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September 1998
THE IMPACT OF BECOMING OR WANTING TO BECOME SMOKEFREE FOR MĀORI

Vanessa Oxley

A thesis submitted for the degree
Masters of Indigenous Studies
at the University of Otago,
Dunedin,
New Zealand

Date: February 27th 2004
Abstract

Since the introduction of tobacco into New Zealand, smoking and smoking related illnesses have become more prevalent in the Māori population than New Zealand’s general population. The aim of the present research was to investigate smoking from a Māori perspective, that is, why Māori smokers are more prevalent from a cultural perspective. It was hoped this information would provide a better understanding of how Māori can become smokefree. The present research also investigated a number of possible benefits that could be obtained by Māori through becoming smokefree. These benefits were analysed through Mason Durie’s Whare Tapa Whā model, a Māori holistic health model. Semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with four Māori people, two of whom were current smokers and two who were ex-smokers. Common themes emerged from these interviews including the social aspect of smoking for Māori and the influence of the environment on smoking behaviour. Suggestions were given to illustrate how the social aspect of smoking and the cycle that subsequently develops can be broken. Using the Whare Tapa Whā model and the personal accounts given, the benefits of breaking such a cycle were discussed. Lastly, the importance of nurturing smokefree environments, especially Māori environments, was outlined. The notion of being positive about becoming smokefree and the need to celebrate giving up smoking were highlighted throughout this research.
Preface

This research is the result of many hours of hard work and would not have been completed had it not been for the support of many people. The support that I have had during my research journey has being amazing and I would like to let everybody know that I could not have done it without your support and guidance. Firstly I would like to thank Ihirangi Heke. Had it not being for his vision and belief in me I would never have begun this journey.

I would like to say a big thank-you to my family who have supported me in so many ways along my university journey. Even though we have been separated by many kilometres, I always knew you were only a phone call away and always willing to help. I would especially like to thank my parents, because of their hard work I was able to come to university and achieve all that I have. I would also like to thank my whangai family for their support and understanding.

This research would not have come together had it not been for one loving, patient and encouraging person, my whaiāipo. You have been amazing to me throughout my journey and have always been there when I needed you the most. Thank-you for your support, encouragement, emotional pillow, but most of all thank-you for your love and belief in me. I could not have done it without you.

Many people within the University of Otago have helped this research in various ways. I would like to thank the Māori Centre for their guidance, support and understanding. Also to Te Tumu for providing me with the opportunity to pursue my research topic. Many thanks must go to my supervisor, Dr Brendan Hokowhitu. You took me under your wing and provided me with so much. You had the tough role of proofing my work and set out on the task of teaching me how to write. I also thank you for your patience, understanding, and encouragement – and for not letting me give up!
This research could not have been developed had it not been for the pakeke who were willing to share with me their stories. I am so grateful for your participation and openness.

I would also like to acknowledge the contribution and support of my classmates and friends along my research journey.

Lastly, I would like to acknowledge all of the loved ones who have gone before us; you are sadly missed and will always be remembered. Love you always Nan.

So many people have contributed in various ways and all helped me to get to where I am today. Without the love of my family and whaiāipo and the support that I have received I would not have made it this far. I am very grateful to have travelled on this journey and have learnt so much from everyone. Ngā mihi nunui ki a koutou katoa mo tōu koutou tautoko mai ki ahau, me tōu koutou aroha.
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**Introduction**

To introduce this thesis in accordance with *tikanga Māori*¹, I would firstly like to introduce myself to the reader and my relationship to the topic in question, that is, Māori² people and smoking. I grew up in a town in the Western Bay of Plenty called Katikati. It is a small rural town that has a large Māori community. I grew up within two different worlds, my home and family life was very much Pākehā³; outside of this was a Māori world that I attempted to become a part of. My social and sporting life consisted almost entirely of interaction within a Māori community; often, for instance, I would be the only Pākehā on a sports team.

Throughout my life I have been drawn to and interested in Māori culture. I am unsure what sparked this interest and cannot remember when it started; I understand that I have always felt drawn to the culture. I always felt Māori were lucky in so many ways; they have a distinct and vibrant culture, incredible *tikanga*, an amazing and beautiful language. Māori also have *whanungatanga⁴*, a concept often void in Pākehā culture. All of these things contributed to my fascination and desire to learn more.

Through high school I began to learn about the Māori way of life mainly through the education of my friends and their parents. It was not until later on in my life, when I entered university that this fascination translated into academic learning. I began to take papers that looked into aspects of the culture and fulfilled a desire to begin

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² “Person of the native race” (Williams H.W. (1992) p.179), the indigenous people of New Zealand. Māori is a generic term that describes the Indigenous people of New Zealand (Hokowhitu, B. (2001)). For purposes of this research I have chosen to use this term to represent those of Māori ancestry, but do acknowledge that people of this descent may affiliate with their *iwi* (“tribe” (Ryan, P.M. (1995) p. 67) rather than this generic term.


learning the language. My learning continues through my partner (who is Māori) and those within the Māori community.

My teenage years in Katikati saw me ‘hang-out’ with many Māori girls from town. Almost all of the girls smoked regularly by the time they were in the fifth form. To be a non-smoking Māori female was a rarity in our small community. I too dabbled with the rebellious drug, in an attempt to fit in with the rest of my friends. By sixth form I was a ‘social smoker’ but it was acceptable for me not to be a regular smoker because my friends understood that I was a sportsperson who played at provincial level.

All the sports teams that I have been involved with over the years have always had a high number of Māori players. They have also had a high number of smokers. When I entered university I began to notice the number of Māori smokers even more, especially the number of Māori sportsmen that smoked. My fascination with wanting to learn why Māori were over-represented in smoking statistics was stimulated when I played rugby in Hamilton. In this rugby team my idol was Māori and was a representative in the New Zealand Black Ferns\(^5\). I felt mesmerised in her presence and couldn’t believe I would be playing in her team. I also idolised this player because we played the same position. Initially she was injured so I took her place in the side until she recovered. Following the first game we went to a local pub. It was there that my idolization of this player was checked. She was representing her country in one of New Zealand’s most successful international sports teams and yet she was a smoker! This contradiction in terms, or so it seemed to me, confused me as I had just assumed that a top class athlete would look after her body and fitness and, thus, I could not understand how she could also smoke. It was from then that I have wanted to find out more about smoking and its attraction and hold over Māori people in particular. That is, I have been interested in finding out why Māori have such high smoking rates.

Before commencing this research journey I questioned myself endlessly. For many years I have been questioning my identity and the way I live my life. Why is it that I am drawn to the ‘Māori way of life’? Do I have a right to be drawn and so interested in learning about all things Māori? I have encountered many adverse situations, which

\(^5\) New Zealand’s Female Rugby Team.
have made me question my actions and interest in the Māori world. Yet, equally, I have also encountered as many people who are extremely supportive of my quest for learning about *Te Ao Māori*. I have been blessed to have the support of many Māori within the communities I am a part of and it is only through their encouragement and guidance that I have continued on this path that I began back in my hometown of Katikati. This support continues into the present research, which I will briefly introduce below.

In Chapter One the present research begins by providing background information regarding tobacco and the effects it has had on Māori. Within this literature review many aspects were investigated, beginning with the mortality rates of Māori from tobacco smoking, which provides an illustration of the damaging and lasting effects of smoking on Māori. As well as this, an historical overview is given providing the reader with a chronological introduction to smoking within New Zealand. A statistical analysis is also provided which gives an overview of the impact of smoking on Māori. The literature review also examines the physical health benefits, both long and short term, that a person may experience when they become smokefree. The second section of Chapter One provides an understanding of health and the effects of smoking from a Māori perspective. The concepts hau, mauri and wairua are explored. In addition the Whare Tapa Whā health model is summarized to provide the reader with a holistic view of Māori health.

Chapter Two of this research was dedicated to outlining the methodology employed in this research. This chapter outlines what method was used and why this was chosen. An Interpretivist epistemology was adopted allowing for individuality to be

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8 Life essence, life principle, life force (Williams, H.W. (1992), Ryan, P.M. (1995), Hokowhitu, B. (2001)). “Everything has a mauri...the mauri is that power which permits these living things to exist within their own realm and sphere” (Barlow, C. (2002), p. 83.
9 Wairua is the spiritual aspect of a person (Barlow, C. (2002)).
10 Whare Tapa Whā is a health model introduced to literature by Mason Durie and contains four components to describe holistic concept of health. See Durie, M. (1998). *Whaiora: Māori Health Development* for further discussion.
expressed. The interviews were conducted using a semi-structured in-depth interview method. This method was chosen because I felt it enabled the *mana*\(^1\) of the participants to be upheld. Bishop’s *koru*\(^2\) method was used, whereby the information given by the participants was returned to gain clarification and ensure accuracy. The concept of *koha*\(^3\) was also enacted to show gratitude for the participant’s sharing of information. As a non-Māori researcher I made certain that I had the support and guidance of Māori around me. This support enabled myself to conduct research that was culturally appropriate and maintained the *mana* of all involved.

Chapter Three was dedicated to providing the reader with a detailed summary of each individual’s story. How individuals began smoking; attempts to become smokefree; the influence of family on smoking; and reasons why a person may choose to become smokefree were central themes that came out of the interviews. Each *pakeke*\(^4\) explains their own relationship with smoking in their own individual and personal way.

The final chapter, Chapter Four, was dedicated to discussing the impact of becoming smokefree on Māori. Firstly, the reasons why Māori within this study began smoking are outlined. The *Whare Tapa Whā* model is revisited to examine some of the key themes and benefits that emerged from within the personal accounts. Benefits of becoming smokefree are discussed in relation to individuals and also the wider community from which they derived. In addition, Chapter Four explores ideas surrounding the smoking cycle, in particular how this cycle may be broken. The notion of a smokefree *marae*\(^5\) is also incorporated within this discussion. Lastly, this chapter explores the need for positivity and celebration for those that have achieved smokefree status as positive role models for other Māori.

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\(^{1}\) Integrity, prestige, charisma (Williams, H.W. (1992), Ryan, P.M. (1995)).
\(^{3}\) Gift, donation, present (Williams, H.W. (1992), Ryan, P.M. (1995)).
\(^{4}\) Adult (Williams, H.W. (1992), Ryan, P.M. (1995)).
\(^{5}\) “Meeting area of whānau or iwi” (Ryan, P.M. (1995)).
Literature Review

Introduction
Captain Cook came to the shores of New Zealand in 1769. With him he brought tobacco, and introduced smoking to the Māori people. In the years since its introduction, smoking has impacted on the health of Māori, and caused unnecessary death to many. Statistically Māori are over represented and smoke disproportionately to most other New Zealand ethnic groups. In the past decade, however, there have been a number of initiatives that have focused on decreasing the number of Māori smokers. Many Māori are now becoming smokefree and choosing to give up the introduced habit of smoking.

This literature review has provided information about the introduction of tobacco and the effect it has had on Māori. The mortality rates of Māori from tobacco-use are provided to illustrate the detrimental effects smoking has and is having on Māori. A historical overview provides a chronological description of the introduction of tobacco. A statistical analysis provides an insight into the number of Māori who smoke, and the negative health effects smoking is having on both smokers and non-smokers. Some of the long and short-term physical health benefits a smoker will experience when they become smokefree are briefly outlined. The second section is dedicated to gaining an understanding of health and the effects of smoking from a Māori perspective. To gain this understanding the concepts of hau, mauri and wairua are explored with reference to smoking. The Whare Tapa Whā health model is summarized to provide an understanding of a holistic health view. Lastly, two cessation programs, which have focused on Māori cessation, are summarized. These programs illustrate the positive steps that are being taken to help Māori society to once again be smokefree.

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17 The Quit Group (2002).
Mortality

In New Zealand, smoking is "the most common cause of preventable death and disease."\(^{18}\) Each year smoking causes more deaths in New Zealand than road crashes, suicide, skin cancers, drowning, homicide and AIDS combined.\(^{19}\) In New Zealand around 4,700 deaths each year are attributed to smoking, accounting for 17 percent of all deaths.\(^{20}\) Between 1989-93, one third of all Māori deaths could be attributed to smoking.\(^{21}\) Each year, 21% and 22% of deaths in Māori females and males respectively, are attributed to smoking.\(^{22}\)

Each year smoking is a cause of preventable death and disease in New Zealand; Māori are no exception. Tobacco is said to be the main cause of a variety of terminal diseases including lung cancer, cancers of the mouth, esophagus, larynx, and kidney.\(^{23}\) Smoking is also the major cause of heart attacks and strokes.\(^{24}\) Both Māori men and women have "one of the highest rates of lung cancer in the world".\(^{25}\) In 1996, the lung cancer rate for Māori men was three times that of non-Māori men;\(^{26}\) Māori women have a lung cancer mortality rate that is four times greater than that of non-Māori women.\(^{27}\)

Death and illness from smoking is not limited to the adults that smoke but also to the children exposed to second-hand smoke. In children second-hand smoke is the cause of and increases the severity of a number of illnesses. Smoking has also been found to

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\(^{19}\) Health Sponsorship Council (2003).


\(^{22}\) Ministry of Health. (.1999a).

\(^{23}\) Cancer Society of New Zealand (2001).

\(^{24}\) Ibid.

\(^{25}\) Ibid p. 1.

\(^{26}\) Ministry of Health. (.1999a).

contribute to Sudden Infant Death Syndrome (SIDS). Children's exposure to second-hand smoke can cause mild ear effusion, is a cause of glue ear, and increases the risk of croup, pneumonia, bronchitis and bronchiolitis by 60 percent in the first 18 months of life. Smoking also increases the frequency and severity of asthma episodes and is a risk factor for induction of asthma in asymptomatic children.

Parental smoking has also been attributed to Sudden Infant Death Syndrome (SIDS). It has been found that almost half of all SIDS deaths can be attributed to parental smoking. In 1996 the SIDS rate for Māori was five times greater than non-Māori. In 1999 the Ministry of Health found 46% of SIDS deaths among Māori were attributed to smoking.

**History**

Nicotiana tabacum, commonly known as tobacco, is a native plant of America and was introduced to Europe through Christopher Columbus. Captain James Cook first introduced tobacco to New Zealand in 1769. More significantly, tobacco was brought to New Zealand by early Pākehā explorers and traders, who had a lot more contact with Māori than did Cook.

Before the arrival of Pākehā, Māori society was smokefree. According to Karehu (1990), there is no record of any pre-European Māori words that describe either

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28 Sudden infant death syndrome is the “death of an apparently healthy infant usually before one year of age that is of unknown cause and occurs especially during sleep” (U.S. National Library of Medicine and the National Institutes of Health (2004)).
29 National Advisory Committee on Health and Disability. (1999).
tobacco itself, its preparation, growing or smoking. Māori words that have emerged that describe smoking are, therefore, transliterations of their English counterparts. For example, tobacco/tupeka, pipe/paipa, cigarette/hikareti, smoko/mookoo.39

Once introduced the use of tobacco was quickly enveloped by Māori.40 It became a popular koha and as an article of trade.41 Māori and traders used tobacco as part-payment for land and as more general currency.42 Settlers found tobacco to be a "gift that was especially well received".43 For instance, tobacco was one of the gifts given to rangatira44 by Captain William Hobson at a gathering prior to the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840.45 Māori also began to cultivate and cure tobacco for both personal use and local trade.46 A number of Māori tribes first planted tobacco crops in the 1830s.47 By the 1850s, smoking amongst Māori people was widespread.48 Initially, Māori used a pipe to smoke tobacco.49 Pipe smokers do not usually inhale deeply compared to cigarette smokers who do. It is for this reason that Reid (1993) believes the death rate for Māori accelerated when Māori moved from pipe smoking to cigarette smoking between World Wars I and II.50

Social conventions of Victorian European society did not permit women to smoke, however, this cultural norm was not transferred to Māori society where it was acceptable for Māori women to smoke.51 Bederman (1995) describes, "Civilized women were womanly – delicate, spiritual, dedicated to home", while civilized men

42 Ibid, p. 29.
43 Ibid, p. 15.
44 Chief (Ryan, P.M. (1995), Williams, H.W. (2002)).
50 Ibid, p. 15.
were seen as hypermasculine.\textsuperscript{52} Within the European ‘civilized’ society it was etiquette that after dinner the women would retire while the men remained to smoke.\textsuperscript{53} Within an uncivilized ‘savage’ population these gender roles were blurred, with savage women being seen as aggressive and who also did masculine labor.\textsuperscript{54} The act of smoking was seen as masculine and, therefore, a ‘gentleman’s’ pastime, not something a civilized lady would take part in. For Māori women to take up this pastime merely reinforced for the colonizers the inferior status of Māori people and the savage uncivilized nature of Māori society. It was not until World War II that European women were allowed to legitimately smoke for the first time.\textsuperscript{55}

Smoking was normalized and made acceptable for both Māori sexes through images produced by Europeans. During the 1890s postcards were extremely popular in Europe with hundreds of thousands produced.\textsuperscript{56} Māori were popular subjects for postcards, with one of the most popular images being a picture of a koro\textsuperscript{57} or kuia\textsuperscript{58} posing with a pipe.\textsuperscript{59} Another popular image that was drawn, painted and photographed by Europeans was that of a Māori Mother with her baby and a pipe.\textsuperscript{60} Both of these images merely reinforced "the idea that smoking was just a normal and accepted part of the daily lives of Māori people".\textsuperscript{61} The image also provided a representation of the uncivilized nature of Māori.

The link between Māori and smoking was also reinforced through target marketing. In the 1930s, manufacturers of tobacco products and smoking accessories directly marketed towards the Māori population. For example, "Loyal's Burley Blend Roll Your Own Smoking Tobacco" was packaged in a red, black and white tin, which

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{52} Bederman, G. (1995).
\item \textsuperscript{53} Broughton, J. (1996).
\item \textsuperscript{54} Bederman, G. (1995).
\item \textsuperscript{55} Thomson, S. (1992).
\item \textsuperscript{56} Broughton, J. (1996).
\item \textsuperscript{57} Koro is short for korua meaning male elder, grandfather. (Ryan, P.M. (1995), Williams, H.W. (2002)).
\item \textsuperscript{58} Kuia meaning female elder, grandmother (Barlow, C. (2002)).
\item \textsuperscript{59} Broughton, J. (1996).
\item \textsuperscript{60} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{61} Ibid, p. 40.
\end{itemize}
featured the image of a *tekoteko*\textsuperscript{62} beside a cigarette.\textsuperscript{63} The colours that were used on this tin are very significant within Māori society. The colour red can be traced back to the creation story and is said to have come from the mixing of blood from the separation *Papatūānuku*\textsuperscript{64} and *Ranginui*\textsuperscript{65}. The two bloods mixed together to produce *kokowai* or red orche.\textsuperscript{66} Red, black and white, were the primary colours of Māori cosmology, and each had specific origins within the Māori world.\textsuperscript{67} These three colours were the main colours used to decorate many things within Māori society. Red orche, with white clay and charcoal was used in painted designs to decorate houses; they were also the favoured colours to use on canoe hulls and carvings.\textsuperscript{68} Early Māori rock paintings, from the fifteenth and sixteenth century primarily used the colour black, but sometimes also included the colour red.\textsuperscript{69} Māori could make an association with the colours red, black and white; they used these colours in everyday life. By using these colours the tobacco company was specifically targeting and appealing to the Māori community.

The "Māori Brand of Impregnated Safety Matches" also used this angle of target marketing to capture their Māori audience. These matches used the image of a Māori male head adorned with a full facial *moko*\textsuperscript{70}.\textsuperscript{71} From the beginning of the 1900s through to the 1930s, tobacco companies again targeted Māori with cigarette cards.\textsuperscript{72} Many of these small picture cards, which were included with the product, featured well-known Māori chiefs and dignitaries such as King Tāwhio and Rua Kenana.\textsuperscript{73}

\textsuperscript{62} "Carved figure on house" (Ryan, P.M. (1995) p. 256).
\textsuperscript{63} Broughton, J. (1996).
\textsuperscript{64} The Earth Mother (Ryan, P.M. (1995), Williams, H.W. (2002)).
\textsuperscript{65} The Sky Father (Hokowhitu, B. (2001), Barlow, C. (2002)).
\textsuperscript{66} Neich, R. (2001).
\textsuperscript{67} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{68} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{69} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{70} Short for ā *moko* or tattoo (Ryan, P.M. (1995)).
\textsuperscript{71} Broughton, J. (1996).
\textsuperscript{72} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{73} Ibid.
These examples highlight that the deliberate marketing strategies of the manufacturers augmented the growing use of tobacco by Māori.

During World War I (WWI) the smoking of cigarettes was popularized by the free distribution of cigarettes to soldiers serving overseas. Te Hokowhitu A Tū, the Māori contingent of New Zealand’s war effort who first served overseas in 1915, were no exception. Like other ANZAC soldiers during WWI, smoking was an everyday existence: "the Māori soldier merely fitted into this particular pattern of smoking".

During the 1950s, information became available for the first time regarding tobacco related diseases and, accordingly, the number of Pākehā men who smoked declined. A similar decline did not occur amongst Māori men, however, the smoking pattern for Māori women seems to be culture specific, following closely to the pattern of Māori men. Recent evidence does suggest a decline in the smoking rates of Māori men, but "the situation for Māori women is unclear". In 1981, 53.5% of Māori men used tobacco, with this figure declining to 45.1% in 1990. Tobacco use in Māori women was recorded at 58.5% in 1981 and 57.2% in 1990. Cotemporary Māori mortality from smoking highlights the effect this plant, introduced to New Zealand over 200 years ago, is still having on the Māori people of today.

Statistics
The scant statistical data suggest that, from the outset of tobacco introduction into New Zealand, Māori took up tobacco with enthusiasm. According to Reid (1993), "Statistical information on Māori tobacco use is not easy to obtain", making it difficult to be sure of Māori tobacco trends. In 1893, it was noted in the New Zealand

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77 Ibid.
79 Ibid.
81 Ibid, p. 18.
Official Yearbook, that there was a tobacco "consumption per head of population - including Māoris [sic] who are heavy smokers - of 2.01 lbs".  

In 1981 it was found that, for those aged 15 years and over, 53.5% and 58.5% of Māori men and women respectively, were regular smokers. In 1989 tobacco use amongst Māori men was found to be 49.4% and declined to 45.1% in 1990. Tobacco use amongst Māori women also showed a decline from 62.0% in 1989 to 57.2% in 1990. The 1996 Census of Population and Dwellings found Māori women were more likely to smoke than Māori men, and Māori between the ages of 20-39 years were the group most likely to smoke. The New Zealand Health survey, 1996/7, found nearly half of all Māori adults reported to be current smokers (46%). The survey also found that Māori aged 25-44 years were twice as likely as non-Māori, of the same age, to be smokers. The smoking rate for Māori women was found to be 53%, over 250% greater than non-Māori women (20%).

In 2000, 49.3% of Māori were cigarette smokers. In 2000 and 2001, over half of Māori aged between 25 to 64 years smoked. Smoking levels for Māori men aged 15 years and above was found to be 44% in 2001, for Māori women this rate was even higher at 51.4%. "Overall the percentage of Māori smoking has decreased over the last 15 years. However, the high numbers of Māori smokers - particularly young Māori smokers remains a key health concern."

