

 University of Luton

MSc Health Psychology

Dissertation Research Project

**A Q-Methodological Study investigating the Identity
Self-Descriptions of a Group of Ex-Smokers**



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Introduction

Smoking remains a key topic of quantitative as well as qualitative research within the field of health. There has been a shift from emphasising the treatment of smokers to preventing smoking among adolescents (Abernathy & Massad, 1995). Several studies explore the onset of smoking in adolescents and related issues, for instance self-esteem (Abernathy & Massad, 1995), smoking as means to cope with stress and control one's mood (Lucas & Lloyd, 1999) or risk factors for the onset of smoking (Robinson & Klesges, 1997). However, little is currently known about individual self-perceptions and views of former smokers. For most studies the physiological beneficial consequences of quitting smoking are more important rather than the psychological consequences (Laurier, McKie & Goodwin, 2000). As a long learned habit smoking may influence the daily rituals of a smoker, therefore giving up this probably enjoyable habit can constitute a significant change in the life and self of the smoker.

Q-methodology was applied to look at the manifold ways ex-smokers describe their giving up smoking in relation to their self concept. Four distinctive patterns of experience emerged after using factor analysis. Addressing ex-smokers' descriptions of their perceived self after smoking cessation and using their experiences may enrich and improve smoking cessation programmes.

Review of the Literature

Conceptualisations of the Self

It is still controversial how to conceptualise the self. More traditional approaches to the self assume the self as monolithic and unitary with a core self that is relatively consistent in varying contexts over time (e.g. Allport, 1955; cited in Mischel, 1993). The true self integrates all aspects, negative and positive experiences into a cohesive, authentic self (Hoskins & Leseho, 1996). However, post-modern approaches to the self regard it rather as a dynamic structure that has influence on a variety of aspects, such as information processing, affect regulation, motivation, social perception and goal setting to name a few (for a comprehensive review of the dynamic nature of the self, see Markus & Wurf, 1987).

The continuity of the self can be constructed as a current autobiography or narrative, in which the self is perceived as one's own unique story (e.g. Fitzgerald, 1988). Cultural aspects can influence the self in form of myths, traditions, beliefs, assumptions, and values (Hoskins & Leseho, 1996). On the other hand, Cushman (1990) holds that the self is a product of the Western culture that soothes and makes the self cohesive by filling it up with food, consumer products, and celebrities, which finally results in an empty self.

In accordance to Markus and Nurius (1986), the self-concept is considered as a system of affective-cognitive structures or schemas dependent on various contexts. Possible selves are plastic and dynamic but nevertheless stable and contextually grounded visions of the self. Self-schemata differ also in their tense. They derive from representations of the past, current and of the future selves. These future selves can be hoped for or feared selves. Although

future possible selves are separable from current selves, they are still connected with each other. The self-concept is viewed as a network of current selves, past selves and feared or hoped future selves containing diversity rather than organised by one true self (Stein & Markus, 1996).

Changes within the self-concept can occur but by the passage of time (Frazier, Hooker, Johnson & Kaus, 2000). Future-oriented possible selves have also been understood as life tasks, personal projects or personal strivings, for example the hoped self as a healthy and fit individual. (Larsen & Buss, 2002).

With growing older age-related concerns e.g. health issues become more integrated in one's self-image of the future. Although continuous, the self is constantly developing over time (Arvey, Banister, Hoskins & Snell, 1999). Arvey and her colleagues (Arvey *et al.*, 1999) examined their own personal theories of the self and whether they fit into classical assumptions of the self as relatively stable and developing through well-defined stages (e.g. Erikson, 1968; cited in Fadiman & Frager, 1994). By observing themselves and relating their own perceptions with several theories of the self, Arvey and her colleagues stated that the self is a highly subjective experience and each individual holds own theories of the self. Further, they noted that the experience and expressions of the self are embedded in the culture. For health care practice, they concluded that practitioners should clarify their own assumptions of self-theories, as their conceptualisations of the self may influence the kinds of questions asked to the patient and intervention used (Arvey *et al.*, 1999; Hoskins & Leseho, 1996).

Conceptions of the self are viewed as highly personalised, cognitive manifestations of one's goals, desires and fears. Thus, they function as mediator and regulator of behaviour, affects, and information processing (Stein & Markus, 1996). A perceived discrepancy between one's real self and the ideal or ought self in the future is seen as generating feelings of sadness, despondency, or disappointment, which are assumed to motivate behavioural

change. Discrepancy between the real-self and the ought-self is perceived as distressing, one will feel guilty and anxious (Higgins, 1989). Thus, they serve as self-guides or standards to organise information and motivate appropriate behaviour in order to achieve self-integrity or self-consistency. In turn, self-inconsistency only becomes motivating when it threatens this self-integrity, i.e. one's general morale and adaptive adequacy (Steele & Spencer, 1989). Inconsistencies can maintain without changing behaviour or beliefs as long as self-integrity is not harmed (Steele & Spencer, 1989). For example, smokers may perceive self-inconsistency, as they smoke and they know as well that it is harmful to their health. However, their self-integrity might not be affected. These consonant smokers, who say they would not like to quit are less likely to quit smoking and to show less health-related behaviours than dissonant smokers who say they would like to quit (Haukkala, Laaksonen & Uutela, 2001).

A person who shows behaviour consistent with an undesired or feared self (e.g. the self as smoker) and inconsistent with a hoped-for self (e.g. the self as non-smoker) would experience distress, which can motivate to change that behaviour. Thus, a feared possible self can serve as a motivator for changing behaviour, for example quitting smoking.

A study investigating drug abuse, however, found that identification with the drug subculture can reduce ego discomfort during drug use. By being a member of a group that approves deviant behaviour, a change of this behaviour is inhibited (Anderson & Mott, 1998). Instead of reducing self-discrepancy by changing the behaviour, i.e. using drugs, the behaviour can be maintained but its context can be changed so that this behaviour is valued as positive. Being a member of drug subcultures and identification with this group can help to solve individual identity problems and predicaments. Anderson and Mott (1998) state that identity motivates behaviour and therefore, studying changes in identity will give insights into changes in behaviour. Undesirable behaviours such as drug abuse increase with a deviant identification and decrease with identity change towards non-deviance. Thus, the context is of considerable importance for the behaviour and the identification with that behaviour.

Another important aspect of the self-concept is that of self-esteem, which refers to one's overall evaluation of the self. It is composed of two distinct dimensions, competence and worth. The dimension of competence is efficacy-based whereas the dimension of worth is based on the feeling of one's value (Cast & Burke, 2002). It is proposed that self-esteem plays an important role in the process of self-verification, when meanings in social situations match or confirm meanings in identity. Self-verification produces feelings of enhanced self-esteem, i.e. competency and worth. Conversely, a lack of self-verification within the group is likely to leave the individual inefficacious and unaccepted by the group. People seek to maintain or increase their self-esteem by creating contexts for self-verification. They also seek opportunities to verify their identity and avoid situations where self-verification is problematic. Consequently, self-esteem acts as a self-motive that organises and provides direction for behaviour (Cast & Burke, 2002).

Self-esteem plays an important role in juvenile smoking behaviour. The relationship between gender and global self-esteem in adolescent has been well established, with boys slightly but consistently outscoring girls. This difference even persists in adulthood (Kling & Hyde, 1999). In relation to smoking behaviour in adolescent males, no association was found between self-esteem and smoking. Low self-esteem and high self-esteem males were of equal likelihood to smoke. Smoking occurred among males with high self-esteem as well as among males with low self-esteem. Females with low-esteem, however, in the sixth grade were 2.5 to 3.5 times more likely to smoke in any given year from grades 6-9 than females with high self-esteem. On the cross-sectional level, low self-esteem girls were about three times more likely to smoke than their high self-esteem peers were. Therefore, smoking and giving up smoking may have different meanings for males and females, which should be considered in prevention programmes (Abernathy & Massad, 1995). However, it is argued that typical definitions of self-esteem may reflect rather male than female experiences of self-esteem, which might produce the gender difference (Knox, 1997). Hence, the concept of global self-

esteem needs to be "deconstructed" and finer grained in order to explain the gender differences (Quatman & Watson, 2001).

The Role of the Self in Recovery from Addiction

Qualitative studies of the perceived self-concept or identity look at the ways people view themselves and how they express these views. Through using the narrative approach it is possible to explore the ways in which people understand and present their experiences, e.g. concerning recovery from addictive behaviour (e.g. Larkin & Griffiths, 2002; Hänninen & Koski-Jännes, 1999). In telling their life histories for example in the Anonymous Alcoholics (AA) setting, the members are able to make sense of their own past. This may even strengthen their abstinence from the addictive behaviour and prevent relapse.

In order to examine the ways in which the stories are told, Hänninen and Koski-Jännes (1999) looked at 51 autobiographical stories, which were written in the third person by people who had been able to quit their addiction to alcohol, multiple drugs, binge eating, smoking, sexual compulsions, or gambling. The narrative approach argues that people ascribe sense and meaning to their lives by telling it as a narrative. So, it provides the narrator with a meaning of the past and also with future orientation, particularly during times of life change, such as quitting an addictive behaviour. The authors distinguish five types of stories, of which the mastery story was mainly associated with giving up smoking. The central theme of the mastery story was gaining control of one's behaviour and was exclusively told by former smokers, both male and female. In these stories, smoking started mostly during youth, which meant a transition from childhood to adulthood. Smoking, as a forbidden behaviour, represented independence of the norms and prohibitions of adults. It also served as a buffer against the pressures of adult life, and it increased one's sense of mastery. These experiences

were also found in a study of adolescents (Lloyd & Lucas, 1998), in which they reported that they enjoyed the physical act of smoking and they also used smoking as a means to reduce stress and control mood and affect. There was a relatively strong relationship between perceived stress and prevalence of smoking particularly among adolescent girls. They appear more vulnerable to stress than boys and particularly for them smoking represents a coping resource. Moreover, by smoking the adolescent can establish a rebellious identity and furthermore it was used to control weight (Lloyd & Lucas, 1998). However, the meaning of smoking changed with the realisation of dependence. Adult subjects attributed their own smoking primary to psychological addiction and relaxation followed by other reasons such as physical addiction and pleasure (Jenks, 2001). In adulthood, smoking was perceived rather as an obstacle to maturity, which required self-control. Smoking cessation therefore demanded willpower and resolution. The narrator of the mastery story reported two selves: one weak but defiant “smoking self” that was controlled by the “enemy” Nicotine and one strong and rational “non-smoking self” (Hänninen & Koski-Jännes, 1999). One of the strategies to facilitate smoking cessation was based on psychological warfare between the two selves, which was finally won by the stronger non-smoking self. Several factors, such as improved health, finances, initiative, but above all the feeling that one's own life was in control rewarded quitting smoking (Hänninen & Koski-Jännes, 1999).

