

***Kaikava
me kare
Inuinu***

Kaikava me kare Inuinu

***The place of alcohol in the lives of Cook Islands people living
in Aotearoa New Zealand***

***A report prepared by Sector Analysis, Ministry of Health for
the Alcohol Advisory Council of New Zealand***

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Explanation of Title

Kaikava me kare inuinu: *Kaikava* is to drink alcohol; *inuinu* is the process of drinking (sipping). The title implies that people drink for different purposes and their drinking reflects the level of social interaction.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank all those people who took part in the interviews and shared their stories with us. This report has only been possible because of their willingness to take part.

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Kia orana

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Cook Islands 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, Ministry of Health nor the members of the field team.

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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Kaikava me kare Inuinu

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. The reason for doing this was to enable the Alcohol Advisory Council of New Zealand (ALAC) to design alcohol health promotion strategies/materials suitable for the different Pacific communities.

Pacific people came from small close-knit communities in the Pacific where everyone knew everyone else, including their papaanga kopu tangata (genealogy), to large cities where they knew few people. As migrants and the children of migrants, it is important to share and pass on the stories of the homeland. But it is equally important to share the stories of migration. The migration stories tell what it was like to be pioneers in a new land, building new communities, learning new ways from new people. For a lot of the early Pacific migrants, being introduced to alcohol was part of that new learning experience.

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. Each community would then be able to gather its own stories and information.

The fieldwork for the Cook Islands research project was carried out by Anne Allan-Moetaua and Terongo Tekii. The interviews were written out by Helen Kapi. Some of the interviews were conducted in Maori and some in English. Anne and Terongo translated those interviews conducted in Maori.

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.

Why the interview method was chosen

The research method of interviewing individuals and groups of people was chosen because the researchers wanted to gain an in-depth account of Cook Islands 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 the whole Cook Islands community but only of the people who were interviewed. Publishing these stories will hopefully encourage more discussion within the Cook Island community about the role of alcohol in people's lives.

Direct quotes from the people interviewed are presented throughout the report. This is to help the reader view life through those people's eyes. While the researchers have attempted to represent the views of the participants, they take full responsibility for the interpretation placed on the information gathered and welcome discussion from the Cook Islands community.

Who took part in the study – the participants

All the participants in the study were from the Southern Cooks, namely: Rarotonga, Aitutaki, Mangaia, Atiu, Mitiaro and Mauke. The field team reached people to take part in the research through family, friends and their contacts in the community.

Seven men took part in face-to-face individual interviews. The men's ages ranged from 30 years to 70+ years.

Ten women were interviewed in a group of four, a group of three, a group of two, and an individual. The women's ages ranged from 18 years to 75 years.

How the interviews were carried out

The interviews were conducted in English and Maori, sometimes with participants moving from one language to the other within the discussion. Most of the interviews took place at people's homes or at a place convenient to the participant.

What the interviews asked

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

- social or family events where Cook Islands people would drink alcohol
- who Cook Islands people drank with, for example, whether men and women drank together
- what type of drinks Cook Islands people preferred
- the differences between drinking in the Cook Islands and drinking in Aotearoa New Zealand
- whether there was a Cook Islands style or 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 (made sense of)

The written copies of the interviews were translated and then analysed by comparing people's experiences and views to see where the similarities and differences lay and if there were any common themes emerging. Those people in the research field team who were members of the Cook Islands community offered their experience and wisdom and explained points about culture and the community. Historical and anthropological accounts of the Cook Islands were read to provide background information and set the context for the report.

Background

The Cook Islands are made up of 15 islands divided into a northern group, the Northern Cooks or Te Pa Enuā Tokerau, and a southern group, the Southern Cooks or Te Pa Enuā I Raro Nei (Kloosterman 1976:55). The Northern Cooks includes Tongareva (Penrhyn), Rakahanga, Manihiki, Pukapuka, Nassau and Suvarrow while the Southern Cooks is made up of Palmerston, Aitutaki, Manuae (Hervey Island), Takutea, Atiu, Mitiaro, Mauke, Rarotonga and Mangaia.

Kloosterman (1976:55) identifies one group of three islands with a collective name. This name is Ngaputoru which refers to Atiu, Mitiaro and Mauke. These three islands share a common story of all originating from the same place. The story tells of an eel which was cut into three parts: the head, the middle and the tail. The head became Atiu, the middle became Mitiaro, and the tail became Mauke. Because the head and the tail always fight with each other, it is up to the middle to keep the peace. Hence, Mitiaro provides the middle ground between Atiu and Mauke. Mitiaro is the peacemaker. *(Thanks go to our research field team member, A. Allan-Moetaua from Mauke, who shared this story).*

In 1888, the name, "the Cook Islands" or "the Hervey Islands" as they were also known, referred to the southern group of Rarotonga, Mangaia, Atiu, Mitiaro, Mauke and Takutea. This group became a British Protectorate in 1888 because of fear that the French would continue to move westwards from Tahiti. Because Rarotonga had become the religious and trading centre for the whole of the Cook Islands, including the Northern Cooks, one by one the atolls of the north were also placed under British protection (Kloosterman 1976:60). In 1901 the Cook Islands were annexed to Aotearoa New Zealand.

While the term “the Cook Islands” is used to cover both the northern and southern groups, the Cook Islands people themselves prefer to be identified by the island or atoll that they come from. The research field team found a strong move within the Cook Island community towards developing strong island or atoll community groupings.

