The two lowest rungs (1) Manipulation and (2) Therapy constitute a process whereby the community is involved in decision-making to the extent that they are educated about organisational or governmental objectives (Arnstein, 1969). This level of participation indicates a lack of willingness by those in power to enable any community capacity to influence institutional, procedural or outcome change. This approach therefore implies the promotion and perpetuation of a governing-imposed status quo that potentially fails to account for community needs and simply self-empowers institutional decisions.

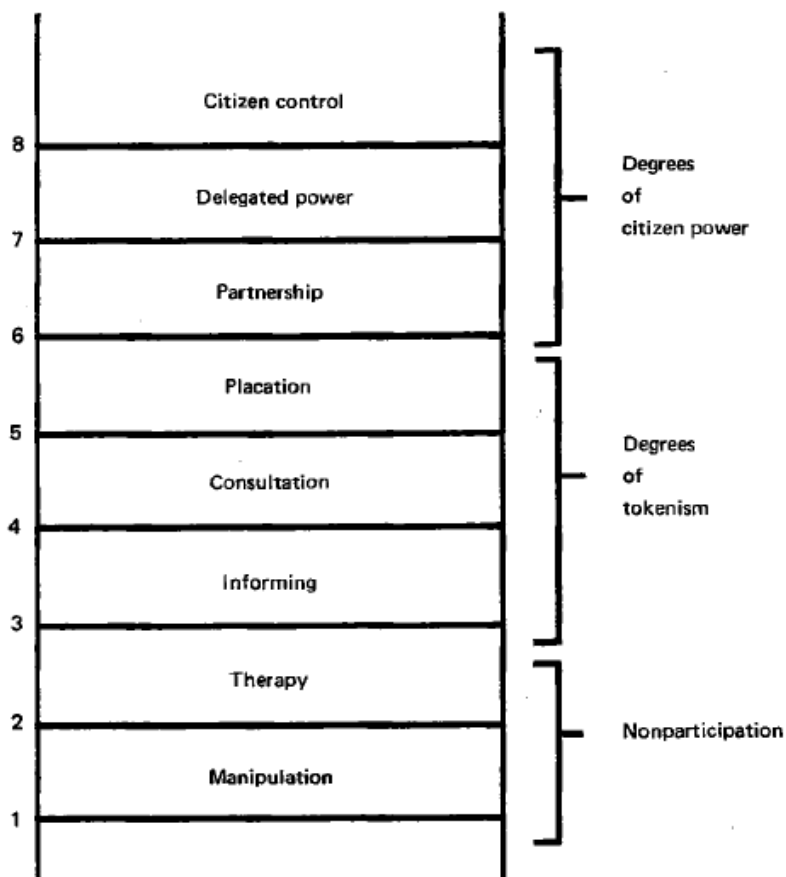


Figure 1: Ladder of Participation (Arnstein, 1969: p.217)

The next two rungs, (3) Informing and (4) Consultation, enable participants to have a voice, though these forms do not guarantee that their views and interests will be implemented (Arnstein, 1969). Thus, these rungs represent a seemingly tokenistic approach to participation that again seeks to perpetuate the traditional decision-making. The next rung, (5) Placation, involves greater inclusion of participants, but the capacity for them to influence decision-making is subject to the discretion of those in power, that is, the 'have-nots' are provided with an advisory role, but not a right to decide (Arnstein, 1969).

The next rung, Rung (6) Partnership, progresses community involvement to a level in which they are able to work together, through direct negotiation and compromise, to make decisions. This category of participation represents the lower stages of citizen power, and community-based planning. The final, uppermost rungs, (7) Delegated power and (8) Citizen control, involve the community assuming majority decision-making authority. This implies that the community possesses ultimate control over planning.

Arnstein's (1969) citizenship ladder corresponds with Cleaver's (2001) spatialised conception of planning processes, whereby types of participation correlate with specific types of spaces or planning processes – whether closed, invited or claimed. That is, the higher along the citizenship ladder participation is enabled, the less a conceptual political space is closed and the more it becomes inviting or even claimed. In other words, if a government enables 'nonparticipation' types of participation, then planning processes may essentially reflect a closed space, while 'citizen power' types represent may represent practices of either an invited space or claimed space. By identifying the particular types of participation that are enabled by governments, the level of power that governments are willing to grant communities can be determined. As stated before, however, this is dependent on the capacity of participation to efficiently serve government objectives for development. The following typology offers guidance in theoretically exploring efficiency and government interests, somewhat elaborating on Arnstein's (1969) citizenship ladder.

In a more recent typology, and perhaps more comprehensive, has been provided by White (1996), who has classified participation into four types (see Table 2). Each type is classified according to form, government interests, community interests, and their respective function (White, 1996). The forms of participation are described in the first column of Table 2 and range from nominal to transformative forms. The second column outlines 'top-down' interests, that is, the interests of government and planning institutions for each form. The

third column consists of ‘bottom-up’ interests, or rather, community interests. The final column refers to the overall function of each type of participation (White, 1996).

Table 2: Interests in Participation (White, 1996: p.7)

Form	Top-Down	Bottom-Up	Function
Nominal	Legitimation	Inclusion	Display
Instrumental	Efficiency	Cost	Mean
Representative	Sustainability	Leverage	Voice
Transformative	Empowerment	Empowerment	Means/End

Nominal participation relates to the involvement of communities or groups by governments to make communities feel psychologically empowered by feeling included, yet their influence on decision-making is near non-existent. This type of participation is, according to White (1996), implemented because it displays a sense of planning legitimacy. Instrumental participation infers the realisation of outcomes that are critical to ensuring development, but that require community resources which can be costly for them, but in turn is efficient for governments. Representative participation refers to the ability of communities and groups to have a voice so as to have some leverage, some influence, on bringing about appropriate planning practice, which is fundamentally sustainable. The final type of participation is transformative, which implies “considering options, making decisions, and taking collective action to fight injustice” (White, 1996: p.8). White (1996), in conceptualising her typology, acknowledges that participation is neither simplistic nor distinguishable in reality and states that each type – its form, interests, and function – is interlinked and dynamic. This suggests that the theorisation of participation sheds light on its integration into planning practice, but also suggests that typologies are merely starting points to understanding participation and will not always reflect reality. This does not challenge the practicality of typologies. On the contrary it encapsulates an incomprehensible and complex process through which governments and communities can grasp the level of participation being enabled.

It has been postulated in the previous section that communities are empowered in planning processes inasmuch as it serves to efficiently serve government interests. With this typology, the degree that governments consider participation to serve the efficient realisation of their planning objectives can be identified. Accordingly, by utilising Arnstein’s (1969) citizenship ladder to correlate types of participation with their capacity to empower, then corresponding

this with one of White's (1996) 'forms' of participation, the extent to which governments are willing to enable participation can be determined.

Typologies have been developed to theorise, or rather simplify, understanding participation. Yet they can evidently be utilised to measure the extent to which governments may enable participation. As such, these typologies can be utilised to interpret the extent of indigenous participation in earthquake recovery planning. Before this is undertaken, however, the following section will explore indigenous participation in conventional planning to provide some insight into indigenous participation as demonstrated generally.

3.5 Indigenous Participation in Planning

Planning theory and practice have evolved overtime to become more accommodating of participation. As has been discussed thus far, participation is widely conceived as either a means of efficiency or empowerment and equity. There exists an abundance of literature that explores this dichotomy, which has informed the development of participation typologies. Despite this, the field of planning has failed indigenous peoples (Hibbard *et al.*, 2008). Arnstein (1969: p.216) supports this stating that public participation is applauded, it is "reduced to polite handclaps" when it relates to disempowered groups, such as indigenous peoples.

While many indigenous groups may enjoy the right to political participation in a way that is entitled to non-indigenous citizens, some indigenous groups consider employed mechanisms as insufficient to accommodate their own needs. Cosgrove and Kliger (1997) argue that participation is tokenistic and, as it is operated, contributes to the continued marginalisation and disempowerment of indigenous peoples. They argue that participation should be advocated to not only empower the indigenous voice but to also bring about institutional reform through which indigenous aspirations can be truly realised (Hibbard *et al.*, 2008). This section examines the ways in which indigenous peoples generally participate in planning.

3.5.1 Indigenous Planning and Colonisation

For many indigenous groups around the world, planning was traditionally community-based and guided by indigenous knowledge (Cosgrove and Kliger, 1997). Indigenous knowledge, commonly held synonymously by Gadgil *et al.* (1993) and Howitt (2001) with the concept of 'traditional ecological knowledge', refers to qualitative-based and geographically-restricted models of an intergenerational understanding of the natural environment. Indigenous

planning was inclusive, yet also provided for difference, that is, it recognised the values and interests of different groups within a single community (Ka'ai and Higgins, 2004). There were no large bureaucracies that stipulated planning in a way that disregarded localised knowledge and worldviews (Cosgrove and Kliger, 1997). Moreover, environmental management and community development policies were informed by holistic worldviews that perceived interdependence between communities and their environments.

Imperial interests for territorial acquisition and imposed regimes saw the establishment of 'settler states', that is, the formation of authority over groups of people within common territories through colonial processes (Hibbard *et al.*, 2008). Colonial processes typically involved the systematic subjugation of indigenous peoples implicated by land confiscation, resource appropriation, ethnocide and active discrimination (Lane and Corbett, 2005; Lane and Hibbard, 2005).

The impacts on indigenous peoples were catastrophic: violence and death on such a scale as to be described as genocidal, the deliberate usurping or contrived ignorance of indigenous land rights, and massive efforts to subdue and control indigenous populations... (Hibbard *et al.*, 2008: p.139).

Colonisation had brought about widespread socioeconomic deprivation in indigenous communities. Indigenous peoples, around the world, are now overrepresented in negative statistics such as crime, unemployment and poverty, indicating the low social and economic conditions that they experience (Hibbard *et al.*, 2008). Culminating this with mass depopulation as a result of warfare and introduced diseases, many colonial governments ignored the need for indigenous peoples to stipulate appropriate responses to remedy this deprivation (Lane and Hibbard, 2005).

3.5.2 Claiming Self-Determination

Over time, many indigenous peoples have become ethnic minorities within their own lands, as citizens, constituting small population enclaves within settler states. Indigenous claims for self-determination, or rather the realisation of their autonomy, have defined the relationship between indigenous peoples and settlers (Hibbard *et al.*, 2008; Tully, 2000). Indigenous peoples have consistently challenged the legitimacy of settler-established governments and their imposed rule, as well as their management of the natural environment, which indigenous peoples argue are detrimental to environmental wellbeing (Hibbard and Lane, 2004).

Governments have struggled to comprehend the practicality of appropriately addressing such claims, which seem to entail the provision of 'special entitlements' to a specific group of

society (Hibbard *et al.*, 2008). Doing so would challenge the colonial perception that rights must be uniform across society, despite there being obvious historical injustices enacted to extinguish those that had existed prior to colonial settlement (Lane and Hibbard, 2005; Dasmann, 1984). These governments have nonetheless responded to the indigenous ‘problem’ by way of complete extermination, denial of indigenous rights, assimilation, integration, or constitutional recognition of their claims (Tully, 2000). In most cases, governments have adopted strategies characteristic of all these responses, insofar as it validates their regime. During the initial years of settler state formation, governmental responses were typically oppressive and “heavy handed” (Hibbard *et al.*, 2008: p.137). Policies of ‘civilisation’, which entailed religious education and civil obedience training, were imposed during this era in an effort to eradicate the ‘savage’ tendencies that characterised indigenous cultures (Hills, 2008). Nevertheless, many indigenous groups have survived and have gone about mobilising resistance against the continued reluctance, to say the least, by governments to enable their participation in decisions that affect them (Lane, 2002a).

Indigenous peoples began seeking degrees of self-government and self-determination in government once consolidation of colonial regimes became legitimised. The consolidation of colonial rule was concomitant to the progression of settler states to ‘post-settler’ states, which meant that settlers no longer considered themselves as colonisers, but rather as ‘natives’ (Hibbard *et al.*, 2008). The colonial-introduced institutions, through which governance became stipulated, and the societies within which colonial attitudes towards indigenous peoples as incapable of self-rule emerged, could not initially comprehend indigenous participation in decision-making processes (Beteille, 1998; Dove, 2006; Alcorn, 1993). The socioeconomic deprivation experienced by indigenous peoples, however, became acknowledged as only remediable through honouring indigenous claims for self-determination and giving agency to indigenous-led initiatives for development (Hibbard, 2006; Hibbard *et al.*, 2008).

3.5.3 Self-Determination and Participation

For some indigenous groups, participation has been viewed as a mechanism that has no real effect or influence in planning. It is a process that alienates indigenous peoples, many of whom have become disillusioned by governmental failures to address their socioeconomic deprivation (Turpel, 1992; Hibbard *et al.*, 2008). Participation is typically tokenistic and, in

some cases, has been alleged to perpetuate the marginalisation and disempowerment of indigenous peoples (Cosgrove and Kliger, 1997). It is no wonder that many groups continue to refuse to establish any relationship with their post-settler governments, advocating instead for self-determination.

There remains to be little consensus on what self-determination exactly entails as it differs contextually. It could, for example, infer autonomous regions, multi-levelled governance, or funding and institutional support (Turpel, 1992; Hayward, 2010). In assessing indigenous claims around the world, Turpel (1992: p.593) defines self-determination as “the right to autonomy over political, social, and cultural development, free from state interference”. This understanding suggests that those who seek self-determination deny any opportunities to be involved in the ‘state’, thereby precluding their entitlement to participate in government-directed planning processes. Such a belief is underpinned by a view that participation and self-determination are distinct and mutually-exclusive. It is a view that is held by some indigenous groups and individuals who often view participation as renouncing their claims to pre-colonial autonomy (Hayward, 2010). For others, however, self-determination denotes a sufficient level of political and economic power to realise indigenous aspirations for development, which can validate indigenous participation, particularly if it entails government assistance (Rowse, 1998). Self-determination may therefore not necessarily be mutually exclusive, but rather interrelated.

Self-determination in participation can be considered as the capacity of involvement that enables indigenous peoples to have the most control over government decision-making processes that affect them (O’Sullivan, 2011). This precludes tokenistic forms of participation and levels that constitute little transformative power. Realising self-determination within participation as such remains untenable, however, as modern planning bureaucracies ignore indigenous claims and perpetuate a colonial legacy of political marginalisation. What is thus required is the re-examination and transformation of governance systems to better accommodate the indigenous voice.

3.6 Conclusion

Participation has been thoroughly explored in the field of planning as it characterises international shifts towards ensuring efficiency and empowerment in decision-making. Although progress towards promoting community engagement is increasingly evident, indigenous participation remains a neglected consideration. In large measure, this reflects

government avoidance of the provision of ‘special entitlements’ to any historically-disempowered social group, despite the proven potential that participation can have for empowering indigenous peoples. Consequently, the extent to which indigenous participation is enabled is generally tokenistic and falls short of indigenous aspirations for self-determination. If recovery planning practices maintain conventional planning practice then it can be assumed that participation in recovery planning will also be tokenistic and alienating. The typologies examined in this chapter will be utilised to measure the extent to which indigenous participation in recovery planning has been enabled in the 921 and Christchurch earthquake recoveries. The following chapter, however, will explore existing knowledge of participation in recovery planning to provide a theoretical foundation for examining indigenous participation in the selected cases for study.

4

Chapter 4: Indigenous Peoples and Recovery Planning

4.1 Introduction

Natural disasters can devastate communities. The degree of this devastation is dependent on a society's ability to prepare for and cope with such sudden disturbances. Through insecurity, many societies today seek to understand their environment and their own vulnerability to disasters, to be prepared for possible crisis (Peek and Mileti, 2002; Redmond, 2005; Rosenthal and Kouzmin, 1997). Disaster management has, as a result, become a thoroughly researched field.

Disaster management in planning is defined as “the body of policy and administrative decisions, the operational activities, the actors and technologies that pertain to the various stages of a disaster at all levels” (Lettieri *et al.*, 2009:117). It is understood in four inter-linking stages – mitigation, preparedness, response and recovery – of which recovery appears to be the least researched (Lettieri *et al.*, 2009; Berke *et al.*, 1993). While the phases of mitigation and preparedness refer to processes of disaster management prior to a disaster occurring, and response refers to disaster management during and immediately following a disaster; recovery denotes post-crisis management.

Recovery, according to Lettieri *et al.* (2009), involves the undertaking of actions that bring about normality to disrupted communities. It is a form of planning, where policies are implemented to give effect to the restoration of disaster-affected communities. Norman (2006) asserts that the multi-faceted aspects of recovery necessitate an approach that supports community sustainability. Such an approach emphasises the need to consider community interests and aspirations, thereby necessitating processes for their engagement in planning. Indeed, Pearce (2003) argues that the integration of both, that is, participation into recovery planning, can contribute to better planning practice and positive outcomes for disaster-affected communities. Participation in conventional planning practice has become well-accepted, yet its acceptance in recovery planning remains subject to fundamental differences.

The devastation caused by disasters can often be unbearable for communities, thus decisions are usually made under urgency. This may often preclude community engagement as it can be a time-consuming process (Rosenthal and Kouzmin, 1997). It is, therefore, assumed that governments adopt an approach reflective of the Chicago model in recovery, which has historically demonstrated bureaucratic ignorance towards participation. If this assumption is valid, then it suggests that the extent to which indigenous participation is enabled in recovery planning is manipulative and, ultimately, less accommodating of indigenous peoples than conventional planning practice. The objective of this section is to discuss the extent to which indigenous participation is enabled in recovery planning.

This chapter will first explore the literature to understand recovery as part of disaster management. Recovery will be defined, and the decision-making and institutional processes will be discussed. Following this, participation in recovery planning will be examined. How participation has been integrated into recovery will be illustrated, and whether it contributes to effective planning will be determined. The following section will attempt to consolidate the scarce research that exists to establish how indigenous participation in disaster recovery may be enabled.

4.2 Recovery Planning

Governments around the world adopt different approaches to recovery. Approaches have tended to be orientated towards short-term relief and are largely central government-led, which are typically characteristic of frameworks that do not accommodate participation (Berke *et al.*, 1993). Nevertheless, community-led recovery planning is receiving greater attention, which could reflect general trends towards recent shifts towards community empowerment within conventional planning practice (Berke *et al.*, 1993). Literature will be explored in this section, first to define recovery planning and then to conceptualise the governance framework commonly employed for recovery planning processes.

4.2.1 Defining Recovery Planning

Peek and Mileti (2002: p.514) conceptualise recovery as short term activities that “restore vital support systems as well as long-term endeavours aimed at returning life to normal”. ‘Support systems’ refer to the institutions and organisations that give agency to ‘returning life to normal’ through the implementation and co-ordination of development initiatives and projects. These initiatives and projects have traditionally involved the restoration of the built

environment, such as infrastructural and utilities reconstruction, as well as housing, which in itself requires a large consolidation of authority and administration (Smith and Wenger, 2007). Yet greater recognition has, in recent decades, been given to a broader, more holistic, approach to recovery that provides for not only the physical aspects of recovery, but also the social, cultural, economic and environmental aspects.

Another definition of recovery demonstrates a more holistic approach in that it refers to “the coordinated efforts and processes to effect the immediate, medium and long term holistic regeneration of a community” (Ministry of Civil Defence and Emergency Management, 2005: online). This definition supports that conceptualised by Peek and Mileti (2002), which highlights the regenerative and restorative purpose of recovery, and indicates the potential timeframe within which that occurs. In contrast, however, this definition acknowledges that recovery requires a holistic approach. Norman (2006: p.17) argues that a holistic approach to recovery is required to “consider the multi-faceted aspects of recovery which, when combined, support the foundations of community sustainability” and refers to the four tenet environments of recovery: built environment, natural environment, economic and social environments. This approach is advocated by Smith and Wenger (2007: p.237), who share the same tenets in their understanding of recovery as “the differential process of restoring, rebuilding, and reshaping the physical, social, economic, and natural environment through pre-event planning and post-event actions”. Accordingly, holistic understandings of recovery are gaining prevalence in the literature, promoting an integration of the four principal considerations for recovery planning.

Implementing a holistic approach to recovery ensures that communities become functional again; economically, socially, physically and in connection with the natural environment. Indeed the aim of recovery planning is to “attain a standard of living that is even better than what existed before the disaster” (Environmental Planning Collaborative, 2004: p.6). Integrative governance and administration in consideration of all the tenets of recovery need to be promoted to the extent that communities are more empowered than ever before. This means that individuals and the diverse collectives within communities have: the capacity to be self-reliant; equal access to services and resources; the ability to determine their own future through a decentralised government; and, not be subject to ineffective relocation policies (Environmental Planning Collaborative, 2004).

Communities comprise various individuals, collectives and organisations, which have differing needs (Ministry of Civil Defence and Emergency Management, 2005). These include: people that are directly affected by disasters, physically, emotionally, financially and so on; special needs groups; particular suburbs or areas; individuals and collectives that are indirectly affected, like families of disaster victims or recovery volunteers, for example. Ensuring that recovery planning is approached in a holistic way and provides for the community, inclusive of its various individuals and collectives can, as a result, “take weeks or even years, depending on the magnitude of the disaster, available resources, and the effectiveness of community and governmental efforts” (Peek and Mileti, 2002: p.514). All too often, however, governments confine their efforts to the short-term, which involves decisions being made under urgency and without consideration for the interests of individuals and collectives within the community. Subsequent institutional reform reflects this as governments seek to control planning processes by centralising authority and employing comprehensive-rational decision-making that disregards the community voice.

4.2.2 Recovery Planning Institutions and Framework

Crisis, brought about through disaster, challenges the effectiveness of existing governance institutions in managing disasters and stipulating recovery (Smith and Wenger, 2007; Mitchell, 2006). In response, planning frameworks are restructured. While planning in industrialised societies has become increasingly democratic and decentralised, recovery often necessitates comprehensive-rational fundamentals (Rosenthal and Kouzmin, 1997). This system involves the redistribution of power and resources from local governments into a more integrated, yet centralised, hierarchical system of governance (Berke *et al.*, 1993; Fiorino, 1990). This approach has been advocated as ideal for recovery for its ability to enable, in part, prompt decision-making.

The responsibility of administering the restructuring process usually resides with government, whereby the authority to administer reconstruction, co-ordinate with international agencies and non-government organisations, and regulate the equitable distribution of resources, is retained within an overseeing institution (Phelps and Billand, 2010). Such an institution is frequently established at a central government level. This is despite the role of government in disaster management often being down-played by academics, who instead advocate less centralised planning (Quarantelli, 1986). Recovery planning, therefore, involves a return to a governance framework reflective of the Chicago

model, which suggests a shift away from an approach that accommodates community participation.

Decision-making generally involves a semi-rational process, whereby policymakers are expected to maintain an objective-as-possible approach to policy development, that is, without bias and deceptive objectives (Herek *et al.*, 1987). Starbuck (1983) argues that this approach is flawed because decision makers rarely have enough information and understanding. This suggests that even if decision makers adopt several methods to ensure that as much information as possible is gathered, without engaging with the community, decisions may still not be adequately informed, nor objectively developed. This becomes particularly challenging in times of crisis as decisions are made to effect swift recovery, which can implicate short timeframes for gathering information (Rosenthal and Kouzmin, 1997). Herek *et al.* (1987) state that it is indeed a reality that decision makers will not gather enough information to make rational decisions, irrespective of a crisis occurring. They advise, however, that as long as institutions gather sufficient information to develop policies, and alternatives for consideration, decisions are more likely to be rationally made.

Acquiring information is central to critically assessing the pros and cons of policies (Herek *et al.*, 1987). Yet doing so is largely dependent on local authorities, which hold much of the necessary data for recovery planning (Becker *et al.*, 2000; Peek and Mileti, 2002; Ganapati and Ganapati, 2008). Essentially, there is a need for institutions, public officials and managers of recovery planning to be better educated to ensure more effective recovery planning. Twigg (1999) argues that the principal resource for sourcing information is people. The people have the local knowledge to identify problems, assess damage and vulnerabilities, and inform responsive policies for construction and neighbourhood design (Phelps and Billand, 2010).

It is clear that recovery policies need to be informed, yet while the public holds information necessary for developing effective policies, the often-employed governance framework subordinates the significance of community participation. The following section will elaborate on this by exploring literature relating to participation in recovery planning.

4.3 Participation in Recovery Planning

Institutional frameworks are reformed in response to disasters, so as to administer planning more efficiently, that is, more promptly. This understanding of efficiency is not one that

provides for participation, however, and informs a framework reflective of the Chicago model (Rosenthal and Kouzmin, 1997). While participation is becoming a central consideration for political reforms in conventional planning practice, particularly as a mechanism to ensure efficiency, the shift is only gradual in recovery planning. Pearce (2003: p.214) argues that, despite this relatively slow trend, “[c]hange seems inevitable...: ensure that there are links between disaster management planning and community planning” (Pearce, 2003: p.214). This section will explore how these links are being made, if at all.

Rosenthal and Kouzmin (1997) state that political reform that leads to comprehensive-rational decision-making is ideal for addressing crisis because it enables governments to develop policy without hindrance of external factors. Engaging with communities and non-government organisations, for example, is considered an incredible hindrance to making prompt decisions because of the time and costs incurred (Rosenthal and Kouzmin, 1997). Yet, as has been established thus far, participation has its merits. Governments are consequently faced with a dilemma of enabling processes that instigate either an immediate policy response or community-informed decisions.

There is evidence of community involvement in recovery planning, demonstrating some effort to make community-informed decisions (Quarantelli, 1991). How governments consolidate political reforms to accommodate participatory processes remains uncertain, however, and requires further exploration. This exploration is confined though to a field that has been marginally researched and seldom documented (Bracht and Tsouros, 1990; Damer and Hague, 1971; Pearce, 2003; Davidson *et al.*, 2007; Ganapati and Ganapati, 2008; Fiorino, 1990). Pearce (2003) argues that links between disaster management and participatory planning are abundant, yet are never integrated and have resulted in ineffective recovery initiative. She points to participatory planning and disaster management as emerging from different schools of thought and viewing development through different paradigms as the reasons for community advocates and disaster managers seldom co-operating. This relationship has historically led to post-disaster decision-making not being accountable to community aspirations and failing to implement a holistic approach to recovery.

4.3.1 Participation in Recovery: Ensuring Efficiency

Pearce (2003: p.217) states that if “community planning and disaster managers ignore the local community, then they decrease their chance of providing reasonable solutions to disaster-related problems”. It is apparent that participation is imperative to recovery planning.

Fiorino (1990) promotes three reasons that participation is imperative. First, he argues that there are issues and responses that communities are able to identify, that are not usually identified by experts. This is consistent with Wates' (2000) statement that communities know their environments and therefore know the physical damages that are incurred as a result of disaster. Further to this, Wates states that communities can determine what responses are appropriate. Participation is thus conceived as a means of developing policy in a way that is well-informed and accountable.

The second argument presented by Fiorino (1990: p.227) is that "technocratic orientation is incompatible with democratic ideals". Democratisation has become an imperative for many governments, and as citizen participation is widely considered to be the cornerstone of democracy, denying participation seems to contradict democratic progress (Fiorino, 1990; Arnstein, 1969). As such, participation is considered to be critical to fulfilling democratic objectives.

Fiorino's (1990) third argument is that participation in disaster management makes decisions and policies more legitimate and leads to better results. By legitimacy, Fiorino refers to public acceptance of recovery policy, which arises from communities being informed and knowing that their views are considered in policy development, implementation or review processes (Tolbert *et al.*, 2003; Bracht and Tsouros, 1990). Pearce (2003: p.217) argues that this is significant to acknowledge in recovery planning because "[w]hen the public is not involved in the disaster management process, it often, not surprisingly, challenges the decisions and actions of those in command".

According to these three arguments, technocratic, rational, comprehensive planning should be reformed to provide for democracy and ensure that decision-makers and communities are more informed of disaster issues and recovery aspirations. Moreover, from these arguments, it is clear that participation in recovery planning is conceived as a means of promoting efficiency in decision-making processes. Such a conception is not surprising as the main objective of recovery planning is to restore communities efficiently (Vallance, 2011). Participation is therefore enabled, but shaped in a way that serves this objective.

4.3.2 Participation in Recovery: Shaping Power

Planning processes, as stated in the previous chapter, represent a space of power. The political reforms undertaken for recovery thus represent the reshaping of this space within

which “solidarity, activism, new agendas, and developing new power relations” emerge (Olive-Smith, 1996: p.310). Fiorino’s (1990) arguments for decision-making, examined in the previous section, to involve communities demonstrate the potential for communities to be empowered. The institutional reform typically adopted by governments, however, suggests that communities are disempowered as authority is centralised in to a single over-seeing institution. The shift towards a comprehensive-rational decision-making approach suggests a move away from providing for participation and the conceptual closing of the space of power to the public. The extent of participation is therefore, in theory, reflective of so-called rational approaches, such as the Chicago model, which is manipulative or therapeutic, according to Arnstein’s (1969) ‘citizenship ladder’. This suggests that recent recognition for the capacity of participatory processes to ensure efficiency in planning processes is retracted in an effort to deliver prompt, technocratic-informed policies for recovery.

The specific forms of participation have been categorised into a typology by Vallance (2011), which can be utilised to pinpoint the particular level of power granted to communities in recovery planning (Figure 2). Vallance’s typology reflects a hierarchical spectrum of power dissemination corresponding forms of participation with their respective types as depicted in Arnstein’s (1969) ‘citizenship ladder’. This typology does not suggest any approach different to that employed in conventional practice and so it can be utilised to measure the extent of participation in non-crisis planning.

