

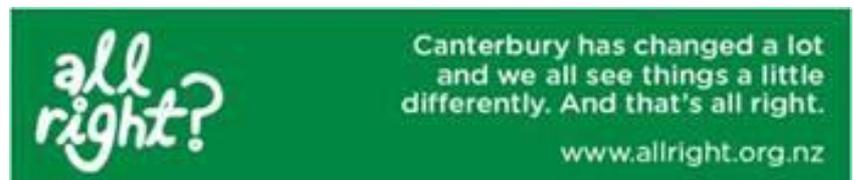


Taking the Pulse 2013

Exploratory Qualitative Research among Pacific Peoples

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1 Summary of Findings and Recommendations

This report documents the findings of exploratory qualitative research conducted among Pacific Peoples living in greater Christchurch. It was conducted to help inform further development of the All Right? social marketing campaign. The campaign aims to put wellbeing at the heart of the recovery for greater Christchurch residents. Five focus groups and two in-depth interviews were conducted in November and December 2013.

1.1 Contextually it is important to acknowledge the ethnic diversity and complexity of Pacific Peoples situation

The complexity within and of different Pacific ethnic groups is outside of the scope of this small scale research exercise. In this research we seek to report the broader, overall perspective of wellbeing among the wider Pacific community in greater Christchurch.

This research focuses on Pacific Peoples wellbeing rather than providing a comprehensive exploration and understanding of Pacific culture.

These research findings connect with the Fonofale model of Pacific Peoples health in New Zealand. For this reason, these findings have been discussed within the construct of this model.

1.2 Wellbeing is understood as a concept by Pacific Peoples; it is holistic encompassing physical, mental and spiritual aspects

The Pacific Peoples holistic and spiritual interpretation of wellbeing has significant implications for the effective communication of All Right? to Pacific Peoples.

1.3 Attitudes and behaviour towards wellbeing show a range of actions are used to promote wellbeing

However, the importance of family over individual and the coping strategies adopted by many meant often people were not actively thinking about their personal wellbeing but were focused on that of family around them.

1.4 A multitude of aspects interact and affect wellbeing, both positively and negatively, including family, ethnic group, culture, spirituality and environmental aspects

This research identified a series of aspects that are influencing the wellbeing of Pacific Peoples, both positively and negatively, including family, ethnic group, culture, spirituality and environmental aspects. The interplay between these aspects means they have a positive and negative impact on people's wellbeing. These aspects and their interrelationship have significant implications for the development of the All Right? Campaign in order for it to reach Pacific Peoples.

1.5 Current levels of wellbeing indicate a struggle for most Pacific People in greater Christchurch

Compared with the population in general, it was identified that many within the Pacific community were disadvantaged and their wellbeing was compromised prior to the earthquakes.

The earthquakes were identified to have magnified issues and compromised Pacific Peoples wellbeing further.

As a result, people have become more vulnerable in all aspects of their wellbeing depicted in the Fonofale Model of Health.

1.6 Family is the foundation for mental health and wellbeing for Pacific Peoples

Family is important rather than individuals to Pacific Peoples

Since the earthquakes, some people talked of family having moved from greater Christchurch. Given the strength of family, the role of each family member and their interdependence this has had a significant impact. Most significantly it has resulted in a sadness and loneliness for many and changed the family dynamic, support structure and roles.

Women are the heartbeat of the family. The women are the people in the family who do most chores and manage the family. If the All Right? messaging resonates with these women then this will feed out to the rest of the family as it will be resonating from the heart of the family.

Of note, the All Right? Campaign is viewed to be positioned to communicate to the individual rather than the collective family. It was seen to focus on getting individuals to connect and interact with each other which are a less familiar concept to Pacific Peoples.

Caring and supporting family is natural and expected

It is natural within Pacific culture to care for and support family members, even if it causes problems e.g. financial pressure and relationship problems.

There is an unspoken understanding within families that helping others will be reciprocated when it is required e.g. parents help children and as parents become elderly, children help parents.

Actions are central to Pacific People's communication i.e. 'doing it' not 'talking about it' e.g. we don't say to each other 'I love you' but we demonstrate it.

There was a strong message that the All Right? Campaign needs to be focused and demonstrate actions not just words in order to fully connect with Pacific Peoples.

Many feel closeness and strong sense of family helps to keep culture and traditions alive in New Zealand. All Right? needs to acknowledge and communicate the importance of the family unit to resonate with most.

1.7 Spirituality is a pillar of Pacific Peoples

Spirituality comprises of traditional spirituality and religion for Pacific Peoples.

Spirituality is important for many Pacific Peoples and is still practiced despite some aspects being at odds with religion. Religion tends to dominate over spirituality publicly at a family level but not necessarily privately for individuals.

The church is central to and influential within the Pacific community and it performs a number of specific key roles for Pacific Peoples.

For many Pacific Peoples, the church is considered integral to their wellbeing and therefore central to the communication of the All Right? Campaign. Their relationship with the church and the people associated with it is perceived to help care for their wellbeing as it provides a 'safe' environment in which to talk about any personal issues (neutral and supportive), although, pride can be an inhibitor to this happening. Often the response to wellbeing issues will be to pray for the person and their family.

1.8 Environmental aspects have been identified to affect Pacific Peoples wellbeing

A series of environmental aspects impacting wellbeing of Pacific Peoples were identified. These can be categorised into three types.

Inherent environmental aspects associated with living in greater Christchurch

Significant privacy issues exist due to small size of the Pacific community in greater Christchurch

This means that there is a desire on occasion to access mental health and wellbeing support from outside of the Pacific community, however this needs to be from someone who can, as a minimum, relate to Pacific Peoples. This support is not considered available at present and Pacific Peoples find it difficult to seek this support for themselves.

Language barriers inhibit access to healthcare and other public/ social services

The implication for the All Right? Campaign messages for Pacific Peoples is that language is fragmented and not a natural, intuitive way to communicate. Interplayed with cultural differences this further reduces the accessibility of main stream All Right? messages that are perceived by Pacific People to have a strong language base.

Educational achievement is expected of children but children are often not well interfaced with the system nor supported

This lack of interface/ support/ scaffolding by parents and teachers for Pacific youth in education is a significant issue. Encouragingly, there was an example of one teacher who understood Pacific culture and who was successfully providing this interface/ support/ scaffolding for Pacific children and the result was the children were succeeding in the education system.

Having a healthy diet is a complex issue

Diet is seen as less important than other aspects of life and changing the diet of Pacific Peoples is a complex issue.

Island life is perceived to be easy by first or more generation Kiwi Pacific Peoples living in New Zealand

The younger New Zealand born Pacific People often felt misunderstood by their parents and those living in the Islands and felt isolated and detached as a result.

Mixed ethnicity can cause identity issues

It was identified that a disconnect with who you are culturally can lead to self identity issues which can create e.g. unhappiness, confusion, self esteem issues all of which negatively impact wellbeing.

Mixed ethnicity marriages can cause relationship and emotional conflict for extended family, self and partner

Often this means stepping outside of family and parents expectations. This can cause relationship and emotional conflict for family, self and partner.

Inherent environmental aspects associated with living in greater Christchurch amplified since the earthquakes

Financial pressures have increased

Some simply accept financial hardship is normal for many Pacific People and 'just get on with it'. However, this has been harder to do since the earthquakes as financial pressures have increased further creating significant compromises in basic living requirements and limiting people's ability to retain the independence they had experienced prior.

Access to affordable healthcare services has become more restricted

Some are in a position of increased vulnerability to their health due to reduced healthcare and multiplying health issues

Affordable housing is increasingly an issue

Overcrowding issues need to be considered within the context that for Pacific Peoples living with extended family is a cultural norm and not 'overcrowding'. It appears that providing understanding around the importance of hygiene would be useful in some cases. Also, it would be helpful to provide support around regaining independence from other family members to the extent that was present pre-quake.

Inaccessibility of government support agencies has marginalised many Pacific People from services they are entitled to

Help from within the wider Pacific community, whether through school, pre-school, work or church was found to be the most accessible route for Pacific Peoples to social services.

It appears All Right? could best connect to the Pacific community if driven from within the community rather than through government agencies.

Work pressure has increased with multiple implications

There appears to be an opportunity to take the All Right? Campaign into the workplaces of Pacific Peoples.

Environmental aspects related to the earthquakes

Family having moved away has had a significant impact on wellbeing

Family having moved away from greater Christchurch post-earthquake has resulted in a sadness and loneliness for many and changed the family dynamic, support structure and roles.

1.9 Cultural aspects affecting Pacific Peoples Wellbeing

Pacific hierarchical structure dictates behaviour

A complex hierarchical structure operates within Pacific culture that influences behaviour.

Significant expectations and responsibilities exist within the Pacific community that are structured according to position within the hierarchy.

There is an interplay between cultural and family that shapes this hierarchy.

This has implications for the All Right? Campaign in terms of limitations as to who is credible and effective to deliver the All Right? messages within families.

To credibly deliver messages to Pacific Peoples, All Right? needs to interface directly with community leaders, the church and community groups.

Core Pacific cultural values determine behaviours

Community leaders and family uphold a number of core cultural values. These set expectations around behaviours, which in turn impact people's wellbeing:

Personal and family pride, are central to Pacific cultures

Pride is maintained sometimes at a significant personal cost as there is a strong fear of personal problems becoming public as this is perceived as bringing shame on the family. Messaging needs to be sensitive to this sense of pride.

Laughter is an important release mechanism

Pacific Peoples readily joke about their problems and use laughter as a coping mechanism i.e. distraction resulting in avoidance in addressing.

Conflict and dichotomy for Pacific Peoples in greater Christchurch

Cultural values and self identity issues exist

The transfer of cultural values and traditions is important to peoples self identity, especially given the relative isolation from the mother country and minority ethnic status in New Zealand.

New Zealand born Pacific Islanders struggle with self identity

Many felt they were poorer if they had a weak connection to their 'island roots'.

