

***The place of alcohol in the lives of
people from Tokelau, Fiji, Niue,
Tonga, Cook Islands and Samoa
living in New Zealand: an overview***

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the Alcohol Advisory Council of New Zealand*

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Lanuola Asiasiga

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Border Design

Vaitoa Baker

As a freelance illustrator of mixed ethnic groups, having the opportunity to work on this project that incorporates many designs of the Pacific, I hope I have done justice to each. I also want to give thanks to my partner, Yvette, whose love keeps me going.

Disclaimer

This report was prepared by staff of Sector Analysis, Ministry of Health for the Alcohol Advisory Council of New Zealand. Its purpose is to inform discussion and assist future health promotion strategies. Therefore, the opinions expressed in the report do not necessarily reflect the official views of the Alcohol Advisory Council of New Zealand nor the Ministry of Health.

ALAC's Alcohol and Pacific Islands Research Project Reports

This report is one of a series of seven studies published in 1997

- The place of alcohol in the lives of people from Tokelau, Fiji, Niue, Tonga, Cook Islands and Samoa living in New Zealand: an overview
- Inu Pia: The place of alcohol in the lives of Tokelauan people living in Aotearoa New Zealand
- Na tabili kavoro: The place of alcohol in the lives of Fijian people living in Aotearoa New Zealand
- Vai Mamali: The place of alcohol in the lives of Niuean people living in Aotearoa New Zealand
- Kapau tete to ha fu'u siaine he 'ikai tete ma'u ha talo pe koha 'ufi ko e fu'u siaine pe: The place of alcohol in the lives of Tongan people living in Aotearoa New Zealand
- Kaikava me kare Inuinu: The place of alcohol in the lives of Cook Islands people living in Aotearoa New Zealand
- O le a'ano o feiloaiga: The place of alcohol in the lives of Samoan people living in Aotearoa New Zealand

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Overview

Aims of the study

The Pacific people's alcohol research project was set up to describe the place of alcohol in the lives of Tokelauan, Fijian, Niuean, Tongan, Cook Islands and Samoan people living in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Introduction

Pacific people came from small close-knit communities in the Pacific where everyone knew everyone else, including their genealogy, to large cities where they knew few people. For a lot of the early Pacific migrants, being introduced to alcohol was part of their migration experience.

One characteristic of Pacific migrants is that they continue to have close ties with their homeland and to maintain those links by, for example, sending remittances back home. As well, Pacific people continue to travel back and forth between their land of origin and Aotearoa New Zealand and to be involved with their families and communities in both places.

This study is to assist the Alcohol Advisory Council of New Zealand (ALAC) design alcohol health promotion strategies and materials which would be suitable for the different Pacific communities. This particular chapter is an overview of the reports from each of the six Pacific communities.

Previous studies

From the 1960s onwards, a number of researchers have studied Pacific people living in Aotearoa New Zealand. They have focused on the social, economic and political circumstances associated with the migration of these people to the main urban centres (for example: McCall & Connell 1993, Trlin & Spoonley 1992, Bedford 1991, Spoonley et al 1984, Krishnan, Schoeffel & Warren 1994, Wessen 1992, Laing & Mitaera 1994). However, only two studies, Banwell 1986 and Neich & Park 1988, have looked in detail at the drinking beliefs and practices of Pacific people. While survey-based studies have provided general information about the percentage of Pacific people who drink (for example, Stanhope and Prior 1979, Wessen 1992, Statistics New Zealand and Ministry of Health 1993) these surveys provide

insufficient detail about the different meanings Pacific people attach to alcohol. It is that detail that is needed to design effective alcohol health promotion strategies.

The two most detailed studies to date have been the study by Banwell (1986) looking at the place of alcohol in the lives of some Cook Islands women living in Auckland, and the study by Neich & Park (1988) which examined the views on alcohol of some Auckland Samoan women. Banwell, for example, noted that the Cook Islands women in her study associated drinking alcohol with being happy, singing and dancing, and as a sign of shaking off missionary imposed controls on behaviour (Banwell 1986:47). By contrast, many of the Samoan women in Neich & Park's study did not drink. Alcohol only featured in their lives as a consequence of what was described as the "all or nothing" drinking styles of their brothers, fathers and husbands (Neich & Park 1988:12)

How the research was carried out

One important objective of the research was to have at least two members from each of the Pacific communities working in the research field team. The researchers from each community would then be able to gather stories and information from their own communities.