The narratives in the study conducted by Hänninen and Koski-Jännes (1999) illustrate that smoking was associated with reaching maturity in an ambivalent way. While in youth smoking meant gaining control over one's life, in adulthood it was seen as an obstacle to maturity by turning into dependence. It should however be kept in mind that participation in this study may rather have appealed to those who have a story to tell than those who have not, which may have decreased external validity. Internal validity, however, was acceptable as the accounts were supported by other data from the participants obtained by questionnaires and interviews. Hänninen and Koski-Jännes (1999) note that they were not interested in exact

truthfulness of the accounts, but primarily in the ways participants construed their life story. Interpretation and classification of the accounts largely underlied intuition. Despite checking each other, as they did, the author's own understandings and value system cannot be neglected. Further, categorisation of the narratives was very rough as not all of the phases or details are shared and they also overlapped with other stories. Moreover, one fifth of the stories did not fall in any of these categories. This study however offers a colourful description of ex-smokers' views about their past smoking behaviour.

The same sample of people who have managed to quit their addictive behaviours was used to investigate long-term changes in identity (Koski-Jännes, 2002). Harré's (1983; cited in Koski-Jännes, 2002) theory of identity was applied as theoretical background for the analysis of the participants' accounts. Harré (1983; cited in Koski-Jännes, 2002) assumed that one's self-concept consists of a social identity and a personal identity. Giving up an addictive behaviour demands changes in the self-concept, values, and orientation in life and also requires a new social status and relationship with other people. Social identity is based on collective or shared representations of who one is and how one should behave in varying social contexts. If smoking constitutes a significant behaviour in a group, the according group membership of an individual might change through stopping that particular behaviour. Hence, a smoker is a member in the group "smokers" and is viewed by others as such. Through quitting smoking, one is no longer a smoker, but belongs to ex-smokers at this point. A change in a membership is related with a change in a person's social identity. Addictive behaviour can form a central part in one's self-concept so that giving up that behaviour requires coping with fundamental changes in identity. According to Harré (1983; cited in Koski-Jännes, 2002), the creation of one's social self starts with the presentation of oneself in public. This identity should establish an honourable position among one's fellows. One's personal identity is the product of approbation and transformations of socially and culturally defined identity resources. This identity secures one's sense of biographical uniqueness.

However, changing an important behaviour, like alcohol or nicotine addiction, might require an individual to renew her or his identity, but there are also individuals who might not experience any major identity work beyond changing from user to nonuser.

With that theoretical background, Koski-Jännes (2002) investigated the accounts of 76 subjects who managed to recover from their addiction to alcohol, multiple drugs, nicotine, bulimia, and some other addictions. Methods of data gathering included questionnaires, personal theme interviews, collateral interviews, lifeline drawings, value assessments, and subjects' recovery stories written in the third person (see Hänninen & Koski-Jännes, 1999). This study mostly referred to the theme interviews and recovery stories. The author distinguished four identity projects in the recovery from addictive behaviour as defined by the person's relation to oneself and one's position in the social and moral order. Changes required social identity projects, personal identity projects, social and personal identity projects, and also changes, which did not involve any identity projects.

The social identity project is about becoming a part of the larger whole, which could be for example the society. One participant who was a polydrug user felt that he now belonged "to this society as an ordinary tax payer even though at times he has been unemployed..." It involved overcoming the isolation and joining in.

The personal identity project involved soul searching and achieving a new feeling of self-acceptance. One participant who was alcoholic noted that she should accept herself before she can accept anybody else. After quitting the addictive behaviour, the doors were opened for personal growth. However, the social position or social roles remained the same.

Combined identity projects involve a redefinition of one's social and personal identity. One woman, who was an alcoholic found a new place in the society through founding a women's AA group. This group helped her to find to herself, express openly her views and feelings. Other participants found their new identity through creativity, for example publishing their experiences in books, poems or setting up art exhibitions.

However, there were also subjects who did not report any changes in their social and personal identity. Many of them were former smokers, who reported that they did not believe to have changed in any way. Many of them felt more confident and satisfied with themselves after quitting. One participant reported that he felt more “strong, and more independent...”. Participants of that category did not need to work on their identity as their values generally remained the same after smoking cessation.

This study shows that both social and personal identity projects can but must not necessarily be activated by giving up addictive behaviours. As a case study this investigation is useful to offer a detailed description of the participant's strivings. It helps to understand in depth the processes of change in these individuals. But however, the representativeness of case studies can only be guessed.

Giving Up Smoking and the Self

In qualitative study of smokers with a smoking-related disease, it was found that the participants tended to see the event of quitting smoking either as a new chance or as having no other choice than to give up (Parry, Fowkes & Thomson, 2001). They were likely either to refuse or to rationalise their old smoking behaviour. For them, it seemed that through changing an important behaviour like quitting smoking, a new identity was constituted. Through self-description, the previous smoker identity could be repaired and the ex-smoker's fresh identity could be strengthened. Significant life events like experiencing a negative event (for example observing other heavy smokers) may lead some smokers to their important decision to stop smoking through anticipating this heavy smoker as a possible self, which they rather would avoid. Thus, possible selves provide a conceptual link between cognition and motivation (Markus & Nurius, 1986). To resist the possible self as a smoker and to acquire

the possible self as an ex- or non-smoker could be a powerful component of relapse prevention. It is assumed that possible selves rather than current selves will be envisioned and guide the process of changing a behaviour, such as smoking cessation (Markus & Nurius, 1986). Yet, there is no convincing evidence that the anticipation of a positive prototype works as a motivator of quitting smoking. It seems that negative addictive selves are more influential than positive possible selves while attempting to give up smoking (Gibbons & Eggleston, 1996).

Recent research on beliefs and representations of smoking has arisen that individuals hold complex and diverse constructions of their own smoking. By investigating the ways people make sense of their smoking, Collins, Maguire and O'Dell (2002) found different aspects representing individuals' perceptions of smoking. This study was conducted by using Q-methodology, so the main purpose was to explore the diversity of smoking-related experiences. Several factors that contribute to smoking were found. One factor (1) that was identified by the study represented smokers who emphasised the social aspects of their smoking, e.g. facilitating interactions with other smokers or accentuating the social events, in which they smoke. These smokers also emphasised that one should have the free choice to smoke but they did not use smoking as a tool for modulating mood or enhancing their concentration. However, smoking would make them less nervous while other smokers were around but more nervous in the presence of non-smokers. Hence, the approval of fellow smokers was important for them. In contrast to that, the social aspect was not important for smokers loading on another factor (2). For them social situations did not enhance the pleasure of smoking. Quitting smoking would seem easier for them, for example when there were among fellow smokers as they stated they just needed the right time and willpower to stop. Another group of smokers (3), the dual identity smokers, included those who saw mainly the negative sides of smoking. They were well aware that their smoking behaviour is a hazard to

their health and expressed the perceptions of feelings of guilt about smoking, so that they felt no personal affiliation to smoking. However, they also stated they used smoking as a tool to modulate arousal. Another group of smokers used smoking as a social tool (4). They did not view themselves as addicted to nicotine and saw no problem in abstaining from smoking for lengthy periods of time but however they would fear social isolation if their smoking network would be diminished. They would also enjoy the situation in which they smoke, for example during a break or at other social occasions.

Although the study did not claim to be representative, these findings suggested that there were various similarities among smokers' views about smoking, but still the experiences of smoking remain unique and heterogeneous. Especially the dual identity smokers suggested that smoking is seen as an expression of identity. Further, the social aspect of smoking emphasised by smokers who saw smoking as a social event will probably prevent them from quitting smoking as long as they were benefiting from smoking. However, smokers had both positive and negative representations of smoking. Rather than being monolithic, explanations of smoking differ between individuals and need to be considered in the social context. Further, it is suggested that understanding the diversity of smokers' representations of their own smoking would be useful in order to develop more effective targeted interventions (Collins, Maguire & O'Dell, 2002).

In the same way as smoking had an important impact on self-descriptions of smokers, it is likely that quitting smoking is equally important for the self-concept, which opens up a more long-term perspective on staying successfully an ex-smoker.

Smoking cessation is often regarded as a difficult and challenging step in life and as an "all-consuming process that was often exhausting and overwhelming" (Bott & Cobb, 1997). Some people tend to compare giving up smoking with a struggle and view the cigarette itself as a villain, which needs to be defeated. At the same time, the cigarette was personified and

seen by many smokers as an old friend. Ex-smokers have to deal not only with the physiological symptoms of withdrawal of nicotine, but also with the psychological symptoms of loss of something like an old friend (Bott & Cobb, 1997).