Place of Birth has a significant impact on self identity

Place of birth was found to often cause tension, suppressed anxiety and conflict in families, for example, especially where there are youth who are New Zealand born Pacific Islanders and their parents were brought up in the Islands

Tension, suppressed anxiety and conflict were also identified between those living in New Zealand versus the Islands. There is a lack of understanding of the New Zealand situation and this appears to result in a pressure both financial and emotional on those in New Zealand and a friction between family in the Islands and those in New Zealand e.g.:

Sense of belonging issues exist

The younger generation have to constantly adapt and operate between home, Pacific and wider New Zealand community.

They want to fit in to mainstream New Zealand community but also respect and meet their parents' needs and their Island roots, culture and religion.

Often they don't feel they belong in mainstream society in New Zealand because of their family and home life which follows traditional Island culture and religion.

This is a significant on-going issue for Pacific youth where the children find themselves needing to be able to walk in and be supported and accepted in two worlds; mainstream New Zealand and Pacific. Few manage to achieve this successfully and at the same time have a healthy sense of self identity.

Furthermore, those able to aptly interface between the Island culture and New Zealand cultures typically found themselves overburdened which often led to burn out.

Language barriers add to sense of isolation

Not being able to fluently speak or understand the Island language of their parents meant that many were unable to communicate with family in the Islands. This resulted in a sense of separation from their Island culture and from family and with this a reduced sense of belonging as well as issues around their self identity.

1.10 Reactions to the All Right? Campaign

Reaction to current campaign indicates limited campaign awareness and resonance

Overall participants once shown the campaign communications saw it as helpful but there had been limited connecting with the campaign prior to the research. Indications were that it does not resonate well in its current form.

For the All Right? communications to resonate with Pacific Peoples it needs to be delivered from within the Pacific community

Who delivers the message is of critical importance to Pacific People; the appropriateness and credibility of the person is paramount. It was widely considered appropriate and credible for community chiefs/ leaders and the church to be the deliverer of these messages as well as schools, workplaces and other community groups.

The five ways to wellbeing were understood and well received, however a sixth 'way' relating to spirituality was considered to be missing by many.

Actions are central to Pacific Peoples communication rather than words and it was felt the campaign could be improved in these respects. Action orientated from the perspective of 'doing it' not 'talking about it' e.g. don't say to each other 'I love you' but instead demonstrate it. This view was most prevalent among the Matua rather than younger, New Zealand born Islanders.

Being culturally relevant and engaging was also important e.g. a frangipani flower and including Pacific language words.

Associated with the deliverer of the messages, sponsorship of Pacific events was also welcomed and considered engaging.

A further limitation to the campaigns impact was that it is limited primarily to reading based media rather than being more visual, kinaesthetic, tactile, dynamic and action orientated.

A limitation around the visuals was that there is often only one person shown, whereas Pacific Peoples approach wellbeing from the perspective of the collective family/ community (as opposed to the individual), therefore this is not how Pacific relate to wellbeing.

Other issues affecting wellbeing were outside of the campaign these included a number of environmental factors outlined earlier in the report.

Acknowledgements

We wish to acknowledge the following people without whom this research could not have been completed.

First and foremost, we wish to acknowledge the participants in this research who shared their stories with us and to thank them for accepting us into their lives and community and for their willingness to engage and share with us and for the gifts they have brought to our lives.

We would also like to acknowledge and thank Terisa Tagicakibau, Pacific Health Promoter, Community and Public Health and Sera Thompson, Regional Advisor, Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs for their warmth and support and for agreeing to partner with us on this journey.

And, also Sue Turner, All Right? Campaign Manager, Community and Public Health and the All Right? team for all of their awesome support and patience.

2 Introduction

This report documents the findings of exploratory qualitative research conducted among Pacific Peoples living in greater Christchurch. It was conducted to help inform the further development of the All Right? social marketing campaign.

The All Right? Social marketing campaign aims to put wellbeing at the heart of the recovery for greater Christchurch residents.

There have been three phases to the campaign:

- ⑧ Phase One: started in February 2013 which included street posters, bus shelters and newspaper advertising
- ⑧ Phase Two: started in late March 2013 and it was designed to encourage people to stop and consider their wellbeing and that of others, and to take small steps to address it
- ⑧ Phase Three: started in April 2013, this stage provided opportunities and resources for communities in Canterbury to make the campaign their own
- ⑧ Phase Four: scheduled for completion in the first quarter of 2014, this stage aims to provide an understanding of the extent to which attitudes, behaviours and audience segments, identified in the qualitative research, exist and how they compare to previous measures, and to evaluate and determine the continued relevance of the All Right? Campaign.

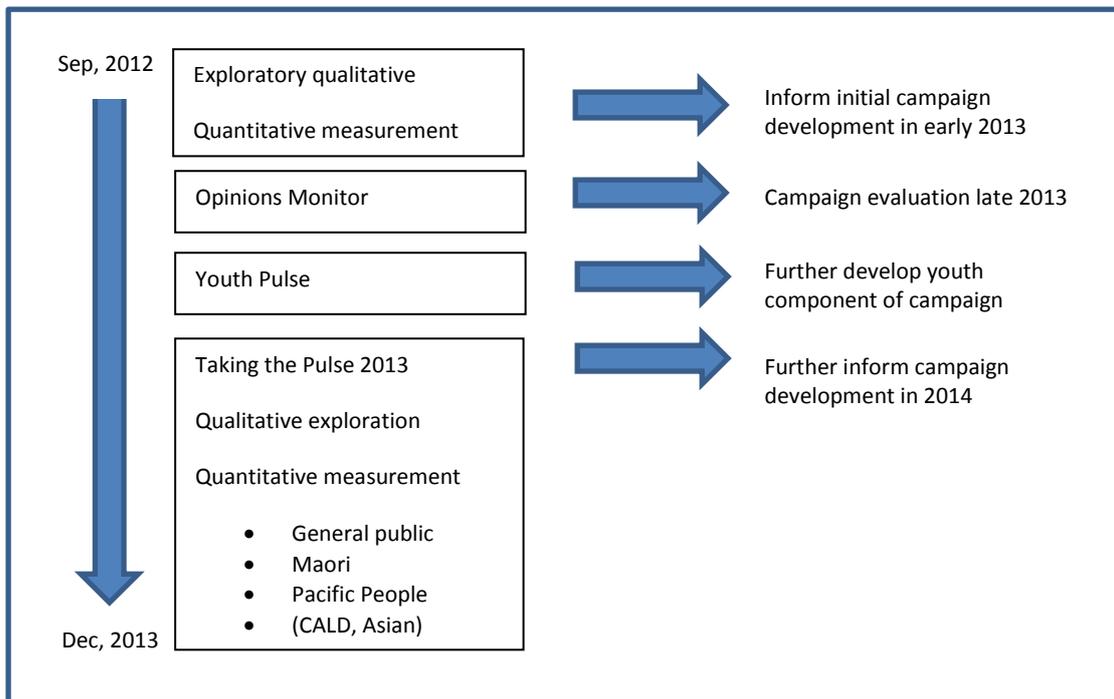
The overarching messages of the campaign are designed to be simple, coherent and locally relevant. Moreover, they are focused on:

- ⑧ The whole population of greater Christchurch
- ⑧ Times which are likely to be significant to communities, for example anniversaries
- ⑧ Integration within existing programmes and partnerships to ensure maximum coverage
- ⑧ Using a range of social marketing strategies to ensure wide coverage and broad accessibility.

The campaign is informed by and builds on 'the five ways to wellbeing' (connect, give, take notice, keep learning, and be active); an existing evidenced based framework developed by the New Economics Foundation in 2008.

The research findings contained in this report form part of a wider programme of research aimed at providing insights for the further development of the All Right? campaign.

Figure 1: Stages in the All Right? Research Programme



3 Research Objectives

The overriding objectives of this research are:

- ⑧ To provide insight and understanding of the current wellbeing of Pacific Peoples in Greater Christchurch.
- ⑧ To determine the extent to which the All Right? Campaign has resonated with Pacific Peoples to date.
- ⑧ To assess the impact of the All Right? Campaign to date on the wellbeing of Pacific Peoples living in greater Christchurch.
- ⑧ To identify how the All Right? Campaign can most effectively resonate with Pacific Peoples in such a way as to improve their wellbeing.

4 Methodology

The research was conducted collaboratively by Opinions Market Research Ltd, Terisa Tagicakibau (Pacific Health Promoter, Community and Public Health) and Sera Thompson (Regional Advisor, Ministry for Pacific Island Affairs).

Pacific People were consulted and asked for their input at key stages of the research process i.e. project design, question development and reporting.

An exploratory qualitative approach was employed comprising five focus groups and two in-depth interviews.

Each focus group comprised of approximately 8 - 10 participants and lasted two and a half to three hours in duration.

The focus groups were moderated by Karen Selway, Director, Opinions Market Research, with support from Terisa Tagicakibau and Sera Thompson.

The fieldwork took place between 20th November and 19th December 2013.

5 Sample

A series of five group discussions and two in depth interviews were conducted in November and December 2013 among Pacific Peoples living in greater Christchurch.

The group discussions were structured to ensure a range of people by:

- ⊗ Ethnicity
- ⊗ Age/status
- ⊗ Gender
- ⊗ Life stage, including with and without dependent children.

A range of Pacific ethnicities were represented:

- ⊗ Samoan
- ⊗ Cook Islanders
- ⊗ Solomon Islanders
- ⊗ Tongan
- ⊗ Fijian
- ⊗ Papa New Guinean.

Participants were mixed; immigrants, first and second generation New Zealand.

The occupational status of participants was a mix across the groups: stay at home parent, high school and university students, café worker, retired, church minister/pastor, primary teacher, pre-school teacher, school principal, Council worker, store man, team manager, handyman, hospitality, administration, community worker and IT.

The focus group structures were as follows:

Matua, male and female
Young Influencers, male and female
18-24 years, male and female, no dependents
Mothers and adult females
Fathers and adult males

Two in-depth interviews were also conducted with members of the Tongan community.

6 Main Research Findings

6.1 Context for the Application of Research Findings

6.1.1 Contextually it is important to acknowledge the ethnic diversity and complexity of Pacific Peoples' situation

This research has emphasised the importance of acknowledging the differences between Pacific Peoples; they are all culturally unique with their own identity and language. Moreover, differences are evident within ethnicities; for example among those living in the islands there are differences between those living in towns versus traditional extended family or village environments. These differences are complex.