82 Department of Statistics. (1894), p. 92.
84 Ibid.
86 Te Puni Kōkiri (1999a).
87 Te Puni Kōkiri. (2000).
88 Ibid, p. 4.
89 Ibid, p. 4.
Health Benefits of Smoking Cessation

People who quit smoking, regardless of age, will experience a number of health benefits. The earlier a person stops smoking the greater the health gains.93 A large amount of the damage caused by smoking is reversible.94 Smoking cessation also results in long-term risk reduction including a decreased risk of mortality, lung cancer and heart disease.95 For Māori the benefits of quitting smoking are even greater. Kuia and koroua the holders of traditional knowledge will live longer to teach rangatahi all things Māori.96 in 2001, approximately 46% of the Māori population was under the age of 20.97 Kuia and koroua have valuable knowledge about Māori language and culture, knowledge that needs to be passed onto to the younger generations. In 1995, Mason Durie believed it would be highly likely that “many of the elderly in the next century will be neither fluent in Māori nor familiar with marae”,99 highlighting the importance of present day Māori elders, as repositories of cultural knowledge, as teachers of the younger generations. Half of the early deaths from smoking occur in middle age, between the ages of 35-69. Smoking kills one in two people who continue to smoke past the age of 35. Those who die prematurely from smoking die 14 years early.100 Early death of Māori elders and potential elders may mean valuable knowledge is not passed on to rangatahi. Smoking is, therefore, putting language and cultural knowledge at risk of being lost forever.

A person who gives up smoking, regardless of age, will experience physical health benefits. These health benefits include long-term benefits, such as a reduced risk of heart disease, reduced risk of developing lung cancer and reduced risk of mortality. Smoking cessation also has immediate health benefits, for instance, within one day of quitting, the chance of a heart attack decreases, within two days of quitting, smell and

93 National Advisory Committee on Health and Disability. (1999).
95 Ibid, p. 10.
96 Youth (Ryan, P.M. (1995)).
97 This includes the language, cultural practices, and all other aspects of Māoritanga.
taste are enhanced, within two weeks to three months of quitting, circulation improves and lung function increases by up to 30 percent.101

**Hau, Wairua and Mauri**

"Breathing is the physical and spiritual reality of Māori philosophies of well being. Breathing is the very essence that makes us who we are. It is a powerful thing because it gives us life."102

Human life was initiated by Tāne Māhuta (Tāne)103 who created the first human woman, Hine-ahu-one. To bring life into this woman, Tāne breathed into her nose, giving her his hau and with this life essence.104 Within a Māori philosophy of wellbeing, breath is both a spiritual and physical reality. As Hine-ahu-one took her breath she sneezed, the following whakatauki105 illustrates this event and highlights the physical and spiritual importance of breathing:

‘Tihei mauri ora, ki te whaiao, ki te ao mārama’

’Sneeze living soul, in the world of being, in the world of life’106

Breathing gives life to a person and is the very essence of who we are. It is also a way to connect with "the mauri of the universe".107 Mauri is one’s life essence and like breath is located within the body of a person.108 Breath is also connected to wairua. When a person dies their physical remains return to Papatūānuku, while their wairua travels to the gods.109 "To breathe is also to partake in breathing with ancestors",110 illustrated in the whakatauki ‘Hā a Koro mā a Kui mā’ ‘the breath of life that comes from forebears’.111

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103 Son of Papatūānuku and Ranginui and is the guardian spirit of the forest (Ryan, P.M. (1995)).
105 Proverb (Ryan, P.M. (1995), Hokowhitu, B. (2001)).
*Hau* is very important within the Māori world; the importance is seen in the *hongi*\(^{112}\). The *hongi* highlights both the spiritual and physical importance of breath, *mauri* and *wairua*. The *hongi* has very deep symbolic meaning, symbolizing the first breath of life by *Hine-ahu-one*. Spiritually the *hongi* is the sharing of *mauri*, through the act of *hongi* a person's *hau* and breath of life is exchanged and intermingled. By this action, the life-force is permanently established and the spiritual and physical bodies become a single living entity".\(^{113}\) Smoking has an effect on a person's *hau*, which in turn will impact on their *mauri* and *wairua*. If a person's *wairua* is displaced this will affect their wellbeing.\(^{114}\) Through the act of *hongi*, *hau* and *mauri* are both exchanged.

The negative effects of smoking, therefore, on *hau* are not only limited to the smoker but everyone involved in the *hongi*. The first breath *Hine-ahu-one* took was of pure air, uncontaminated by tobacco smoke. To become smokefree is to allow the *hau*, *wairua* and *mauri* of a person to once again become healthy. Becoming smokefree is to give oneself the opportunity to gain wellbeing, spiritually and physically. "*Hauora*\(^{115}\) emanates from a balanced *mauri*, *hauora* is to be level, to be healthy".\(^{116}\)

**Māori Health Philosophies**

When researching another culture it is important to attempt to gain an understanding of their culture, values and concepts. The introduction of the *Whare Tapa Whā* health model has enabled the Māori holistic view of health to be engaged with by those unaware of such a concept. This model has made it possible for non-Māori to gain more understanding and insight into a Māori view of health. Other models that have also illustrated health from a Māori perspective include *Te Wheke*, the Octopus, and *Ngā Pou Mana*, the four supports.\(^{117}\)

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\(^{112}\) Is the act of pressing noses, indicates the sharing of breath and life when two people meet (Barlow, C. (2002)).

\(^{113}\) Barlow, C. (2002).


\(^{115}\) Health (Williams, H.W. (2002)).


\(^{117}\) Refer to Appendix Cne, p. 77.
According to the definition of health by the World Health Organization (WHO): "Health is a state of complete physical mental and social well-being, and not merely the absence of disease and infirmity."\(^{118}\) WHO’s emphasis on the physical, mental and social aspects of health,\(^{119}\) is in accordance with a Māori perspective of holistic health, which incorporates the above aspects along with aspects of the spiritual, family (and extended family), land, language, and the environment.\(^{120}\) Since the 1980's a number of Māori health models have emerged in mainstream health that provide insights into this holistic view of health, including cultural differences, and Māori illness values.\(^{121}\) Here I will outline one view, which is now regarded as a 'Māori Health Perspective'. According to Mason Durie (1998), this perspective stems from a contemporary Māori view of health.\(^{122}\)

**Whare Tapa Whā**

Mason Durie introduced this model into contemporary medical literature, at least, in 1982. The model compared health to four walls of a house - each being necessary to ensure "strength and symmetry."\(^{123}\) The four dimensions being: *taha wairua* (the spiritual side), *taha hinengaro* (thoughts and feelings), *taha tinana* (the physical side), and *taha whānau* (family).\(^{124}\) Inherent to the *tapawhā* model is the notion of *taha whenua*, or land, which provides the foundation for the four walls to stand on. This model is holistic in nature, that is, if one aspect of the model is out of sync or is undermined, then every aspect is threatened. To ensure good health all aspects must be balanced.

Durie believes *taha wairua* to be the most essential requirement of health. Without spiritual awareness an individual can be interpreted as lacking wellbeing, making them prone to illness or misfortune. This spiritual element encompasses religious beliefs and practices, reflected in one's beliefs in a spiritual dimension and their

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\(^{118}\) World health Organisation. (1947).

\(^{119}\) Durie, M.H (1985).


\(^{121}\) Durie, M.H. (1998).

\(^{122}\) Ibid, p. 69.


\(^{124}\) Ibid, p. 69.
relationship with the environment. Smoking has an impact on a person spiritually. Mauri and hau are both affected by smoking; essentially meaning one's life essence is adversely affected because of the importance of breath as already outlined in the story of Tāne and Hine-ahu-one.

Taha hinengaro is the mental aspect of health that accounts for the expression of both thoughts and feeling. "In Māori terms, thoughts and feelings have a similar source located within the individual", both are seen as vital to health. Thoughts and feelings are also affected by smoking. The hinengaro of a person is adversely affected by smoking as cigarettes are often connected with moods or feelings; people smoke to help enhance the mood they are in, for pleasure when happy or for comfort when sad. Cigarettes become associated with these feelings, creating dependence. Smoking is addictive in nature due to nicotine. Addiction, or lack of control of one's behaviour, adversely affects the hinengaro of a person where balance between one's thoughts, behaviour and spirit is the ultimate.

Taha tinana refers to the physical aspect of health. Taha tinana incorporates one's physical health and capacity for physical growth and development. As previously stated research into tobacco smoking has found that it is the cause of many terminal diseases, including cancer, heart attacks and stroke. Smoking can also cause premature and preventable death. Undoubtedly smoking causes the physical health of a person to deteriorate, and therefore adversely affects a person's taha tinana.

Taha whānau is the forth dimension to the Whare Tapa Whā model and encompasses the family aspect of health. Taha whānau incorporates the extended family, with both the whānau and whanaunga being seen as the "prime support system for

Māori" for they provide care and nurturance in physical, cultural and emotional terms. Taha whānau also relates to one's identity and sense of purpose. Smoking has an impact on the whānau that surrounds the smoker. Illness can be caused to family members through exposure to second-hand smoke. Smoking while pregnant has an effect on the unborn child where the chemicals inhaled while smoking can cause harm and are carried to the child through the mother’s placenta. The whakataukī ‘Mehemea e pai ana te whenua, e pai hoki ngā hua’ illustrates the importance of being smokefree. Whenua means both land and placenta. The whakataukī can therefore symbolise a mother and unborn child, “If the placenta is smokefree, baby has a better start”. The land feeds and nurtures a tree allowing fruit to be produced, the placenta, like land, provides food and nourishment for the baby. The placenta is the means by which a baby obtains life. Smoking can harm the life of an unborn baby and family members who are subject to second-hand smoke. Moreover, deaths caused by smoking unbalance the cycle of life that allows the whānau to function and thus unbalances taha whānau.

The Whare Tapa Whā model outlines the need for balance in all aspects of a person’s life to achieve wellbeing. If one aspect of the model is out of balance or undermined, then every aspect is threatened resulting in unbalance between the four aspects. Smoking has a negative impact on all aspects of the model. While a person is smoking, good health and well being cannot be achieved. The balance can be restored once a person becomes smokefree.

**Cessation Programmes**

Over the last five years a number of initiatives and strategies have been introduced aimed at reducing smoking levels. Since 1996 there have been a number of national and regional Māori cessation programmes developed. Campaigns have emerged

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133 Ibid. p. 72.
134 Ibid.
135 ‘If the land is well, the fruit will be good too’ Ministry of Health (1998). ‘My baby will be smokefree and Māori’. Hei aha te Kai Paipa campaign poster. Wellington, N.Z.: Ministry of Health.
138 Te Puni Kōkiri (1999a).
which target Māori smokers due to the disproportionately high number who smoke and the high rates of smoking-related diseases. A number of cessation programmes are being delivered to Māori by Māori, this has meant the needs of Māori are now being met. These programmes ensure the information is being delivered to Māori within settings that are culturally appropriate and incorporate tikanga Māori.

**Aukati Kai Paipa**

In 2000, a pilot cessation programme for Māori women and their whānau named *Aukati Kai Paipa* was developed. The cessation programme was “developed to test the viability of implementing a proven, effective smoking cessation intervention in a Maori health setting.” Cessation programmes that combined counselling with Nicotine Replacement Therapy had been found to be effective. *Aukati Kai Paipa* used the successful programme but delivered the programme to Māori by Māori. This ensured the services were delivered with an understanding of tikanga and an acknowledgement of Māoritanga. The pilot programme, which ran for two years, was trialled in seven areas, including Kaitaia, Kawakawa, Auckland, Hamilton, Te Puke, Wellington and Christchurch. The free programme provided nicotine replacement therapy, combined with counselling supported over a period of up to 12 months. The results of the programme demonstrated its effectiveness in a Māori setting. The quit rate achieved by the Māori women in the pilot programme was significantly higher than for Māori women smokers in general.

**The Quit Group - *Me Mutu***

In December 2000, the Quit Group began operation after successful pilot trials. Funded by the government the Quit Group’s mission was to reduce smoking prevalence in New Zealand through national smoking cessation programmes. The

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139 Ibid.


143 The Quit Group. (2000).
group also aimed to achieve equitable outcomes for Māori by creating supportive quitting environments.\textsuperscript{144}

In 2001, the Quit Group began the “It’s about whānau” campaign. This campaign targets Māori smokers with the aim of motivating Māori to give up smoking. The campaign used television, magazine and radio adverts promoting the benefits of quitting smoking, not only for the smoker but also their friends and family. Māori from all walks of life are used as role models, telling their story about the positive benefits of becoming smokefree. Promoted in this campaign is Quitline, a free 24-hour call service for those who want to give up smoking. The Quitline also offers callers the choice of speaking with a Māori advisor.\textsuperscript{145} The campaign is based on the Māori principle of whānau. Whānau is important to Māori and is seen as a prime support system. Whānau and whanaunga provide important care and nurturance. The campaign is based on a key concept in Māori society and thus is more relevant to Māori.

The Whare Tapa Whā model illustrated a Māori holistic view of health. Cessation programmes based on Māori philosophies of health have begun to emerge within New Zealand. This is a very positive step as these programmes take into consideration the needs of Māori. The environment offered, especially in the Aukati Kai Paipa programme, was familiar for Māori and open to Māori cultural practices and values. The programmes were based on Māori concepts and philosophies including whānau and manaakitanga\textsuperscript{146}. For Māori to want to give up smoking there must be the support they need surrounding them. Cessation programmes developed based on Māori philosophies will help to provide this support. Māori views of health are very holistic and do not focus solely on a person’s physical health. It is, therefore, necessary for cessation programmes to provide for the needs of Māori. It is for the betterment of Māori that smokers do give up and become smokefree.

\textsuperscript{144} The Quit Group website.
\textsuperscript{145} The Quit Group website.
\textsuperscript{146} To care for, support, kindness (Ryan, P.M. (1995), Williams, H.W. (2002)).
Summary
Tobacco was introduced to New Zealand in 1769. Since its introduction Māori have taken up smoking and continued to do so. Smoking has been found to be the cause of many terminal diseases and causes premature death to many Māori each year. The history of Māori involvement with smoking highlights the social conventions of European and Māori society. Smoking was taken up by both Māori sexes and soon became a normalized part of Māori society. Target marketing by tobacco companies appealed to Māori society through the use of colours, Māori images, and cigarette cards of prominent Māori leaders. The use of target marketing by tobacco companies, and the images that were produced initiated the notion that smoking was a ‘cultural norm’ for Māori. Today, there is a slow reverse in the trend of Māori smoking. Many Māori are becoming smokefree.

Physical health benefits a smoker will experience illustrated that some health effects from smoking are reversible. For Māori these benefits extend beyond physical health to spiritual and mental health and to the reduced impact of smoking on whānau. Māori holistic health can be explained using the Whare Tapa Whā health model, which suggests well-being can be achieved through attaining balance in all four-health dimensions. Māori who give up smoking can increase their life expectancy permitting younger generations more time to spend with them, learning all the knowledge they have. This will enable valuable knowledge regarding Māori culture to be handed down, ensuring that the knowledge is retained for future generations to come. Initiatives have emerged within New Zealand that focuses specifically on Māori smoking cessation. Two specific examples, Aukati Kai Paipa and The Quit Group campaign “It’s about whānau” demonstrate the importance of relating smoking cessation to key cultural concepts. Many Māori are becoming smokefree, and it is important that we celebrate the steps that are being taken to ensure this trend continues.
Methodology

In the present research I interviewed four people of Māori descent, three females and one male, to provide meaningful information pertaining to smoking and being smokefree\textsuperscript{147}. In this research a collaborative/semi-structured interview method was employed. This interview method was chosen because it allowed for each individual to tell their own smoking story and journey without being restricted or limited to predetermined questions. The interviews ranged in length from 45mins to an hour and a half. I had previously met all but one pakeke within the community and had personally known these three people for a year and longer than a year in two instances. Contact was made with the other pakeke through a whanaungā of her's who I worked with.

Each pakeke\textsuperscript{148} was firstly contacted by email or in person to explain the research purpose and the importance of their story in this process. The proposal put forward was accepted by each pakeke. Times and venues for each interview were arranged at the convenience of the interviewee. At the beginning of each interview the research process was further explained, highlighting the pakeke control over their story and, specifically, the return of their story to them to gain approval before being submitted as part of the research. Consent forms were also presented to each participant and signed.\textsuperscript{149} The interviews were tape-recorded to ensure recall precision, while allowing me to concentrate on the pakeke’s unspoken actions and emotions. Each interview was transcribed verbatim, following which hesitations were deleted and the order of the interview was rearranged, grouping together themes that emerged during the interview to enable clarity of meaning. Where I felt the true meaning of their story was not expressed in the words that were used I provided the explanation; for this reason, I felt it was vital that the interviews were returned to the pakeke to check that the meanings portrayed reflected the meanings they were conveying. Each pakeke was content with the rendition produced.

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{147} Ethics for this research project was approved through the University of Otago Ethics Committee, refer to Appendix Four, p. 121.

\textsuperscript{148} Due to time and financial constraints pakeke were sought from the Otago community.

\textsuperscript{149} Refer to Appendix Four, p. 125.
\end{footnotesize}
The interview process was itself directed by the interviewee as much as possible. At the beginning of each interview I outlined the topic and the research area of interest. The *pakeke* then decided what information they wanted to discuss and share. Open-ended questions were used to prompt the interviewee; these questions varied with each interview as each interviewee discussed different themes and, thus, the questions asked reflected the *pakeke*'s story. By employing such a methodology it was believed that the individuality and uniqueness of each *pakeke* could be portrayed.

‘Traditional’ Research and Māori

Traditionally Western research has been used as a means to advance the interest of the researcher and, consequently, dominant society. Such research has used Western knowledge and methods, ignoring other forms of knowledge, language and culture including Māori. After over a century and a half of being portrayed as “powerless victims” increasingly Māori have become concerned about the effects of non-Māori research into their lives. According to Smith (1999), “historically indigenous people have not seen the positive benefits of research”. Although there has been a belief that research is objective and will benefit all people, Western research has typically had the opposite effect for Māori. As a result many Māori people have become cynical about Western research and its so-called objective and generically beneficial nature.

“Research is implicated in the production of Western knowledge, in the nature of academic work, in the production of theories which have dehumanised Māori and in practices which have continued to privilege Western ways of knowing, while denying the validity for Māori knowledge, language and culture.”

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151 Ibid.
152 Ibid, p. 183.
154 Ibid.
As a non-Māori researching within a Māori context I am very aware of these concerns. Therefore, I believed it, essential and critical that I employed a research method that, if managed conscientiously would not further perpetuate these concerns.

**Interpretivism**

Modernist science’s search for a generalisable single truth means that it implicitly rejects the notion that people from varying cultures and contexts may hold varying concepts of ‘truth’. A postmodern epistemology underpins the present research methodology because it challenges the modernist view of a single truth and the idea that ‘truth’ is not a construct of power; replacing this idea with a notion of multiple truths.\(^{156}\) As Richardson (1994) states, “A truth is only a truth in the eyes of the claimer”,\(^{157}\) likening interpretivism to a crystal, which allows for a multitude of perspectives, each depending on how the individual views their own reality. It was crucial to impart a methodology that accepts the multiple truths of various cultures, because the focus of the present research was on the smoking behaviour of a typically marginalized group.

Ferguson and Ferguson (1995) view the interpretivist paradigm as one that allows people to “tell their stories.”\(^{158}\) This paradigm places an emphasis on description rather than intervention, and can be summarized as “describe, interpret, and understand.”\(^{159}\) Lincoln and Guba (1985) view this paradigm as accepting of “multiple constructed realities that can be studied only holistically; inquiry into these multiple realities will inevitably diverge... so that prediction and control are unlikely outcomes although some level of understanding (verstehen) can be achieved.”\(^{160}\)

By incorporating this view into the present research I have attempted to acknowledge the divergence of truth at both the cultural and individual levels. This was important within this research because, each pakeke, while all Māori, has his or her own experience and relationship with smoking.

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159 Ibid, p. 112.
In-depth Semi-Structured Interviews

Tim May (2001) describes in-depth semi-structured interviews as a method that utilizes techniques from both, focused and structured methods. Within this method the interviewer is able to go beyond answers given to questions allowing for deeper meaning and elaboration to occur. Commonly this type of interview is conducted one-on-one, face-to-face, building an intimacy that "is common of mutual self-disclosure", and usually involves more individual expression than other interview methods, because the pakeke engages in a dialogue with the interviewee. To gain the trust and self-disclosure of the interviewee, the interviewer must offer some form of reciprocity. Haig-Brown (1992) felt disclosure of aspects of her own life was allowed for a reciprocity that was needed to develop "trust and sharing". According to Reinharz (1992), semi-structured interviews also offer access to thoughts and memories of people in their own words, while Bishop (1997) suggests this type of interview method promotes interaction, clarification and discussion through the use of open-ended questions. Semi-structured in-depth interviews can be seen as 'interviews as conversations'. They develop "a reciprocal dialogic relationship based on mutual trust, openness and engagement, in which self-disclosure, personal investment and equality is promoted."

Throughout the present research process I have tried to ensure I uphold tikanga Māori. One concept that was employed was that of koha. According to Glover (2002) reciprocity is an important value within Māori society, both traditionally and within

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today’s society.\textsuperscript{171} Royal (1992) states, “As other people have shared with you, so you must share with them.”\textsuperscript{172} Furthermore, “to be able to share, to have something worth sharing gives dignity to the giver. To accept a gift and to reciprocate gives dignity to the receiver.”\textsuperscript{173} According to Glover (2002), the concept of \textit{koha} is a traditional Māori practice that can be seen to have an equivalent use within modern research, whereby, the researcher in return for the knowledge shared by the participants offers a gift.\textsuperscript{174} To show that I appreciated and valued the time and information the participants gave to me I gave each \textit{pakeke a koha} at the completion of the project.

Furthermore, the in-depth semi-structured interview method allows the “existing opinions of the interviewee in the context of a worldview” to be revealed.\textsuperscript{175} In-depth interviews can, therefore, be used as a means of gaining understanding of how “individuals make sense of their social world and act within it”.\textsuperscript{176} This interview method goes beyond a traditional method that focuses on the researcher’s perspective by not confining answers to set questions, but instead highly valuing and focusing on the interviewee’s account and direction they wish to proceed in.\textsuperscript{177}

I am aware of the past grievances relating to Māori research conducted by non-Māori, which has belittled and undermined Māori language, culture and knowledge.\textsuperscript{178} To ensure these grievances are not repeated it is important that this research is conducted using methodologies that enable the above benefits of semi-structured interviews to be incorporated and celebrated. Taylor and Bogdan (1984) explain the aims of in-depth interviewing: “we try to retrieve the informants world by understanding their

\textsuperscript{171} Glover, M. (2002). Glover (2002) further states “Prior to European arrival Maori upheld and practiced a belief system based on reciprocity, that is of giving in order to receive...One sort of reciprocal action is the giving of koha” (p. 37).

\textsuperscript{172} Royal, C. (1992), p. 85.


\textsuperscript{174} Glover, M. (2002).

\textsuperscript{175} Tripp, D.H. (1983), p. 34.


perspective in language that is natural to them".\textsuperscript{179} In the present research it was important to enable the \textit{pakeke} to speak naturally and, when they chose, to speak Māori, but above all else in a way that was most comfortable for each participant.

Johnson (2002) believes in-depth interviewing to be the best approach when "different individuals or groups involved in the same line of activity have complicated, multiple perspectives on some phenomenon".\textsuperscript{180} Johnson’s views are relevant to the present research, as smoking has often been understood from a Western perspective only. Each culture and individual has their own thoughts, experiences and perspectives on smoking, as an activity that holds different meanings culturally and individually. By using this method each individual was able to tell their own story in their own unique way without having boundaries or being confined to discuss only the aspects that the researcher deemed important. Under this method the interviewee has the control over the process, as Te Hennepe (1993) outlines, “the research participants were to be heard not only as authorities on their own experiences, feelings and observations, but also as authorities on procedures involved in analytical address to their accounts and the reporting of the results.”\textsuperscript{181}

Within a semi-structured interview method there is scope for the interviewee to discuss a range of topics and aspects. This aligns with the holistic nature of the Māori worldview. As illustrated by Mason Durie’s \textit{Whare Tapa Whā} model, each aspect is intertwined and cannot be separated. Smoking, as a culturally and individually complex behaviour, cannot be explored from only a single aspect of a person’s life, but rather from multiple aspects. For example, it is well known that smoking impacts severely on a person’s physical health, but it will also impact upon their mental and spiritual well-being. This will be further elaborated upon in the discussion.