Each of the Cook Islands possesses a unique history and culture. Pukapukans speak a language more akin to Samoan; Tongareva/Penrhyn is closer to Kiribati than Rarotonga. Many people consider themselves as, say, Manganians first, Cook Islanders second. Inter-island rivalry is strong, individual island pride powerful (Lay 1996:19).

Much of what has been written refers to the Southern Cooks, possibly because that is where the majority of the population is concentrated. In this study also, all the people who took part were from the southern group.

Early contact with alcohol

Before the arrival of the missionaries the Cook Islands had had only sporadic contact with Europeans. The London Missionary Society (LMS) landed two Tahitian missionaries on Aitutaki in 1821 and from there Christianity spread to the rest of the Southern Cooks in 1823.

Before Europeans arrived in the Cook Islands, kava drinking was very common among the men. However, this was a custom that the missionaries were keen to curb as they felt it was important to stop any practice that could be associated with non-Christian ideas (Gilson 1980).

By the 1840s, trade between Europeans and Cook Islands people was controlled by the ariki (there was a hierarchy of chiefs, ariki, mataiapo, rangatira, with ariki being the most senior chief) but the missionaries were worried about liquor coming in. Because drinking kava in public had been stopped, people developed a taste for alcohol (Gilson 1980: 42).

Lemert (1964) believed that the way Polynesians drank alcohol was based on the kava circle where the group sat in a circle and a common cup was passed round to each of the participants. These people were usually men and often chiefs and priests. The language used for alcohol was the same as the language used for kava, for example, the Maori for alcohol, ‘kaikava’.

Around 1850 some islanders returning from Tahiti introduced the technique of distilling spirits from crops such as oranges, pineapples, and bananas (Apeldoorn 1983:583).

By 1860, bush beer had become popular (Gilson 1980:42). The liquor laws meant little since so much drinking was done in secret.

Denied the opportunity to buy imported liquor, the islanders refused to obey the laws prohibiting the manufacture and consumption of bush beer. Reporting in 1906 on Rarotongan opposition to the liquor laws, Gudgeon noted that although bush beer was being made and consumed in large quantities, the police could not enforce the laws because the violations were so numerous and most people declined to give information to the police.

Moreover, the police could not live in peace among their people if they attempted to enforce laws which were generally unpopular (Gilson 1980:185).

A permit system was set up in the Pacific colonies which only allowed Europeans and chiefs or people of high rank to have access to alcohol. This permit system shows how powerful the European way was. The idea was to keep alcohol for the ruling class only (Lemert 1964:363-4). When the Cook Islands were annexed to Aotearoa New Zealand, a series of laws were passed which aimed to restrict or totally stop Cook Islands people from being able to have alcohol. The manufacture of alcoholic drinks was not allowed. As in Western Samoa, people could only have alcohol for medicinal reasons and a prescription had to be given by a medical officer. Europeans were allowed alcohol this way but few prescriptions were given to Cook Islands people (Gilson 1980:184). This system remained in place until the 1960s.

This system of rationing 'medicinal' alcohol was defended by Europeans on the grounds that limited quantities of liquor precluded wide-spread drunkenness, that Europeans had a greater tolerance for alcohol than islanders, that islanders continued to make bush beer, and that Europeans required alcohol in the tropics (Gilson 1980:184).

The ariki supported the idea that the medical officer should be responsible for issuing liquor permits because they themselves were caught between trying to please the church and trying to please their people.

In the Cook Islands, the church and the people reached a balance about the use of alcohol through "Tama ua a te ui-ariki" (the church was taken as a lap child on one knee). The church, while publicly disapproving alcohol, compromised by turning a blind eye to its members' involvement with alcohol (Lemert 1964:369).

Thus many church members – even deacons and occasionally pastors – have youthful histories of participation in beer schools. Today it is not unusual for a married man to attend church on a Sunday morning, then change his clothes and join a beer school for the rest of the day. Respected church members are known to cooperate in supplying *kava ainga*, beer for work gangs on their plantations (Lemert 1964:369).

Lemert also points out that until 1950 the fines for making homebrew were split between the government, the church and the arresting officer. This suggests that "law enforcement in relation to liquor offences was in reality a taxation system, in which the church had a stake" (Lemert 1964:369).

Migration to Aotearoa New Zealand

The Cook Islands people are the second largest Pacific Islands group in Aotearoa New Zealand (37 857 people at the 1991 Census). It is a young population with half being under 20 years of age and only 4 percent being over 60 years of age.

The Cook Islands people have had citizenship and right of free entry to Aotearoa New Zealand since the late 1940s (Krishnan, Schoeffel and Warren 1994:16).

Migration from the Cook Islands began when New Zealand and Australia established phosphate mines in French Polynesia during the 1940s. People from the Cook Islands were

recruited to work in these mines on a contract basis. The work in these mines provided many Cook Island people with the fare to come to New Zealand, and set the context for permanent Cook Islands migration to New Zealand (Krishnan, Schoeffel & Warren 1994:16).

The role of alcohol in the Cook Islands community in Aotearoa New Zealand

People drank to be happy, to socialise and to celebrate. Some people found that drinking helped them relax and slow down. A good way to wind down after work was to meet up with friends for a drink and catch up with what was happening in their lives.

Like my Cook Island mates . . . oh we'll probably talk about who are the best, which island is the best island and who can sing better, just things like that and who plays better. (Man)

Some of the people interviewed said that for Cook Islands people, there had to be a reason for drinking; they did not just drink for the sake of drinking. For example, drinking took place after work, after sports events, as part of celebrations such as birthdays, and at community socials. Nowadays, people expected that alcohol would be served at most social functions. If alcohol was not served then people would organise to go to someone's place for a drink after the function.