This research focuses on Pacific Peoples wellbeing rather than providing a comprehensive exploration and understanding of Pacific culture.

The participants took part in this research in late 2013 and these findings reflect their wellbeing at this time.

This exercise was limited in scale and as such the findings are indicative and represent the opinion of those we spoke to.

“Even though we are all Pacifika, we need to be acknowledged for our differences. It drives me nuts, we get clumped together. We have similarities but also differences. It strips you of your identity.” (Mothers and Adult Female Group)

The complexity within and of different Pacific ethnic groups is outside of the scope of this small scale research exercise. In this research we seek to report the broader, overall perspective of wellbeing from the participants among the wider Pacific community in greater Christchurch.

These research findings connect with the Fonofale model of Pacific Peoples health in New Zealand. For this reason, these findings have been discussed within the construct of this model. Details of the Fonofale model of health are appended.

6.2 The Meaning of Wellbeing for Pacific Peoples

6.2.1 Wellbeing is understood as a concept by Pacific Peoples; it is holistic encompassing physical, mental and spiritual aspects

In this research it was identified Pacific Peoples are familiar with the concept of wellbeing and for them it is spiritual. They have a holistic interpretation of wellbeing which includes:

- ☞ Mind
- ☞ Physical body
- ☞ Spirit.

“Wellbeing is a balance of everything. A lot of times for me it’s about how well my family is doing, wife, kids, parents. It also depends what role you have in the family. Oldest, youngest. I am oldest. If they are well my wellbeing is good. For my wellbeing my family is everything.”
(Fathers and Adult Male Group)

Wellbeing is viewed at a collective family (not individual) level and is derived from other family members and can extend to church family and the wider Pacific community.

There was evidence of a general reluctance to engage with and address the more ‘difficult’ aspects of wellbeing e.g. emotional issues/problems, mental health. Laughter was often used as a distraction and to diffuse the stress associated with issues.

From a mental health perspective there is a stigma associated with having mental health issues and associated with this a loss of pride.

The Pacific Peoples holistic and spiritual interpretation of wellbeing has significant implications for the effective communication of All Right? to Pacific Peoples.

6.2.2 Attitudes and behaviour towards wellbeing show a range of actions are used to promote wellbeing

A range of actions were found to be currently adopted relating to wellbeing:

- ⑧ Attend church
- ⑧ Limit / avoid alcohol
- ⑧ Give to others
- ⑧ Laughter
- ⑧ Spend time with their children
- ⑧ Socialise / spend time with family and friends
- ⑧ Some ‘me’ time
- ⑧ Stay safe by making the right choices
- ⑧ Pursue hobbies
- ⑧ Physical exercise
- ⑧ Work
- ⑧ Eat healthy food.

However, the importance of family over individual and the coping strategies adopted by many meant often people were not actively thinking about their personal wellbeing but were focused on that of family around them.

6.2.3 A multitude of aspects interact and affect wellbeing, both positively and negatively, including family, ethnic group, culture, spirituality and environmental aspects

This research identified a series of aspects that are influencing the wellbeing of Pacific Peoples, both positively and negatively, including family, ethnic group, culture, spirituality and environmental aspects. The interplay between these aspects means they have a positive and negative impact on people's wellbeing. These aspects and their interrelationship have significant implications for the development of the All Right? Campaign in order for it to reach Pacific Peoples.

6.2.4 Current levels of wellbeing indicate a struggle for most Pacific People in greater Christchurch

Some people we spoke with were flourishing but many others were struggling. The extent of this struggle was dependent upon people's individual situation.

Compared with the population in general, it was identified that many within the Pacific community were disadvantaged and their wellbeing was compromised prior to the earthquakes.

"I didn't want them [parents] to leave. After the EQs they wouldn't stay. Too scared. Not safe in Christchurch. I said I was staying hoping it would change their minds, but it didn't. It is sucky because we are super tight; hopefully they will come back soon." (Young influencers)

"This year has been hardest for most people I know... People thought it would be better by now." (Young influencers)

The earthquakes were identified to have magnified issues and compromised Pacific Peoples wellbeing further. As a result, people have become more vulnerable in all aspects of their wellbeing depicted in the Fonofale Model of Health.

For example, extended family are still living together who were not living together prior to the earthquakes. Family may have left but have returned again to stay as they have failed; sometimes they have failed a number of times to re-establish the same level of independence from each other as pre-earthquakes. This failure has compounding implications for relationships and peoples wellbeing.

6.3 The Role of Family in Wellbeing

6.3.1 Family, not the individual, is the foundation for mental health and wellbeing for Pacific Peoples

Family is paramount for Pacific Peoples rather than individuals. There is little distinction between self and others in the family.

"My parents in law live with us now. I truly am happy to have them there." (Fathers and Adult Male Group)

The family unit and the way it functions are integral to Pacific culture and identity:

- ⌘ Individual family members are interconnected and function as a unit
- ⌘ There is often a strict hierarchy and clearly defined roles for each family member – typically most strictly practiced by those born in the Islands
- ⌘ These roles can be constructive and supportive to individuals. Equally it appears they can be destructive and unsupportive e.g. especially where 'what goes on in the family stays in the family'

- ⌘ This close knit structure gives strength to the family unit; especially in difficult times e.g. post Canterbury earthquakes.

Women are the heartbeat of the family. The women are the people in the family who do most chores and manage the family. If the All Right? messaging resonates with these women then this will feed out to the rest of the family as it will be resonating from the heart of the family.

Men are typically, but not always, the decision maker, the strength and the authority within the family.

Typically children are considered to belong to the family rather than being seen as individuals. They are raised to think about the family and to be a family.

Since the earthquakes, some people talked of family having moved from greater Christchurch. Given the strength of family, the role of each family member and their interdependence this has had a significant impact. Most significantly it has resulted in a sadness and loneliness for many and changed the family dynamic, support structure and roles.

Of note, the All Right? campaign is viewed to be positioned to communicate to the individual rather than the collective family. It was seen to focus on getting individuals to connect and interact with each other which is a less familiar concept to Pacific Peoples.

6.3.2 Caring and supporting family is natural and expected

There is an unspoken understanding within families that helping others will be reciprocated when it is required e.g. parents help children and as parents become elderly, children help parents.

“It goes both ways; if your family is in need, and if you are in need the help is there.” (Young Independent)

“It can put pressure on you but if you need a hand you know you’ll be helped. You have to do it anyway but then you know it will be there for you too if needed... It does put pressure on you but we do it without question. That’s how our parents have raised us. It will come back to you. If you bless others it will come back to you. It’s hard but it’s the island way. We like to laugh at our own pain sometimes.” (Fathers and Adult Male Group)

It is natural within Pacific culture to care for and support family members, even if it causes problems e.g. financial pressure and relationship problems.

Assisting other family members is common and comes naturally, for example:

- ⌘ Financially supporting other family members if asked, in particular family living in the Islands or Matua e.g. for a wedding or funeral - can cause considerable stress and issues with non-household bill payment
- ⌘ Offering accommodation by having an open house – this can lead to overcrowding issues
- ⌘ Providing food to non-immediate family who are staying at your house or who call around for a meal – the financial aspect can be stressful
- ⌘ Giving practical assistance to other family member’s e.g. driving elderly to the doctor’s, WINZ etc. – this can be difficult where a person has a job.

Actions are central to Pacific People's communication i.e. 'doing it' not 'talking about it' e.g. We don't say to each other 'I love you' but we demonstrate it.

There was a strong message that the All Right? campaign needs to be focused and demonstrate actions not just words in order to fully connect with Pacific Peoples.

The family is tight knit and in general:

- ⌘ Family including extended family (elderly parents live with children and grandchildren) often share accommodation, food and day to day life
- ⌘ Siblings and cousins regularly play together and form a tight knit group of friends
- ⌘ The family gather together socially on a regular basis e.g. on Sundays at church and after for a meal, weekly bible study classes, social/ community groups
- ⌘ Children are expected to contribute financially to the family unit.

As a family the cycle continues with parents looking after children and there is an understanding that when the parents get old the children will look after the parents and extended family, this includes financial support through the giving of money to others which they expect to receive in return when they are in need.

Many feel closeness and strong sense of family helps to keep culture and traditions alive in New Zealand. All Right? needs to acknowledge and communicate the importance of the family unit to resonate with most.

6.4 The Role of Spirituality in Wellbeing

6.4.1 Spirituality is a pillar of Pacific Peoples

Spirituality comprises of traditional spirituality and religion for Pacific Peoples.

"Church is like a wider extended family but the main reason you go there is to pay your respects to God. I believe in God, he is around me all the time and Sunday is the day I pay my respects to him." (Young Influencers)

6.4.2 Traditional Pacific Island spirituality is important

Spirituality is important for many Pacific Peoples and is still practiced despite some aspects being at odds with religion. Religion tends to dominate over spirituality publicly at a family level but not necessarily privately for individuals.

6.4.3 The church is central to and influential within the Pacific community

The church is central to and influential within the Pacific community and it performs a number of specific key roles for Pacific Peoples.

Church ministers have authority and are respected leaders within the church community.

The church performs a number of roles:

- ⌘ Religious and spiritual reasons - connection with God and for spiritual health. Prayer is important to many

- ⌘ Connection - with others, often from within the Pacific community and, in some instances, from outside the community. For social interaction at an individual, family and community level. It holds significance for the Matua as a connection to the outside community
- ⌘ Guidance and support - for help when the family has exhausted its resources and the issue remains unresolved (but going to the church for help is a last resort due to family pride).

However, there was some evidence of conflict and friction within some church communities.

For some there were also contradictions and issues identified around cultural values and those of the church. For example:

- ⌘ There is a blaming of behaviours on the church and conversely by the church on culture
- ⌘ Pacific Peoples and families place pressure on themselves financially when it comes to giving to the church even when they cannot afford to
- ⌘ 'Spare the rod then spoil the child' is often used as the justification to disciplining children. Other times, smacking the children is seen as part of the culture
- ⌘ Treatment of women by some men and the use of religious values to justify.