\textsuperscript{181} Te Hennepe, S. (1993).
Narration

To portray the individual stories in a manner that I felt would best convey to the reader the meanings with which they had been spoken, Russell Bishop’s notion of collaborative stories and narrative inquiry was employed. He states:

“This process of co-joint construction of meaning, of creating collaborative stories, was predicted upon mutual respect and commitment to the outcomes of the research between the participants. Methodologically, the project did not intend to offer descriptors of predictability (that is advice), or replicability (that is a formula), or to consider reliability and validity external to the projects themselves. Rather the approach was to allow for a multivoiced construction of meaning, in a manner that promoted self-determination by the research participants through a process of power sharing.”

Power and control is an important aspect of research and this method was chosen as it allows “power and control to reside within the domain of the research participant.”

It is the interviewee that defines what constitutes their story, truth and meaning. The aim of such a method is to uncover the participants ‘voice’ rather than seeking commonalities.

The body and eyes often say what words do not. For this reason I wanted to utilize a method of narration that would allow the unspoken meanings from the interviews to be expressed. Therefore, I choose not to use the traditional method of verbatim, for I felt that it would not allow for the true meaning of the words to be conveyed to the reader. The meaning of words is constructed by the context within which they are spoken. This includes contextual factors such as non-verbal clues, for example, body language and facial expressions: “Contextual factors are not readily available to the reader of verbatim, and therefore, verbatim is an insufficient representation of meaning.”

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183 Ibid, p. 23.
To develop the collaborative stories, the spoken words need to be turned into written text. While the pakeke’s words were used as the basis for their story, as stated earlier, firstly hesitations and gaps were deleted and grammar was changed where necessary, and the unspoken meaning behind the words, gleaned from observation and personal understanding, was incorporated. According to Hokowhitu (2002) “An accurate record of words originally spoken is of less importance than the effective transformations of meaning by the researcher”\(^{187}\). The chronological arrangement of the transcripts was also altered by grouping together similar themes and topics, avoiding repetition and redundancy, thus, allowing for clarity of meaning. The collaborative narrative method calls for narratives to be revisited by both parties to gain maximum understanding and clarity. Bishop (1996) employs the metaphor of a koru to illustrate the importance of revisiting the developing narratives.\(^{188}\) This is a spiralling process of clarification.

The koru method ensures the pakeke has control over the meaning in their story. Crucially, the stories were returned to the participants for checking to ensure their story had not been misrepresented and to verify that the meaning I had derived from their words was accurate: “the challenge to the researcher is to create a piece of writing that conveys meaning both parties can agree upon.”\(^{189}\) I was also aware that “failure to check back with the people can lead to inaccurate and unfair representations”\(^{190}\) and, in the Māori world at least, a diminishing of mana; something that was imperative that I avoided. Essentially, it was vital that the meaning of the stories were verified and to check that the pakeke were satisfied with what had been written and happy for that information to be used for the purpose of this research; it was after all, their story. To misrepresent or convey the wrong meaning of their spoken word would be to insult the pakeke’s mana.

The concept of mana is also relevant to respecting those that are older and more knowledgeable than oneself. In tikanga Māori one version of respecting an elder can


\(^{188}\) Bishop, R. (1996).


be seen in the relationship between tuakana\textsuperscript{191} and teina\textsuperscript{192}. To not show the appropriate respect for the tuakana would be to breach tikanga. The "Western scientific view of the researcher as the expert and the research respondent as 'the inexpert knowee' is rejected because it establishes a false power hierarchy, placing the researcher at risk of breaching tikanga".\textsuperscript{193} Within this relationship the teina are the lesser knowing and it is the tuakana who has the knowledge and who is seen as the expert that is to be respected and revered.\textsuperscript{194} The relationship reflects one of a teacher and student; the tuakana (pakeke) is the teacher and the teina (interviewer) the student. As the teina I am expected to contribute to the process, for "a student who contributes nothing to the learning process will not be a good student."\textsuperscript{195} As the teina in the research relationship it is important that I asked questions to develop understanding of what is passed on to me by the tuakana, and that I reciprocated by speaking of my own perspectives so that the research process was not one where I was merely the "empty vessel" being filled.\textsuperscript{196}

"Originally, the researcher (either as anthropologist, historian, sociologist, demographer, educator or whatever) was deemed accountable only to her/himself and possibly to the sponsoring institution, corporation, or government agency; this view is now considered outmoded, and certainly in the Maori arena, is no longer tenable."\textsuperscript{197}

As a researcher I was accountable to those that offered to share with me their knowledge and experiences. The participants in this research shared with me invaluable knowledge and it is my responsibility to ensure that their mana was upheld. Smith (1999) has a number of sayings she believes are relevant when working with Māori:

\textsuperscript{191} Older sibling
\textsuperscript{192} Younger sibling. In this context I am referring to myself as being the teina in the research process and the pakeke as the tuakana. The pakeke are tuakana as they are the knowledge holders and need to be respected as such (Hokowhitu, B. (2001)).
\textsuperscript{194} Hoko, B. (Unpublished Essay).
\textsuperscript{195} Hokowhitu, B. (2002), p. 142.
\textsuperscript{196} Ibid.
“Aroha ki te tangata (a respect for people).
Kanohi kitea (the seen face, that is present yourself to people face to face).
Titiro, whakarongo ... korero (look, listen ... speak).
Manaaki ki te tangata (share and host people, be generous).
Kia tūpato (be cautious).
Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata (do not trample over the mana of people).
Kaua e mahaki (don’t flaunt your knowledge).”¹⁹⁸

The principles that Smith outlines above have guided my research methodology and how I conduct myself as a researcher.

**Life Experience**

As stated earlier I am a non-Māori person who is involved in Māori research. My research journey began with many hours spent contemplating if I had a ‘right’ to conduct this research. The decision to proceed with this research was not made lightly and a number of factors have contributed to my decision, for example, my upbringing by Māori in the past and the support of the Māori I have around me in the present.

My upbringing and the subsequent communities I have been apart of have laid the foundations for my involvement in Te Ao Māori. As stated previously, I was raised in a small rural town with a large Māori community. It was through friendships with Māori in this community that I was shown and taught many different aspects of Māori culture. I have been privileged to have met and developed personal relationships with a number of Māori throughout New Zealand. From these people I have gained, and continue to gain, valuable knowledge, support and guidance. They will ensure that I complete my research in a manner that is culturally appropriate and will benefit their people. I have gained further support and knowledge from my long-term partner who is of the Bay of Plenty iwi¹⁹⁹, Ngai te Rangi.

¹⁹⁸ Smith, L.T. (1999), p. 120.
¹⁹⁹ Tribe (Ryan, P.M. (1995)).
Yet I acknowledge the view that,

“The exploitative nature of past research and the disparity between what has been written by observers and the reality as experienced by the observed, has led to calls by Māori that only Māori should research Māori things…”

Stokes (1985) agrees only in part with this quote, that is, that Māori have been exploited by non-Māori researchers but argues against the dictator of this exploitation being race. Stokes feels the concern should really be whether the researcher is bilingual and bicultural, “whether they are closely involved with the issues facing Māori society today and whether or not they have the skills, knowledge and expertise to confront and investigate the issues.” Within this framework it does not matter if the researcher is Māori or Pākehā. Stanfield II (1994) argues, “Only those researchers emerging from the life worlds of their subjects can be adequate interpreters of such experiences.” I consider myself to have a strong understanding of the Māori world of my participants; the knowledge or understanding I lacked was gained from the support of Māori people around me.

My involvement in conducting this research has only come about because other people see myself as a worthwhile confidante. The participants involved have shared with me their stories, displaying trust in my ability to uphold their mana. Rata (2000) views this as having a Māori ‘heart’. Rata understands the term to refer to “an empathy with cultural aspirations and a total commitment to working for these aspirations”. This term can only be given to a person from others; it is not a term one can give to oneself. As such, it must be earned and displayed through the individual’s actions and intentions.

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204 Haig-Brown, C. (1952).
Findings

Pakeke One

This pakeke began smoking in his twenties and continues to smoke presently. Since becoming a father, his thoughts of quitting have increased. This is his story regarding his smoking.

Tana kōrero:

Family History

Both Mum and Dad were smokers, Dad passed away in 1987. My Dad had 15 brothers and sisters; most of them and their kids smoked. It was almost a kaika mentality. It was very much a community of unemployment, smoking and good times, almost the stereotypical Māori community if you believe the media’s portrayal.

Mum and Dad both smoked from a very early age, and Dad continued smoking, but pretended not to in the last three to four years of his life. Mum was a very heavy smoker; she smoked two packets a day from the time she was eight until last year. She smoked what's called ‘Pall mall Plain’; they don't have filters, just straight tobacco. She's healthy as a fox believe it or not. She's 73 this year.

On Giving up

I often think if I did give up smoking, am I potentially healthier? Do you have a better life? Considering I've lost a lot of friends and family at very young ages who were very healthy and didn't smoke; did all of the right things; ate the right foods and they've been in car accidents or they've just got natural diseases, even cancer, and died.

Often the good times had with family and friends have always been associated with smoking. It's the gossip you talk about, the laugh times. That's what I've always found smoking crowds to be; at work, home or in social settings. I think, "Oh god, I hope I

206 The full transcripts for each interview can be found in Appendix Three, p.80.
207 His or her conversation, interview.
208 Kaika being the Ngāi Tahu dialect for kainga, meaning house, at Otakou.
don't becoming boring", you give up smoking and suddenly you lose your personality and no-one wants to talk to you anymore cause your not cool. There are becoming fewer groups where it is socially acceptable to smoke, so it does marginalize you.

Starting Up
I guess I'm a strange case in that I avoided smoking as a teenager. Part of it was because I played very serious sport, and none of the other players smoked. Even though I was continually in elements where smoking and being offered smokes was a common event, I avoided it all those years and probably the hardest times to avoid it - when you're young and bullet proof. It wasn't until I was a bit older with more common sense that I started.

In some ways I wish I had never started because if you don't know what you're not missing out on it never worries you, but I did start and now that's life. But I know that if I don't make some decisions around not smoking I'll continue to do so.

Workplace
I work sitting in my office and don't usually have lunch, morning or afternoon tea. Coffee gets delivered so I don't move from my desk unless I'm going to a meeting. In some ways having a smoke is good for stress relief. I don't necessarily find life any more stressful if I haven't had a smoke during a day. What I find is smoking makes me get out of my office and think about what I need to do, even if just subconsciously. Sometimes when you're really full on and you can't get your head clear, having a smoke helps because you're not doing anything, you're away from it. Its bloody good fun. I wonder, is it the actual smoke I enjoy or is it the habit of getting out of the office and doing something with your hands?

The Next Generation
My two young boys have changed a lot of my habits. We don't smoke in the car, in the house or while they're around, even if were outside. My wife doesn't smoke, she gave up when we first found out we were pregnant. I never smoked around her while she was pregnant. That's all about that second-hand smoke. You see it on TV, the ad with the wee baby in the crib and smoke coming under the door. I think "oh god", it's nice not to have that for our kids.
For me personally it’s something that I quite enjoy. I’ve considered giving up particularly in the last year with the kids, but I find that it’s the only thing that I have that’s mine and I really enjoy it. I don’t drink very often and I don’t gamble. I have no other vices apart from smoking. Not that that justifies the reason for smoking but it feels like something that I really enjoy and something that I want to hold onto, even with all of the negative impacts. The kids are slowly changing that habit as they come home with smokefree material from kindergarten – the guilty feelings tend to come on. I’m sure there’s a time coming soon when my oldest boy will be saying, “You shouldn’t be doing that Dad, its bad for you.” I’m getting to a space where I feel like I’m ready to give up but still quite enjoy it. I don’t want to become one of those failed non-smoking attempts, when I give-up I actually want to.

My wife was never a heavy smoker, we were both the same. When we found out she was pregnant she gave-up, cold turkey. Still off it today, four years after our youngest was born, which is very cool. She keeps telling me once you get over the six-month hump, you tend to loose - you'll always be a smoker, but you tend to lose the real need to have it. That sticks in my head, as it's not that unattainable.

Kids certainly are quite a stressful change of life. For my partner they were positive in terms of health, but overall they change your life big time and they have an impact on smoking or at least they should - which they did in our house.

**Cessation Programme**

You often see the adverts on TV, for *Me Mutu*\(^{209}\). They're good triggers as I know some of the people on there and it's very much tempted me. What I really struggle with is the fear of failure, not so much that I don't give up but the fear: "What's the point in trying to give up?" Where as if I've never tried, I've never failed. It seems probably ludicrous but that's a real concern. I think if I really want to smoke then ringing someone and saying don't do something or go and wash your hands, it worries

\(^{209}\) In 1998 the Health Sponsorship Council, Cancer Society and Te Hotu Manawa Maori formed the 'Quit Group', who run smokefree campaigns advertising Quit/Me Mutu (The Health Sponsorship Council, The Quit Group).
me that it won't cut it when I really want a cigarette. It probably would be good but I'm scared that it wouldn't do and then scared that I would continually not want to try because I've failed. I'm also very clear that unless I want to give up that I might not.

**Being Positive**

One of the most difficult things is that I don't see on TV the translations of the advertising into non-smokers. There's no comparative data with what life used to be like and what it's like now. The only thing I see associated with Māori and smoking on the media, for me as Ngāi Tahu\(^{210}\), is that Māori and Pacific Island kids are still buying a packet of smokes and starting to smoke at age 15. That's probably no different than non-Māori, a comparative of the statistics probably aren't that dissimilar, but it's only Māori that come through strongly as being stereotyped into, "they're the smokers and the non-Māori are of course not". I don't think that's the case and it would be good to see some of the changes that must have happened for Māori. It would be a real seller if you started to see, "since 1995, 30% of Māori who did smoke don't anymore", being positive about it. All it is is, "Kia ora\(^{211}\) you've taken the first step... welcome to Quitline", but it doesn't translate into positive stories. There seems to be very little data that talks about the postive aspects of Māori non-smoking.

**What can be gained from becoming smokefree?**

Other than more money, I'm not sure anything. I know all the decreases risk with health; obviously that's the biggest thing you gain from not smoking. The other thing that you could gain is being a positive role model. In some respects I see myself as a role model even though I do smoke. I don't see that there is any other benefit. Other than it's good for my kids to know I don't smoke and an encouragement for them not to.

It would be good to see more of the incentives of non-smoking. The quit smoking for Māori on TV it's all about "hey, I did it" or "it's for my children", but that may not necessarily be an incentive for me or for anyone else. What are some of the tangible

\(^{210}\)Iwi of the South Island.

\(^{211}\)Greeting, hello.
benefits of quitting smoking? Or at least some of those things that other people could grab a hold of. You don't see those on the TV.

As a smoker I'll always be a smoker, I just may not smoke. That's a big fundamental difference than somebody who's a non-smoker. The achievement of that could attain to the achievement of other things. There's a whole lot of potential incentives, but for me personally, I have professionally done well, am happily married, got two good young boys, a really good job, am studying, and have been around the world. I don't feel like I'm missing out on anything because I smoked. If I hadn't have started smoking at age 20, would life have been different? Probably not. I don't think I would have had anymore incentive or drive by not smoking then what I have, even now as sort of a "part-timer".
**Pakeke Two**

Two months prior to this interview this *pakeke* gave up smoking.

*Tana kōrero:*

**Background Information**

I grew up in Huntly, a small town where everybody knows everybody. I have an older brother and a younger sister. My parents split up when I was 11 years old and I got a new Dad. He passed away last year.

My Mum has smoked since she was a teenager. My Father has never smoked, and my Dad used to smoke until he passed away. My brother also smokes and has done so since he was 15. My sister doesn’t smoke unless she’s totally trollied\(^2\).

I didn’t start smoking until the end of my first year at university. I was living with my boyfriend at the time. He used to smoke and I absolutely hated it. I had always been one of those hardcore anti-smoking freaks; I used to scream at Mum for smoking around us. I made him give up smoking and then four months later we had this big fight, my mate who smoked was staying over, and I said “Give me one of those” and started smoking.

**Smoking History**

I used to smoke heaps up until I had my baby. I used to party all the time and I would smoke a packet a night, as well as what I was smoking during the day. I smoked while I was pregnant, I tried to give up but it was too hard. I cut down heaps, to maximum five a day, sometimes it would be one a day. I didn’t quit until I was seven months pregnant. I had some stuff going on with her Dad just after she was born, so I started smoking again – but not as much as before because I don’t smoke around her or in the house. I would’ve smoked max five-ten a day. That’s all I’ve smoked for the last two years.

\(^2\) Colloquial term meaning to be drunk.
Quitting

Baby’s Dad doesn’t smoke and he’s always on at me about it because he hates it. I couldn’t smoke at home around him; it was only during the day when I went to varsity or at Mum’s place that I could have a smoke. I didn’t bond with baby until near the end of my pregnancy. Then it was “hey hang on a minute, me smoking is probably not good for her.” It was just so easy to go back to smoking after baby was born, because the reason I gave up smoking was my pregnancy. I feel different about giving up this time, it’s not like anyone was saying I have to give up for these reasons.

I have wanted to quit for ages. My Mum gave-up before my Dad died, and has since started again. I thought, “if she could give up after smoking for 30 odd years, then sweet as.” I was getting to the stage where it was not enjoyable, I was having to sit out on the back doorstep in the freezing cold in the middle of winter to have my smoke; it was tasting disgusting; you become aware of the fact that “damn, I stink!” I also wanted the money, even though I only smoked two packets a week, I wanted that $20. Since quitting I’m saving it. If I didn’t do that I would find something else to spend the money on.

I decided to quit the day after my flatmate had gone home for the varsity holidays. I was sitting out on my front doorstep having a smoke and a friend walked past and said to me “time to give up - I gave up”. The next day I was sitting out on the step again and thought to myself “why am I smoking? What is it giving me?” I thought, “I’m giving up”. And so I did.

Giving up was physically hard for the first four-five days. I had headaches and was really grumpy. Other than that the habit is the hardest part to giving up. While I was at home, for the university holidays, I didn’t find it a problem because I don’t smoke in the house or while baby’s around, there wasn’t many times at home that I did smoke. Coming back to varsity I found it more difficult because I’d smoke before I went into a lecture and, even if I only had an hour lecture, the first thing I did after the lecture was have a smoke. I’d be lighting up as I was walking out the door. I found that habit really hard. I gave-up drinking coffee for the first week as well, that was one of the things that I did, have a coffee and a cigarette. I have been able to go back to drinking coffee, but not as much as what I used to.
I did a drug trial earlier in the year and I had to give up smoking from Thursday morning until we came out on Saturday night. Having a smoke wasn’t the first thing I wanted to do when I got home and all day Sunday I didn’t smoke. It wasn’t until I got to varsity on Monday morning that I had one. This happened over two weekends in a row and I thought, “if you can give up for four days, cause you want some money”, and I didn’t really feel like I’d had any withdrawals, “maybe I should give up full stop”. My flatmate had given up at Christmas time, so I didn’t have anyone to go and sit with on the back door step and smoke with anymore. It sucks being the only smoker. People say that it’s a social thing and it is, because when you’re the only person who is smoking and you have to go outside it’s not that enjoyable. I hardly ever go out so I haven’t had to really encounter the whole pub scene with smoking yet. Having no-body around me who smokes made it easier to quit.

Impact of quitting
Now that I’ve quit I feel proud of myself. Probably to a non-smoker it’s “big deal, you gave up smoking, why did you start in the first place?” Only smokers who have tried to give up appreciate, “yeah, I actually have some control over my life again”. Half the time when you’re smoking your not even conscious of the fact you’re smoking. I feel I have a bit more control now because I can control that part of my life. You’d go and sit in a lecture and if I’d had a smoke I wouldn’t want anyone to sit right next to me because I didn’t want the smoke smell going all over them, that’s not an issue anymore. I feel I’ve got more control over my life now because I managed to stop smoking.

Daughter
My daughter had some influence in me wanting to quit, not so much in that I didn’t want to be a bad role model for her because I think that teenagers and young people that start smoking are going to regardless of whether their parents smoke or not. I won’t be happy if she starts smoking, because of all the health stuff, but because I wish somebody had told me how hard it was to quit. There has been other time’s when I’ve tried and it’s been too hard. When you start smoking you don’t realize that you’re going to go: addicted straight away, I don’t think anyone does. Maybe you don’t but you carry on and you do get addicted, then it’s hard to give up.
Do you see having that control being handy in the future?
I’ve got a master plan. Firstly, I needed to give up smoking and I’m giving myself a chance to get over giving up and then I’m going to start going back to the gym as I want to lose some weight - I want to be healthier. Maybe I can get my butt out of bed to go to the gym because “hey, I gave up smoking.” Hopefully I can use some of the will power to do that, but that might be a bit harder.

What can be gained?
I’m a little more confident now that I don’t stink. If I’m talking to a random person or walking past somebody, I’m not stinking of cigarette smoke. If I’m sitting in a lecture next to somebody and I turn around and say something I’m not knocking them out with my breath. I think I was conscious of clothes smelling; now I notice it on other people as well. Up at the kōhanga reo\textsuperscript{213} yesterday and everybody up there smokes – \textit{kei te hē!}\textsuperscript{214} They all go outside for their break, have a smoke and come back in and it’s, “damn, you stink!” And I’m thinking, “oh my god, that was me!” Before I was conscious of it but not to that extent.

\textsuperscript{213} Language nest, Māori pre-school (Ministry of Health (2003)).
\textsuperscript{214} That’s wrong (Williams, H.W. (2002)).
This pakeke had a long involvement with smoking and at the beginning of this year she decided to quit smoking. At the time of this interview she had been smokefree for over six months and has now been smokefree for over a year.

**Tana kōrero:**

**Background information**

I come from Te Kuiti. My sister and I decided to have a look down south and see what the shearing was like down here. We came down here the end of '76 and that was when we took up smoking, both of us. I was 16 when I first started smoking. Smoking and drinking was part of the social scene, and it still is in a lot of shearing gangs. That’s just the way it was. That’s where the habit started.

I smoked for nearly 20 years. Not a heavy smoker during the week but as soon as I started drinking that’s when I’d feel the need to reach and have smoke after smoke. In the course of a night drinking I’d smoke a whole packet. During, the week when I wasn’t drinking, I’d only smoke a whole packet over the week. It was a social thing: “Oh good. Sit down, relax, have a smoke and a drink.” I associated smoking with drinking and relaxing. I know it was wrong but it was just the way it was.

**Quitting**

Every year my New Year’s resolution was to give up smoking. I went on with this for years and years. It never eventuated until the beginning of this year when I had our granddaughter come home. I went to pick her up and give her a kiss and my girl said to her “tell nanny you smell like an ashtray”. I found every time I wanted to give her a hug or a kiss I’d have to run inside and brush my teeth, because I didn’t want her smelling the smoke on my breath. They were here for three weeks and I said to her the day that she left, “Nanny’s gonna give up smoking darling” and I did. Threw away my packet of smokes and I haven’t had a fag since.

**Motivations**

I got fed up with smoking. I knew it wasn’t doing any good. Having a granddaughter that motivated me even more. To think that perhaps if I’d carried on smoking when she’s 21 I might not be round to see her 21st. That’s the things I’m looking at, as they
say on TV on those Māori ads, we need to set an example to our young one’s. We’ve got a lot of family and a lot of young one’s are starting to dabble with smoking and I say to them, “that’s a habit that you can get hooked on for a lifetime – it’s not a good habit to have. It’s so easy to start but it took me twenty years to give up.” Twenty years is a long time to be bloody smoking. I know the damage I’ve done to my lungs inside, that can’t ever be replaced, but I’m not going to be doing any more damage.

