Researching the process of Auahi Kore for Marae

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A report prepared for the Health Sponsorship Council

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- The current report is piece of a qualitative research exploring issues relating the development of Marae Auahi Kore. Such aspects as; factors that aid or impede the process, resources available or required by marae, and people's perceptions of the Auahi Kore brand were explored.
- Interviews were conducted with people from a variety of backgrounds. Research participants included: Marae Trustees, Public Health Workers, Runanga Staff as well as Kaumatua and Kuia. These people were identified as key informants for the current project. A total of 25 people were interviewed during March and April using an open interview schedule.
- Exploration into the Smokefree policies of marae was not pursued within the current project as this was not the focus nor the intent of the research. Project constraints such as time and budget meant there was a limit to what could be undertaken for the current piece of research.

Results

- Similar themes regarding the process of becoming a Smokefree Marae arose from the interviews with participants: a key event; a long period of discussion amongst marae members; key person or group on the marae; removing the social environment for smokers; and, waiting for the marae to make the decision that it was the right time for them.
- Three key factors aiding the development of Marae Auahi Kore were identified by participants: having key people involved; external funding as incentives; and, support from other marae or health groups.
- Different groups of people were identified by participants as factors which could impede the process for marae. Those groups acknowledged were: people aged 20-35 years of age; non-smokers advocating the rights of smokers; tangata whenua or people from that marae. Participants also discussed difficulties when whanau members turned arguments about Smokefree into personal issues, or smoker's and non-smokers issues.
- People were recognised by most as the greatest resource in the process of developing Marae Auahi Kore. People particularly recognised were the tamariki as well as kaumatua and kuia. Posters, T-shirts and signs were resources that marae felt were particularly useful.

- While it was recognised by participants that resources were available, some felt there was a need to further develop those resources already available. Also identified was a need to resource those people who were key to assisting the development of Auahi Kore on the marae. Problems with understanding signs presented only in Maori were discussed by participants. A lack of resources acknowledging the efforts of kaumatua and kuia were identified in some of the discussions. A suggestion for transport via a van was presented.
- People had different views regarding the meaning of "Auahi Kore." Some people believed it meant the marae and it's people had to be totally Smokefree, while others thought Smokefree was something to aim for. Some people believed Smokefree/Auahi Kore meant having a designated area where people could smoke. People felt that Auahi Kore/Smokefree meant more than just promotion on a marae, but was about 'aroha ki te tangata,' having healthy air, and the quality of life for the people of the marae.

Recommendations

- In understanding that each marae operates differently and therefore has different personalities, histories and processes towards going Auahi Kore, a database would be useful in documenting what stage marae are at in their process.
- Participants indicate that the resources currently available to marae have been useful while the marae has been in the process of becoming Auahi Kore. However a lack of resources was identified for marae once becoming Auahi Kore. People found the national resources useful, but felt there was a need develop more specific resources for Maori as well as resources that were identifiable on a regional level.
- There tends to be different perceptions of what Auahi Kore means to people and how that is implemented on the marae. Some people felt that Auahi Kore meant Smokefree and to be Smokefree meant there was no smoking at any time. The Health Sponsorship Council may wish to address this issue if the Council feels people's perceptions may be incorrect or misinformed.
- The need to examine such issues from different a perspective and across different regions allows for comparisons and an acknowledgment of different impact factors for communities. Further research is needed to clearly determine where marae are situated in terms of the 'Auahi Kore' status or levels. In obtaining such information for various marae around the country, acquiring the names and contact details for the key people on each marae is imperative to developing a national database of marae.

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this report are to document the processes marae underwent while becoming Auahi Kore. The processes of marae to become Auahi Kore and the experiences that aided or impeded their developments were discussed by research participants. Their korero have been presented in the current report. The involvement of local people, public health workers, external organisations and other marae in the region to assist with the process have been documented. The resources available or needed for further development of marae Auahi Kore have been recorded to assist the Health Sponsorship Council's current Auahi Kore programme in focusing it's target areas for the development of a Marae Auahi Kore component in the 2000-2001 financial year. It is intended that this report will also inform stakeholders of the aids and barriers towards further development of Marae Auahi Kore.

Aim

The aim of the research was to identify any barriers, aids and processes in developing Marae Auahi Kore for the Auahi Kore programme facilitated by the Health Sponsorship Council.

Five objectives specified by the Health Sponsorship Council were to investigate:

- 1. aids and processes to developing Marae Auahi Kore
- 2. processes towards going Auahi Kore
- 3. resources available o establish Auahi Kore
- 4. resources needed to maintain Auahi Kore
- 5. perceptions of Auahi Kore (brand or kaupapa)

Method

The following section describes the methods that were used in the current project. Qualitative methods were primarily used in the research to gather information; informal discussions with key informants and focus group interviews.

By gaining an understanding of the processes through observation and in-depth interviews, this approach emphasises gaining insight and understanding.

Key Informant Interviews

All participants were involved with marae and/or Auahi Kore. People identified as key informants of Marae Auahi Kore were from a wide range of backgrounds: Public Health (through sport, nutrition, SIDs, Alcohol & Drugs, and Auahi Kore); marae committee members and trustees; runanga staff; as well as kaumatua and kuia. Some of the people interviewed were smokers, and had been smoking for a number of years, others were non-smokers who had recently given up, while others had never been a smoker. In total, 25

people participated in either focus group interviews or one-on-one key informant interviews. Interview participants were located in two different geographic areas: Te Taitokerau and Te Tairawhiti. All participants were Maori.

An open interview schedule was designed and utilised for the interviews with key informants. The intention of conducting the interviews with an open schedule was to allow for a flow of discussion rather than a strict guideline for the interview to follow. This allowed opportunities for participants to freely describe and discuss any issues experienced by them. By allowing participants this freedom, issues of concern were able to be discussed in as much depth as participants wished.

Interviews were conducted from March 2000 to April 2000 and tended to last between one hour to an hour and a half. While there were only a small number of key informant interviews these were targeted towards people who were involved with the marae in its process of becoming a Marae Auahi Kore. All interviews were conducted face to face.

Limitations of this Evaluation

The intention of this study has been to document the processes of establishing Marae Auahi Kore and any factors that aided or impeded that process, for instance resources currently available or further resources needed by marae. While only a small number of participants mentioned legislation and Smokefree policies for marae, it was not felt appropriate by the researcher to explore these issues further. Given the researcher was attempting to establish a rapport with participants and the negative tone in the conversation suggested a non-favourable response it was decided not to push the topic.