There are four levels, the highest representing the least devolution of power to communities, while the lowest level represents the highest devolution of power within government planning processes. The top level, ‘Inform’, arguably represents participation. At this level governments retain absolute power in decision-making and view the education of proposed policies as the most necessary extent of community involvement. This level, it is presumed, leaves communities disempowered and unable to influence any decisions on issues that affect them. Pearce, however, argues that decision-makers seldom inform their communities of disaster concerns, “fearing that panic would prevail or that people would flee” (Pearce, 2003: p.216). She elaborates that informing communities is an appropriate progression of what currently exists within recovery planning: “Community members have the right to know and to understand what hazards to expect” (Pearce, 2003: p.216-7).

The lower level, ‘Consult’, progresses participatory ideals by enabling communities to share their views on policy (Vallance, 2011). Very minimal power is devolved to communities in

the form of surveys, voting and submissions, but embodies more power than that devolved through simple information provision. This is supported by Pearce (2003) who, although acknowledges the value of information provision, argues that it is not sufficient to realising communities as an integral part of disaster management processes. The lower level, ‘Involve’, indicates a greater shift towards democratic ideals by enabling discussion. This level provides communities with some power to influence planning. The final level, ‘Engage’, represents an extreme of power devolution, whereby communities are enabled to share jurisdiction with governments. Forms of engagement include co-management arrangements, mutual projects and alliances.

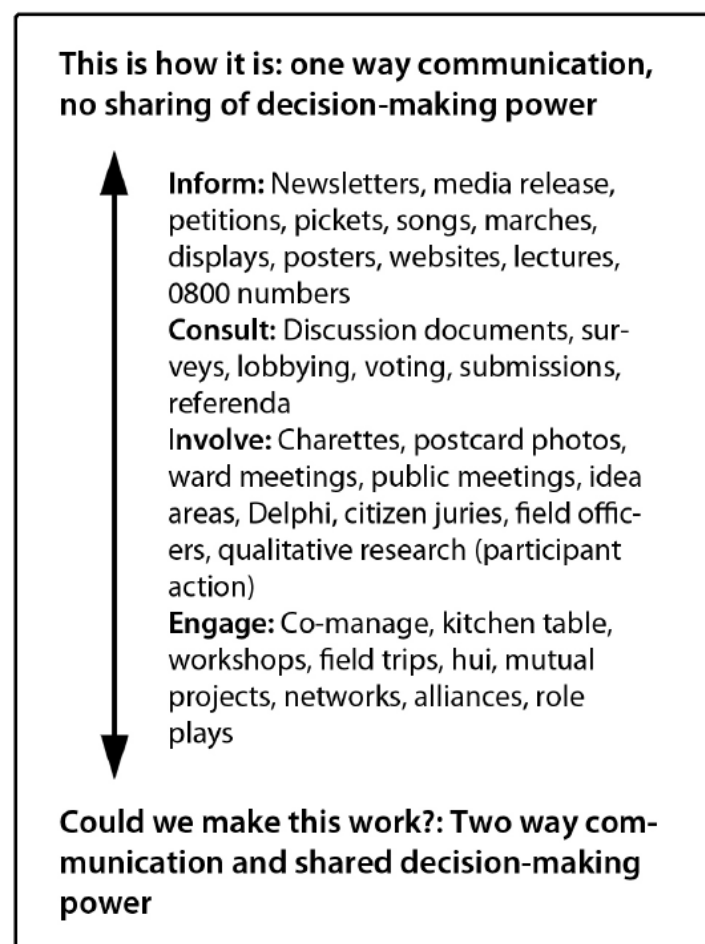


Figure 2: Typology of Participation in Recovery Planning (Vallance, 2011: p.4)

The level of power that governments are willing to grant to communities in recovery can be identified by analysing the specific forms of participation enabled and correlating those with Vallance’s (2011) typology. By doing so, these forms can be correlated further with Arnstein’s (1969) ‘citizenship ladder’ and also with White’s (1996) typology, thereby

determining the extent that governments may choose to empower the community voice or promote efficiency.

It is assumed that, as political reforms typically endorse a framework that does not accommodate participation, any participation will be manipulative or therapeutic and, therefore, more disempowering than those forms identified by Vallance (2011). It is an approach that views participation as contradictory of efficient planning and, as a result, not conducive to government aspirations for development. Indigenous peoples have had to confront discrimination to be included in planning, suggesting that their participation is less probable than that granted to the general public. Determining the extent of indigenous participation in recovery thus involves identifying whether constraints to indigenous representation in conventional planning are maintained or undermined when confronted by crisis. In other words, how are indigenous peoples provided for in recovery planning? And how does this differ from conventional practice? The following section seeks to address these questions.

4.4 Indigenous Participation in Recovery Planning

Indigenous participation has been increasingly documented by researchers in recent decades (Cosgrove and Kliger, 1997; Hibbard and Lane, 2004; Alcorn, 1993; Lane, 2003; Lane, 2002; Lane, 2006; Lane and Corbett, 2005; Turpel, 1992). Despite this progress, however, very little attention has been granted specifically to indigenous participation in recovery planning.

As stated earlier, participation in recovery planning has itself been scarcely researched, which, in consideration of the recent emergence of indigenous participation in theory and in planning practice, implies that indigenous participation in recovery planning is largely unexplored or at least undocumented. As a result, a broader examination of literature has been undertaken. This examination has been approached with two assumptions. First, participation is a means of empowerment for indigenous groups as marginalised minorities. Second, providing for indigenous knowledge can ensure that decision-making is efficient. Through approaching the literature within a broad dichotomy, the extent to which indigenous participation is enabled in recovery planning can be extrapolated.

4.4.1 Indigenous Peoples as Marginalised Minorities: Empowerment

The involvement of the marginalised in disaster management has been gaining steady acknowledgement in the literature (Wisner, 1998; Wisner and Luce, 1993). Marginalised individuals and groups, as interpreted here, refer to those that are disadvantaged by fewer opportunities as a result of involuntary exclusion from participation in society (Keung Wong *et al.*, 2007; Marschalek *et al.*, 2009). Many indigenous groups have been frequently identified as politically, economically and culturally marginalised minorities (Hibbard and Lane, 2004; Sandercock, 1998; Rewi, 2010). Marginalisation is a concept that is arguably inseparable from the notion of disaster vulnerability. The more marginalised an individual or a collective is, the more likely they are to be vulnerable to disasters (Gaillard and Cadag, 2012). Exploring how marginalised groups participate in disaster-related decision-making processes can thus provide some guidance to understanding indigenous participation in recovery planning.

Certain constraints exist that inhibit marginalised communities, or individuals and collectives within communities from coping with the effects of natural disasters. These constraints include lack of access to information, and financial and social support services (Wisner, 1998). Access to such services and resources is typically associated to particular social characteristics, such as age, race and ethnicity, or gender or disability, and also environmental characteristics, that is, of geographical location within disaster-prone areas (Bolin, 2007; Elliott and Pais, 2006; Fothergill *et al.*, 1999; Wisner, 1998; Wisner and Luce, 1993). These characteristics can further exacerbate constraints on resilience when considered alongside other factors, for example, socioeconomic status, occupation and nationality (Wisner, 1998; Wisner and Luce, 1993). Such characteristics of marginality have become synonymous with indigenous peoples, who are characterised by political subordination, socioeconomic deprivation and cultural alienation; an outcome of on-going colonial processes (Hills, 2008; Hibbard and Lane, 2004). This infers that indigenous peoples are more likely to be vulnerable to the effects of disasters and less capable of coping economically, socially and psychologically (Birkmann, 2006; Bland *et al.*, 1996; Ritchie and Hamilton, 2004).

As marginalised racial minorities, indigenous peoples are politically vulnerable to disasters because they are ignored by those in power (Gaillard and Cadag, 2012). It is a reality that has been maintained through the perpetuation of a colonial legacy of political exclusion, which

has forced them into a space of vulnerability (Molotch, 2006). This is supported by Bolin (2007: p.113), who observes that:

[T]he imbrication of race... is significant, a product of a long history of racist and exclusionary practices that have marginalized groups of people deemed inferior by those holding political and economic power

Only through meaningful engagement and dialogue that seeks to empower indigenous claims for power can this reality be undermined (Berke *et al.*, 2002; Cosgrove and Kliger, 1997; Hibbard and Lane, 2004; Hibbard *et al.*, 2008; Howitt, 2001; Lane, 2006). Disaster management appears to deny this by continuing to ignore marginalised minorities. Wisner (1998) argues that marginalised peoples are literally invisible. They are seldom encountered in everyday life, but are ignored when they are encountered. They also become visible when they (or rather, their existences) create nuisance, upsetting their fellow citizens (Wisner, 1998). Disaster management perpetuates political exclusion through decision-making structures that fail to accommodate and account for marginalised realities (O'Faircheallaigh, 2010).

Political and social exclusion embodies either disempowerment or inequitable power distribution, which is reflected by the inability of the marginalised to influence decision-making processes (Young, 1990; Cornwall, 2001; Friedmann, 1992). The institutional framework specifically advocated in recovery planning does not demonstrate efforts to undermine political exclusion by enabling greater participation (Rosenthal and Kouzmin, 1997). This framework reflects the permeation of social stigmas that serve to subordinate the marginalised and their interests in decision-making processes. Wisner (1998) argues that planners must address these obstacles to equity, which can be exacerbated in disaster events, by inviting the marginalised and allowing them to have opportunities to 'speak up'. This is supported by Pearce (2003: p.217), "[t]he disadvantaged need to be able to... have a say in development of mitigative strategies".

In applying the same logic to indigenous realities, it can be assumed that institutional frameworks in recovery do not serve indigenous participation mandates. Disasters exacerbate the existing marginalisation of indigenous peoples, thus necessitating the provision of greater opportunities for their involvement in decision-making. Moreover, disasters offer an opportunity to undermine the colonial legacy of political exclusion by enabling forms of participation that are empowering. As has been found in this section, however, marginalised peoples are invisible and remain unable to influence recovery planning inasmuch as it is

informed by comprehensive-rational fundamentals. The political subordination and socioeconomic deprivation of many indigenous groups subjects them to an inability to operate within an alienating political system devoid indigenous ideals (Cosgrove and Kliger, 1997).

If exclusion leads to marginalisation, then inclusion must conversely imply empowerment, leading to autonomy and control (O'Faircheallaigh, 2010). Empowerment directly grants political power, and indirectly the capacity to respond to social and economic concerns, exacerbated by crisis and perpetuated by recovery planning processes. Empowering indigenous peoples by enabling them to influence recovery decision-making processes has the ability to bring about social and economic change for their communities.

4.4.2 Indigenous Knowledge and Efficient Recovery

The value of indigenous knowledge in planning is increasingly being acknowledged in theory and practice (Mauro and Hardison, 2000; Hibbard *et al.*, 2008; Dasmann, 1984). This has been demonstrated by governments who have recognised the need to engage with indigenous communities (Berke *et al.*, 2002; Briggs, 2005; Gadgil *et al.*, 1993). Given the systematic constraints that are imposed by the comprehensive, rational-based approach often adopted by recovery planners any effort to obtain indigenous knowledge is questionable.

Indigenous knowledge can be instrumental to ensuring better decisions by identifying necessary considerations that non-indigenous systems do not provide (Jigyasu, 2002; Kaklauskas *et al.*, 2009). Aside from the needs and aspirations of indigenous communities for development, considerations can include an identification of patterns of settlement, livelihoods and cultural heritage that indicate the scale and probability of disasters, and the appropriate approaches to recovery and future mitigation (Kaklauskas *et al.*, 2009). In other words, ignoring indigenous knowledge can implicate decisions that fail to restore communities appropriately and in a way that potentially avoids mitigating further crisis. Indeed the nature of indigenous knowledge as complimentary to concepts of sustainability and intergenerational wellbeing instigates a historically-informed forward-thinking approach to disaster management. This approach underpins recovery as a process of long-term restoration. To this extent, adhering to indigenous knowledge can ensure that decisions are efficient, that is, informed by experiential information and accountable to bringing about much-needed outcomes for community restoration.

Indigenous participation can contribute to efficient recovery planning, yet the time constraints on enabling this remain, which can be further compounded by an inefficient bureaucratic governance system (Rosenthal and Kouzmin, 1997). The time required to conduct community consultation suggests that participation is inhibitive, even counter-conducive, of prompt processes necessary for recovery. Planners are therefore faced with a major dilemma: deny participation to ensure prompt decision-making? Or, enable participation so as to ensure that decisions are informed by sustainability-oriented knowledge? Rather than focussing on this dilemma, a response to this could be to consider transforming the complex bureaucratic framework that contributes to slow decision-making.

As Rosenthal and Kouzmin (1997: p.293) state, “the bureaucratic machinery derives both its strength and its weakness from a time-consuming *modus operandi*”. This suggests that there is indeed potential for governance to be less time-consuming, providing an opportunity to reassess the place of participation in recovery planning. Streamlining decision-making and simplifying the institutionalised planning is referred to as ‘concurrency’ (Rosenthal and Kouzmin, 1997). Institutions are consequently granted greater powers, functions and resources to develop and implement strategies within appropriate timeframes and without bureaucratic hindrance. In so doing, the viability of participatory mechanisms is legitimised to inform an alternative planning framework. It is assumed that governments that enable participation in recovery adopt this approach, linking two fundamentally contradicting fields, allowing for participation that is neither manipulative nor therapeutic, according to Arnstein’s (1969) ‘citizenship ladder’.

4.5 Conclusion

A number of planning approaches are employed by governments to make decisions, yet when a disaster occurs, decisions are required to be made under urgency. Political reform is necessitated as a response to bring about processes that can enable prompt decision-making. This reform is assumed to subscribe to fundamentals that are incommensurate with those that promote participation, however, contributing to the imposition of forms of participation that are typically manipulative and therapeutic. This is despite international progress to accommodate participation in planning in a way that empowers communities. The extent of participation is, therefore, assumed to be dependent on its perceived capacity to inhibit an efficient recovery. Planners are confronted with this dilemma – to provide for either

participation or prompt decision-making – which can be avoided by instigating reform that promotes concurrency.

Recovery planning provides an opportunity for governments to engage with communities more than ever before. The often short-term approach employed to instigate recovery, however, tends to lead to the imposition of a centralised regime, which has the potential to perpetuate a legacy of political marginalisation of minority groups. For indigenous peoples, this retracts the progress that many governments have made to empower the indigenous voice and places them in a system that is even more alienating than in conventional planning. There are merits to engaging with indigenous peoples that can be over-looked, but cases of disaster recovery that demonstrate efforts to enable indigenous participation suggest that there is progress nonetheless.

While this chapter has explored how community and indigenous participation can be integrated into recovery planning in theory, further research is required to validate the assumptions of this chapter. Accordingly, the following chapters analyse two earthquake recovery cases to determine the extent of participation in practice.

5

Chapter 5: Indigenous Participation in the 921 Earthquake Recovery

5.1 Introduction

On 21 September 1991 at 1.47am, the strongest earthquake in a century hit Taiwan, with a magnitude of 7.3 (Prater *et al.*, 2002). Known as the 921 Earthquake, it was the second deadliest in Taiwan's history, killing nearly 2,500 people and injuring over 11,000 more (Shaw, 2000). Ongoing aftershocks damaged buildings and landscapes, particularly in Nántóu and Taichung counties, where the epicentre of the earthquake was located (Loh *et al.*, 2000; Shaw, 2000; Shih *et al.*, 2001; Hung, 2000). The earthquake occurred in a relatively low seismic region and, as a result, caught many people off guard.

The government's response was swift, but ineffective (Prater *et al.*, 2002; Prater and Wu, 2002). The institutions that had been setup to provide a response were ill-equipped to deal with community needs. Central government moved to mobilise better response systems and to co-ordinate recovery planning, which included greater community empowerment. The extent of this empowerment through participatory planning is assessed in this chapter, but it highlights the governance within which planning operates. This governance has been founded on Chinese ideals, and has adapted overtime to Taiwan's history, society, culture and economy. Decision-making processes, however, appear to have been too complex for communities to understand and alienating for disaster-affected indigenous groups to engage, which proved inhibiting of recovery efforts (Chen, 2002).

Indigenous groups and advocates of indigenous rights criticised the government's response because it failed to appropriately account for indigenous views (Chen, 2002). The institutional system of the recovery process reflected the general system of governance – a traditionally authoritarian regime – and thus not adhering to community views is not new. The recovery provided an opportunity for greater participation, to understand indigenous values and appreciate the significance of having such understanding.

This chapter explores the extent to which indigenous peoples participated in earthquake recovery planning in Taiwan. It begins with a contextual account of Taiwan's people and then their historical participation in planning. This context provides a foundation for the following section, which explores current participation processes in planning in Taiwan. Finally, this chapter analyses the 921 Earthquake, the effects and the recovery, and subsequently community and indigenous participation in recovery planning.

5.2 Background: Taiwan

Taiwan, officially known as the Republic of China, is a small island state located in the Western Pacific, near the coast of mainland China, between Japan and the Philippines (see Figure 3 for a map of Taiwan). Including other much smaller islands, such as Orchid Island (or Lan Yu), the total land area is approximately 36,000 square kilometres, with much of it comprising mountainous landscapes formed by highly active tectonic movement (Cheng, 1983, Prater and Wu, 2002). Taiwan is located on a complex juncture between the Philippine Sea Plate and the Eurasian Plate, which has contributed to a large system of faults along the west coast of the island (Kao and Chen, 2000). The high concentration of faults reflects the high seismic activity of west Taiwan and high probability of earthquake occurrences. Surprisingly, however, this region has experienced relatively few earthquakes compared to the east coast of the island (Faults, 1999).

The island of Taiwan is small in comparison to other states within Asia, yet it boasted a population of over 21 million in the year 1999. Taiwan's population comprises of Hoklo (with 70 percent) and Hakka (accounting for 20 percent) peoples who generally identify as Taiwanese, along with Mainlanders, and also indigenous Taiwanese commonly referred to as 'Taiwan Aboriginal Peoples' (Lin *et al.*, 2001; Photius Coutsoukis, 1999; Brown, 2004; Stainton, 1999). In 1999, there were nine recognised indigenous groups (Tsou, Bunun, Paiwan, Rukai, Atayal, Saisiat, Amo, Puyuma, Yami), numbering at over 440,000 and accounting for two percent of Taiwan's population (Lin *et al.*, 2001; Photius Coutsoukis, 1999).



Figure 3: Map of Taiwan (Central Intelligence Agency, 1992: online)

5.3 Indigenous Peoples and Colonisation: Historical Participation

In Taiwan, participation is predicated on a relationship between an ever-changing government and numerous indigenous groups that has been historically characterised by the former's attempts to integrate, assimilate and segregate, alienate, and even exterminate the latter. For indigenous Taiwanese in particular, however, it has been conceived as a gradual assumption of self-government and self-determination; a new relationship that is structured according to the aspirations and rights of the indigenous. Recent democratic changes and the construction of a new Taiwanese identity have contributed to growing recognition of indigenous rights. The institutionalised system of planning confines the government from fully adhering to Austronesian aspirations for development, yet existing forms of participation suggest progressive change.

Understanding how indigenous participation in Taiwan accordingly requires an examination of the indigenous Austronesian relationship with successive colonial governments. Colonial processes have disabled indigenous peoples from being involved in society and in decision-making. Exploring these processes will highlight how participation exists today. This section will briefly detail the historical relationship between the indigenous Taiwanese and the government.

This section is intended to provide a foundation to understanding historical and modern forms of participation in planning. As this research relates to an event in 1999, this section intends to establish and illustrate the political context as it existed prior to that event. Taiwan has changed geographically, socially and politically since the 1990s and thus it is important to acknowledge the potentiality of change since then by specifically focussing on the context appropriate and relevant to this research.

5.3.1 Settlement and Civilisation

The original inhabitants of Taiwan settled both the coastal plains and mountainous uplands of the island around 12,000 to 15,000 years ago. Over time, the social organisation of the original people became structured according to clans and, to an extent, tribes, that became culturally and politically distinct from each other. Governance was traditionally centred on the village and each clan maintained their respective sovereignty over their territories (Brown, 2004; Chen, n.d.). This was the world that the indigenous peoples became accustomed to prior to European and, subsequently, Chinese settlement – a world that was

eventually undermined through colonial processes of social exclusion, political marginalisation and extermination.

Dutch colonisation of Taiwan began in 1624 and instigated a shift away from traditional economic activities and also mass Han Chinese settlement, which carried on into the 1660s following the imposition of the Ming regime. Attitudes toward the indigenous peoples were denigrating during the Ming dynasty's presence in Taiwan, where the indigenous were simply viewed as exploitable labour (Brown, 2004). The Chinese actively sought to undermine traditional customs, religious beliefs, cultural values, leadership ideals, and propriety, were undermined in favour of those of the Chinese (Rubinstein, 2006). Those indigenous peoples that were considered 'civilised' were referred to as 'ripened aborigines', while those otherwise were called 'raw aborigines'. Indigenous identity became confined to those that reflected stereotypical traits of those considered raw aborigines, implicating the denial of any indigenous rights for so-called civilised aborigines, who actively protested their assimilation into Han Chinese society. Indigenous peoples, both plains and mountains groups, were thus alienated through simultaneous policies of political exclusion and assimilation.

If participation in planning is predicated on a relationship between the indigenous peoples and the government, then it is sufficient to assume that plains indigenous groups were engaged inasmuch as they submitted to colonisation, while mountains groups were increasingly excluded from the emerging political sphere. Participation would transform, however, under Japanese rule as the relationship between the new colonial government and indigenous peoples became shaped by brutal imperialism and land reform.

5.3.2 Japanese Imperialism and Land Reform

The Chinese ceded to the expanding Japanese empire sovereignty over Taiwan in 1895. Colonisation of the island was systematic and perpetuated the assimilative policies of the Chinese over indigenous peoples. Both indigenous and non-indigenous Taiwanese were excluded from participating in decision-making. In addition to this, traditional religious values, public etiquette, and curricular were suppressed and substituted for those of the Japanese empire. It is important to highlight these because they engrained cultural ignorance towards indigenous values and customs, which have been perpetuated through decision-making processes.

The mountains indigenous groups, initially remained outside Japanese administration and yet became discriminated against as ‘savages’, as the lowest class of citizens. Eventually, the Japanese began advancing into the mountainous areas of Taiwan to acquire resources to fuel their expansion into Asia (Friedman, 2010). The colonial government extended their administration over the mountains and, therefore, also over inhabiting indigenous communities. These communities were initially confined to government-prescribed areas, or rather prototypical reservations (more appropriately termed ‘preservations’ according to Key Informant 2), but were then forcibly relocated to lower-elevations. Through relocation, the government was able to control and exploit indigenous groups. Ultimately, many mountains indigenous peoples were stripped of their political institutions through which they exercised autonomy and were brought into an alienating governance machine that disregarded the Taiwanese voice, let alone the indigenous voice.

While Japanese rule maintained colonial policies similar to those of the Chinese, the systematic undermining of the world that indigenous Taiwanese were traditionally accustomed to implicated the political marginalisation of the indigenous voice in decision-making. Any participatory capacity became predicated on a legacy of cultural and political alienation, land dispossession, and outright extermination, which was to be upheld by the incoming Chinese government in subsequent decades.

5.3.3 The Taiwanese Voice under Martial Law

In 1945, administration moved from Japan to the democratic Kuomintang-led government of China. Chinese rule was initially harsh, particularly with many Taiwanese criticising the regime for being corrupt and irresponsible to their needs (Brown, 2004). The perceived insufficiency of the regime tended to be pinpointed on the lack of Taiwanese involvement in decision-making, which had become inundated by immigrant Mainlanders. The new colonial government quelled criticism with ruthless militant action. Thousands of people, including several indigenous Taiwanese, were killed (Brown, 2004). This event in history became known as the February 28 Incident and signalled the imposition of a strict regime that would lead to the firm establishment of a ‘monolithic’ one-party, authoritarian system in 1949 (Enn, 2012).

The Kuomintang government relocated to Taiwan after losing the mainland to the Chinese Communist Party and monopolised political power (Li, 1989; Buntman and Huang, 2000). Martial law was immediately enforced in 1949, prohibiting freedoms of speech and assembly,

and right of demonstration (Buntman and Huang, 2000). Public opposition was crushed and public participation in decision-making was restricted (Buntman and Huang, 2000). Political reform in the 1980s saw the removal of many Mainlanders from government and the appointment of Taiwanese to key authority positions to accommodate Taiwan's changing mind-set. The first political opposition party, the Democratic Progressive Party, was established in nearly 40 years and martial law was eventually lifted in 1987 (Brown, 2004).

Colonial policies over the past 360 years have gradually, yet systematically, undermined the capacity of indigenous peoples to participate in planning. While the establishment of an authoritarian regime and martial law restricted participatory mechanisms, the Chinese government merely perpetuated the political marginalisation of indigenous peoples. As nationalistic ideals came to the fore in Taiwan so did the desire to reassess the need for martial law. As the following section will discuss, the lifting of martial law in 1987 signalled political change and heralded an era that empowered the indigenous voice in decision-making.

5.3.4 Democratisation and Empowering the Indigenous Voice in Recent Decades

Indigenous participation has been predicated on historical oppression, which has been exacerbated by authoritarian rule, irresponsible Mainlander-controlled governance, and deep-seated cultural ignorance. Accordingly, enabling any capacity for indigenous participation would require political reform, democratisation, and recognition of indigenous aspirations.

A number of protests had occurred across Taiwan, with activists demanding more democratisation (Rubinstein, 2006; Copper, 2003). Public freedoms were granted, such as the removal of censorship and control, while reforms were introduced that required the presidency, the National Assembly and Legislative Yuan to be subject to public election and prescribed terms of service (Copper, 2003). The dismantling of authoritarian rule and Mainlander-controlled governance had thus begun, paving way for greater public participation in planning (Ericsson, 2004).

While the Kuomintang government progressed its relationship with the public by gradually democratising decision-making, its relationship with the indigenous peoples has been imbued with cultural ignorance. Cultural ignorance has become internalised in mainstream society as a result of colonisation and contributed to policies that subordinate indigenous values and aspirations for development (Huang, 2000; Brown, 2004). Key Informant 1 stated that there

is an assumption in mainstream culture that indigenous communities are ‘backward’ and ‘need to change to the modern world’. This change is widely considered by Han Chinese and the government as being possible through improving access to mainstream education, modernised housing and sanitation (Andrés, n.d.; Enn, 2012). Key Informant 1 states that this ignores what indigenous communities really need – that is, for people to stop saying that ‘you’re backwards’. The Kuomintang’s paternalistic policies fall short of indigenous aspirations for wellbeing, and many ethnic minority and indigenous rights movements have called for greater participation in decision-making in response so as to best determine the appropriate policies for indigenous development (Ku, 2005).

The government not only stipulates how indigenous peoples participate in planning, if at all, but also determines which ethnic groups within Taiwan can be considered ‘indigenous’, thereby limiting those who may seek to have their say in decision-making as indigenous peoples. Communities that seek to be recognised as indigenous must submit an application to the Council of Indigenous Peoples (Lee and Aberhart, 2007; Sung, 2004). The Council identifies indigenous peoples on their cultural distinctiveness from Han Chinese. This has proven difficult for those who have been subjected to centuries of assimilation. This issue has been particularly important to plains indigenous peoples whose claims to being indigenous have been rejected by the Council because claimants “chose to be assimilated into the society of Han people centuries ago” (Taipei Times, 2009: online). Plains indigenous groups have, since the 1950s, been denied any capacity to participate in planning as indigenous peoples. Indigenous participation in planning is thus dependent on the government’s acknowledgement of the need to engage with those who have been able to maintain their cultural distinction despite oppressive regimes that have sought to disenable this. Participation is conceived as a form of privilege granted to those that gain government recognition – a privilege that had been, by 1999, granted to nine ethnic groups.

Indigenous participation made some progress in the 1990s, though it was confined to “lowland and highland” indigenous representation in the National Assembly and local government (Rubinstein, 2006: p.432; Simon, 2008). Indigenous representation in the Assembly involves the election of three members to voice the concerns and aspirations of mountains indigenous groups. While it has indeed been progressive for the Taiwanese government, it has also been accused of being “little more than political ornament” (Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines, 1993: online). The few elected indigenous members constitute a

minority within a legislative body where the majority rules, thus their ability to effectively pursue indigenous aspirations is inherently untenable.

Indigenous politicians, according to Rubinstein (2006), have nonetheless advocated for indigenous aspirations, in particular, for self-government. These members have not been alone, as political parties, such as the Democratic Progressive Party, government officials, and non-government organisations have since the 1970s asserted that both political participation and self-government are constitutional rights that must be recognised (Rubinstein, 2006, Ku, 2005). Article 168 of Taiwan's constitution states:

The State shall accord to the various racial groups in the frontier regions legal protection of their status and shall give them special assistance in their local self-government undertakings.

The pursuance of indigenous participation in planning is served by the undertaking of self-government because it empowers the political capacity with which indigenous peoples can negotiate policies for development. That is, notions of self-government conceived by indigenous groups and government have tended to implicate greater mechanisms for indigenous peoples to have their say in decision-making. Notions of self-government have included territorial autonomy, county self-governance, and joint-management of national parks. Evidently, the distinction between self-government and political participation becomes somewhat blurred to the extent that they equally seek to ensure the voicing of indigenous concerns and aspirations.