There's do's that don't have drinking. It's usually announced beforehand . . . You'll see those who drink, of course they're there, but as soon as the function's coming to an end and they know it's about time to drink, they start calling out, "Where's the drink?" "Why isn't there any drink?" When they already know that you're not supposed to be drinking. Four o'clock finish you go home. But you see they still want to say something about it. (Woman)

. . . at a lot of Cook Island gatherings, a lot of them expect to have alcohol. They expect it aye. You know after you've had the function. The main part of the meal, and you'll find that a whole lot of them stay back just because they know there's alcohol at that special occasion. (Woman)

They felt it was important to drink in a group rather than alone because alcohol was seen to have a social role. For Cook Islands people, the group was more important than the individual. A person could not survive, had no place to stand without their family and community. To want to be alone was seen as an affront to others. To want to drink alone indicated a serious problem.

Such withdrawal implies that the drinker has a deliberate preference for his own existence over that of his family and communal life in general . . . Every islander needs the cohesion of continuous, peaceful relationships, and an individual should consider these a privilege and look favorably upon them. Shared life experiences are a protective mechanism assuring every member of the importance of a collectivity which is devoid of aggressive or indifferent feelings. Anxiety is felt by the islanders if they feel that they have been deliberately rejected by the drunk. To want to be alone, regardless of how short the period, is

the worst thing a person can want. Behavior like this becomes incomprehensible and a threat to everyone in the village (Apeldoorn, writing about Mangaia, 1983:58).

Alcohol relaxed people and enabled them to share and exchange stories with one another. People became less inhibited and sang and danced and generally enjoyed themselves.

Yeah, they enjoy their dance more if they have a few beers. They are not shy to get on the floor.

One woman made the point that in the outer islands of the Cooks, alcohol was not the focus at a function; the focus was the function itself and the person for whom the function was being held. Also there was little money to purchase alcohol and bush beer was not part of big functions. So in a sense, it would seem that alcohol had become a symbol of wealth. To be able to purchase alcohol proved wealth. She was also implying that in Aotearoa New Zealand, at some social functions, alcohol became the focal point.

Alcohol was sometimes used to thank people for the work they had done. For example, one woman spoke of how on Atiu, sometimes the Tumu Nu groups would be hired to clear land for a taro patch. They would be given a donation for their work but also after the work was finished they would have a drinking session. Similarly in Aotearoa New Zealand after a big celebration like a 21st birthday, all the workers:

. . . have their own special get together and that's when the family who held the function, more or less return, return a 'thank you' to their workers and they purchase kegs.

Cook Islands people's perceptions of drinkers and non-drinkers

A drinker was seen as being a person who drank every day which seemed to imply drinking for the sake of drinking. A non-drinker could be somebody who only drank on special occasions such as socials, dances, weddings, birthdays etc. The person who drank regularly on a weekly, fortnightly or monthly basis was neither a drinker nor a non-drinker. There did not seem to be a term for this category. Possibly, this middle range of drinking is seen as the norm and does not need a label to define it. One of the women thought that the community categorised people as drinkers and non-drinkers because only the extremes were being looked at:

That's only because we compare heavy drinkers and the occasional drinkers.

Another participant observed that it could be hard to be a non-drinker sitting amongst people who were drinking as sometimes the non-drinker was made fun of or ignored because those drinking felt uncomfortable around them:

Well usually when you're drinking and that, you get happy and everyone's just happy to get up but if you've got someone who's just sitting there, who's quite sober and just looking and talking, it's just not the same. We all want to get pissed. (Woman)

One woman spoke of going to a function and at the time she was not able to drink, so she filled an empty wine bottle with cordial so she would not feel left out:

And people would you know, if they think you're drinking too, they're more open and they're more likely to have a conversation with you. Whereas if you're just sitting there with a coke or something in front of you, they'll just ignore you.

Others found that non-drinkers like to join those drinking because that was where the fun was; the laughing and singing and joking. One man talked about his brothers, half of whom drank alcohol and half of whom did not, but they always all came together for parties including one brother who was a church minister:

When we have a party, he sits there with his guitar. It's a good gathering but I don't know why we have to have drinking to get us together.

Who do Cook Islands people drink with?

All the participants drank with family and friends and spoke of the importance of drinking with people who they knew. There was general agreement that trouble occurred when strangers were brought into the drinking circle:

I mean there's a lot of . . . stupid drinkers around, which they don't give a damn about anybody else once they have had a few . . . I mean especially with our Cook Island boys up here, I notice anyway they're pretty good when they drink . . . mind you they do drink a fair bit. But at least they don't go round punching somebody else in the pub like that . . . or making fights and all . . . I mean we can always stop ours if somebody just want to start arguing with somebody . . . we stop them anyway. I don't like to drink with outside groups anyway . . .

As all the men questioned were over 30 years of age, most of them spoke of drinking less now compared to when they were younger. Some said that they sometimes went to the pub if they could afford to, but they all seemed to enjoy drinking with family at home.

One participant said that when he had built up trust with work colleagues he sometimes brought them home. Then he would put on some food for them and would provide alcohol as part of the meal.

What types of alcohol do Cook Islands people drink?

Among the participants, the men drank home-brew, beer, spirits and wine and the women drank beer, wine and spirits. The men seemed to prefer beer though one drank rum and one drank wine.

Some of the women said that some people who drank wine did not class that as drinking alcohol. Another woman said that her brother:

. . . won't drink wine because he reckons that real men don't drink wine. Real men drink beer and whiskey. Only women drink wine.