While every effort has been made to conduct a thorough piece of research, it is believed there are limitations due to two main factors: a lack of time and a small number of interviews. Observations of working with Maori people have identified a process for contacting interview participants who are involved with marae activities. In recognising there was a limited timeframe to work with, meant that some shortcuts had to be taken. While the shortcuts were managed within this contract, there was potential for difficulties to have arisen because people may have felt they were not informed properly of the project's intentions. Time constraints were a limiting factor of the current research.

A second factor has been the small number of interviews conducted should be taken into consideration. A more thorough research project could have included interviews with diverse people from a wider range of regions. Given the need to follow a certain process of contacting people and the size of the budget the research has covered as much as possible.

HEALTH THROUGH THE MARAE

Marae are described as one of the most visible Maori institutions in Aotearoa. Traditionally marae have been the focal point for Maori communities and Maori culture, providing an area where people can talk, practice, play and dine. A marae can include wharenui (meeting house), whare kai (eating house) and maraeatea (Walker in King, 1975).

Marae play an important role in Maori culture and have been recognised as being able to make a significant contribution towards health among Maori (Minhinick, 1989). In 1990 a marae health project was initiated by Ngati Te Ata at Tahuna Marae. Since then there has been support from organisations such as the Health Sponsorship Council, Te Hotu Manawa Maori and Te Puni Kokiri to develop this project at other marae. This lead to the production of a number of health resources being produced (Te Puni Kokiri, 1995), including resources for establishing Smokefree Marae and marae-based cessation programmes. The marae health concept is based on the notion that exercise, nutrition, being Smokefree, safe use of alcohol, and sustaining spirituality all contribute to the "survival and wellbeing of Maori" (Te Puni Kokiri, 1995). It also links good health among Maori to a return of traditional beliefs and values.

Living in a healthy cultural environment is not a new idea that we must learn. It is a traditional way of living to which we must return. (Minhinick, 1989, p.1)

Within this context, Auahi Kore marae is not a new concept. It is the revitalisation of an olden day lifestyle. Reid and Pouwhare (1991) documented how tobacco was not a part of Maori culture prior to the arrival of Europeans on Aotearoa shores. There appeared to be no notion of tobacco within Maori culture prior to the arrival of Pakeha.

Traditional values of manaaki tangata, caring for the people, through encouraging good health is a central principle of the Health Through the Marae Project. The project proposed the acknowledgment, development and creation of Maori health 'laws' that reflect the traditional and contemporary notions of Maori health. An example of the acknowledgment of traditional 'laws' are Rongoa (traditional Maori medicine) programmes and an example of the creation of new 'laws' such as Smokefree Marae.

In the days of Maui Pomare, Reweti Kohere and Tawhai Timutimu, these men took it upon themselves to travel around the various marae in the Hawkes Bay to talk to the elders. The message they carried was similar to the one being put forward by Smokefree Marae workers of today – to save Maori. Those men asked the elders to adapt to new ways and thus avoid total extinction (see Durie, 1995). Marae workers are asking elders to return to the ways of old with regard to smoking, to minimise the decimation of Maori people.

Among the stated aims of the Health Through the Marae Project are aims to "significantly reduce smoking levels amongst Maori," and "gain tribal consensus for a 'no smoking' policy on the marae."

Development of Smokefree Marae are seen as creating "protective cultural tikanga" that helps to develop long term attitudes and beliefs towards smoking among Maori youth.

While it is thought that most kohanga reo and wharenui on marae are Smokefree, there was a perceived need to target paepae, wharekai, maraeatea and manawhenua (Minhinick, 1989).

Where health initiatives involve Maori and are based within Maori settings, Durie (1985) observed that health cannot be imposed on the community. Development must occur in an acceptable manner from within the community and in response to problems perceived at a local level. Community involvement in health programmes has been well documented (Durie, 1993; 1994; Duignan, 1997). Marae are no exception to community involvement.

A resource for developing Smokefree Marae (Te Puni Kokiri, 1995) described a number of strategies through which this might be achieved. These included:

- developing kaumatua as marae health workers
- delivery of 'cultural Smokefree messages' through waiata, haka, poi and tauparapara
- inviting local businesses to give their support.

Maori Smokefree/Tobacco Goals

In their document, Progress on Health Outcomes: 1996, the Ministry of Health (1996) outlined a number of targets aimed at the reduction of tobacco use among Maori. Two of these targets were specifically for Maori. The first was focussing on Maori women in pregnancy, aiming to reduce smoking from a reported 68% in 1993 to 50% in the year 2000. The second target was for Maori in general smoking any type of cigarette. The aim was to reduce smoking from a reported 54% in 1993 to 40% in the year 2000. These targets correspond to those outcome recommendations made by the Public Health Commission (1995) in advice to the Minister of Health.

The Ministry of Health (1996) expressed a commitment for the RHAs to continue purchasing community based health promotion programmes which include iwi initiatives, CHEs, Te Hotu Manawa Maori, SIDs programmes (which incorporate Smokefree components), and Smokefree pregnancy programmes. Current Ministry of Health strategies seen as having a particuluar focus on Maori (particularly youth and females) include the Health Sponsorship Council's programme of sporting and cultural event sponsorship; the 'why start' media campaign, controlled purchasing operations; and ammendments to the Smokefree Environments Act.

The Public Health Commission (1995) in their document "He Matariki: A Strategic Plan for Maori Public Health" stated six Maori public health goals. Five of those goals contained objectives relevant to the provision of Smokefree programmes for Maori. Those goals incorporated the need to; promote social and physical environments which improve and protect whanau public health; improve and protect the health of tamariki, rangatahi, and pakeke/matua; improve Maori health status so in future Maori will have the opportunity to enjoy at least the same level of health as non-Maori. To achieve this, the PHC identified the importance of ensuring that all services purchased, were culturally appropriate and compatible with gains in Maori health.

The relevant tobacco objective aimed towards the goal of promoting social and physical environments, which improve and protect whanau public health was:

To improve and protect whanau public health by developing strategies to reduce the adverse impacts of noise, ozone depletion and global environmental conditions, air quality, water quality and safety, and hazardous substances on whanau health (p11).

Health Sponsorship Council

The Health Sponsorship Council (HSC) is a social marketing agency set up by the Smokefree Environments Act (1990). It aims to 'Encourage New Zealanders to adopt and maintain health attitudes and lifestyles' by 'marketing health and engendering positive attitudes and behaviour regarding specific health issues.' One of the brands that the HSC promotes is Auahi Kore. This brand has been developed in response to tobacco use being the single most preventable cause of death for Maori. The goals and objectives of the Auahi Kore programme are:

Goal:

To assist in the reduction of tobacco consumption and prevalence amongst Maori.