Additionally, smoking behaviour was an embodied and meaningful habit and represented an important part of the ex-smoker's identity, and at the same time as giving up this behaviour, the corresponding former part of the identity is lost as well. This may result into a longing for this past identity, which was associated with several positive images. Most researchers and health professionals assume that smoking has only negative consequences and therefore smokers should stop smoking. This approach however neglects the enjoyable benefits which smokers might perceive, for example initiating daily routines, ingratiating oneself, camaraderie with other smokers, or enhancing the ability to concentrate on a work-problem (Laurier *et al.*, 2000). According to these benefits of smoking, giving-up smoking - in turn - can lead to exclusion of the smoking community and starting to smoke again would represent an easy solution to avoid exclusion. The desire to retain the younger self and to hold this identity again could therefore lead to relapse (Laurier *et al.*, 2000), whereas accepting the new identity as ex-smoker might have a preventive influence on relapse (Shadel & Mermelstein, 1996). Generally, in a review of literature addressing identity and addiction, it was suggested that identification with an addictive behaviour may lead to increased involvement in that activity and that the concept of identity may serve as a powerful motivator, rather than other concepts such as attributions, beliefs and values. On the other hand, identification incompatible with addictive behaviours may lead to reduced involvement in addiction (Walters, 1996). Accordingly, smokers' self-concept at baseline predicted smoker status at 3-months follow-up. Individuals with a high smoker self-concept and a high abstainer self-concept were significantly more likely to smoke three months later than individuals with a strong abstainer self-concept and a weak smoker self-concept. This suggests that defining one's self as a non-smoker is important to cessation process, possibly

through guiding goal-directed behaviour. However, a strong smoker self-concept might interfere in the working self-concept and hence prevent the abstainer self-concept to exert its motivational effects. Smokers with a low abstainer self-concept and a low smoker self-concept were found to be less likely staying abstinent from smoking three months after quitting. Being known as a smoker or as a non-smoker was not important enough for them to guide their behaviour. They might perhaps more rely on contextual issues, like environmental cues or heuristics such as availability which guide their behaviour. This might not be as effective in maintaining and regulating a new, more stable pattern of behaviour. However, these findings suggest that the self-concept plays an important role in behavioural change and should be considered in interventions (Shadel & Mermelstein, 1996). But the findings should be interpreted carefully as the follow-up period of three months was relatively low. To assess the importance of the self-concept in long-term, more extensive longitudinal studies should be conducted. However, after achieving that particular goal of cessation, i.e. acquiring the formerly possible ex-smoker self, how do ex-smoker characterise that new current ex-smoker self?

Conclusion

The self-concept plays an important role in behavioural change. Some smokers tend to view smoking as a part of their self, which is considered as a structure containing diverse self-schemata. On the other hand, for other people smoking is not an issue and therefore rather irrelevant for their self-concept. People who have recovered from an addictive behaviour, such as smoking, might experiences some changes within their self-concept. It is also possible that they do not perceive any changes in relation to their smoking. However, the aim of this study is to explore ex-smokers views and experiences of their identity according to their ex-

smoker status. Several components, such as self-esteem, past selves, control of one's own life, or the perception of other smokers and related aspects will be investigated by using Q-sort statements. The Q-methodological approach takes into account and preserves subjectivity of the participants' experiences and moreover, it diminishes the researchers own definitions and representations of the underlying concepts. The following chapter offers a detailed description of Q-methodology as a research tool and its application in this project.

Methodology

Q-Methodology

The essential aim of this study is to explore the subjective views of the participants' identities in relation to their own smoking cessation. Individuals experience identity in numerous ways. More commonly used methodologies, such as questionnaires or surveys are less suitable for exploring diversity in identities but more appropriate for looking for consensual and widely shared understandings (Horwood, 2000). Q-methodology as a research tool is particularly useful to investigate diversity of experiences (Stainton Rogers, 1991), which is of interest here.

Consequently, in order to look at subjectivity rather than to measure attitudes objectively, Q-sort methodology will be used. People participating in a Q-study reported they felt heard and their opinion was important (McNaught & Howard, 2001). Basically, research can either be quantitative or qualitative, but in fact more suitable is as combination of both (Yardley, 2001). The Q-methodology does combine both quantitative and qualitative methods (Brown, 1996). It is quantitative, because it uses factor analysis in order to detect patterns of descriptions, and it is qualitative, as the resulting factors need to be interpreted.

The researcher's own understandings and definitions influence the investigation in the process of developing the Q-sort statements but however this does not prevent the emergence of alternative and unexpected perspectives. The type of interpretation of each item is not specified *a priori*, but rather it is open for a variety of expected or unexpected understandings.

These interpretations that are given to the items can be seen as the result of the meaning making activity of the participants completing a Q-sort.

After conducting a factor analysis, the final stage of the Q-study is to interpret the resulting factors by comparing and contrasting between the positions of the items.

The most subjective part of the Q-study is the process of working out the meaning of the emerging factors. Here, it is most likely that the researcher's own understandings and definition bias and narrow the findings. For the factor interpretation it is important to identify items that score high (or low, respectively) on all emerging factors. These items are not useful in discriminating between the factors. Further, the factor interpretation should also consider any discrepancies in the Q-sort ranking, apparent differences in word interpretations across different factors, and the items that scored in the (neutral) centre of the Q-sort grid. As interpretations cannot be assumed as self-evident, a reflexive discussion of the researcher's own influences on the research process is very useful and informative for a critical view upon the interpretation (Chamberlain, 2001). Basically, in order to reduce the researcher's biases and subjectivity it is possible to involve the participants in the stage of interpretation by encouraging them to comment on the analysis given by the researcher. Through the participants' contribution the interpretation of the resulting factors can be enriched substantially, because the participants are allowed to explain their individual understanding of the discourse statements (Billard, 1999).

Q-methodology does not intend to measure anything objectively but rather assumes that people's subjective experiences are rather diverse and it aims to chart this diversity. It is one of the key features of Q-methodology that no operational definition is imposed on the participant by the researcher. Instead it does obtain and explore different understandings of

delicate topics like homosexuality, sexism, jealousy or even child abuse (see for example Kitzinger, 1999; Stenner & Stainton Rogers, 1998; Worrell, 1999).

Several studies have used Q-methodology in order to investigate the diversity of identity (see for example Horwood, 2000; Kitzinger & Stainton Rogers, 1985; Kitzinger, 1987). It seems very fruitful to explore aspects of identity by using Q-methodology. By doing so, it is possible to summarise the resulting responses but still to keep the human uniqueness. Participants' descriptions about their experiences retain their subjective individuality rather than to be thinned out by conventional analyse methods (Brown, n.d.).

Sampling the Concourse of Ex-smokers' Experiences

A Q-study provides the participants with a sample of items of the concourse of a given topic. Including a large number of statements surrounding the topic of interest is rather impractical. It is therefore essential to draw a sample, which should be representative and comprehensive for the concourse. The aim is to provide a broad coverage of the full range of views about the topic of interest.

In the first stage of the Q-study, the Q-sample statements are drawn from concourse analysis. Preliminary research on the concourse was conducted through a review of academic literature on giving up smoking and other addictions, on conceptualisations of the self and identity in relation to addiction, further through informal conversations, reflection on personal experience, and examination of smoking cessation leaflets and brochures. The first sample of the concourse contained 185 statements about how people view themselves in accordance to their smoker status, which were recorded in a field notebook. Items were recorded as close to the statements as possible, for example "I'm happy about that [giving up smoking]" or

Materials

The Q-packs consisted of a brief description of the aim of the study, participant details including smoking history, detailed instructions of how to complete the Q-study, a Q-grid, numbered statements, ranking numbers (-5 to +5), a response booklet for comments on the statements to define their interpretations, and a stamped addressed envelope. The materials that were meant to be returned were printed on coloured paper to clarify to the participants that the instructions and Q-statements were not needed anymore once the Q-grid and the booklet were completed. All materials can be found in the appendices IV and V.

Participants

Participants were sampled not for being representative but for the diversity of their views and experiences, which is similar to 'strategic sampling'. Q-methodology does not make any assumptions about estimating population statistics and results can be seen as relatively robust (Stainton Rogers, 1995). The participants were drawn through a variety of ways, for example through a local notice within the University of Luton. Furthermore, a smoking cessation clinic in Luton was contacted and asked to forward Q-materials to patients interested in participating. Additionally, local pharmacists were asked to forward materials to interested costumers purchasing nicotine patches. Finally, a local gym was contacted for members who have given up smoking and started regular exercise to establish a healthier lifestyle.

Overall however, the sampling was very difficult to conduct, which had several reasons: whereas smokers are relatively easy to spot for example in smoking assigned areas within the University campus, ex-smokers are a much hidden subgroup and not distinguishable from never-smokers. However, through asking acquaintances who smoke or do not smoke if they

knew anyone who has given up smoking (“snow-balling”) a varying group of participating ex-smokers could be drawn, mainly consisting of students and members of staff of the University of Luton. Another problem was that some ex-smokers willing to participate were just about to give up smoking or they were relapsing and started smoking again, so that they did not meet the sample criteria anymore. Two participants could not be included in the analysis due to relapse.

Participants were invited to complete the Q-sort grid either by post or inside the building of Luton University. Assistance in completing the set was provided where required.

Procedure

From the participants' point of view, it is usually best to separate the items into three piles, i.e. 'negative', 'neutral' and 'positive' elements. After that, the participants were asked to match the items into the provided grid. It is suggested to start with the most polarised items (i.e. -5, -4 or +4, +5). Setting the remaining neutral items to their positions completes the pattern. During that process, which resembles a game of patience, the items can be moved and exchanged until the final pattern is found (Stainton Rogers, 1995).

Once the grid was completed the participants were asked to comment on the items using the free response booklet provided. This booklet was used in a variety of ways. Some participants gave their interpretations of the items; some expanded their account of their experiences. Some gave full comments, whereas other commented with 'yes' or 'no'. Other participants did not comment at all.

Q-packs were issued by hand or by post depending on where the participant lived. Eighty Q-packs were distributed, and 19 were returned. One of them however, was spoiled and could not be used for further analysis.