Changes in Health
I’m feeling really good now. Naturally after 20 years of smoking its cough, cough, cough. I’m coughing more now then I did when I was smoking, coughing up a lot of phlegm and it’s gonna take a ten year process, they tell me, to clear all the phlegm out from my lungs. I’m quite happy with that. I’ve also noticed breathing is a lot easier, especially at work. It’s quite a physical job and I found my breathing was quite, not laboured, but with smoking you get short of breath and what not. Now working I feel a lot better with it. My breath tastes a lot better and my tongue, with smoking over all those years I got a real funny taste in my mouth like you couldn’t taste anything. Now my taste buds are starting to come back, I can taste food a bit better. I’m enjoying food a lot more and thinking to myself, “why the heck was I so silly and smoked all those years.” It took me this long to give up smoking and I don’t know why I bothered starting in the first place.

You come to a point where you think, “I can’t be bothered having a smoke anymore.” You see the ads on TV, smoking’s this and smoking’s that. There are a lot of ads with Māori on them and that’s really positive, especially for us, us middle-aged Māori, but also for our young one’s too, it’s showing them you can enjoy this and that without having to light up at the end of the day. I feel a positive thing now with smokefree bars and that. A lot of people that I know smoke and they say, “they can’t do that”, I say but you’ve got to think about it. When we were smoking in a pub we didn’t think about anyone else’s fresh air or their space, all we thought about was ours, “I’ve gotta have that fag”. I’m on the other side, for someone who’s a non-smoker I can see how they feel.
I've got a friend that works with me and she's talking about giving up smoking and she goes “Will you encourage me?” and I say “Äe, I’ll tautoko216 you”. The first week I didn’t have a smoke at work, all my mates were going “Are you alright? Do you want a peppermint or you want this or that?” and they’d tautoko me and helped me. It’s important to have some support, to have someone that at least says to you: “Good on you for doing it”. I’ve got the support of my Tāne217, he’d say, “You didn’t need that anyway”. or, “Good on you Mum”; that’s been a great support for me.

Family Reactions
Good! My daughter’s been really supportive. Giving up it’s for yourself and for your family. My daughter started me out walking for the first week and “Oh god!” I said, “Are you trying to kill me!” and she goes, “You’ve already done that with your smoking” and carried on walking. We had some laughs and I told her how I started smoking and how stupid it was. She goes, “look at the positive, you’re not going to be smoking anymore.” It is good, I feel much better about it.

What have you gained?
Apart from weight! It’s more or less a feeling of feeling better in the morning and getting up and having a feeling of more well-being. I know if I’d had a hard night on the piss and I smoked a packet of smokes, the next day I’d feel like coughing my lungs out. Now I don’t have that problem anymore. I feel better for it.

It’s something that I’ve done without anybody else. It’s something that I’ve been thinking about but I’d never thought I’d actually do it. I toyed with the idea for years: “this is gonna be my New Year’s resolution, the year 2000”. I didn’t think anymore of it till this year. Thinking of well I’ve got the next twenty years so I’ll throw them away, take up something else. I’ve taken up learning how to use the computer. Giving away an old habit and starting something new. I’m glad I’ve given up smoking. Last year I did my first Cavalcade218 and “oh god!”, you do a lot of walking, a lot of

215 Yes, agree (Ryan, R.M. (1995)).
218 Cavalcade is a week-long horse trek in the Central Otago region.
downhill walking. I could hardly keep up with anybody! This year, they said, “what are you up to, you on steroids or something?”, “nah, I’ve given up smoking” “good on ya girl!” They say, “you look like you’ve got a bit more energy” and that’s what I find I have got – a lot more energy. It’s just those little things, like a bit more energy and feeling like you can go a bit further without having to be restricted by feeling tired and huffing and puffing. Next year, when I do this next Cavalcade, I’ll be right up the front. I’m pleased I gave up smoking; cause six months has gone by really quick.

Withdrawals
It’s good because my partner doesn’t smoke and I decided to throw out all the lighters and ashtrays in the house. I put the ashtrays out in the garage, so inside the house is no smoking. The first month I found it sort of like, the temptation was still there, but now I can just look at a smoke and think “nah”. Sometimes when you’re in a pub and it’s crowded you smell that smoke and you think “mmmm…” but “nah, I don’t want that social smoke”. I’ve decided I’m smokefree; I’m not a smoker.

Role Models
We’ve got a lot of nieces and nephews up in Christchurch, I run around outside: “don’t you smoke” and they go “no”, “it’s not good for you”, “okay Aunty”. You just got to catch them at that age, because once they start experimenting... you try and tell them, not in a sort of lecturing way but in a positive way, that smoking’s no good for them. Those ads or TV with Pita Sharples and the other one, they’re really good ads that they should keep them going. It gets in your subconscious and it makes you think. You look at that ad and it says, “no, no, that’s not me”. They keep coming on just to remind you now and then.

It’s good that a lot of places have become smokefree and a lot of marae, a lot of sporting venues and functions that you can’t smoke inside too. It’s making people more aware that there’s a reason for it. All the things that we have going for us, smoking is the thing that can hold us back and it can become addictive, especially for our youth coming up. If they’re not smoking they’ve got minds to concentrate on other things.
Pakeke Four

*Pakeke* Four has had an ongoing relationship with smoking that has seen her become smokefree for a number of years before beginning to smoke again.

*Tana kōrero:*

**Family History**

In my schooling years I grew up in a small forestry town. The town was literally carved out, all the trees cut, and a mill was developed. It attracted a lot of Māori as labourers; the bosses in the town of course were Pākehā. The town was established amidst several Māori communities and so there was a heavy Māori population. In my own family growing up my great grandfather didn't smoke, however, my great grandmother on my father's side, my Pacific side, smoked. Both my parents smoked and my grandmother on my mother's side, my Māori side, also smoked, although my grandmother gave up when she was about 65. Surprisingly, I never smoked until I was in my 30s.

**University Life**

Throughout my university years, I was the one student in my peer group who never smoked. We were all sports and *kapa haka* people. I never started to smoke until a big catastrophe happened in my life; my separation which lead to my divorce. The combination of the separation and working very long hours for the struggle, maintaining an academic post, writing my Masters of Arts and being a single mother with friends who were smokers was the turning point of my becoming a smoker. I was at the marae one night and everybody went outside. I followed and they said, "have a smoke". At first I resisted and then relented. I inhaled for the first time, probably because I was dead tired, and it gave me this huge adrenaline boost and loads of energy. That first inhale was, ironically, a 'lifesaver'. I managed to go from only smoking in the evenings not around my child, to one maybe three times a week (for that extra adrenaline boost), to being a smoker.

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219 Māori performing arts group (definition given by this pakeke).

220 Meaning the *kōhanga reo* and *kura kaupapa* movement.
New Beginnings

I made the decision when I took up a new academic position of seniority that I would not smoke publicly. I also gave up from February this year and I have just started up again. I developed a relationship with smoking where I perceived it gave me an adrenaline boost, I could manage being a single mother, paying a mortgage, and having a high profile job, as well as being an active participant in the kōhanga and kura kaupapa movement. It was also a comforter for the emotional things I was going through - it didn't argue back, it was like a security blanket. It was also about taking time out for me. Smoking takes you out of your pressure zone; you go outside and it gives you time to yourself. Smoking is an escape from the stress and routine of having back-to-back appointments/obligations. Smoking is a pacifier, the same way as a child would use their thumb.

It's also a connection point with other Māori. I work with mostly Pākehā men and the higher up you get, as a woman, the lonelier it gets in terms of not seeing other Māori, men or women, around you. In all of my jobs I've always been a minority. It's a connection point for me to get to meet with other Māori who are my community and my sustenance. It's about my wellbeing as a Māori. People will say this is a weakness, and it is a weakness, but it is still a bridge to my support system.

Workplace

I tried in this workplace to say, “let's try and be smokefree”, and I met with some mixed views from staff. A good portion of them are smokers, and they said, "oh it'd be too tough". I talked to them about it, saying that, “if we do (be smokefree) we could be a support system for each other”. It didn’t take on. Everyone has their own stories and reason’s for smoking and being in this cycle. Just as we [Māori] are not homogenous; there's not one homogenous reason for people smoking. There are themes that relate to all of us; one of those being stress. It is difficult for Māori smokers to give up when they are stressed. Also, if you do give up you can become isolated from ‘the group’, which is also stressful. In this workplace there are so few Māori people that it is not big enough to have a non-smokers group and a smokers group. I still have to work out why as a student I never smoked; I didn’t fancy it

really. But I was with smokers. Māori that I know that are non-smokers in my field are a minority and spread all over the country. When I'm on my own, away from work or away from Māori environments, like overseas, I don't smoke and I can sustain it. When I come back into these environments that's when I smoke. I haven't worked out a way of not doing that. The two years that I didn't smoke, was problematic as I limited my contact with my Māori community because I couldn't risk putting myself into a smoking environment for fear of starting up again.

**Quitting**

I decided one summer to quit and had acupuncture to help me. I also hired a personal trainer. It was great. But then, of course, the trainer said he couldn't do it anymore because his relationship broke up and he stopped taking private clients. For two years that worked, but again I had to distance myself socially from the Māori staff. We all found that hard. The reason why I started smoking again is that we had some huge hurdles to jump at work with regard to issues around racism, sexism etc, that I had to endure in my job, and I simply needed my peer group to see me through this. I ‘walked the line’\(^{222}\) and said to my peers “give me a cigarette; I’m not doing this on my own”. That’s not a good excuse I know. When I feel that sometimes it gets all too big, I have a cigarette as a coping strategy.

**The Cycle of Smoking and Quitting**

I go through cycles with regards to quitting. When I know I have to go on a plane and I know that I’m going to be overseas, I decide that’s it and quit. I can kick smoking in two weeks and consolidate for another couple of weeks and then I’m off overseas as a non-smoker. But that’s a different kind of environment. When I’m back here and it’s all go, it's very easy for me to smoke because I have so many hurdles to jump. Smoking is a response to the emotional strain.

**Giving Up**

I think about giving up. I wish that I could blink and all Māori would give up together. There’s another thing, too, that I need to admit. While smoking is a bridge to being a part of your Māori community, there’s also an element of enjoyment - not the

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\(^{222}\) This phrase is referring to how the interviewee went to her peer group and started to smoke again.
cigarette - the actual activity of taking timeout; the assembly of us all together. It's the minimum time we can get to laugh, tell jokes, share gossip, catch-up on news like a book we're reading; its about that support system. It's not a good reason of course to smoke.

The Social Aspect
Smoking can be very social, that's how it started for me along with the stress of separation from my partner. I got sick of being inside all on my own as a non-smoker, so I went out with everyone else and the rest you know.

The Impact of Smoking on Yourself and those Around You
I'm always aware that I never smoke in front of children. I never want my child to smoke and I never want my grandchildren to smoke. I think if I hadn't have smoked, I would not have got through my Masters or PhD. Intellectually I know that in terms of health statistics, it is definitely bad for my health.

Everyone has their own pathway to follow and their own choices to make. I have never supported smoking amongst younger generations. The motivation for me to give up this year was having my daughter away on student exchange overseas and her saying “Mum, I know it’s really hard, but I really want you to think about the negatives of smoking and weaning your way off them”. She didn’t say “give-up!” She understands from being away the politics behind smoking, in terms of Māori politics. It would be great from where she sits if I gave up, to increase my life span and because she wants me to see my mokopuna223. I think that’s definitely a fair incentive for me. More so than my own wellbeing, because it’s going to be a long time before there’s a whole bunch of non-smoking Māori in my area of work.

Being Tough and Isolation
Being a non-smoker in a smoking environment means you need to be tough as a Māori. You have to break yourself away from your community. It means at times, like

going back to *tangi*\(^{224}\), you put yourself in those positions where everyone around you is a smoker. For example, you can be sure that at a *tangi* at the last *hākari*\(^{225}\), the *ringawera*\(^{226}\) are at the back and they will all light up, as it’s their party; and it’s likely that they’re all smokers. When you’re in that environment it’s so easy, because it’s enjoyable, not just the smoking itself, but also the context. The context is like a drug and smoking is part of it, rightly or wrongly. The context of being Māori, of being happy, of *whanaungatanga*\(^{227}\) you have to expect that smoking is a part of that context. It doesn’t need to be that way, but that’s the reality of it. When I’m in that environment I either have to say, “no I’m not going to the pub, or the clubrooms”, or “yes I’ll go to the *marae* but I won’t go with the *ringawera*”. You then become open to being perceived as an educated snob, like you’re too good to be a part of them. For me, I’m not tough enough yet because usually when I go home it’s for something really heavy – like a *tangi* and my emotions are running high; that’s when I smoke. Giving up is a path that I’ve been down but it increases my loneliness and my isolation as a Māori women. I don’t want that. When I go overseas and when I’m not around my peer group, I’m a non-smoker. When I’m here, it’s real hard not to be a smoker.

**What can be gained from being Smokefree?**

Someone said to me you’d be a role model if you became smokefree – oh the pressure! I actually advocate against smoking to younger generations and say, “don’t do what we have done badly”. If we create another generation that is smokefree, we have created a new generation who will collectively frown on smoking and stop the cycle but be tolerant of older generations who do smoke. I never talk about the social context of smoking in order to create another generation that actually says, “We don’t need this”.

I haven’t heard a smoker, to be honest, who says, “they wished they didn’t smoke”, “it would be cheaper”, and all of those things. Again it’s about that whole social


\(^{225}\) *Hākari* is a feast. After the burial service is completed the *hākari* is held (Ka’ai, T. et al (2004)).


\(^{227}\) Relationship, kinship network (Ka’ai, T. et al (2004)).
aspect. Smoking is connected with colonisation. I’m talking about post Treaty\textsuperscript{228} and the unfolding of the two cultures to the present. It has become uncouth to smoke; for one Treaty partner who has been able to give it away as it has become offensive socially.

**Does Smoking Impact on your Culture? Is it something that can be kept Separate?**

There are lots of good things happening in Māori society, like marae becoming smokefree. It is common practice for you to have to smoke out the back or in marked areas. There is an attempt by Māori society and especially marae committees to send clear signals about the health risks of smoking by making marae smokefree – it is not good for you, it is not good for us to advertise it, but we will provide for smokers in particular areas of the marae. Which is more then they did 20 years ago. I don’t think you can have a marae that’s smokefree totally – yet. It may be something that marae aspire to be but I think at the present time they are using a step-by-step process to provide for the differences between generations and those who smoke and those who don’t so no one is isolated. I don’t think you can separate smoking from the culture at the moment. There are so many Māori that smoke; to disengage it from cultural activities would isolate too many whānau. Sports such as waka ama\textsuperscript{229} and smokefree netball are leading the way. I think that any marae that is brave enough to become completely smokefree is setting a trend. But a marae is not just about your own people, a marae is about meeting and greeting other īwi as well and that’s the tricky part.

\textsuperscript{228} Referring to the Treaty of Waitangi.

\textsuperscript{229} Outrigger canoe, *waka* means canoe and *ama* means outrigger (Ryan, P.M. (1995)).
Discussion

The aim of the present research was to examine the impact of becoming smokefree, specifically for Māori people. Essentially, I wanted to discover what Māori people could gain by giving up smoking and what the incentives there are for Māori people to quit their smoking habit. This discussion begins by outlining some of the reasons why Māori within this study began smoking. In addition, the Whare Tapa Whā model is examined in relation to smoking cessation. Within each category of this model I discuss the benefits of becoming smokefree both for the individual and the wider society. Ideas pertaining to the smoking cycle are explored, as well as the social nature of smoking. The concept of a smokefree marae is also explored, along with the effect of smoking on hā and hongi in relation to the ritual encounter of the pōwhiri. Lastly, the notion of being positive about becoming smokefree and the need to celebrate giving up smoking are outlined.

The interviews demonstrated a variety of reasons why Māori begin and continue to smoke. While some of these reasons were similar none were completely the same: "Everyone has their own stories and reasons for smoking... Just as we [Māori] are not homogenous, there's no one homogenous reason for people smoking." There were, however, themes that emerged from the interviews and similar reasons were given as to why two pakeke, in particular, continued to smoke. These included workplace stress and the social context within which these pakeke smoked.

"All the things that we have going for us, smoking is the thing that can hold us back..." Although Māori society has evolved over the years to include new technology and new ways of life, not all changes have been for the better. When James Cook arrived in New Zealand the concept of tobacco smoking was completely foreign to Māori. The focussed marketing of tobacco coupled with trading techniques used during the 1800's saw the uptake of smoking by Māori reach exponential levels.

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230 Essence or breath (Ryan, P.M. (1995))
231 Welcoming ceremony on a marae, rituals of encounter (Ka'ai, T. et al (2004))
232 Pakeke Four.
233 Pakeke Three.
Seemingly, smoking behaviour has become assimilated into Māori society as a cultural norm. One just needs to look at the death rates of Māori due to smoking to realise the extent of this acculturation. Each year hundreds of Māori are dying needlessly from smoking related illnesses. Consequently, future generations are being robbed of a valuable resource in terms of knowledge, support and guidance. A smokefree Māori culture would result in the saving of a natural resource – people – and subsequently, a proliferation in precious resources such as language and tikanga.\(^{234}\) To become smokefree would ensure kuia and koroua are able to pass on all their knowledge to younger generations. Below the benefits of becoming smokefree are further investigated using the four strands of the Whare Tapa Whā model.

**Taha Wairua**

* Taha wairua is the spiritual aspect of one’s health. If a person were to give up smoking their wairua would experience many health gains; one of the most important gains would be pure breath. This is explained with reference to the ceremonial ritual of the pōwhiri.

**Hā/Hongi**

Discussed previously was the notion of hā or breath. As with many Māori cultural concepts breath is connected to a number of other elements within a person, specifically their wairua and mauri. Breathing is the physical and spiritual reality of wellbeing within Māori philosophies. It is the very essence of a person and is the powerful provider of life.\(^{235}\) Breathing gives life to a person and is a way to connect with “the mauri of the universe”.\(^{236}\) Breath is connected to mauri and subsequently wairua. The spiritual connection of wairua and breath is highlighted in the following: “To breathe is also to partake in breathing with ancestors”.\(^{237}\)

\(^{234}\) Custom (Ryan, P.M. (1995)).
\(^{236}\) Ibid. p. 256.
\(^{237}\) Ibid. p. 256.
Spiritually, the *hongi* represents the sharing of *mauri*. Through the act of *hongi* a person’s *hā* and breath of life is exchanged and intermingled. The *hongi* allows for the spiritual and physical bodies to become a single entity; permanently establishing the life force.

On the *marae* the formal welcoming of *manuhiri* follows a process known as a *pōwhiri*. *Pōwhiri* follows a strict process involving many cultural aspects. Smoking can have a negative affect on some aspects of this process of meeting new people. Firstly, smoking can have an adverse effect on the *karanga*. Quite simply, the *kuia* who would normally perform this calling may not live long enough to fulfill their destiny through premature death caused by smoking related illnesses. It could be that those that achieve *karanga* status are unable to execute the callings effectively because of breath or *hā* problems already described. Similarly, smoking related death and illness means there will be fewer *koroua* on the *paepae* to perform the *whaikōrero*. Also, it is *tikanga* for many long chants and incantations to be preformed without taking a breath. Having a ‘long breath’ or the ability to perform incantations in one breath has a highly desirable trait in traditional Māori culture. Smoking has undoubtedly disrupted this tradition. Durie (1995) believes many elders of the next century may not be fluent in *te reo* or familiar with *marae*. It is vital that *kuia* and *koroua* live long enough to pass on their knowledge to the younger generations.

The other aspect of a *pōwhiri* that is affected by smoking is the *hongi*. As described by Wena Harawira (2000) “The pressing of noses during the *hongi* mingles the breath of two people in a show of unity.” The adverse affect of smoking and breath will

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240 Visitor, guest (Williams, H.W. (2002)).
241 Call (Ryan, P.M. (1995)).
244 Short for *te reo Māori*, the Māori language (Ka’ai, T. et al (2004)).
have a negative impact on an individual’s *mauri* and *wairua*. If a person has recently had a smoke the lingering effects will still be present on their breath when performing a *hongi*. This in turn will affect the person with which the *hongi* is being performed, negatively impacting on their *hā*, *mauri*, and *wairua*.

The *pōwhiri* could also be used as a powerful advertising tool to encourage more Māori to become smokefree. The *pōwhiri* illustrates the impact that smoking has on Māori and tikanga Māori by providing visual awareness of the harmful effects of smoking. I envision an advert of a *tangi* beginning with the sound of a *karanga* interrupted by coughing. The advert then shows clips of *kaumātua* performing *whaikōrero* with empty seats beside them to symbolize the loss of a generation. As the *tangata whenua* greet *manuhiri* with the *hongi*, following the *whaikōrero*, a close up of two people performing the *hongi* reveals smoke rising up between both people as they exchange *mauri*. Such an advert puts smoking into an environment and context that many Māori can relate to and are familiar with, thus, providing a culturally specific message for Māori to be *auahi kore*. Moreover, the creation of an advert that highlights to Māori the direct harm of smoking on Māori, while using a cultural practice that has a significant role within Maori society, has the potential to have a profound effect on Māori wanting to become smokefree.

**Taha Tinana**

Smoking is the most common cause of preventable death within New Zealand, and each year is responsible for a considerable number of deaths. Besides the obvious mortality rate the physical benefits of becoming smokefree are also important when considering quality of life. Comments given to one *pakeke* from friends and family highlighted some of the physical gains she experienced by becoming smokefree:

"'You look like you’ve got a bit more energy’ and that’s what I find I have got – a lot more energy. It’s just those little things, like a bit

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248 People of the land, local people, hosts (Ka’ai, T. et al (2004)).
249 Smokefree (Ministry of Health (2003)).
more energy and feeling like you can go a bit further without having to be restricted by feeling tired and huffing and puffing.” 251

There are other physical gains the pakeke interviewed experienced, such as being able to do more physical activity without feeling restricted. This pakeke found she felt “better in the morning and getting up and having a feeling of more well-being”. 252

She also gained a new sense of enjoyment when eating: “Now my taste buds are starting to come back, I can taste food a bit better” and “I’m enjoying food a lot more…” 253 This pakeke also noticed that her breath “tastes a lot better” due to many years of smoking producing a “real funny taste in your mouth like you couldn’t taste anything.” 254

Outcomes pointed out by pakeke are useful in suggesting positive changes in breathing associated with non-smoking. “If I’m sitting in a lecture next to somebody and I turn around and say something to them I’m not knocking them out with my breath.” 255 After becoming smokefree one pakeke found her breathing was easier when she was working; she no longer felt restricted.

**Taha Hinengaro**

The hinengaro of a person is adversely affected by smoking. The influence of smoking on a person’s mind was highlighted by many of the pakeke interviewed. Firstly, smoking was viewed as a means of escaping and to relax away from the intensity of their working lives.

“What I find smoking does is it makes me get out of my office and makes me think about what I need to do, even if just subconsciously. Sometimes when you’re really full on and you can’t get your head clear, having a smoke helps to clear you’re head because you’re not doing anything, you’re away from it.” 256

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251 Pakeke Three.
252 Pakeke Three.
253 Ibid.
254 Pakeke Three.
255 Pakeke Two.
256 Pakeke One.
These thoughts were also repeated in the kōrero of another pakeke: “Smoking takes you out of your pressure zone; you go outside and it gives you time to yourself.”

Within the busy work schedule of one pakeke, cigarette smoking was an opportunity to rest from the endless appointments and meetings. Yet, there are many alternative activities that a person can do to have a break from work. For example, going to get a drink of water or cup of tea, or emailing a friend.