Objectives:

- 1. to gain wider acknowledgment and understanding of Auahi Kore
- 2. to clearly associate Auahi Kore with Maori identity and remove cultural acceptability of smoking
- 3. to further educate Maori of the benefits of an Auahi Kore community
- 4. to increase the number of Auahi Kore settings.

A significant part of promoting Auahi Kore is seen as aiding in the development of Smokefree settings and environments (objective 4). Marae provide an ideal opportunity to promote Auahi Kore as they are the 'definitive' Maori environment, a focal point for Maori culture and from the Health Sponsorship Council's perspective, are able to provide direct access for the Council to support Maori communities.

RESULTS

The following section provides a description of the interview findings. Findings have been presented under the five main themes covered in the interviews: processes involved in becoming a Smokefree Marae; factors aiding development; factors impeding development; identified resources; and, perceptions of Auahi Kore. Quotes were taken from the interviews and have been used to support the results. Some comments may apply to more than one area of analysis, however, they were only used once in the report.

Processes involved in becoming a Smokefree Marae

Participants were initially asked to describe the process their marae went through when they decided to go Smokefree. People described various issues that arose for their marae and why it had chosen to become Smokefree. While there were various reasons for each marae choosing to go Smokefree, there were commonalities in the processes undertaken by the different marae.

Common processes described by people from different marae include:

- a key event which triggered the decision
- discussion at marae meetings beforehand
- consultation with people on the marae and allowing them to voice their opinion and concerns
- a key person (or group) who continue to keep the Smokefree kaupapa going
- marae going through the same process.

Key event

People described ways in which their marae went about becoming Smokefree after a period of discussion. For most marae the discussions tended to be anywhere between 2-3 years prior to going Smokefree. A small number of people talked about the key events for their marae that contributed to the decision to become a Smokefree Marae.

What happened for some of us was we spent \$6,000 to polyurethane the floors. The first people to use it were [a] group. And when we came in the next morning somebody had dropped their cigarette on the floor and then squashed it. So we were really hacked off. Because we had spent all this money doing the floors up and that's what we get...

We used to have to go around picking up all the cigarette butts off the grounds. I resigned from [helping] because to go there and you'd open the door and the haze. Then you'd have walk across the dining room through that haze and stand there quietly suffering and then walk out. You'd go there the next day and open the doors and there would be cigarettes, cigarette burns, and ashes ... on the floors.

It was an unveiling or a mate where they go to the urupa, but instead of coming back into the whare afterwards there was no one there. All our kaumatua and kuia and maybe the whanau pani, everyone else was having a smoke waiting for the hakari, and not completing the kaupapa.

A kuia couldn't get a seat on what used to be known as smokers alley....

Discussions beforehand

A few participants talked about how people could be mistaken into believing that marae announce their intentions to go Smokefree overnight. It was felt people might not be aware of the discussions that occurred before hand, or the energy that people had put into working with the marae to help the process along. Hence people would not realise the effort that had gone in to the marae becoming Smokefree. Two comments convey the message of all those participants who talked about the way it happened for their marae.

It wasn't an overnight thing and for any marae to think that they can just say at one meeting "this is it" or "that's how it happens," it doesn't. You actually have to start the korero a long time before...

Some marae might be different to [us] and they might be able to just eradicate it. But it would be unrealistic I think to hope that it was gonna happen just because you made a decision at a marae meeting.

When participants were asked to describe the process their marae went through to eventually become a Smokefree Marae, some talked about the initial fears that were raised. People had feared that by going Smokefree their marae would lose many of it's bookings and hence revenue. While for others the threats that kitchen helpers would not show up to give assistance was a possibility. Descriptions of the processes described by participants included:

I thought the bookings might drop. Because it went into that area of non-smoking people would not book the marae. But it never changed.

We've been down that road...The workers said they weren't going to come cause they weren't allowed to smoke.

You won't get any workers, you can't do that, and people won't come. But we're in a different era now where it's acceptable. They go to McDonalds and can handle not smoking. They go to all those places – restaurants, buses, planes, and there's no problems.

For some their fears did not come true. In fact the opposite happened...

People are still booking the marae, and it's more popular than ever.

But they still came back.

However for one marae, the change did see a loss from one source of revenue. The local Housie took a vote after the marae announced it was going Smokefree and decided to go to another venue where the patrons could smoke. While the group were sad to see the people leave the marae, they were not sad to see the cigarettes gone.

[The housie group] took a vote and decided to go somewhere else. It was a shame... But they were told they wouldn't be able to smoke at all... when really we didn't want them smoking in the whare.

Many people discussed having a healthy profile on their marae. Part of one marae's process was to attract key people to get a healthy kaupapa happening on the marae. Thus once people starting to take on board the healthy lifestyle, becoming a Smokefree Marae did not seem such an impossible task.

When it first went on to the first lot of minutes, it was a bit of a 'pie in the sky' sort of dream. But as time went on and we did other [health] things, more people came towards the kaupapa.

... as we started to do other health things on the marae, people started to think 'yeah why don't we, or shall we?'... they were saying [our marae] is a healthy marae. So all of a sudden we started wear all those other things, and Auahi Kore seemed the next logical step.

We first went to the marae to do nutrition with the marae... And then after a while the people [of the marae] saw the impact of smoking around the food and in the kitchen and they decided to go Smokefree.

It's not only smoke conscious that's coming into the marae. It's coming into the dining room now. Not smoke, but food. Be healthy and not smoking. It's been promoting not the fatty foods or the boil up, but now we're having lettuce salads, cold meat slices and water and lemon on the tables.

Consultation

People talked about how their marae had discussed Auahi Kore for a long time prior to announcing the change. Consultation was identified as a key process for marae because it allowed people to voice their concerns, opinions and have any questions they had answered. People mentioned the need to do a lot of speaking, thinking and korero with the people of the marae and therefore doing the background research before people started taking the issues personally. For one marae, after talking about Auahi Kore for a long time and discussions with a smoke free worker, the marae committee announced their intention in the paper so that people away from the marae could have an opportunity to voice their opinion.

Key person or group

The presence of a key person or group was recognised as an important part of the process for marae considering Smokefree/Auahi Kore.

It's imperative that you get a key person who's key in the marae. They've got to be people who are there, who have credibility, and stickability and consistency. Not a 'Johnny-come-lately' who comes with the bright ideas and is gone tomorrow.

It's important to get key people who are prepared to commit and keep onwards. You can't let it go because if you get one that goes Auahi Kore and then all of a sudden 'oh that never worked' people will wipe it... It could start a domino effect which we don't want.