Home-brew or bush beer and the drinking schools

Both the men and the women spoke of home-brew. For the women, it was what they had seen being made, but for the men it was their own experience of drinking home-brew.

Some of the women talked about the types of home-brew they knew. They spoke of the Penrhyn Islanders making home-brew out of rice, the Mangaians making it out of pineapple and the people of Atiu using nu uri (the green coconuts). One of the participants said that in the Cook Islands, green coconuts were used for medicine so when they were used for making home-brew, the drink was thought of as medicine. Another type of home-brew mentioned was made from Papaa (European) hops and malt. Home-brew is still being made by Cook Islands people living in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Mitiaro drinking school

Ti Mitiaro teia. Ae. No te mea i te reira tuatau, ka rauka ua te kava i te maani i te au ra katoa.

Me teia te tu, i mua ake, me akamata te anani i te vai, e ture ia ana e te au vaine. Rauri. Kare e akatika ia te aaki i te anani no te mea me para nake, ka aere mai te pai ka tiki ka apai. Ina i roto i teia taime nei, kua vai te anani, kua waitata i te para, kua akamata rai te mapu i te inangaro inu kava.

Te ra i reira, ka aaki ngaro ua te mapu i te anani, ka kumu ngaro ua i tetai kava. Te ra i reira, ka kai, me inu nake, ka aere ki roto i te makatea inu ei. Kia kore te au vaine e kite mai. Inara, me akarongo te au vaine, mei te ra, me toko varu matou, toko iva me kore ngauru aere atu, e e kava ta matou, ka aere mai te au vaine ka kimi ia matou e teia te ra kava te ngai kai ei. Me kitea matou e me mou matou i te au vaine, ka akautunga ia matou.

Na te vaine no te mea teia ratou te ture ea, na ratou e rau i te.

Tetai taime ka aru mai rai te akava ia ratou. Inara, i roto i teia, me inu matou i teia kava i roto i te makatea, ko te tangata na na e kapu te kava ka kite aia e e te kimi ia nei te kava. No te mea i roto i te kava, koia ua rai te ka kite ia roto i te ngai vairanga ai te kava, me te tumu nu, me te poo, me e paero. Me pupui mai te kava i rotopu tikai i te, i rotopu tikai, ka kite meitaki aia e me kore e akava, e vaine te kimi nei i te kava. Ae. Te ra i reira, kare tatou e imene me kona tatou kare tatou e imene nui ea. Imene marie ua tatou kia tano ua kia kore te vaine, penei ka waitata mai ki te pae ia tatou, ka akarongo mai ka kitea tatou.

Ka kimi tatou i te ravenga kia kore roa tatou e mou i te au vaine. Ae, te reira tu, te ture ara oki te au vaine i te kava. Inara, me para i reira te anani, tae mai te pai i te tiki i te anani, ko te taime te reira kare te vaine e ture akaou. Te ra i reira ka kaikava ua tatou i te au ra pouroa. Ka kumu tatou i te kava i teia ra, noatu e kare e tuka, ka meitaki rai te kumu i teira ra, ka kai apopo.

Te kai ara, te kumu akaou ara no tetai ra. E i roto i reira, me tae te taimē e akakite mai ei te tangata na na e kapu ana i te kava, te taimē ka inangaro ia tetai imene pure no tatou, ka rave tatou itetai imene pure e oti kare ra oki aia e tuku e kia kona kino tatou, te aere atu ra tatou ka kona, ka topapa mai aia i te paero, me e tumu nu. Kite ua tatou e e taimē pure teia.

Ae, ka karanga mai aia rave tetai imene pure no tatou. Imene tatou e oti, akakite mai ei na te ra tangata, tana tangata ua ka tuku.

Nana e rave i te pure. Te tangata nana ka rave i te pure e oti ka akakite mai e e taimē teia akakitekite manako, mei te reira e tu.

I roto i te akakitekite manako, aere mai rai te ako, mei te ra te ako nei tatou ia tatou eiaa e pekapeka e tupu. Me kona koe, teia ngai tei roto i te enua kare e kaikava ana i roto i te oire, tei roto i te enua.

Mitiaro

One of the older informants spoke of his experience with orange beer home-brew on Mitiaro at the time when oranges were harvested for export. During the orange season on Mitiaro, the women would place restrictions on the oranges saying that no one was to pick the oranges because they were for export. The women were given the authority to police the island and make sure that the men were not making alcoholic brews with the oranges. The women's authority ended when the boat arrived to collect the oranges. After the arrival of the boat, the men were able to make brew every day.

When the oranges reached the juicy stage the young men of the island would start to crave orange brew. They would sneak into the orange plots and steal the oranges without anyone knowing, especially the women. When the brew was ready, the men would gather at a place in the bush, right away from the village. They did this because they did not want to be caught by the women and prosecuted.

Sometimes the police and the women came to look for the drinking sessions. The barman (or leader) of the drinking session always knew when the law was coming because the brew would react in a funny way. As soon as the brew started to bubble the barman knew they were being searched for and the men would lower their voices and sing quietly.

Alcohol and gender

Originally, drinking alcohol was considered to be a male-only activity. The bush beer schools were mostly for men only. Some of the women spoke of one woman they knew who did drink bush beer. Her father used to make it and she had learnt to drink at an early age. Participants also felt that men drank more than women.