For many Pacific Peoples, the church is considered integral to their wellbeing and therefore central to the communication of the All Right? campaign. Their relationship with the church and the people associated with it is perceived to help care for their wellbeing as it provides a 'safe' environment in which to talk about any personal issues (neutral and supportive), although, pride can be an inhibitor to this happening. Often the response to wellbeing issues will be to pray for the person and their family.

6.5 The Impact of Environmental Aspects on Wellbeing

A series of environmental aspects impacting wellbeing of Pacific Peoples were identified. These can be categorised into three types:

- ⌘ Those inherent in greater Christchurch and not in the Pacific Islands
- ⌘ Those inherent to living in greater Christchurch and not in the Pacific Islands that have been amplified since the earthquakes
- ⌘ Those directly related to the earthquakes

6.5.1 Inherent environmental aspects in greater Christchurch and not in the Pacific Islands

6.5.1.1 Significant privacy issues exist due to small size of the Pacific community in greater Christchurch

The Pacific community in greater Christchurch is small (3% of the total Christchurch City population, 2006 Census).

This has positive aspects such as Pacific families and communities in greater Christchurch are close knit. Many share a mutual interest in the church and sport which creates opportunities for interaction.

But it also has a negative aspect. It is difficult to share wellbeing issues and maintain privacy and with this there is a sense of shame and a loss of pride which is important to Pacific Peoples.

“It’s not in our nature to talk about our problems because everyone will know about your business...the Pacific wireless.” (Matua)

This means that there is a desire on occasion to access mental health and wellbeing support from outside of the Pacific community, however this needs to be from someone who can, as a minimum, relate to Pacific Peoples. This support is not considered available at present and Pacific Peoples find it difficult to seek this support for themselves.

6.5.1.2 Language barriers inhibit access to healthcare and other public/ social services

Language barriers exist for many Samoan and Tongan families for whom English is their second language. This barrier affects peoples’ ability to live day to day life in greater Christchurch. It is most likely to be an issue for Samoan and Tongan Matua and those who have moved from the Islands.

“Language can be a real barrier. All schools should have a support person...Because there is a gap; schools need to be a lot more accountable. There is conflict with expectations at home and school. At home you don’t answer back but at NZ school it is different. If teachers could understand [the cultural difference] there would be better results all around.” (Mothers and Adult Female Group)

In relation to wellbeing, language barriers cause misunderstandings and restrict people’s access to healthcare, education and social services and impede them in their day to day life.

Cultural differences mean there is a difference in communication styles. This also often compromises access to healthcare, education and social services and can also impede many Pacific Peoples in their day to day life.

The implication for the All Right? campaign messages for Pacific Peoples is that language is fragmented and not a natural, intuitive way to communicate. Interplayed with cultural differences this further reduces the accessibility of main stream All Right? messages that are perceived by Pacific People to have a strong language base.

6.5.1.3 Educational achievement is expected of children but children are often not well interfaced with the system nor supported

Young people often expressed how they were falling short of the expectations of their Matua including parents, especially in relation to education where they felt considerable pressure to achieve. Often parents had moved to New Zealand so their children could benefit from a better lifestyle and education. The result was that some Pacific youth felt like they had failed their parents.

Achieving in the education system was not always possible given language and cultural misunderstanding/ interpretation of behaviours and a lack of support or naturalising/interfacing with the education system.

“It was driven into us as kids by our parents – if you want to do well its education.” (18-24, no dependents)

“Your family came here for a better future; you want to do well for them.” (18-24, no dependents)

Parents were often unable to support children and interface on the child’s behalf with the school due to cultural differences and for some language and time issues. Teachers and Principals often had limited

understanding of Pacific cultures. As a result issues at school remained unaddressed for children and the children are seen as not meeting the expectations of their parents nor the education system.

Tongan and Samoan children who enter the school system do not necessarily understand English. This impacts their performance in the classroom.

Behavioural differences due to culture also have a tendency to impact children's performance at school.

This lack of interface/ support/ scaffolding by parents and teachers for Pacific youth in education is a significant issue. Encouragingly, there was an example of one teacher who understood Pacific culture and who was successfully providing this interface/ support/ scaffolding for Pacific children and the result was the children were succeeding in the education system.

6.5.1.4 Having a healthy diet is a complex issue

Healthy food was often seen as important to good wellbeing but was often described as:

- ⊗ Too expensive
- ⊗ Not very accessible (traditional Island foods)
- ⊗ Too time consuming to prepare (for some)
- ⊗ Mothers and extended family not being available to prepare for the family
- ⊗ Not satisfying to eat (for some).

"...cos I am eating healthier, the little one is eating healthier. She has more energy throughout the day. I have cut out some bad food. It hasn't been easy. Healthy food is expensive. You have to work with what you have got." (Fathers and Adult Male Group)

Access to food through schools was widely welcomed. It was considered helpful in a number of different ways:

- ⊗ Financial reasons
- ⊗ Lack of availability of parents to prepare meals as many work shift work and are simply not home in the morning or evening to cook
- ⊗ Not having time (or energy) to prepare food.

Diet is seen as less important than other aspects of life and changing the diet of Pacific Peoples is a complex issue.

6.5.1.5 Island life is perceived to be easy by those born in New Zealand and living in New Zealand The younger New Zealand born Pacific People often felt misunderstood by their parents and those living in the Islands and felt isolated and detached as a result.

They in fact saw Island life as better:

- ⊗ Living the Island way is 'easy'
- ⊗ Need less money as money is not central to life style e.g. free housing
- ⊗ Self-sufficient extended family units function well
- ⊗ Family around to support and guide
- ⊗ More time/fewer demands
- ⊗ Healthier diet due to better access to traditional foods.

“At school we are taught there is one answer but go home and you have to accept what they [parents] say regardless.” (18-24 years, no dependents)

“Sometimes I think they don’t understand we are not living in the Islands anymore.” (18-24 years, no dependents)

6.5.1.6 Mixed ethnicity can cause identity issues

Depending upon their upbringing and exposure to the individuals ethnic cultures, some felt ‘a disconnect’ with part of who they are. This disconnect was greatest for those whose parents were from different ethnic groups and appeared to manifest itself into an issue in youth.

Mixed ethnicity given the small size and makeup of the Pacific community in greater Christchurch is becoming more prevalent.

“I am not full Samoan so I don’t feel valued as much. I hate being referred to as half caste.” (18-24, no dependents)

It was identified that a disconnect with who you are culturally can lead to self-identity issues which can create e.g. unhappiness, confusion, self-esteem issues all of which negatively impact wellbeing.

6.5.1.7 Mixed ethnicity marriages can cause relationship and emotional conflict for extended family, self and partner

Often this means stepping outside of family and parents expectations. This can cause relationship and emotional conflict for family, self and partner.

“My husband is [...], there are culture clashes, it can be stressful, I get stuck in the middle between the two. I want to be on my husband’s side but my mother gave birth to me. [...] I love my husband and we are good together but we are living with my parents. It is hard to be loyal to both sides.” (Mothers and Adult Female Group)

6.5.2 Inherent environmental aspects associated with living in greater Christchurch and not in the Pacific Islands that have been amplified since the earthquakes

6.5.2.1 Financial pressures have increased

Increased financial pressure as a result of the situation created by the earthquakes was a common theme across the groups of Pacific Peoples.

“All of us struggle with money...but it’s hard to accept sometimes.” (Fathers and Adult Male Group)

Financial stresses when people live together. Some people do their part but others don’t and the owner spends more. They won’t kick them out. They will always try and make amends.” (Matua)

“It’s not just money, any celebration you are expected to be there, help out, provide housing.” (Young Influencers)

Life is always going to be hard. We just accept it. It's who we are. Just get on with it." (Fathers and Adult Male Group)

These pressures were identified to be significant and multiple:

- ⌘ Socio-economic:
 - ⌘ Prevalence of low income
- ⌘ Culturally related:
 - ⌘ Gifting financially and/ or in time and resources to extended family in New Zealand and in the Islands
 - ⌘ Contributions to the church
- ⌘ Earthquake related factors have increased financial pressures in various ways:
 - ⌘ Higher rents
 - ⌘ Higher living costs e.g. heating, transport, food
 - ⌘ Greater healthcare costs due to reduced access to affordable healthcare
 - ⌘ Loss of income.

Some simply accept financial hardship is normal for many Pacific People and 'just get on with it'. However, this has been harder to do since the earthquakes as financial pressures have increased further creating significant compromises in basic living requirements and limiting people's ability to regain the independence they had experienced prior.

6.5.2.2 Access to affordable healthcare services has become more restricted

Access to Pacific health services has been further compromised as a result of the earthquakes, more specifically in terms of:

- ⌘ Access to doctors and specialists who are readily available and understand specific Pacific healthcare needs
- ⌘ There is also a natural tendency to not want to make a fuss and so often Pacific Peoples will wait until an issue is a serious health threat before accessing care
- ⌘ Increased cost of health care, in part due to the loss of access to dedicated doctors/ specialists e.g. at the Pacific Trust
- ⌘ Ability to pay has reduced putting a visit to the doctor beyond reach of some
- ⌘ Some Pacific Peoples have unpaid doctors' bills which are a barrier to accessing a doctor.

Note: Pacific Peoples consider health from a holistic perspective – this limits the meaningfulness of a programme such as smoking cessation.

"They [doctor's surgery at Pacific Trust Canterbury] are not taking any more registrations for clients. I have Pacific People waiting to come here but they can't, one doctor. They have to go and find a different doctor." (Matua)

Some are in a position of increased vulnerability to their health due to reduced healthcare and multiplying health issues.

6.5.2.3 Affordable housing is increasingly an issue

Significant housing issues exist for Pacific Peoples.

Issues have been compounded by the earthquakes and also by cultural factors of 'accepting and not complaining' and also 'offering to care for others'.

“The rent is creeping up all the time.” (Matua)

This combined with:

- ⊗ An inability to find suitable accommodation which has become more widespread
- ⊗ Increases in the cost of rent and the deposit required to buy a house
- ⊗ The standard of accommodation continues to be poor and there are issues with dampness and a lack of heating.

Has resulted in:

- ⊗ Increased stress, anxiety and tensions between family members
 - ⊗ Amplification of ‘overcrowded’ living arrangements that affect both physical and mental health.
- Note: overcrowding is a New Zealand term that Pacific Peoples do not comprehend given their open home culture.