“All the things that we have going for us, smoking is the thing that can hold us back and it can become addictive, especially for our youth and that coming up. If they’re not smoking they’ve got minds to concentrate on other things.”

Smoking can become an unconscious activity; the habitual nature of smoking enables it to become a part of a person’s daily life. “Half the time when you’re smoking your not even conscious of the fact you’re smoking.”

Smoking gains control over people, through the addictive properties of nicotine and the habitual nature of smoking. A person who is smokefree is no longer controlled by nicotine. They live without the constraints of such an addictive habit. Their life no longer revolves around the need for a cigarette, allowing them to live life as they please. Giving up smoking can allow a person to feel in control of their life again.

Becoming smokefree is by no means easy. To achieve such a goal one must acquire certain skills to assist them in their efforts. These skills include determination and motivation. The determination and motivation that is needed to quit smoking has the potential to transfer into other aspects of a person’s life. For one pakeke giving up smoking has given her the motivation to take up learning a new task, for her it was learning how to use a computer. Another pakeke felt she would be able to draw on the motivation taken to give up smoking to assist her in her fitness regime. Through becoming smokefree these pakeke were able to draw on the strength, motivation and determination needed to give up smoking to achieve other goals in their life, goals they may not have achieved had they continued to smoke.

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257 Pakeke Four.
258 Pakeke Three.
259 Pakeke Two.
Giving up smoking has a number of other emotional gains for a person. These include confidence, pride and control. Confidence can be gained a number of different ways through giving up smoking. Firstly, one can feel confidence through giving up their smoking habit. This can also contribute to a sense of pride. Since giving up smoking the second pakeke described feelings of confidence, as she no longer has the lingering smells of cigarettes.

"If I’m talking to a random person or walking past somebody, I’m not stinking of cigarette smoke... I think I was conscious of clothes smelling and stuff like that, now I notice it on other people as well. Up at kōhanga reo yesterday and everybody up there smokes – kei te hē! They all go outside for their break and have a smoke and come back in and it’s like, “damn, you stink!” And then I’m thinking, “Oh my god, that was so me!” Before hand I was conscious of it but not to that extent."^260

She was able to gain confidence in knowing that her clothes and breath no longer smelt of smoke. For this pakeke giving up smoking has seen her gain confidence possibly, through eliminating the stigma associated with smoking. Another pakeke felt proud of herself for quitting smoking without the help of anyone else. Her sense of pride was further enhanced by the fact that she had thought about becoming smokefree many times before but believed she would never really achieve this goal.

**Taha Whānau**

*Taha whānau* incorporates a person’s family who are seen as a valuable support system providing a person with emotional, physical and cultural care and sustenance. Death and illness from smoking is not limited to the adults that smoke but also to the children exposed to second-hand smoke. Children’s exposure to second-hand smoke can cause many illnesses including glue ear, croup and pneumonia. As previously stated parental smoking has also been attributed to SIDS.\(^{261}\)

The principles of the “It’s about whānau” campaign were reiterated in the interviews with many of the pakeke emphasizing whānau or family as the catalyst for quitting. One pakeke saw giving up smoking as something she had done not only for herself

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\(^{260}\) *Pakeke Two.*

but also for her family. This *pakeke* was supported, and continues to be supported, by her *whānau* in becoming smokefree. The support given by family and friends can help Māori to not only become smokefree but stay smokefree.

Children and grandchildren heavily influenced the thoughts of one *pakeke* in becoming smokefree, ultimately resulting in her cessation. Another *pakeke* is determined to become smokefree when she becomes a grandmother. The influence of *whānau* on the decision to quit smoking can be strong, especially within Māoridom where family features strongly in a person’s life. For the third *pakeke* interviewed the motivation to give up smoking came when her mokopuna came to visit:

> “I went to pick her up and give her a kiss and my girl said to her “Tell nanny “you smell like an ashtray”. I found every time I wanted to give her a hug or a kiss I’d have to run inside and brush my teeth, because I didn’t want her smelling the smoke on my breath.”

**Air**

Smoking has an effect on the air that all people breathe. One *pakeke* highlighted her positive feelings toward making bars/pubs smokefree:

> “A lot of people that I know smoke and they say, “They can’t do that”, I say but you’ve got to think about it. When we were smoking in a pub we didn’t think about anyone else’s fresh air or their space, all we thought about was ours, “I’ve gotta have that fag.”"

When someone is smoking the air around them becomes contaminated with the poisons from the cigarette and anyone who is around that person is also breathing in unclean air. The benefits of becoming smokefree are not only limited to the ex-smoker, they also extend out to those community and *whānau* members who normally share the air with the ex-smoker.

The smell of a cigarette remains even though the cigarette is finished. In the context of a *kōhanga reo* it is easy to comprehend how Māori children can associate the smell of smoke with community and safety when many of the *kaiako* are smokers. It is

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262 *Pakeke* Three.
263 Ibid.
264 Teacher (Ryan, P.M. (1995)).
also easy to comprehend why many Māori believe kōhanga and kura should be auahi kore.

The Whare Tapa Whā health model illustrates the need for balance within all aspects of a person’s life to achieve wellbeing. Taha whānau is a prominent example of the holistic health advocated by the Whare Tapa Whā model in relation to smoking. Whilst smoking is usually related to physical health statistics, the detrimental effects of smoking on the physical, mental, and spiritual health of the family are evident in all of my interviewees’ stories.

Social Aspect
To help smoking cessation the social context within which people smoke needs to be explored. The pakeke that I interviewed explained the importance of their social context to their smoking behaviour. As explained by one pakeke “it sucks being the only smoker.”265 Another pakeke described the social nature of smoking as the “hardest part to giving up”.266

“When you’re in that environment it’s so easy, because it’s enjoyable, not just the smoking itself, but the context. The context is like a drug and smoking is part of it, rightly or wrongly. The context of being Māori, of being happy, in a happy context of whanaungatanga, you have to expect that smoking is a part of that context.”267

Smoking and the context within which people choose to smoke seem to be an intricate blend. One pakeke felt smoking was a connection to her community and peers, relating these two factors to ‘giving up’ also. In the interview she described feelings of loneliness and isolation from her community if she did not smoke. For this pakeke smoking was a contributing factor to her overall wellbeing because smoking enabled her to interact with her peers and to be given the support she needed within her busy work schedule (also reiterated by another pakeke). She viewed smoking as a connection point to her Māori community and as a comforter for emotional strain and stress she faced within her line of work.

265 Pakeke Two.
266 Pakeke Two.
267 Pakeke Four.
The social aspect of smoking was emphasized numerous times in the interviews. For two pakeke social reasons were given for beginning smoking: “Smoking can be very social, that’s how it started for me along with the stress of separation from my partner. I got sick of being inside all on my own as a non-smoker, so I went out with everyone else...”268 “Smoking and drinking was part of the social scene... it was just the norm to do – everyone smoked.”269 The social environment influenced the behaviour of these pakeke to the extent that they both began to smoke. The first pakeke continues to work in an environment similar to the one that saw her begin smoking. She continues to smoke today but finds that she is able to abstain from smoking for short periods of time when she is out of this environment: “When I’m on my own, away from work or away from Māori environments, like overseas, I don’t smoke and I can sustain it. But when I come back into these environments that’s when I smoke.”270 This individual provides us with an illustration of the social nature of smoking. While this pakeke is away from her Māori peer group and community she does not need to smoke. It is only when she returns to these environments that she begins to smoke again. For the third pakeke, her smoking habit lasted twenty years before she became smokefree.

The forth pakeke highlighted the benefits that could be achieved if Māori were to give up smoking together; “to be a non-smoker in a smoking environment means you have to be tough...Giving up is a path that I’ve been down but it increases my loneliness and my isolation as a Māori women”, and “there are so many Māori that smoke”. These two statements reinforce how difficult becoming smokefree can be and how additional support (which will be discussed later) could assist Māori in their efforts in becoming smokefree. Yet the more Māori who give up smoking the better it will be for all Māori, because there will be a community of Māori non-smokers. This is especially true for future Māori who are considering beginning smoking or who are wishing to give up.

268 Pakeke Four.
269 Pakeke Three.
270 Pakeke Four.
One *pakeke* described how having a smoke allowed her and her peers to get together and talk, laugh, and share news. But why should it be for a cigarette? Why not take a break without using smoking as a focal point? The busy work environment many people face within today’s society make it more vital to take a break. This does not necessarily have to be for a cigarette.

**How to break the cycle of smoking?**

Every year, hundreds of Māori people are dying from smoking related illnesses and many more are taking up the addictive and deadly habit. How can the cycle be broken? Firstly I believe the social nature of smoking needs to be addressed. Time out from a busy work schedule meant for one *pakeke* meeting fellow workers for a coffee and a cigarette. This same *pakeke* becomes smokefree whenever she is overseas – “when I go overseas and when I’m not around my peer group I’m a non-smoker. But when I’m here, it’s real hard not to be a smoker.” The social pull of smoking seems to be extremely difficult to break. There are many alternatives that could be used instead of meeting to socialize over a cigarette. These alternatives can be taken from Māori culture, for example socializing while participating in *raranga*\(^{271}\), making *tukutuku*\(^{272}\) or *tāniko*\(^{273}\), all of which are distinctively Māori and have inherent within them traditions and knowledge dating back to pre-colonisation times.

Smoking is a learnt habit and it maybe useful to ‘exchange habits’, that is, to give up one habit and to take up a new habit or hobby. This was illustrated by one *pakeke* who gave up smoking and decided to learn how to use the computer so she could communicate with her daughter who had recently gone overseas. Another *pakeke* viewed smoking as a good way of getting out of the office, clearing his head and doing something with his hands. It also provided an opportunity to take a subconscious break from work. Again, there are a number of other activities that could be performed instead of smoking within this context. A distinctively Māori alternative is the art of *whai*\(^{274}\). This activity would occupy his hands, is inexpensive,

\(^{271}\) Weaving, plaiting (Ka’ai, T. et al (2004), Ryan, P.M. (1995)).
\(^{272}\) Woven ornamental panels, lattice work (Ka’ai, T. et al (2004)).
\(^{273}\) Embroidered border, braid, tapestry (Ryan, P.M. (1995)).
\(^{274}\) String game (Ryan, P.M. (1995)).
requirements minimal materials, can be performed anywhere and the materials are small enough to fit into one’s pocket. Another activity that can occupy a person’s hands, provide a subconscious break from work and can be performed almost anywhere is the poi. Both activities are inexpensive, do not take a lot of time or energy to make and are a healthy alternative to smoking.

Altering the social context to smoking may also make becoming smokefree easier for some. As stated by this pakeke, “Having no-body around me who smokes probably made it easier to quit.” By changing the social context within which a person lives does not mean merely divorcing oneself from a social scene but finding alternative social scenes that provide the whakawhanaungatanga provided by smoking groups. For example, meeting work colleagues for a cup of tea or coffee without needing to have a cigarette.

The less Māori who smoke the easier it will be for others to give up smoking: “Having no-body around me who smokes probably made it easier to quit, because if I had people around me who smoked I think it would be harder.” In a smokefree environment the temptation to smoke is not as apparent, allowing an individual to achieve or maintain a smokefree lifestyle with greater ease.

Smokefree Marae

“There is an attempt by Māori society and especially marae committees to send clear signals about the health risks of smoking by making marae smokefree — it is not good for you; it is not good for us to advertise it but we will provide for smokers. There is a conscious effort by Māoridom now to actually put a particular slant on smoking that it’s not good for us, which is more then they did 20 years ago.”

275 A light ball on a string, used in performing arts (Ka’ai, T. et al (2004)).
276 Pakeke Two.
277 Pakeke Two.
278 Building relationships (Ministry of Health (2003)).
279 Pakeke Two.
280 Pakeke Four.
To have smokefree marae denormalises smoking. It is a step towards unmeshing smoking out of Māori culture. Having marae that are smokefree sends a clear message to, most importantly, other Māori that this particular hapū will no longer tolerate the intermingling of smoking in their culture. I believe it is a positive step towards a smokefree society within Māoridom. I also believe it will create unacceptance with the habit by helping to disestablish the image of Māori with smoking.

“It’s good that a lot of places have become smokefree and a lot of marae, a lot of sporting venues and functions that you can’t smoke inside too. It’s making people more aware that there’s a reason for it.”

Until there are smokefree environments, until there are a critical number of smokefree Māori, it will remain difficult for Māori to break the social binds of smoking. Change needs to occur across the many different generations of Māori. Making kōhanga reo grounds smokefree will illustrate to the very young that smoking is not something that is a part of Māori culture. It will provide the generational gap, where a critical mass of Māori who are non-smokers is formed. As outlined below, making marae smokefree is also spreading this message to all Māori.

By having smokefree venues it is saying to people that it is not necessary to smoke, to be smokefree is a good thing. This is especially true as a message to young Māori. Looking at the past will highlight the damage that has been done by smoking. It can also highlight the direction that is needed to avoid further harmful affects, that is, to become smokefree. For example, by separating the culture from smoking by making the grounds of marae, kōhanga, and kura kaupapa smokefree.

**Being Positive**

“There’s no comparative data with what life used to be like and what it’s like now. ...it would be good to see some of the changes that must have happened for Māori. You just don't get to see any of that positivity... I think that for me would be a real seller, if you started

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282 Pakeke Three.
to see, "oh did you know, since 1995, 30% of Māori who did smoke
don't anymore". Being positive about it..."283

Many Māori have given up smoking and are now smokefree. It would be encouraging
for information about the number of Māori who have become smokefree to be known
publicly. It is something that should be celebrated whenever possible. By getting
information regarding Māori who have become smokefree, such as the “It’s about
whānau” adverts, to all Māori may provide further incentive, motivation and drive to
other Māori to also give up smoking. All too often the negative statistics of Māori
health are the only statistics that make it into the media. The effects of one person
giving up smoking will have many spins off. Every Māori person who gives up
smoking is a role model for others. One Māori person who gives up can be all the
encouragement and inspiration another Māori person needs to also quit. Each year
Māori people are giving up smoking and this is a positive step. The more Māori that
give up smoking the less encouragement there will be for others to continue or begin.
Additional support to cessation could in the form of a tuakana/teina284 mentor
relationship. That is, a smoker wanting to give up is teamed with a person who is in
the process of or has already given up. The tuakana is there to provide the teina with
support, advice and encouragement.

As previously outlined, two pakeke that were interviewed began smoking due to the
environments they were a part of, that is, everybody around them was smoking so
they became a part of their environment. If the environment one is a part of is
smokefree this may be all the encouragement needed for that person to also become
smokefree.

“...we have a choice – to grow or not to grow. A choice not to grow
is, in fact, a choice to stagnate. The choice to grow will demand, at
some point, the release of our addictions. The choice to grow doesn’t
take us out of life, it puts us more fully into it. Our addictions are in
the way of our success...”285

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283 Pakeke One.
284 Tuakana is an older sibling of the same sex and teina is a younger sibling of the same sex. In this
context tuakana is used to refer to someone who is older and more knowledgeable (i.e. someone who
has given up smoking). Teina is referring to someone who is less knowledgeable (i.e. trying to give up
smoking).
There are many Māori who have become smokefree. This should be celebrated. To celebrate becoming smokefree would further enhance the image of wanting to become a smokefree culture. It would highlight the importance to Māoridom of becoming smokefree.

The levels of Māori smoking are declining with time and I feel many positive steps are already in place to continue the decline. There is still a lot that can be done to enhance the image of a smokefree Māori society. “All the things that we have going for us, smoking is the thing that can hold us back...”\(^{286}\) I believe this statement to be true. Māori have so many things to offer and contribute to today’s society. To give away smoking is to enable Māoridom to further grow. Giving up smoking can only be positive and for the betterment of the individual and those around them. The more people that do give up smoking the less encouragement there is for others to begin.

Controlling your life and reaching your potential in a Māori cultural framework requires each individual to connect with who they are as a Māori person and their Maori identity. The process of colonisation has dislocated Māori from who they are. The only way to overcome what colonisation does to a people is for individuals to connect themselves back to their roots, to where they have come from. The most important thing that a Māori person can do is to understand their identity. Like many other colonisation processes, smoking hinders the potential to know who you are. Smoking is something that can be controlled by the individual. The power to become smokefree is within the individual’s capacity.\(^{287}\)

This research has attempted to provide an illustration of the history of Māori and smoking. In addition to this I have provided the reader with personal stories about individual’s smoking relationships. These stories have provided the basis with which I have drawn ideas relating to encouraging more Māori to become smokefree. They have also highlighted many of the benefits a person may experience by becoming a

\(^{286}\) Pakeke Three.

non-smoker. Many steps are in place to encourage Māori to give up smoking and I believe every step towards smoking cessation is a step in the right direction.
Bibliography


Broughton, J. (1996). *Puffing up a Storm: "Kapai te Torori!"* Dunedin: Te Roopu Rangahau Hauora Māori o Ngai Tahu (The Ngai Tahu Māori Health Research Unit), The Department of Preventative and Social Medicine, University of Otago.


**Glossary of Māori Terms**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Āe</td>
<td>Yes, agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auahi kore</td>
<td>Smokefree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hā a koro mā a kui mā</td>
<td>The breath of life that comes from one’s ancestors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hā/Hau</td>
<td>Air, breath, essence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hākari</td>
<td>Feast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hapū</td>
<td>Selection of a tribe, clan, secondary tribe: pregnant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hauora</td>
<td>Health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hikareti</td>
<td>Cigarette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hine-ahu-one</td>
<td>Woman of sand, first woman created by Tāne Mahuta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hinengaro</td>
<td>Thoughts and Feelings; seat of the thoughts and emotions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hōhō</td>
<td>Tiresome, nuisance, bothered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hongi</td>
<td>Is the act of pressing noses, indicates the sharing of breath and life when two people meet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hua</td>
<td>Term of disrespect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hui</td>
<td>Gather, meeting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Io Matua Kore</td>
<td>Supreme being (The parentless one)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iwi</td>
<td>Tribe. The largest political unit in Māori society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaiako</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaika</td>
<td>The Ngāi Tahu dialect for kainga meaning house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapa haka</td>
<td>Māori performing arts group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karanga</td>
<td>Call</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karakia</td>
<td>Prayer, incantation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaumātua</td>
<td>Elder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kei te hē</td>
<td>That's wrong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kia ora</td>
<td>Greeting, hello</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koha</td>
<td>Gift, donation, present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kōhanga Reo</td>
<td>Language nest, Māori pre-school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kokowai (Kōkōwai)</td>
<td>Red orche</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Koroua/Koro</strong></td>
<td>Male elder, Grandfather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Koru</strong></td>
<td>Spiral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kuia</strong></td>
<td>Female elder, Grandmother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kura Kaupapa</strong></td>
<td>Māori-language-medium primary and secondary schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mana ake</strong></td>
<td>Uniqueness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mana</strong></td>
<td>Integrity, prestige, charisma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Manaakitanga</strong></td>
<td>To care for, support, kindness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Manuhiri</strong></td>
<td>Visitor, guest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Māori</strong></td>
<td>Person of the native race, the indigenous people of New Zealand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Māoritanga</strong></td>
<td>Māori culture, Māori perspective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Marae</strong></td>
<td>Meeting area of whānau or iwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mauri</strong></td>
<td>Life essence, life principle, life force</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Moko (Tā Moko)</strong></td>
<td>Tattoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mokopuna/Moko</strong></td>
<td>Grandchild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mookoo</strong></td>
<td>Smoko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ngā pou mana</strong></td>
<td>The four supports (health model)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ngāi Tahu</strong></td>
<td>Iwi in the South Island of New Zealand, also known as Kai Tahu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Noa</strong></td>
<td>Free from tapu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Paipa</strong></td>
<td>Pipe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Paepae</strong></td>
<td>Platform for speakers. Refers to the place where the elders (usually male) sit in Māori ceremonial gatherings on marae.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pākehā</strong></td>
<td>A person of predominately European descent, non-Māori, European, Caucasian person.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pakeke</strong></td>
<td>Adult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Papatūānuku</strong></td>
<td>Earth Mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pēpeha</strong></td>
<td>Proverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Poi</strong></td>
<td>A light ball on a string, used in performing arts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pōwhiri</strong></td>
<td>Welcoming ceremony on a marae, rituals of encounter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rae</strong></td>
<td>Forehead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Translation</td>
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<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rangatahi</td>
<td>Youth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rangatira</td>
<td>Chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ranginui</td>
<td>Sky Father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raranga</td>
<td>Weaving, plaiting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ringawera</td>
<td>The kitchen workers at a marae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ritenga</td>
<td>Custom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rongoā</td>
<td>Medicine, healing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tana kōrero</td>
<td>His or her conversation, interview</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tāne</td>
<td>Man, Husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tāne Māhuta</td>
<td>Son of Papatūānuku and Ranginui and is the guardian spirit of the forest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tāniko</td>
<td>Embroidered border, braid, tapestry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tangata Whenua</td>
<td>People of the land, local people, hosts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tangi/Tangihanga</td>
<td>Rites for the dead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taonga tuku iho</td>
<td>Cultural heritage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tapu</td>
<td>Sacred, forbidden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tautoko</td>
<td>Support, to support, reinforce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Ao Māori</td>
<td>The Māori world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te ao tūroa</td>
<td>Physical environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Reo Māori</td>
<td>The Māori language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Wheke</td>
<td>The Octopus (health model)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teina</td>
<td>Younger sibling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tekoteko</td>
<td>Carved figure on house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tikanga Māori</td>
<td>Custom, culture, Māori customary lore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tikanga</td>
<td>Custom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tinana</td>
<td>Body, physical aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuakana</td>
<td>Older sibling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tukutuku</td>
<td>Woven ornamental panels, lattice work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tupeka</td>
<td>Tobacco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turangawaewae</td>
<td>Land base</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tutu</td>
<td>Colloquial term referring to playing around with something, try, fool around with.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wai</td>
<td>Water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waiora</td>
<td>Total well-being</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wairua/Wairuatanga</td>
<td>Spiritual aspect of a person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waka ama</td>
<td>Outrigger canoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whai</td>
<td>String game</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whaikōrero</td>
<td>Make an oration, speak in a formal way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whakataukī</td>
<td>Proverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whakawhanungatanga</td>
<td>Building relationships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whānau</td>
<td>Family, extended family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whanaunga</td>
<td>Relative, blood relation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whanaungatanga</td>
<td>Relationship, kinship network</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whare Tapa Whā</td>
<td>Health model containing four components to describe a holistic concept of health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whatumanawa</td>
<td>The open and healthy expression of one's emotions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whenua</td>
<td>Land, placenta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX ONE
Maori Health Philosophies

Te Wheke (The Octopus)
This Maori health perspective was used to illustrate "health from a Maori family perspective."\(^{288}\) The body and head of the octopus being used to represent the whole family unit and each tentacle symbolizing a dimension of health.\(^{289}\) This model is similar to the Whare Tapa Wha model and also included "wairuatanga (spirituality), taha tinana (the physical side), hinengaro (the mind), and whanaungatanga (the extended family similar to taha whanau)."\(^{290}\) The other dimensions of te wheke were: mauri (life-sustaining principle), mana ake (uniqueness), hā a koro mā a kui mā (the breath of life that comes from one's ancestors), waiora (total well-being), whatumanawa (the open and healthy expression of one's emotions).\(^{291}\)

Ngā Pou Mana (Four Supports)
The Royal Commission on Social policy described health and wellbeing as ngā pou mana or four supports.\(^{292}\) The model differed from the two previous in that greater stress was placed on the external environment and the significance of oral tradition. The four supports being: whanaungatanga (family), taonga tuku iho (cultural heritage), te ao tūroa (physical environment) and turangawaewae (land base).\(^{293}\)

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\(^{289}\) Ibid.
\(^{290}\) Ibid, p. 74.
\(^{291}\) Ibid.
\(^{292}\) Ibid.
\(^{293}\) Ibid, p. 74.
APPENDIX TWO
Cessation Programmes

Outlined below are a few of the cessation programmes in New Zealand.