Information about the purpose of the research was given out and people were asked if they wanted to take part. Those who agreed to take part were then asked to read and sign a consent form, which showed that they understood the purpose of the research and were still willing to take part. Some people were interviewed individually and some took part in group interviews. The interviews were taped and written out. Copies of these interviews were returned to the participants for checking and editing.

The research method of interviewing individuals and groups of people was chosen because the researchers wanted to gain an in-depth account of Pacific people's experiences with alcohol. The people interviewed were able to think over their personal experiences and try to give meaning to those experiences. The information collected does not claim to be representative of Pacific people but only of the people who were interviewed.

The size of the field teams varied. Each field team met regularly with the two Ministry researchers. These regular meetings enabled the Ministry researchers to gain an overview of all the teams and to look for similarities and differences between groups.

Tokelau One woman and one man carried out the interviews and in the older people's group interviews, the interviewers were supported by an elder. This was because both the interviewers are younger people in their late twenties and early thirties and it was appropriate that an elder introduce them and their topic. Also, for one of the older people's

group interviews, the interviewer's mother prepared all the food. A sister of one interviewer transcribed the interviews in Tokelauan and then translated them into English.

Eighteen men and fourteen women were interviewed. For the women there were three group interviews and the rest were individual interviews. The men took part in two group sessions and the remainder were interviewed individually.

Fiji

The interviews were carried out in Auckland and Wellington. In Auckland there were three women and one man interviewing and in Wellington there were two men and one woman interviewing. One of the Auckland interviewers was a student who included students under twenty years of age in her interviews. Some of the interviews were in English and some in Fijian. The interviews that were carried out in Fijian were transcribed in Wellington. Unfortunately the poor quality of the tape recording of the two men's group interviews in Wellington meant that those interviews could not be used. A valuable lesson was learnt here in that the interviewers needed to be trained to take good notes rather than just relying on the tape recorder. One of the interviewers translated the Fijian interviews into English and these translations were checked by a member of the Fijian community.

Fifteen women were interviewed, five of whom took part in a group interview. Eight men were interviewed, with two being interviewed together and the remainder having individual interviews.

Niue

Two women and one man carried out the Niuean interviews. As well, one of the interviewer's partners helped transcribe the interviews. One of the interviewers then translated the Niuean transcripts into English.

Nineteen women were interviewed. Most of the women were interviewed individually with one being interviewed by telephone. There were also two group interviews. Thirteen men were interviewed. There was one group interview and the rest were individual interviews.

Tonga

Two women and one man interviewed the Tongan participants. Some of the interviews were in English and some in Tongan. Most of the interviews conducted in Tongan were transcribed by a Tongan transcriber, translated by each of the interviewers and then retyped in English by the transcriber.

Thirteen women were interviewed. There were two group interviews and four individual interviews. The men were interviewed in four groups and six individual interviews. The men's groups had at least eight to ten men in each group.

Cook Islands

The Cook Islands interviews were carried out by a woman and a man and transcribed by a Cook Islands transcriber. The interviewers provided the translations.

Ten women were interviewed in three groups and one individual interview. The seven men who took part were all interviewed individually.

Samoa

One woman and two men interviewed the Samoan participants. The interviews in Samoan were transcribed by a Samoan transcriber and one of the interviewers. One of the interviewers and another Samoan translator provided the translation into English.

As a lead into starting the study, a talkback radio programme was held on *Samoa Capital Radio* which resulted in two people asking to be part of the in-depth interviews. A total of thirteen women were interviewed in two group interviews and four individual interviews. Sixteen men took part. There were three group interviews and four individual interviews.

The purpose of detailing the field teams is to show that what was originally thought would be small field teams of two to three people, in fact, were much bigger. The two Ministry researchers gained an overview by working with all the teams and were able to look for similarities and differences between groups.

The field teams started with individual interviews and then moved on to group interviews. The exception to this was the Fijian team in Wellington who went straight into group interviews because of time restrictions and in retrospect it was unfair to have the interviewers doing group interviews without having done any individual interviews.

Translating and transcribing all the interviews took much longer than was first anticipated which resulted in the time line being stretched out.

Within Pacific cultures, family commitments and responsibilities take priority and this was evident in the fieldwork. Both interviewers and participants often had to reschedule interviews because of family responsibilities. However, because the interviewers and participants were from the same communities they could relate to

these responsibilities and were sympathetic with each other but even so the patience of the interviewers was sorely tried by the number of last minute cancellations.

In each team it was expected that men would interview men and that women would interview women but this did not always happen. The field teams were made up of people who had good networks within their respective communities. The teams drew their participants from a cross-section of the community taking into account variables such as: age, gender, place of birth, drinking habits.