It's hard to get everyone to actually agree... If you hoped to get everyone to agree before you actually do it, I reckon that's a bit of a dream. You've got to get a group of people, the people who run the marae meetings and then make a decision that you're going to stick to.

Marae going through the same process

Some people had advice for other marae that were in the stage of considering becoming Smokefree/Auahi Kore. There were a number of positives that people suggested focusing on and developing from there.

...not to be unrealistic in your goals...when we first went Auahi Kore you could easily get disappointed. We still have people who smoke—more out of defiance... We're seeing a huge move, one or two smoking. Not a whole haze anymore.

If we dwelled on how some of them are still smoking instead of 'saying one or two are smoking now instead of 10 or 20' you could slip. But that's huge. That's a point of celebration...it's that you're really taking it down.

A common theme amongst discussions was the social aspect that had developed as a part of smoking on the marae. People felt that by removing the social aspect of smoking, that it would not encourage people to linger for a cigarette.

What we were doing was dispelling or taking away the social aspect of the smoke. When they would smoke they would sit down and have a good talk, but when you make it a Smokefree zone all of a sudden the social aspect of sitting down is gone.

We're wiping out that social gathering of comfort. If they really needed to have a smoke it's just go and have a smoke and then straight back in the whare again... That was the saddest part, they were all on the walkway for 3 days.

The smoking area is way out in the carpark, there's no seating, nothing like that. So it sort of dispels the social environment and now we're finding they're all in the whare listening to the korero.

It's a bit like at the hospital... If you want to cut people's smoking outside the hospital get rid of all the seats you've got out there. And the walls, put rocks on them. Once they can't sit they won't stay.

The right time and place was recognised as a key aspect that needed to happen for each marae. This generally involved self-determination by the people of the marae. One person's comment captures the thoughts of other participants:

There will be a time and place when they're ready. At the moment, they're not ready... If they want to do it, they will.

SUMMARY

There were common themes involved with the process marae underwent when deciding to go Auahi Kore. Participants identified a variety of reasons for going Smokefree. A key event on the marae was the most commonly talked about process amongst participants, which resulted in marae changing from discussion to action regarding Smokefree.

Lengthy discussions amongst marae committee before going Smokefree were observed by all of the marae. Allowing time for consultation and discussion amongst the patrons was found to be a common process. By allowing people to voice their concerns marae found that the common fears for people were that bookings would decrease, helpers would not return and that by going Smokefree the marae was taking away smoker's freedom of choice or right to smoke if that was their wish.

Having a key person or group keeping the issue a topic at meetings was seen as an integral part of the process. Within the notion of having a key person or group was hard work and commitment needed to see the process through. Making a point of celebrating all achievements no matter how big or small, and minimising the opportunities to socialise while smoking helped the process for marae.

Factors aiding development of Marae Auahi Kore

As all participants were involved with marae who had already become Auahi Kore/Smokefree, exploring those factors, which aided the progress for marae, was explored during the interviews. Processes described by participants as positive steps towards assisting marae with their Auahi Kore discussions were:

- key individuals or groups
- incentives from outside organisations
- letters from other marae or organisations

Key individuals or groups

Within the korero about factors which assist marae was the acknowledgment of key individuals or groups on the marae. Participants discussed how progress or developments

on marae were generally attributable to the efforts of a small group of dedicated people, or a strong person who attained the support of others on the marae.

[A person] had a programme there. She stood up and told her own group, there was 80 of them, she hoped that they wouldn't smoke in front of the marae. But to go right up the back. They supplied them with astrays and everything, so they all did it. And even the old people went there as well.

The developing of a strong force to make that journey a little bit easier, but recognising each step is significant. Each step is a milestone. I'm not going to say 'call us when you go Auahi Kore and we'll tautoko you' – no. It's about being out there all the time, the call must come from inward.

If a marae is going Auahi Kore I can guarantee that they've got a responsible committee in place because they're walking a quality decision.

If you're going to do it, you're going to do it. We had already done Auahi Kore at our marae... and no money is going to help us. We're going to run different programmes for ourselves.

Incentives from outside organisations

Participants discussed the incentives outside organisations provided to encourage marae to become Smokefree. One person mentioned cheaper insurance premium rates because being Smokefree meant there was less chance of an accidental fire. The main incentive from outside organisations involved money to complete buildings. People believed that because their marae was Smokefree external organisations were more likely to favour an application for funding.

There's always other avenues, like Lottery Grants. You don't get them unless you're Auahi Kore. And that makes people think twice... They have to make a decision whether to make it Auahi Kore or not. And that'll be dependent on how much funding they want...

It's gonna mean the difference between getting our whare kai finished or our whakaairo...Maybe those are the way in which we could instigate some change on marae. We're all going through lotteries, going to ASB, and all of those places. Those are may be some ways in which we can soon find that money can make people change.

Encouragement from other Marae

While the participants recognised that the change for the marae needed to be driven from within the marae, support and encouragement from other marae was viewed as a positive factor in the process of becoming Auahi Kore. The korero of people from other marae who discussed the issues and handling of concerns for marae that had gone Smokefree

were a positive reinforcement. People from other marae could relate and understand the issues for different marae while providing options for solutions as well.

Once marae had become Smokefree, recognition of their achievements from external groups such as the Cancer Society, Health Sponsorship Council, Te Hotu Manawa Maori and others were gratefully received by marae.

The more support, the more letters you can get from different areas, to come into your committee, even to have them put on display, it all helps...That let's people in your area know that your marae has gone Smokefree and that people are willing to participate.

It's not gonna happen just bang like that. There are gonna be ups and downs and you have to accept that. Look for the progress in the things that are happening and go with it. Having said that, if there are other marae who are going [Smokefree]... we'll write a nice letter of support to help them along.

SUMMARY

Research participants identified three main areas towards aiding the development of Marae Auahi Kore. People had observed that by having key individuals involved they helped Marae Auahi Kore because they recognised each step as an important step in the process. External sources of funding to complete buildings on the marae or finish carvings were also identified as a positive factor because they provided a form of incentive to marae who wanted to do something with their buildings. A third incentive recognised most commonly by people were the support from other marae or health organisations.

Factors impeding development of Marae Auahi Kore

One of the main factors identified for impeding, or challenging, the development of marae Auahi Kore were the people from that marae. Within that group of people those aged between 20-35 years were mentioned as the most vocal about their disagreement.

They were the worst. Those ones in their 20s and 30s. They were the main ones who mouned, argued and fought against it.

For one marae, the people most vocal about their opposition to the idea of going Smokefree were the non-smokers.