Overcrowding issues need to be considered within the context that for Pacific Peoples living with extended family is a cultural norm and not ‘overcrowding’. It appears that providing understanding around the importance of hygiene would be useful in some cases. Also, it would be helpful to provide support around regaining independence from other family members to the extent that was present pre-quake.

6.5.2.4 Inaccessibility of government support agencies has marginalised many Pacific People from services they are entitled to

A perceived lack of government agency understanding of Pacific People; their needs and culture was identified. This makes it difficult for Pacific Peoples to successfully engage access and interact with these agencies.

Among Pacific Peoples there was also a lack of awareness of government support agencies and what services are available. This is at least in part due to Pacific Peoples tendency to ‘just get on with it’ and to ‘do what they can for themselves’ without even questioning what might be available to support them.

“There used to be free heating installed but when I applied for a heat pump, I went through the system I thought it would be free for the elderly, but I was told to pay \$1500. We lost two of our fireplaces. I was told to pay. They will subsidise but I can’t come up with \$1500. I think the repair of the Pacific houses, will take a long time. Living in the green zone you have to wait. My house is done now.” (Matua)

As a deterrent to connecting, there was often a fear of government agencies borne out in people’s experiences in interacting with them, Child Youth and Family (CYFS) and social services were specifically mentioned in these respects. As a result, if issues arise within the community then there is a tendency to avoid interacting, especially with CYFS.

Help from within the wider Pacific community, whether through school, pre-school, work or church was found to be the most accessible route for Pacific Peoples to social services.

It appears All Right? could best connect to the Pacific community if driven from within the community rather than through government agencies.

6.5.2.5 Work pressure has increased with multiple implications

For some, the earthquakes have resulted in additional pressures in the workplace. These pressures have typically increased stress levels, reduced available time and lowered people's energy levels.

There appears to be an opportunity to take the All Right? campaign into the workplaces of Pacific Peoples.

As an example, a few people and their families were motivated to live healthier lifestyles with the help of a workplace based twelve week exercise programme / challenge i.e. 'the biggest loser competition'. This involved an exercise based challenge and incorporated a healthy eating advice programme delivered by a nutritionist (paid for by the employer). The people who got involved felt it was beneficial in a number of ways, including increasing fitness and ability to play sports, improving health, fun, confidence building, motivating and stress releasing. In fact, the parents liked it so much they brought the ideas into the home for all the family to take up.

"It's good, fun and healthy...gets everyone energized...can be contagious." (Fathers and Adult Male Group)

6.6 Environmental aspects related to the earthquakes

6.6.1 Family having moved away has had a significant impact on wellbeing

As discussed earlier, since the earthquakes, some people talked of family having moved from greater Christchurch. Given the strength of family, the role of each family member and their interdependence this has had a significant impact.

Family having moved away from greater Christchurch post-earthquake has resulted in a sadness and loneliness for many and changed the family dynamic, support structure and roles.

"The earthquakes ruined my life. My parents moved away so I had to grow up. Forced to...I had never paid a bill...I had never paid rent...I have to remember to put the rubbish out...Homes we had, no longer have the house. Only have my friends to turn to. I have only seen mum and dad twice in the last two to three years. My sister and her son moved away, seen her once. Life goes on and is super busy so it is quite hard to catch up. Annoying...my family are settled now, Samoa and Oz. I like Christchurch." (Young influencers)

6.7 The Role of Cultural Aspects in Wellbeing

6.7.1 Pacific hierarchical structure dictates behaviour

A complex hierarchical structure operates within Pacific culture that dictates behaviour.

Significant expectations and responsibilities exist within the Pacific community that are structured according to position within the hierarchy.

There is an interplay between cultural and family that shapes this hierarchy.

The structure of Pacific society typically takes into account the following however it also does vary by ethnicity, gender, birth right or personal achievement and extent of exposure to traditional Island culture. Furthermore, this structure is different in New Zealand to the Islands.

“You have your elders, older brothers and the high chiefs. You can go to either or and they will tell you what is right or wrong.” (Fathers and Adult Male Group)

“In Samoan culture it is not right to talk back to elders. Children are seen and not heard.” (Mothers and Adult Female Group)

“We respect our parents. If they say we have to do it, we do it.” (Fathers and Adult Male Group)

And, those more naturalised to New Zealand, who are typically younger are often less hierarchical in their outlook.

- ⌘ Matua – in New Zealand, in particular, the Matua are well respected for their wisdom, knowledge and guidance and they influence the wider family unit
- ⌘ Leaders e.g. chiefs and nobles– in certain islands and according to ethnic group and the type of leader , the overall leader makes decisions and guides their community
- ⌘ Parents and grandparents and extended family - often play key roles in bringing up and looking after children. The father often has ultimate authority within the home
- ⌘ The oldest child (sometimes the oldest male or female) is often the leader of their siblings/ generation and takes over leadership of the family as grandparents/parents mature.

This has implications for the All Right? campaign in terms of limitations as to who is credible and effective to deliver the All Right? messages within families.

In New Zealand, there are community groups organised by ethnicity e.g. social, educational, sporting, cultural groups i.e. ‘the village looking after the village’. The church sits alongside these community groups. The church generally provides a support network including social, mental, physical, and financial and spiritual (religious practice) support.

To credibly deliver messages to Pacific Peoples, All Right? needs to interface directly with community leaders, the church and community groups.

6.7.2 Core Pacific cultural values determine behaviours

Community leaders and family uphold a number of core cultural values. These set expectations around behaviours, which in turn impact people’s wellbeing:

- ⌘ Upholding and communicating/sharing cultural values and traditions
- ⌘ Respect for authority
- ⌘ The needs of the group/family are more important than those of the individual
- ⌘ Individuals do not want to make a fuss or waves instead they prefer to go with the flow and will compromise themselves including their health to do so. This means that trusted relationships are required for health care.

- 🌀 Caring for and supporting the community/family members in need e.g. gifting money even if they have to borrow it
- 🌀 Educational attainment is a desire in New Zealand
- 🌀 Some children are encouraged to go to work to help support the family which is a cycle perpetuating low income and the gifting culture.

6.7.3 Personal and family pride, are central to Pacific cultures

Personal and family pride is central to Pacific cultures but it is largely unspoken.

Pacific Peoples are often proud in terms of culture and achievements (and they often celebrate these achievements). Given the interrelationship between people then this means that all family members feel connected to this pride.

"I don't tell others our problems; you keep it within the family... stays inside the house."
(Fathers and Adult Male Group)

"Don't you dear tarnish our family." (18-24, no dependents)

"It's not in our nature to talk about our problems because everyone will know about your business...the Pacific wireless." (Matua)

People strive to achieve/maintain their family pride especially as to lose it would bring about shame/ weakness/ failure. The family operates as a unit that is self-sufficient and closed.

This 'closeness' was described as hold things to themselves rather than share as families and as individuals, and was particularly strong among males. It was connected to a strong pride and manifested itself as not divulging problems nor expressing feelings or emotions.

The sense of pride is connected to the hierarchical structure and values within Pacific culture:

- 🌀 Respecting the views and wishes of authority figures e.g. parents/ Matua, church leaders
- 🌀 Displaying 'appropriate' behaviour
- 🌀 Being seen to be carrying one's weight in the family or community i.e. performing one's role in the community
- 🌀 Not being seen to be a burden in any way, including emotionally.

However pride can cause individuals to repress emotional issues.

Furthermore, some people do not open up to other family members for fear of bringing shame on their family.

A common strategy for coping with this is to joke about problems. Laughter is central to Pacific Peoples and was described as important to their wellbeing.

Pride is maintained sometimes at a significant personal cost as there is a strong fear of personal problems becoming public as this is perceived as bringing shame on the family. Messaging needs to be sensitive to this sense of pride.

6.7.4 Laughter is an important release mechanism

For Pacific Peoples laughter is an important release mechanism about theirs and others problems.

Pacific Peoples readily joke about their problems and use laughter as a coping mechanism i.e. distraction resulting in avoidance in addressing.

“They [friends and family] make you laugh. Laughter is good. It’s natural. I always try to smile. I will turn anything into a joke. Experience what’s bad about things but also see the lighter side. Makes it more bearable...Makes you feel more comfortable of you are in trouble – if you don’t want it to be that terrible...Just makes so much easier. My family always laugh, even serious stuff, move onto the next thing...I think it is the easier way to deal with it. I don’t want to be angry, sad or cry. When you laugh about it...like when I get pulled over by the police.” (Young Influencer)

6.8 Conflict and Dichotomy for Pacific Peoples in Greater Christchurch

6.8.1 Cultural values and self-identity issues exist

The transfer of cultural values and traditions is important to people’s self-identity, especially given the relative isolation from the mother country and minority ethnic status in New Zealand.

“Doing what my parents did for me. Church on Sunday and Christian values.” (Fathers and Adult Male Group)

Transference occurs in a number of ways including:

- ⌘ Codes of ‘acceptable’ behaviour which operate within the home and are communicated by family leaders and at a broader level by community leaders
- ⌘ Via traditions associated with social gatherings
 - “Doing what my parents did for me. Church on Sunday and Christian values.” (Fathers and Adult Male Group)*
- ⌘ Learning and use of Pacific language.

This research identified several unmet needs of a cultural nature that have the ability to impact on wellbeing among those of Pacific decent born in New Zealand:

- ⌘ Knowledge of culture
- ⌘ Ability to speak the Pacific language of their roots.

There was also a sense that their culture/cultural roots were becoming diluted and in some cases dying; language was often given as an example.

Many New Zealand born Pacific People identify strongly with their Island roots or come to identify with them as adults. Their level and strength of connection is often associated with how much transferring this knowledge and understanding was part of their parents parenting.

Many felt they were poorer if they had a weak connection to their 'Island roots'.