Other factors also had to be taken into account when carrying out this research . For example, for the Tokelauan group it was important to get participants from across the three atolls because of the influence of the different churches and the different response to the introduction of alcohol from each atoll. For the Cook Islands group there were no participants from the Northern Cooks so the participants were all from the Southern Cooks.

What the interviews asked

The interviews asked open-ended questions around the themes of:

- social or family events where Pacific people would drink alcohol
- who Pacific people drank with, for example, whether men and women drank together
- what type of drinks Pacific people preferred
- the differences between drinking in the Pacific and drinking in Aotearoa New Zealand
- whether there were Pacific styles of drinking
- issues that were brought up in the interview by the people being interviewed.

Open-ended questions are those questions which ask people to describe or explain their point of view. Closed questions, on the other hand, usually require simple *yes* or *no* answers. Open-ended questions generally start with words like: *How . . .*, *Can you describe . . .*, *What . . .*, *Where . . .*, *Who . . .*

In both the group and individual interviews the interviewer was guided by the direction taken by those being interviewed.

How the research information was analysed

The written copies of the interviews were analysed by comparing people's experiences and views to see where the similarities and differences lay and if there were any common themes emerging. The interviews that were transcribed in a language other than English were translated into English. It may be that some of the

original meaning was lost at the translation stage but the concept of what was said has been captured. Those people in the research field team who were members of the specific Pacific community offered their experience and wisdom and explained points about culture and the community. Historical and anthropological accounts of the Pacific were read to provide background information and set the context for the report.

Historical background

Alcohol was introduced to the Pacific by those early visitors: the whalers, traders and sailors. The missionaries arrived bringing not only Christianity to the Pacific but also their own cultural beliefs and values. The way the missionaries regarded alcohol has to be seen from their particular cultural context. For example, the London Missionary Society perpetuated those values mostly associated with working class Victorian England. The outcome may have been different had the missionaries come from France.

At first the indigenous Pacific people showed little interest in alcohol but as their interest grew, the colonial governments introduced a permit system restricting or prohibiting alcohol use by indigenous people. Restricted access to alcohol led to indigenous people learning how to make home-brew from the early colonists. The use of home-brew became wide-spread across the Pacific. Because the making of home-brew was illegal brewers became adept at hiding their operation and it was difficult for authorities to monitor or control home-brew use. Home-brew had a higher alcohol content than commercially prepared beer. As well as home-brew, indigenous people also drank methylated spirits which participants in the study referred to as the substance used in spirit lamps and at the hospitals for cleaning wounds.

The role of the church

History shows us that prohibiting alcohol seems to increase its popularity. Prohibition of alcohol in the Pacific gave rise to the widespread use of home-brew which became a flourishing industry beyond the control of local authorities. Because alcohol drinking was not allowed, home-brew making and drinking usually took place in private. When drinking alcohol is not an accepted public event it becomes very difficult to talk about the role of alcohol education.

The church continues to play an important role in many Pacific people's lives. Alcohol has become a part of Pacific people's lives but to a large extent this has been ignored by the church. The churches take a variety of stances on alcohol from complete prohibition to allowing some moderate use.

In this study, participants who drank alcohol but attended a church that prohibited alcohol use would hide their drinking. Young people who drank tended to stop or decrease church attendance. Church members who wanted to drink at church functions where alcohol was not allowed would still drink but in the car park (“boot drinking” - drinking alcohol stored in the car boot) or would have a car parked outside the hall and slip in and out of the social to have a quick drink in the car. In these circumstances, promoting alcohol awareness is not easy because alcohol drinking is not an activity sanctioned by many churches.

No one view of alcohol

Within and across the Pacific communities there is no single unified view of alcohol. Rather, there is a range of views. For example, Tongan people who took part in the study do not share a unified, consistent opinion on alcohol but express a variety of beliefs. As one Samoan elder in this study remarked, there would be as many different styles of drinking for Samoans as there were people. Unfortunately, because Pacific communities are defined by the umbrella term “Pacific” or Pacific Islands”, outsiders often perceive Pacific people as one entity.