We thought our biggest argument would be from the smokers. Then we found it was the non-smokers... They were fighting for the rights of smokers... But the smokers didn't mind going Smokefree.

[Other non-smokers] thought we were trying to stop [smokers] from smoking. That's how they perceived 'Smokefree.' All we were asking was for them to respect our marae.

People on the marae who smoked, knowing that marae was Smokefree, were identified as doing it for reasons of defiance rather than anything else...

There are some marae who are totally Smokefree. But there are some who puff out on the paepae and the smoke comes through the marae outside the door and you can smell it. They're outside and they're not smoking inside, but smoke still comes in through the doorway. I can smell it from the back.

...you can't tell them what to do. When they opened our marae, they stuck up a sign saying no smoking. We had some manuhiri come up from [region] and they ripped it off. So I put it back up again and the elder of that marae said to me 'nobody comes here and tells me that I can't smoke in my own marae.' So that's the sort of things we have to put up with.

It's a defiance thing. It's not that [they're] enjoying that smoke...I feel sad because [they] were the ones who supported the kaupapa.

Our whanau are last to change. They say this is my turangawaewae, I can do as I please.

People had various reflections about the behaviour of manuhiri on their marae. Most people had observed positive behaviour from manuhiri when visiting their marae.

Sometimes manuhiri come and they light up. But they don't know and when we tell them, they don't smoke on our marae.

I have no problem telling our manuhiri our kaupapa. They don't know. Someone has to tell them, how else are they going to find out.

The manuhiri tend to move to the back area for a smoke... They hide them behind their backs.

You have to have a rightful tack. Say this is a Smokefree Marae could you please go out to the carpark. This may go on for a long time... Don't growl or be mean, but say it with aroha.

Some marae talked about the problems they faced from whanau. The problems and arguments that arose had turned into person issues that resulted in whanau working against whanau and therefore detracted from whanaungatanga.

We found you had to be gracious in the face of a lot of abuse because people were taking it personally and take a big, big dose of grace. You have to rise above it no matter what.

..being totally committed to the kaupapa so much that it didn't matter, and to your whanau because the worst people are your own whanau... Not let the kaupapa detract from your whanaungatanga.

...not to get into the smokers/non-smokers squabble, because that's not what it's about... and knowing that about being quite careful about where you tread

You had to be really careful that you didn't get into the infighting or bitchiness.

One group of participants described how their concern for the safety of the marae patrons meant they could not go totally Smokefree. For their marae, the immediate danger of putting people out on the main street to have a smoke, meant there was a potential danger from the road traffic.

Our marae is different to most marae... it's more of an urban marae. We don't have empty paddocks or a big carpark where we can send people... If we go totally Smokefree, where are we going to send them, out on the main road?... Some of them are young ones... That's not the image we want motorists to see as they drive past our marae.

While only a small number of people spoke about legislation in terms of Smokefree on marae, those people who did felt strongly that legislation was not a factor that would aid the process because it would take away Maori autonomy.

I wasn't so much into them legislating [marae]. I still believed that marae... are not subject to those other laws. [I believe} that it was the whanau and the marae who determine for themselves whether the marae was Smokefree and not [the government].

...all this Smokefree legislation now is not so much about promoting health, but about health and safety issues and making sure that employers are responsible, that you can't be litigated against like what's happened in the states. It's about more having to provide that more out of self preservation rather than a health initiative for the whole country.

I see the marae for Maori being the only place on earth where they can go to be free of legislation and police and everyone chasing them for something. It's a refuge and then all of a sudden this refuge becomes a place you can't do things there's a conflict there.

SUMMARY

Participants identified a range of different groups who voiced their opposition to the marae becoming Smokefree/Auahi Kore. While people generally talked about the issues for themselves as the marae went through the process of becoming Auahi Kore, a small group talked about their observations of other people on the marae. The groups of people identified during the interviews were; people aged between 20-35 years old, non-smokers advocating the rights of smokers, and the marae workers who smoked.

In general participants reported that once the marae had gone Smokefree, people who resisted the change tended to be local whanau who felt they were being told what they could not do on their marae. Participants spoke about the behaviour of manuhiri on the marae. Manuhiri needed to be informed that they could not smoke on the marae otherwise they would continue to mistakenly think that they could.

Amongst the korero about whanau and Smokefree Marae, people referred to relatives who turned the Smokefree kaupapa into a personal issue. People discussed how discussions would turn into arguments as people who were against the marae going Smokefree turned their concerns into a family versus family, or smoker versus non-smoker, issue that detracted from the purpose of trying to be a Smokefree Marae.

The difference between urban and rural was highlighted by one marae who felt they could not go totally Smokefree because the safety of the people who visit the marae would be put at risk.

Legislation of marae in terms of Smokefree was not viewed positively by participants because it was seen as taking away people's freedom of choice.

Identified Resources

Participants were asked to identify resources they felt were useful in their efforts to become a Smokefree Marae. Initial responses to questions about resources generally referred to the people of that marae being the main resource.

In addition, resources that would be useful for marae working towards Auahi Kore and resources available once the marae had gone Smokefree were also explored during the interview.

Resources available to Marae

During the interview people were asked if there were any particular resources that were currently available to assist marae become Auahi Kore. Many people talked about how the people on the marae being the best resource the marae had.

Our greatest resource are our people...

It's always the same person up there trying to make a difference...

People talked about three main age groups influencing the progress of Auahi Kore on marae. Two age groups were recognised as being positive (tamariki and kaumatua/kuia) while the third group (pakeke) were identified as the age group most likely to give resistance towards the Auahi Kore change.

Tamariki

The innocent questions of children towards their elders or other adults nearby were identified by many people as a positive source towards helping marae in their Smokefree

efforts. Children were particularly identified for helping those marae who had recently gone Auahi Kore and were in a phase of adjustment for the local people.

...5 year olds are saying to their uncles 'its not good to smoke is it uncle cos it'll kill you.' And they say it in all innocence. And sometimes the actual challenge is coming from the kids...

At our last 'mate' a child questioned why adults were smoking underneath a no smoking sign... He saw that as a rule... He said 'it says no smoking and you're smoking.'

A [young boy] said 'can't you Maori's read it says no smoking.' And it was his own whanau. It was the kids being the advocates.

As a result of the positive impact children have made on the marae, many people felt the need to encourage children to keep asking questions of their relatives before peer pressure changes their attitudes.

What's really great is that our kids are starting to challenge all the korero that they get through the schools....

We've got to maintain the pressure on those kids... Often they succumb to what is around them.