Auahi Kore
Since 1994, the National Auahi Kore service area has been under the operation of Te Hotu Manawa Māori. This organisation provides a number of different services, resources and training including resource development, advocacy of legislation and dissemination of Auahi Kore information and statistics.^[294]

Why Start?: Hei aha te Kai Paipa?
Hei aha te kai paipa was a nationwide campaign which began in 1996. The campaign was initially administered by the Ministry of Health and later the Health Funding Authority. This campaign targeted Māori and young people through posters and advertising aimed at prevention rather than cessation.^[295]

Initiatives based on Māori culture
Two programmes specifically aimed at stopping Māori smoking via Māori culture are the Noho marae programme and the Smokefree marae initiative. The Noho Marae programme is a cessation programme provided for Māori in a Māori setting. The programme consists of a five to seven day residential hui^[296] on a Marae, where participants stop smoking on Day One. The programme does not use Nicotine Replacement Therapy or any other pharmacotherapies.^[297] The Smokefree marae programme is aimed at making marae - land and buildings - smokefree areas.^[298] The programme is designed for Māori eyes and ears, also cultural pride, through the use of visual and aural messages.^[299]

^[296] Gather, meeting (Ryan, P.M. (1995)).
Marae-based programmes have been used for a range of health promotional activities including smoking cessation.\textsuperscript{300} Increased health awareness and lifestyle changes have been helped by health 'live-in' on Marae.\textsuperscript{301} During 1999, in the far North Te Hauora o te Hiku o te Ika began a health promotional programme, which focused, among other things, on smoking cessation.\textsuperscript{302}

\textsuperscript{300} Durie, M.H. (1998), p. 46.
\textsuperscript{301} Ibid, p. 46.
\textsuperscript{302} Ibid, p. 47.
APPENDIX THREE
Interviews

Pakeke One

Background Information
I was one of very few Māori students at the high school – with 400 students. I left school at fifteen years “because education sucked quite frankly”. I began working in my first job and was there from 1985 until about 1992. In the last four years I was appointed Māori advisor, dealing with Māori community and their tax issues. Then I went to another job for three years, dealing with a $2 million funding scheme for the community and just administrating the allocation to social services. I developed quite a strong interest, in that time, around Ngāi Tahu development and then in 1995 went and worked for Ngāi Tahu, just prior to settlement and in post implementation stage till about a year and a half ago when I began my current job.

Family History
Both Mum and Dad were smokers in our family, Dad passed away in 1987. Particularly in Dad’s family- he had fifteen brothers and sisters, and all of them smoked and so did the majority of their kids. It was almost a kaika mentality. It was very much a community of unemployment, smoking and good times, almost the stereotypical Māori community that you would perceive if you were to believe what the media put in front of you. We didn’t actually live at the community at Otakou; we lived in Dunedin city but regularly travelled down there, to see family and for family events, marae events and the likes.

I grew up with my parents smoking in the house. When I first started work you could smoke at your desk. Everybody had an ashtray on their desk that was chugged up with all these smoke butts and I thought to myself, “oh you filthy hua’s”. Smoke up around the ceilings, but that was common, just about everybody smoked back then or at least 70% smoked in my workplace. It was just the norm, and I remember the up roar when they brought in smokefree workplace, the complete uproar about what were

303 Term of disrespect.
people going to do, they'll never be able to get through the day. It was just a change in law. Now day's things are really different from what they used to be, and for the positive I must say.

**On Giving up**

Mum and Dad smoked both from a very early age and Dad continued smoking, but pretended not to in the last three to four years of his life. He pretended he used to go out and fix the car - he knew nothing about mechanics. Mum knew he smoked when he went out to the garage but never said anything because it was better he had two on the quiet then fifteen because we knew, Mum's mentality was it was better to pretend it didn't happen. Mum was a very heavy smoker; she smoked two packets a day from the time she was eight until last year. She smoked what's called 'Pall mall Plain'; they don't have the filters, it's just straight tobacco. She's healthy as a fox believe it or not. But she's started to get sick now that she's given up smoking. I don't know whether or not the smoking was just holding everything together. I think sometimes in my own head, wonder if I've convinced myself, I must have her gene and I won't get cancer and die. You associate cancer with smoking and look at how healthy she is. She's 73 this year. But they are a rarity. I often think to myself if I did give up are you potentially healthier? Do you have a better life? - Considering I've lost a lot of friends and family at very young ages who were very healthy and they didn't smoke, do all of the right things, eat the right foods and they've been in car accidents or they've just got natural diseases, even cancer and died.

But I know in my own head that I can't justify, me smoking certainly increases my chances of getting the associated diseases with smoking i.e. cancer, emphysema or whatever sort of disease you want to identify. But I sometimes wonder, if Mum's smoking habit has somehow or another subconsciously made me think, "oh its okay, its not that bigger deal, its not that bad, it won't happen to me", I'm sure everybody thinks that. But if I got cancer tomorrow I know that in all likelihood smoking was probably a determinant in it. But I could get it if I wasn't anyway. If I did get cancer tomorrow I would stop smoking. I ensure that I go to the doctor regularly, I think it's partly because I can afford to, a lot of families can't. And I make sure of those sorts of health issues because like all diseases if you catch them early enough your chances of
survival certainly are heighten considerably more if you do it as a last point. But if I did get cancer, I would give up, absolutely.

Often the good times had with family and friends have always been associated with smoking. It's always the gossip you talk about, the laugh times, that's what I've always found smoking crowds to be, either at work or at home or in social settings. The smokers always seem to be, not necessarily the one's that have more fun, but it's different and I don't know whether it's just the smoking or whether that's the association you put with it. But I think, "oh god, I hope I don't becoming boring", you give up smoking and suddenly you lose your personality and no-one wants to talk to you anymore cause your not cool. There are becoming fewer groups where it is socially acceptable, either people aren't in to it anymore or given-up and so it does marginalize you. Maybe that might be the final thing that makes me think, "oh for god sake, I'm standing our here all alone at a party". Less than probably a decade ago everybody smoked and everybody was inside. It's a very different scene. Maybe the time to quit is coming.

**Longevity and Loss**

All of dad's fifteen brothers and sisters, including himself, all died before they were 65. Dad was the second to last one to die in that family. My Mum and one other in Arowhenua are the only partners that are still around. Most of them died from diabetes related illnesses, whether it be a stroke, heart attack – just generally bad health. Associated of course with diabetes is their association with smoking and lifestyles in terms of the foods they ate and the understanding of diabetes. I know someone that works in the field of diabetes so we as a family have gone to some of their education seminars on what’s good food and what’s bad food, why is it good and why is it bad and how you make sure you mix and match to mitigate the amount of blood sugar levels in your body that creates diabetes. That’s been an advantage, but of course smoking is a determinant in whether or not you get type II diabetes, which is what all of my family have died of, including my father.

Dad died when I was nineteen and I had just gone through a period where, you not rebel, but you don't necessarily see eye to eye on a whole lot of worldviews with your parents and sort of a bit antagonistic. My father and I started to become a bit closer
and I ended up losing what potentially could have become prime years in terms of Māori development stuff. I never really got to talk with Dad about a number of things that we probably could’ve linked on, more so in his later years as I got older.

My children have made me think a lot more about, if I did quit smoking, potentially, the likelihood from what statistics and research tells us, I would have more time with them when they're older. My wife and I started somewhat late in the family stakes. My concern is given our family's history, dying young or at least young in terms of my children’s lives, and not getting an opportunity to see them grow. That's been part of a trigger to quit, but the other side of the coin is, I sort of think to myself I've never been a really heavy smoker and I know its not necessarily about quantity, although that does have a bit to do with it. I’m not what I would classify myself as a really heavy smoker. There are days when I don't have any at all, because I'm just too busy. It certainly habitual but only to a point, I could go without it, but I'm just not confident I could go without it for a long time because I still really quite enjoy a smoke when I do have it. My children certainly have had an affect on my thinking towards smoking. Kids certainly did change it - as they do.

**Starting Up**

I guess I'm a strange case in that sense in that I avoided smoking as a teenager. Part of it was because I played very serious sport - maybe that was part of it and of course none of the other players smoked. Even though I was continually in elements where smoking and being offered smokes was a common event, I wasn’t some smoke Nazi that hid away in the corner but what's strange is that I avoided it all those years and probably the hardest times too avoid it - when you’re young and bullet proof. It wasn’t until I was a bit older and probably more common sense that I started, which is very illogical when I think back on it now. If I could go back in time, I probably would find I wouldn't start knowing what I know now, but at the time you don't know and even back when I started in the late 80s, although the associations with cancer and health issues was reasonably well known it certainly wasn’t well advertised. Smokes were still incredibly cheap; they were still seen as quite cool, even though all those associations had been made. Where as, now days when I look at my kids I think they're probably more at a level to make an informed decision right through school. It may not necessarily be as easy; I don’t think it would be any less easy for them not to
smoke. There's a lot more encouragement to not smoke, which is a real positive. In some ways I want to be part of that encouragement not to smoke and that's not by saying, "don't do what dad does", but actually 'practice what you preach'.

My association with smoking started with Mum and Dad. It was something that I particularly never liked. Right through high school when I played international sport at a secondary school level I didn’t smoke. I knew the hazards of it because it was becoming, certainly in the community, a bit more publicly known. It was probably when I broke my leg at sport and took up other leisurely activities, such as drinking, more seriously – as you do at that sort of age, being single and in the workforce earning money – that I started to smoke socially. I still didn’t really smoke until I met my wife who did smoke at that particular time. Even probably back then in the early 90s late 80s it was still quite cool to be a smoker. There weren’t the restrictions that you see now days on where you could smoke, you could even smoke at work, which I never did. For the first three to five years I was maybe six cigarettes a day, and I managed to maintain it – when I really felt like one during the day which was maybe one or two and then a couple after tea. I managed to maintain that but as times gone on and as life’s got more stressful in terms of employment I’ve found myself smoking more. I still smoke presently today somewhere in the vicinity of about ten or eleven a day maximum, unless I go out drinking and then somewhat that deludes me of how many I should be having. That’s the only time I tend to go beyond that though.

It was not until my early twenties really and probably not till the mid-twenties that I started smoking ten a day. Prior to that I was a very social smoker, maybe one, two or three a day maximum. Which seems ridiculous when I look back on it now because I think I sort of probably got through a lot of the hard times as a young one with temptation to smoke. In some ways I wish I had never started because if you don't know what you're not missing out on it never worries you and I did start and now that's life. But it is coming to a point where I know that if I don't make some decisions around not smoking I'll continue to do so.

**Workplace**

I work sitting in my office and don’t usually have lunch or morning or afternoon tea. Coffee gets delivered so I don't move from my desk unless I'm going to a meeting
basically. In some ways having a smoke, I find, is good for stress relief. I don't know if it truly is or whether it’s just the perception that you get up and you have a break from it all. I don't necessarily find life any more stressful if I haven't had a smoke during a day. What I find smoking does is it makes me get out of my office and makes me think about what I need to do, even if just subconsciously. For me that is the advantage of smoking in this busy job. I don’t know if smoking is directly related to stress, sometimes I think so sometimes I think not. Sometimes when you're really full on and you can't get your head clear, having a smoke helps to clear your head because you're not doing anything, you're away from it. Its bloody good fun, it is. I sometimes wonder, is it the actual smoke I enjoy or is it the habit of getting out of the office and doing something with your hands? I can't say I've ever really tried going outside with a lollypop and eating that instead of having a smoke and thinking “Is that better?” Because I actually quite enjoy smoking, it's a bit ironic really.

The Next Generation

My two young boys have changed a lot of my habits. We don’t smoke in the car, we don’t smoke in the house and we don’t smoke while they’re around even if we’re outside. My wife doesn’t smoke anyway, she gave up when we first found out we were pregnant and I never smoked around her while she was pregnant. We’ve managed to maintain that and I still find myself sitting out the front of the door telling kids it’s not good to smoke when I’m having one. Which is quite ironic really because I know all of the risks associated with it.

Both of my boys are quite young and they don’t really have any association with smoking. Both of them know that I am a smoker, they’ve seen me smoking outside and I don’t let them come out when I’m smoking and I endeavour not to smoke around them when we’re playing outside or anything. Smoking is usually an activity I would do while they’re inside helping mum with tea, I’ll go out and have one, and after they’re in bed primarily or at work.

For me personally it’s something that I quite enjoy and I’ve considered giving up particularly in the last year or so with the kids, because of all of those detrimental affects that it has on your lifestyle and your body. I mean medically there are all the associated problems with smoking. But I find that it’s the only thing that I have that’s
mine and I really enjoy it. I don’t have that many and when I do, I really enjoy it. I do drink but not to an excessive amount, it’s more a rarity then a common element in my life. I don’t gamble and I have no other vices. Not that that justifies the reason for smoking but it feels like almost something that I really enjoy and something that I want to hold onto, even with all of the negative impacts. The kids are slowly changing that habit as they come home with smokefree material from kindergarten and things – the guilty feelings tend to come on. I’m sure there’s a time coming soon when my oldest boy will be saying, “you shouldn’t be doing that Dad, its bad for you.” I’m getting to a space where I feel like I’m ready to give up but I still quite enjoy it and I don’t want to become one of those failed non-smoking attempts, when I give-up I actually want to.

My wife was never a heavy smoker, we were probably both the same, neither of us were overly heavy smokers but immediately we found out she was pregnant she completely gave-up, just cold turkey. Still off it today, four years after our youngest was born, which is very cool. She keeps telling me once you get over the six-month hump, you know, you tend to loose - you’ll always be a smoker, but you tend to loose the real need to have it. That sticks in my head, as it’s not that unattainable. I could do it, I just need to firstly make that decision with some level of comfort that A) I’m ready to, and B) I think I can do it. If I’m not prepared with A) and B) then I hesitant to give it a go, in case I fail.

Since becoming a father I have thought more about quitting. I hadn’t really thought about quitting before. Occasionally when you begrudge paying the price of smokes and come budget time you see them going up again. Those sorts of things you think of well, right, stuff you government I’m going to give up. The other part of me - in that argument - I think to myself if the government truly wanted people to give up they wouldn’t sell them they would become an illegal substance but of course it makes too much money for the government, that really pisses me off, especially considering there is an association with smoking and health care costs. If they truly wanted to mitigate health care costs don’t sell them, make them an illegal substance. But that’s not the way if is. But no, not before the kids I probably never gave it, I never seriously considered it and as the kids have come along it’s become more of a serious issue for
me to address. But not to a point where I'm feeling really pressured to do it now. I don't think that's necessarily the recipe for success either.

Kids are fantastic but day in day out stuff. My partner and I are quite financially stable, very settled really happy, but having two kids completely knocks your world, changes your world completely. Day in day out they're up at 7 o'clock no matter what you've been doing the night before, they require three feeds a day, they're totally reliant on you for not only care but also education, knowledge, health, cleanliness, you name it. It really changes your life and in some ways smoking's quite a good relief from that, because I just get outside and zone out. What I really struggle with is what I see on TV, usually it's a Māori or Pacific Island family, which I'm sure, is not coincidental, you see them on TV and you seen them talking about young mothers, some of them are solo, some of them young couples, they've got no money and they can't afford housing and then you see them sitting there smoking. Now for me in my head [it] just doesn't add up. If I couldn't afford to feed and clothe my children smoking would be the first thing that goes. I don't classify it as a luxury for myself but I would classify it as a luxury if I weren't in a financial situation. I guess that's a benefit of having children at a latter age. Kids certainly are quite a stressful change of life. For my partner they were positive in terms of health, but overall they just change your life big time and they have an impact on smoking or at least they should - which they did in our house.

Not smoking in the house, in the car, or around the kids, that's about that second-hand smoking stuff. You see it on TV, the ad with the wee baby in the crib and smoke coming under the door. I just think "oh god" and my partner and I used to occasionally smoke in our house but this was years before the kids came, you really smell the difference in a house, I can tell when I go into a smokers house, even as a smoker. It's nice not to have that for our kids, I think. Even if the kids' left home tomorrow I still wouldn't smoke in the house now, I still don't smoke in anybody else's house. I always go outside for a smoke, even if it was a party. That doesn't make my life any healthier but it's probably a good practice.

Actually now that we've got the kids and can't smoke inside and can't smoke at work anymore, basically a lot of pubs you go to you can't smoke anymore, I don't have an
issue with that really. My only concern if that there's no where really to go for smokers and its almost like you become a marginal part of the community, which its all about personal choice - you take the associated risks, you shouldn't have to put wider society at risk either, I have some empathy with it. Public banning outside and stuff would really gripe me; because it's the only place you've got left to go now. Then they'd have to build a big smoking house and I wouldn't go in there because it would be revolting.

**Cessation Programme**

You often see the adverts on TV, for Me Mutu. They're good triggers because I know some of the people on there and it's very much tempted me. I guess what I really struggle with in that is the fear of failure and not even so much that I don't give up but the fear that in your head, "what's the point in trying to give up?" Where as I know if I've never tried, I've never failed. It seems probably ludicrous but that's a real concern and I think if I really want to smoke then ringing someone and saying don't do something or go and wash your hands or play with your kids or something, it worries me that it won't cut it - when I really want one. The angle of non-smoking, particularly for Māori people is a good one, because obviously statistically we're over represented. That's quite positive and there are a lot of advantages to it. They give away lots of good support material, and resources as well as personal related stuff. I think it probably would be good but I'm just scared that I wouldn't do and then scared that I would continually not want to try and give up cause I've failed. I'm also very clear that unless I want to give up - which at this point I still don't, because I still really enjoy it - that I might not. I'm not driven for the right reason, even though the right reasons are knowing all those good health research and stuff. I think if I give it up I haven't got much else for myself, something that I do for myself. It's pretty expensive but not overly so because I don't smoke a lot. At the end of the day I have a certain level of financial comfort where smoking is not an absolute privilege. I'm not reliant on money to smoke as such, because I get paid and have a job. But it's just something for me that I really enjoy still. I need to get a space where I don't want to smoke anymore I think before I want to quit and I feel like I'm getting there slowly but surely, but until I'm there I'm not convinced. The other side of that coin of course is will I get there? That's the reservation side of things.
I think I would take any type of support network that was in existence, whether that was Māori or non-Māori. I don't lean towards either one, I think if the option was there I probably would look at both and make an informed decision about what I wanted to do. It wouldn't necessarily need to be Māori to be more of a support mechanism to give up. I think it's partly because of my up bringing, Mum's world was a very traditional European type system that we lived in primarily that's an advantage and Dad's wasn't which is an advantage is also. I feel I could go with either program really, with any support mechanism. But I would more than likely choose Māori. It concerns me sometimes that Māori program's, they almost market it at a different level of people. When in fact there are a lot of very good Māori professionals in our community who would want the service, it's more than "Kia ora bro". I don't mean that in a negative bent towards workers but I sometimes think we tend to purport our own social disadvantage in the community and that would be my only hesitation to going onto a specific Māori program. Again its about been informed and reading material. It would be good if there was a specifically Māori program - like the Me Mutu advertising, I think it's very very good.

The other week I saw the Me Mutu ad on TV. And I actually saw a friend of mine's mother talking about her giving up and I wrote the number down just on my hand and thought, "I'm going to ring that". Then tea was ready, so I had tea with the kids, and then it was bath time – there's a million things to do at night and of course I was washing my son in the bath and the number washed off. And I thought to myself the next day "I never rang that number" and I still haven't. That was probably the closest I ever got to it and it wasn't intentional, just other things got in the way. Which makes me think maybe I'm getting to that point of wanting to quit, perhaps it's close, more on the horizon than I think. Again it's just about being in that space to do it, that's what's hard and I mean it is becoming anti-social. Most of our friends and even most of my family now don't smoke, my Mum's given up as I said, my sister still smokes, and my partner doesn't. It's very difficult when you're at a friend's house and both of them are non-smokers and you zip outside for a smoke - it's quite a strange cessation and I think to myself I should give-up. Then there are other environments where you're in with colleagues who do smoke and it equally becomes as difficult if you're not a smoker.
Being Positive

One of the things that is most difficult is that I don't see on the TV the translations of the advertising into non-smokers. There's no comparative data with what life used to be like and what it's like now. The only thing I see associated with Māori and smoking on the media, for me as Ngāi Tahu, is that Māori and Pacific Island kids are still buying a packet of smokes and starting to smoke at age 15. That's probably no different than non-Māori, a comparative of the statistics probably aren't that dissimilar, but it's only Māori that come through strongly as being stereotyped into "They're the smokers and the non-Māori are of course not". Where as I don't think that's the case and it would be good to see some of the changes that must have happened for Māori. You just don't get to see any of that positivity. I think that for me would be a real seller, if you started to see on there, "did you know, since 1995 30% of Māori who did smoke don't anymore". Being positive about it, where as, all it is is, "Kia ora you've taken the first step... welcome to Quitline", but it doesn't translate into positive stories in the news or in the papers or in the magazines. There seems to be very little data that talks about the positivity of Māori non-smoking now. All it does is continually reinforce that Māori are over represented in youth buying smokes and I'm thinking, "Well are they?" They show one in six Māori children, what's the statistics for non-Māori? Is it one in nine? Or is it one in ten? Are we over represented? Or is it just that we're the only one's focused on? That would be a real seller, the non-smoking.

What can be gained from becoming smokefree?

Other than more money, I'm not sure anything. I know all the increase in risk in association with health. Obviously that's the biggest thing you gain from not smoking. The other thing I guess that you could gain is maybe more of being a positive role model in terms of not smoking. But then I think to myself, I see myself in some respects as a role model even though I do smoke, but I wouldn't come out in a main lecture theatre full of Māori kids and start smoking. I acknowledge those responsibilities that you have in the world; I guess when you have a role to play in a community, whether it be at a local, regional, or national level. I think to myself beyond that what do I gain as being a non-smoker? I'm not overly sure? Again health and the opportunity for being a role model for my kids - beyond that I don't know?
don't see that there is any other benefit. I can't understand why somebody can't make a
smoke that has no tobacco in it, because then I think for myself, I would still feel like
I'm doing it but I'm not actually causing myself any harm. It looks silly just going out
there without a fag in your mouth and pretending that you are smoking; it doesn't
seem to fill the same void. Other than it's good for my kids to know I don't smoke, an
encouragement for them not to, other than the own potential mitigation of health
issues and a bit more money in my pocket, nothing. If I couldn't afford to smoke I
wouldn't.

It would be really interesting to see what some more gains could be. That might be
another thing; it's like those positive statistics. Ignoring all those bloody things you
see on TV, where you see somebody take a smoke and it goes down into the lungs,
among all that health related stuff what else do you gain from it if smoking were free?
What else do you gain from non-smoking? It would be really interesting to see some
of that, particularly for me, I might pick-up on some ideas about "that's a bloody good
point". They talk about your increased fitness performance and stuff, well I'm not that
fit so that makes i: a bit of a fundamental struggle but I still play squash, I still play
tennis, I still occasionally play volleyball and basketball that I was reasonable good at,
and I'm finding that prior to smoking and when I was smoking made no difference to
my fitness level. I still get as part of my healthcare a peak flow test. I am still the best
patient my doctor's got in that breathing. I'm sure that probably in ten years it may not
be, I do acknowledge that but at the moment it's like everything in life it's hard to see
what life's going to be like when your twenty five years older. It would be good to see
more of the incentives of non-smoking. Because there aren't that many there in the
media. That quit smoking for Māori on TV it's all about, "hey, I did it" or "it's for my
children", but that may not necessarily be an incentive for me or for anyone else, I
mean what are some of the tangible benefits of quitting smoking? Or at least some of
those things that other people could grab a hold of. You don't see those I think on the
TV.