The variability of cultures has been addressed in other Pacific studies such as Macpherson 1990, and Laing and Mitaera 1994:

Scholars have found, in studies of subjects as diverse as language (Milner) and social organisation (Shore), that while there are some common themes in Samoan culture, these often mask a bewildering number of variations in the ways in which the themes are worked out in villages. There is, furthermore, no single authority to which one can appeal for judgement on the variants (Macpherson 1990:7)

The Macphersons wrote that not having a single authoritative source of all knowledge was a problem for those studying Samoan culture. We would suggest that the problem only exists for outsiders who try to impose another cultural paradigm since Samoan people themselves do not have a problem with variability. Laing and Mitaera (1994) also identified variability in Samoan and Cook Islands cultures but suggested this was an important feature to help maintain cultural growth and creativity:

Patricia Laing prepared a manuscript in English about the variation among Samoan healers and their practices and discussed those findings with the healers (Kinloch 1982). They were adamant that several versions of the relationships between certain *matai* (chiefs) and *aitu* (spirits) were presented to ensure that one version did not gain authority over others. In a society where variation is essential to cultural creativity and regeneration, the assertion of one version as authoritative assaults the foundations of that society’s culture (Laing and Mitaera 1994:73).

Thus the research findings from this study cannot be generalised to whole Pacific population but we can be aware of the variety of attitudes and beliefs about alcohol. Recognising that variability should encourage a varied approach to the health promotion strategies employed.

The concept of drinking

There was much information in the transcripts to suggest that not all Pacific people recognise the term “social drinker”. For most of the participants, the concept of being a drinker related to drinking enough to get drunk. The concept of being a non drinker included people who never drank and people who occasionally drank. This meant there was less scope for an ‘in between’ kind of drinking; that is, the concept of moderate drinking.

The transcripts suggested that when Pacific people drink, the intention is to drink until the alcohol is finished or until a person can drink no more. There are no limits on the quantity of alcohol consumed. Thus, although drinking may not happen every day or even every week, when it does happen, sessions can be very long.

Given this concept of drinking, people who are moderate or occasional drinkers are reluctant to identify themselves as drinkers, nor are they identified by others as drinkers. Occasional drinkers, that is people who take a glass of alcohol at a social function, will call themselves non-drinkers. Also people who said they had given up drinking generally turned out to be occasional drinkers.

Gender

Although more Pacific women are drinking, their communities, especially the men, have been slow to accept this. The communities’ expectations of how men should behave and how women should behave were quite different. For example, often men saw women who drank as being “loose” women and sexually available. Women expected men to drink more than them, be louder and sometimes become aggressive and pick fights.

In the Pacific, home-brew drinking sessions took place in bush away from the village so women and children were to a certain extent protected from the aftereffects. In Aotearoa New Zealand because alcohol drinking has been brought into the home, women and children take part or are exposed to the effects of it.

Drinking not usually a solitary activity

For most participants it was important to drink in a group rather than alone because alcohol was seen to have a social role. The group was more important than the individual. To want to drink alone was seen as problematic because it meant withdrawal from the group and was seen as rejection of the group.

The kava circle

While kava is not used in Niue or Tokelau, the model of the kava circle appears there as in the other islands where kava drinking takes place. Lemert (1967) saw kava drinking as the prototype of alcohol drinking in the Pacific.

There was some discussion by participants of the influence of kava drinking on alcohol drinking. For example, in kava drinking the group sits and drinks until the kava is finished and each cup of kava is skulled in one swig. Some participants surmised that this could be why Pacific people, men in particular, drank till the alcohol was finished. In the transcripts, when asked how they knew when they had had enough, men were more likely to say “when the alcohol is finished”.

Other participants did not refer to kava but spoke of drinking alcohol in a “circle”. There were variations on what happened in the circle, but the idea was a common one.

The concept of a drinking school (where structured ritualised drinking sessions took place led by a barman who did not drink himself but controlled the drinking of those who were taking part) was exclusive to Atiu and Mitiaro of the Southern Cooks, though the concept of a barman directing the circle was also present in Tokelau. The drinking schools also encouraged more formal rituals in drinking.

The link between kava and alcohol

There were differences here. According to the Tongan participants, kava and alcohol are kept separate. Kava is promoted over alcohol and is the traditional culturally acceptable drink whereas alcohol is not. Kava clubs have sprung up in Auckland and groups like the Catholic Pioneer Club support kava use for Tongan people. Kava clubs disapprove of their members drinking alcohol.

Fijian participants spoke of both kava and alcohol being available at some social functions. Men talked of washing down kava with alcohol at the end of a kava session.