...[children] say it out of all innocence and sometimes the actual challenge is coming from the kids to the adults at another level.

The need to set examples on the marae for children because they are the future generation was noted amongst participants.

The marae is full of children, they're playing everywhere. And if they go to look at our smokers sitting all along our marae, our walkway and see them all smokers, there's no examples even there for them the up and coming.

I'm tired. I want someone else to come along and pick up the kaupapa... You want to see changes on the marae, you look at the kids. If anything changes, you look at the kids and you'll see the results of your blood, sweet and tears.

For some people, children were found to be an effective way of encouraging their elders to stop smoking. One person recalled a story on her marae...

[a person] said the other day "I'm not supposed to be smoking in here am I" and she was smoking in her car just off the balcony area and I said "and your mokos will thank you for it"... she said "yes, she's always telling me stop smoking nanny, stop smoking..." they'll do anything for their moko. They wouldn't do anything for their husbands or partners, but for the moko's sake it's a whole different thing.

Kaumatua and Kuia

The 'taumatua tautoko' was also identified by people as a means of assisting people on the marae in their endeavours to turn Smokefree. Obtaining the assistance, or convincing the kaumatua and kuia that people were committed to the kaupapa was not described as an easy task. However it was believed that once kaumatua and kuia felt the kaupapa was helpful to the people of the marae, and the commitment was present, then kaumatua and kuia were a positive ally for change.

To me if you can convince a kaumatua why you're trying to do about the Smokefree then I can guarantee that they will distribute that to their own.

I think for kaumatua because they are older, wiser and they've been there done that. Deep down inside they still have the wisdom to know what is going to be good for them and the marae and for the people.

Even if you don't have that taumata tautoko, [auahi kore korero] has to come from them.

They [kaumatua/kuia] made us work... They put us through the test. It wasn't 'okay I'll tautoko you' it was a real test... You have to prove yourself to them too.

There's a testing time and even though we're very close, they still put us through the test... It wasn't 'ok we'll tautoko you' it was a real test... You have to prove yourself to them.

[kaumatua/kuia] go everywhere. To the ends of the earth. What better way to take the kaupapa is our kaumatua and kuia.

In recognising that there were other resources currently available for marae, participants were asked to share their thoughts about the usefulness of those other resources for marae. People discussed the Smokefree signs, posters and t-shirt resources.

Signage

Overall participants referred to the signs, currently available, as positive towards informing people that the marae was Smokefree. Some people talked about the problems they had with the signs that were currently available. It was recognised by people that a sign with the cigarette crossed out by a red line was synonymous with "no smoking," however people felt this was not a positive message for Maori. While marae wanted to have the Auahi Kore signs on the marae they found that many of the people who visited the marae (both Maori and non-Maori) were unable to understand the sign.

We need some universal signs... People know what the cigarette with the red line through it means, but they don't know what Auahi Kore means... even some of our Maori people.

Posters and T-shirts

A small number of people talked about the posters that were available. These people found that others, particularly local people were unable to associate with the posters currently available. While people had observed that rangatahi could associate with the celebrities on some of the posters, adults did not have the same association.

People talked about their feelings regarding the T-shirts that are currently available. Because they presented a positive message about being proud to be Maori and Smokefree Maori of all ages liked them.

The t-shirts are well received. It's not a cigarette with a cross through it. Ugly. We're actually proud to be Auahi Kore. Quality resources.

Resources needed for Marae

Given that people had identified the people presented in the posters were not reaching the local community, participants were asked to identify what pictures would reach the local community. Participants talked about a desire to see whanau or local kaumatua and kuia who were known by the community as ex-smokers advocating the Auahi Kore message.

...instead of the glossy, beautiful people who you don't know. Using the real marae, using the real people who do the mahi. Whether it's on an ad, whether it's on a poster, whether its' on a brochure. Using the one's who have actually gone through it. They're there... And not prettying it up but really getting the reality because people can relate to them.

Get local kaumatua's who people will say "oh [that person] used to smoke like a train and here [they are] on a picture saying kahore te moke."

While recognising the positive impact that kaumatua and kuia brought to the Smokefree efforts on marae, some people felt the efforts of kaumatua and kuia were going unrecognised because of a lack of assistance for them.

But there's not a lot, especially of our older age group. There's no resources... That's an area we really need to look at. Because who are the voice of the marae our kaumatua and kuia.

A few people were concerned for the safety of kaumatua and kuia whose dedication to marae often meant they were working long days.

I worry because for five days we've been down at the marae with two hui... Driving home at night it's very easy to nod off. Our kaumatua and kuia are there all the time. You don't have to go far to have a crash.

[Kaumatua] need assistance. They dial a kaumatua and they don't even ask 'how you getting there, who's picking you up'... These are the people who go everywhere, to the bottom of the earth... What better way to take the kaupapa is our kaumatua and kuia.

From the discussion of some participants a 'kaumatua van' was identified as a resource that would be useful for kaumatua while also promoting the marae and it's Auahi Kore status.

[A van] goes everywhere and it has your name on it '[Marae name] Auahi Kore.' And it goes everywhere so you're taking the message out of the marae.

An Auahi Kore kaumatua van for our kaumatua and kuia. They are the ones who go to different hui around [the region]. If you have a van for them with [Marae name] Auahi Kore then people will know that's an Auahi Kore marae.

Our marae and our kaumauta and kuia are our resources. We need to resource our resources.

Overall people felt that the national resources currently available to marae were useful, but there was a need to develop those resources further, and at a local level to gain community ownership and association with the Auahi Kore message. Participants believed that people generally supported the kaupapa because it was trying to promote a healthy lifestyle.

National Database

People talked about the usefulness of a database of marae in the region and the Auahi Kore status. Some discussed the database as a useful tool for providing support across marae in their efforts to go Smokefree, while others talked about the ability of a database to inform marae about options for funding or keeping up-to-date about events in their region.

If you don't want to, this is the level of funding you can go to. If you do want to, this is the level of funding you can go to.

Then we could know what [that Marae] is up to and we can go tautoko them.

If you're an Auahi Kore Marae you can go for [this amount of money] because we know you're property will not be damaged by smoke. Those are real incentives for us to get our buildings done.

Within the concept of a database people believed it would make efforts to assist marae going Auahi Kore an easier process.

It would make it a heck of a lot easier if we've got it coming from all aspects. Everybody is pushing towards the same goal. [A Maori MP] has access to places we can spend months trying to get into... We

need [them] to be saying 'this is the way you fellas should do it.' Really putting initiatives in there so [the Ministry] can work.