As a smoker I'll always be a smoker, I just may not smoke. That's a big fundamental
difference than somebody who's a non-smoker. The achievement of that could attain,
for example, to the achievement of other things: "I could go and study, I didn't think I
could do that", "I didn't think I could quit smoking but I did that so I might try
There's a whole lot of potential incentives, but for me personally, I have professionally done quite well, I'm happily married, I've got two good young boys, I've got a really good job, I'm studying, I've been around the world. I don't feel like I'm missing out on anything because I smoked. If I hadn't have started smoking at age twenty, would life have been different? Probably not. I don't think I would have had anymore incentive or drive by not smoking than what I had, even now as sort of a "part-timer".
**Pakeke Two**

**Background Information**

I grew up in Huntly, a small town where everybody knows everybody. I have an older brother and a younger sister. My parents split up when I was eleven years old and I got a new Dad. He passed away last year.

My Mum has smoked since she was a teenager. My Father has never smoked, and my Dad used to smoke until he passed away. My brother also smokes and has done so since he was fifteen. My sister doesn’t smoke unless she’s totally trollied\(^{304}\). I didn’t start smoking until the end of my first year at university. I know I tried smoking with my brother and stuff when we were young, but I never smoked as such. I think I *tutu’d*\(^{305}\) around again with it when I was in sixth form. I never bought packets or anything like that.

In my first year of university, my boyfriend at the time, we used to live together. He used to smoke and I absolutely hated it. I’ve always been one of those hardcore anti-smoking freaks. I used to scream at Mum for smoking around us. I made him give up smoking and then four months later we had this big fight and one of my mates was staying over, who smoked, and I just said, “give me one of those” and just started smoking. I haven’t been smoking that long.

**Smoking History**

I used to smoke heaps up until I had my baby. I used to party all the time and I would smoke a packet a night, as well as what I was smoking during the day. Definitely a pack a day easy. I smoked while I was pregnant, I tried to give up but it was too hard. I cut down heaps, I cut down to maximum five a day, sometimes it would be one a day. I didn’t quit until I was seven months pregnant. I only stopped smoking for two months. I had some stuff going on with her Dad just after she was born, I started smoking again – but not as much as before because I don’t smoke around her and I never smoke in the house so it was when she was asleep or when I was away from

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\(^{304}\) Colloquial term meaning to be very drunk.

\(^{305}\) Colloquial term referring to play around with something, try, fool around with.
her. I would’ve smoked max five to ten a day and that’s all I’ve smoked for the last two years.

**Quitting**

Because baby’s Dad doesn’t smoke he’s always been on at me about it because he hates it as well. I couldn’t smoke at home around him, so it was only during the day when I went to varsity or when I went to Mum’s place that I could go and have a smoke. I didn’t hardcore feel like I had this life inside me, even though you feel baby move and all the rest of it. I don’t think I bonded until really near the end of my pregnancy. Then I was like “hey hang on a minute, me smoking is probably not good for her.” I also had to go to the hospital a couple of times because I had bleeds and I thought, “what if my smoking has something to do with that”. I didn’t want that on my conscience, probably the damage would’ve been done already anyway if there was any, but she’s fine. It was just so easy to go back to smoking after baby was born. Because the reason I gave up smoking was my pregnancy, it was so easy to go back to smoking. I feel different about giving up now, it’s not like anyone was saying I have to give up for these reasons.

I have wanted to quit for ages. My Mum gave-up before my Dad died, and has since started again. I thought “If she could give up after smoking for thirty odd years, then sweet as.” I was getting to the stage where it was not enjoyable; because I can’t smoke in the house I was sitting out on the back doorstep in the freezing cold in the middle of winter. It was tasting disgusting and you become aware of the fact that “damn, I stink!” I also wanted the money, even though I only smoked two packets a week, I wanted that $20. I’ve started putting it away; I’ve started saving it. If I didn’t do that then I would just find something else to spend the money on like lunch or whatever.

My flatmate went home on a Thursday for the varsity holidays. A friend walked past my house when I was sitting out on my front doorstep having a smoke and he said to me, “time to give up, I gave up” and I was like “whatever” and carried on smoking. The next day I was sitting out on the step again and thought to myself “Why am I smoking? What is it giving me?” I thought, “I’m giving up” so that I could tell my flatmate when she came back that I hadn’t had a smoke since she’d left. So I gave up.
I still had half a pack of cigarettes, cause other times I’d get hohã with the idea or would give up at the ‘end of this packet’. I carried the pack around with me for four days. It was in my school bag and I was cleaning out my bag and I said to my baby and her Dad “Here, chuck these in the fire, mummy doesn’t need these anymore”.

Giving up was physically hard for the first four or five days. I had headaches and was really grumpy. Other than that I think it’s the habit that is the hardest part to giving up. While I was at home, for the university holidays, I didn’t find it a problem because I don’t smoke in the house and I don’t smoke while baby’s around, so there wasn’t that many times at home that I did smoke. Coming back to varsity I found it more difficult because I’d smoke before I went into a lecture and, even if I only had an hour lecture, the first thing I did after the lecture was have a smoke. I’d be lighting up as I was walking out the door. I found that habit really hard. I gave-up drinking coffee for the first week as well, because that was one of the things that I did, have a coffee and have a cigarette. Maybe the headaches and all the rest of it could have been a mixture of withdrawal from the nicotine as well as the caffeine. I have since been able to go back to drinking coffee, but nowhere as much as what I used to. I used to drink five or six cups of coffee a day and now I’m lucky if I drink two. I started drinking herbal tea, or drinking other types of hot drinks, like hot ribena or milo.

**Had thoughts for a little bit?**

I had thoughts of quitting for some time. I did a drug trial earlier in the year and I had to give up smoking from Thursday morning until we came out on Saturday night. Having a smoke wasn’t the first thing I wanted to do when I got home and then all day Sunday I didn’t smoke. It wasn’t until I got to varsity on Monday morning that I had one. This happened over two weekends in a row and I was thinking “if you can give up for four days, because you want some money”, and I didn’t really feel like I’d had any hardcore withdrawals, “maybe I should give up full stop”. I thought about giving up while I was at home for a holiday but that was totally out the window because my Mum smokes, and my cousin was toying with the idea of starting smoking, so he was smoking around me and I had my friends come down and they smoke, so every five minutes we were out on the porch having a smoke. It wasn’t

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306 Tiresome, nuisance.
going to happen. I came back from my holiday and four days later my flatmate left to go on holiday, and I just gave up. My flatmate had given up at Christmas time, I didn’t have anyone to go and sit with on the back door step and smoke with anymore. It sucks being the only smoker. People say that it’s a social thing smoking, and it is, cause when you’re the only person who’s smoking and you have to go outside or whatever it’s like “Yeah, I want to be doing that”. The social aspect to it is very big. I hardly ever go out so I haven’t had to really encounter the whole pub scene with smoking yet. I used to, if I had a glass of wine at home go out and have a smoke. I’ve had a couple of glasses of wine since giving up and I didn’t feel the urge to have a smoke, for one thing I’d have to go out and buy a whole packet anyway. Nobody I know smoke’s to get one off. Having no-body around me who smokes probably made it easier to quit, because if I had people around me who smoked I think it would be harder. I still think about smoking, if I see someone on TV with one, but it’s like “whatever”, the minute I thought about having a smoke it was like “nah”.

I think it’s total habit and cues like seeing other people smoke, because even if I just had a smoke two seconds later if somebody was going out the door to have a smoke then I’d probably go out with them. All the clichés – whenever I had a cup of coffee I wanted a cigarette, after I had a big feed I wanted a cigarette, if me and my partner had a big fight that was my crutch. We had a big fight the other day and I thought “Oh god, I want a cigarette!” but I obviously didn’t want it enough to walk down to the shop to buy a packet.

**Impact of quitting on yourself**

I feel proud of myself. Probably to a non-smoker it’s sort of like “Big deal, you gave up smoking, why did you start in the first place?” Only smokers who have tried to give up appreciate, “yeah, I actually have some control over my life again”. Half the time when you’re smoking you’re not even conscious of the fact you’re smoking. I feel like I have a little bit more control now because I can control that part of my life. You’d go and sit in a lecture and if I’d just had a smoke, I wouldn’t want anyone to sit right next to me because I didn’t want to be stinking my smoke all over them, now that’s not an issue anymore. I can’t really say I feel fitter or anything like that because I haven’t started exercising yet. I feel like I’ve got more control over my life now, because I managed to stop smoking and are staying stopped.
**Daughter**

My daughter knew I was a smoker, and a couple of times had grabbed my smokes if I had left them on the back door step. She would pick up a smoke and a lighter and would try and get it going. I wouldn’t smoke around her, but she’d see me smoking – if she was outside with her Dad and they came back inside, I might be sitting on the back door step having a smoke. She saw me smoking, it wasn’t like she never saw me. I do think she has noticed that I have stopped. Before, every time that I ever went out the back door, even if it was to put a load of washing on (the wash-house is off the back door), when I came back in she’d be like “mamma smoke” and she’s stopped doing that now. I guess she may have some idea that I’m not smoking anymore.

My daughter probably had some influence in me wanting to quit, not so much in that I didn’t want to be a bad role model for her because I think that teenagers and young people that start smoking are going to regardless of whether they’re parents smoke or not. I mean I won’t be happy if she starts smoking, because of all the health stuff, but also because I wish somebody had told me how hard it was to quit. There has been other times when I’ve tried and it’s been too hard. When you start smoking you don’t realize that you’re going to get addicted straight away, I don’t think anyone does. Maybe you don’t but you carry on and you do get addicted, then it’s hard to give up. I don’t think I’d be angry at her if she starts smoking, hopefully she won’t.

**Filling the void**

One of the things, when I quit smoking, was I was really thirsty and couldn’t get un-thirsty. I was drinking heaps of water and thinking, “Maybe I need a cup of tea or coffee, or whatever.” I would be just drinking heaps of fluids. That was in the first couple of weeks, so maybe that was a symptom of the withdrawal as well. Now I’ve gone back to what I’d normally drink before quitting.

Food. I’m totally way hungry. I started reading a book about quitting smoking, a couple of years ago when I was thinking of giving up, and they said that the nicotine withdrawals, the physical symptoms of it, are quite similar to hunger pangs. So that’s why a lot of people do put on weight. I’m conscious of that. I know that I used to use my smoking to not eat. I would be hungry because it would be 2 o’clock in the
afternoon and I hadn’t had anything to eat all day, and I’d be hungry. Instead of going and getting something to eat I’d have a cigarette, because then that would stop the hunger pangs for, might be a half an hour or an hour, whatever. But I know that I was a really bad eater before hand, so maybe me wanting to eat more is just getting back to where normal people are, what normal people eat anyway.

**Nicotine patches**

I didn’t use any nicotine patches - why spend more money? One time when my Mum tried to give up years ago she used them and firstly she was allergic to the adhesive that they used back then and she came out in this big rash, and also at that stage she was smoking only relatively lightly and the lowest strength you could get was ten smokes a day. If you put that on my arm it would be too much nicotine. That would be more nicotine than I was putting in by smoking so I didn’t really think to use them.

**Saving you can control that part of your life – has that crossed over into anything else?**

No, I don’t think so cause I’ve been hōhā at school lately. Not as yet, I don’t think so; I’m probably too much of a control freak anyway.

**Do you see that, having that control, being able to come in handy in the future?**

Probably. I’ve got this whole big master plan. Firstly, I needed to give up smoking and almost like I’m giving myself a chance to get over giving up and then I’m going to start going back to the gym cause A) I want to lose some weight and, B) I just want to be healthier. Maybe I can get my butt out of bed to go to the gym because “Hey, I gave up smoking.” That’s the plan, hopefully I can use some of the will power to do that, but that might be a bit harder.

**What can be gained?**

Probably just a little bit more confident now that I don’t stink. If I’m talking to a random person or walking past somebody, I’m not stinking of cigarette smoke. If I’m sitting in a lecture next to somebody and I turn around and say something to them I’m not knocking them out with my breath. I think I was conscious of clothes smelling and stuff like that, now I notice it on other people as well. Up at kōhanga reo yesterday and everybody up here smokes – kei te hē! They all go outside for their break and
have a smoke and come back in and it's like, “damn, you stink!” And then I’m thinking, “oh my god, that was so me!” Before hand I was conscious of it but not to that extent. Because my sense of smell is better now, which is probably not a good thing cause I don’t want to smell half the stuff I can smell.
**Pakeke Three**

**Background information**
I come from Te Kuiti. My sister and I decided to have a look down south and see what the shearing was like down here. We came down here the end of '76 and that was when we took up smoking, both of us. I was 16 when I first started smoking. My sister still smokes. She’s thinking of giving up but hasn’t got there yet. We got down here and smoking was cheap, drinking was cheap. I think a packet of smokes then was only $1.35. A big bottle of beer was about $2, and you made $15 a day so you’d be like everybody else going hearty party and smoke up and drink up. That’s where the habit started. Smoking and drinking was part of the social scene, and it still is in a lot of shearing gangs. Smoking and drinking, after work-relaxing. That’s just the way it was. I smoked for nearly twenty years. Not a heavy smoker during the week but as soon as I started drinking that’s when I’d feel the need to reach and have smoke after smoke. In the course of a night I’d smoke a whole packet. During the week, when I wasn’t drinking I was working, I’d only smoke a whole packet during the week. I went from someone that smoked, say eight a day, to a packet a night over a Friday and Saturday night: socialising. It was a social thing, “Sit down and relax, have a smoke and have a drink. I’ll have another drink, I’ll have another smoke.” I associated smoking with drinking and relaxing. I know it was wrong but it was just the way it was.

It was just something that happened, coming away from home and grabbing a packet of smokes and grabbing a bottle of beer. We left home early and it was just the norm to do – everyone smoked. Everyone just had a fag in their mouth and a packet of smokes in their pocket.

**Quitting**
I’ve had my girl (daughter) say “smoking is bad” and I knew it. Every year my New Year’s resolution was to give up smoking. I went on with this for years and years. I’d tell everyone “I’m gonna give up smoking”, they’d go, “yeah, me too”, and it never eventuated. Until the beginning of this year when I had our granddaughter come home. I went to pick her up and give her a kiss and my girl said to her “Tell nanny
you smell like an ashtray”. I found every time I wanted to give her a hug or a kiss I’d have to run inside and brush my teeth, because I didn’t want her smelling the smoke on my breath. They were here for three weeks and I hummed and haahed about it and I said to her the day that she left “Nanny’s gonna give up smoking darling” and I did. Threw away my packet of smokes and I haven’t had a fag since. I decided cold turkey was my way. I decided why am I gonna waste my time spending money on patches, cause they’re quite expensive those things. I’ve got three friends up in Palmerston, who have tried everything, including patches, and they go back to smoking. They’re asking me how did I do it, and its just mind over matter really. It’s whether you really want to give up smoking or not. Which I decided, “that’s it, I’ve had a guts full of smoking and I’m going to do something good for a change and knock off”, so that was it.

Actually I’m feeling really good now. Naturally after twenty years of smoking its cough, cough, cough. I’m coughing more now than I did when I was smoking, coughing up a lot of phlegm and it’s going to take a ten-year process, they tell me, to clear all the phlegm out from my lungs. I’m quite happy with that.

**Motivations**

I got fed up with smoking. I knew it wasn’t doing any good, I mean I got fed up with smoking and I decided I’d do something different, do something else. Plus having a granddaughter that motivated me even more. You know, to think that perhaps if I’d carried on smoking when she’s twenty-one I might not be round to see her twenty-first. That’s the things I’m looking at, you know, as they say on TV on those Māori ads – we need to set an example, to our young ones. We’ve got a lot of family and a lot of young one’s are starting to dabble with smoking, sneak around the corner and have a smoke. If any of them say to me “oh Aunty” and I’ll say “It’s a habit that you can get hooked on for a lifetime – it’s not a good habit to have. It’s not a good habit for anyone to have. It’s so easy to start but it took me twenty years to give up.” Twenty years is a long time to be bloody smoking. I know the damage I’ve done to my lungs inside, that can’t ever be replaced, but from twenty years on now I’m not going to be doing no more damage. Even though I know that damage has already been done, it’s not going to get any worse.
The influence of your Moko

I email my daughter-in-law and they’re thinking of giving up smoking too for her. She knocked off smoking while she was carrying baby; I said to her it’s not a good idea to smoke while you’re pregnant. I didn’t smoke while I was carrying my children. That was one thing I decided to knock, smoking and drinking for nine months. She’s done the same and she’s saying to me, “you still not smoking?” “nah and I don’t intend to anymore”, she goes “cool, well then I can do it”. I said to her “I find if I do feel like a smoke now, I have a drink of water.” That’s my counter, the first month I was looking for peppermints, or a packet of chewing gum. I thought well I can’t be relying on those all the time so I thought I’d just grab a glass of water. Now I find I drink a lot more water too, which is really good.

Have you noticed any changes in your health so far?

Yeah, well I know it’s gonna take awhile, but I noticed breathing’s a lot easier. Especially at work, it’s quite a physical job and I found my breathing was quite, not laboured, but with smoking you get short of breath and what not. Now working I feel a lot better with it. My breath tastes a lot better and my tongue, I think with smoking over all those years I just got that real funny taste in your mouth like you couldn’t taste anything. Now my taste buds are starting to come back, I can taste food a bit better. Probably by next year, after a year, it’ll be a lot better. The taste sensation is starting to come back in my mouth. I’m enjoying food a lot more and thinking to myself “why the heck was I so silly and smoked all those years.” I think, it took me this long to give up smoking and I don’t know why I bothered starting in the first place.

You just come to a point where you think “I can’t be bothered having a smoke anymore.” You know you see the ads on TV, smoking’s this and smoking’s that and it’s like those are playing subconsciously through my mind. I look at Pita Sharples on TV and he’d say “because of this and that”. There are a lot of ads with Māori on them and that’s really positive. Especially for us, for us middle aged Māori, but also especially for our young one’s too, it’s showing them you can enjoy this and that without having to light up at the end of the day.
I feel a positive thing now with smokefree bars. A lot of people that I know smoke and they say, “they can’t do that”, I say but you’ve got to think about it. When we were smoking in a pub we didn’t think about anyone else’s fresh air or their space, all we thought about was ours, “I’ve gotta have that fag”. I’m on the other side, looking at them now thinking, I can sit by anyone who smokes it doesn’t bother me, but for someone who’s a non-smoker I can see how they feel. In the end it’s all up to you, whether you want to give up smoking or not, cause no one else is going to do it for you are they? It’s either you don’t smoke or you smoke, and that’s it end of story.

I’ve got a friend that works with me and she’s talking about giving up smoking and she goes “will you encourage me?” and I say “āe, I’ll tautoko you”. The first week I didn’t have a smoke at work, all my mates were going “are you alright? Do you want a peppermint or you want this or that?” and they sort of tautoko’d me and helped me and were like “you don’t need to have that” and now it’s like they’ll sit by me and I’ll be having a beer at work with a smoke and they’ll say, “I’m gonna give this up next week” and I say, “that’s up to you”, but if I can help them in anyway, sort of support them, then I will. It’s important to have some support, have someone that at least says to you, “good on you for doing it”. You know I say I’ve got the support of my Tāne, he’d say, “you didn’t need that anyway”, or, “good on you Mum” that’s been a great support for me. I’ve got friends that have said, “good on ya for not smoking” and even my farmers, they say, “look at you girl, sitting there without a fag in your mouth, you’re not carrying that damn ashtray around”. Everywhere I went I’d carry an ashtray, because in some sheds you’re not allowed to smoke. It’s becoming a policy in all work areas, to be smokefree. You can’t smoke in the shed, because you might drop a butt and it might set it alight; health and safety. It’s a good thing. We always had a smoke at smoko time. You worked for two hours then have half an hour, we’ve always said to any of our workers don’t smoke while you’re working because you could drop that butt, and it can down and fall in that wool and ‘poof’ up in smoke, it’s dangers like that. But now it’s becoming a good thing. You walk into most woolshed you’ll see a no smoking sign and everyone, ten years ago everyone would’ve said

307 This pakeke works with a shearing gang the farmers talked about here are the people that her and the shearing gang work for.
“They can get stuffed”, but now I say it’s where we work; it’s health and safety, not only our safety but someone else’s. If we drop a butt, it goes into this wool we leave here tonight that wool shed goes up in smoke, that farmer loses everything, we lose everything. That’s why I tell a lot of people and a lot of people that I go and work with I say, “smoke during your lunch hour and during your smoko’s, but outside with an ashtray and don’t smoke in the shed because it’s too dangerous”. Those things are coming into play and it’s cool. Everyone goes “just cause you’ve given up smoking!” and I say “I’m not lecturing you, don’t get me wrong, if you want to smoke that’s fine. I’ve got nothing to do with it, but be aware of other people when you’re working, there’s danger if you drop that smoke”. It’s in a lot of places at work, no smoking.

**Family Reactions**

Good! My daughter’s been really supportive. Giving up it’s for yourself and for your family. My daughter said to me “you can do it Mum”. She started me out walking for the first week and “oh god!” I said, “are you trying to kill me!” and she goes “you’ve already done that with your smoking” and carried on walking. We had some laughs and I told her how I started smoking and how stupid it was. She goes “oh well, look at the positive, you’re not going to be smoking anymore.” It is good, I feel much better about it.

There are a lot of people back home that have knocked off smoking too. It’s really good to see, we can sit there, where as before ten years ago we would’ve sat down and had a fag, now we’re sort of sitting on the other side having a beer saying “oh”, but we’re not downing anyone that still smokes we’re just saying “it was better that we wanted to knock off smoking”, something we wanted to do.

**What have you gained?**

Apart from weight! A feeling of feeling better in the morning and getting up and having a feeling of more well-being. I know if I’d had had a hard night on the piss and I smoked a packet of smokes, the next day I’d feel like coughing my lungs out. Now I don’t have that problem anymore. I feel better for it.
It’s something that I’ve done without anybody else. It’s something that I’ve been thinking about but I’d never thought I’d actually do it. I toyed with the idea for years, “This is gonna be my New Year’s resolution”, the year 2000. I didn’t think anymore of it till just this year. Thinking well I’ve got the next twenty years so I’ll throw away smoking and take up something else. I’ve taken up learning how to use the computer. Giving away an old habit and starting something new, it could be addictive I’ve yet to find out.

I am glad I’ve given up smoking. Last year I did my first Cavalcade and “oh god!” You do a lot of walking, a lot of downhill walking. I could hardly keep up with anybody! This year, they said, “what are you up to, you on steroids or something!”, “nah, I’ve given up smoking” “oh, good on ya girl!” They say “you look like you’ve got a bit more energy” and that’s what I find I have got – a lot more energy. It’s just those little things, like a bit more energy and feeling like you can go a bit further without having to be restricted by feeling tired and huffing and puffing. Next year when I do this next Cavalcade, I’ll be right up the front.

On the Cavalcade out of 90 riders there were only two people that smoke. Last year when I did my first Cavalcade I was the third person that smoked, and I was way at the back! Now they say to me “aye you bloody traitor” and I said “no, I wanted to give up smoking, so that’s it”. They’re saying “good on ya girl”. In Cavalcade you do six days riding, with a lot of walking, a lot of down hill walking and you might walk for two to three hours and when you’ve been smoking you’re like “Oh god, when’s it gonna stop!” But now it’s power on. A lot of them said to me, “Next year, you better tell us it’s been a year you’ve knocked off smoking”. I knocked off the beginning of January this year so next year it’s our Cavalcade at the end of January and I’ll be able to say “Yes, a year’s gone by!”