Political participation is, in addition to self-government, a constitutional right, yet its realisation remains inhibited by inherent cultural subordination. The undermining of this subordination has been viewed as a necessary pre-requisite to any recognition of these constitutional rights (Andrés, n.d.). In order for indigenous peoples to begin a dialogue with the government and for their relationship to progress, indigenous peoples must be viewed as equals. Through a new perception of indigenous peoples as equals, negotiations can begin towards restoring indigenous autonomy and their capacity to be engaged in the bureaucratic system.

Any discussion of autonomy has largely been focussed on mountains indigenous communities, many of which exist within prescribed traditional territories (Rubinstein, 2006). These territories represent reservations established under Japanese rule and maintained by the Kuomintang regime. Within these territories, indigenous communities have been granted

usufruct rights by the government, which ultimately owns the land (Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines, 1993). Key Informant 2 explains this further, stating that:

...ownership is a bit complicated. So [indigenous peoples] have traditional rights attached to public land, which are not the same as pure, traditional rights, they don't have full autonomy. Not at all. So they still have to go through some government authority to do all kinds of activities.

The government has often brought about land alienation, confiscating lands and village relocation, in the pursuance of what it calls development (Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines, 1993). This development has been typically instigated through the designation of national parks, farm land, mining, military and prison sites, and even nuclear waste sites, introducing activities that can somehow contribute to the so-called economic transformation of indigenous communities (Enn, 2012). Key Informant 6 referred to such a case in Orchid Island, stating that:

At the end of the 70s, the government built a nuclear waste site on the island and the [indigenous Tao] people didn't know about that. The government told them they're going to build a fish-canning factory, which means... a source of money for the people there.

Enn (2012) supports this statement, affirming that the “government's stated intention was to help the locals acquire jobs and to give them opportunities to earn money” (p.11). The proposed fish-canning factory was “promoted as an inalienable source of income” (Enn, 2012: p.11). Indeed, while resistance immediately arose once the government's real intentions became clear, Key Informant 6 submits that many have supported the development for its monetary gains, regardless of the government's deception. The extent to which the government is willing to confiscate lands, relocate villages, or undertake development deceptively, illustrates the lack of engagement undertaken with indigenous groups and the absence of any perceived need to obtain the consent of affected indigenous communities.

While a number of non-government organisations and churches have been instrumental in advocating indigenous rights for political participation and self-government, engagement between the indigenous peoples and the government has been ultimately determined by the Kuomintang (Jenchieh, 2011). The government established the Council of Indigenous Peoples in 1996 as part of its self-prescribed endeavour to democratise decision-making and become more accountable to indigenous peoples (Council of Indigenous Peoples, 2010). The Council acts as an advisory bureau guiding the government in its development of policies for indigenous affairs (Council of Indigenous Peoples, 2010). The objective of the Council is to ensure that the government's plans and policies are consistent with the government's own

aspirations for indigenous development, rather than the aspirations of indigenous groups themselves. The Kuomintang has perpetuated Taiwan's colonial legacy by developing policies that are ultimately informed by cultural ignorance and a self-conceived need to modernise indigenous communities in accordance with Han Chinese values. Insofar as policy makers, and indeed mainstream society, continue to disregard the indigenous voice, planning will fail to account for indigenous peoples.

Indigenous participation is a constitutional right that has been gaining steady recognition in recent decades, heralding a paradigm shift in Taiwan. While it is clear that indigenous participation remains limited, the mechanisms employed signal the gradual progress of the government's relationship with indigenous peoples. The following section will explore specific mechanisms employed to enable participation in 1999, prior to the 921 Earthquake, and provide insight into how the government may have undertaken engagement during the recovery.

5.4 Current Participation in Planning

Taiwan's planning system retains a strong Chinese constitution, reflected in its highly authoritarian bureaucracy and centralised governance (Chou and Nathan, 1987, Copper, 2003). An implication of this system has been an on-going disregard for the significance of public participation in planning. This section shall elaborate on this with a brief analysis of historical forms of participation in Taiwan. Following this shall be an assessment of current forms of participation. Finally, an analysis of indigenous participation in general planning shall be provided. The intention of this section is to illustrate the planning context, within which the 921 earthquake recovery became instigated.

5.4.1 Public Participation in Planning

According to Chen and Shih (2010), participation is enabled during the final stages of plan development, whereby the plan is prepared by the relevant government authority and then presented to the public (Figure 4). The plan is required to be displayed in public and notified through the media for 30 days, within which they can express their views to the relevant authority. Subsequent to this stage is the evaluation and approval of the plan by the Construction and Planning Agency of the Ministry of the Interior (Chen and Shih, 2010). Once approval is given then local governments are required to publish the plans within one month. The plan can be implemented and enforced once it is published. Subsequent

participation is enabled during the plan review stage, which allows individuals and organisations to make written submissions on the plan. Other than these mechanisms, according to the data acquired for this research, there is no engagement with the public in planning. As such, participation is tokenistic.

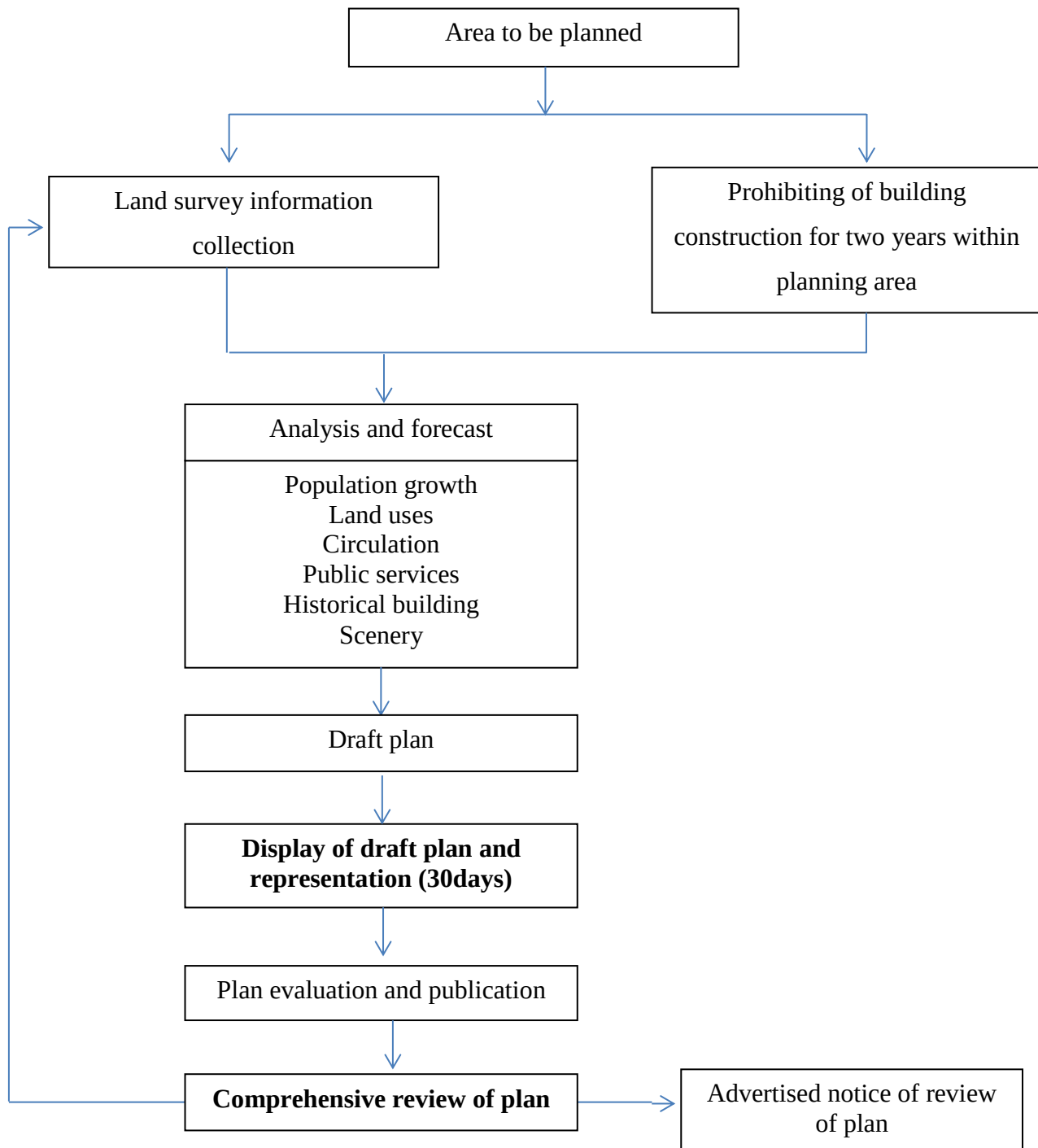


Figure 4: The local planning process in Taiwan. Stages where participation occurs have been emboldened (Chen and Shih, 2010: p.119).

5.4.2 Indigenous Participation in Planning

Indigenous participation follows similar practices enabled for the general public through plan development and review, yet their concerns can also be presented within the executive branch of central government level through the Council of Indigenous Peoples. The aim of the Council is “providing consistent and progressive formulation and execution of indigenous policies, and coordinated planning for the full-scale development of indigenous society appropriate for the new century” (Council of Indigenous Peoples, 2010: online). The Council gives recommendations to central government in its development and implementation of indigenous policies and plans, and in so doing the government believes that it has enabled sufficient representation of the indigenous voice (Allen, 2005). According to Allen (2005: p.180), however, while indigenous representatives on the Council are consulted on proposed policy and legislation, “there has been widespread disappointment regarding the extent of its remit, powers and influence within the central government”. This has been supported by Key Informant 6, who states that the Council is “always under criticism that they don’t do enough for indigenous people”. Insofar as the Council maintains its legislated advisory role, the government has indicated no further need to engage with indigenous groups.

Political participation is ultimately confined to consultation. The government, in developing its policies and plans, consults the public (including indigenous communities) and representatives of the Council of Indigenous Peoples. The extent to which their views influence planning processes is uncertain, yet it is evident that participation is tokenistic. As history has illustrated, however, it is sufficient to preclude any capacity that can effectively realise indigenous aspirations.

5.5 Participation in 921 Earthquake Recovery Planning

This section describes how indigenous peoples participated in the 921 Earthquake recovery, beginning with a description of the 921 Earthquake and its effects, and then how recovery planning was undertaken. This section will then analyse how indigenous peoples participated in recovery planning.

5.5.1 The 921 Earthquake

On 21 September 1991, at 1.47am, the strongest earthquake in a century hit Taiwan, with a magnitude of 7.3 (Prater *et al.*, 2002). The earthquake was also the second deadliest in Taiwan’s history, killing nearly 2,500 people and injuring over 11,000 more (Shaw, 2000).

Over 10,200 aftershocks were identified within a month of the earthquake, including four with a magnitude greater than 6.5. The ongoing hazard damaged buildings, including those reinforced, and also infrastructure (Loh *et al.*, 2000). 50,000 homes were destroyed, and a further 54,000 were seriously damaged. As a result, up to 320,000 people were left homeless and required shelter (Chan *et al.*, 2006). Many buildings, like hospitals, shops, and offices, that were either built before 1996 or built with poor foundations, collapsed. Property damage was estimated at over NZ\$121 billion (Shih *et al.*, 2001).

The earthquake's ongoing activity devastated Taiwan's landscape, resulting in landslides, forest collapse and liquefaction (Shaw, 2000). Landslides were frequent in the mountainous areas of Taiwan. Over 9,000 landslides occurred, though only 436 were initially reported, with four being particularly catastrophic (Hung, 2000). The wet climate heightened the rate of landslip and also susceptibility to flooding; particularly where landslides blocked rivers, inundating surrounding lands. These landslides blocked roads and tunnels, and destroyed low-lying towns. Economic losses were estimated at NZ\$17.8 billion (Prater and Wu, 2002).

The Nantou and Taichung counties were devastated, while other counties around the country suffered severe damage (Shaw, 2000). The epicentre of the 921 Earthquake was located in Nantou County, 7.5 kilometres below the small town of Chi-Chi. The earthquake has thus also been referred to as the Chi-Chi Earthquake (Shin *et al.*, 2000; Prater and Wu, 2002). The earthquake occurred as a result of the Chelungpu Fault rupturing through the Nantou, Taichung and Miaoli counties. The rupture was 105 kilometres in length and extended along the westward fault towards the Taiwan Strait, where several major faults exist (Kao and Chen, 2000, Loh *et al.*, 2000). The rupture reflects an ongoing tectonic collision between the Philippine Sea and Eurasian plates (Kao and Chen, 2000). Despite there being such high seismic activity, however, this region has historically experienced very few earthquakes. As a result, the 921 Earthquake caught many people off guard.

5.5.2 Earthquake Recovery Planning

Immediately after the earthquake, the National Fire Administration, a government agency within the Ministry of the Interior responsible for administering earthquake relief, assumed authority of central and local recovery governance. The Fire Administration set up the Central Hazards Mitigation Council to co-ordinate the emergency response (Prater and Wu, 2002). The Council was based in Taipei and was guided by an executive board of ministers, consolidating the response and recovery functions into one authority (see Figure 5 for

institutional framework for recovery planning). As a result of institutional negligence to prepare for earthquake response, however, the Central Hazards Mitigation Council did not have the necessary resources and plans to carry out their function (Flores and Goltz, 1999, Comfort, 2000). The Council was ill-equipped, with sub-standard information, no funds, and marginal means of communication with local governments (Prater *et al.*, 2002). The initial days of the recovery process were evidently challenging.

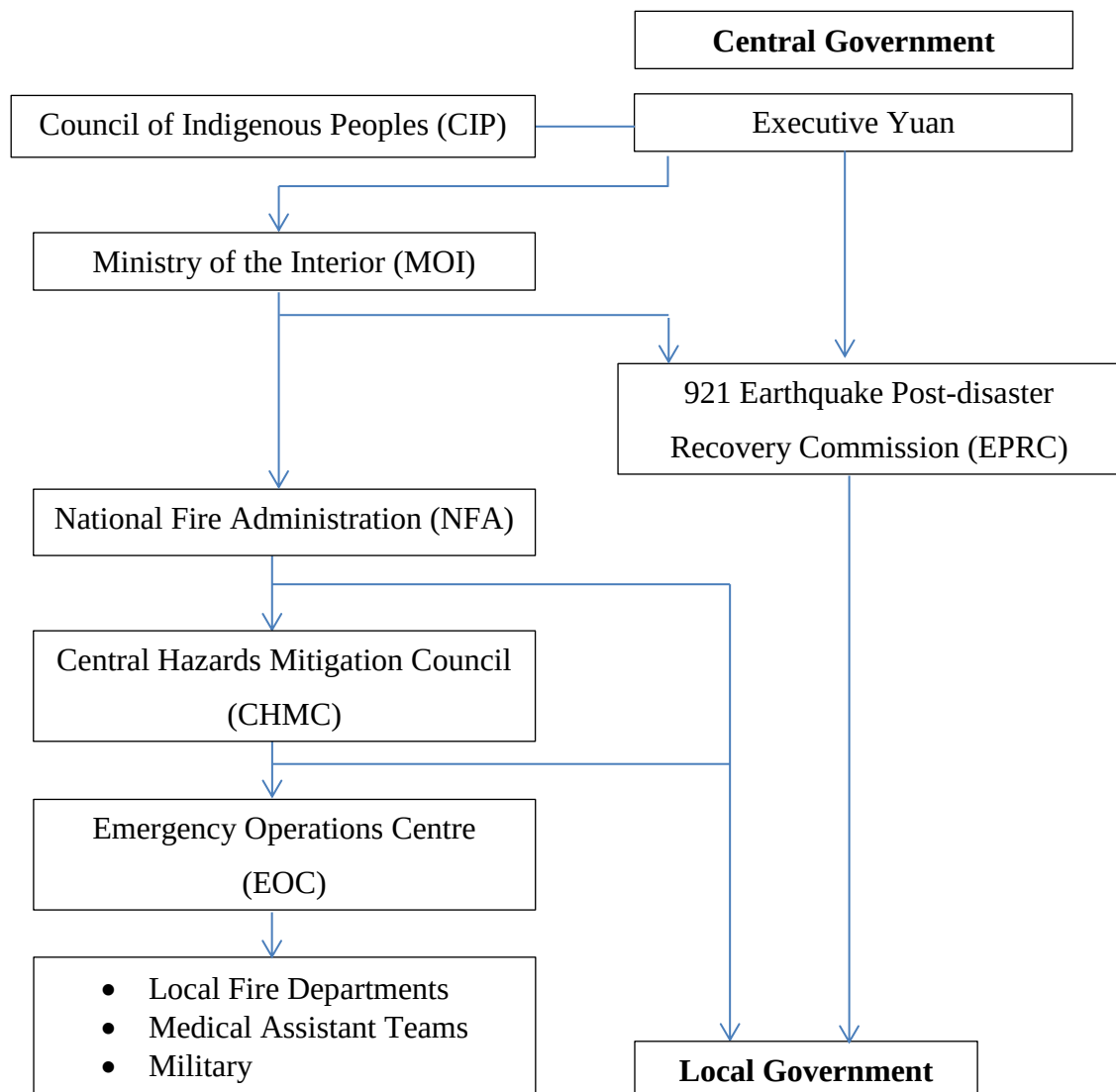


Figure 5: Institutional Framework for Recovery Planning

The President of Taiwan declared a state of emergency, subsequently initiating the recovery period and setting in motion institutional mechanisms to address the adverse effects of the 921 Earthquake. The presidential decree was required because there was no appropriate legislation to stipulate the recovery, which led to the enactment of the Post-921 Earthquake

Reconstruction Act (PERAct). The PERAct required the central government to establish the 921 Earthquake Post-Disaster Recovery Commission as a task force to co-ordinate other ministries and local governments in the recovery process (that is, aside from the response phase). NT\$212 billion was allocated to the recovery (Peng *et al.*, 2010).

The recovery was instigated in five stages (many of which tended to be chronologically overlapped): Phase 1 – emergency response; Phase 2 – recovery of life functions; Phase 3 – social welfare and industrial revitalisation; Phase 4 – restoration of authority to relevant institutions; and Phase 5 – extended reconstruction period (see Table 3 for an elaboration of each phase) (Peng *et al.*, 2010).

Table 3: Five Stages of the 921 Recovery

Phase of Recovery	Dates and Duration	Explanation
Phase 1	Sep 1999 – Jun 2000	Emergency response – this stage involved rescuing people from within damaged buildings, and resettling vulnerable communities to shelter
Phase 2	Jun 2000 – May 2004	Recovery of life functions – this stage involved the restoration of infrastructure to ensure communities had basic necessities.
Phase 3	Aug 2002 – May 2004	Social Welfare and industrial revitalisation – this stage involved planning for innovative industries to stimulate local economies and also involved constructing and stabilising housing and restoring community wellbeing.
Phase 4	Jun 2003 – Feb 2005	Restoration of authority to relevant institutions – reconstruction continued with ministries re-assuming their governance functions.
Phase 5	Feb 2005 – Feb 2006	Extended Reconstruction Period – EPRC continues legislated reconstruction

5.5.3 Indigenous Participation in the 921 Recovery

According to Peng *et al.*, (2010), the 921 Earthquake recovery was instrumental in setting in motion the development of greater public participation in planning. It presented an opportunity for greater accountability and responsive decision-making, which Peng *et al.* (2010) states was appropriately taken advantage of by the government through community empowerment schemes. These involved the government training and employing locals to rebuild their communities, and subsidising medical aid and educational services, to enable them to lead the recovery of their communities. To this extent, Peng *et al.*'s (2010) praises for the government fall short of illustrating how communities were involved in the planning processes of the recovery, through decision-making, policy development, or plan review.

A more localised institutional understanding of participation has been provided by Key Informant 4, who states that although recovery at a local level was guided by central government objectives for development, it was informed by local aspirations for restoration. Township administrations “done whatever the county governments told them to do”, says Key Informant 4, but central government (which stipulated planning via county governments) neither knew nor understood the needs of local communities. As a result, it was imperative that local communities, many of which are indigenous, needed to be consulted.

Key Informant 3, who relays their experiences of the recovery in the small township of Renai, states that, villages elected committees to work with the township administration to develop a plan to direct the rebuild. This plan included policies for infrastructure restoration, community wellbeing, landscaping and agriculture. The plan was submitted to central government for approval, and then implemented through an array of projects over several years. Key Informant 5 questions this account, however, stating that the consultation largely involved:

the township officer going from one door to another door ascertaining from residents the damage to their houses and property. Depending on the severity of damage, damage was subsidized by the government. So the officers would apply for the funding from the Central Government once damage was assessed.

Key Informant 5 continued to say that indigenous communities carried out their own rebuild without government support, stating that:

To get aid from the government required a request via application and the response could be a couple of days. Where the damage was not severe, but could be addressed by the community, and it was urgent that the damage be addressed, the community would address themselves.

For many indigenous communities the seemingly bureaucratic institutionalism of recovery planning seemed too complex to comprehend. Chen (2002) supports this arguing that relief applications involved unnecessary red-tape, hindering recovery efforts. Indeed, the damage assessment process, once earthquake-affected communities had eventually made their applications for support, had been accused of often neglecting indigenous needs (Taipei Times, 1999). Moreover, the Council of Indigenous Peoples' legislated power restricts its capacity to represent indigenous aspirations across such a large and complex bureaucracy. Protestors, marching on to Chiang Kai-Shek Memorial Hall on 26 October 1999 against alleged discriminatory policies against indigenous peoples, argued that the Council is "too low level to integrate all the relief measures" relating to indigenous affairs (Taipei Times, 1999: online). The Council responded, however, saying that they had instigated additional support through local stations, a recovery task force specifically charged with ensuring indigenous affairs were accommodated, and extensive funding for communities. The problem they identified was that there was little knowledge of this support, which needed to be addressed (Taipei Times, 1999).

For many indigenous communities, particularly those that resided within the most remote areas of the mountains, the government imposed a policy of relocation. This policy was formulated by central government, upon the recommendation of the Council of Indigenous Peoples, to resettle villagers from identified 'threatened environments' to safe areas. Chen (2002) criticises this policy because it highlighted the government's focus on physical reconstruction, which ignored the social relationship that indigenous communities shared with the land and the significance of the land to their identity. It is arguably uncertain whether the Council adequately understands and represents indigenous concerns, and this cultural ignorance highlights the need for central government to undertake direct engagement with affected indigenous communities to ascertain authentic indigenous aspirations for the recovery.

Key Informant 4 acknowledges two shortfalls of the recovery process: (1) authority for planning (at local and central levels) ultimately resided with central government; and, (2) local governments, particularly township administrations, were ill-equipped to respond to central government policies, stalling the restoration of some communities. Any problems encountered were, therefore, fundamentally a result of uninformed decision-makers. Recovery planning ultimately reflected the conventional governance practices of Taiwan, despite involving new institutions to streamline and co-ordinate multi-ministerial functions

and responsibilities. Participation was, in the main, marginal and enabled to the extent that it validated pre-conceived government policies for the recovery by being insightful, but remained insignificant. Key Informant 3 says that indigenous peoples prefer:

bottom-up approach to policy development, rather than be told by the authority what to do. [Indigenous peoples] do not like being told what to do. They want to determine their own future. So they provide the government on what they want to do.

Participation in recovery planning is no different to that enabled in general planning practice. The recovery provided an opportunity to empower communities, including those indigenous, but the government failed to appropriately respond by not adopting a bottom-up approach. The bureaucratic, historically-authoritarian, yet increasingly democratic regime, and lack of accountability to indigenous groups, has largely been maintained through the recovery process, yet there are small signs of change.

5.6 Conclusion

The 921 Earthquake was physically, psychologically, socially and economically devastating for Taiwanese communities. The institutions set in place to administer disaster recovery were ill-prepared for such devastation. The earthquake thus necessitated political reform to enable effective recovery planning. It was an opportunity to reassess a historically-authoritarian planning system, which had only begun democratising a decade earlier. Moreover, it was an opportunity to examine how communities were engaged within this regime. As this chapter has illustrated, indigenous participation has historically been denied its full potential, that is, the potential to empower the indigenous voice to influence decision-making in a way that fosters the realisation of constitutional rights. The earthquake thus posed an opportunity to re-evaluate how existing mechanisms empowered indigenous peoples to have their say in decision-making in recovery planning.

Indigenous participation is predicated on the relationship between the government and the indigenous peoples. This relationship, in Taiwan, has been defined by colonial processes of social assimilation and segregation, cultural subordination, and political marginalisation. Accordingly, the once-autonomous communities have been reduced to what has been described as an ornamental role in decision-making. The government, in re-assessing the ways it provides for the modernisation of indigenous communities, legislated the need to consult with indigenous peoples affected by development. Consultation in plan formulation and review, by way of public submission or with indigenous representatives in local or central government, has become the conventional participatory mechanism. While

consultation marks progress in the government's relationship with indigenous peoples, it continues to fall short of the relationship envisioned by indigenous peoples.

This chapter has revealed that the 921 Earthquake recovery exhibited the implementation of existing participatory practices, despite the severity of the damage and the apparent insufficiency of the recovery system to address community needs. Consultation remained the primary mechanism for identifying indigenous concerns and aspirations for community restoration. Plan formulation was ultimately controlled by a government that did not understand indigenous communities, and indeed often neglected their issues. Moreover, the recommendations provided by the Council of Indigenous Peoples, that were intended to help the government understand indigenous communities, insufficiently accounted for what was really needed.

6

Chapter 6: Indigenous Participation in the Christchurch Earthquake Recovery

6.1 Introduction

On 22 February 2011, the deadliest earthquake to hit New Zealand in 80 years struck the country's second most populous region, Canterbury, centred beneath Christchurch City. Termed the Christchurch Earthquake, its magnitude, close proximity to the central business district, shallow depth, acceleration and orientation towards the city, and the city's soil composition, contributed to the severity of the damage incurred. 185 people died, with infrastructural and physical damages estimated at NZ\$15-20 billion, including the collapse of iconic masonry structures, making the post-disaster experience socially, psychologically, culturally and economically devastating for local communities.

The earthquake occurred subsequent to the Canterbury Earthquake that struck over four months prior, on 4 September 2010. It was anticipated that the government would utilise this opportunity to instigate an adequate response and recovery framework in the event of another earthquake occurring. The government did indeed establish some mechanisms for coping with an earthquake, but as the severity of the damage caused by the Christchurch Earthquake was unprecedented, the government was still not adequately prepared.

Following the 2010 Canterbury Earthquake, central government established the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Commission, an advisory body consisting of local mayors that would give advice to the facilitation of ministerial funding and powers. The calamity of the 2011 earthquake, however, necessitated a more integrated framework that empowered a central authority to facilitate ministerial powers, rather than simply advising relevant ministries. The Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority superseded the Commission, establishing an integrated framework aimed at a holistic recovery with community involvement at the centre of decision-making.

Political reform provided an opportunity to re-assess existing forms of participation. As the necessary institutional framework took shape, considerations were made to ensure that communities had a say in decision-making. Mechanisms that were employed were intended to enable this and to serve a swift, yet effective, recovery. A monumental approach made by the central government has been the inclusion of indigenous peoples in the recovery. The indigenous people of New Zealand, Māori, have historically been marginalised in planning processes through colonial policies, such as land and cultural alienation. The central and local planning systems have been reformed to take into account the marginalised history of Māori and to enable greater capacity for their engagement in planning processes. Accordingly, there has been some progress made in terms of fostering a constructive relationship between indigenous peoples and the government. The government has thus viewed the earthquake as an opportunity to reassess the mechanisms enabled specifically for indigenous participation to instigate further progress.

This chapter aims to investigate how indigenous peoples in the Canterbury Region have been enabled to participate in recovery planning following the 2011 Christchurch Earthquake. A description of Canterbury will be presented first to understand the context within which this investigation shall occur. An analysis of the historical relationship between the government and Māori will then be undertaken to further contextualise and understand the processes that have informed current partnership-orientated participation practices. Planning and governance will then be briefly examined, followed by an assessment of current statutory provisions that are in place to enable community participation. The objective of this assessment is to identify existing participatory mechanisms and to examine whether these mechanisms have been incorporated in recovery planning. Following this, an assessment of general recovery planning will be conducted to set out the procedures that are in place to recover from earthquakes. This assessment is to further understand how participation may occur in the event of an earthquake. Finally, the Christchurch Earthquake recovery will be examined and how indigenous peoples have participated in this process. Primary and secondary gathered during field research has been incorporated throughout this chapter to illustrate the findings of this investigation.

6.2 Background: Canterbury Region and Christchurch

New Zealand is a small island country located in the South Pacific. It comprises several islands, but is largely defined by two large islands: the South Island and the North Island.

New Zealand's geographic location on a complex juncture between the Indo-Australian Plate and the Pacific Plate makes it extremely susceptible to seismic activity. On-going tectonic activity is responsible for the 20,000 earthquakes experienced annually in New Zealand (GeoNet, 2012). The geological characteristics of New Zealand are very similar to Taiwan. Canterbury, the focus region of this study, is located in the South Island (see Figure 6).