We need a co-ordinated approach that would look at people doing it at different levels saying what they were going to do. If you're going to have a big push on you need to have more money put towards it. We could do it if it was thought out properly and [the Maori Ministers] would co-ordinate what they do with what we're doing. We can start, not just a potshot sort of approach. A co-ordinated approach across services.

We all work for different organisations. The kaupapa is still the same. We co-ordinate a lot of the stuff we do to help get through all the different outcomes...So if you could do that on a bigger scale with people at different heights and echelons it would make it a lot easier

Post Auahi Kore Marae resources

Funding from external sources such as Lotteries and other groups were identified as resources because the money could help with such things as fencing on the marae, or the completion of whakaairo. By providing funding to Smokefree Marae, participants felt that it gave an incentive to those marae who were not already Smokefree to make a change.

In general participants perceived a lack of resources for marae once it had actually gone Smokefree. Some participants hoped that resources could be used as incentives for marae after going Smokefree to foster the long-term change needed for marae. While people acknowledged the funding available could be considered a resource, people perceived that resources such as the tie and scarf for kaumatua and kuia that were currently available in Northland were not available nationally. Thus other regions did not have access to this resource, nor were they specifically resources for marae.

There's been nothing there for us since our marae went Smokefree. Sure there were [others] who came and helped us when we were wanting be Smokefree, but apart from a letter from [groups] acknowledging our marae as Smokefree, we haven't really seen anything since then... Something after a year or 6 months recognising our efforts to maintain being Smokefree and encourage further development would be nice.

...something like the tie and scarf for kaumatua and kuia, but strictly for the marae... A sign, a carving, a panel or something. So marae will know that after a year they can get this, or after a certain amount of time your marae will get this.

People recognised that marae who had been through the process of becoming Auahi Kore/ Smokefree may have some advice to offer marae who were in the early stages of consideration. They felt that a resource containing tips or a guideline noting the key processes for marae considering Auahi Kore as a useful resource that was currently lacking. Some of the advice people had to offer are presented below. We need a co-ordinated approach that would look at people doing it at different levels saying what they were going to do, like getting them together into a hui...

...the development of a strong force to make that journey a little bit easier but recognising each step is significant, each step is a milestone... It's about being out there all the time, but the call must come from inward, from them.

[There's] not one rubber stamp for everything. You're getting to the same place – your end result is Auahi Kore – but getting there can come from all different aspects, all different angles.

SUMMARY

People were identified as the most useful resource for marae wanting to go Smokefree. Tamariki were an important resource because their innocent questions often placed adults in an uncomfortable position of trying to explain their behaviours. Grandchildren were an identified resource for the elders because they had a positive effect on their grandparents.

The support of kaumatua and kuia was a resource for marae because they advocated the stance to people on the marae and would take the message to hui at other marae. Gaining the support of kaumatua and kuia was not as easy as people originally thought, but once the support was gained, kaumatua and kuia were found to be strong advocates.

A lack of resources recognising the efforts of kaumatua and kuia were identified by a few participants. From the discussions people identified that a van for kaumatua and kuia would be a useful resource for them and the marae. A national database that had the details of where marae were at in their discussions with Smokefree, and what sources of funding were available to marae was identified as a potential resource for marae to utilise.

Some people identified problems understanding the Auahi Kore signs on marae. People thought a sign with both Maori and English would be good for some marae. Similarly posters of local personalities who had stopped smoking were identified as a good resource because local people would be able to associate with them.

People identified different types of resources that would be useful for the marae. For those resources that are already available, it was believed that the quality of resource was an important factor, and were satisfied that the Auahi Kore resources were a quality resource. While people acknowledged that the national resources currently available were useful to an extent because they informed people that Auahi Kore pertained to Maori, participants also felt there was need to develop resources on a local level to better reach the smaller communities and local groups better. In addition, more resources for marae once they had become Smokefree was requested by participants to further encourage long-term changes.

Perceptions of Auahi Kore

People had different views regarding the meaning of "Auahi Kore." Some people believed it meant the marae and it's people had to be totally Smokefree, while others thought Smokefree was something to aim for. Some people believed Smokefree/Auahi Kore meant having a designated area where people could smoke. People felt that Auahi Kore/Smokefree meant more than just promotion on a marae, but was about 'aroha ki te tangata,' having healthy air, and the quality of life for the people of the marae.

They know it's no smoking, but that's all.

Some people have a picture of their own and sometimes, it's not that. So it's good to be clear about what it is...

Everybody has a different idea of what Auahi Kore means. For some marae it means there's no smoking on the grounds, for others there's a designated area.

[Auahi Kore] becomes public and it is a Maori presence, and it's not negative.

If they chose to smoke there, and they don't want to be seen, they can get in the car... If they don't want to be seen move somewhere where they won't be seen, and if it's right off the premises well so be it.

A couple of people compared the difference between Auahi Kore and Manaaki Tangata. Due to past experiences of observing people in sports teams smoking while wearing Smokefree gears, there was a feeling that Auahi Kore did not work. The example behaviour such as this set for children was not seen to be positive. They felt that Auahi Kore meant totally Smokefree, and that it was not possible to be Smokefree yet still be a smoker. They felt Auahi Kore did not recognise the achievements people made from smoking 2 packets of cigarettes a day down to 1 packet. However, they felt manaaki tangata was a behaviour that could be maintained and that it associated safer drinking practices around alcohol rather than alcohol-free.

People spoke about observing sports teams with Smokefree tracksuits, bottles and other equipment at competitions and how they caught people's attention.

I remember going to sports games and seeing teams with the Smokefree gears on... Then you'd see some of them smoking and you'd think "what sort of example is this for the kids" because there was kids around who would see them.

Some people wondered why Maori were fighting so hard for resources such as land and fishing quota from the government, but were not fighting for their own lives. Men were spending a lot of their energy fighting for their land back, while they ignored the immediate threat to their health that was coming through the cigarettes.

Our men are dying at 60. They shouldn't be dying at 60. Their Pakeha counterparts are dying much older than that. So it's a loss of potential and just think how dynamic we could be if we didn't have this hanging over our heads which it does.

What's the use of getting the land back if nobody's here to live on it. What's the use of getting all this Sealord's stuff if everyone dies early. Moumou.

Other themes

Due to the interview process being one of open discussion in a group forum, people had the freedom to discuss issues as they saw relevant to Smokefree. Some of the comments made by people were not specifically relevant to the main themes of the report, but were interesting non the less.