I’ve had little celebrations along the way. My babe (daughter) will say to me “Go and buy you a box of chocolates Mum, and send it to me”. I do celebrate; I’ll go and buy something for myself. I was wasting nearly $80 a month on smokes. I smoked tobacco for the past ten years. I smoked tobacco only because it was cheaper than Taylor

308 Cavalcade is a weeklong horse trek in the Central Otago region.
mades. I was using $17 a week on smokes, on a packet of 30-gram tobacco, papers and filters. Now if I want something, I’ll put all that money aside and go and buy something for myself. It’s like my treat to myself, “I deserve that I’ll go buy that”.

A lot of my friends have said “good on ya for giving up smoking”. I said “yeah it was something I needed to do”. I really needed to for myself. If I hadn’t have given up now, I never would’ve. If I hadn’t have given up smoking this year, I don’t think I would of, I would have just carried on – I would’ve carried on saying “next year I’ll do it, next year”. I would’ve always found some excuse not to stop, but I decided “that’s it I’ve had enough of smoking; I’ve done enough damage to my lungs; I’ve got the future to look forward to; I’ve got my moko to take for walks.” That’s it. Like I said, it’s all up to yourself, you’re either going to do it or you’re not. It’s either yes or no – for me it was “Nah, I don’t want to smoke anymore”. I can go to the pub now with people and can sit there and not have to worry about going outside for a smoke and they go “that’s right, you don’t smoke anymore, cheers”, and we have another drink.

Any negative reactions?
Nah, a lot of our farmers that we’ve shawn for over twenty years they say to me “good on you”. They say “your partner never smoked so it’s good that you’ve quit – how come it took you this long!” I say “I took the long way round”. I’ve found everyone to be really positive, there’s no negativity at all. It’s good like that. If someone was negative, that would really sort of bum me out a bit. In our gang309, my partner doesn’t smoke and now I don’t smoke, one of the Shearer’s doesn’t smoke, we’ve only got two people that smoke. They say “we’ll go and sit over there”, I say “look it doesn’t bother me where you sit, it doesn’t worry me. If you want to have a smoke, have a smoke”.

I see it in the ads they have on TV now, the message is getting through to us as Māori that smoking is no good for us and it’s good to see a lot of our young one’s aren’t smoking as much. We’ve got three nephews and none of them smoke, and that’s good. They said to me “aunty, you gonna give up smoking” and I’d go “yeah” and

309 Shearing gang of workers.
they’d go “good on you”. Now that I’ve given up smoking we can all sit there and they go “cheers” and I say “don’t you take up smoking, it’s a bad habit” they go, “nah we don’t want to”. That’s good because they play a lot of sport, and I said, “Smoking’s not good for sport”, it’s not highly recommended anyway. I’m pleased I gave up smoking; cause six months has gone by really quick.

**Withdrawals**

It’s good because my partner doesn’t smoke and I decided to throw out all the lighters and ashtrays in the house. I put the ashtrays out in the garage; inside the house is no smoking. Now when people say “we’ve got to have a fag” they’ll go outside and I say “Look you can smoke inside it doesn’t bother me”. The first month I found the temptation was still there, but now I can just look at a smoke and think “nah”. But sometimes when you’re in a pub and it’s crowded you smell that smoke and you think “mmm…” but “nah, I don’t want that social smoke”. I’ve decided I’m smokefree; I’m not a smoker.

**Role Models**

We’ve got a lot of nieces and nephews up in Christchurch, I run around outside “don’t you smoke” and they go “no”, “it’s not good for you”, “okay Aunty”. You just got to catch them at that age, because once they start experimenting... you try and tell them, but not in a sort of lecturing way like - “DON’T YOU SMOKE!”- but in a sort of positive way, that smoking’s no good for them. I think that those ads on TV with Pita Sharples and the other one, they’re really good ads that they should keep them going. It gets in your subconscious and it makes you think. You look at that ad and it says, “no, no, that’s not me”. They keep coming on just to remind you now and then.

It’s good that a lot of places have become smokefree and a lot of marae, a lot of sporting venues and functions that you can’t smoke inside too. It’s making people more aware that there’s a reason for it – it’s good. All the things that we have going for us, smoking is the thing that can hold us back and it can become addictive, especially for our youth coming up. If they’re not smoking they’ve got minds to concentrate on other things.
**Pakeke Four**

**Family History**

In my schooling years I grew up in a small forestry town. The town was literally carved out, all the trees cut, and a mill was developed. It attracted a lot of Māori labourers; the bosses in the town of course were Pākehā. The town was established amidst several Māori communities and so there was a heavy Māori population. Smoking was common amongst Māori and Pākehā. In my own family growing up my great grandfather didn't smoke, however, my great grandmother on my father's side, my Pacific side, smoked. Both my parents smoked and my grandmother on my mother's side, my Māori side, also smoked. Although my grandmother gave up when she was about 65. Surprisingly, I never smoked until I was in my 30s. I don't think that my parents smoking habits never influenced me to take up smoking.

**University Life**

Throughout my university years, I was the one student in my peer group who never smoked. All my friends smoked, with maybe one or two exceptions. We were all sports and kapa haka people; I never started to smoke until a big catastrophe happened in my life; my separation which led to my divorce. I'd already had my one and only child and she was probably five when I started smoking. Prior to becoming a smoker I had played with cigarettes at university but I couldn't inhale so I just never did it. But the combination of the separation, working very long hours for the struggle, maintaining an academic post, writing my Masters of Arts and being a single mother with friends who were smokers was the turning point of my becoming a smoker. I was at the marae one night and everybody went outside. I followed and they said, "have a smoke". At first I resisted and then relented. I inhaled for the first time, probably because I was dead tired and it gave me this huge adrenaline boost and loads of energy. At the time I was doing my Masters degree, trying to be a good mother, trying to be a good community person, working as an academic, being involved with and passionate about my teaching, and so I was overly tired. That first inhale was, ironically, a 'lifesaver'. That sounds really stupid, but it was as if it gave me that extra adrenaline and energy to sustain all of the activities. I managed to go

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310 Meaning the kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa movement.
from only smoking in the evenings not around my child, outside of the house, to one
smoke maybe three times a week (for that extra adrenaline boost) to being a smoker.
To not purchasing, being a bludger, then purchasing, and then increasing the intake. I
didn't smoke until later on in my life, which is why, people say, "Well, how come?"
That's the history of it, and then I gave up.

New Beginnings
I made the decision when I took up a new academic position of seniority that I would
not smoke publicly. So I used to smoke behind sheds and things like that when I first
took on the job. I also gave up from February this year and I have just started up
again. I developed a relationship with smoking where I perceived it gave me an
adrenaline boost, so I could manage being a single mother, paying a mortgage, and
having a high profile job, as well as being an active participant in the kōhanga and
kura kaupapa movement. It was also a comforter for the emotional things I was going
through - through a separation - it didn't argue back, it was like a security blanket.
When my baby was asleep and I knew her needs were taken care of, I could have a
glass of wine and a smoke, before starting work on my Master’s research. It was also
about taking time out for me. In a high-pressure job, you have to actually stop.
Smoking takes you out of your pressure zone; you go outside and it gives you time to
yourself. Smoking is an escape from the stress and routine of having back-to-back
appointments/obligations. Smoking is a pacifier, the same way as a child would use
their thumb. These reasons may not make sense to medical practitioners but they do
for me.

It's also a connection point with other Māori. It’s a bridge that connects you with
your own community. I work with mostly Pākehā men and so the higher up you get,
as a woman, the lonelier it gets, in terms of not seeing other Māori, men or women,
around you. In all of my jobs I've always been a minority. There are not many Māori
women around in my field or Māori per se, and it's a connection point for me to get to
meet with my peers and other Māori who are my community and my sustenance. It's
about connecting back in with your own. I always know that they're going to be
having a smoke at morning tea and afternoon tea. It's about my wellbeing as a Māori;
to be in touch with my Māori community. This reason doesn't line up with facts and
figures about the detrimental effect of smoking for Māori health, but at the end of the
day, and people will say this is a weakness, and it is a weakness, it is still a bridge to
my support system.

**Workplace**

I tried in this workplace to say, “let’s try and be smokefree”, and I met with some
mixed views from staff. A good portion of them are smokers, and they said "oh it'd be
too tough". I talked to them about it, saying that “if we do it (be smokefree) we could
be a support system for each other”. It didn’t take on. Everyone has their own stories
and reason’s for smoking and for being in this cycle. Just as I've gone through a cycle
of not being a smoker for thirty years and then becoming one, I know that other
people's stories often being with, "I started smoking when I was twelve and still am".
Just as we [Māori] are not homogenous, there's not one homogenous reason for
people smoking. But I do think there are themes that relate to all of us. One of those
themes is stress. It is difficult for Māori smokers to give up when they are stressed.
Also, if you do give up, you can become isolated from “the group” which is also
stressful. In this context there are so few Māori people that it is not big enough to
have a non-smokers group and a smokers group. It becomes complex. I still have to
work out why as a student I never smoked; I just didn’t fancy it really. But I was with
smokers. Māori that I know that are non-smokers in my field are a minority, and that
peer group is spread out all over the country. When I’m on my own, away from work
or away from Māori environments, like overseas, I don’t smoke and I can sustain it.
But when I come back into these environments that's when I smoke. I haven’t worked
out a way of not doing that. The two years that I didn’t smoke was problematic as I
limited my contact with my Māori community because I couldn’t risk putting myself
into a smoking environment for fear of starting up again.

**Quitting**

I decided one summer to quit and had acupuncture to help me. I also hired a personal
trainer, a Māori guy who worked at a gym. A whole lot of us joined up, and it was
great, really great. I trained with him every week, every Thursday; incorporated into
my work life as a part of my health and well-being maintenance. I’d also go to the
local gym every Sunday and Tuesday. I did this for two years but then, of course, the
trainer said he couldn’t do it anymore because his relationship broke up and he
stopped taking private clients. I wasn’t prepared to do the gym. I’ve done that before
and it just doesn’t work for me, it’s got to be prescribed around my work environment. For two years that worked, but again I had to distance myself socially from the Māori staff. They found that hard and I found that hard. The reason why I started smoking again is that we had some huge hurdles to jump at work with regard to issues around racism, around sexism etc, that I had to endure in my job, in my position and I simply needed my peer group to see me through this. I ‘walked the line’ and said to my peers “give me a cigarette; I’m not doing this on my own”. That’s not a good excuse I know. When I line that up with Māori health statistics I know this argument is lame and makes no sense at all. I know that Pākehā people have said to me, “you don’t need to resort to that [smoking]”, but everyone has their vices and I needed that cigarette to ‘fix’ me; because a lot of it is emotionally driven.

How do you fight racism? How do you fight oppression? For me, my whole reason for living, as an academic, is about Māori social, economic, and political development. That’s me in a nutshell and I express that through teaching, by working in my community and in my obligations to my community; all my research is community driven and it must have meaning to ensure development for Māori. When I feel that sometimes it gets all too big I have a cigarette as a coping strategy.

**The Cycle of Smoking**

I go through cycles with regards to quitting. When I know I have to go on a plane and I know that I’m going to be overseas, I’m not going to be one of those people that hankers for a cigarette and I don’t want any of those withdrawal sorts of pains, I decide that’s it and quit. I don’t need the acupuncture, because I know what to expect. There are those first two weeks of hankering and I just remove myself from smoking environments because I know its only short term. I can kick smoking in two weeks and consolidate for another couple of weeks and then I’m off overseas as a non-smoker. Then I don’t have to have the need to smoke. But that’s a different kind of environment. When I’m back here and it’s all go, its very easy for me to smoke because I have so many hurdles to jump as the most senior Māori person in my work environment and someone who’s called upon to do lots of things. I feel an enormous obligation and responsibility. If I say no, then who’s going to do it? It won’t get done, or it’ll get done shabbily and won’t advantage Māori. I just wish that there was some

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This phrase is referring to how the interviewee went to her peer group and started to smoke again.
recognition for that kind of obligation that is built into ‘the cause’. Smoking is a response to the emotional strain; to that kind of commitment.

**Giving Up**
I think about giving up. I wish that I could blink and all Māori would give up together. There’s another thing too that I need to admit; is that while smoking is a bridge to being a part of your Māori community, there’s also an element of enjoyment; not the cigarette, the actual activity of taking timeout, the assembly of us all together, it’s the minimum time we can get to laugh, tell jokes, share all the gossip, catch-up on news like a book that we’re reading and its about that support system. We can get all of it done within half an hour over coffee and there’s a sense of enjoyment out of that. I don’t necessarily get enjoyment out of the actual cigarette smoking; rather I get enjoyment from us being together. It’s not a good reason of course to smoke. It’s a bit like saying if there were non-smoking pubs and smoking pubs I know where all the Māori people would be. They would be in the smoking pub, because that’s where all the Māori people would gather, smokers and non-smokers. You’re still involved; it would have to be that all Māori stopped smoking tomorrow for it to work. If we had a ‘let’s stop smoking day’ across the nation and every Māori subscribed to it, then I think it would be a different environment, right the way through the various socio-economic groups.

**The Social Aspect**
Smoking can be very social, that’s how it started for me along with the stress of separation from my partner. I got sick of being inside all on my own, so I went out with everyone else and the rest you know.

**The Impact of Smoking on yourself and those around you**
I’m always aware that I never smoke in front of children. I never want my child to smoke and I never want my grandchildren to smoke. I don’t want to smoke around children so I try to only smoke around my peers. I think if I hadn’t have smoked I would not have got through my Masters or PhD, because doing higher degrees is a very lonely kind of pastime and so smoking was a comforter again; it gave me energy and time out. It also gave me that shot, that energy boost and I could carry on long hours day and night. Intellectually I know that in terms of health statistics, it is
definitely bad for my health. But some might say “drinking a ‘Coke’ is bad for me but I’m still going to have a ‘Coke’”.

It’s hard because part of me wants to be healthy and smokefree, but emotionally it actually has supported me in getting some major achievements in my life – like my Masters, like my PhD, like getting research out and working huge amounts of hours for the struggle. It doesn’t make me tired, it’s not like having a drug that puts me to sleep or an anaesthetic; on the contrary it gives me a shot. The two just don’t line up I know. I know that smoking is detrimental to my health and yet it seems to help my wellbeing in the sense that it is a connecting point for me with my Māori community, a comforter, and a bridge to my support network.

Everyone has their own pathway to follow and their own choices to make. And I have never, ever supported smoking amongst the younger generations. The motivation for me to give up this year was having my daughter away on student exchange overseas and her saying “Mum, I know it’s really hard, but I really want you to think about the negatives of smoking and weaning your way off them”. She didn’t say “Give-up!” She understands from being away from me the politics behind smoking, in terms of Māori politics. And she’s not going to be judgemental but it would be great from where she sits if I gave up, to increase my lifespan and because she wants me to see my mokopuna, her children and for me to be a grandmother. I think that’s definitely a fair incentive for me. More so than my own wellbeing, probably because it’s going to be a long time before there’s a whole bunch of non-smoking Māori in my area of work.

**Being Tough and Isolation**

Being a non-smoker in a smoking environment means you need to be tough as a Māori. You have to be really tough. You have to break yourself away from your community. It means at times, like going back to tangi, you put yourself in those positions where everyone around you is a smoker. It’s damn tough to be a non-smoker and also to know, it’s a bit like alcoholism, you’re a moment away from a cigarette. For example, you can be sure that at a tangi at the last hākari, the ringawera are at the back and they will all light up as it’s their party; and its likely that they’re all smokers. It’s really hard to be in that environment, not because its peer group pressure but
because you’re only one smoke away from being a smoker again. And when you’re in that environment it’s so easy, because it’s enjoyable, not just the smoking itself, but the context. The context is like a drug and smoking is part of it, rightly or wrongly. So the context of being Māori, of being happy, in a happy context of whanaungatanga, you have to expect that smoking is a part of that context. Now it doesn’t need to be that way, but that’s the reality of it. One has to be really tough to be a non-smoker in that environment and I’m too orientated towards the social aspects of my community to sustain being a non-smoker. When I’m in that environment I either have to say no I’m not going to the pub, or I’m not going to the clubrooms, or yes I’ll go to the marae but I won’t go with the ringawera, and you then become open to being perceived as an educated snob, like you’re too good to be a part of them. For me I’m not tough enough yet, because usually when I go home it’s for something really heavy – like a tangi and when my emotions are running high, that’s when I smoke. When I go home for a tangi or a huge issue such as the foreshore and people are upset, my emotions run wild. Giving up is a path that I’ve been down but it increases my loneliness and my isolation as a Māori women. And I don’t want to do that. When I go overseas and when I’m not around my peer group I’m a non-smoker. But when I’m here, it’s real hard not to be a smoker.

**What can be gained from being Smokefree?**

Someone said to me you’d be a role model if you became smokefree – oh the pressure! I actually advocate against smoking to younger generations and say, “don’t do what we have done badly”. If we create another generation that is smokefree, we have created a new generation who will collectively frown on smoking and stop the cycle but be tolerant of older generations who do smoke. For me I’m putting investment into younger people saying “Don’t do this [smoke], it’s a filthy habit.” I never talk about the social context of smoking in order to create another generation that actually says, “We don’t need this”.

I haven’t heard a smoker, to be honest, who says they wished they didn’t smoke, it would be cheaper and all of those things. But again it’s about that whole social aspect. Smoking is so connected to colonisation. I’m talking about post treaty and the unfolding of the two cultures to the present. It has become uncouth to smoke for one Treaty partner who has been able to give it away as it has become offensive socially.
However, there are many magazine articles and advertising still using sheik models to advertise the various cigarette brands. Ironically, many of the biggest Hollywood stars still smoke. This presents the image that it’s cool to smoke. Historically, smoking globally was associated with the rich and famous. Even in the 60s and 70s in ‘high society’ New Zealand, smoking was common. I can remember as a young girl my older cousins would come home from Australia and Europe with ‘Oroton’ bags laced with beautiful sequins; you could get them in silver or gold. They had matching cigarette cases, which you just flipped open and also ‘Oroton’ lighters. It was the fashion. It was about showcasing wealth and class. I think that global trends have actually influenced New Zealand. It is no longer fashionable among Pākehā society to smoke. So it is no surprise that fewer Pākehā smoke. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said for Māori. It will take time for this trend to make a dent in Māori society. It’s a hard one to crack.

**Does Smoking Impact on your Culture? Is it something that can be kept separate?**

There are lots of good things happening in Māori society, like marae becoming smokefree. It is common practice for you to have to smoke out the back or in marked areas. There is an attempt by Māori society and especially marae committees to send clear signals about the health risks of smoking by making marae smokefree - it is not good for you, it is not good for us to advertise it, but we will provide for smokers in a particular area of the marae. You may not be able smoke on the marae or out the front, but they might have a cook’s area out the back with their tins (ashtrays). There’s a conscious effort by Māoridom now to actually put a particular slant on smoking, that it’s not good for us which is more then they did twenty years ago. However, they also provide for those who do smoke, without placing judgement on those who smoke. I don’t think you can have a marae that’s smokefree totally – yet. It may be something that marae aspire to be but, I think at the present time they are using a step by step process to provide for the differences between generations and those who smoke and those who don’t so no one is isolated. We need to grow three generations for smokefree marae to be truly successful. I don’t think you can separate smoking from the culture at the moment. There are so many Māori that smoke, to disengage it from cultural activities would isolate too many whānau. Sports such as waka ama or smokefree netball are leading the way. I think that any marae that is
brave enough to become completely smokefree is setting a trend. But a marae is not just about your own people, a marae is about meeting and greeting other īwi as well and that’s the tricky part.

The Smoking Cycle
I think there is a pattern shared amongst most Māori smokers.

I think Māori often re-asses their life as smokers when they become grandparents. When I’m a kuia I’ve definitely got very clear ideas about what I’m going to be like as a kuia. I’m not going to smoke; well I won’t have time to smoke because I want to be a full time grandmother. Therefore, no one will smoke in my car or anywhere near my grandchildren, because it’s about birth and it’s about somebody else’s life. That’s the way I see it. Basically that’s a cycle I think that lots of my people get into. For ten or twelve years of my life, it has been about survival. During that time I have obtained higher degrees and then moved into a very senior position of employment. My rate of acceleration into that senior position was combined emotionally with my divorce and movement away from my whānau into a new job. What people say is the three most stressful things in life are a separation/divorce, moving house, and a change in job. I did all three in one year. I divorced, I moved to a new city and I took up a new job. That’s not a justification for me smoking, because no smoking is good smoking. I agree with that. But it’s an explanation of how I understand my relationship with smoking to be, from standing back and saying this is my life now and understanding how I want to live my life in the future - one day I’ll be a non-smoker. If my baby
(daughter) were to get hapū\textsuperscript{312} tomorrow, that would be it, my smoking days would be over.

That’s why you see Pita Sharples and people like that on TV, saying “I didn’t want to do what my grandparents did to me, I did it (give up smoking) for my mokopuna.” It’s not about your life, it’s about your grandchildren’s. My daughter understands that. She doesn’t like my smoking, but she respects that I’ve got to get out of the cycle that I’m in.

\textsuperscript{312} Pregnant (Williams, H.W. (2002)).
APPENDIX FOUR
Information Sheet

THE IMPACT OF BECOMING OR WANTING TO BECOME SMOKEFREE FOR
MĀORI

INFORMATION SHEET FOR
PARTICIPANTS or PARENTS / GUARDIANS ETC.

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 of any kind and we thank you for considering our request.

What is the Aim of the Project?

This project is being undertaken as part of the requirements for the Master of Indigenous Studies (MindS)

The aim of the research is to analyse the impact that becoming or wanting to become smokefree has on Māori. It will look at why Māori begin smoking, what motivates them to quit or want to quit smoking and what is gained by quitting smoking. This will be done through in-depth interviews with Māori who have given up smoking.

What Type of Participants are being sought?
Participation is being sought by Māori who have thought about quitting smoking, attempted to quit smoking or given up smoking, of any age or gender.

What will Participants be Asked to Do?

Should you agree to take part in this project, you will be asked to ......

Participate in a semi-structured in-depth interview with the researcher. It is estimated that this will take between 30 – 60 minutes. The participant will also be asked to review their interview, editing and omitting information they deem to be incorrect or inappropriate to the research.

In participating in this research the participant should not experience any harm or discomfort.

Please be aware that you may decide not to take part in the project without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

Can Participants Change their Mind and Withdraw from the Project?

You may withdraw from participation in the project at any time and 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 is disclosed in the interview will be collected by means of audiotape.
This project involves an open-questioning technique where the precise nature of the questions which 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 is being collected to analyse motivating factors for giving up smoking and also the impact this has on the participant’s life.

Information collected will only be accessible by the researcher and the staff involved in the project.

Results of this project may be published but any data included will in no way be linked to any specific participant.

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 those mentioned above will be able to gain access to it. At the end of the project any personal information will be destroyed immediately except that, 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.

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:-
This project has been reviewed and approved by the Department of Māori, Pacific and Indigenous Studies, University of Otago.
THE IMPACT OF BECOMING OR WANTING TO BECOME SMOKEFREE FOR MĀORI

CONSENT FORM FOR

PARTICIPANTS or PARENTS / GUARDIANS

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. the audiotapes 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 five years, after which it will be destroyed;
4. this project involves an open-questioning technique where the precise nature of the questions which will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the interview develops and that in the event that the line of questioning develops in such a way that I feel hesitant or uncomfortable I may decline to answer any particular question(s) and/or may withdraw from the project without any disadvantage of any kind.
5. the results of the project may be published but my anonymity will be preserved.

I agree to take part in this project.

.................................................................  ........................................
(Signature of participant)  (Date)

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Department of Māori, Pacific and Indigenous Studies, University of Otago