The common point about kava is that the churches seem to support kava use over alcohol. When the Methodist church was first set up in Fiji, it tried to stop its members from drinking kava but without success. So now it supports kava use. Since alcohol and kava are both drugs we need to examine why the church supports one but not the other. Possibly the answer lies in the effects they both have on people. For example, a group of people drinking alcohol tend to get louder and louder as more alcohol is consumed. By comparison, the more kava is drunk, the quieter the drinkers become. Being intoxicated with kava seems to inhibit aggression and lessen sexual desire. For participants, being able to behave in a socially acceptable way was the most important factor in drinking. Kava has traditional standing in Pacific cultures, and its effects on social behaviour are more acceptable than those of alcohol.

Kava and alcohol use have increased side by side. More work needs to be done to look at how these two drugs influence each other.

Age

Participants indicated that their heaviest drinking took place when they were in their “prime” (below 30-35 years of age). Older men in particular who had been heavy drinkers in their younger days, gave up drinking as they became older and became elders within the church. These men had started drinking during their prime years and felt they had often acted out of control. Because of their own experience, they tended to be the heaviest critics of young people’s drinking and often wanted to ban alcohol.

Social behaviour

The most important factor about alcohol for the participants appeared to be the behaviour of those drinking. A person could drink as much as they liked so long as they behaved in what was considered by the community to be an appropriate way. The amount of alcohol drunk or the length of the drinking session were really not issues for most participants.

Binge drinking

Binge drinking is when alcohol is used infrequently but large amounts are consumed in one sitting. While many participants were not familiar with the term “binge drinking”, they recognised the pattern of behaviour. Binge drinking is a health issue because of the stress it places on the body’s organs when large amounts of alcohol are taken at one time. However, most participants seemed totally unaware of the health effects of binge drinking.

Across Pacific cultures generosity is an important concept. The ability to give generously of food and money proves one’s status. A social function is only successful if the tables are groaning with food. Since alcohol is viewed as food, that too must be lavished by the host on the guests. As the Cook Islands chapter points out, when one village drinking school hosts another, there could be nothing worse than if the guests went home without getting drunk. That would just prove that the host village were not generous, that is, were mean and did not show good hospitality. Moderation, then, may be seen as being mean.

Pakeha were often seen as knowing how to drink and the Pakeha style of drinking was referred to as drinking only a few drinks and never getting drunk. Participants spoke

of the Pakeha way of drinking as being something to emulate. However, Pakeha were also seen as being mean because they only had a few drinks.

The health impact of alcohol

Apart from the Niuean group, few participants appeared to be aware of the effects alcohol had on health. Women whose partners drank heavily tended to be more aware as were men who had been advised by their doctors to reduce their alcohol intake. But on the whole, participants were more concerned about the social behaviour of those who drank rather than the physical health effects.

Participants, especially women, and men who had given up drinking, spoke of the problems caused by spending too much money on alcohol. One participant referred to this as “banking at the pub”.

Alcohol, violence and inappropriate behaviour

There appears to be a strong relationship between inappropriate or violent behaviour and alcohol in that alcohol may be used as an excuse for inappropriate behaviour or offensive actions. For the participants in this study, the drinking circle was based on relationships between people. Where the intent was to be happy, drinking assisted in the building of closer ties with other people and these people associated alcohol with happiness. However, there was evidence that some people’s intent was violence and they went drinking with the purpose of looking for a fight. This study looked at people’s beliefs about alcohol and would seem to support that:

. . . what people believe alcohol to be (eg. a disinhibitor, a food, a medicine, a social facilitator, a sacred or a secular substance) greatly influences the ways they behave once they ingest it (Marshall 1979:456)

Implications for health promotion

1. As there is no one view on alcohol consumption, ALAC's health promotions will have to vary to take account of the range of ideas on alcohol.
2. ALAC's main health promotion strategies are "moderate drinking" and "host responsibility". For the participants there appeared to be a lack of attention or recognition given to the concept of moderate drinking. Moderation is a rare concept for people whose cultures encourage generosity and providing abundant supplies of food and drink. To promote moderation may be seen as promoting stinginess or meanness.

Pacific cultures emphasise the importance of the group over the individual. Likewise responsibility lies to the group rather than the individual. Part of host responsibility, which often targets individuals, could be to develop community or family responsibility as well. We would suggest that ALAC build on to the concept of "host" and generosity and develop it further.