Analysis

Each individual Q-sort was entered into a Q-data analysis package (PCQ; Stricklin & Almeida, 2000) which uses principal component analysis to examine data-by-person. It computes correlations between the Q-sorts and the intercorrelation matrix obtained was subjected to principal component analysis. The solution was rotated using varimax rotation. The resultant factors each represent a distinct response pattern made by individuals who have responded in essentially the same way. Each factor is statistically orthogonal to all the other identified factors.

The final stage is to interpret the resulting factors by comparing and contrasting between the positions of the items. Interpretation of factors in Q-methodology uses statement scores rather than factor loadings. It involves comparison of statement scores across clusters of participants with similar views, i.e. factors. Particular attention is given to those statements that distinguish between factors and to those that receive extreme scores at either end of the sorting continuum. Basically, it is possible to involve the participants in the stage of interpretation by asking them to comment on the analysis given by the researcher.

Results

Following factor analysis using varimax rotation, five factored emerged. Four of them had an eigenvalue of at least 1.0 and were considered as worthy of further description. For each factor PCQ also calculates ideal grids to illustrate response patterns (figures 2 - 5). The significance level was set at 0.45 and those Q-sorts were considered as loading significantly if they achieved a loading equal or above that significance level.

The factors are distinguished by the ranking of the items. Those items that are placed at least three ranks apart from their position on other factors are considered as distinguishing items and are highlighted with *.

Factor A: Social independence & Maturity

Factor Summary

Four participants loaded significantly onto factor A, which is called *Social Independence and Maturity* since they all share the view that smoking is irrelevant in social situations. Moreover, they seem to be become more mature, however without large changes within their self.

Most of the participants gave up smoking several years ago, apart from one woman who stopped five weeks before participation in the study. For all of them giving up smoking was fairly easy. They have decided to stop without other things forcing them to and they would not start again if smoking no longer carried any health risk. A 20-years-old woman, who quit

smoking three years ago, comments on this: 'What would they contain if they didn't carry health risks - air? There would be no point.' (participant 15, comment on item 50). Costs of cigarettes played also an important role in the decision to stop in a 30-years-old woman, who gave up smoking five weeks ago: 'I do disagree with this as I mainly quit because of the cost and not health risk.' (participant 17, comment on item 50).

Furthermore, smoking is not an issue in social situations. They mainly have friends who have continued to smoke and would not let their smoking affect their friendships. They still feel as close to their smoking friends as before.

Since they gave up smoking, they only notice small changes in themselves. Generally they feel the same. Some aspects within their self have changed though: they feel more mature and more self-respect. Further, they feel more in control of themselves and happier. However, this does not necessarily mean that their changing is due to giving up smoking.

They also feel that they have opened themselves the best opportunities for themselves as they are not polluting their bodies anymore. Smoking was part of an image they used to have at the time but now this does not seem needed anymore. Overall, they do not regret quitting smoking.

For a summary of the participant details loading on that factor see table 1:

Table 1: Summary information for the 4 participants whose Q-sorts exemplify factor A.

Participant	Details	Brief smoking history	Loading
2	25 years, female, German, student	Started to smoke aged 14, smoked for 7 years, gave up 4 years ago.	0.67
8	21 years, male, British, student/ Bar Person	Started to smoke aged 15, smoked for 4 years about 10 cigarettes a day. Gave up 2 years ago.	0.70
15	20 years, female, English, student/ Waitress	Started to smoke aged 15, smoked for 2 years, gave up 3 years ago.	0.57
17	30 years, female, English, student/ parent	Started to smoke aged 14, smoked for 16 years about 20 cigarettes a day, gave up 5 weeks ago.	0.61

Explication of the Factor

Figure 2 illustrates the ideal grid for this factor. (See Appendix VI for the ideal grids of all factors with the complete items). Five items particularly distinguished factor A from the other factors:

'Giving up smoking wasn't a big deal. (item 38, +5)

'I would have more friends if I would still smoke. (item 10, -5)

And in comparison to the other factors, for people exemplifying this factor the following items were least important:

'It would feel natural for me to smoke again.' (item 2, 0)

'I always could control my smoking.' (item 5, 0)

'Even in times of stress I am sure I would not start to smoke again.' (item 6, 0)

	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
10*	42	7	15	30	9	50	3	29	57	21	
35	16	24	48	43	39	18	49	28	1	56	
19	12	54	55	32	63	31	45	36	11	38*	
	33	53	37	14	23	41	60	44	27		
		8	17	22	26	47	51	40			
		61	4	62	5*	34	58	52			
			46	25	6*	13	20				
					2*						
					59						

Figure 2. Ideal Q-grid for Factor A.

* indicates distinguishing items

Particularly ex-smokers whose Q-sorts loaded on this factor express that giving up smoking was not hard for them (item 38*, +5). One participant comments on this item as follows:

“I slightly agree with this as I didn't think it was too hard, easier than what I thought it would be. I just made sure I didn't buy any anymore and used my willpower.” (participant 17, comment on item 38).

Social independence

Smoking is irrelevant in social situations for people whose Q-sorts loaded on factor A. Their social life is not dependent on whether someone smokes or not. The participants also like to stress that they still feel as close to their friends as before. They would not let smoking interfere with their social relationships.

‘I do not feel as close to my friends who have continued to smoke.’ (item 12, -4)

Participant 17 notes in a comment that she also recognises some discomfort towards her since she has quit: “I still feel pretty close to my friends although I think sometimes they don't know how to act around me when they are smoking.” (participant 17, comment on item 12)

They also emphasise that being abstinent is largely independent of the people they are with and the places they spend their time. They do not see any difficulties in socialising without a cigarette in their hand.

‘I tend to avoid situations or places where people are likely to smoke’ (item 19, -5)

‘I find it difficult to socialise with my smoking friends’ (item 16, -4)

‘I would have more friends if I would still smoke. (item 10, -5)

Smoking should not be an issue in friendships as expressed in a comment:

‘No, people should accept you whether you smoke or not - if they don't do you want to be their friend!?’ (participant 15, comment on item 10).

Moreover, they would not choose their friends according to their smoking status, it does not matter at all:

'I prefer socialising with non smokers.' (item 42, -4).

This seems understandable as most friends are smokers:

'I disagree with this as all my friends are smokers - I have no non-smoker friends so I prefer to socialise with the people I am friends with already.' (participant 17, comment on item 42). Another woman expresses the following: 'My best friends are smokers, but it does get annoying sometimes!' (participant 15, comment on item 42).

Yet, they slightly miss the social aspects of having a cigarette:

'I miss the social aspects of smoking.' (item 45, +2).

And one woman comments: 'Yes, I really do miss this - especially having a drink & cigarette' (participant 17, comment on item 45).

Maturity

With growing older smoking does not seem appropriate to people loading on factor A anymore. It is rather a thing they did when they were younger and was part of a rebellious image they had.

'I miss the rebellious image I had when I was a smoker.' (item 49, +2)

'Smoking is something that suited my image at the time.' (item 44, +3)

Three participants commented similarly on this item: They all mention peer pressure as factor that led them to start smoking.

'Was social pressure when I started, and it suited my personality at the time.' (participant 15, comment on item 44).

'I suppose it did, when I started as I was young and impressionable.' (participant 17, comment on item 44).

'Peer pressure, trying to fit in' (participant 8, comment on item 44).

However, they feel that some aspects in their personality have changed since quitting but generally they are the same as before:

'I feel more mature now that I have given up smoking.' (item 40, +3)

'I am just the same person but without a cigarette in my hand.' (item 36, +3)

Smoking was a weakness. Now they view themselves as stronger, happier and with more control. They also feel more attractive.

'As a smoker I was weak.' (item 11, +4)

'I am happier now that I don't smoke.' (item 29, +3)

'I feel that I have less control now that I have quit smoking.' (item 7, -3)

'I feel more attractive now that I no longer smoke.' (item 28, +3)

One participant points out that it is the smell she does not like about it: 'Feel smoking is unattractive to a certain extent, e.g. no more smelly breath, less spots etc.' (participant 15, comment on item 28).

For being able to quit, they feel proud of no longer being a smoker. They also strongly feel more respect towards themselves.

'I am proud of my self now that I no longer smoke.' (item 27, +4)

'I have more respect for myself now that I have given up smoking.' (item 56, +5)

One participant defines his feelings of pride and comments on this item:

"Quite proud, but like alcoholics, still a recovering smoker!" (participant 15, comment on item 27).

They genuinely decided to quit for them. This becomes clearly in a comment on item 61 (-3) made by participant 15:

'I did not want to give up smoking, other things around me forced me to. (item 61, -3)

She says: "Smoking was wrong I was polluting my body. I gave up because I wanted to." (participant 15, comment on item 61). And another participant writes: "No, disagree completely, I wanted to give up, for me." (participant 17, comment on item 61).

Moreover, not being able to see themselves as smokers anymore (item 21, +5), they feel that they have given themselves the best future by quitting smoking (item 57, +4). They have accepted their new found status as ex- or non-smoker and like being that way: "No I can't, now that I like being a non-smoker!" (participant 17, comment on item 21)

These smokers neither see any negative consequences nor do they regret quitting smoking. They feel strongly about staying abstinent and not becoming a smoker again in the future. Smoking belongs to the image they used to have in the past. However, at present they feel as the same person but also more mature. They express positive consequences and do not notice any disadvantages of giving up smoking.

'I regret giving up smoking.' (item 35, -5)

'Although it was a good thing to give up smoking, there were also negative consequences.' (item 54, -3)

Morals did not influence their decision to stop smoking, it is rather independent.

'I feel more moral since giving up smoking.' (item 55, -2). One 21-years-old man comments:

'Morals don't come into it; smoking is not an offence for me' (participant 8, comment on item 55).

Factor Review: Social Independence & Maturity

For the four participants loading on factor A, quitting smoking was an easy thing to do, which they did because they wanted to. They are very proud of themselves that they no longer smoke and feel well capable of staying non-smokers.

Social factors do not have any remarkable influence on their experiences of giving up and moreover, they do not think that smoking matters in social relationships. They do not avoid situations or places where smoking is very likely.