Canterbury is the second most populated region in New Zealand, comprising a population of over 520,000 during the last census in 2006 (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). The majority of the population live in the region's largest city, Christchurch. The region's ethnic composition is largely constituted by Pākehā (at 77.4 percent) and Māori (with 7.2 percent), with growing Asian and Pacific populations. The term 'Pākehā' refers to New Zealanders of European descent. It is an identity that has been constructed in juxtaposition to Māori and denotes a post-settler connection to New Zealand. The term 'Māori', on the other hand, has been used since European settlement to refer to all the indigenous peoples of New Zealand. Traditionally, however, indigenous identity was structured according to distinct collectives of iwi, hapū, and whānau. As such, the iwi that specifically affiliates to Canterbury is Ngāi Tahu, which numbers at over 14,000 (Controller and Auditor-General, 2012).

In this chapter, the Ngāi Tahu people are referred to as the tangata whenua (indigenous people of Canterbury), while non-Ngāi Tahu Māori are referred to as mātāwaka (indigenous outside of the Canterbury Region). This distinction is important for two reasons: first, it acknowledges the historical relationship that Ngāi Tahu have experienced with the government, which is distinct in many ways from that experienced by other iwi; and second, it underpins the complexity of indigenous engagement that the government must confront and navigate in carrying out the participation components of their functions. Both reasons are inter-related and are important because they shed light on how Ngāi Tahu's involvement in decision-making has come to be, as tangata whenua, as Māori, and as part of the wider Canterbury community. Understanding this complex issue of identity and colonisation inherently indicates how government may, in earthquake recovery, choose to engage with Māori. The following section aims to support this assumption by exploring Ngāi Tahu's historical relationship with the Crown and their experiences of colonisation.

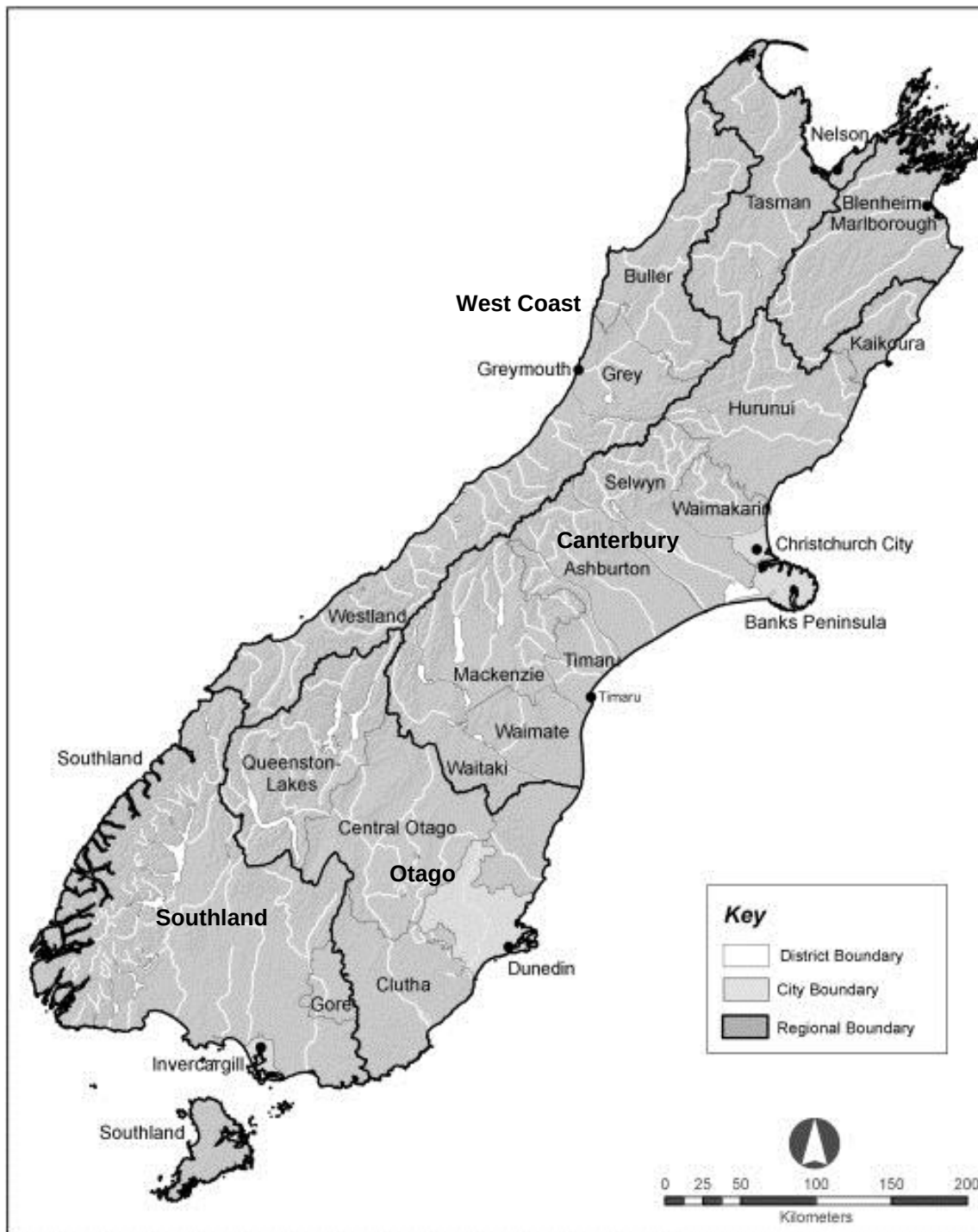


Figure 6: Map of local authorities of the South Island, with Canterbury located along the east coast centred on Christchurch City (Lennox, 2011: n.p.)

6.3 Ngāi Tahu and the Crown: Historical Relationship and Colonisation

Understanding indigenous participation in the Canterbury Region requires an examination of Ngāi Tahu's historical relationship with the Crown. Ngāi Tahu's voice has been marginalised for well over century and a half and their capacity to exercise their autonomy has been debilitated through systematic land and social alienation. Only in recent decades have Ngāi Tahu's calls to have their rights recognised been adhered to, including greater inclusivity of their voice in government-directed planning. The institutionalism prescribed by the Crown and British models of planning has failed to provide for Ngāi Tahu in the past, as it has done for other Māori groups around New Zealand. Through exploring the colonial processes that have led to planning processes that exist today, Ngāi Tahu participation within these processes can be better understood. This section will briefly detail Ngāi Tahu's historical relationship with the Crown.

6.3.1 Settlement and the Treaty of Waitangi

Ngāi Tahu was still consolidating its settlement, by way of intermarriage and warfare with Ngāti Māmoe and Waitaha, in Canterbury when Europeans arrived (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 1996d). Unlike other tribes of New Zealand, Ngāi Tahu were relatively open to European settlement and governance in the South Island. They viewed Christianity and 'the law' as a means of ensuring their future prosperity and peace (Tau and Anderson, 2008). The signing of the Treaty of Waitangi was intended to secure these aspirations.

The Treaty of Waitangi has been a contentious document since before its creation, largely due to its misinterpretation and the conflicting objectives that Māori and the British Crown had for the document. The Treaty comprises three written articles, which were produced in English and Māori. It was prepared by William Hobson in an effort to establish British sovereignty over New Zealand (Orange, 2002). Ultimately, Māori signatories around New Zealand shared an aspiration for the Treaty to guarantee Māori rangatiratanga (self-determination) over their territories and resources, while the British Crown would assume a role of governance to control European settlement (Orange, 2002). Ngāi Tahu hoped the Treaty would protect their territorial interests, whilst also establishing shared authority between Māori and the Crown. It was meant to be a partnership, Ngāi Tahu believed (Tau and Anderson, 2008; Matunga, 2000). The Crown, on the other hand, viewed it as a symbol of the inevitable relinquishing of Māori of their claims to their territories and autonomy (Orange, 2002).

A series of land purchases were undertaken by the Crown subsequent to the signing of the Treaty, which saw the alienation of extensive lands, resources and the extinguishment of any substantial rangatiratanga (Belgrave, 2005; Highman, 1997). Ngāi Tahu willingly sold much of their land and that, according to Belgrave (2005), they agreed to give up their authority of this land. These agreements were, however, subject to the condition that reserves would be set aside for their residence in addition to natural resources essential to maintaining their wellbeing and survival (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991). This condition was not fulfilled as Ngāi Tahu had hoped. 34 million acres of land were sold, with a 'pitiful' 14,750 acres set aside as reserves in the most remote areas of the South Island (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, n.d.; Waitangi Tribunal, 1991).

European settlement of the Canterbury Plains was swiftly organised, immediately following the deeds of purchases, despite Ngāi Tahu's grievances. Local government effectively ignored Ngāi Tahu throughout the development of the region and Christchurch City. This was demonstrated, in one instance, in 1868 when local Ngāi Tahu contested development because the settlement began to envelope and subsume sites of cultural significance. They took their claim to the Māori Land Court to protect their interests, which was unsuccessful (Pauling *et al.*, 2006). Ngāi Tahu's influence over decision-making became reduced to discretionary consideration through a Crown institution, the Māori Land Court, and confined to within the boundaries of their reserves.

6.3.2 Undermining Political Institutions and Land Alienation

While other Ngāi Tahu claims had successfully resulted in some compensation in land and money (in 1906, 1944 and 1973), systematic land dispossession through government legislation contributed to the subjugation of Ngāi Tahu society and the alienation of their political institutions (Belgrave, 2005). The government introduced a series of statutes that sought to remove the remaining lands claimed by Ngāi Tahu, thereby undermining their resource-oriented planning system and hapū-based autonomy (Carter, 2004). This was compounded by extensive intermarriage between Ngāi Tahu and European settlers, whose claims to property were subject to government endorsement of their identity as Māori, contributing to further government acquisition of land (Carter, 2004).

Ngāi Tahu's political disenfranchisement was granted reprieve in 1867 through the establishment of the southern Māori seat, which was thought to ensure their representation in New Zealand's legislative House of Representatives, yet it did not accommodate sufficient

capacity to facilitate their rangatiratanga (Hayward, 2010; Vasil, 1990). In fact, it was intended to ‘Europeanise’ Māori involvement in political affairs, thus contradicting any facilitation of efforts to realising rangatiratanga (Banducci *et al.*, 2004). Further to the Crown’s objective of political alienation was the establishment of the Department of Māori Affairs (now the Ministry of Māori Development), initially charged with accelerating the alienation of Māori land through government policy (Treaty Resource Centre, n.d.). Newly-established Māori trust boards, such as the Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board, that were setup to administer compensation funds for beneficiaries and represent their interests in local governance were ultimately accountable to the Department. This has been problematic for Ngāi Tahu who have consistently claimed that this government-imposed institution fails to account for their interests by not being held accountable to their people, but rather to the Crown (Highman, 1997). In this regard, Ngāi Tahu’s participation in planning was limited to realising the government’s policies for Ngāi Tahu development. This form of representative participation fell well short of the participation that Ngāi Tahu sought by signing the Treaty of Waitangi.

Ngāi Tahu has not only had to cope with living with marginal remnants of their pre-1848 territory, but they have also had to confront challenges of the systematic alienation of their remaining lands and sites of cultural significance. Their claims to rangatiratanga, tied to their lands and traditional resources, and grievances at the lack of adherence to the partnership mandate envisioned under the Treaty became a furore that echoed the grievances of other iwi around the country.

6.3.3 Ngāi Tahu Engaging the System: Post-Settlement and Mātāwaka

In 1986, Ngāi Tahu submitted a claim to the Waitangi Tribunal that would affect nearly half of New Zealand’s land mass. The claim detailed Ngāi Tahu’s loss of rangatiratanga and their relationship to their lands and sites of significance through colonial processes (O’Regan, 2001). The Waitangi Tribunal upheld Ngāi Tahu’s claim, finding that:

Twenty-five years after the signing of the Treaty, Ngāi Tahu were an impoverished people, largely subsisting on uneconomic plots of land, on the margins of a developing European society, and neglected by both national and [local] governments. (Orange, 2002: p.224).

After years of negotiation, Ngāi Tahu’s settlement would amount to \$170 million in financial redress, ownership of some Crown and forestry lands, as well as culturally valuable sites and reserves, and a public apology. The settlement did not restore Ngāi Tahu’s rangatiratanga in

its entirety, but did grant them opportunities to exercise greater political power within the system, that is, central and local government, to remediate the political and economic deprivation that Ngāi Tahu were subjected to for nearly 150 years.

Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu (TRONT) was established as Ngāi Tahu's iwi authority and today administers the restoration of the iwi's capacity to "build a stronger economic, social and cultural base for Ngāi Tahu people" (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 1996c: online). Its governance reflects the iwi's aspiration to navigate a historically alienating system to serve the needs of the Ngāi Tahu people. TRONT's structure is founded on Ngāi Tahu's traditional governance system that has "continued outside the machinery of colonial government" (Matunga, 2000: p.40; Highman, 1997). Several papatipu rūnanga in Canterbury have developed iwi planning documents, to guide Ngāi Tahu's conduct with planning institutions, which contain their issues, objectives and policies for resource management. In addition to this, the settlement instigated legislative reform, requiring central and local authorities to engage with Ngāi Tahu on a range of planning issues (Matunga, 2000). The statutory provisions that testify this new age of involvement will be explored soon. For now, however, it is sufficient to conclude that Ngāi Tahu have been invited back into a space of power to progressively influence the determination of their future and the future of Canterbury.

According to Matunga (2000), by beginning to honour the Treaty, the settlement has embodied the Crown's affirmation of Ngāi Tahu's pre-existing planning system, which they now seek to practicably restore. Restoration has involved the incorporation of Māori principles of environmental management into government legislation and iwi policy, particularly kaitiakitanga (guardianship). These principles inform a sustainability ethic that embodies Ngāi Tahu's traditional holistic relationship with the natural environment. Ensuring that planning institutions adhere to such principles has necessitated Ngāi Tahu's engagement in decision-making. It is significant to note that rangatiratanga, a political principle that has been central to Ngāi Tahu's environmental interests, has been 'side-stepped' by legislation reform. This implies that Ngāi Tahu are 'participants' or 'consultees' in decision-making, rather than "decision-makers in their own right" (Matunga, 2000: p.42).

Statutory reforms to enable Ngāi Tahu's participation pursuant to the Crown's Treaty obligations are based on pre-1840 notions of political autonomy and social organisation. That is, the recognition of Māori participatory rights has largely involved engagement with hapū and iwi authorities. In so doing, central government is not accountable to emerging

generations of urban Māori in Canterbury who do not identify as Māori indigenous to Canterbury. Referred to as mātāwaka, the right of non-Ngāi Tahu Māori to participation in decision-making has been restricted because of their heritage.

Moreover, the Treaty settlement process has contributed to iwi and hapū having greater power in decision-making, while leaving mātāwaka to cope within the capacity of urban Māori authorities. As a result, mātāwaka have largely been unable to engage with local authorities in decision-making processes. Māori participation can be considered as being based on a notion of ‘Treaty partner authenticity’, whereby the government chooses to engage with those they believe represent the genuine interests of tangata whenua.

Canterbury’s experience has been somewhat unique in that mātāwaka have until recently had some influence in decision-making. This has been attributed to the portrayal of Ngāi Tahu by both mātāwaka and society at large as not representing tangata whenua interests because they did not fit “into the text-book depiction of Māori” (O’Regan, 2001: p.138). The settlement process has, however, contributed to the empowerment of Ngāi Tahu to be able to participate as the Crown’s Treaty partner, which in turn has reduced mātāwaka to participating as individuals of an ethnic minority within Canterbury.

Urban Māori authorities retain an important role in decision-making insofar as it concerns the welfare of mātāwaka (Meredith, 2009). In order for mātāwaka to be heard on other issues, such as resource management, requires them to connect back to their respective iwi and hapū which exist beyond the Canterbury Region. Whakapapa thus remains the ‘gate keeper’ to engagement (Kukutai, 2004). Without a spiritual connection to the land or descent to the original inhabitants of the land, Tunks (2002) believes that an individual or collective can neither assume tangata whenua status nor represent tangata whenua interests.

The relationship between the government and Ngāi Tahu has been progressive, with the former gradually recognising the latter’s right to participate in planning. Although subsequent institutional reform has not reconstituted Ngāi Tahu’s rangatiratanga as conceived prior to 1840, it does indicate an attempt to destabilise the constraints that inhibit Ngāi Tahu from effectively influencing the decisions that affect them. While mātāwaka have essentially been denied of what they may argue is their right to self-determine their development as Māori, statutory provisions have enabled Ngāi Tahu to greater control over their own development as the tangata whenua. Highlighting this dynamic is not intended to empower one Māori collective over another, but rather aims to illustrate the complexity involved in engaging with

the indigenous people of Canterbury (Ngāi Tahu) and engaging with the indigenous people of New Zealand (Ngāi Tahu *and* mātāwaka). Understanding this dynamic is important to examining how indigenous people participate in planning and, more importantly, how they are engaged in earthquake recovery. Accordingly the following questions should be asked when examining indigenous participation in New Zealand: how can Māori, as individuals within the community, participate in planning? How has the government used statute to provide for Māori as indigenous peoples? And finally, how have these mechanisms been implemented in earthquake recovery planning?

The following sections aim to address these questions. First is an examination of community and Ngāi Tahu participation in planning, and second is an exploration of participation in earthquake recovery.

6.4 Planning, Community Participation and Ngāi Tahu

New Zealand's planning system has been based on traditional Pākehā environmental ethics and governance ideals, which were introduced by the British Parliament in 1852 under the Constitution Act. The Act prescribed a two-party representative democracy, whereby the majority maintained power in decision-making processes (Walker, 1990). This system has inevitably failed Māori, who have been an ethnic minority since the end of the 19th century (Pearson, 2011). Moreover, traditional collective organisation prevented Māori from enfranchisement, which was predicated on European-idealised individualism (Parliamentary Library, 2003). In response, as was noted in the previous section, many Māori have sought some political solace in the establishment of their own institutions to serve their interests parallel to those of Pākehā within their system of governance. The establishment of TRONT exemplifies such an institution.

The planning system within which TRONT seeks to be involved has historically ignored not only the Māori voice, but also community participation in general. Ngāi Tahu's ability to negotiate the political bureaucracy is thus compounded by a legacy of ignorance towards so-called irrational, non-technocratic knowledge and counter-colonial interests, both of which Ngāi Tahu have been stigmatised as possessing. This ignorance has been incrementally destabilised through political decentralisation, the introduction of a more minority-conscious electoral system (that is, the mixed-member proportional representation), and resource management reform that have advocated a more community-inclusive approach to planning.

The planning processes that Ngāi Tahu must now traverse is more open to their interests both as members of the Canterbury community and as the tangata whenua. This section will explore planning processes as it exists today and the requirements of participation within these. To better understand the statutory context that Ngāi Tahu people may navigate in recovery planning, the general statutory provisions enabling Ngāi Tahu's participation will be assessed. Finally, a discussion will be provided on the on-going factors that exist to empower or inhibit Māori participation. This will guide an investigation into how Māori could be involved in recovery decision-making processes.

6.4.1 Planning Legislation, Local Government and Community Participation

Planning, insofar as it relates to rural and urban development, as it is generally confined within New Zealand discourse, is largely stipulated by the Resource Management Act 1991 (RMAct) and the Local Government Act 2002 (LGAct). These statutes were collectively introduced to establish a more integrated regime that promoted sustainability, whilst also consolidating the perplexing expanse of pre-existing legislation, thus aiming to do away with existing bureaucratic inefficiency and unaccountability (Environment Defence Society, n.d.; McShane, 2008; Orange, 2002). Both the RMAct and LGAct instigated planning reform and institutional reform. These reforms set out a new local government system (including new regional and territorial authorities) and their distinct, yet overlapping, responsibilities and functions. Political reform involved decentralised governance, with central government devolving powers to regional and territorial authorities to administer planning through plans and strategies. Central to this reform has been a focus on the inter-generational social, economic, and cultural wellbeing of communities (Mcsweeney and Proctor, 2009). In addition to a governmental mandate requiring regional and territorial authorities to be more accountable to their communities, this emphasis on their wellbeing implicates the requirement of public participation in planning processes.

Local authorities are largely required to enable community participation in resource management. Prior to the RMAct and LGAct, participation was seldom provided for beyond elected representation in Parliament, thus they have heralded a shift towards a more community-inclusive approach to planning. The reasons that the RMAct and LGAct have been used to usher in a new era of participatory planning resonates those that have been voiced in the literature. That is, it is form of public empowerment and ensures that decisions are informed by and accountable to community needs (Fookes, 1996). Whether participatory

provisions are adhered to by local authorities in a way that communities feel empowered remains open to debate, but the provisions nonetheless indicate central government's acknowledgement of the significance of community engagement in decision-making.

Participation is required in plan and policy development, and is 'necessary and good practice' in resource consent applications for development (Sweetman, 2008;. Fookes, 1996). Local authorities that have been bombarded with numerous responsibilities, while also being unfamiliar with participation processes, have consequently experienced 'huge margins' of error in attempting to realise this new mandate to consult (Fookes, 1996; Richards, 1998). Local authorities have become exposed to public criticism for not implementing participation appropriately (Fookes, 1996). While the LGAct comprises guiding principles for participation for processes under the RMA, many local authorities have developed consultation documents to guide them in engaging with their communities (Hornsby, 2004). Regional and territorial authorities in the Canterbury Region have several resource management and community plans, none of which have consultation guidance documents. It can thus be assumed that local authorities within the region either have effective public participation programmes in place or that participation is not a political priority.

In Canterbury, there appears to be mixed assessments of the forms adopted by local authorities to consult with communities. The Waimakariri District Council, for example, has been commended for its participation processes by residents, while the Christchurch City Council's programme has been questioned in the past (Vallance, 2011). This is important to highlight because: (1) it indicates the appropriateness of local public participation programmes; and, (2) more importantly, it gives insight into the pre-disaster relationship between local government and the community, which is critical to understanding how local authorities may engage with communities in recovery planning.

Although the specific forms of participation vary, the type of participation prescribed by legislation is consultation. Certain forms of consultation are expected in plan development and resource consent application processes, particularly public submissions. The courts ensure that consultation, when required, is adhered to. The Planning Tribunal, Environment Court and High Court, have provided guidance to affected groups in navigating legislated requirements for consultation. Subsequent case law has conceptualised consultation as opportunities for communities to prepare and provide informed responses to proposed decisions (*Wellington International Airport Ltd v Air New Zealand* (1991) NZLR 671). In

order for responses to be informed, local authorities must provide sufficient information to communities about proposals (*Quarantine Waste (NZ) Ltd v Waste Resources Ltd (1994) NZRMA 529 (HC)*). It must be done in good faith, genuine open-mindedness, and goodwill, to reasonably explore all possible options for development (*Ngati Kahu and Pacific International Investments Ltd v Tauranga District Council A72/94; Tawa and Ngatai v Bay of Plenty RC A18/95*). The case law conception of consultation is significant to note because it posits consultation as a sufficient level of participation to enable dialogue and that it must be undertaken in a way that is respectful of the community voice.

It is clear that in recent decades community participation, as a result of decentralisation, has become a central foundation for planning in New Zealand. Whether participatory planning has prevailed through to earthquake recovery processes requires further investigation, which will be subsequently undertaken. For now, an assessment of tangata whenua inclusion into decision-making will be conducted. This will provide insight into the extent to which participation in governance is enabled in recovery planning.

6.4.2 Statutory Provisions for Ngāi Tahu Participation

Planning legislation comprises provisions requiring varying levels of consideration for tangata whenua interests in Canterbury. While many of these provisions have been developed in response to historical grievances relating to resource management and self-determined development, it is undeniable that the forms of participation enabled for Māori have been founded on democratic reformist ideals of traditional Pākehā governance. That is, participation has been typically instigated in the form of Parliamentary representation and community consultation in resource consent application processes and policy development. Inasmuch as indigenous participation is prescribed by the Crown, the approaches to engagement with Māori will be largely replicative of those implemented for the wider community. The earliest example of this has been the arguably-equal right for both Māori and Pākehā to vote for Parliamentary elections since 1852 under the Constitution Act. These rights have, of course, ignored the historical constraints that have inhibited Māori to participate such as contradictory property qualifications, whereby Māori were required to hold individual property rights in order to exercise their right to vote prior to 1867, which was not consistent with traditionally collective notions of land entitlement (thus, in reality, the Crown expressively instigated unequal treatment of Māori and Pākehā).

Attempts to address contradictory rights have included the establishment of the Māori seats in Parliament in 1867, the right to vote as an enfranchised ‘Māori’ or ‘General’ electorate individual (in other words, having a choice to vote as an individual within the wider community) since 1974, and the establishment of the mixed member proportional system in 1996, allowing greater Māori representation (Hefler, 2006). In retrospect of these so-called equal opportunities for Māori and Pākehā to participate in decision-making, iwi and hapū have been denied their right to exercise rangatiratanga, kaitiakitanga or conceive any sense of partnership with the Crown as envisioned by the Treaty of Waitangi. The settlement process thus seeks to enable participation in a way that builds on existing rights granted to Māori by instigating further provisions to support the incremental realisation of kaitiakitanga and a partnered approach to governance.

Under the RMA, local authorities must recognise an array of considerations, including “the relationship of Māori and their culture and traditions with their ancestral lands, water, sites, wahi tapu, and other taonga” (s.6). In addition to this, they must have particular regard to kaitiakitanga (s.7), while also taking into account the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi (s.8). These provisions inherently deny mātāwaka – who do not maintain a relationship with ancestral lands, an fundamental ability to exercise kaitiakitanga, nor a protections provided by the Treaty – the right to participate. Yet they promote the participation of Ngāi Tahu, as tangata whenua, in decision-making processes. That is, the granting of opportunities for Ngāi Tahu to express and sustain their relationship with the natural environment in accordance with their self-determined aspirations.

Consultation with Ngāi Tahu is not required in resource consent applications, but it is considered appropriate for adhering to provisions of the RMA relevant to Māori interests. Statutory Acknowledgements, provided under the RMA and the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998 (ss.205-222), enhance the need for authorities to consult Ngāi Tahu on issues that are relevant to them. Statutory Acknowledgements require Ngāi Tahu resource and land interests of cultural significance to be documented in local plans and for authorities to inform the iwi of any applications that may affect these interests (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 1996c). Although this implies that Ngāi Tahu’s role in decision-making is reduced to a consultative position, whereby their existing ability to make submissions is entrenched rather than progressed to some autonomous capacity, it validates their voice in planning, which is something that has seldom been provided historically.

Statutory Acknowledgements significantly enhance the ability of Ngāi Tahu to realise fully the potential which the [RMAct] offers as a tool for incorporating Māori values into the management of the environment (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 1996: online).

Consultation with Ngāi Tahu is mandatory, nonetheless, in plan and policy development processes, and also resource management that is subject to Deeds of Recognition (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 1996c). Consultation, while regarded as sufficient for taking into account community interests, is not the only type of participation enabled by legislation to involve Ngāi Tahu.

Central government has been conscious of ensuring that local government recognises and respects the Crown's responsibility to take appropriate account of the principles of the Treaty (s.4, LGAct). Accordingly, several participatory provisions, that go beyond simply requiring local authorities to consider resource-consent submissions, are constituted in the RMAct. For instance, local authorities are required to take into account local Ngāi Tahu planning documents in policy statement and plan preparation (ss.61, 66 and 74) (Environmental Defence Society, n.d.-b). This provides a foundation for pursuing Ngāi Tahu participation throughout the plan development process by identifying their issues. Subsequent consultation, which is required by law (pursuant to Clause 3C of the First Schedule of the RMAct), could identify further issues and seek appropriate policy responses to these issues. As such, consultation enables a dialogue between local authorities and Ngāi Tahu. The difference between the forms of consultation instigated for the tangata whenua and the general community is that the community is reduced to making submissions to pre-designed proposals, whereas local authorities are encouraged to talk with Ngāi Tahu throughout the proposal and preparation phases of plan and policy development. Tangata whenua are evidently granted opportunities, under the RMAct, to participate in decision-making as individuals within the community through submissions, and also to participate in decision-making as a collective through open-dialogue with local authorities.

Some local authorities have in the South Island gone as far as undertaking hearings, workshops and discussions on *marae* (traditional Māori gathering places). For other local authorities, however, this indicates a basic conception of a relationship and has progressed to develop relationship agreements, which are not mandatory, but set out formal processes of engagement. Such processes include culturally-significant site identification procedures and methods of informing Ngāi Tahu of any proposed developments that may affect them. A relationship agreement currently exists between Canterbury's regional authority

(Environment Canterbury), Ngāi Tahu and the Te Waihora Management Board. It has heralded a collaborative approach to the restoration of Te Waihora (Lake Ellesmere) by enabling knowledge sharing and informing authorities of Ngāi Tahu's relationship with the lake (Environment Canterbury and Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu, 2011). Ngāi Tahu's participation is therefore provided through the empowerment of their customary resource management principles.

While shared information allows for the consideration of Ngāi Tahu's knowledge in resource management, legislation also enables Ngāi Tahu some decision-making power through commissioner-appointment and joint management agreements. Appointing Māori commissioners on to hearing panels to assess resource consent applications is a representative form of participation enabled under the RMA (s.100A). It is a mechanism that enables Ngāi Tahu to have some control in decisions that may affect them. Although these commissioners are limited to making decisions within a non-Māori informed system, they are granted an opportunity to present Ngāi Tahu's views on development.