Women and alcohol

It seems that as women started drinking alcohol they tended not to drink openly. Some of the participants felt that it was still not really acceptable for women to drink in public. One woman told how on Atiu, women did not drink openly but would either drink at home before going to a dance or would take their alcohol into a social function hidden in

a bag or in a pocket and would turn their backs to take discreet sips. Those women who had grown up in Aotearoa New Zealand tended to be more open about their drinking:

They'll put it on the table [rather than under the table]. They'll take it to picnics and have a drink.

In Aotearoa New Zealand, some women, especially younger women, are prepared to drink openly but older women tend to be careful about who they drink in front of. For example, some women spoke of attending social functions and taking in alcohol with them but hiding it in their bags. All the women were aware of this practice and accepted that for some women this was the only way they could drink in public.

The women's discussion about why some women hid their drinking showed that some women were ashamed to be seen drinking in public. The participants also said that women would hide their drinking out of respect, for example, for the minister or the minister's wife. One woman felt that women did not drink openly because:

. . . women back home, their place is in the home. Their place is child care. Their place is where you don't need to show what you do. You just, you're not recognised for it. Whereas if you were a man . . . then your place is recognised because you are out there. You're down the lane feeding the pigs or you're out there in the community talking to everybody, organising things. But for the case for women is they're not seen . . . what they do in their homes is kept there.

Other women said that some women hid their alcohol because they were selfish and did not want to share their drink. However, mostly it seemed that drinking openly encouraged gossip:

You know us tatou Kuki Airani, urutoe atu urutoe mai. E oti kare tatou i kite tikai te tikaanga tikai e me e kaikava ana rai aia, eaa te maata i taana kaikava.

You know us Cook Islanders, we run each other down. They don't even know the truth about your drinking and how much you've drunk but they assume you're drunk anyway.

Gossip exaggerated the amount drunk and meant that if a woman was seen drinking a small bottle of alcohol, as the news spread that one bottle became a dozen bottles and then two dozen bottles:

Ae, aere ua oki koe teia maanga moina nei ea. Me aere mai oki tatou Kuki Airani, maani tatou tai ei tatini, e rua tatini, te aere atu anga koe i konei i te mea.

Women's drinking and women's morality

Because drinking publicly was seen as a male-only activity, women drinking publicly with men or drinking to the point of drunkenness would be regarded as "loose women". A male participant spoke of how people would feel about a woman who approached the men's table to drink:

In my experience, the women have never sat up front with the men . . . And then if a female decides to come up to the table, then she is breaking the law and people will respond to that you know . . . Somehow it associates with a lack of self discipline . . . her sexual values . . . it's not a female activity but if women do get into drinking sessions and it's usually the taramea. It's never the upstanding righteous ones, it's always the lady of the town, and everybody knows. And she is the most liberated of the whole lot and she knows that . . . and she also knows that she's been accepted as the abnormal one . . .

One of the women pointed out that the community reacted differently to men drinking excessively and women drinking excessively:

At dances and at functions there is always that tendency to turn, um, you know, not to see that women are drinking. Then of course they get drunk and make a fool of themselves and everybody goes, "Ooohhh!" [*laughter*] and they all immediately brand the poor woman as a loose woman of loose morals and what do you expect. And yet a man can get drunk and he's not a loose man. He's just a drunk [*laughs*].

Drinking separately

Those women who did drink openly tended to drink mostly with other women. Women said that it was better to drink separately because of the jealousy, especially between couples, that occurred when men and women drank together. Drinking separately was a way of keeping the peace.

You see all a woman need do is look at another man and boy, you are after that man, and of course an argument or fight is bound to follow.

Sometimes a woman's behaviour changed when she had been drinking and she started "showing a side their husbands don't want others to see or know".

The men's reasoning for women and men drinking separately was that men had to behave in a certain way when women were present. Men would tone down their language and joking out of respect to the women, "unless we know the female or how they behave." Men drinking with men could "let everything rip" but with women around, men had to watch "every single word we say".

Sometimes women were too shy to mix with the men but drinking helped them to lose their inhibitions and then they were able to mix with the men.

A different rule for outsiders

One woman participant also spoke of how Aotearoa New Zealand women had been invited to attend a tumu nu (home-brew drinking session) at her village in Atiu. She said that the protocol of “men only” at the tumu nu had been broken because some women visitors were invited to the tumu nu.

And it was broken because visitors from here who is symbolised as having that higher rank, educated, maybe a lecturer or teacher and they go home, they went to Atiu and um they wanted to experience what this aspect of life is.

The women who were invited were:

. . . not women on the Island, women from New Zealand, from overseas. And these women, they're either Papaa [Europeans] or they're Cook Islanders who have been in New Zealand for a long time and have no idea of the culture. And because they're here they want to see. And because of their interest, they're invited. . . It's as if they've been prepared. And there's certain things that women do and don't do and they're given that outline before going in.

This participant thought that it was very special for those women to be able to do that. The women from the village had talked amongst themselves about what was happening but nothing was ever said to the female visitors.

The difference between drinking in the Cook Islands and drinking in Aotearoa New Zealand

It's not in the same sense as we do back home and I think the reason for that would be because of this non-active participation within the community and there's no reinforcement from out there to give it meaning . . . whereas back in the islands you're surrounded by meaning.

This participant was talking about how the community in Aotearoa New Zealand was fragmented compared with the community in the Cook Islands because people did not have the same level of spiritual/emotional connection to their adopted country. In the Cook Islands, every rock, tree, waterfall held significance because of its place in people's history, but in the new land this history was missing.