These participants feel stronger, happier and more mature now. They further look confidently into the future, as they now perceive themselves as being in control over themselves.

Factor B: Personal Growth & Avoidance

Factor Summary

Five participants' Q-sorts exemplified factor B which is called *Personal Growth and Avoidance*. Their summary details are reported in table 2. Each of these participants has been successfully given up smoking a different time ago; however they all used to enjoy cigarettes and smoked for many years.

People loading on this factor experienced giving up smoking as difficult. Their decision to quit was not influenced by other things but themselves. Now they are very sure that they would not start again, even in times of stress or if there were no more health risks associated with smoking. They share the view about themselves that as smokers they were weak and were hardly able to control their smoking.

For being able to refrain from smoking they are very proud of themselves and have no regrets. They feel that they have more self-respect for themselves. They also report having a stronger and more independent self now. Giving up smoking helped them to make other changes in their life, for example they feel a more responsible person and would like to share techniques on how to quit. Without smoking they feel happier and note that they have given themselves the best possible future.

They view themselves as more attractive but generally they feel the same person as before.

In their opinion smoking has many negative characteristics. Even though they used to enjoy cigarettes at the time, it is mentioned that it was accompanied by guilt. They also used smoking to help them in difficult situations. They can't see themselves as smoker anymore and rather hate smoking now. They do not envy people who still smoke.

Table 2 shows participant details exemplifying factor B:

Table 2: Summary information for the 4 participants whose Q-sorts exemplify factor B.

Participant	Details	Brief smoking history	Loading
6	22 years, female, British, student	Started smoking aged 15 years, smoked for 4 years. Gave up smoking cigarettes when I was 19, and I stopped smoking cannabis at 21.	0.67
9	27 years, female, English, Marketing Officer	Started smoking aged 15 years, smoked for almost 10 years. Gave up smoking 2 ½ years ago.	0.69
11	45 years, female, British, student	Started smoking when I was 14 years old. Stopped when 24 years old.	0.72
19	Male, Lecturer	Gave up smoking in 1991.	0.57

Explication of the Factor

Figure 3 illustrates the ideal grid for this factor with four distinguishing statements:

‘I miss the rebellious image I had when I was a smoker.’ (item 49, -1)

‘I prefer socialising with non smokers. (item 42, +3)

‘I feel jealous of people who still smoke.’ (item 43, -5)

‘Giving up smoking helped me to make other changes in my life.’ (item 23, +3)

	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
35	8	15	63	49*	26	41	36	52	56	21	
43*	5	62	48	55	13	17	20	32	31	27	
38	61	33	12	22	40	39	28	23*	1	6	
	37	50	10	4	59	30	11	57	53		
		2	7	54	58	44	60	29			
		9	19	16	46	51	3	42*			
			24	14	34	47	18				
					25						
					45						

Figure 3. Ideal Q-grid for Factor B.

* indicates distinguishing items

Participants whose Q-sorts loaded on this factor report that giving up smoking was a particularly difficult thing to do for them. Since they have given up they prefer socialising with other non-smokers and they do not envy other people who still smoke.

These ex-smokers report that they could hardly control their smoking at the time and it was very hard to stop.

'Giving up smoking wasn't a big deal.' (item 38, -5)

'I always could control my smoking.' (item 5, -5)

However, they managed to quit successfully and now they feel quite confident to stay non-smokers.

'Even in times of stress I am sure I would not start to smoke again' (item 6, +5)

'I always feel the temptation to smoke.' (item 9, -3)

'It would feel natural for me to smoke again (item 2, -3)

They feel very strongly of not becoming a smoker again (item 21, +5), even if it no longer carried any health risks. Smoking to them seems to have far more negative characteristics than only health harming (item 50, -3)

A 27-year-old woman comments on this proposition:

"I would like to think that I might [start smoking again] but also have to put up with the cost, the smell & the routine & it is not worth it." (participant 9, comment on item 50).

And another comment says:

'No, I don't feel the need & I don't see the point anymore. I don't like the smell it leaves on me. I don't need to fit into a group anymore. I am comfortable with who I am.' (participant 11, comment on item 50). Another male participant comments with: "? No!" (participant 19, comment on item 50).

Even though these participants used to enjoy smoking cigarettes (item 1, +4), smoking was also associated with negative aspects at the time as articulated in the comments:

"I did [use to enjoy cigarettes], but this was accompanied by guilt." (participant 6, comment on item 1).

"I did use to enjoy smoking, however I did not like the smell of cigarettes, nor the fact that it could make you ill, it was also too expensive." (participant 9, comment on item 1).

Avoidance

In comparison to participants loading on factor A, smoking seems to play a more important role in socialising; these participants are more considerate to choose non-smoking friends:

'I prefer socialising with non smokers.' (item 42*, +3)

'I don't like other smokers around me.' (item 63, +4)

'I miss the company of other smokers.' (item 33, -3)

Yet, they do not particularly avoid situations or places where people are likely to smoke (item 19, -2) and they still like to socialise with their smoking friends (item 16, -1). This is "not an issue" for them (participant 19, comment on item 16)

Social relationships to others do not seem to be changed but however, they feel more responsible for people around them.

'I feel that I have become a more responsible person now that I have given up smoking.' (item 3, +2)

'I would like to share with others techniques on how I gave up smoking.' (item 31, +4).

'Now that I have given up, I think I would make a better parent.' (item 18, +2)

especially the aspect of leading by example seems to be important here as one participant notes: 'Yes, lead by example, also well documented dangers to children from passive smoking' (participant 11, comment on item 18).

Personal Growth

More importantly, these participants express changes in the perception of their self:

'I feel I have brought my weak self in to line by giving up smoking.' (item 52, +3)

'I have more respect for myself now that I have given up smoking.' (item 56, +4)

'By giving up smoking I feel that I have given my self the best possible future.' (item 57, +3)

'I notice large changes in my self since I quit smoking.' (item 32, +3)

'Giving up smoking helped me to make other changes in my life.' (item 23*, +3)

'I am happier now that I don't smoke.' (item 29, +3)

The reading of the last comment is explicated by one participant who commented as follows:

'I am happy I don't smoke but not happier because I don't smoke' (participant 11, comment on item 29).

They also feel very proud of themselves (item 27, +5). One participant comments as follows: 'Yes, it was an enormous achievement for me to give up because I found it so difficult to do so.' (participant 11, comment on item 27). However, participant 19 explicates his ranking in the following way: 'I was [proud of myself] 6-12 months after gave-up.' (comment on item 27).

Factor Review: Personal Growth & Avoidance

Participants with Q-sorts loading on factor B tell that quitting smoking was a very big deal for them. They are very proud of themselves and have more respect for themselves now that they have managed to give up smoking. They used to enjoy cigarettes but viewed themselves as addicted and as not being able to control their smoking, especially in stressful situations. However, now they feel very confident of maintaining abstinent from cigarettes even in times of stress. Giving up smoking means a lot to them and it allowed them to make other changes in their life too.

Yet, these ex-smokers tend to avoid situation where people are likely to be smoking and prefer socialising with non-smokers. This partly because they do not like the smell in their clothes or hair. They feel quite strongly about these disadvantages of smoking so that they would not start smoking again even if it no longer carried any health risks.

Factor C: Doubts & Longing v Confidence

Factor Summary

Factor C is bipolar with two exemplifying participants. It is called *Doubts and Longing v Confidence* because this factor reflects patterns of experiences that are either characterised by doubts about staying a non-smoker or they are characterised by a high level of confidence in one's ability to refrain from smoking. They also contrast in the way they relate to their friends or other people who still smoke. Further, some aspects in their self are described differently.

Both participants are female and have given up smoking quite a long time ago. Firstly, the participant's experiences loading positively will be described; thereafter the participant's experiences who loaded negatively will be portrayed.

Loading positively: Doubts & Longing

The first participant stopped smoking nine years ago and she found it particularly hard. She used to enjoy cigarettes and occasionally she still does have a cigarette at parties. She did not really want to give up smoking but other things forced her to, for example her husband who is an anti-smoker as she notes in her smoking history. But she also gave up for health reasons as she would start smoking again if smoking no longer harmed health. For her, smoking cessation had also negative consequences. She feels jealous of people who smoke and is missing the company of other smokers and she finds it more difficult now to relate to her smoking friends. However, her social life has not been changed due to quitting smoking.

Further, she expresses very strongly that she does always feel the temptation to smoke and even though she gave up such a long time ago, she still feels like a smoker. Yet, she points out she never felt like a smoker. Smoking is a part of herself and relevant to her but it was not

important for her image or her self-esteem. Nonetheless, smoking was part of a rebellious image she had at the time, which she is missing. Overall, she does not notice large changes in herself.

As a smoker she felt strong and she could control her smoking. She does not feel particularly proud of herself for quitting smoking even though it was very difficult for her. Self-respect is not important in relation to smoking and has rather been unchanged. But she considers that other people have more respect for her than before. As an ex-smoker she feels more moral and more attractive now.

For her smoking is still an issue, she has not forgotten that she used to smoke. She is not certain that she would be able to resist temptations to smoke, especially in stressful situations.

Loading negatively: Confidence

The participant loading negatively on this factor has given up seven years ago. For her, giving up smoking was very easy. She did not really enjoy smoking cigarettes and she is not tempted to smoke again, even in times of stress. She gave up once before for a boyfriend when she was a teenager but started again. This time however, she genuinely wanted to give up and would not start again if there were no health risks associated with smoking. She reports that smoking is irrelevant for her now and she rather has forgotten that she used to smoke. It would feel unnatural for her to ever smoke again; it is not anymore a part of her. As a smoker she felt like herself but she is not happy with the thought that she used to smoke. It was part of her image at the time, but now she considers other things more important to her self than smoking.