Joint management agreements refer to the establishment of co-management mandates over resources, whereby representative tangata whenua institutions share equitable decision-making power with the Crown and local authorities (Taiepa *et al.*, 1997). It is a form of participation that involves the devolution of power from local authorities to iwi (consistent with s.33 of the RMA), which has been reluctantly adopted by local authorities (Environmental Defence Society, n.d.-a). Existing joint management agreements have thus been instigated through Treaty settlement law and recognition of property rights over land (see, for example, the Waikato-Tainui Settlement Act 2010 and Taupo's *Joint Management Agreement*). Te Waihora, again, offers a local example of such a progressive form of participation. Co-management of the lake was instigated through the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998 (s.177), which required the co-development of a joint-management plan stipulating the restoration and sustained revitalisation of the lake (Prystupa, 1998). The administration of this plan is the responsibility of a number of authorities in accordance with their respective resource management roles (Te Runanga o Ngāi Tahu and the Department of Conservation, 2005). Ngāi Tahu have the power to control development to the extent that it is consistent with the interests of the Crown and local authorities. This is not rangatiratanga as it was once conceived, but it does embody the partnership envisioned by signatories of the Treaty.

This section has described current mechanisms to enable Māori participation in planning. While mātāwaka are limited to those consultative mechanisms granted to the wider community, Ngāi Tahu's ability to participate has been provided for through an array of statutory provisions that enable various levels of participation, ranging from informative mechanisms to those that promote partnership. The Crown's historically oppressive relationship with Ngāi Tahu is slowly being eroded by precipitant efforts to empower their voice in decision-making. How these mechanisms have been translated in recovery planning illustrates the government's continued efforts to empower Ngāi Tahu's role in the development of Canterbury. This section therefore poses the following questions to guide an examination of indigenous participation in earthquake recovery planning: what statutory provisions exist to enable Māori to participate in decision-making? What role have TRONT and urban Māori authorities respectively had in representing Māori interests in the recovery? How has the recovery contributed to the on-going development of the Crown's relationship with Ngāi Tahu? The following section aims to address these questions through an analysis of the Christchurch Earthquake recovery.

6.5 Participation in the Christchurch Earthquake Recovery

New Zealand's generally high susceptibility to earthquakes has resulted in the development of statutory provisions to give immediate effect to the recovery functions of disaster management institutions when required. The Civil Defence Emergency Management Act 2002 (CDEMAct) sets out the governance framework and institutional functions for administering recovery planning. Local authorities are required to establish natural hazard expert groups to develop recovery plans with which to facilitate the sustainable management of natural disasters, including earthquakes. Government policy emphasises the need to provide for community and Māori participation, though this participation is confined to consultation via public submissions to proposed recovery plans (s.52, CDEMAct). Ultimately, New Zealand's overarching recovery statute highlights that tangata whenua and mātāwaka have equal participatory rights to the wider community. This, in theory, precludes Ngāi Tahu's rights to participate in decision-making as is generally granted in resource management. What has occurred in Canterbury, however, demonstrates otherwise.

The 2010 Canterbury Earthquake was responded to by the government with the establishment of the Earthquake Recovery Commission. It was intended to advise government ministries and departments on how to best deliver their services to instigate recovery. In so doing, the

system established was not consistent with that set out in the CDEMA Act. The devastation created by the following earthquake, the 2011 Christchurch Earthquake, necessitated a system that was even more inconsistent with the government's objectives. The CDEMA Act did not provide the governance that government felt was necessary to addressing the calamity cause of the 2011 earthquake. Moreover, the provisions that enabled participation as promoted under the CDEMA Act were far from adequate to inform decisions. The recovery would take place was thus an attempt to provide a new governance framework with an innovative approach to engaging with stakeholders, including the community, Ngāi Tahu and mātāwaka. This section seeks to explore how recovery has occurred following the 2011 earthquake, particularly how Māori have been enabled to participate within the recovery. A description of the impact of the earthquake will first be presented, followed by an examination of the recovery. Subsequent to this will be an exploration into provisions for Māori participation, including those that enable community and tangata whenua participation.

6.5.1 The Christchurch Earthquake

On 22 February 2011, at 12.51pm, an earthquake struck beneath New Zealand's second largest city, Christchurch, with a magnitude of 6.2 (Kaiser *et al.*, 2012). It was the deadliest to hit New Zealand in 80 years, killing 185 people, and the most expensive in this country's history with infrastructural and physical damages estimated at NZ\$15-20 billion (New Zealand Police, 2012; Bannister *et al.*, 2011; Fry *et al.*, 2011). Many buildings collapsed, including multi-storey reinforced concrete buildings and unreinforced masonry structures, such as the iconic Christchurch Cathedral (Cubrinovski *et al.*, 2011; Kam *et al.*, 2011; Bannister *et al.*, 2011). Up to 12,000 homes were lost beyond repair, many of which were beyond repair because of unstable land (Vallance, 2011).

Infrastructure was severely damaged, with substations, cables and electrical systems being hit, leading to over 90 percent of the city losing power (Massie and Watson, 2011). In addition to this, over 50 percent of the city was without water immediately after the earthquake, and a collapsed sewage system served to exacerbate existing frustration over community wellbeing (Giovinazzi and Wilson, 2012). Some people were able to consult existing social networks (e.g. neighbourhoods) to psychologically cope, while many simply left (Vallance, 2011). Several bridges and road networks incurred significant damage, largely as a result of liquefaction, creating extensive road congestion in central and eastern parts of Christchurch (Wotherspoon *et al.*, 2011; Giovinazzi and Wilson, 2012). Liquefaction was

widespread throughout the city, in addition to flooding in eastern suburbs and rockfall in hillside areas (Kaiser *et al.*, 2012).

The earthquake had hit a relatively low-seismic region of New Zealand, centring 6 kilometres southeast of the Christchurch central business district (Kaiser *et al.*, 2012). Its close proximity to the city centre, shallow depth (of two kilometres), acceleration and orientation towards the city, as well as many areas comprising loose fluvial soil, contributed to the severity of the earthquake (Kaiser *et al.*, 2012; Massie and Watson, 2011; Potangaroa, 2011). The fault upon which the earthquake occurred had not been mapped prior to the event, and although there had been evidence of increasing seismic activity in the area, particularly with the relatively minor Canterbury Earthquake of 2010, the scale of the Christchurch Earthquake was not anticipated (Kaiser *et al.*, 2012; Jongens *et al.*, 2012). This earthquake was thus devastating not only physically and environmentally, but also psychologically, socially and economically, as mechanisms were not established to cope with such hardship.

6.5.2 Christchurch Earthquake Recovery

The effects of the earthquake demanded resources beyond local government capacity, necessitating central government intervention. A state of national emergency was declared on 23 February 2011, which remained until April 30. During this time, it was decided that a “dedicated central government agency that could provide leadership, act quickly on urgent priorities and co-ordinate the recovery efforts of local authorities, businesses and the wider community” (Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority, 2011a; p.2). New Zealand’s central government clearly recognised the calamity of this disaster and went about reforming the institutional framework within which planning for Christchurch would be administered.

The Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority (CERA) was established on 29 March 2011 as the central government’s agency dedicated to co-ordinating local efforts under urgency. The Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act 2011 (CERAct) was subsequently enacted on 18 April 2011 as the overarching Act to stipulate recovery planning. It was passed because the unprecedented nature of the devastation caused by the earthquake necessitated powers and functions that have seldom been required and that were, of consequence, not granted by existing legislation: “Recovering from natural disasters on this scale has never been tackled before and is uncharted territory for the affected communities, the councils, business and government” (Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority, 2011e: p.1). The institutional framework was set out under the CERAct, including the powers, functions, responsibilities

and processes for decision-makers (Figure 7). The framework demonstrates a centralised hierarchical governance system, with numerous organisations involved. Although the structure replicates a top-down approach, the power appears shared between each stakeholder, reflecting CERA's more facilitative and collaborative role in the recovery.

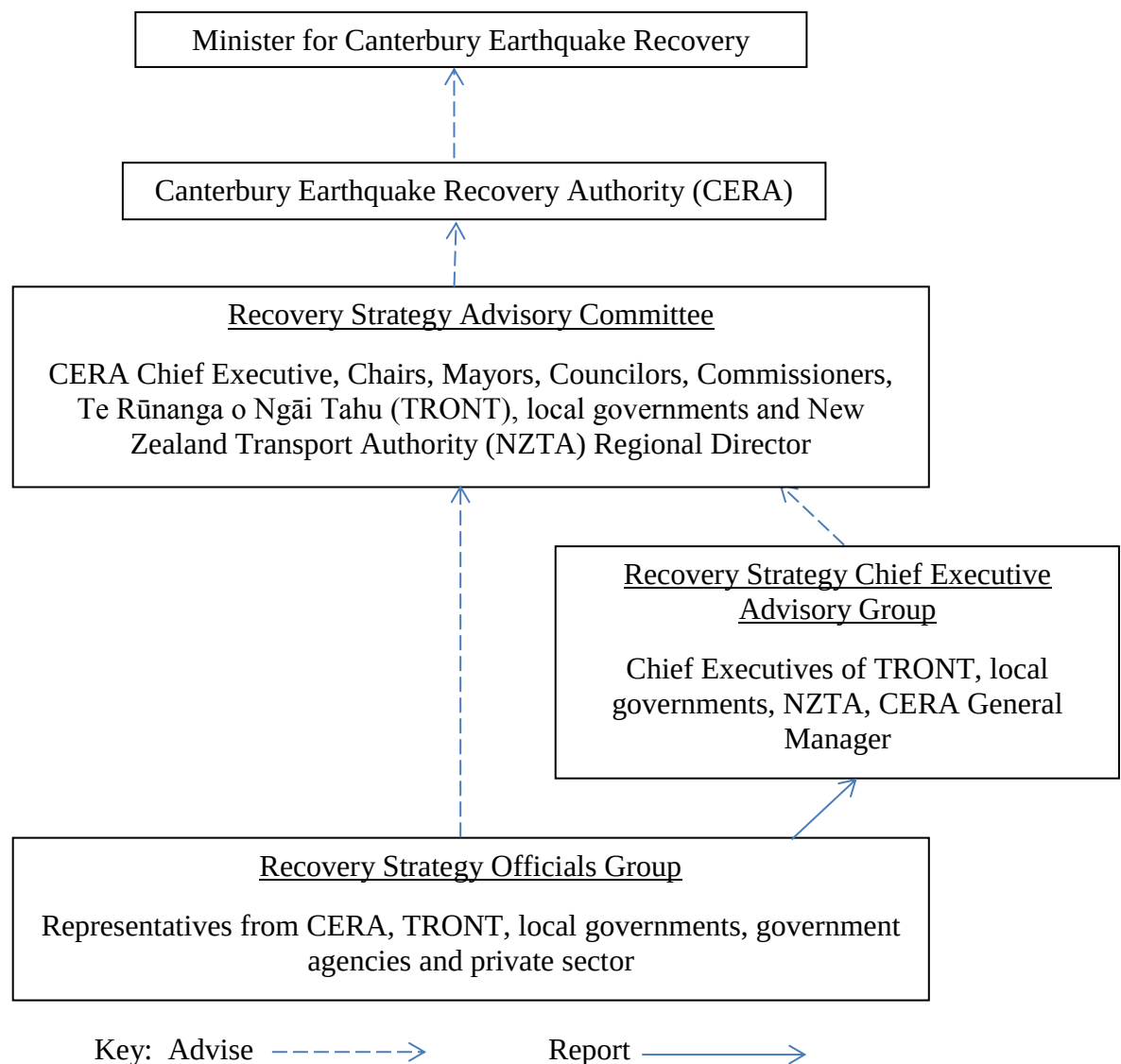


Figure 7: Canterbury Recovery Framework

The CERAct required CERA to develop a Recovery Strategy that would guide the long-term reconstruction of Christchurch. It was completed and approved in May 2012. The Strategy sets out the vision for recovery, and also the timelines set to indicate progress towards incrementally realising this vision. Several institutions have been incorporated into the framework set out under the Strategy, demonstrating an effort to give effect to immediate, short, medium and long term holistic regeneration of Christchurch (Ministry of Civil Defence

and Emergency Management, 2005). By ‘immediate’, the recovery infers the imposition of health, safety and security measures (estimated from 2010 to 2011), while ‘short term’ recovery denotes community engagement, demolition, repair and rebuild (2012 to 2014). ‘Medium and long term’ encompasses recovery activities such as continued reconstruction, economic stabilisation and informing communities (2015 to 2020).

Efficiency and sustainability underpin recovery efforts. That is, government institutions are utilised to bring about positive change for communities both immediately and overtime. The institutions involved in the recovery are regarded as maintaining technical expertise to “[f]ormulate the correct response to and recovery from [damage]; and... [m]anage technical advice, particularly engineering and geotechnical advice” (Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority, 2011a: p.6). Having informed decisions is clearly an imperative for CERA in carrying out its responsibilities, yet seeking knowledge on issues and responses has not been confined to technocratic experts. CERA has mobilised a programme for enabling community engagement, stating that “[e]stablishing and maintaining constructive and collaborative relationships will enable timely, appropriate and enduring recovery-focused initiatives” (Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority, 2011g: online). This is important because it indicates the potential opportunity for Māori to participate in planning as part of the wider Canterbury community. The particular forms that enable community participation will now be explored.

6.5.3 Community Participation in the Recovery

CERA used a number of methods to consult with communities. In fact, methods adopted reflected a more progressive approach towards participatory planning than ever before, indicated by additional consultation methods that are not conventionally adopted in disaster management or general planning in New Zealand. Participation has been guided by CERA’s *Community Engagement Strategy*, which includes the aim of enabling community engagement:

to communicate to and work with people in a range of ways, from sharing information, to asking for feedback; from problem solving... to supporting people to shape their own futures and make their own decisions (Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority, 2011b: p.1).

CERA elaborates in its strategy document for community engagement that its approach has been informed by international research which advocates participation for its capacity to empower communities and “build the capacity of agencies to work in partnerships”

(Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority, 2011b: p.1). According to the CERAct, however, ‘partnerships’ seems to be more rhetoric than realistic. Pursuant to Section 12, CERA is required to consult with the public in its development of the draft recovery strategy:

The process for the development of a draft Recovery Strategy must include 1 or more public hearings, as determined by the chief executive [of CERA], at which members of the public may appear and be heard.

‘Partnerships’, it seems, has been coined as an ideal of the Strategy, though according to the overarching Act of the recovery there remains to be no statutory provision requiring CERA to establish any partnerships throughout the community. Whether statutory provision is required to hold CERA accountable to the community is questionable, but the requirement to undertake public hearings indicates an extremely different level of community involvement in decision-making.

Nevertheless, CERA employed a number of forms of participation, which involved communities and community agencies. Participation has been a component of the short, medium and long-term phases of recovery. This suggests that there has been less urgency placed on undertaking consultation, perhaps reflecting the constraints imposed by the time required for enabling such participation. The specific forms have included “website information, written submissions, public meetings, stakeholder workshops and community forums” (Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority, 2011g: online).

Community and stakeholder consultation for the strategy was initially undertaken in June and July 2011. This process involved eight community workshops around the city to inform the development of a draft recovery strategy. The strategy was developed and released in September that year. Comments were then sought from the public from that time until the end of October 2011. In addition to this, four public information sessions were held. Comments on the draft strategy were received from 463 people or organisations. CERA received criticism from many for its ineffectiveness and bureaucratic, top-down governance, which was worsened by an allegedly poor consultation process (Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority, 2012b). One individual reflects this, stating that:

The only real information seems to come from local [members of Parliament] not from any other organisation. Getting any information from CERA is like trying to get blood from a stone... There has been no contact [or] on-going dialogue between residents and CERA... CERA needs to let people know why decisions are [taking] so long... At least we would know what was happening... If CERA does not communicate with residents effectively people get highly pissed off and start making

noise... Just communicate the truth (Anonymous individual, quoted in Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority, 2011d: online).

This sentiment was shared by an organisation involved in promoting Christchurch identity, Interests in Conserving the Identity of Christchurch:

The principle of engagement is essential and needs to be genuine. It is difficult to have faith in this when we read... that [a] plan will be completed in October and yet there has been no consultation with stakeholder groups... Consultation on the recovery plan cannot be meaningful if the scope has already been defined without consulting those with local knowledge and expertise (quoted in Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority, 2011d: online).

Nevertheless, CERA has received support from the CERA-established community forum, which includes a 'range of parties' to represent the different voices within the community (Orchard and Peryman, 2012; Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority, 2012a; Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority, 2012b). It consists of 38 members "from a wide cross-section of the Canterbury community representing business and ethnic interests, as well as resident associations and groups" (Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority, 2011c: online). The members are required to meet regularly to discuss the progress of the recovery, and provide information and advice to the Minister and CERA (Mathewson, 2011). The establishment of the forum was welcomed because it constituted a mechanism to inform decision makers of significant environmental and social knowledge that CERA would not consider otherwise (Mathewson, 2011). Moreover it acts as a "conduit between central government and the community" (Lyttelton-Mt Herbert Community Board chairwoman, Paula Smith, quoted in Mathewson, 2011: online). According to CERA (2012: online), the community forum has supported its recovery vision because it "broadly takes into account the wishes and desires of the community as expressed in the [consultation process]".

CERA's approach to community participation has built on existing mechanisms enabled under general resource management and governance law, and also disaster management legislation. While consultation has been undertaken, through public submissions, there have also been workshops and public meetings. In addition to these has been the forum comprising community representatives that maintains an advisory role on CERA's functions. The use of these forms exemplifies a multi-type approach to community involvement. That is, participatory mechanisms can be considered as informative, consultative or engaging, indicating varying levels of power devolution. Whether participation has been effective in informing decisions in a way that empowers the community voice in the recovery is debatable, and not investigated in this research, but it is undeniable that the government has

sought to empower the community voice more than ever before. The earthquake recovery has thus created an opportunity to foster a relationship between the Crown and the public that is open to increased dialogue on development, which challenges the traditional Western ideals of rational comprehensive governance.

CERA has retained control of decision-making processes throughout the participation phases of recovery, largely selecting which community agencies it engages with. This restricts the number of interests groups consulted and therefore the range of views sought. Māori individuals affiliate to different social networks, thereby allowing their representation on a number of organisations and networks. In addition, Māori have been provided opportunities to work with CERA in the recovery to address their specific needs, indicating a progressive approach to empower the Crown's relationship with the indigenous people. The statutory provisions enabling Māori participation will now be examined.

6.5.4 Indigenous Participation in the Recovery: Māori and Ngāi Tahu

In addition to those mechanisms implemented to enable Māori participation, as individuals within the wider community, mechanisms have also been developed to address the specific Māori interests. The CERAct requires CERA to consult with TRONT in its development of its recovery strategy (Duncan Cotterill Lawyers, 2011). It is an approach that has been praised by Ngāi Tahu, who considers it an active step towards a partnership with the government (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 1996b). Although TRONT had mobilised community support services immediately following the earthquake, their role in the recovery has involved multi-level dialogue with the government in reconstructing communities. To consolidate and better communicate their views and interests, the Rūnanga formed an earthquake recovery group, Te Awheawhe Rū Whenua. This group comprises local representatives of the different hapū affected by the earthquake, demonstrating an effort to ensure Ngāi Tahu's traditional bottom-up approach to planning and greater accountability to their respective communities (Te Awheawhe Rū Whenua, 2011a).

Te Awheawhe Rū Whenua has been able to work with other Māori organisations, such as the Ministry for Māori Development, Ngāi Tahu's mandated health agency (He Oranga Pounamu), and Te Rūnanga o Ngā Maata Waka, to identify the needs of affected Māori families, and to communicate and provide aid and support (Te Awheawhe Rū Whenua, 2011c). These organisations have been able to form a recovery network, led by Ngāi Tahu, committed to supporting worst affected communities (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 1996b).

CERA, through its own recovery programme, has attempted to work with organisations within the Māori recovery network (Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority, 2011f). According to CERA, it aims to assist government in addressing its Treaty of Waitangi obligations throughout the recovery process. Moreover, CERA's programme seeks to enable opportunities for effective and meaningful engagement with Ngāi Tahu, to address issues such as wellbeing, employment, housing, and mahinga kai (Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority, n.d.). Evidently, the government has sought to engage with Māori in regards to indigenous issues and to ensure their interests are provided for in the recovery.

Ngāi Tahu prepared a report, identifying their interests in and aspirations for the recovery. The report, 'He Huarahi Ara Ake mo Waitaha', contained cultural values that traditionally informed pre-colonial institutions through which resource management was exercised that the Ngāi Tahu felt were important for consideration. These values include kaitiakitanga (stewardship), manaakitanga (caring communities), and also rangatiratanga, underpinning the holistic approach that Ngāi Tahu would like to see adopted in the recovery. That is, the social, physical, economic, natural and cultural aspects, which provide a multi-faceted approach that Ngāi Tahu considers central to effective community transformation.

As Figure 7 indicates, TRONT is represented at most levels of the recovery governance system, providing recommendations consistent with their interests and aspirations. Such multi-tiered engagement in itself represents one of Ngāi Tahu's aspirations, for a partnership as envisioned in the Treaty of Waitangi, although the specific mechanisms employed to enable this are yet to be fully realised, which is acknowledged by TRONT (2011: p10): "The exact shape and content of this model will evolve over time and will require further discussion". The iwi nonetheless recommends that it have:

- 1) An active ongoing role in the implementation, review and monitoring of the Recovery Strategy both at a strategic and operational level – over the immediate, medium and long term;
- 2) Direct engagement with CERA management and staff on the development and implementation of activities under each work stream of the Recovery Strategy;
- 3) Direct engagement and involvement with all Recovery Plans approved by the Minister.
- 4) Ongoing engagement may entail the seconding of suitable Ngāi Tahu staff or experts into a number of units within the CERA organisational structure.

According to CERA documentation, Ngāi Tahu are being consulted with in the review and monitoring of the recovery progress (Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority, 2012a). In

addition to this, Ngāi Tahu have been in direct engagement with CERA management and staff in various development activities, which has been enhanced with the seconding of Ngāi Tahu staff to co-ordinate or guide construction projects (Matthews, 2012, Te Rūnanga O Ngāi Tahu, 1996e). Moreover, direct engagement with TRONT has been undertaken with regular meetings, particularly in relation to the development of the central city plan (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2011). The documentation acquired in this research indicates the government's efforts to consult and engage with Ngāi Tahu, which has been commended by the iwi.

While providing for indigenous participation in planning, by engaging with TRONT throughout the recovery, CERA has demonstrated relatively little effort to engage with non-Ngāi Tahu Māori, that is, mātāwaka. Respondent 8 stated that:

... iwi were provided for in the response. So Ngāi Tahu have done very well following the earthquake in terms of getting themselves enacted into legislation, and getting their status as tangata whenua confirmed again. My concern... would be around how non-Ngāi Tahu Māori were led.

CERA acknowledges that their engagement is indeed intended to directly relate to Ngāi Tahu's interests, which "may also be relevant to the wider Māori community" (Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority, n.d: online). Evidently, mātāwaka interests in the recovery are considered of lesser-significance and potentially indistinguishable from those of Ngāi Tahu.

Obligations to the Treaty of Waitangi are submitted as being the reason for CERA actively integrating TRONT into planning, and therefore precluding the necessity for mātāwaka participation beyond what is provided for to other non-indigenous individuals. Te Rūnanga o Ngā Maata Waka, which has sought to represent Māori affected by earthquake alongside other Māori organisations, has been integrated in to the recovery to undertake certain functions, including assisting families to access services and 'door knocking' to identify the effects of the earthquake (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, n.d.). These activities indicate that although they have been able to provide for mātāwaka Māori and communicate their concerns to CERA, documentation reveals that they have been excluded from any decision-making capacity. This is important to highlight because it suggests how the government has moved away from simply working with general Māori organisations, and towards engaging with iwi as partners as prescribed by the Treaty. As a result, there remains a political divide between Māori groups, mātāwaka and tangata whenua, and their capacity to express their needs and aspirations in the recovery. Respondent 8 stated that:

I think in the past [Ngāi Tahu and mātāwaka] have been trying to work on closing that gap. But the earthquake certainly highlighted the difference between the two and difference in the way they operate. Having said that, [Te Rūnanga o] Ngā Maata Waka did a fantastic job during the earthquake because they just hit the Eastern suburbs. There are still huge amounts of mātāwaka Māori in other parts of the city that were ignored as well.

Ultimately indigenous participation within the recovery has been predicated, not only on the relationship between Ngāi Tahu and the government, but also with mātāwaka. It is undeniable that Māori have been engaged in the recovery, yet the extent of this engagement has been dependent on Treaty obligations and progressive efforts to restore the political capacity of Ngāi Tahu as the original peoples of the region.

6.6 Conclusion

The Christchurch Earthquake was socially, psychologically and economically devastating, and has required a swift, yet effective, recovery to restore communities. The institutional framework initially established to instigate the recovery fell short of providing for a holistic recovery. Accordingly, the Christchurch Earthquake recovery has provided an opportunity to reassess the capacity of governmental processes to address community needs. A major consideration of this reassessment has been the role of indigenous peoples, that is, Ngāi Tahu, in plan and policy development, implementation, and review.

Central government established the CERA as its agency to lead and co-ordinate recovery efforts. Its establishment involved the restructuring of Canterbury's governance framework to reflect the emerging needs of the disaster affected-community and the integration of organisations and processes that could support holistic and efficient decision-making. While planning administration became centralised, the government saw the recovery as an opportunity to engage local government and Ngāi Tahu as partners.

Historically, Ngāi Tahu, as well as other Māori groups, has been marginalised as an indigenous minority and near-incapacitated of their ability to participate in planning. This has changed, in recent decades, with democratisation and the government actively seeking to undermine the institutions that have excluded the indigenous voice from governance processes. Settlements and legislation have enabled iwi and Māori individuals across New Zealand to have greater say in decision-making. For Ngāi Tahu and the government, engagement in the recovery has represented a progressive step towards realising indigenous claims to rangatiratanga, as interpreted under the Treaty of Waitangi.

Opportunities for indigenous participation are granted to the extent that the government believes such opportunities realise the Crown's obligation to Ngāi Tahu under the Treaty. Accordingly, non-Ngāi Tahu Māori (or mātāwaka), despite being Māori, have not been granted opportunities beyond those available to other citizens of the community to participate in the recovery. Consequently, mātāwaka have effectively been excluded from decision-making and their interests have been assumed to be potentially synonymous to those of Ngāi Tahu, thus precluding any need to consult with them. Participation, as it relates to mātāwaka, is ultimately denied as both a mechanism for empowerment and efficiency. It is nonsensical, it appears, to engage with Māori who are neither constituted as indigenous to the Canterbury Region nor considered Treaty partners. The organisation that has sought to represent mātāwaka interests, Te Rūnanga o Ngā Maata Waka, have nonetheless been involved in leading the response to the needs of disaster-affected Māori.

Criticism may exist around CERA's top-down approach to governance, which has apparently implicated poor consultation and slow decision-making, but it has enabled participation nonetheless as a mechanism for indigenous empowerment.

7

Chapter 7: Indigenous Participation in Earthquake Recovery Planning

7.1 Introduction

The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples urges governments around the world to enable indigenous participation, and in extension self-determination, in planning. It comes as political reforms give rise to governance frameworks that are more accommodating of indigenous participation, and acknowledges the need to empower the indigenous voice. The progress that has been made internationally towards recognising indigenous rights, however, is challenged when disasters occur.

Governments require political reforms to instigate recovery decision-making processes under urgency, which fundamentally contradicts participation. Nevertheless, Berke *et al.* (1993) have observed cases of participation in recovery planning. Uncertainty exists as to whether this participation reflects the gradual progress demonstrated in conventional planning practice. The 921 Earthquake and Christchurch Earthquake recoveries have been analysed to determine how much participation is enabled when decisions are required to be made under urgency. This discussion will involve a synthesis of findings from both the literature and case studies, which will reveal whether a trend of accommodating indigenous interests in decision-making exists.

This chapter will first discuss how indigenous peoples have historically participated in planning. Following this, indigenous participation in current conventional planning practices will be discussed. Finally, a discussion on the extent that indigenous peoples have participated in recovery planning will be presented.

7.2 Historical Extent of Indigenous Participation

As minimal research has been conducted on indigenous participation in recovery planning, understanding how this progress has been integrated in to conventional planning can offer some insight into how it may be implemented in recovery planning. This section discusses

how indigenous participation has been enabled in planning, historically, in Taiwan and Canterbury and to what extent.

Political institutions, that indigenous peoples around the world were accustomed to, for decision-making have been undermined, as a result of colonisation (Cosgrove and Kliger, 1997; Belgrave, 2005). Colonial governments have nonetheless endeavoured, to varying extents, to provide opportunities for indigenous peoples to voice their concerns and aspirations in government-directed planning processes (Cosgrove and Kliger, 1997). These political institutions validated colonisation, however, by manipulating indigenous representation and engagement to empower government efforts to consolidate their control of indigenous peoples and their territories. It is, therefore, apparent within the literature that indigenous participation has historically reflected the gradual disempowerment of indigenous peoples.