Here in New Zealand, there is such a thing as a non-active drinker. The majority are non-active. They don't have a community. Porirua is just a name. There's no sense of emotional belonging whereas in the Islands, it's your village. It's your honour. So the integrity . . . honour, the values, the history all comes in and you can relate to that and people will tell you, you know I drank with your great grandfather and he could take his beer. He was, no matter how drunk he was, he was never foul mouthed. So there are certain models and values that we have to emulate and we were told too, it is expected of you, as a member of your family, to behave because your family is well behaved. So you have to carry that and then you come over here, because we are not active within our community and because the sense of community is not the same as back in the islands so there is no sense of responsibility for my behaviour. I'm free to do whatever I want and there's no models for me to imitate, to correct my behaviour.

Another man added that if Cook Islands men stuck to the strict ways of drinking as followed back in the Cook Islands, there would be fewer behaviour problems with drinking. He was especially concerned about men's lack of respect for women when drinking.

. . . oh guys don't respect their women over here . . . Because [in the Cook Islands] if you urtoe somebody when you're drinking, boom . . . you're out.

The women had different opinions of women's drinking in the Cook Islands as some said there were fewer women drinking publicly and others said that women did drink openly. It could be that there was a difference depending on where the women were. For example, one woman spoke of men and women drinking together in Aotearoa New Zealand:

But back home in Atiu, men only drink. The time you see women drinking is if there is a dance . . . I have see women drink at like, birthday parties or a haircutting ceremony . . . and you don't see women drinking openly in Atiu. They drink at home and then they go to the dance. But Atiuans from New Zealand going there, we drink at the dance as well as at home.

Is there a Cook Islands style of drinking?

. . . I've noticed that, um, when you get invited to that place, you go there and then whoever, whoever's place it is, you go there . . . say, "Kia Orana" and then the man, whoever . . . he'll tell you where to sit, he'll tell you where to sit and you can't sit anywhere else. He'll say, "Noo koe ki ko" and then he'll tell the others, "Noo mai koe ki ko" and then there's always a chair in the middle, and then bang that old man will select that person, "Ea ko koe noo koe ki rotopu, naau e pamani ia tatou. Na mua koe ki konei" and he'll tell where to start from and I've noticed that when there's some old people there. . . and the other thing is that when it comes to your turn, you've got to take it, you've got to take it. And not only that, and that's when you're allowed to start talking and they'll tell us the rules. So there's something for us to learn when we go to another people's place . . .

Back at home . . . if you bring something you put it in the middle and then the old man will tell you, oh drink this one first, then drink that one . . . we always start off with a imene tuki or pure and after that they all have a good time, but the old man only stipulates the time we'll finish. When it's finished, pure . . . but there's one occasion I got to a place you know we were drinking . . . but the old man got up and he said, "Turn the radio off. No noise. Say the prayer". You know, and then after that carry on . . . There's just one thing, I noticed the young guys, when that old man got up to say the prayer, everybody was quiet. You know, I tell the honest truth, I never closed my eyes because I was busy watching, watching all my mates, their reaction but you know it's funny seeing [them] closing their eyes, you know. (Man)

Some of the participants considered a Cook Islands style of drinking to be when those people taking part (usually men) sat in a circle and the glass was passed around the circle as happened in the drinking schools. One man was the barman (leader) and he controlled who got the next glass and the amount given. The session was started off with an imene tuki (traditional song) and a pure (prayer) and also finished with a pure.

Some of the women did not think there was a style peculiar to the Cook Islands. The drinking schools were not across the Cook Islands, for example, they did not exist on Rarotonga.

The drinking schools or bush beer schools

Some of the islands, especially Atiu, became famous for their drinking schools. These schools had very structured ritualised drinking sessions led by the barman who did not drink himself but controlled those who were drinking. The participants (usually men) would be gathered in a circle as for a kava circle and the barman would send a cup round the circle. The barman decided which person would drink next and how much they would be given. In this way he controlled the drinking. If he saw someone had reached his limit he could miss that person out.

Mitiaro

One of the older participants described drinking sessions in Mitiaro. At the start of a drinking session, the tangata na na e kapa ana i te kava (barman) would ask the group to begin with a hymn and a short prayer before the drinking rounds commenced. The barman made sure the men did not become totally drunk. He controlled the group. When the time was right, he would tap his kapu nu (coconut shell cup) on the barrel, call for another hymn and prayer, and then invite members of the group to speak on issues. Usually the first person to speak was the person who said the prayer. Often the speakers took the opportunity to preach to the group. During the discussions they would plan who would do what tasks the next day. For example, who would go fishing, who would get the taro and who would make the umu (earth oven). That is because food was considered very important at a drinking session. The umu was put down before the drinking session and was cooking while the drinking was happening.

Anyone who made trouble at the session was thrown out by the barman. As well the group or drinking school acted as a court and passed judgement on any wrongdoing by its members. As punishment, a person would be ejected from the group for a period of time and all the other drinking schools on the island would get to hear about this.

In Mitiaro women were not allowed to attend the drinking schools but were permitted to watch from a distance.

Sometimes another village would be invited. It was important for the invited village (that is, the men) to go home kona (drunk). If the visitors were not drunk when they went home the host village would get a bad name.

In the drinking session with another village, the two villages would be separated. The men from the host village did not mix with the men from the invited village and the barman had rua ana kapu nu (two cups), one for each village. The barman controlled which group would get drunk first and when to eat. The food was served while the men were still drinking. The children would be gathered at a distance and some of the men would give their raurau (basket) to the children with any remaining food to take back to the village. During the discussions papaanga kopu tangata (genealogy) would not be talked about because there could be disagreement over genealogy.