This participant further tells that she was weak when she was a smoker, she could not control her smoking. Being able to quit smoking however made her proud of herself and she feels happier and stronger. She does not see any negative consequences of quitting. It also

helped her to change other things in her life. She has noticed large changes in herself since she quit.

Further, by giving up smoking she thinks that her social life has been changed. She has found new friends who do not smoke but she can easily relate to her smoking friends of which actually only a few have continued to smoke. She does not miss the company of other smokers at all but in a comment she remarks that there seems to be a special bond between smokers. She used to enjoy cigarettes most when amongst fellow smokers. However, she is not jealous of other smokers. She also used cigarettes in stressful situations.

Smoking does not seem to be an issue for her anymore. She does not think about smoking anymore, it is rather like a closed chapter of her past. She has successfully stopped and feels very confident of being able to abstain from smoking.

Table 3 shows their participant details:

Table 3: Summary information for the 2 participants whose Q-sorts exemplify factor C.

Participant	Details	Brief smoking history	Loading
18	36, female, British, Lecturer	Started smoking at 16, smoked for about 11 years, 15-20 cigarettes a day. Gave up 9 years ago with the odd cigarette at parties once or twice a yr.	+0.55
10	33 years, female, British, Tutor/Student/Wife/Mother	Started smoking at 13, stopped for two years at 15 to 17 but started again. Gave up smoking about 7 years ago.	-0.47

Explication of the Factor

Figure 4 shows the ideal grid for this factor with four distinguishing items:

'I always feel the temptation to smoke.' (item 9, +5)

'I find it difficult to socialise with my smoking friends.' (item 16, +3)

'I feel more moral since giving up smoking.' (item 55, +3)

'I am proud of my self now that I no longer smoke.' (item 27, -3)

	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
38	6	46	17	35	3	8	26	2	5	9*	
47	11	4	20	7	31	19	49	14	15	43	
21	24	48	22	42	18	40	28	16*	61	33	
	44	27*	30	58	56	52	13	55*	50		
		23	32	12	62	10	34	1			
		25	37	29	51	45	63	54			
			60	41	53	39	59				
					36						
					57						

Figure 4. Ideal Q-grid for Factor C.

* indicates distinguishing items

Importance of Smoking

Smoking constitutes still an important issue for participant 18 loading positively on factor C:

'I can't see my self as a smoker anymore.' (item 21, -5)

'Smoking is irrelevant to me now.' (item 47, -5)

'I have forgotten that I used to smoke.' (item 24, -4)

'Smoking is still part of who I am.' (item 14, +3)

'I still feel that I am a smoker.' (item 15, +4)

On statement 14, participant 18 comments:

'Yes, I am a smoker in some circumstances.' (comment on item 14)

Although participant 18 feels that she always could control her smoking (item 5, +4), quitting was not easy for her:

'Giving up smoking wasn't a big deal.' (item 38, -5)

'I always feel the temptation to smoke.' (item 9, +5)

'Even in times of stress I am sure I would not start to smoke again.' (item 6, -4)

She used to enjoy cigarettes (item 1, +3) and did not want to give up smoking (item 61, +4). For her it would seem natural to start smoking again (item 2, +3) and she would do so if smoking no longer carried any health risks (item 50, +4).

Her social life has not much changed since giving up smoking but the perception of smokers seems to be altered:

'I feel that my social life has been changed by giving up smoking.' (item 4, -3)

'I miss the company of other smokers.' (item 33, +5)

'I feel jealous of people who still smoke.' (item 43, +5)

'I find it difficult to socialise with my smoking friends.' (item 16, +3)

Benefits of giving up smoking do not seem to be of importance:

'Although it was a good thing to give up smoking, there were also negative consequences.'
(item 54, +3)

'Giving up smoking helped me to make other changes in my life.' (item 23, -3)

However, she does not feel less sex now that she has quit smoking (item 48, -3)

Irrelevance of Smoking

For participant 10 loading negatively on factor C, smoking is irrelevant now (loadings were reversed here for simplicity):

'Smoking is irrelevant to me now.' (item 47, +5)

'Smoking is still a part of who I am (item 14, -3), on which she notes 'Not at all.' (comment on item 14).

She saw herself as weak when she used to smoke and feels stronger now. And although she reports that she could not control her smoking, giving up was easy. A comment illustrates this:

'The only thing I can remember is that I gave up tea/alcohol etc while I was in the early stages of being a non-smoker. I also viewed myself as a non-smoker from day 1. It was easy.' (participant 11, comment on item 31).

She did not use to enjoy cigarettes and she wanted to give up for herself, there were no other things that forced her to stop smoking.

'I did not want to give up smoking, other things around me forced me to.' (item 61, -4).

She reports that quitting smoking did not change anything in her social life and she still finds it easy to socialise with her smoking friends.

'I find it difficult to socialise with my smoking friends.' (item 16, -3)

She gives an illustrating comment on this:

'I can still socialise with my smoking friends although they are few now. But I am aware that they feel slightly uncomfortable smoking around me. (participant 11, comment on item 16).

Smoking is something that suited her image at the time (item 44, +4). She views giving up smoking in a generally more positive perspective as she does not see any negative consequences.

Factor Review: Doubts & Longing v Confidence

The two participants' Q-sorts loading on this factor have opposite patterns of experiences. While smoking is still very important for the participant loading positively, it is not relevant at all for the other participant. The former still sees herself as a smoker and regards smoking as a part of herself. The other woman, however, reports to nearly have forgotten that she used to smoke.

Whereas for the one participant quitting smoking was very difficult to do and still she always feels the temptation to smoke, the participant loading negatively reported that quitting was very easy and she is proud of herself. She also did not really use to enjoy smoking and she would not start smoking again, even if it no longer carried any health risks. On the other hand, the participant loading positively believes that she could start again in times of stress. She thinks that giving up smoking has also some negative consequences, e.g. she is missing the company of other smokers and can't relate to her smoking friends like she did when she used to smoke.

Factor D: Health and Money

Factor Summary

Factor D is named *Money and Health* because here these are the main reasons for quitting smoking. One participant exemplifies this factor. He has given up smoking successfully for a comparatively short time of about 5 weeks and he did not find it very difficult. He still feels very strongly as a smoker and in his comments he stresses that he would never have given up smoking if it was not for health and money reasons. In fact, even though he quit he did not really want to give up smoking.

He used to enjoy smoking and is still missing it. As a smoker he felt complete and he has not felt the same since. He always felt as a smoker and he considers that he always will feel that way no matter how long he has been given up. Still he does not want to start smoking again and if he ever would smoke he thinks that it will be only in a situation in which he is intoxicated.

Smoking is an important part of his life, it was part of his image, it helped him to structure his day and holding a cigarette made him feel sexier. Now that he no longer smokes he states that other people might find him more attractive, however he does not share their opinion and feels less sexy now.

Yet, he does not regret giving up smoking and is proud of himself for being able to abstain from smoking. Through giving up smoking he does not notice any changes in his respect for himself. In his view smoking or giving up smoking are irrelevant to self-respect but he perceives that the respect that other people hold for him has increased since he quit. He generally feels the same person, only a small part is missing. Aspects like morals were never an issue for him whether he was smoking or not. It was purely an enjoyable habit.

His smoking behaviour was not particularly relevant in socialising. However, he does enjoy the company of other smokers as he likes passive smoke and does not avoid places where people are likely to be smoking. He relates to his friends who have continued to smoke in the same way as before but he is missing the social aspects of smoking.

Table 4: Summary information for the participant whose Q-sort exemplifies factor D.

Participant	Details	Brief smoking history	Loading
7	22 years, male, Irish, Quantity Surveyor	Started to smoke at age 16, smoked for about 6 years about 130 cigarettes a week, mostly at weekends, gave up about 5 weeks ago	0.83

Explication of the Factor

Three items distinguished this factor from other factors:

‘I feel less sexy now that I given up smoking.’ (item 48, +2)

‘While I was smoking I did not feel like myself.’ (item 59, -4)

‘I feel that I have become a more responsible person now that I have given up smoking.’ (item 3, -3)

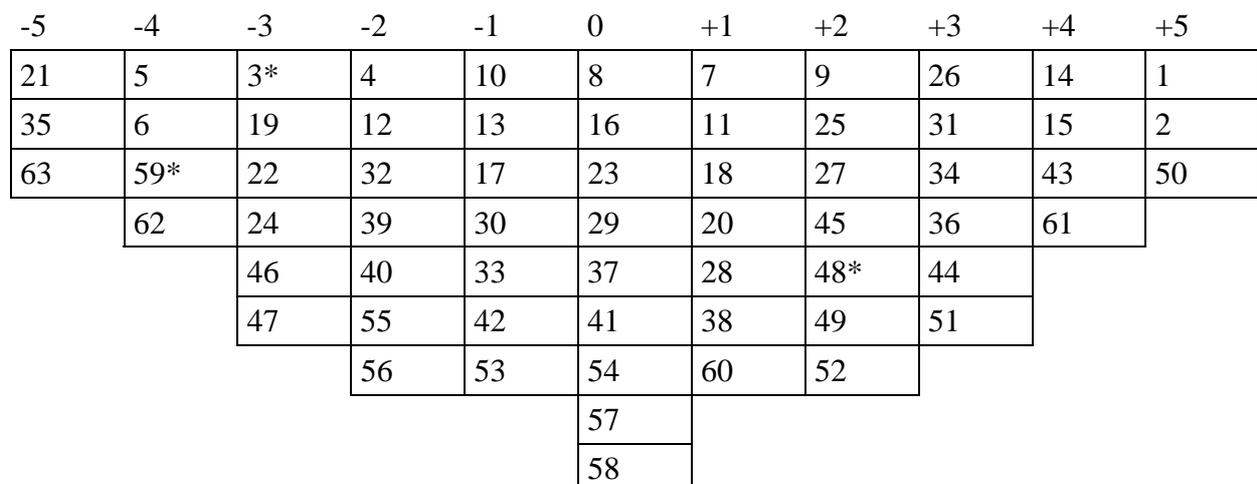


Figure 4. Ideal Q-grid for Factor D.