One person's comment about their aim for marae in terms of Smokefree captured all the inferences, comments and discussions amongst the research participants:

As many places that go Smokefree, the marae for us is a bigger [matter] because it encapsulates and epitomises for every Maori a place of learning, of identity and if you can associate that [with Smokefree that] becomes a place which is Auahi Kore. A bit like a church, no one would think of going into a church and lighting up, because it already has that 'you just wouldn't do that there' feel and we want that to change for marae as well.

Other issues or themes pertaining to Smokefree that arose during the interviews were about the packaging of cigarettes, Quitline and the profit from cigarette sales. Some of the stories, comments or concerns of participants have been noted below.

Cigarette packaging

People were concerned that the health messages displayed in English on the packets of cigarettes were not translated into Maori. The same message in Maori was all over the packet "smoking kills" but the other messages that were in English had not been translated.

[The packet] says in English "smoking causes lung cancer"... There are six different messages in English, but only one Maori message and that is "smoking kills"... It should be a total translation of the English.

Quitline

A few people felt that the advertising for Quitline was good, but had the potential to reach more Maori if they used a picture of the whole whanau rather than one person

Profit

Some people believed that Maori did not know where the profit from the sales of cigarettes was going, and felt that if people did know, that might make a difference.

Stories

People living in the cities or away from their papakainga were more likely to comply with the decision of the marae and obey the rules. The belief amongst the people was that there was a sense of guilt amongst those who had gone to the cities who were not keeping the marae in place or the facilities up to scratch. Because they were grateful, they were less likely to complain or put up barriers towards going Smokefree.

One person told a story of an elderly woman who had smoked most of her life (the woman was in her 90s) was told by her doctor that it would do too much damage to her body if she stopped smoking. Eventually she forgot to smoke and she was fine, but the doctor's comments were a concern.

A young man who had promise on the rugby field would smoke during the off season, and then stop smoking and drinking during the football season. This did not seem to affect his performance.

DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

While this project has not been an evaluation of the Auahi Kore programme facilitated through the Health Sponsorship Council, findings highlight some areas that would be useful for the programme to focus on with regard to marae. Notwithstanding the comments of participants and the findings of the research, it is important that any organisation strive for progress to ensure it provides effective programmes. Therefore improvements or adjustments often need to be made to refine a prorgamme to ensure that it continues to be effective. In recognising that it may not be within the Council's objectives, budget or strategies to implement the recommendations made in the following section, the opinions of the people still need to be voiced and acknowledged.

National Database of Marae

Literature indicates there is a resource available for marae considering becoming Auahi Kore and adopting other healthy practices. However, none of the people spoken to had heard of, or seen the resource. Many people suggested there was a need to have one. If a database was developed, resources such as these could be disseminated to marae.

In understanding that each marae operates differently and therefore has different personalities, histories and processes towards going auahi kore, a database would be useful in documenting what stage marae are at in their process. Thus if people are interested in supporting other marae in the region they may be able to do so. Participants described feeling a sense of isolation or lack of support after announcing their Marae Auahi Kore status and the positive an impact receiving support letters from other organisations, marae or groups had on the marae people.

Therefore it is recommended that a database of marae and their details pertaining to Auahi Kore be established to allow communication and support to occur across marae. If is it within the ability of Health Sponsorship Council's Auahi Kore programme to establish and then maintain a database to assist in communication, then the Auahi Kore programme should assist another group or organisation to do so.

Auahi Kore resources

Participants indicate that the resources currently available to marae have been useful while the marae has been in the process of becoming Auahi Kore. However a lack of resources was identified for marae once becoming Auahi Kore. People found the national resources useful, but felt there was a need develop more specific resources for Maori as well as resources that were identifiable on a regional level. Suggestions for resources included a van for kaumatua and kuia, carvings, signs or panels for marae, as well as the use of local personalities for advertising Auahi Kore in different regions. People were identified as the most important resource for marae. Therefore it is important to acknowledge and support

those people who are a resource for marae Auahi Kore. A recommendation based on the results of this project is that continued efforts be made to produce resources relevant to marae Auahi Kore. In producing those quality resources, development of regional specific resources should be explored and developed further where possible.

Perception of Auahi Kore

There tends to be different perceptions of what Auahi Kore means to people and how that is implemented on the marae. Some people felt that Auahi Kore meant Smokefree and to be Smokefree meant there was no smoking at any time. Because people believed this to be Auahi Kore, they felt that Auahi Kore did not acknowledge the efforts of smokers to reduce the amount of cigarettes consumed. The observation of people in sports gear advertising Smokefree sponsorship while smoking a cigarette was not viewed positively amongst participants. The contradictory message it gave to young children was evident. Smokefree for some people meant have there were designated areas for smoking on the marae. There does not seem to be a problem with confusion regarding Auahi Kore/Smokefree amongst people, meaning people were quite certain they knew what Auahi Kore/Smokefree meant to them. The Health Sponsorship Council may wish to address this issue if the Council feels people's perceptions may be incorrect or misinformed.

CONCLUSION

The summative statements about the programme have been based on the findings from the interviews conducted with people from various backgrounds and involvement with marae in the process of becoming Auahi Kore.

A note of caution is needed here... while summative statements have been made, these were in regard to the findings from the current research conducted for this project. Changes in the implementation of the programme will undoubtedly see changes in the results. Conclusions and recommendations given within this report have been for the purpose of developing and refining the programme while it is still being delivered. Furthermore, the statements are made recognising that there is still more research needed and recent changes in legislation will result in changes amongst community groups.

This project has been an exploratory piece of research into the issues relating to the development of Marae Auahi Kore. The need to examine such issues from different a perspective and across different regions allows for comparisons and an acknowledgment of different impact factors for communities. Further research is needed to clearly determine where marae are situated in terms of the 'Auahi Kore' status or levels. In obtaining such information for various marae around the country, acquiring the names and contact details for the key people on each marae is imperative to developing a national database of marae.

The association of smoking with cultural practices was not viewed positively by any of the participants whether they were a smoker or a non-smoker. Therefore the need to maintain programmes such as this one is evident. However, understanding the long-term investment needed to address a long and continuing history of inequities in both health and socioeconomic status for Maori is needed (Pomare, Keefe-Omsby, Pearce, Reid, Robson, & Watene-Haydon, 1995). Continued support towards the development of appropriate programmes is essential (Masters et al; 1999). A large amount of health promotion activity is located within communities and is culturally embedded (Duignan, 1997). Given the level of community involvement, the potential for further community involvement and the sense of ownership, belonging and contribution, health promotion practice in a project such as this has huge potential for Maori.

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APPENDICES



Figure 1: Kaimahi working underndeath signs and posters announcing the wharekai as Auahi Kore



Figure 2: Kaimahi working under the Auahi Kore signs and posters