3. For some groups, safety was an issue. The Niuean group especially emphasised this and spoke of having one person who was not drinking watching over the others. Women across the groups also spoke of the need to protect their children from drunk adults. Safety issues could be built on through targeting family/community responsibility and for example, promoting the need for the home to be a safe place. Safety for children could also be tied in with genealogical issues discussed below at point 4.
4. Few participants seemed aware of, or concerned about the effects of alcohol on health. Genealogy is the basis of Pacific families and communities. It means the continuation of lines of descent; the passing on of knowledge. Anything that affects genealogy affects Pacific people. We suggest to ALAC that highlighting the long-term health effects of alcohol on genealogy would be sure to attract attention and provoke thought among the Pacific communities.
5. The role of the church in alcohol awareness and education was raised by a number of participants. ALAC could look at developing an alcohol education programme with some of the Pacific young people in the churches. In recent years the churches have been challenged on their social responsibility role and alcohol awareness could be seen to be part of that role.

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Appendix 1

Interview schedule

Drinking Beliefs and Practices:

Do you drink alcohol on special occasions, every week, or not at all?

Can you tell me about some of the times when you have been drinking in the last couple of weeks?

When

How often do you drink?

(How long have you been drinking? What age did you start drinking?)

What times of the week do you put aside for drinking?

Where

Where do you go to drink?

Who

Who do you drink with?

(Are they usually male/female friends?)

(Are they usually people that you know?)

Differences between male/female

Are there any differences between drinking in an all male/female group or in a mixed group?

Do people behave differently within these drinking groups?

Do you talk about different/same things depending on which group you are in?

Buying

Who buys the drinks?

(Is there an arrangement for buying the drinks?)

Do you buy drinks for others?

Before & After

What things do you/people do before having a drink? for eg. sports, movies ...

What do you do afterwards?

(What sort of activities do you take part in that don't include alcohol?)

Drinking Practices

Type of drink

(a) What is your favourite drink?

(a) What kinds of drink do you drink?

(b) What other types of drink do you like?

(b) Which do you drink most of?

How much

How much do you drink?

Are there times when you want to drink as much as you want/can?

(Why?)

Effects

Are there any changes in your behaviour when you've been drinking?

How you feel after 2-3 drinks?

How you feel after you've had quite a lot to drink?

How do you know when you've had enough to drink?

Drinking Behaviour

Normal Behaviour

From your own experience, can you describe what [insert name of Pacific group] people see as normal drinking behaviour?

Can you describe [insert name of Pacific group] people's behaviour when they've had a lot to drink?

Differences

What differences have you noticed between those who drink and those who don't?

(Look for words that describe alcohol and alcohol related practices)

What differences have you noticed between drinking in [insert name of Pacific island] and drinking in New Zealand?

(Why do you think there is or there isn't?)

Is there a [insert name of Pacific group] style of drinking?

Demographics:

Male/Female

Age Group:

under 20

20-29

30-39

40-49

50-59

60+

When did you come to live in Aotearoa New Zealand?

For: "Non-Drinkers"

Do you mix socially or go out with people who drink alcohol?

[If yes ...] How do you fit into that situation?

Who

(Are they friends, family, work mates, etc.)

Are they male/female?

(And are they people you know?)

When

Can you describe any occasions that you go to where alcohol is drunk?

Where

Where would the occasions take place?

Differences between male/female

From your own experience, are there any differences between drinking in all male/female group or in a mixed group?

Do you see people behave differently within these drinking groups?

(Do people behave differently when they drink and when they don't drink?)

Do you/they talk about the same/different things as those who drink? (depending on which group you are in?)

Buying

Who buys/arranges the drinks?

Do you buy drinks for others?

What sort of activities do you take part in that don't include alcohol

As a non-drinker, what made you decide not to drink alcohol?

[If no ...] What social events/activities do you take part in where there is no alcohol?

Are there any occasions that you go to where alcohol is drunk?

Can you describe it?

As a non-drinker, what made you decide not to drink alcohol?

Questions for focus groups

These are the main questions but may need prompt/probe questions.

1. *Can you remember back to the first time you tasted/ tried alcohol? How long ago was that and how did it come about?*
2. *Can you tell us something about the times when you drink alcohol?*
For example, how often do you drink?
Where do you drink? [at home, which pubs? which nightclubs?]
Who do you drink with? [mix of ages, women/men, ethnicity, friends, family, workmates]
3. *When you're drinking with other men, do you behave differently from when you are drinking with women?*
Can you describe/talk about this?
4. *What types of drink do you drink? (which do you drink most of?)*
5. *Who buys the drinks? (What sort of arrangement is there for buying drinks?)*
6. *How much do you drink?*
7. *Are there times when you want to drink as much as you can? What times are they?*
8. *How do you know when you've had enough to drink?*
9. *What differences, if any, have you noticed between drinking in [insert name of Pacific island] and drinking here?*
10. *Do you think there is such a thing as a [insert name of Pacific group] way of drinking?*
If yes, can you explain what that is?
11. *What do you think your community sees as being acceptable drinking behaviour ?*

The Research Teams:

Sector Analysis Researchers, Ministry of Health:

Lanuola Asiasiga

Lanuola has a background in education and social science research. She is now enjoying working as a health researcher. Lanuola has three children and lives in Porirua.