Atiu

Another participant discussed drinking schools on Atiu and compared them to a university, saying that that was where the stories and history of the village could be learned. Unlike on Mitiaro where papaanga kopu tangata was not discussed during drinking sessions, in Atiu the drinking schools were mostly family based so understanding family ties was important. That was where one learnt about why certain families held certain titles and who the other members of the family were “and the degrees of rightness to the title”.

This participant explained about the power the drinking schools have with the following story. The drinking house needed a new roof and it was known that some visitors were coming to the drinking school so the roof was needed quickly. The men were told that the next day, when they had finished their chores at home, they were to go up to the drinking house and thatch the house. The next day everybody turned up except for one man. The old man of the school said, “Thatch this house until you get to [that man’s] seat and leave it there”. That night the men turned up with the visitors and so did the man who had not turned up for the working bee. It rained and the man who had not helped tried to come inside but the old man said, “No, stand up. Stay in the rain because you know the rules”. The man sat there and he cried and begged to come in but the old man refused. By the next day the whole island knew the story.

This participant believed that the structure of the drinking schools still existed in Aotearoa New Zealand among Cook Islands families.

The structure is still there . . . but it is not enforced. It’s still there. You should watch who sits at the head of the table when we come drinking at your house. And most others who know the rules will sit on the [sides].

He felt that information about papaanga kopu tangata and history was passed on through the songs sung while drinking. If a group of people from Atiu came together, they sang Atiu songs. If a group from Aitutaki came together, they sang Aitutaki songs.

The men who spoke of the drinking schools seemed to find comfort in the structure and rituals of such drinking sessions. Some were keen to revive and encourage this practice.

Tumu Nu (as described by a female participant)

Oh a tumu nu is home-made home-brew okay, and why it’s called a tumu nu is because it’s all mixed in the tumu nu. Like they . . . you know the tumu nu, the coconut tree, they cut it off and the trunk, they hollowed it . . . They

hollowed it so it's like a what is it called, a keg over here. Yeah yeah and the mix . . . is mixed in a bucket. And they're either pineapple with brew and sugar and all that. Mixed together, oh hops, that's what it's called, yeah because I've seen this mixed. Or there's oranges instead, it depends on the season. And what they do after it's mixed, it's tipped in this tumu nu and that's left there to ferment.

Just open?

No, you know the trunk . . . um, if this is the ground level, the height is just above it. Because they hollow it all the way into the ground. But it's not . . . you don't see the soil.

So it's a bit like a big bowl, eh? Like a barrel?

Yeah, yeah . . . They know when it's right to drink.

Is this done in the village or out in the bush?

It's usually out in the bush but it's not in the bush, it's like someone's home and it's all cleared. You know it's someone's home but it's like when they're going to . . . they really look after that beer.

So that tumu nu will always be used for making beer?

Yeah. And once you have that on that section of land . . . that becomes a place of drinking.

The importance of being seated when drinking

In the Cook Islands when you drink, you sit down. Here in New Zealand, the Kiwis stand. Pakehas stand when they drink.

This participant said he could always tell who were the Kiwis in the Cook Islands because they stood at the bar. Cook Islands people would buy their beer from the bar and then sit down at a table. That was considered the proper way of drinking and the most respectable form of behaviour:

Because seating yourself is the humblest form of submission. You'll find people, elderly people who are sitting down and you're standing . . . after a while they'll ask you to sit down, take a seat. Because in our culture, to stand above others is to challenge their station in life.

Another man mentioned this too, saying that if people were standing while drinking, the old people would call out:

What are you? Are you a door standing up? Noo ki raro.

The difference between older and younger people's drinking

There was a difference between the way the older people drank and the way the younger people drank. The younger people preferred to listen to pop music rather than Cook Island music and with a DJ (disc jockey) or on a stereo:

They're just continually moving around whereas when you're drinking with the mature group, there's not that getting up, moving on, no. You more or less sit there and you drink, you converse and [there is] music along the way. (Older woman)

As one woman commented, the music had to be so loud that everyone had to shout at each other in order to be heard. Younger people also went to night clubs and enjoyed going out to drink. Older people enjoyed gathering with friends and family at home and drinking while sitting and singing and talking. They would sing all the old songs and accompany themselves on guitars and ukuleles.

People who drank and played the guitar or ukulele and sang, could last all night. That style was called *kaikava na te aronga mamaata* (mature drinking). The style of drinking and getting drunk quickly was called *kaikava tamariki* (children's drinking or immature drinking).

Drinking did not take place by itself

Other activities such as singing, playing ukulele and guitar, and playing cards always took place with drinking. There was a rotation of activities. The losers at cards got to be the musicians and the musicians played the winners at cards.

The Papaa style

Participants felt that Papaa (Europeans) only had a few drinks. One participant pointed out that for Papaa when the host ran out of alcohol that was it, whereas for Cook Islands people when the alcohol ran out, the host was pressured to go out and get some more.

The aim of this document is to present the views of the people who were interviewed and stimulate discussion. The following viewpoint from one participant resulted in a lot of discussion and debate among the research field team.

Informant's view of the term "kaikava"

If you go back to the Maori word for drinking alcohol, it's called "kaikava". You know, and the term "kai" is a synonym for the word "manga" but the difference between the two – "manga" is food for the physical body . . . "Kai" is food for the spiritual side. Thus you say "kai oroa". We never say for communion "manga oroa" We always say "kai korero". We never say "manga korero" ea. Thus ko te belief system teia o te kaikava ea, is the spiritual side. It's based on the spiritual side. Not on the physical thing. We've lost that meaning here.