In Taiwan, indigenous peoples were initially engaged by settlers for trade, natural and human resource exploitation and land acquisition, to support colonisation and fuel expansion into Asia (Brown, 2004; Chen, n.d.). While some indigenous groups were excluded from the emerging settler society, their sovereignty constantly challenged colonial attempts to completely seize control of the island (Blundell, n.d.). Land and cultural alienation was undertaken by successive governments to ultimately undermine existing political institutions of power and incorporate all peoples in to the colonial regime (Brown, 2004). Indigenous peoples were no longer engaged once successive governments had assumed control of the island, its peoples and natural resources (Brown, 2004). This was maintained by the Kuomintang government, which viewed engagement and even democracy as inhibiting and potentially challenging the development of Taiwan to support recapturing the Chinese mainland (Copper, 2003; Alagappa, 2001; Buntman and Huang, 2000; Wang, 1999; Cheng and Haggard, 1992). Participation was not enabled where it was considered an obstacle to serving colonial expansion. Indigenous participation has thus been enabled in Taiwan, historically, though only to the extent that it has served the government's objectives for Taiwan's development.

In Canterbury, the indigenous people, Ngāi Tahu, envisioned a partnership with the government under the Treaty of Waitangi, while the government viewed it as a submission to colonisation (Orange, 2002). Institutions were established, such as the Māori Land Court, Māori representation in Parliament, the Department of Māori Affairs and Māori trust boards,

to provide for the indigenous voice in decision-making (Hayward, 2010; Vasil, 1990). These institutions were, however, accountable to the government, rather than Māori, and ultimately represented the government's attempt to manipulate Ngāi Tahu's political power to accelerate land alienation (Treaty Resource Centre, n.d.). Ngāi Tahu consistently claimed that these government-imposed institutions failed to realise the aspirations of the iwi for their own development, simply to promote those of the government (Highman, 1997). Māori, including Ngāi Tahu, have thus historically been enabled to participate in decision-making insofar as it has legitimised colonial policies of political marginalisation and land alienation.

An implication of colonisation, and the undermining of traditional political institutions, has been the imbrication of indigenous knowledge and the internalisation of cultural ignorance to indigenous worldviews. Many indigenous groups were traditionally accustomed to institutions that were founded on their relationship with the environment, accountable to their needs and stipulated by communities (Gadgil *et al.*, 1993; Cosgrove and Klinger, 1997; Howitt, 2001). Land alienation and policies that sought to civilise indigenous peoples actively undermined these institutions and imposed a system that perceived indigenous peoples as savage and, therefore, incapable of contributing to civilisation (Hills, 2008; Tully, 2000). In Taiwan, pre-colonial institutions were indeed community-based and centred on indigenous knowledge, yet the deep-seated perception of indigenous peoples as savage informed colonial policies that sought to educate them on how to be 'civilised', thereby contesting the legitimacy of indigenous knowledge (Rubinstein, 2006). In Canterbury, policies and legislation that promoted land privatisation, assimilation, and civilisation through religion and education, contributed to the gradual destabilisation of Ngāi Tahu's customary implementation of traditional knowledge and empowered a system that ignored Māori concerns (Belgrave, 2005; Carter, 2004). Indigenous participation was therefore enabled to the extent that indigenous knowledge was accommodated for in colonial regimes. For Taiwan and Canterbury, this was practically non-existent.

Colonisation has involved the subjugation of the indigenous voice by excluding indigenous peoples from decision-making (Lane and Corbett, 2005; Lane and Hibbard, 2005). It is a process that has promoted similar fundamentals to rational-comprehensive planning, such as the imbrication of community interests by a preference for technocratic information (Bolin, 2007). In Taiwan, this has historically been demonstrated by its monolithic, authoritarian regime that ignored community interests, confining informed decisions to Mainlander-controlled bureaucratic expertise that was unaccustomed to Taiwan and the political needs of

the people (Brown, 2004). In Canterbury, on the other hand, despite being subject to a democratic regime, Ngāi Tahu's interests or grievances were ignored throughout the government's development of Canterbury (Pauling *et al.*, 2006). Accordingly, not only have indigenous peoples had to confront cultural ignorance, but also navigate a governance framework that was informed by this ignorance. The extent to which indigenous participation was enabled has thus been determined by the extent that political systems were informed by, and perpetuated a legacy of, cultural ignorance.

While indigenous peoples maintained institutions, through which they exercised self-determination and controlled the conceptual space of power, the colonial dis-establishment of these institutions represented the conceptual confiscation of this space. The subsequent alienation of indigenous peoples through policies of civilisation and assimilation signified the constitution of a space of power that became closed to indigenous participation. Theoretically, this would suggest that participation was typically manipulative and therapeutic. As has been stated, this has indeed been evident in Taiwan and Canterbury, representing what can hardly be considered participation (Arnstein, 1969). This is despite both contexts comprising different political systems, indicating a shared colonial stigma towards indigenous peoples internationally.

It is important to acknowledge this potentially cross-contextual factor because, as has been highlighted above, it can inform the denial of indigenous participation and could strongly influence the extent of indigenous participation in recovery planning. Whether this is valid can be projected by analysing current practices in conventional planning. Moreover, by examining current practices, a theoretical framework for determining the extent of indigenous participation in other countries could emerge. The following section will thus discuss the findings of the case study analyses for the current extent of indigenous participation.

7.3 Current Extent of Indigenous Participation

If current practices of indigenous participation are typically manipulative or therapeutic then it can be assumed that governments actively seek to maintain a colonial legacy of political marginalisation and that the indigenous voice is non-existent within planning processes. Analysing current practices has been undertaken to determine whether participation reflects historical approaches and, if so, then perhaps it is a trend that is maintained in recovery

planning. The objective of this section is to discuss the findings of the case study analyses research in relation to current participatory practices.

Political reforms in the 1980s have represented the opening of the space of power, allowing for greater community involvement in decision-making. In Taiwan, democratisation has been gradual enough to allow for universal suffrage, indigenous representation in government, and consultation in plan development. In Canterbury also, where universal suffrage and indigenous representation in government have existed since the 19th century, decentralisation and further democratisation has promoted community consultation in plan development and resource consent processes. Evidently, governments in both contexts have sought reform that has contributed to empowering the indigenous voice in planning. This reflects the fundamental changes of governance taking place internationally that increasingly foster community participation (Goldfrank, 2001; Chou and Nathan, 1987; Fischer, 1993). The extent of participation enabled, however, varies, reflecting differing ideals of empowering indigenous peoples.

Self-determination has been a driving factor for indigenous peoples in their pursuit of participation in government-directed planning (Hibbard *et al.*, 2008). It represents a level of power in which indigenous peoples can control decisions that affect them (Rowse, 1998). Many governments around the world have been unable to comprehend its practicality and have attempted to respond to indigenous assertions of self-determination through extermination, assimilation, integration or constitutional recognition (Tully, 2000). This has indeed been demonstrated in Taiwan, yet many indigenous groups continue their pursuit of self-determination.

Participation, in Taiwan, was historically synonymous with government efforts to assimilate indigenous Taiwanese into the formerly mainland China-based administration (Rubinstein, 2006). The Kuomintang government perpetuates this assimilation by instigating paternalistic policies that seek to transform socio-economically deprived communities according to their own objectives and without engaging indigenous peoples in any meaningful way (Andres, n.d; Brown, 2004; Rubinstein, 2006; Enn, 2012; Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines, 1993). The Orchid Island nuclear waste project was a strong testament of this with the government misinforming the local Tao community of its development and its potential effects on their wellbeing (Enn, 2012). Acts such as this reflect a deep-seated opinion of indigenous peoples as backward and, ultimately, incompetent of informing policies that seek to change this

‘backwardness’ (Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines, 1993; Jenchieh, 2011). The extent of indigenous participation in Taiwan therefore reflects what the government idealises as sufficient empowerment, which progresses on historical practices but falls short of the self-determination advocated for by non-government organisations, churches and some government officials (Jenchieh, 2011).

Indigenous participation in Canterbury has also been progressive, although this progress can be attributed to more than just political reform and a sense of accountability. The government’s recognition of Ngāi Tahu’s historical claims, which has included financial redress to remediate their political and economic deprivation, has led to their involvement in decision-making being legislated. The extent to which they are enabled to participate is intended to sufficiently provide for Ngāi Tahu’s efforts to support their own development and prosperity. Māori principles are becoming increasingly incorporated into environmental statutes, while meaningful consultation has been generally submitted in case law as an appropriate level of participation. Ngāi Tahu’s co-management mandates of certain resources within the region have thus indicated a relatively-significant shift for an iwi in planning. Indigenous participation in Canterbury has evidently become not only more empowering for Ngāi Tahu but far exceeds the progress demonstrated in Taiwan. Despite this progress, however, Ngāi Tahu’s new role as ‘consultees’ represents what Matunga (2000) considers the ‘side-stepping’ of Ngāi Tahu’s claim to self-determination.

While the government is mandated to enable self-determination and participation pursuant to the United Nations Declaration for the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, Ngāi Tahu’s claims for these rights have been pursued under the Treaty of Waitangi. The government’s provisions for consultation are a reflection of their efforts to recognise what the government considers self-determination, though consultation can scarcely be viewed as sufficient power to realising indigenous aspirations for development (Rowse, 1998). Co-management represents the most empowering type of participation, yet local governments are reluctant to provide for such arrangements, consequently relying on central government to enable these through statutory provision (Environmental Defence Society, n.d.-a). Consultation and co-management offer Ngāi Tahu more ability than ever before to influence decision-making and does so without compromising the government’s environmental and economic interests. The government has thus interpreted indigenous rights insofar as they complement and validate their own objectives and values for development.

There is little consensus as to what self-determination exactly entails. The government's provisions can, however, be deemed consistent with some conceptions of self-determination submitted by O'Sullivan (2011) and Hayward (2010). That is, financial and institutional support has been granted to Ngāi Tahu enabling them to exercise self-determination to the extent that their institutions, particularly TRONT, can have some say on decisions that affect them. In this regard, the 'backwardness', or deprivation, of indigenous peoples in Canterbury has been acknowledged as an effect of colonisation. The government has chosen to respond to this by empowering Ngāi Tahu's institutions to stipulate their own policies for development, rather than them being stipulated by government. This is a distinct approach to that adopted by the Kuomintang as demonstrated by their paternalistic policies.

In Taiwan, participation and self-government are constitutional rights for ethnic minorities (Rubinstein, 2006; Ku, 2005). The Taiwanese government, however, have constructed these rights as special entitlements, or privileges, which Hibbard *et al.* (2008) submit inhibits its provision because of a widely-held view that rights should be universally applied and not specifically entitled to any single social group. This is despite indigenous Taiwanese being historically marginalised and requiring self-determined responses to their existing socio-economic deprivation. The more the government denies claims to this conceived 'privilege', the less decision-making power it is expected to relinquish to indigenous peoples to allow them to implement their own development policies. This view reflects governance ideals typical of a former authoritarian state where the conceptual space of power has been opened though only to those that the government deems worthy of such entitlement. While such an approach to planning represents progress, this shift appears to be confined to a transitioning democracy governance framework and falls short of the self-government and participatory processes that many indigenous groups were once accustomed to and aspire for.

Current practices of participation provided for by legislation are typically consultative. While this has been implemented to varying degrees, or not at all, this type of participation signals progress for governments as they seek to democratise and decentralise power. The space of power is thus increasingly transitioning into an 'invited space', indicating a gradual openness to community involvement. This trend is consistent with those taking place around the world as governments appropriate governance frameworks that progressively recognise the potential contribution of participation to efficient planning. Taiwan's democratisation has been rapid in comparison to that demonstrated in recent decades in Canterbury, yet the

existing governance framework and political system in Canterbury has enabled the government to be more accommodating of Ngāi Tahu and their interests in planning.

Highlighting this trend is significant to the research because it suggests that participation is becoming a cornerstone of conventional planning and that this trend is set to progress further as governments continue to undertake democratisation. Assuming this trend is sustained, and that recovery planning maintains the practices of conventional planning, participation would not only be legislated, but potentially more empowering than existing practices. The findings from the earthquake case study analyses will be discussed in the following section to determine this and, ultimately, the extent of indigenous participation in recovery planning.

7.4 Extent of Indigenous Participation in Recovery Planning

Political reforms have, in recent decades, paved way for greater community participation. It is a clear trend that is evident in both Taiwan and Canterbury, yet its integration in to recovery planning has been approached in the research with uncertainty. Very little research has been undertaken to understand how these two fields can be brought together, and literature that does exist struggles to conceptualise their amalgamation. This section will discuss the findings of the case study analyses and examine how governments have integrated indigenous peoples in to recovery planning processes.

7.4.1 Governance Reform and Centralised Power

Recovery planning requires effective co-ordination and efficient decision-making (Smith and Wenger, 2007; Mitchell, 2006). Phelps and Billand (2010) state that this often leads to the centralisation of power, which was exemplified in the 921 and Christchurch earthquake recoveries with the establishment of an overseeing authority to co-ordinate recovery efforts.

The 921 Earthquake Post-Disaster Recovery Commission was charged with co-ordinating and instructing central and local government institutions in Taiwan on how the recovery should be undertaken. Although recovery plans were developed by county and township administrations for communities within their respective jurisdictions, these were subject to central government approval prior to implementation. Subordinate planning authorities were thus required to carry out their responsibilities according to central government objectives.

The 921 recovery involved a top-down approach that left little power and resources to county and township administrations to self-determine their own policies. This framework, therefore,

represented similar governance to that operated under the former authoritarian regime where the central government maintained absolute power. Rosenthal and Kouzmin (1997) state that governments play a key role in facilitating recovery planning. What the recovery in Taiwan demonstrated, however, was that central government ensured its role was not only instrumental but uncompromising by consolidating any authoritative power from organisations that were capable of supporting the facilitation of recovery efforts. As a result, the capacity for communities and local authorities to be involved in the recovery was completely subject to the Kuomintang's aspirations for development.

A similar approach has been demonstrated in Canterbury, yet the central government agency dedicated to co-ordinating the recovery has engaged with local authorities throughout the planning process. Centralised power was necessary to create greater inter-government co-operation. Despite this need for a central institution, the governance framework employed by CERA reflects an attempt to include all local authorities that were capable of supporting the facilitation of recovery efforts. The multi-level engagement suggests that the government has endeavoured to employ a holistic recovery. That is, organisations representing an extensive range of groups and interests have been incorporated into most levels of the recovery bureaucracy. While this engagement differentiates the recovery approach adopted in Taiwan, it is similar nonetheless in that CERA (along with the relevant Minister) has the final say on plans and strategies. Consequently, like Taiwan, local authorities have been involved in recovery decision-making insofar as the government has allowed. Unlike Taiwan, however, the Canterbury recovery has demonstrated the government wanting to opt for inclusive planning.

7.4.2 Integrating Community Participation in to Recovery Planning

The centralisation of power is considered instrumental to delivering policies under urgency. It does away with conventional bureaucracy that may inhibit prompt planning processes and often introduces a governance framework that ensures efficient, rational decision-making (Rosenthal and Kouzmin, 1997). This particular framework has been historically criticised as its underpinning principles preclude community participation (Chekki, 1979). As a result, political reforms often represent a return to planning processes wherein which the public voice is marginalised. This clearly reflects, what Pearce (2003) considers, a failure by decision-makers to integrate disaster management planning and community planning. Despite

this, Berke *et al.* (1993) state that there is greater attention being given to community-led recovery planning.

The 921 Earthquake recovery exemplified an attempt by central government to enable participation. While it was typically consultative and therefore tokenistic in terms of influencing change, it reflected some effort to integrate participation into recovery planning. Evidently, the recovery has been perceived by the government as an opportunity to advance on conventional manipulative practices, which according to Peng *et al.* (2010) it appropriately took advantage of.

The Canterbury recovery, despite also involving a centralised governance framework, was undertaken with several forms of community participation. In fact, participation in the recovery has not only included more forms than what is usually employed in conventional practices, it has also advanced on practices generally enabled in recovery planning. Public participation, according to Valance's (2011) typology, has been typically informative, consultative and engaging, with individuals and community groups being permitted to have their say at various levels of decision-making. The earthquake recovery has thus provided an opportunity for the government to forge a relationship with the public, which it has endeavoured to realise through its wide range of participatory mechanisms.

The analysed recoveries have both demonstrated that governments integrate communities into recovery planning processes, contrary to what theorists, such as Pearce (2003) and Rosenthal and Kouzmin (1997), have observed. Indigenous participation, in particularly, appears to also contradict planning theory in regards to indigenous peoples as marginalised minorities, as the following section discusses.

7.4.3 Empowering Indigenous Peoples in Recovery Planning

According to Wisner (1998) and O'Faircheallaigh, (2010) indigenous groups, as marginalised peoples, remain invisible in planning and their interests are not taken into account in disaster management. Yet, as has been submitted above, indigenous peoples have indeed been taken into account in recovery planning. Whether this regard has been sufficiently empowering for indigenous peoples requires further discussion.

Cultural ignorance and subsequent political disempowerment have contributed to the marginalisation of indigenous peoples and their vulnerability to the effects of disasters

(Cosgrove and Kliger, 1997; Gaillard and Cadag, 2012; Hibbard and Lane, 2004; Howitt, 2001). Conceptualised within Cleaver's ideas around (2001) spatialised power, the extent of participation can be considered as representing an increasing shift toward an invited space, with progress being inhibited by deep-seated ignorance to indigenous peoples and their interests. Accordingly, as Olive-Smith submits (1996), recovery planning has conjured a process activism and new power relations to emerge within this shift towards greater participation. Greater engagement is required to empower indigenous peoples toward controlling the space of power and mitigating their vulnerability to the effects of disasters. Political reform must, therefore, be sufficient enough to undermine the colonial legacy of racial imbrication and enable indigenous peoples to 'speak up' (Wisner, 1998; Pearce, 2003; Molotch).

In Taiwan, some disaster-affected indigenous villages were able to develop their own plans, yet these were subject to government authorisation. Accordingly, while the indigenous peoples were enabled to 'speak up', participatory mechanisms only empowered indigenous communities in government-directed planning insofar as their recommendations informed and validated government objectives for the recovery. Nevertheless, the progressive practices demonstrated by the Kuomintang government in enabling greater indigenous participation displays some effort to undermine planning processes historically informed by racial imbrication.

In Canterbury, similar efforts to undermine ignorance towards indigenous interests have been on-going, yet the recovery seems to have been appropriated as an opportunity to promote this further. The progress displayed by the level of indigenous engagement undertaken in the recovery illustrates the government's endeavour to promote what Ngāi Tahu have praised as partnership. Engagement involves multi-level dialogue and has enabled the iwi's recovery organisation to represent their interests in a way that can be considered consistent with traditional bottom-up governance.

Ngāi Tahu's role in the recovery, as well as indigenous Taiwanese participation in the 921 recovery, confirms that marginalised minorities are indeed able to have their say and, therefore, indicates that racial imbrication is being increasingly addressed.

7.4.4 Engaging Indigenous Political Organisation

Many indigenous people have been described as alienated within bureaucracies that are characteristic of those employed in recovery planning as the governance frameworks are fundamentally incommensurate with those that many indigenous groups are traditionally accustomed to (Cosgrove and Kliger, 1997; Ka'ai and Higgins, 2004). Political reforms to enable indigenous peoples to have a say in the recovery have only gone as far as to incorporate them into the system, rather than to transform the framework in a way that can appropriately enable genuine engagement. As a result, indigenous peoples have been required to adapt their own institutions if they wish to participate in government-directed planning.

Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu has been structured in a way that reflects traditional governance, yet it has also been structured to communicate the needs of Ngāi Tahu at every level of decision-making. Disaster affected-indigenous communities in Taiwan, on the other hand, have had to either rely on non-government organisations or the Council of Indigenous Peoples to submit their aspirations to the government, or resource their own recovery efforts. The institutionalism of the recovery has been criticised as being overly-complex and involved indigenous communities being told what to do, which many did not like. Many communities thus undertook their own recovery efforts, if they could resource them, and stipulated their development within their own institutions. The Council of Indigenous Peoples, on the other hand, were able to represent indigenous interests at central government level, although their conduct has been heavily criticised.

While political reforms can provide for greater indigenous participation, governance frameworks employed to co-ordinate recovery efforts remains alienating inasmuch as it reflects a system that is incommensurate to indigenous institutions.

7.4.5 Informing Recovery Policy and Indigenous Knowledge

Planners are often required to make decisions without consulting the public as the information people provide may compromise the impartiality expected in planning practice (Herek *et al.*, 1987). It is an attitude that has been embedded in so-called rational, technocratic-informed decision-making, which Starbuck (1983) criticises as a flawed approach because planners may not have sufficient information to truly make informed-decisions. While quantifying whether decision-makers will ever have sufficient information is arguable, it is well-established that communities are able to assess the pros and cons of

recovery policies and are, therefore, pivotal to informing decisions (Twigg, 1999; Herek *et al.*, 1987; Phelps and Billand, 2010; Jigyasu, 2002; Kaklauskas *et al.*, 2009). Fiorino (1990) supports participation in recovery, arguing that, among other implications, policies are legitimated in the public's eyes and accepted by the community. In this sense, participation serves efficiency by avoiding public resistance. For many indigenous groups who have challenged entire colonial regimes, accommodating indigenous knowledge to evaluate and validate government policies seems to be a minor compromise to achieve significant impact.

As has been found above, indigenous participation has been enabled in recovery processes. The type of participation enabled, however, indicates the extent that governments are willing to accommodate indigenous knowledge. In Taiwan, the Kuomintang government was initially uncertain of the damage caused by the 921 Earthquake on indigenous communities, many of which are relatively remote. Moreover, the government did not initially understand the needs of these communities. These issues necessitated community participation in planning processes to ensure that government decisions were accountable to their needs. Many of the decisions that were subsequently made, however, were incommensurate with the aspirations and worldviews of those indigenous communities affected by the earthquake, and ultimately failed to address their needs. Indigenous knowledge was taken into account as the government ensured consultation was undertaken to inform its decisions, but their failure to implement policies consistent with indigenous aspirations indicates the lack of willingness to accommodate indigenous knowledge.

In Canterbury, on the other hand, government efforts to accommodate indigenous knowledge have been apparent with traditional principles being incorporated into urban and public space design. This is attributable to the level of participation enabled for Ngāi Tahu in the recovery and also government regard for the iwi's recovery policy statement, 'He Huarahi Ara Ake mo Waitaha'. It is too early in the recovery to conclude how far government will accommodate indigenous knowledge, although practices thus far demonstrate more progressive efforts than those evident in Taiwan. Nevertheless, both analysed cases have involved acquiring indigenous knowledge. The difference between the recovery processes in Taiwan and Canterbury, however, is the extent that indigenous knowledge has been accommodated and implemented in policy.

The integration of indigenous participation in recovery planning suggests that planners have indeed recognised how informing their decisions with indigenous knowledge contributes to

efficient planning. The varying extent of participation indicates an on-going negotiation of how much governments consider such knowledge as supporting the realisation of government objectives for development. Decision-makers involved in the Christchurch Earthquake recovery have provided for empowering forms of participation, suggesting that they participation as significantly serving efficiency, while Taiwan's government remains less convinced of its merits.

7.4.6 Recognising the Un-recognised: Mātāwaka and Plains Indigenous Taiwanese

A particular issue that has emerged in Taiwan and Canterbury is the exclusivity of the government-imposed criteria that indigenous peoples must adhere to in order to participate in recovery planning. Lane (2002) asserts that decision-makers do not understand the nature of indigenous social organisation and have gone about organising indigenous identity according to their own conceptions, which have potentially affected the extent of indigenous participation in recovery.

In Canterbury, indigenous participation has been largely entitled to those peoples particularly indigenous to the region, that is, Ngāi Tahu, while their interests have been provided for as signatories to the Treaty of Waitangi. Mātāwaka fit neither of these categories and are, as a result, integrated into the recovery inasmuch as the government feels their interests may complement those of Ngāi Tahu or the wider community. The earthquake recovery has clearly highlighted a difference between Ngāi Tahu and mātāwaka and the extent that the government engages with either of these groups. Te Rūnanga o Ngā Maata Waka have been able to represent non-Ngāi Tahu Māori interests. Their involvement in government-directed planning processes, however, remains subject to their capacity as a non-government organisation to inform decisions in a way that will benefit the community, rather than as an indigenous organisation to communicate purely mātāwaka aspirations for the recovery. For mātāwaka interests to be pursued further, they would be confined to pursue forms of participation available to the wider mainstream public, such as submissions on draft plans and community workshops.

Nevertheless, the level of consideration given to mātāwaka represents greater efforts than that indicated in Taiwan. In fact, no documentation could be found on the experiences of plains indigenous groups in the recovery or recovery planning even though earthquake damage was identified in the traditional territories of plains indigenous peoples. As conventional planning

practices would prescribe, however, it can be assumed that plains indigenous peoples would have been relegated to the participatory processes enabled for the mainstream Taiwanese public as a result of the government's refusal to recognise their distinct identities and aspirations.

Understanding the extent of indigenous participation becomes complicated when a deeper consideration of indigenous identity is made. It is an issue that has been over-simplified in planning by governments who have self-designated an authority to determine who is indigenous and, therefore, who is entitled to any indigenous rights, such as participation and, ironically, self-determination. As such, investigating the extent of indigenous participation remains confined to understanding how those specific ethnic groups that have received government recognition as indigenous are integrated into recovery planning processes. As a result, the denial of mātāwaka and plains indigenous peoples in practice is indefinitely perpetuated into planning theory, side-stepping their interests until their respective governments entitle them with those opportunities presented to recognised indigenous groups.

7.5 Summary

Minimal research has been conducted on indigenous participation in recovery planning, thus uncertainty exists on the extent of such participation and whether this reflects progress in conventional planning. This chapter has shown that all levels of government facilitate participation in a way that has been historically manipulative and therapeutic, while current practices have begun to reflect somewhat more empowering forms of participation.

The research suggests that, in conventional planning, historical and current practices of participation are ultimately enabled to serve government objectives for development. Where participation was not considered an obstacle to colonisation and the validation of government policies for indigenous communities, it was instigated. Where it was an obstacle, however, the indigenous voice was ignored.

The progress that has been demonstrated in planning towards accommodating indigenous interests reflects growing recognition for indigenous participation to serve paternalistic policies. Accordingly, governments prescribe what level of participation they consider is sufficient for empowerment without compromising the legitimacy of government policies and

authority. This level has been submitted as falling short of indigenous aspirations, though in some circumstances it has proven consistent with understandings of self-determination.

Indigenous participation in recovery planning has been illustrated in this chapter as perpetuating the progress demonstrated in conventional practices. The exact extent of participation varies between cases, yet the trend towards more empowering forms of participation is clear. The extent of indigenous participation in recovery planning has been pinpointed as being enabled insofar as governments are willing to undermine racial imbrication, instigate engagement that is consistent with indigenous political organisation and accommodate indigenous knowledge, and recognise the need to implement policies that are informed.

8

Chapter 8: Conclusion

The devastation caused by earthquakes, and any disaster, can be exacerbated by inefficient decision-making processes (Redmond, 2005; Rosenthal and Kouzmin, 1997). Political reforms are often undertaken by governments to instigate decision-making under urgency, as has been demonstrated in both Taiwan and Canterbury (Smith and Wenger, 2007; Mitchell, 2006; Phelps and Billand, 2010). Rosenthal and Kouzmin (1997) submit that, in theory, such reforms preclude participation, which Pearce (2003) observes is a failure by planners to integrate participation in to recovery planning in practice. However, as the research has demonstrated, not only has indigenous participation been enabled in the case study locations, it has progressed on conventional practices. This chapter will conclude the research by firstly re-iterating the findings of the research and how these findings were ascertained, followed by a brief account limitations confronted during the investigation into earthquake recovery planning and possible areas for future research.

8.1 Approaching the Research

The aim of the present research has been to investigate the extent of indigenous participation in earthquake recovery planning. A case study approach was utilised to guide this investigation, with a deep study into the extent of indigenous participation in the 921 Earthquake and Christchurch Earthquake recoveries. The case study approach was conducted in three stages of data collection and analysis. The first stage involved identifying and collecting relevant secondary data, while the second stage entailed conducting semi-structured interviews with individuals who have experience of earthquake recovery planning and indigenous participation in Taiwan and Canterbury. The third stage involved analysing the collected data for themes conducive to understanding the extent of indigenous participation in earthquake recovery planning.

8.2 Key Findings

The research has been guided by four objectives (see Chapter 1), which have allowed for the investigation to be carried out systematically, corresponding with the structure of the thesis. Accordingly, Chapter 3 explored participation in planning and identified historical and

current practices of indigenous participation. Within this exploration, a theoretical framework to analysing conventional practices was conceptualised so as to measure the extent of indigenous participation in planning. Historical practices were revealed to be typically ignorant and corrupt, yet 'heavy-handed' and alienating for many indigenous groups who have had to endure harsh colonial processes (Hibbard *et al.*, 2008; Cosgrove and Kliger, 1997). It is submitted that, while governance frameworks remain informed by a reluctance to accommodate the needs of indigenous peoples and prescribe token forms of involvement, decentralisation has embodied progressive efforts to enable greater community participation (Verba and Nie, 1987; Friedmann, 1992; Arnstein, 1969; Sandercock, 1998b).