Ian Hodges

Ian has research training in social anthropology and is an experienced researcher in health. He undertook a PhD in the rituals and customs associated with alcohol consumption amongst New Zealand men. Ian lives in Blockhouse Bay, Auckland.

Tokelauan Research Field Team:

Ezra Jennings-Pedro

Ezra is a consultant for Education Directions Ltd and is involved with community education and research. In 1995 Ezra spent six months teaching in Tokelau and is currently completing his Masters in Education at Victoria University.

Terrisa Taupe

Terrisa and Tufaina's parents migrated from Tokelau in the early sixties and their children grew up in Porirua. Terrisa works in the Finance section of the Ministry of Health. She is a member of the Mafutaga Tupulaga Tokelau and PIC.

Tufaina Taupe

Tufaina is a teacher at a local school in Porirua. She is currently involved in the Tokelau Bible Translation group, the Porirua Pacific Islands Stop Abuse project which deals with family violence and sexual abuse issues with women and their families, the Atafu Tokelau Association, and is a Sunday School teacher at PIC.

Fijian Research Field Team:

Sofaia Kamakorewa

Sofaia has lived in New Zealand for three years. She is 20 years old and is currently in her first year studying economics at Massey University in Albany. Sofaia lives with her family in Hillsborough, Auckland. Sofaia is from the province of Rewa in Fiji.

Maikali (Mike) Kilioni

Mike has lived in New Zealand since 1988 when he came to take up a rugby contract with the Paremata-Plimmerton Club in Wellington. He was a past youth member of the Wellington Fijian Community Council of Elders and a committee member of the Wellington Fijian Community Sports Club. Mike is a qualified chef and works for The Wellington Club. Mike is from the island of Kadavu in Fiji.

Fane Malani

Fane has lived in New Zealand since 1981 when she came to attend secondary school and subsequently, Victoria University of Wellington to study Public Administration. She is an active member of the Wellington Fijian Methodist Church and has been a past Treasurer of the Wellington Fijian Community Council of Elders. Fane currently works for MRL Research Group in Wellington. Fane is from the province of Ra in Fiji.

Tina McNicholas

Tina has lived in Wellington since her parents immigrated to New Zealand in 1975. Tina was a past youth member of the Wellington Fijian Community Council of Elders and was Treasurer of the Wellington Fijian Sports Club from 1991 to 1994. Since graduating from Victoria University of Wellington, she has held various posts in the public service and now works as a Policy Analyst for the Ministry of Health in Wellington. Tina is from the province of Rewa in Fiji.

Mere Samusamuvodre

Mere, who describes herself as a home executive, immigrated to New Zealand from Fiji in 1983 with her husband and their eight children. She worked as a stenographer in Fiji and was recently employed as a health educator for the South Auckland Pacific Islands Cervical Screening programme. Mere and her family live in Manurewa, Auckland. Mere is from the island of Koro in Fiji.

Litimai Rasiga

Litimai works in a private hospital in Auckland. She is involved with the Auckland Fijian community and in particular the Fijian Women's Craft Club. Litimai has six children and she and her family live in West Auckland. Litimai is from the province of Tailevu, Fiji.

Tevita Rasiga

Tevita is the current treasurer of the Auckland Fijian Community and was also a past Chairperson. He lectures in engineering at the Auckland Institute of Technology. Tevita is from Vanuabalavu in the Lau group, Fiji.

Apisa Tuiqere

Apisa has lived in Wellington since immigrating to Aotearoa New Zealand in 1986. He is an active member of the Wellington Fijian Community and was chairman of the Wellington Fijian Sports Club from 1992 to 1994. Apisa works as a branch manager for Photo Plus Ltd in Wellington. Apisa is from the island of Matuku in the Lau group, Fiji.

Ruve Tuivoavoa

Ruve has lived in Aotearoa New Zealand for nine years and is an active member of the Wellington Fijian Assembly of God Church. She has three children and lives with her family in Central Wellington. Ruve has a secretarial background, and until recently worked for the Fiji Embassy in Wellington. Ruve is from the island of Taveuni in Fiji.