* indicates distinguishing items

The participant loading on factor D is characterised by still feeling as a smoker. Smoking is an important part of his past and present. And even in future he seems not to be very sure whether he will be able to refrain from smoking or not. It would feel natural for him to start smoking again (item 2, +5).

'I still feel that I am a smoker.' (item 15, +4)

'I never felt like a smoker.' (item 63, -5)

'Smoking is still part of who I am.' (item, 14, +4)

'I can't see my self as a smoker anymore.' (item 21, -5)

'Smoking is something that suited my image at the time.' (item 44, +3)

Smoking constituted an important part of himself:

'While I was smoking I did not feel like myself.' (item 59, -4) and in an interview he notes:

'Felt complete when I smoked + haven't felt the same since. However, I consider that if I smoke again, I'll be intoxicated and it'll be a 'one-off'.' (comment on item 59, -4).

He further clarifies this by commenting on item 32 (-2) 'I notice large changes in my self since I quit smoking.' in the following way:

'I don't notice large changes, but still there's a part missing.' (comment on item 32, -2)

As distinguishing from other factors he reports that he feels less sexy now (item 48*, +2).

He remarks the ranking of this proposition:

'I did feel sexy when I smoked + think other people who smoke are sexy' (comment on item 48). However, he only slightly feels more attractive now that he no longer smokes (item 28, +1). He refines on this item 'in the perspective of other people I feel I am more attractive now, however I don't share their view' (comment on item 28, +1).

Smoking was a pleasurable thing for him and only health concerns hinder him from smoking again:

'If smoking no longer carried any health risks I would start smoking again.' (item 50, +5)

'I used to enjoy cigarettes.' (item 1, +5)

'I feel jealous of people who still smoke.' (item 43, +4)

Another advantage of smoking was that it provided him with structure for his daily routine:

'I feel that my day is less structured now.' (item 26, +3). He writes that he 'used to have 3 cigs on the drive to work, 1 every 2 hours, + another 3 back home. Plus 3 every pint of lager.' (comment on item 26, +3).

However, he does not regret giving up smoking and perceives benefits from being abstinent:

'I feel people have a greater respect for me now that I have given up smoking.' (item 34, +3)

'Life has got better since I have given up smoking.' (item 51, +3) although this is not due to quitting smoking but rather to other events that happened in his life:

'Yes, but not because I gave up smoking' (comment on 51, +3).

Factor Review: Health & Money

For the participant loading on factor D, it would feel natural to start smoking again. He considers smoking as part of who he is. He notes that he felt complete when he smoked and has never felt the same since. Smoking carried many benefits for him, e.g. it made him feel sexier and provided him with structure for his daily routines. The main reasons for giving up smoking were health and money concerns and he strongly feels that he would start again if these concerns would not exist anymore.

Yet, he has no regrets about giving up and he also thinks that being a non-smoker also has its advantages, as he thinks that life generally has got better since he gave up smoking and he also feels greater respect from other people towards him.

Discussion

The factors that were obtained in the Q-study and the interpretations offered in the Results section suggest that there are different ways of experiencing successfully quitting smoking. There is no single monolithic way of giving up and refraining from smoking. Despite this diversity of experiences there were also some overlapping ways of perceiving being an ex- or non-smoker. In this chapter, the divergent and convergent views about the following three topics will be discussed:

- Views about smoking and quitting smoking,
- Views about one's self, and
- Views about the relationship to others.

Views about Smoking and Quitting Smoking

In the accounts of *Personal Growth and Social Avoidance* (B) and *Doubts and Longing* (+C), quitting smoking was experienced as very difficult.

'It was one of the hardest things I have ever done.' comments participant 9, a 27-years-old woman.

People loading on B report they hardly could control their smoking. All participants exemplifying factor B comment on item 5 to emphasize that they were addicted to cigarettes at the time:

'Not if I was really stressed.' (participant 6)

'It was impossible to control my smoking & I would feel out of control if I ran out of cigarettes.' (participant 9)

'No, I smoked too many.' (participant 19)

'No, I was definitely addicted.' (participant 11)

It does not matter if quitting was experienced as difficult or easy if someone would think it is quite likely to her or him to resist the temptation to smoke. This story could be viewed as akin to the mastery story offered by Hänninen and Koski-Jännes (1999), where people gained control about themselves. Similarly to the mastery story the people participating in this study found it hard to quit, but succeeded nonetheless. They feel to have brought their weak self into line by giving up smoking and have more control about their life. However, the viewpoints as exemplified in factor B do not completely share the experiences as in the mastery story, as they do not feel that strongly about being weak when they used to smoke. The participants also did not really identify themselves as smokers.

People whose experiences are represented by the accounts in *Health and Money* (D) and *Confidence* (-C) also mention that they could not control their smoking. However, they experienced quitting as fairly easy. Interestingly, the woman loading on +C (participant 18) could control her smoking 'to a degree' but nevertheless she found it hard to quit. Smoking is still relevant for her and starting again seems likely if health risks were diminished. It is a story where relapse is quite likely, yet the participant has managed not to smoke for quite a few years. It seems interesting that even though she has given up a long time ago she still thinks of smoking and is longing for it. On occasions she views herself as a smoker. Holding a lot of memories involving smoking, it can be assumed that her past self as a smoker is still important to her. Her positive attitudes towards smoking and smokers serving as social factors might partly define her identity.

In contrast to that, the account of *Confidence* (-C) reveals that temptations do not matter anymore; it is a story of high certainty of staying a non-smoker. Smoking is not relevant anymore. While smoking, the woman whose Q-sort exemplified this factor negatively did not

really use to enjoy cigarettes, which is different from the experiences shown in all the other factors. Smoking now is seen as a weakness and could not be controlled. So perhaps overcoming this habit makes her stronger and more confident. This story resembles the mastery story in some aspects as well. Smoking is part of one's past and corresponding image at the time. Yet, starting to smoke again is not an option at all.

This view is opposite to the one offered in *Health & Money* (D), where quitting smoking is largely due to health risks and monetary concerns. To the participant who exemplified the *Health and Money* account, smoking is still important. It is a portrayal of someone who actually loved to smoke and he quite surely would start again, if there were no health concerns associated.

Views about One's Self

Especially people representing the accounts of *Social Independence and Maturity* (A) and *Personal Growth and Avoidance* (B) appear to have changed in some aspects through giving up smoking. Altogether they feel as being the same person just without a cigarette. In all accounts, smoking cessation does actually not involve any considerable changes within one's self-concept. This self-concept might be assumed as a core self (not necessarily monolithic though) with the former smoking self as rather peripheral and, now changed, as part of the past not belonging to the working or "on-line" self anymore (Markus & Nurius, 1986). These changes are commented by one participant: 'just small changes, mostly money wise, smoking would hold me back from being a good football player' (participant 8, Factor A, comment on item 32). For one participant 'the world has changed' (participant 19, Factor B, comment on item 14), not just aspects of his own self.

For most of the participants giving up smoking just meant getting rid of a behaviour through gaining mastery no matter if it was experienced as rather challenging or easy. Still, they feel that as ex-smokers they have become stronger.

One woman comments that she was 'relatively weak, gave into a lot, was stronger when I quit.'(participant 15, comment on item 11). And participant 11 notes: 'My life was controlled by smoking.' Re-gaining control over one's own life might increase feelings of self-consistency (Steele & Spencer, 1989).

The woman loading positively on factor C *Doubts and Longing* however disagrees with this and felt strong and in control when she used to smoke. Still feeling in control and not noticing large changes in herself, she did not need to work on her identity since she very much stayed the same.

In the account *Personal Growth and Avoidance* (B) giving up smoking caused strong feelings of pride and helped to make other changes in life. Additionally, these participants feel happier and more attractive. They have not forgotten that they used to smoke, even though they do not see themselves as smokers anymore and, furthermore they like being non-smokers.

The story offered in factor D *Health and Money* illustrates that someone can give up smoking without changing substantially. Being a smoker is still important, maybe even more important than being a non-smoker. The self as a smoker is still on-line or part of the working self. Feelings of self-esteem or self-respect seem irrelevant but nonetheless one's weak self is brought into line. The concept of self-verification as proposed by Cast and Burke (2002) might - in the opposite way - be useful here since it seems to be reduced by giving up smoking.

Views about the Relationship to Others

Quitting smoking and socialising seem largely unrelated to each other, in contrast to some smokers who emphasize the social aspects of smoking (see Collins *et al.*, 2002). It does not matter if the participating ex-smokers used to enjoy cigarettes most when among fellow smokers or not. They would not avoid their friends because they have continued to smoke. In the accounts of factor B *Personal Growth and Avoidance* however, it appears that an environment in which people are likely to be smoking is rather avoided. In a comment it occurs that this is rather due to smell and passive smoke it left on them but not to the smokers per se:

‘Yes, I don't like secondary smoke, not the smokers.’ (participant 19, comment on item 53).

Even though people representing account B do not like being around smokers, which is mainly because of the health harming effects smoking carries, they feel quite responsible for the people they are with. Being a good parent by leading by example is important to them. But moreover they would like to help other people to quit smoking. It seems appropriate to note that they actively distinguish between smoking as a behaviour and people who smoke. They do not actually avoid smokers but rather the places due to the smell and passive smoke.

Especially for people loading on factor A, smoking should not interfere with friendships; they still feel a part of their peer group even though they have changed smoking behaviour. As smokers they might have used smoking as a social tool, as they miss the social aspects of smoking. Now however, they have no problems with social contacts without a cigarette in their hand. They enjoy being among their friends who still smoke as much as before. The smell or other disadvantages of smoking do not bother them. This account summarises

experiences of people who feel very strong in social situations where smoking around them is very likely.