Some expressions associated with drinking

Each Pacific group has developed its own expressions or terms about alcohol. For example, some of the Maori terminology used in this study by participants included:

- *inuinu* – to have a few drinks
- *kaikava* – drink till you drop
- *kaikava e taero* – drink until you are oblivious to what is happening to you, go into a stupor, be out of it
- *kaikava e topa mai te rangi* – drink till the sky falls on top of you
- *kaikava ra, kia taka roa te enua ei reira tatou e akamotu ei* – you drink until the world spins before you stop
- *rangimarie* – calm, sober.

Reduced drinking with age

Some of the women spoke of how they used to have lots of parties and drinking at their houses when their children were young.

As you gradually get to the age of 30, you'll find that you sort of just start to melt away from drinking.

However as their children got older, especially when they reached high school age, the parties stopped. Women feared that as the children, especially girls, became older they could be taken advantage of while all the adults were drinking. One woman talked about her partner stopping the parties:

You know he didn't want our kids to be inside and drunken people coming in here while we're in the garage, even though they're friends, relations, anything could happen. I don't know what woke him up to it but he just sort of snapped out of it and since then we've never had big parties like that, yeah.

Another woman agreed:

I mean that's the same with our household. Now that we have, because I've got a 14 year old and I don't like people being through my house too. Because you'll find, we had a particular friend that used to come to our table quite a bit and they used to have a few drinks on a Friday but then instead of this particular person staying where he's supposed to stay, he used to wander off into our rooms and you know you could be doing something and like changing the kids, putting the kids to bed but he used to walk down there . . .

Men also spoke of reducing their drinking as they became older:

I used to get carried away before when I was younger, but as you grow older, you know, you sort of mellow away a bit and so take it easy. You don't drink so much.

Problems associated with alcohol

If people turned up to work and managed to keep their jobs it was thought that alcohol was not a problem. So the amount a person drank or the person's physical state after a drinking session was not felt to be a problem so long as they were able to recover enough to work.

Jealousy between couples while drinking was mentioned by a number of participants, mostly because this was seen as being the cause of most arguments and fights. However, participants thought that fights usually occurred because outsiders came into a drinking group.

Women who drank openly ran the risk of becoming the target of gossip, especially from other women. Participants felt that women with young families were particularly at risk because the community would see their drinking as neglect of family responsibilities.

Summary of main points

1. The Cook Islands people in Aotearoa New Zealand come from 15 widely-scattered islands, each with a culture unique in its own right. Just as the islands are diverse in their ways, so the Cook Islands perspectives on alcohol are diverse. There cannot be said to be one unified Cook Islands viewpoint on alcohol, but rather many different views.

2. While there was mention of fighting because of jealousy between couples when drinking, the participants did not seem to regard Cook Islands people as problem drinkers. Many emphasised that they did not drink to get drunk, though older participants thought that younger people did. Most of the participants were over 30 years of age and seemed to have reduced their level of drinking compared to when they were younger.
3. The ritual drinking among the men seems to have been carried over from the Cook Islands to Aotearoa New Zealand. Some were keen to revive this and saw the structured drinking as a form of controlled drinking and a way to pass on cultural information.
4. The Cook Islands community seemed to have accepted that women do drink, though drinking for women was acceptable only within certain limits. For example, it was not acceptable for a woman to become drunk whereas drunkenness was acceptable for a man. Some women were still not comfortable about drinking publicly.
5. It was important to drink with a group rather than alone. A person could not stand alone. They needed the support of their family and community. To want to drink alone was seen as problematic because it meant withdrawal from the group and was seen as rejection of the group.

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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 ?*

Appendix 2

From Lemert 1964:365-6

“On Atiu, during the orange season, drinking was a daily occurrence and brewing a highly organized activity, tokened by the sound of the conch shell summoning the drinkers. One steward, a cook, and three helpers are delegated on a rotation basis to prepare and squeeze oranges while the rest of the group carries on its libations. Drinkers are ranged around the beer barrel, which until recent times was a hollowed out base of a coconut tree called a tumunui. The drinkers numbered from six to 20 men, although jumbo groups of 40 or 60 are not unknown on Sundays. The rule against female participation varies but it is very strict on Atiu, on the grounds that a drunken female is a highly disruptive and unesthetic element. Single men above 20 years are the core of the group, with older men and married men being the marginal participants. Drinking groups tend to get organized along kinship lines.

A drinking session on Atiu ordinarily begins with a single round of drinks, which is followed by a prayer and a church hymn. Then the tuati delivers a speech urging those present not to fight and to be careful on going home not to cause trouble. He then announces that the time has come for a good time and starts the coconut cup on its periodic rounds. There is considerable pressure on an individual to drink, although he may pass up a round. He may not, however, sip the drink, and if he tarries too long, the steward makes a quick stamping movement which scatters sand over the reluctant drinker.

Informal conversation covering sex, politics, fishing and crops accompanies the drinking. Genealogies may be recited, and, even more distinctive, choral singing and the chanting of utes takes place. The utes deal with historic events, often those of drinking itself. If the beer barrel is a new one, it is dedicated by a specially composed ute, which heralds its great size or importance, in some cases by comparing it to cargo boats which have visited the islands.

Drinking is disciplined in a very real sense, for the tuati, who remains sober, has complete control over the session and may determine when a person has had too much to drink.”

The Research Team

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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.

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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.

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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.

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.