Niuean Research Field Team:

Doreen Arapai

Doreen is Aotearoa New Zealand-born. She has been a registered nurse for 30 years and is currently completing her masters degree. Doreen has been involved in many qualitative health research projects and has been both a researcher and a participant in numerous Niuean projects.

Dahlia Naepi

Dahlia has been a registered nurse for 22 years and has been working in community health for the last ten years. Dahlia has just completed her Diploma in Diabetes Education (through Deakin University, Australia) and is finishing a Diploma in Health Studies Management through Massey University. This year Dahlia also started a BA in Theology. She continues to be involved in a lot of health projects and voluntary work with the Niuean community. Dahlia is the mother of three teenagers.

Slaven Naepi

Slaven is self-employed as a salesman. He is an active member of the Niuean community especially with young people and sports.

Vili Nosa

Vili is currently enrolled in a PhD at the Auckland School of Medicine. He completed his MA in Sociology and his thesis was about Niuean migration. Vili has experience with both quantitative and qualitative research. He is involved with Niuean youth through church activities, rugby league and Niuean cricket.

Tongan Research Field Team:

Yvette Guttenbeil

Yvette is a youth worker in Auckland. Her father is from Vava'u and her mother is from Vaini. Yvette's parents migrated from Tonga in the early seventies. At the time, Yvette was three years old. She grew up in Avondale attending school there and going on to Auckland university.

Sione Liava'a

Sione is from Ha'avakatolo in Tonga. In the early seventies, after working for Radio Tonga for three years, Sione decided to emigrate. He arrived in Auckland and worked for Telecom for thirteen years. He is now involved with broadcasting again, sending news to Tonga every morning via Radio New Zealand International. Sione is also helping out with a local Tongan news programme on Access Radio Auckland every morning. He is currently training to be a Pacific Islands educator in sexual health. Sione has a seventeen year old son who attends Auckland Boys Grammar where Sione sits on the Board of Trustees. Sione's daughter is fourteen years old and attends Epsom Girls Grammar.

Wailangilala Tufui

Wai has been a broadcaster with Radio New Zealand for thirteen years but is now running her own news programme, Koli Tala'aho, on Access Radio every morning at 6.30. Wai is also involved with community projects such as, the Miss Heilala Beauty Pageant, and is secretary of the Tonga High School Ex-students New Zealand Association. Wai has six children.

Susana Tu'inukuafe

Susana has been working in drug and alcohol counselling since 1989. She was the first Tongan woman to work in the drug and alcohol field. In her work, Susana goes to the prisons to work with Tongan offenders. Susana is from Ha'avakatolo in Hihifo, Tonga. She migrated from Tonga in the early seventies. Susana is married to Siaso and they have a daughter, Talafaiva Ana, and a son, Zvi Karl.

Cook Islands Research Field Team:

Anne Allan-Moetaua

Anne is from the Cook Islands, born and brought up in Rarotonga. Anne is the co-ordinator of the Pacific Islands Health Unit for the Wellington region. She lives with her four wonderful daughters and her mother in Linden.

Helen Kapi

Helen was born and brought up in Rarotonga. She works for the police department transcribing interviews. Helen lives with her daughter in Linden.

Terongo Tekii

Terongo is the general manager of the Cannons Creek Fanau Centre in Porirua. He is from Aitutaki in the Cook Islands.

Samoa Research Field Team:

Tunumafono Ken Ah Kuoi

Ken is a Pacific Islands education advisor and a teacher by trade. He enjoys rugby and is currently completing his Masters in Education. Ken is from Vaiusu and Magiagi in Western Samoa.

Tali Beaton

Tali lives in Wellington and works in a government department. She enjoyed working on this project.

Myra McFarland

Myra has a new baby and is completing her MA in Social Science research. Myra co-authored The History of the Public Service Association in Western Samoa which was published this year. She has tutored at Victoria University in Samoan Studies since 1991 and in the Anthropology Department for the past two years. In 1995 Myra also taught Samoan language at Wellington East Girls College. Myra is from Moataa, Western Samoa.

Carmel Peteru

Carmel has just been appointed the managing co-ordinator for the Pacific Islands Train the Trainers Sexual and Reproductive Health Project in the Wellington region. Carmel co-authored O le taeao afua, a research report recently launched by the Family Centre, that looked at Samoan perspectives of mental health.

Damas Potoi

Damas is a student completing his BCA/LLB at Victoria University. He grew up in Waitangirua, Porirua but spent his seventh form year at school in Western Samoa.