6.8.2 Place of Birth has a significant impact on self-identity

Place of birth was found to often cause tension, suppressed anxiety and conflict in families, for example, especially where there are youth who are New Zealand born Pacific Islanders and their parents were brought up in the Islands, for example:

The New Zealand way	The Island Family way
At school children are taught to think for themselves. To problem solve for self	Hierarchical, authoritarian style, think about the family not just yourself
Friends are not just family	Friends are usually family too
Pay bills/ live the 'kiwi' life style	Give money to family

Tension, suppressed anxiety and conflict were also identified between those living in New Zealand versus the Islands. There is a lack of understanding of the New Zealand situation and this appears to result in a pressure both financial and emotional on those in New Zealand and a friction between family in the Islands and those in New Zealand e.g.:

Perceptions of those living in the Islands (of those in New Zealand):	Reality for those living in New Zealand:
Wealthy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⌘ New Zealand is the 'land of milk and honey' ⌘ High standard of living 	Don't earn much compared with New Zealand cost of living e.g. housing, food Time poor as working and/ or studying hard
Well educated	Often do not achieve in the education system due to cultural and language barriers
High standard of healthcare	More complex health issues experienced System accessibility and affordability issues

6.8.3 Sense of belonging issues exist

"Sometimes I think they don't understand we are not living in the Islands anymore." (18-24 years, no dependents)

The younger generation have to constantly adapt and operate between home, Pacific and wider New Zealand community.

They want to fit in to mainstream New Zealand community but also respect and meet their parent's needs and their Island roots, culture and religion.

Often they don't feel they belong in mainstream society in New Zealand because of their family and home life which follows traditional Island culture and religion.

*"At home you don't answer back and at school you are encouraged to have your own opinion."
(Mothers and Adult Female Group)*

Many Pacific parents fail to appreciate this conflict exists for their children. As parents they want their children to have and live by Pacific family values, culture and religion, they want them to achieve in the New Zealand education system and to succeed in New Zealand society.

The parents feel disconnected to their children and find it hard to communicate and support their children. Despite trying often parents do not understand their children's values and behaviours and often parents use a traditional strict Island style of discipline and the children are punished.

The youth can find themselves with a sense of separation from their family, especially common where their parents were born in the Islands and a separation from their Island roots and yet they do not feel like they belong in mainstream New Zealand culture i.e. they find themselves 'in no man's land' where few understand them and what they are experiencing. This causes them deep internal unhappiness as they fall short on others expectations and are unable to live the life they want to live.

The children feel their parents do not understand and their parents cannot relate well to them and they become isolated from their parents. Furthermore, additional pressures exist as they are aware they are not living up to their parent's expectations. A similar situation exists for youth in relation to the relationship between Pacific youth and school/ teachers.

This is a significant on-going issue for Pacific youth where the children find themselves needing to be able to walk in and be supported and accepted in two worlds; mainstream New Zealand and Pacific. Few manage to achieve this successfully and at the same time have a healthy sense of self identity.

Furthermore, those able to aptly interface between the Island culture and New Zealand cultures typically found themselves overburdened which often led to burn out.

6.8.4 Language barriers add to sense of isolation

Along with a loss of cultural knowledge and understanding there was a great sense of loss of language among the younger generations born in New Zealand both in terms of being able to speak the language and its continued existence and its cultural significance.

Many described how they had had limited opportunity to learn to speak the Island languages from their parents e.g. their parents have not taught them to a level where they are fluent/confident speakers and they are not going to learn through an education establishment.

Not being able to fluently speak or understand the Island language of their parents meant that many were unable to communicate with family in the Islands. This resulted in a sense of separation from their Island culture and from family and with this a reduced sense of belonging as well as issues around their self-identity.

6.9 Reaction to the All Right? Campaign

6.9.1 Reaction to current campaign indicates limited campaign awareness and resonance

Awareness of the All Right? campaign was limited.

When shown the campaign materials participants generally understood and liked the messages communicated by the campaign.

There were some issues with comprehension of some words/ phrasing, particularly for the Matua and those who had English as a second language, this was around colloquial words and phrasing e.g. 'feel a bit blue', 'a tad on edge'.

'Share kai with the whanau' as an action/ message and concept resonated well with Pacific Peoples and significantly more so than any of the other executions.

In Phase I, the use of only words as opposed to visuals or other mechanisms was generally less appealing to Pacific People.

"We don't want to have to read a lot." (Mothers and Adult Female Group)

In Phase II, the inclusion of a darker skinned person was welcomed, although considered stereotypical by some.

Overall participants once shown the campaign communications saw it as helpful but there had been limited connecting with the campaign prior to the research. Indications were that it does not resonate well in its current form.

6.9.2 For the All Right? communications to resonate with Pacific Peoples it needs to be delivered from within the Pacific community

- ⌘ ***Who delivers the message is of critical importance to Pacific People; the appropriateness and credibility of the person is paramount. It was widely considered appropriate and credible for community chiefs/ leaders and the church to be the deliverer of these messages as well as schools, workplaces and other community groups.***
- ⌘ ***The five ways to wellbeing were understood and well received, however a sixth 'way' relating to spirituality was considered to be missing by many.***
- ⌘ ***Actions are central to Pacific Peoples communication rather than words and it was felt the campaign could be improved in these respects. Action orientated from the perspective of 'doing it' not 'talking about it' e.g. don't say to each other 'I love you' but instead demonstrate it. This view was most prevalent among the Matua rather than younger, New Zealand born Islanders.***
- ⌘ ***Being culturally relevant and engaging was also important e.g. a frangipani flower and including Pacific language words.***
- ⌘ ***Associated with the deliverer of the messages, sponsorship of Pacific events was also welcomed and considered engaging.***
- ⌘ ***A further limitation to the campaigns impact was that it is limited primarily to reading based media rather than being more visual, kinaesthetic, tactile, dynamic and action orientated.***

"Going to events would be a good idea." (Mothers and Adult Female Group)

“Because we have a minister here, he can have this as part of his sermon. We are trying to run an elderly group; we have to introduce it so they feel likely to try it.” (Matua)

“Cultural dancing, Cook Island dancing, being active... It’s a part of who I am. Like going to church, listening to the traditional hymns, voices, language, makes you feel good and proud of who you are.” (Young Influencers)

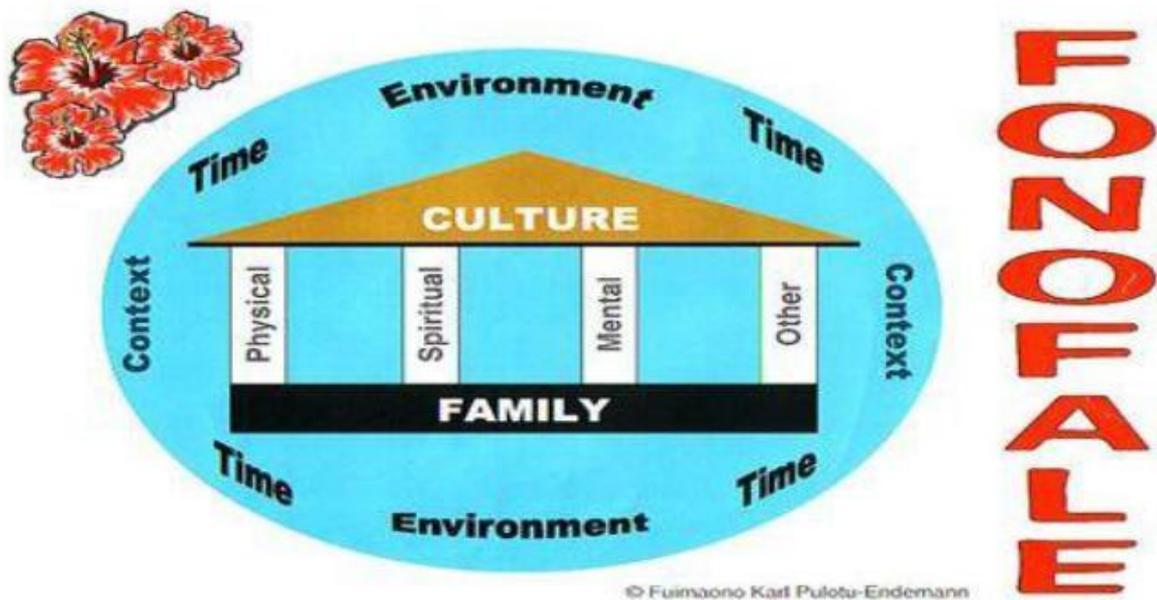
“Not paper and reading, want something more hands on. Good to see a performance or something like that.” (18-24, no dependents)

A limitation around the visuals was that there is often only one person shown, whereas Pacific Peoples approach wellbeing from the perspective of the collective family/ community (as opposed to the individual), therefore this is not how Pacific relate to wellbeing.

Other issues affecting wellbeing were outside of the campaign these included a number of environmental factors outlined earlier in the report.

Appendices

Appendix One: Pacific Model of Health and Wellbeing¹



¹ Attributed to Fuimaono Karl Pulotu-Endemann, the Fonofale model of Pacific health and wellbeing incorporates the values and beliefs that many Samoans, Cook Islanders, Tongans, Niueans, Tokelauns and Fijians hold. The Fonofale model incorporates the metaphor of a Samoan house with the foundation or the floor, posts and roof encapsulate in a circle to promote the philosophy of holism continuity, and depicts in a Pacific way what is important to the cultural groups.