Chapter 4 explored literature relating to indigenous participation in recovery planning. It was asserted that the governance framework often employed in recovery planning subscribes to fundamentals that are incommensurate with those that promote participation, contributing to the imposition of typically manipulative and therapeutic forms of participation (Cosgrove and Kliger, 1997). Recovery planning can be an opportunity to progress community empowerment in decision-making, yet Rosenthal and Kouzmin (1997) suggest that it is an opportunity frequently overlooked. As a result, it is assumed that indigenous peoples are subjected to alienating processes, representing the perpetuation of political marginalisation characteristic of colonisation (Molotch, 2006; Cosgrove and Kliger, 1997). The research has thus postulated that, although progress has been evident in conventional planning practice, recovery processes fail indigenous peoples by overlooking the need to engage with them.

The first case study analysed – the 921 Earthquake recovery – revealed that indigenous participation is enabled in recovery planning, contrary to what Pearce (2003) has submitted. Like Berke *et al.* (1993) has pointed out, political reforms are undertaken to instigate the prompt co-ordination of recovery efforts, yet participation is not only enabled, it progresses on historical and current practices demonstrated in conventional planning. Clearly, there is some effort to inform processes in a way that is commensurate with fundamentals that underpin participation. The extent of this participation reflects progressive trends for planning in Taiwan, which is consistent with Sandercock's (1998b) observations. Participation in recovery planning falls short of indigenous aspirations for self-determination by being tokenistic, yet it represents an improvement on conventional practices, which have historically, and sometimes currently, been manipulative and therapeutic.

The second case study analysed – the Christchurch Earthquake recovery – illustrated that indigenous participation is also enabled in recovery planning, contradicting what Pearce (2003) has observed again. The political reforms that have been undertaken reflect actions suggested Smith and Wenger (2007), and Pheps and Billand (2010), yet the government has enabled more empowering participation than ever before in colonial history. Community participation has been typically tokenistic, while indigenous participation, in particular, has represented a conceptual partnership. This maintains a trend of integrating greater participation in planning, as Sandercock (1998b) has observed, from historical practices of manipulation to tokenistic practices seen prior to the earthquake.

Chapter 7 provided a discussion based on the findings from the previous chapters. This chapter sought to measure the extent of participation according to the theoretical framework developed in both Chapters 3 and 4. It has been found that the extent of participation in the cases analysed is greater than what historical and current conventions have demonstrated. The research has shown that it can range between tokenistic and partnership forms of participation. The specific extent depends on the willingness of governments to undermine racial imbrication, instigate engagement that is consistent with indigenous political organisation and accommodate indigenous knowledge, and recognise the need to implement policies that are informed. The more willing a government is to address these issues, the more empowering participation will be.

The research findings imply that there are many considerations that are made by governments when considering whether to enable participation. Political reform to promote prompt decision-making processes, which has been submitted in the literature as precluding participation, is just one of those considerations.

8.3 Implications of the Research

The approach employed in the investigation has identified the extent of indigenous participation in earthquake recovery planning. The methods employed to collect and analyse the earthquake recovery cases, utilising the developed theoretical framework, demonstrates that by understanding past and existing forms of participation in planning that indigenous participation in recovery planning can be conceptualised and projected. That is, if historical forms of participation have been manipulative, while current forms are typically tokenistic, then it can be presumed that participation in recovery will involve empowered engagement

and, perhaps, partnership. The implication of acknowledging this is that researchers and indigenous groups can anticipate how they may be involved in recovery decision-making before a disaster occurs.

Another implication of the research approach is that different levels of government can assess how existing processes accommodate indigenous peoples and how these may be promoted in recovery processes. This is based on the assumption that governments will seek to maintain evident progress towards empowering communities in planning. The research has submitted clear reasons for participation as a process for ensuring efficiency and its denial as contributing to ineffective planning, thus instigating a governance framework incommensurate with participation seems questionable and thus subject to assessment. This implication suggests that the enhancement of indigenous participation in planning should remain gradual until a disaster occurs, however.

Considering again that indigenous participation can contribute to efficient planning, by avoiding public resistance and costly rectification of inappropriate policies, a potential implication would be the promotion of indigenous participation before crisis necessitates governments to do so. That is, the research informs decision-makers of the need to employ more empowering forms of participation as it serves to be conducive to efficiency in conventional planning, not just recovery planning.

As a broader implication, the present research may contribute to existing knowledge of how recovery may occur and how issues that emerge, particularly the extent of indigenous participation, have been generally addressed internationally. Earthquakes are an opportunity to engage with indigenous peoples, the research suggests to decision-makers how these opportunities have been and may be taken advantage of.

8.4 Limitations and Further Research

Several limitations have been encountered during the research. Table 4 acknowledges the limitations, not only to highlight the challenges of undertaking the research, but to also demonstrate how the methodology needs to be constantly appropriated to overcome such challenges in the future. These limitations include methodological constraints and applicability. Many of these limitations are common and, to a degree, beyond the control of the researcher. Potential responses have nonetheless been suggested to illustrate how these limitations can be addressed to guide future research.

Table 4: Limitations of the Research

Limited documentation of indigenous participation in recovery planning	
It is difficult to identify all the necessary considerations for research where minimal literature relating to indigenous participation in planning exists, and less so within recovery planning. As a result, there are potentially numerous issues not encompassed within the current research that could have been addressed. Moreover, the findings of the research are generalised, despite indigenous peoples living diverse realities.	Examining an extensive range of literature, to identify what knowledge exists, prior to undertaking the research, should be conducted to determine whether there is sufficient research to guide an investigation that encompasses all the necessary issues of indigenous participation in recovery.
Limited Knowledge of Taiwan	
In addition to there being minimal knowledge on indigenous participation in recovery, much of the literature and plans are only provided in Mandarin Chinese, which I am neither confident in speaking nor reading. Consequently, the current research is relatively limited in its scope of potential considerations in regards to Taiwan.	While some interviews were undertaken, the implication of being incapable of reviewing documentation in Mandarin Chinese could have been mitigated by conducting several more interviews to comprehensively identify all the necessary issues for consideration. Otherwise, a context that involves accessing documentation in a language that the researcher understands should be considered when determining cases for analysis.
Limited applicability to current practices	
The 921 Earthquake took place over 13 years ago. Taiwan has undergone several reforms that have transformed the political context since then within which indigenous participation exists and recovery operates. As such, many of the findings of this research may no longer be relevant or applicable.	An assessment of a case study that is more recent would be appropriate for greater applicability. This may necessitate a different context or different case study (that is, a disaster other than earthquakes). For example, an examination of the Sepat Typhoon recovery in Taiwan in the late 2000s. In this particular regard, not only could the research be more applicable, it would enable accessing a larger body of literature. Moreover, potential key informants would be more familiar with relevant issues and thus be able to provide greater insight.

Limited timeframe	
The research is confined to a prescribed timeframe. This limits the ability of the researcher to gather primary and secondary data. As a result, there is a possibility that the findings of the research neither correlate with the views of potential key informants that were not interviewed nor relevant literature that was not reviewed. In addition to this, the word count restricts the researcher from exploring and elaborating on a number of ideas that may provide a comprehensive investigation.	Changing the stages of the research (refer to Section 2.5.2), so that primary research is undertaken prior to gathering secondary data, could have provided sufficient time to conduct more interviews. This could have also guided a more informed exploration of secondary data to provide findings that better correspond to the experiences of key informants.
Uncertainty of how participation will continue in Canterbury	
The Christchurch Earthquake recovery has only recently begun and thus it is difficult to determine the extent of indigenous participation as it continues to be shaped.	An investigation into indigenous participation in recovery should be undertaken after at least 5 years of its commencement.
Case study analysis generalises indigenous experiences	
The case study approach adopted for the research prescribes an analysis of selected cases, of which the findings are generalised across the field. While this approach is pragmatic to seeking understanding, it implies that the experiences of indigenous people are not diverse, which is not accurate. In addition to this, the experiences of indigenous Taiwanese groups have been generalised in the research, despite each group having distinct histories and lived realities.	Research should be undertaken on specific cases and the findings of which should not be generalised to the extent that diversity and difference is ignored. Although generalising indigenous Taiwanese peoples is a result of limited documentation on specific indigenous groups, further research should be undertaken to distinguish and highlight the diverse experiences of specific groups in recovery planning.

The integration of the indigenous voice into planning processes has been one of the biggest issues facing governments in recent decades (Hibbard and Lane, 2004). The complexity of this issue, when confronting earthquakes or any disaster, is exacerbated by the sense of urgency required in decision-making processes. Despite the severity of this issue, minimal research has been conducted into either indigenous participation or recovery planning (Peek and Mileti, 2002; Quarantelli, 1986; Hibbard *et al.*, 2008). Further analysis of recovery cases should be undertaken to comprehensively understand the complexity of this issue.

8.5 Kia tahuri i te riu kia tika

I recently had the opportunity to attend a conference in Christchurch that focussed on the experiences and aspirations of Māori in the earthquake recovery. During the conference, Associate Professor Te Maire Tau recited the following line of an old chant: ‘Ka tahuri te riu o te Waka o Maui’. According to Smith (1910) this chant was performed by a tribe prior to its invasion of a Ngāi Tahu settlement, Kaiapohia, near Christchurch in 1830. The chant was intended to prophesise Ngāi Tahu’s defeat. The particular line recited by Te Maire Tau can be interpreted as: ‘The Canoe of Maui shall be overturned’. The Canoe of Maui, or te Waka o Maui, is a metaphorical name for the South Island (Journal of the Polynesian Society, 1909). Seeking to overturn the Canoe of Maui thus symbolically implies an endeavour to undermine Ngāi Tahu society. Indeed, the invasion preceded British colonisation, which systematically instigated the destabilisation of the world as Ngāi Tahu were once accustomed to and were guaranteed would remain under the Treaty of Waitangi.

In stark contrast to its original use, however, Te Maire Tau utilised the offensive chant at the conference to empower Ngāi Tahu following the devastation caused by the Christchurch Earthquake. In this regard, the chant implies that the recovery represents an opportunity to turn the *waka* back to its aspired position, that is, to restore society according to community aspirations, but this time through partnership. A more appropriate adaption of the chant, as such, would be ‘*Kia tahuri i te riu kia tika*’ (to turn the canoe to be upright).

Earthquakes are indeed devastating. As Te Maire Tau has appropriately observed, however, they offer an opportunity for governments to work with indigenous peoples more than ever before. While participation may largely embody tokenistic practices, governments are taking advantage of this opportunity to demonstrate a progressive effort to integrate indigenous participation into planning as it serves both efficiency and community empowerment.

Glossary

hapū	- sub-tribe
iwi	- tribe
kaitiakitanga	- stewardship
koha	- gift
manaakitanga	- caring communities (according to Ngāi Tahu's 'He Huarahi Ara Ake mo Waitaha' report)
Māori	- indigenous people of New Zealand
marae	- traditional Māori gathering place
mātāwaka	- Māori not specifically indigenous to a particular region (used in the research to refer to non-Ngāi Tahu Māori in Canterbury)
Pākehā	- New Zealanders of European descent
rangatiratanga	- self-determination
tangata whenua	- indigenous people (used in the research to refer to Ngāi Tahu as the indigenous people of Canterbury)
tauutuutu	- reciprocity
tongi	- prophecy
whakapapa	- genealogy
whānau	- family
whare	- house

Appendices

Appendix A: Information Sheet

Indigenous Participation in Earthquake Recovery Planning

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS

Thank you for showing an interest in this project. Please read this information sheet carefully before deciding whether or not to participate. If you decide to participate we thank you. If you decide not to take part there will be no disadvantage to you and we thank you for considering our request.

What is the Aim of the Project?

This research is being undertaken as part of the requirements for a Master of Planning degree at the University of Otago, New Zealand. The aim of this research is to understand how Indigenous people participate in planning after earthquakes. It is hoped that this research will contribute to existing understandings of Indigenous rights in planning and the way that governments go about realising these rights.

What Type of Participants are being sought?

The types of participants being sought are those who have experience, or who are involved, in post-earthquake reconstruction planning, including:

- Members of Government institutions
- Indigenous peoples and members of Indigenous institutions; and,
- Members of NGOs.

Participants will initially be identified and contacted via email or telephone. Subsequent participants will be identified and contacted through initial participants. Up to 15 participants will be sought, all of which must be at least 18 years old.

What will Participants be Asked to Do?

Should you agree to take part in this project, you will be asked to answer some questions about your experience and knowledge of how Indigenous peoples participate in planning after earthquakes. If it is required, a translator shall assist during the interviews. These questions will be open-ended questions and should take no longer than 40 minutes.

The researcher will try to ensure that you are not uncomfortable, but if at any time that you do feel uncomfortable during the interview that you wish to not take part in the project, you may do so without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

What Data or Information will be Collected and What Use will be Made of it?

The data that will be collected will focus on how Indigenous peoples participate in post-earthquake reconstruction planning. The data will take the form of notes taken during the interview and an audio recording if permitted.

This research involves an open-questioning technique where the precise nature of the questions that will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the interview develops. Consequently, although the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee is aware of the general areas to be explored in the interview, the Committee has not been able to review the precise questions to be used. In the event that the line of questioning does develop in such a way that you feel hesitant or uncomfortable you

are reminded of your right to decline to answer any particular question(s) and also that you may withdraw from the project at any stage without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

The information gathered will be used in the writing of the final Master's Thesis and only the researcher and the researcher's supervisor will have access to it prior to the printing of the thesis.

The results of the project may be published and will be available in the University of Otago Library, Dunedin, New Zealand. Every attempt will be made to preserve your anonymity. You are most welcome to request a copy of the results of the project should you wish.

The data collected will be securely stored in such a way that only the researcher, the researcher's supervisor and the translator will have access to it. At the end of the project any personal information will be destroyed immediately except, as required by the University's research policy, any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for five years, after which it will be destroyed.

Reasonable precautions will be taken to protect and destroy data gathered by email. The security of electronically transmitted information cannot be guaranteed. Caution is advised in the electronic transmission of sensitive material.

Can Participants Change their Mind and Withdraw from the Project?

You may withdraw your participation in the project at any time and without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

What if Participants have any Questions?

If you have any questions about our project, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either:-

Hauauru Rae
Department of Geography
University Telephone Number: +64 3 479 4220
479 8762
Email Address: raeha358@student.otago.ac.nz
mtf@geography.otago.ac.nz

Michelle Thompson-Fawcett
Department of Geography
University Telephone Number: +64 3
Email Address:

This study has been approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee. If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Committee through the Human Ethics Committee Administrator (ph +64 3 479 8256). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated and you will be informed of the outcome.

Appendix B: Consent Form

Indigenous Participation in Earthquake Recovery Planning

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS

I have read the Information Sheet concerning this project and understand what it is about. All my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I am free to request further information at any stage.

I know that:-

1. My participation in the project is entirely voluntary;
2. I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without any disadvantage;
3. Personal identifying information audio-recorded will be destroyed at the conclusion of the project but any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for at least five years;
4. This research involves an open-questioning technique where the precise nature of the questions that will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the interview develops. Consequently, although the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee is aware of the general areas to be explored in the interview, the Committee has not been able to review the precise questions to be used. In the event that the line of questioning does develop in such a way that I feel hesitant or uncomfortable I am reminded of my right to decline to answer any particular question(s) and also that I may withdraw from the project at any stage without any disadvantage to myself of any kind.
5. The researcher will endeavour to ensure that I am not uncomfortable, but if at any time that I do feel uncomfortable during the interview that I wish to not take part in the project, I know that I may do so without any disadvantage to myself of any kind.
6. The results of the project may be published and will be available in the University of Otago Library (Dunedin, New Zealand) but every attempt will be made to preserve my anonymity should I choose to remain anonymous.
7. I grant/ do not grant permission to allow the researchers to record my interview
8. I grant/ do not grant permission to allow the researchers to use my identity

I agree to take part in this project.

.....
(Signature of participant)

.....
(Date)

This study has been approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee. If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Committee through the Human Ethics Committee Administrator (ph 03 479 8256). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated and you will be informed of the outcome.

Appendix C: Interview Question Guide

Indigenous Participation in Earthquake Recovery Planning

Note: These questions simply indicate the questions that were likely to be asked and not the precise questions that were asked.

Questions that may be posed to members of State institutions:

- 1) How has the institution that you affiliate to been involved in post-earthquake reconstruction planning?
- 2) How do Indigenous peoples participate in planning?
- 3) How do Indigenous peoples participate in planning following earthquakes?
- 4) How effective has Indigenous participation been in delivering on State aspirations in planning?
- 5) From your experience, what are the potential and actual problems that arise from enabling Indigenous participation?
- 6) In your opinion, what are the benefits of enabling Indigenous participation?

Questions that may be posed to members of Indigenous groups or institutions:

- 1) What has been your involvement in post-earthquake reconstruction planning?
- 2) How have Indigenous peoples participated in planning?
- 3) How have Indigenous peoples participated in post-earthquake reconstruction planning?
- 4) In your opinion, what are the benefits and problems of participating in post-earthquake reconstruction planning?
- 5) How effective has Indigenous participation been in delivering on Indigenous aspirations in planning?
- 6) How would you like Indigenous peoples to participate in post-earthquake reconstruction planning (if at all)?

Questions that may be asked of NGO staff:

- 1) How has the institution that you affiliate to been involved in post-earthquake reconstruction planning?
- 2) How do Indigenous peoples participate in planning?
- 3) How do Indigenous peoples participate in planning following earthquakes?
- 4) How effective has Indigenous participation been in delivering on aspirations in planning?
- 5) From your experience, what are the potential and actual problems that arise from enabling Indigenous participation?
- 6) In your opinion, what are the benefits of enabling Indigenous participation?

Appendix D: Key Informant Profiles

Key Informants	Organisation/Institution	Role
Key Informant 1	NGO for indigenous development in Taiwan	Board member
The informant is originally from the United States, who has resided in Taiwan since the mid-1980s and has considerable experience in Taiwanese governance, business development and indigenous culture, which are relevant fields for the research.		
Key Informant 2	NGO for indigenous development in Taiwan	Director
Like Key Informant 1, Key Informant 2 is originally from the United States, has resided in Taiwan since the mid-1980s and has been a strong advocate for environmental justice and community-based development, particularly in permaculture. Much of the informant's work has contributed to their involvement in indigenous communities.		
Key Informant 3	Local Government in Taiwan	Deputy Mayor and Secretary
The informant has been involved in recovery and development at a township level since the 1990s. The informant had first-hand experience in the recovery as a member of the government and recalled an extensive memory of the 921 Earthquake, as well his office's efforts to restore the town and surrounding area.		
Key Informant 4	NGO for indigenous culture revitalisation in Taiwan	Manager
The informant was until recently the Minister of Taiwan's Council of Indigenous Peoples. The informant has been a strong advocate for indigenous autonomy and cultural revitalisation. The informant understands central government processes and considerable knowledge of indigenous struggles in Taiwan.		

Key Informant 5	Local high school	Counsellor
The informant is a member of an indigenous community that was heavily affected by the 921 Earthquake and shared many experiences of local and government efforts to recover from the devastation. The informant has extensive experience in working with indigenous peoples.		

Key Informant 6	Academia Sinica	PhD Fellow
The informant has been a PhD student in Anthropology at the University of Vienna, but is currently based in Taipei. With a focus on environmental justice and indigenous rights, the informant has documented the experiences of the indigenous Tao of Orchid Island and has made invaluable contributions to literature on indigenous participation in Taiwan's decision-making processes, which are central considerations for this research.		

Key Informant 7	National Dong Hwa University	Associate-Professor
The informant has significantly contributed to literature on indigenous rights, experiences and identity in Taiwan. The informant is concerned about environmental issues, interested in political ecology, and Taiwan nationalism. The informant has been an advocate for indigenous rights since the late-1980s. Their knowledge has been invaluable to understanding the context and issues relevant to the research.		

Key Informant 8	Lincoln University	Co-ordinator and Researcher
The informant is of Māori descent and currently resides in Christchurch. The informant has worked with iwi, including Ngāi Tahu, and several tertiary institutions and has consistently focussed on being involved in Māori communities. Their experiences have provided insight into indigenous issues in Canterbury, which are of particular concern to recovery planning.		

References

- Adelman, C., Jenkins, D. & Kemmis, S. (1976). Re-thinking case study: notes from the second Cambridge Conference. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 6, 139-150.
- Alagappa, M. (2001). *Taiwan's Presidential Politics: Democratization and Cross-Strait Relations in the Twenty-First Century*, M.E. Sharpe.
- Alcorn, J. B. (1993). Indigenous peoples and conservation. *Conservation Biology*, 7, 424-426.
- Alcorn, J. B. (1993). Indigenous peoples and conservation. *Conservation Biology*, 7, 424-426.
- Allen, S. (2005). Establishing Autonomous Regimes in the Republic of China: The Salience of International Law for Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples. *Indigenous LJ*, 4, 159.
- Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines (1993). Report of the Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines to the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Population. Taipei: Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines.
- Andrés, S. N. V. (n.d.). Taiwan Public Policies for Indigenous People. Argentine Center of International Studies.
- Andrews, K. T. (1997). The impacts of social movements on the political process: The civil rights movement and black electoral politics in Mississippi. *American Sociological Review*, 800-819.
- Arnstein, S. R. (1969). A ladder of citizen participation. *Journal of the American Institute of planners*, 35, 216-224.
- Banducci, S. A., Donovan, T. & Karp, J. A. (2004). Minority representation, empowerment, and participation. *Journal of Politics*, 66, 534-556.
- Bannister, S., Fry, B., Reyners, M., Ristau, J. & Zhang, H. (2011). Fine-scale relocation of aftershocks of the 22 February Mw 6.2 Christchurch earthquake using double-difference tomography. *Seismological Research Letters*, 82, 839-845.
- Becker, J. S., Johnston, D. M., Geological, I. O. & Limited, N. S. (2000). *Planning and policy for earthquake hazards in New Zealand*, Institute of Geological & Nuclear Sciences.
- Belgrave, M. (2005). *Historical frictions: Māori claims and reinvented histories*, Auckland Univ Pr.
- Berke, P. R., Ericksen, N., Crawford, J. & Dixon, J. (2002). Planning and Indigenous People Human Rights and Environmental Protection in New Zealand. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 22, 115-134.
- Berke, P. R., Kartez, J. & Wenger, D. (1993). Recovery after disaster: achieving sustainable development, mitigation and equity. *Disasters*, 17, 93-109.
- Beteille, A. (1998). The idea of indigenous people. *Current Anthropology*, 39, 187-192.
- Birkmann, J. (2006). Measuring vulnerability to promote disaster-resilient societies: Conceptual frameworks and definitions. *Measuring Vulnerability to Natural Hazards. Towards Disaster Resilient Societies*. United Nations University Press, Tokyo/New York/Paris, 9-54.
- Bishop, R. (1999). Kaupapa Maori Research: An indigenous approach to creating knowledge. *Māori and Psychology: Research and Practice*, Department of Psychology, University of Waikato, Hamilton, 1-6.
- Bland, S. H., O'leary, E. S., Farinero, E., Jossa, F. & Trevisan, M. (1996). Long-term psychological effects of natural disasters. *Psychosomatic Medicine*, 58, 18-24.
- Blundell, D. n.d. *Chapter 2 - Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples* [Online]. Available: <http://nccur.lib.nccu.edu.tw/bitstream/140.119/38946/9/92402209.pdf> [Accessed 28 December 2012].

- Bolin, B. (2007). Race, class, ethnicity, and disaster vulnerability. *Handbook of disaster research*, 113-129.
- Bond, S. 2007. *Participation, Urbanism and Power*. Doctor of Philosophy, University of Otago.
- Bracht, N. & Tsouros, A. (1990). Principles and strategies of effective community participation. *Health promotion international*, 5, 199-208.
- Briggs, J. (2005). The use of indigenous knowledge in development: problems and challenges. *Progress in Development Studies*, 5, 99-114.
- Brown, M. J. (2004). *Is Taiwan Chinese?: the impact of culture, power, and migration on changing identities*, University of California Press.
- Buntman, F. & Huang, T. Y. (2000). The role of political imprisonment in developing and enhancing political leadership: A comparative study of South Africa's and Taiwan's democratization. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 35, 43-66.
- Campbell, H. & Marshall, R. (1999). Ethical frameworks and planning theory. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 23, 464-478.
- Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority (2011a). Briefing for the incoming Minister.
- Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority (2011b). Community engagement strategy.
- Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority. 2011c. *Community forum members announced* [Online]. Available: <http://cera.govt.nz/news/community-forum-members-announced-25-june-2011> [Accessed 12 August 2012].
- Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority. 2011d. *Draft Recovery Strategy Development* [Online]. Available: <http://cera.govt.nz/recovery-strategy/overview/draft-recovery-strategy-development> [Accessed 14 September 2012].
- Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority (2011e). draft Recovery Strategy for greater Christchurch.
- Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority. 2011f. *Engaging on Recovery* [Online]. Available: <http://cera.govt.nz/recovery-strategy/overview/engaging-on-recovery> [Accessed 12 August 2012].
- Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority. 2011g. *Leadership and Integration* [Online]. Available: <http://cera.govt.nz/recovery-strategy/leadership-and-integration> [Accessed 11 November 2012].
- Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority. 2012a. *Monitoring, Reporting and Review of the Recovery* [Online]. Available: <http://cera.govt.nz/recovery-strategy/overview/monitoring-reporting-and-review> [Accessed 29 November 2012].
- Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority. 2012b. *Questions and Answers* [Online]. Available: <http://cera.govt.nz/recovery-strategy/overview/questions-and-answers> [Accessed 15 September 2012].
- Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority. n.d. *Iwi Maori Recovery Programme* [Online]. Available: <http://cera.govt.nz/recovery-strategy/leadership-and-integration/iwi-maori-recovery-programme> [Accessed 15 December 2012].
- Carter, L. 2004. *Whakapapa and the State. Some case studies in the impact of central government on traditionally organised Māori groups*. PhD, University of Auckland.
- Chan, Y., Alagappan, K., Gandhi, A., Donovan, C., Tewari, M. & Zaets, S. B. (2006). Disaster management following the Chi-Chi earthquake in Taiwan. *Prehospital and Disaster Medicine*, 21, 196.
- Chekki, D. A. (1979). *Participatory Democracy in Action: International Profiles of Community Development*, Vikas Publishing House; New York: exclusive distributor for USA and Canada, Advent Books.
- Chen, L.-C. (2009). Conceptualizing Long-Term Earthquake Recovery. *The 9th IIASA-DPRI Conference on Integrated Disaster Risk Management: Scientific Challenges in*

- Implementing Integrated Disaster Risk Management in a Changing World*. Kyoto, Japan.
- Chen, Y. (2002). The Impacts of the September 21st Earthquake on Indigenous Peoples' Land Rights and the Reconstruction of Place Identity in Taiwan. *Journal of Geographical Science*, 31, 1-15.
- Cheng, C.-Y. (1983). Economic Development in Taiwan and Mainland China: A Comparison of Strategies and Performance. *Asian Affairs*, 10, 60-86.
- Cheng, T. & Haggard, S. (1992). Regime transformation in Taiwan: Theoretical and comparative perspectives. *Political change in Taiwan*, 1-29.
- Chou, Y. & Nathan, A. J. (1987). Democratizing transition in Taiwan. *Asian Survey*, 27, 277-299.
- Cleaver, F. (2001). Institutions, agency and the limitations of participatory approaches to development. *Participation: the new tyranny?*, 36-55.
- Comfort, L. K. (2000). Response operations following the Chi-Chi (Taiwan) earthquake: Mobilizing a rapidly evolving, interorganizational system. *Journal of the Chinese Institute of Engineers*, 23, 479-492.
- Controller and Auditor-General. 2012. *Part 3: Land and population issues in specific regions* [Online]. Available: <http://www.oag.govt.nz/2011/housing-on-maori-land/part3.htm> [Accessed 5 November 2012].
- Copper, J. F. (2003). *Taiwan: Nation-state Or Province? Fourth Edition*, Westview Press.
- Cornwall, A. (2001). Bridging the gap: citizenship, participation and accountability. *PLA notes*, 40, 32-35.
- Cosgrove, L. & Klinger, B. (1997). Planning with a Difference: A Reflection on Planning and Decision Making with Indigenous People in Broome, Western Australia.
- Council of Indigenous Peoples. 2010. *About CIP* [Online]. Available: http://www.apc.gov.tw/portal/index.html?lang=en_US [Accessed 6 June 2012].
- Cram, F. (1993). Ethics in Maori research: Working paper. In Nikora, L.W. (Ed.) *Cultural Justice and Ethics*. Proceedings of a symposium held at the Annual Conference of the New Zealand Psychological Society, University of Victoria, Wellington, 23-24 August 1993. (pp. 28-30).
- Denzin, N. K. (2008). *Handbook of critical and indigenous methodologies*, Sage Publications, Inc.
- Cubrinovski, M., Bray, J. D., Taylor, M., Giorgini, S., Bradley, B., Wotherspoon, L. & Zupan, J. (2011). Soil liquefaction effects in the central business district during the February 2011 Christchurch earthquake. *Seismological Research Letters*, 82, 893-904.
- Dahl, R. A. (1994). A democratic dilemma: system effectiveness versus citizen participation. *Political Science Quarterly*, 109, 23-34.
- Damer, S. & Hague, C. (1971). Public participation in planning: a review. *Town Planning Review*, 42, 217.
- Dasman, R. F. (1984). The relationship between protected areas and indigenous people. *National parks, conservation and development: The role of protected areas in sustaining society*, 118-123.
- Davidson, C. H., Johnson, C., Lizarralde, G., Dikmen, N. & Sliwinski, A. (2007). Truths and myths about community participation in post-disaster housing projects. *Habitat International*, 31, 100-115.
- Dove, M. R. (2006). Indigenous people and environmental politics. *Annu. Rev. Anthropol.*, 35, 191-208.
- Duncan Cotterill Lawyers. 2011. *Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act 2011* [Online]. Available: <http://www.duncancotterill.com/index.cfm/3,197,656/canterbury-earthquake-recovery-act-2011.pdf> [Accessed 11 November 2012].