Appendix Two: Verbatim Comments

Cultural diversity across Pacific Peoples

"We are under the Pacific umbrella but we are all individual identities." (Mothers and Adult Female Group)

Diversity within individual Pacific cultures

"Solomon culture is so diverse, not just one culture, different cultures, languages. I am from two different cultures. Growing up in that...then my mum doesn't want me to marry another culture within the Solomon's." (Mothers and Adult Female Group)

Respect for elders

"To me, our parents, we owe a lot of debt." (Fathers and Adult Male Group)

"Share their wisdom." (Fathers and Adult Male Group)

Pacific unity and caring

"My brothers have always got my back." (Fathers and Adult Male Group)

"Pacific People, we take our own in, house them." (Mothers and Adult Female Group)

"You can't push your relatives out." (Matua)

The importance of family over the individual

"If there is a wedding we go and pitch into help, that's how we look after. Here the family does it alone, but we do it together. Look after each other." (Fathers and Adult Male Group)

Importance of gifting financially

"Mainly for funerals and weddings. Two or three times a year maybe. But when it does happen it's a matter of making it work. We talk about budgeting for unexpected things but we never do." (Fathers and Adult Male Group)

Hierarchy within the family unit

"They [children] need to know who the boss is." (Fathers and Adult Male Group)

"Pacific men are very hard...it's my way or no way...know your place." (18-24 years, no dependents)

"I have the final say on a couple of things as the head of the household." (Fathers and Adult Male Group)

"In Fiji they have to listen to the men. Even if she is a high earner." (Fathers and Adult Male Group)

"Equal footing but she will always respect the husband." (Fathers and Adult Male Group)

"We do things together. As head of house we share and work together as parents. She knows her role as wife and mother

"You can't speak back to them [parents]." (18-24 years, no dependents)

"My oldest brother used to call [phone] the whole family. Rally everyone round when needed." (Fathers and Adult Male Group)

"The father's responsibility is to be there to discipline the children." (Fathers and Adult Male Group)

"...[...] society – the women are under them [the men] and anything they say goes. I have had to learn my husband is the boss." (Mothers and Adult Female Group)

"Cook Island society; women always do the housework. If you have a birthday, the men are outside and the women are in the kitchen. The ladies do the hard work all the time. My mum was like that but my dad was a good man when mum started work. I knew what was expected of me. If I didn't do it I knew I would get a hiding. But the women would run things, mum was the boss really. I am the oldest, so if mum and dad were not at home I was the boss. I am the oldest granddaughter so when we have family things I was the boss again. My aunties called me first lady. [...] society, the women are under them and anything they say goes. I have had to learn my husband's the boss. It's totally new". (Mothers and Adult Female Group)

Financial pressures

"Even though it is hard we still smile, happy faces. (Fathers and Adult Male Group)

"I am the only one who helps my mum out. With the bills, really stressful. I just work and she takes all the money but at least the bills are getting paid. Sometime you want to go out with your friends, pay day but no money. That's when they were staying with us, they have gone now. Still have family things come up and you have to fork out money you don't have." (Young Influencer)

"Other than church, it's working to make money cos at the end of the day money is the main thing that will help. The more I make the more I can help my sister and family. Financial. I hear money doesn't bring you happiness all the time but it is the means to get there. Work hard and just try...goals really." (Young Influencer)

"I think my role is to provide food. It is getting harder. Costs are rising, petrol and food." (Fathers and Adult Male Group)

"Earlier this year, both my parents are trying to help family out. We used to have lots of family staying with us, it was real hard, I just wanted to get away but it didn't work out. Real hard. Came back cos I missed my family and couldn't find work, real stressful. I am the only one who helps my mum out. With the bills, it's

really stressful. I just work and she takes all the money but at least the bills are getting paid. Sometime you want to go out with your friends, pay day but no money. That's when they were staying with us, they have gone now. Still have family things come up and you have to fork out money you don't have...I don't know how sometimes...Not good...I reckon in terms of giving money to your family, it's not going to get better...There is always something. Extended family, not just your family...The perception they have of you. Living in NZ, they think you are rich but not knowing who the people are. Part of the culture you have to respect. Them thinking you are rich...You can't say no...That will never end. I have said no to my dad before and then put the money in his account two hours later...They don't ask you how much but you know if it isn't enough... It's not only money, any celebration you are expected to be there, help put, provide housing, it all puts you under stress, stop your whole life for a period, it's normal...Stressful at the time. No choice. Good too, you get to see everyone and people...It goes both ways, e.g. if your family is in need, the help is there...Takes up the whole week, is so normal for us but it's not always possible to claim back that time, e.g. extra time for a uni assignment." (Young Influencer)

"It [financial hardship] is just the way it is. You accept it. You sort it." (Fathers and Adult Male Group)

"...you have to cut back, make the food stretch for another week." (Fathers and Adult Male Group)

"My kids' schools are always coming home with bags of food. That is a real help." (Fathers and Adult Male Group)

Lack of affordable housing resulting from the earthquakes

"The rents are very high now. \$280 for two bedrooms or \$500 for four bedrooms. People are asking me if I can help with the bond so they can move away to other areas. EQC keeping people waiting or say you don't qualify. English is our second language. Not knowing who to go to for the support. I look out for free things, but how long can we keep doing that." (Matua)

"The rent is creeping up all the time. \$328 for a two bedroom." (Matua)

"I have a nephew with four kids, they live in a nice house but not very warm, but it was \$400 something, he is a contract worker, told recently it will be moving up to \$500+. You don't know how depressed or emotionally they are. Still recovering from the EQs, having to move houses and now rents are going up." (Matua)

"Hard to get houses. You have to bear it cos nowhere to go. Can't push them out." (Matua)

"Friction starts after a while." (Matua)

"Financial stresses when people live together. Some people do their part but others don't the owner spends more. They won't kick them out. They will always try and make amends." (Matua)

"How many people are earning money there? There is no contract to say how much you should be contributing financially. Us Pasifika we welcome people but we don't communicate what we need. It would be good if one person could start to do it. If you are the oldest boy in the family, it is up to you to pay the rent and shopping." (Matua)

"We invite people but we don't set the rules." (Matua)

"Then you become a monster in your own home." (Matua)

"It has reached a stage where people get sick." (Matua)

"End up with mental, physical or emotional problems. Unhealthy hearts spreads out to the children and the community." (Matua)

"Emotional part of it is a reality cos you can tell when you meet your friends, there is something hiding." (Matua)

"I think it is affecting the children, they listen to this argument; it seems to create another character for them. Sometimes they have to move regardless of the price of the rent. Lucky for some of us we bought our own homes." (Matua)

"The cost of rent is a rip off." (Fathers and Adult Male Group)

"The new 20% deposit that has come in is making it harder for people." (Fathers and Adult Male Group)

Diet

"Healthy foods are expensive. You try but it's easier to get two dollars of chips." (Fathers and Adult Male Group)

Lack of appropriate and affordable healthcare

"Doctors surgery. One doctor here [Pacific Trust Canterbury]. Before there were three. It is not enough. When you ring for an appointment it is too late, rarely get it on the day. Service is good but access is poor." (Matua)

"I changed my doctor; this [Pacific Trust Canterbury] is for Pacific People." (Matua)

"After the earthquakes the services have gone. I changed my doctor when I couldn't get here. Twenty four hour clinic for emergency. Not good enough." (Matua)

"When you go to another service they ask if you are registered and if I am not they won't take me, or have to pay more or be last on the list to enter the service. Two weeks ago my grandson got very sore and we were lucky our doctor was open." (Matua)

"Only One Pacific doctor here [Pacific Trust Canterbury]. The government should subsidise for another doctor here." (Matua)

"If they take you they have to transfer fee to your usual doctor. You pay them but then the money has to transfer." (Matua)

The church

“Church is like a wider extended family but the main reason you go there is to pay your respects to God. I believe in God, he is around me all the time and Sunday is the day I pay my respects to him.” (Young Influencer)

“Most Pacific Island families are brought up in the Christian faith. Sunday is very important to every Pacific Island family. Have to go to church. It’s our lifestyle. A lot of love, respect and giving, smiling especially night times, love one another, forgive one another. Most of our customs are based on Christian values, e.g. forgiveness...If someone is having difficulties, that’s how we can know to give support.” (Fathers and Adult Male Group)

The following is a conversation among a number of participants about what the church means to them:

“I rely a lot on my faith. You go to church to sing but also to get encouraged. It’s nice to have people like you, cos you are there for the same purpose it helps to talk about it and get encouragement.” (Young Influencers)

“Even if you had a bad week, at church everyone is nice. I will talk to someone and none out of ten times they’ll be having a worse week. The reassurance of being in the house of God. Outside of church I say my prayers infrequently, at church I look forward to it, it’s like a cleansing, look forward to the rest of the week.” (Young Influencers)

“I feel the same. Healthy at church. I get to church and I am the same.” (Young Influencers)

“I always feel good when I go to church. The people are different to your friends. You can turn to the church friends with different things. If you have a really deep personal problem and you feel no one else can help you, you can turn to your church friends, they encourage you, in a different way to your friends, pray for you, not go for a drink.” (Young Influencers)

“Church families are really connected. You can go to the church leader if you need something.” (Young Influencers)

“That network. In front of God in his house they work harder.” (Young Influencers)

“Not judgemental at the church.” (Young Influencers)

“We lead very busy lives. That’s why Sunday is blocked out for me otherwise I get too busy and I don’t get time for God. I try to leave that Sunday. I am really happy that people still respect that, my employer. On Tuesday’s its bible studies but I don’t go cos I have gym or cheap day at Hoyts but I have Sunday to do that. Other people say differently but it is busy lives.” (Young Influencers)

“The church is most important, the main focus. They go there for fellowship as a family, community and as individuals.” (Matua)

“Church is like a wider extended family.” (Young Influencer)

“When people talk in church I listen. Churches are pretty open to sharing their space.” (18-24, no dependents)

Pacific families can be quite demanding of those individual family members who are deemed 'successful'

"In my family they call me the golden child cos I am the only one to finish school and go to uni. Its hard cos of the expectations put on me. I know quite a lot about accessing community services, first to help others but the last to help our own." (Young Influencer)

Cultural conflict for mixed marriage couples/families

"The last three months have been life changing and a bit of a wakeup call, being a first time mum, adjusting to a lack of sleep. I had a hard labour, there were complications but it is all okay now. He [new born baby] was in neo natal at first. Adjusting to being a mum. I grew up with lots of siblings, looked after kids...when you have your own it is such a big difference; the nights. I count the hours. Also adjusting to married life. We have had one year, just the two of us. I am still adjusting to being a wife. I have two different families; they both want a piece of their grandson. It's hard making time for it. Adjusting. Sometimes you are just so tired, feeding them, pooing, laughing, smiling... I think everyone deals with things differently. I have been away for two years and really close to my family. I came home with my husband and baby. My husband is [...], there are culture clashes, it can be stressful, I get stuck in the middle between the two. I want to be on my husband's side but my mother gave birth to me. [...] I love my husband and we are good together but we are living with my parents. It is hard to be loyal to both sides. I love my baby so much. I will do anything to make it work for her. Hard to balance things out, love both of them; give to them equally. [...] I don't want to work cos I want to be with my baby, my parents are taking care of us but I don't want that... I am grateful too; it's just a problem with my husband and parents. It would be better to move out of mum and dad's house but it's a financial thing. It used to be easy to get a house in Christchurch but not now. I don't want to leave cos my family live here. Right now we can't have what we want. It does suck, just got to keep going." (Mothers and Adult Female Group)