- Elliott, J. R. & Pais, J. (2006). Race, class, and Hurricane Katrina: Social differences in human responses to disaster. *Social Science Research*, 35, 295-321.
- Enn, R. (2012). *The Dao – Power and Powerlessness of Indigenous People in Times of Transition*, Vienna, Peter Lang Publishing House.
- Environment Canterbury and Te Runanga O Ngai Tahu (2011). Te Tutohu Whakatopu i te Waihora - Relationship Agreement for Te Waihora (Lake Ellesmere) Between the Cantebrury Regional Council ("Environment Canterbury) and Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu.
- Environment Defence Society. n.d. *Historical Overview* [Online]. Available: <http://www.rmaguide.org.nz/rma/introduction/historical.cfm> [Accessed 12 November 2012].
- Environmental Planning Collaborative (2004). *Participatory Planning Guide for Post-Disaster Reconstruction*. Washington: TCG International.
- Ericsson, N. S. (2004). Creating "Indian Country" in Taiwan? *Harvard Asia Quarterly*, 8, 33-44.
- Falk, R. A., Berman, H. R., Leary, V., Hannum, H., Coulter, R. T., Davies, M. & Lyons, O. Are Indigenous Populations Entitled to International Juridical Personality? , 1985. JSTOR, 189-208.
- Faults, A. (1999). The Chi-Chi, Taiwan earthquake: large surface displacements on an inland thrust fault. *Eos*, 80.
- Fiorino, D. J. (1990). Citizen participation and environmental risk: A survey of institutional mechanisms. *Science, technology & human values*, 15, 226-243.
- Fischer, F. (1993). Citizen participation and the democratization of policy expertise: From theoretical inquiry to practical cases. *Policy Sciences*, 26, 165-187.
- Flores, P. J. & Goltz, J. D. (1999). Preliminary Report from MCEER-NCREE Workshop on the 921 Taiwan Earthquake. New York: MCEER
- Fookes, T. (1996). Public Participation and Consultation within the RMA. *Local Authorities Upskilling Project Workshop Manual*. Department of Planning, University of Auckland.
- Fothergill, A., Maestas, E. G. M. & Darlington, J. a. D. R. (1999). Race, ethnicity and disasters in the United States: A review of the literature. *Disasters*, 23, 156-173.
- Foucault, M. (1982). The subject and power. *Critical inquiry*, 8, 777-795.
- Frattaroli, S. (2012). Qualitative Methods. *Injury Research*, 221-233.
- Friedman, P. K. (2010). Entering the Mountains to Rule the Aborigines: Taiwanese Aborigine Education and the Colonial Encounter. *Becoming Taiwan: From Colonialism to Democracy*, 6, 19.
- Friedmann, J. (1992). *Empowerment: the politics of alternative development*, Blackwell.
- Gadgil, M., Berkes, F. & Folke, C. (1993). Indigenous knowledge for biodiversity conservation. *Ambio*, 22, 151-156.
- Gaillard, J. & Cadag, J. R. D. (2012). From marginality to further marginalization: Experiences from the victims of the July 2000 Payatas trashslide in the Philippines. *Jàmbá: Journal of Disaster Risk Studies*, 2, 197-215.
- Ganapati, N. E. & Ganapati, S. (2008). Enabling participatory planning after disasters: A case study of the World Bank's housing reconstruction in Turkey. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 75, 41-59.
- Gaventa, J. & Valderrama, C. (1999). Participation, citizenship and local governance. *Ponencia presentada en el Taller: Strengthening participation in local governance. Institute of Development Studies, June*, 21-24.
- Gaventa, J. (2002). Exploring citizenship, participation and accountability. *IDS bulletin*, 33, 1-14.

- GeoNet. 2012. *Earthquake Facts and Statistics* [Online]. Available: <http://info.geonet.org.nz/display/quake/Earthquake+Facts+and+Statistics> [Accessed 5 November 2012].
- Gerring, J. (2004). What is a case study and what is it good for? *American Political Science Review*, 98, 341-354.
- Giovinazzi, S. & Wilson, T. (2012). "Recovery of Lifelines" following the 22nd February 2011 Christchurch Earthquake: successes and issues.
- Goldfrank, B. Deepening Democracy through citizen participation? A Comparative analysis of three cities. American Political Science Association, Annual Meeting, 2001.
- Hayward, J. (2010). Indigenous Political Representation and Comparative Research. In: Hokowhitu, B., Kemoal, N., Anderson, C., Petersen, A., Reilly, M., Altamirano-Jimenez, I. & Rewi, P. (eds.) *Indigenous Identity and Resistance: Researching the Diversity of Knowledge*. Dunedin: Otago University Press.
- Heaton, J. (1998). Secondary analysis of qualitative data. *Social Research Update*, 22, 88-93.
- Hefler, J. (2006). Political Space, Guaranteed: Utilizing New Zealand's Reserved Seats' System to Help Aboriginal Canadians Realize Their Guaranteed Democratic Rights. *Dalhousie J. Legal Stud.*, 15, 100.
- Herek, G. M., Janis, I. L. & Huth, P. (1987). Decision Making during International Crises. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 31, 203-226.
- Hibbard, M. & Lane, M. B. (2004). By the seat of your pants: indigenous action and state response. *Planning Theory & Practice*, 5, 97-104.
- Hibbard, M. (2006). Tribal sovereignty, the white problem, and reservation planning. *Journal of Planning History*, 5, 87-105.
- Hibbard, M., Lane, M. B. & Rasmussen, K. (2008). The Split Personality of Planning Indigenous Peoples and Planning for Land and Resource Management. *Journal of Planning Literature*, 23, 136-151.
- Highman, A. E. J. (1997). Te iwi o Ngai Tahu: an examination of Ngai Tahu's approach to, and internal expression of, tino rangatiratanga.
- Hills, S. (2008). 'The Grand Experiment of the Civilisation of the Aborigines': a Missionary Endeavour in Western Australia. *Evangelists of Empire? Missionaries in Colonial History*, p. 145.
- Hornsby, R. (2004). Consultation Conundrums. *Planning Quarterly*, 11-13.
- Howitt, R. (2001). *Rethinking resource management: justice, sustainability and indigenous peoples*, Routledge.
- Hsieh, J. (2006). Collective rights of indigenous peoples: Identity-based movement of plain indigenous in Taiwan. *Recherche*, 67, 02.
- Huang, S. (2000). Language, identity and conflict: A Taiwanese study. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 143, 139-150.
- Jenchieh, C. 2011. *Aboriginal Movement* [Online]. Available: <http://taiwanpedia.culture.tw/en/content?ID=5063> [Accessed 30 January 2012].
- Jigyasu, R. 2002. *Reducing Disaster Vulnerability through Local Knowledge and Capacity. The Case of Earthquake Prone Rural Communities in India and Nepal*. Norwegian University of Science and Technology.
- Jongens, R., Barrell, D., Campbell, J. & Pettinga, J. (2012). Faulting and folding beneath the Canterbury Plains identified prior to the 2010 emergence of the Greendale Fault. *New Zealand Journal of Geology and Geophysics*, 55, 169-176.
- Jordan, A. (2008). The governance of sustainable development: taking stock and looking forwards. *Environment and planning. C, Government & policy*, 26, 17.
- Ka'ai, T. & Higgins, R. (2004). Te ao Māori–Māori world-view. *Ki Te Whaiao–An Introduction to Māori Culture and Society*. Auckland: Pearson Education, 13-25.

- Kaiser, A., Holden, C., Beavan, J., Beetham, D., Benites, R., Celentano, A., Collett, D., Cousins, J., Cubrinovski, M. & Dellow, G. (2012). The Mw 6.2 Christchurch earthquake of February 2011: preliminary report. *New Zealand Journal of Geology and Geophysics*, 55, 67-90.
- Kaklauskas, A., Amaratunga, D. & Haigh, R. (2009). Knowledge model for post-disaster management. *International journal of strategic property management*, 13, 117-128.
- Kam, W. Y., Pampanin, S. & Elwood, K. (2011). Seismic performance of reinforced concrete buildings in the 22 February Christchurch (Lyttelton) earthquake. *Bulletin of the New Zealand Society for Earthquake Engineering*, 44, 239-278.
- Kao, H. & Chen, W. P. (2000). The Chi-Chi earthquake sequence: active, out-of-sequence thrust faulting in Taiwan. *Science*, 288, 2346-2349.
- Keung Wong, D. F., Li, C. Y. & Song, H. X. (2007). Rural migrant workers in urban China: living a marginalised life. *International Journal of Social Welfare*, 16, 32-40.
- Kovach, M. (2009). *Indigenous methodologies: Characteristics, conversations, and contexts*, Univ of Toronto Pr.
- Krumholz, N. (1994). Advocacy planning: can it move the center? *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 60, 150-151.
- Ku, K. (2005). Rights to Recognition: Minority/Indigenous Politics in the Emerging Taiwanese Nationalism. *Social Analysis*, 49, 99-121.
- Kukutai, T. (2004). 'The problem of defining an ethnic group for public policy: Who is Maori and why does it matter?' *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand*, 23, 86-108.
- Lane, M. B. & Corbett, T. (2005). The tyranny of localism: indigenous participation in community-based environmental management. *Journal of Environmental Policy and Planning*, 7, 141-159.
- Lane, M. B. & Hibbard, M. (2005). Doing It for Themselves. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 25, 172-184.
- Lane, M. B. (2002). Buying back and caring for country: Institutional arrangements and possibilities for indigenous lands management in Australia. *Society & Natural Resources*, 15, 827-846.
- Lane, M. B. (2002a). Aboriginal participation in environment planning. *Australian Geographical Studies*, 35, 308-323.
- Lane, M. B. (2002b). Buying back and caring for country: Institutional arrangements and possibilities for indigenous lands management in Australia. *Society & Natural Resources*, 15, 827-846.
- Lane, M. B. (2003). Participation, decentralization, and civil society indigenous rights and democracy in environmental planning. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 22, 360-373.
- Lane, M. B. (2006). The role of planning in achieving indigenous land justice and community goals. *Land Use Policy*, 23, 385-394.
- Lee, C. & Aberhart, G. 2007. *Sakizaya Recognized as Taiwan's 13th Aboriginal People* [Online]. Available: http://www.taiwan-panorama.com/en/show_issue.php?id=200739603074e.txt&table=2&h1=Ethnicity%20and%20Culture&h2=Taiwanese%20Aborigines [Accessed 11 December 2012].
- Lennox, J. (2011). Structuring stakeholder participation in New Zealand's water resource governance. *Ecological economics*, 70, 1381-1394.
- Lettieri, E., Masella, C. & Radaelli, G. (2009). Disaster management: findings from a systematic review. *Disaster Prevention and Management*, 18, 117-136.
- Li, Y. (1989). Four hundred years of ethnic relations in Taiwan. *New Asia Academic Bulletin Special Issue on Ethnicity & Ethnic Groups in China*, 7, 103-115.

- Lin, M., Chu, C., Lee, H., Chang, S., Ohashi, J., Tokunaga, K., Akaza, T. & Juji, T. (2001). Heterogeneity of Taiwan's indigenous population: possible relation to prehistoric Mongoloid dispersals. *Tissue Antigens*, 55, 1-9.
- Loh, C. H., Lee, Z. K., Wu, T. C. & Peng, S. Y. (2000). Ground motion characteristics of the Chi-Chi earthquake of 21 September 1999. *Earthquake Engineering & Structural Dynamics*, 29, 867-897.
- Louis, R. P. (2007). Can you hear us now? Voices from the margin: using indigenous methodologies in geographic research. *Geographical Research*, 45, 130-139.
- Lui, F. W. Being the change we wish to see: Negotiating the academic journey as an Indigenous researcher. Tikanga rangahau mātauranga tuku iho. Traditional Knowledge and Research Ethics Conference, 2004. 107-117.
- Marschalek, I., Unterfrauner, E. & Fabian, C. M. Social inclusion of young marginalised people through online mobile communities. Computer Science and Information Technology, 2009. IMCSIT'09. International Multiconference on, 2009. IEEE, 367-373.
- Massie, A. & Watson, N. R. (2011). Impact of the Christchurch earthquakes on the electrical power system infrastructure. *Bulletin of the New Zealand Society for Earthquake Engineering*, 44, 425-430.
- Mathewson, N. 2011. *Creation fo community forum welcomed* [Online]. Available: <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/christchurch-earthquake-2011/4824457/Creation-of-community-forum-welcomed> [Accessed 5 November 2012].
- Matthews, P. 2012. *How the west will win* [Online]. Available: <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/christchurch-earthquake-2011/7715784/How-the-west-will-win> [Accessed 31 October 2012].
- Matunga, H. (2000). Decolonising planning: The Treaty of Waitangi, the environment and a dual planning tradition. *Environmental planning and management in New Zealand*, 36-47.
- Mauro, F. & Hardison, P. D. (2000). Traditional knowledge of indigenous and local communities: international debate and policy initiatives. *Ecological applications*, 10, 1263-1269.
- McShane, O. 2008. *What would life be like without the RMA* [Online]. Available: <http://www.rmastudies.org.nz/library/56-columns/148-323whatif-rma?tmpl=component&print=1&page=> [Accessed 12 November 2012].
- McSweeney, J. & Proctor, S. 2009. *Relationship between the Local Government Act 2002 and the RMA* [Online]. Available: <http://www.qp.org.nz/related-laws/faq-rma-lga.php> [Accessed 19 November 2012].
- Meredith, P. 2009. *Urban Maori - Urban and tribal authorities* [Online]. Available: <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/urban-maori/5> [Accessed 14 November 2012].
- Michener, V. J. (1998). The participatory approach: contradiction and co-option in Burkina Faso. *World development*, 26, 2105-2118.
- Ministry of Civil Defence and Emergency Management (2005). *Focus on Recovery – A Holistic Framework for Recovery in New Zealand*. Wellington: Ministry of Civil Defence and Emergency Management.
- Mitchell, J. K. (2006). The primacy of partnership: Scoping a new national disaster recovery policy. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 604, 228-255.
- Molotch, H. (2006). Death on the Roof Race and Bureaucratic Failure. *Space and Culture*, 9, 31-34.

- Moorfield, J. C. (2005). *Te Aka: Māori-English, English-Māori Dictionary and Index*, Longman.
- Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. n.d. *The Ngai Tahu Claim* [Online]. Available: <http://www.treaty2u.govt.nz/the-treaty-today/the-ngai-tahu-claim/index.htm> [Accessed 8 November 2012].
- New Zealand Police. 2012. *List of deceased* [Online]. Available: <http://www.police.govt.nz/list-deceased> [Accessed 13 October 2012].
- Nischalke, T., Schollmann, A. (2005) "Regional Development and Regional Innovation Policy in New Zealand: Issues and Tensions in a Small Remote Country", *European Planning Studies* 13(4): 559-579.
- Norman, S. (2006). New Zealand's holistic framework for disaster recovery. *Australian Journal of Emergency Management, The*, 21, 16.
- O'Faircheallaigh, C. (2010). Public participation and environmental impact assessment: Purposes, implications, and lessons for public policy making. *Environmental Impact Assessment Review*, 30, 19-27.
- Orange, C. (2002). *An illustrated history of the Treaty of Waitangi*, Bridget Williams Books.
- O'Regan, H. M. (2001). *Ko Tahu, ko au: Kāi Tahu tribal identity*, Horomaka Pub.
- O'Sullivan, D. (2011). Māori Self-Determination: In The Modern Political Context. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, 1.
- Palermo, P. C. & Ponzini, D. (2010). The Rise and Crisis of Planning Theory. *Spatial Planning and Urban Development*., 31-35.
- Parliamentary Library (2003). The Origins of the Maori Seats. Parliamentary Library.
- Pauling, C., Toitu Te Whenua, Morgan, K. B. & Mahi Maioro Professionals (2006). Te Kaupapa o Te Whare -- House of Tahu Cultural Sustainability Assessment. Ngai Tahu Property Limited.
- Pearce, L. (2003). Disaster management and community planning, and public participation: how to achieve sustainable hazard mitigation. *Natural Hazards*, 28, 211-228.
- Pearson, D. 2011. *Ethnic inequalities - European majority, Maori minority: 1840 - 1945* [Online]. Available: <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/ethnic-inequalities/2> [Accessed 19 November 2012].
- Peattie, L. R. (1968). Reflections on advocacy planning. *Journal of the American Institute of planners*, 34, 80-88.
- Peek, L. A. & Mileti, D. S. (2002). The history and future of disaster research. *Month*, 511, 524.
- Phelps, P. & Billand, C. (2010). Rebuilding After Natural Disasters. *Journal of International Peace Operations*, 6, 25-26.
- Porsanger, J. (2011). An essay about indigenous methodology. *Nordlit*, 8, 105-120.
- Potangaroa, R. (2011). The Management of Portable Toilets in the Eastern Suburbs of Christchurch after the February 22, 2011 Earthquake. *Australasian Journal of Disaster and Trauma Studies*, 2011, 2.
- Prater, C. & Wu, J. (2002). Analysis of Institutional Response to the Taiwan 921 Earthquake.
- Prater, C., Wu, J. Y. & Center, R. (2002). The politics of emergency response and recovery: Preliminary observations on Taiwan's 921 earthquake. *The Australian Journal of Emergency Management*, 17, 48-57.
- Prystupa, M. V. (1998). Barriers and strategies to the development of co-management regimes in New Zealand: The case of Te Waihora. *Human organization*, 57, 134-144.
- Quarantelli, E. L. (1986). What should we study? Questions and suggestions for researchers about the concept of disasters.
- Quarantelli, E. L. (1991). Different types of disasters and planning implications.

- Rebuild Christchurch. n.d. *Rebuild Christchurch* [Online]. Available: <http://www.rebuildchristchurch.co.nz/content/cera-community-forum> [Accessed 5 November 2012].
- Redmond, A. D. (2005). ABC of conflict and disaster: Natural disasters. *BMJ: British Medical Journal*, 330, 1259.
- Rewi, P. (2010). Cluture: Compromise or Perish!'. *Indigenous Identity and Resistance: Researching the Diversity of Knowledge*, 55-74.
- Richards, J. (1998). Public Consultation - A vital element in the resource consent process. *Resource Management Law Association of New Zealand Incorporated Annual Conference*. Rotorua: Network Communications.
- Ritchie, E. C. M. D. & Hamilton, S. E. P. (2004). Assessing Mental Health Needs Following Disaster. *Psychiatric Annals*, 34, 605-610.
- Rosenthal, U. & Kouzmin, A. (1997). Crises and crisis management: Toward comprehensive government decision making. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 7, 277-304.
- Rowse, T. (1998). Indigenous citizenship and self-determination: the problem of shared responsibilities. *Citizenship and Indigenous Australians: Changing Conceptions and Possibilities*, 79-100.
- Rubin, C. B. & Barbee, D. G. (1985). Disaster Recovery and Hazard Mitigation: Bridging the Intergovernmental Gap. *Public Administration Review*, 45, 57-63.
- Rubinstein, M. A. (2006). *Taiwan: A new history*, ME Sharpe Inc.
- Sandercock, L. (1998a). *Making the invisible visible: A multicultural planning history*, Univ of California Pr.
- Sandercock, L. (1998b). Towards cosmopolis: Planning for multicultural cities.
- Sarbib, J. L. (1983). The University of Chicago program in planning: A retrospective look. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 2, 77-81.
- Scott, G. and Pawson, E. (1999) "Local Development Initiatives And Unemployment in New Zealand", *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 90(2): 184-195.
- Shaw, D. Emergency relief measures and rehabilitation policies in the aftermath of the 921 Chi-Chi (Taiwan) Earthquake. 2000. 6-9.
- Shih, Y. T., Shih, F. Y., Wu, H. M., Wang, H. J., Shi, S. F., Liu, M. Y. & Wang, B. B. (2001). Disaster epidemiology and medical response in the Chi-Chi earthquake in Taiwan. *Annals of Emergency Medicine*, 38, 549-555.
- Shin, T., Kuo, K., Lee, W., Teng, T. & Tsai, Y. (2000). A preliminary report on the 1999 Chi-Chi (Taiwan) earthquake. *Seismological Research Letters*, 71, 24-30.
- Simon, S. Indigenous Autonomy: Constructing a Place for Ethnic Minorities in Taiwan's Emerging Civic Society. Fifth European Association of Taiwan Studies (EATS) Conference, 2008 Prague, Czech Republic.
- Simons, H. (2006). Ethics in evaluation. *The Sage handbook of evaluation*, 243-265.
- Sinclair, R. (2004). Participation in practice: making it meaningful, effective and sustainable. *Children & Society*, 18, 106-118.
- Smith, G. P. & Wenger, D. (2007). Sustainable disaster recovery: Operationalizing an existing agenda. *Handbook of disaster research*, 234-257.
- Smith, L. T. (2005). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*, Zed.
- Smith, P. (1910). *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*, New Plymouth, Polynesian Society.
- Stainton, M. (1999). The politics of Taiwan aboriginal origins. *Taiwan: a new history*.
- Stake, R. E. (2010). *Qualitative research: Studying how things work*, The Guilford Press.
- Stamatopoulou, E. (1994). Indigenous peoples and the United Nations: Human rights as a developing dynamic. *Hum. Rts. Q.*, 16, 58.

- Statistics New Zealand. 2006. *QuickStats About Canterbury Region* [Online]. Available: <http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2006CensusHomePage/QuickStats/AboutAPlace/SnapShot.aspx?id=1000013&type=region&ParentID=> [Accessed 5 November 2012].
- Sung, M. H. S. I. (2004). When Would The Indigenous Be Indigenous? *Asian-Pacific Law & Policy Journal*, 5.
- Swaffield, S. & Fairweather, J. (1998). In search of Arcadia: the persistence of the rural idyll in New Zealand rural subdivisions. *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, 41, 111-128.
- Sweetman, G. 2008. *Consultation for resource consents* [Online]. Available: <http://www.qualityplanning.org.nz/consents/consultation.php> [Accessed 19 November 2012].
- Szabo, V. & Strang, V. R. (1997). Secondary analysis of qualitative data. *Advances in Nursing Science*, 20, 66.
- Taiepa, T., Lyver, P., Horsley, P., Davis, J., Brag, M. & Moller, H. (1997). Co-management of New Zealand's Conservation Estate by Maori and Pakeha: a review. *Environmental Conservation*, 24, 236-250.
- Taipei Times. 1999. Aborigines claim discrimination. *Taipei Times*, 28 October 1999.
- Taipei Times. 2009. *Pingpu people protest gov't denial of aboriginal status* [Online]. Available: <http://www.chinapost.com.tw/taiwan/2009/06/25/213584/Pingpu-people.htm> [Accessed 15 December 2012].
- Tau, T. & Anderson, A. (2008). Ngāi Tahu: A migration history: The Carrington text. *Wellington, New Zealand: Bridget Williams Books Publishing Trust*.
- Te Awheawhe Rū Whenua. 2011a. *Rū Whenua Report - 28 July 2011* [Online]. Available: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oviDHjD9Cgg> [Accessed 13 November 2012].
- Te Awheawhe Rū Whenua. 2011b. *Rū Whenua Report – 19 Aug 2011* [Online]. Available: <http://www.ngaitahu.iwi.nz/Earthquake/RuWhenua/Ru-Report-2.php> [Accessed 14 July 2012].
- Te Rito, P. (2006). Leadership in Māori, European cultures and in the world of sport. *Mai Review*, 1, 1-19.
- Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu and Department of Conservation (2005). *Te Waihora Joint Management Plan*.
- Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu. 1996a. *About Ngāi Tahu* [Online]. Available: <http://www.ngaitahu.iwi.nz/About-Ngai-Tahu/> [Accessed 6 November 2012].
- Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu. 1996b. *Canterbury Earthquake Response* [Online]. Available: <http://www.ngaitahu.iwi.nz/Earthquake/Response/index.php#CERA> [Accessed 14 November 2012].
- Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu. 1996c. *Mana Recognition* [Online]. Available: <http://www.ngaitahu.iwi.nz/About-Ngai-Tahu/Settlement/Settlement-Offer/Cultural-Redress/Mana-Recognition.php> [Accessed 20 November 2012].
- Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu. 1996d. *Ngāi Tahu - Kaikoura History* [Online]. Available: <http://www.ngaitahu.iwi.nz/News/Runanga-Education-Projects/Te-Runanga-o-Kaikoura/Kaikoura-History/Ngai-Tahu.php> [Accessed 6 November 2012].
- Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu. 1996e. *Ngai Tahu Property has assets with a market value in excess of \$450 million* [Online]. Available: <http://www.ngaitahuproperty.co.nz/> [Accessed 04 January 2013].
- Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu. 1996f. *Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu* [Online]. Available: <http://www.ngaitahu.iwi.nz/Te-Runanga/> [Accessed 12 November 2012].
- Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu. 2011. *Specific and Expanded Comments of Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu on the draft Central City Plan* [Online]. Available:

- <http://www.ngaitahu.iwi.nz/Earthquake/Central-City-Plan/Te-Runanga-o-Ngai-Tahu-Submission-Central-City-Plan-Appendix-1.pdf> [Accessed 05 January 2013].
- Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu. n.d. *Maori Recovery Network* [Online]. Available: <http://www.ngaitahu.iwi.nz/Earthquake/Partners/Maori-Recovery-Network/Maori-Recovery-Network.pdf> [Accessed 21 November 2012].
- Tolbert, C. J., Mcneal, R. S. & Smith, D. A. (2003). Enhancing civic engagement: The effect of direct democracy on political participation and knowledge. *State Politics & Policy Quarterly*, 3, 23-41.
- Tolbert, C. J., Mcneal, R. S. & Smith, D. A. (2003). Enhancing civic engagement: The effect of direct democracy on political participation and knowledge. *State Politics & Policy Quarterly*, 3, 23-41.
- Treaty Resource Centre. n.d. *The Maori Affairs Department* [Online]. Available: http://www.trc.org.nz/Maori_Affairs [Accessed 11 November 2012].
- Tully, J. (2000). The struggles of indigenous peoples for and of freedom. *Political theory and the rights of indigenous peoples*, 36-59.
- Tunks, A. (2002). Rangatiratanga, partnership and protection. Chapter 16 In Kwharu, M. *Whenua: Managing our Resources*.
- Turpel, M. E. (1992). Indigenous People's Rights of Political Participation and Self-Determination: Recent International Legal Developments and the Continuing Struggle for Recognition. *Cornell Int'l LJ*, 25, 579.
- Vallance, S. (2011). Early disaster recovery: a guide for communities. *Australasian Journal of Disaster and Trauma Studies*, 2.
- Van Maanen, J., Dabbs, J. M., Faulkner, R. R. & Psychology, A. P. a. D. O. I.-O. (1982). *Varieties of qualitative research*, Sage London
- Vasil, R. (1990). What do the Maori want. *New Maori political perspectives*.
- Verba, S. & Nie, N. H. (1987). *Participation in America: Political democracy and social equality*, University of Chicago Press.
- Vishnevsky, T. & Beanlands, H. (2004). Qualitative research. *Nephrology nursing journal: journal of the American Nephrology Nurses' Association*, 31, 234.
- Volmert, A. (2010). Indigenous Self-Determination and Freedom from Rule. *The Good Society*, 19, 53-59.
- Waitangi Tribunal (1991). The Ngai Tahu Report 1991.
- Waitangi Tribunal (1995). The Ngai Tahu Ancillary Claims Report, 1995. GP Publications.
- Walker, R. (1990). *Ka whawhai tonu matou: Struggle without end*, Penguin Auckland.
- Walker, S., Eketone, A. & Gibbs, A. (2006). An exploration of kaupapa Maori research, its principles, processes and applications. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 9, 331-344.
- Wang, P. C. (1999). A bastion created, a regime reformed, an economy reengineered, 1949-1970. *Taiwan: a new history*, 320-338.
- Wates, N. (2000). *The community planning handbook: how people can shape their cities, towns and villages in any part of the world*, Earthscan/James & James.
- Welch, R. V. (1993). Capitalist restructuring and Local Economic Development: Perspheral City-economy. *Regional Studies*, 27, 237-249.
- White, S. C. (1996). Depoliticising development: the uses and abuses of participation. *Development in practice*, 6, 6-15.
- Wisner, B. & Luce, H. R. (1993). Disaster vulnerability: Scale, power and daily life. *GeoJournal*, 30, 127-140.
- Wisner, B. (1998). Marginality and vulnerability: Why the homeless of Tokyo don't 'count' in disaster preparations. *Applied Geography*, 18, 25-33.

- Wotherspoon, L., Bradshaw, A., Green, R., Wood, C., Palermo, A., Cubrinovski, M. & Bradley, B. (2011). Performance of Bridges during the 2010 Darfield and 2011 Christchurch Earthquakes. *Seismological Research Letters*, 82, 950-964.
- Young, I. M. (1990). *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, Princeton Univ Pr.