"Cultural differences are big. I am married to a [...]. I thought [...] culture was similar to Pacific but there are differences, it's hard in the relationship. A constant struggle. We argue a lot over families. We are both Christians, when we were at the alter we said we had left the family and are now together. I have to put my husband and child first – first family. Mum and Dad and everyone else are my second family. I don't look forward to Christmas now, such a headache, who to go to. My mother and mother-in-law don't get on. It's hard. I keep telling myself that my husband and son are number one but I want to spend time with siblings and mum. It sucks. In some ways I wish I had married someone of the same culture. It's a headache, families. You love them but sometimes you want to hit your head against the wall." (Mothers and Adult Female Group)

"I want to be on my husband's side but my mother gave birth to me...hard to be loyal to both sides."
(Mothers and Adult Female Group)

"As soon as you marry out you have to choose." (Mothers and Adult Female Group)

"My partner's upbringing, he grew up with Samoans. His real family couldn't take care of him. He is close to his Samoan family but now the [non Samoan] families are getting in... My husband doesn't really understand all about my culture. Three families with one child and they are both very different. They all

want to offer their opinions. I feel caught between them all, trying to do the right thing.” (Mothers and Adult Female Group)

“For me, I can totally relate to two different cultures. I am a big communicator. I believe it is so important to get things off our chest. I am straight up. I think there has been quite a challenge. I am half European and half Samoan. In Samoan culture it is not right to talk back to elders. Children are seen and not heard in our culture. I want to change those things. Being a half caste is hard because I am caught between the two. My dad wants to bring me up the Samoan way. I feel my parents have done a good job; diverse cultures, mum had to realise she was marrying a family. I am grateful my folks are still together. It can work to be brought up in a mixed household; it’s about communication. I pick and choose what is me. I am passionate about Pasifika ways but I also feel there are things I would like to change. It is totally about communication.” (Mothers and Adult Female Group)

“I have in laws that haven’t got good education. They find it hard to connect with the way I bring up my kids...cos I have learnt a lot about child rearing from my studies. Their family routine is not what I would expect of them coming from the islands. No TV and stuff. Now they have TV in the kids’ rooms, they allow their kids to play with games when they are supposed to do their homework. I know what the kids need. I sometimes try to help them by just talking to them but they don’t listen. They can go to sleep when they are tired, but kids need a routine. I feel for them, they should go and do some study themselves, cos some of them are not working...they can’t their English is not good enough. Sometimes my kids say I can’t do this and I always give them that bit of encouragement. Anyone can do it.” (Mothers and Adult Female Group)

Meaning of wellbeing

“My wellbeing right now would be a better house, home, we are working towards that right now. Working for my family’s wellbeing.” (Fathers and Adult Male Group)

Not the ‘done thing’ to share problems outside of family

“It’s not in our nature to talk to our doctor about the mental...Our people don’t really go that far to find the solution to the problem.” (Matua)

When asked by the moderator, why they did not seek professional help to help with mental health issues this is what a group of young people replied:

“Pride. My dad told me I didn’t need that kind of rubbish in my life.” (Young Influencers)

“Pride is number one, particularly Pacific males.” (Young Influencers)

“It’s an embarrassment. Why do you need one if you have a family?” (Young Influencers)

“Bringing shame.” (Young Influencers)

“Not normal.” (Young Influencers)

"You are not meant to share your problems with other people. Keep it within yourself. If a parent finds out they might think it reflects poorly on them as a parent." (Young Influencers)

"A lot of them grew up in the islands." (Young Influencers)

"They think they didn't need it so why should we." (Young Influencers)

"My younger brother said he was feeling depressed and my father said you have got to ride your bike, that's what I used to do." (Young Influencers)

They always say to us you don't know how lucky you are; we had to walk to school with no shoes." (Young Influencers)

"We don't really like to talk about others. If someone is not so good you don't go round talking about that cos you don't want them doing that to you." (Fathers and Adult Male Group)

"The close ones you go and help without question. You don't talk about it to others." (Fathers and Adult Male Group)

"It's touchy when talking about family problems. You just have to get on with it and do the best we can." (Fathers and Adult Male Group)

"Talk to my brothers. We don't want to burden another family. If it gets to the Minister we get in trouble." (Fathers and Adult Male Group)

"I share more with my friends than brothers just cos it's easier, they don't really judge you. Your family judges you differently to your friends. My friends are nicer." (Young Influencers)

"Between me and my brothers we can share but not between genders." (Young Influencers)

"Between me and my next sibling there is about seven years. I grew up in their shadow. Until recently I got close with my sister. We don't really say the same stuff to my brothers." (Young Influencers)

"Sometimes I feel there are too many. They all know my problems. I feel the more people I let know the more distorted my story gets. If I just keep it to my main people the story remains unchanged. I like being genuine." (Young Influencers)

"Everyone has friends and family but there are only certain people you can divulge to. Personal stuff you tell someone and if the story changes you know who spread it or changed it." (Young Influencers)

"I try to forget about things...I would rather keep it to myself." (18-24, no dependents)

"I think we bottle it up a lot. It would be good to talk." (18-24, no dependents)

"The harder stuff you wouldn't want to go to family...talking to cousins will lead back to your family." (18-24, no dependents)

Limited options for seeking help with emotional issues

"For me, I would like somewhere to go, someone who will understand me, not GP or counsellor, they don't get me. I have my friends, they are awesome but they still don't get me. I know there are places out there. I have family members that help with depression and mental health issues. To have someone say to me it is okay to have mental health issues. Parents tell you to harden up and get on with it but it's not as easy as this. I had to ring WINZ this year, and as a uni graduate I didn't feel good about that. You have your friends but you don't want to bring them down with you when I am feeling at my worst. They have their own problems. I can't give everything to them. I am not sure of the solution. I would like someone I can contact, like me. I have some people in my life like that but maybe an outside person. I know there's a campaign, I have google searched, I have been to my GP, seen a psychologist but she didn't get it...I don't know if it was cultural. Feel like they are judging you." (Young Influencer)

Some young people perceive their parents to be judgemental and/or unsupportive

"Your friends will jump to defend you whereas mum and dad will judge. Car stopped working; parents will say you are stupid." (Young Influencers)

"Parents are harder on you than other people, higher expectations." (Young Influencers)

"He [father] doesn't respect talking back...it's hard, like treading on boards." (18-24 years, no dependents)

Lack of support for Pacific families within the education system

"My kids don't listen to the teachers because Samoan is their first language. The kids tend to use their fists. When they first started school I would be down there every week!" (Mothers and Adult Female Group)

"That's missing here; cultural advocacy in schools. Misinterpretations." (Mothers and Adult Female Group)

"Language can be a real barrier. All schools should have a support person." (Mothers and Adult Female Group)

"If teachers could understand there would be better results all around." (Mothers and Adult Female Group)

Example of health intervention with positive outcomes

"At work we did this biggest loser competition, work brought in nutritionist and then we wanted to carry it on with the family. My kid is playing sport and noticed he was unfit, wanted to play basketball. So we got in to the walking. It's grown from that. It's good, fun and healthy. It's good for your confidence building too. It gets everyone energized and into getting healthy. Once you start it it's something you want to carry on doing. It can be contagious too. That can help with stress too. Exercise burns stress away...Ends on Monday next. Twelve weeks. At first the money was an incentive but it's more than that now. I noticed cos I am eating healthier the little one is eating healthier. She has more energy throughout the day. I have cut out some bad food. It hasn't been easy. Healthy food is expensive. You have to work with what you have got." (Fathers and Adult Male Group)

All Right? Campaign

"Such a good idea cause so many people struggle to express their feelings." (Mothers and Adult Female Group)

"It's all right to be human." (Mothers and Adult Female Group)

"That one [stoked] that to Islanders doesn't mean anything." (Fathers and Adult Male Group)

"It looks targeted at younger generation." (Fathers and Adult Male Group)

"Tad sounds very English." (Fathers and Adult Male Group)

"We would look at it different. We have a different slang." (Fathers and Adult Male Group)

"The pictures help. You notice the Facebook one." (Fathers and Adult Male Group)

"Good, taking ownership isn't it..." (Mothers and Adult Female Group)

"Start reflecting." (Mothers and Adult Female Group)

"It came in the post – I read it. Everyone must be going through the same emotions. I read it." (Mothers and Adult Female Group)

"More spirituality in there." (Mothers and Adult Female Group)

"Unless you try and get them into a room. Feed them. Actually participate. You have to engage them."
(Mothers and Adult Female Group)

"Pacific people are very touchy feely people." (Matua)

"Pictures are good if you can't read English. Read it by the people. So someone doesn't have to explain it."
(Matua)

"All these things in fold out leaflet are good but I don't think Pacific people do most of these things...too busy doing other things...these are all good but are they going to do it." (Matua)

"Hard to change at old age when conditioned to living a certain way. Like when we talk about healthy food for our people." (Matua)

"Keep being yourself with your culture, being in New Zealand you don't want to lose that. That looks like a kiwi thing [fold out leaflet]." (Young Influencers)

"The language, making sure you are always reminded of where you come from, feeling excited about where you come from." (Young Influencers)

"Soulless, just words on a poster, no feelings behind it." (Young Influencers)

"I can relate to the 'over it right now' but it does nothing." (Young Influencers)

"Roses could be the one's pacific girls put in their hair." (Young Influencers)

“People would be surprised if they say Pacific references out in the community.” (Young Influencers)

“Yes, cos people can relate to these and then feel better as a result.” (18-24, no dependents)

“We ask people all the time are you alright.” (18-24, no dependents)

“It would be awkward if they said things weren’t good.” (18-24, no dependents)

“These [strap bands] are great. Have they been given out to people?” (18-24, no dependents)

“Who decided on the skin colour and facial features cos some of them have the aspects of stereotype?” (18-24, no dependents)