In account *Health and Money* (Factor D), the social aspects of smoking do not seem to play an important role at all, smoking per se is more important. However, like the participant representing factor +C, the ex-smoker representing factor D misses the company of other smokers and feels jealous of them. He comments that he does not care if they say they do not enjoy smoking, he still is jealous of them:

'because I also want that enjoyment of smoking, even if they say they're not enjoying it.' (participant 7). Still he notes that he has the same friends.

In the account of *Doubts and Longing* (+C) the company of other smokers is missed quite strongly and people who smoke are envied. Smoking was important in socialising; it is now rather difficult to be around smoking friends. The personal identity might be unchanged by quitting smoking, but the social identity might be transformed in a rather undesirable way.

Since only a few ex-smokers could be invited to complete a Q set, this study does not claim to be representative. Only 19 ex-smokers were found to participate in this study, of whom eleven showed moderate to strong loading on the derived factors. A further weakness is the influence of the author's subjective values and views on the interpretation of the factors. By using the comments made by the participants this subjectivity was tried to be diminished and the participants' understandings of the items were taken into account as much as possible.

However, this research project should be rather viewed as an exploration of the diversity of views and understandings of ex-smokers' experiences of giving up smoking than as a study making assumptions about a population. The obtained patterns of experiences are manifold but also overlap in some ways. As reported in the study by Collins and her colleagues (2002),

smokers' representations about their own smoking differ in many ways, and the same was found here for former smokers: there is not just one view about giving up smoking. Some of the participating ex-smokers experienced feelings of pride, some of enhanced self-respect, or attractiveness. Changes occurred within one's personal self or within one's social identity. In some cases these changes were quite large but some were rather slight. Some ex-smokers found it quite easy to stay abstinent whereas others have successfully given up but still struggle to refrain from smoking, like the ones that represented the accounts *Doubts and Longing* and *Health and Money*. These people might benefit from interventions to strengthen their ability to stay non-smoking, for example relapse prevention programmes helping them to accept and 'make peace' with being a non-smoker.

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Appendices

Appendix I: First item list

Relationship with cigarettes

1. I often feel tempted to have a cigarette
2. I still get cravings for a cigarette
3. I am at a loss to know what to do with my hands since giving up smoking
4. I gave up smoking because my life in general has changed
5. I always used to decide whether I smoke or not
6. Cigarettes ruled my life
7. Cigarettes should be banned
8. People should have the choice whether they smoke or not
9. Smoking and quitting smoking are about free choice
10. Smokers do not think clearly about smoking
11. I can think more clearly about smoking now that I no longer smoke
12. As a smoker I was 'brainwashed'
13. I don't feel guilt now that I have given up smoking
14. As a smoker I was addicted to nicotine
15. Smoking just did not fit to me anymore, so I gave up
16. Smoking does not have anything to do with myself anymore
17. As a smoker, I never really thought about smoking
18. There was actually no particular reason for me to quit smoking
19. I just stopped smoking
20. Smoking never felt right
21. I used to enjoy cigarettes
22. I do not know if I ever will smoke again
23. I think that smoking is an obstacle to maturity
24. Smokers do not have willpower and resolution
25. If someone smokes, it is hard for me not to ask for a cigarette
26. Sometimes I feel like having a cigarette
27. I was controlled by cigarettes
28. I see myself as an ex-smoker
29. I see myself as a non-smoker
30. Smoking helped me in many situations
31. Smoking helped me in many difficult situations
32. Some situations are more difficult without smoking
33. I always could control my smoking
34. I always feel the temptation to smoke
35. Non-smoking makes me eat more
36. Quitting smoking means that you put on weight
37. I have loads of good memories which involve smoking
38. Smokers miss out on a lot of good things in life
39. I was a 'smokaholic'

40. Smoking was an emotional crutch
41. Cigarettes ruled my life
42. Smoking was a positive experience
43. Smoking is about free choice
44. Thinking about cigarettes makes me want to smoke
45. Beer / alcohol tastes better with a cigarette
46. Sometimes I get really depressed no that I don't longer smoke
47. It is never too late to give up smoking
48. I feel bothered by other smokers
49. I feel bothered by cigarette smoke
50. I still feel like a 'smoker'
51. I always felt a bit more important when I had some cigarettes to share at school
52. Smoking made me feel less nervous when I was with people I didn't know well
53. I don't know what to do when I'm bored
54. It would feel natural for me to smoke again
55. Smoking makes you less attractive
56. You can be fit and smoke at the same time
57. Smokers have less energy
58. As a smoker I had less energy than now
59. Smoking is about modern life
60. Health risks did not influence my decision to stop smoking
61. Smoking a cigarette used to calm me down
62. I disapprove smoking
63. Even in times of stress I am sure I would not start to smoke again
64. Giving up smoking felt rough
65. I think smoking is a physical addiction
66. I think smoking is more rather a psychological than a physical addiction
67. Without a cigarette I get more angry or aggressive sometimes

Relationship with self and others

1. I feel pride that I no longer smoke
2. Me no longer being a smoker is sometimes hard for my friends/family
3. I would have more friends if I would still smoke
4. I gave up smoking several times but this time it is different
5. Smoking is still part of who I am
6. Now that I have given up, I think I would make a better parent
7. It's no surprise that I started smoking, everyone around me seemed to smoke when I was growing up
8. I feel more responsible for my social network now
9. I feel as a better member of the society now that I have given up smoking
10. I stopped smoking because I/my partner became pregnant
11. I stopped smoking because my partner/significant person wanted me to
12. I live more future-orientated now that I have given up smoking
13. As a smoker I felt helpless
14. Now that I have given up smoking I feel control over myself
15. As a smoker I was weak
16. I still feel that I am a smoker, even though I no longer smoke
17. I feel the pressure to smoke in social situations
18. I tend to avoid situations or places where people are likely to be smoking
19. I feel that I have lost my identity by giving up smoking
20. I feel that my social life has been changed by giving up smoking

21. I feel healthier since giving up smoking
22. I feel happy about no longer being a smokers
23. Smoking helped me to control my life
24. I feel like the same person
25. I tend to avoid people who smoke
26. I do not feel as close to my friends who have continued smoking
27. I find it difficult to socialise with my smoking friends
28. I like to tell people that I don't smoke
29. I can't see my self as a smoker any more
30. I don't imagine I will ever start smoking again
31. I was a smoker through and through
32. I am happier now that I don't smoke
33. I miss the company of other smokers
34. Smokers tend to be nice to each other
35. I can't think as clearly now that I have given up smoking
36. I can't concentrate on problems now that I have given up smoking
37. I found new friends who don't smoke
38. I have found new interests since quitting
39. I have found new things to spend my time on since giving up smoking
40. I do not feel financially better off since quitting
41. I feel that my day is less structured now
42. Part of my daily routine
43. I don't relate to smokers in the same way anymore
44. I feel people have a greater respect for me now that I have given up smoking
45. Giving up smoking was the hardest thing I ever did
46. Giving up smoking was the biggest challenge in my life
47. Giving up smoking helped me to make other changes in my life
48. Giving up smoking was the most rewarding thing I have done in my life
49. I am proud of my self now that I no longer smoke
50. I feel proud of other people who have given smoking
51. I would like to share with others techniques on how I gave up smoking
52. I gave up smoking for my family/friends/partner
53. I did not want to give up smoking
54. I regret giving up smoking
55. I feel I live a healthy lifestyle since giving up smoking
56. I feel like a new person
57. It is only my behaviour that has changed
58. I feel more in control
59. I always feel like I am missing something
60. I lost something of myself when I gave up smoking
61. I can't see my self as a smoker any more
62. I have forgotten I used to smoke
63. I feel more attractive
64. I feel I can change other things in my life
65. My life in general has changed
66. My social life hasn't changed
67. I feel more comfortable about my self in social situations
68. Being around other smokers does not bother me
69. I notice large changes in my self since I quit smoking
70. I am just the same with out a cigarette in my hand
71. I feel more mature now that I have given up smoking

72. My self esteem has improved
73. I miss the social aspects of smoking
74. I miss the rebellious image I had when I was a smoker
75. I don't like other smokers around me
76. I now feel in control of my own life
77. By giving up smoking I feel that I have given my self the best possible future
78. I had to readjust my lifestyle to give up smoking
79. I prefer socialising with non smokers
80. I hate the thought that I used to smoke
81. If smoking no longer carried any health risks I would start smoking again
82. I have no interest in cigarettes anymore
83. Seeing other people smoke does not bother me in any way
84. I find my self with more time on my hands
85. Although it was a good thing to give up smoking, there were also negative consequences
86. Boredom
87. I have more energy
88. I take a greater interest in the world me
89. I feel less self-aware since giving up smoking
90. I like the smell of cigarette smoke
91. I feel jealous of people who still smoke
92. Smoking is irrelevant to me now
93. Life has got better since I have given up smoke
94. Smoking is something I associate with being immature
95. Non smoking is something I associate with being adult
96. I feel more moral since giving up smoking
97. I feel I am living a decent life since I quit smoking
98. Since giving up smoking I have noticed many more non smokers
99. I have had the occasional drag of a cigarette
100. While I was smoking I did not feel like myself
101. Smoking is something that suited my image
102. I feel less sexy now that I given up
103. I feel I have brought my weak self in to line by giving up smoking
104. I have more respect for myself now that I have given up smoking
105. I feel more individualistic now that I have given up smoking
106. I feel more related to other people now that I have given up smoking
107. I feel like I always have felt
108. I feel less confident now that I have given up smoking
109. Giving up changed my life
110. I changed my self, so I had to quit smoking
111. I did not want to give p smoking, other things around me forced me to
112. I feel like I lost a part of my past
113. I feel no shame
114. My life in general has been changed, so I gave up smoking
115. As a smoker I felt helpless
116. Sometimes I get more easily upset about problem/stress now that I longer smoke
117. As a smoker I felt less self-esteem than now
118. I never felt like a smoker

Appendix II: Second item list

1. Smoking and quitting smoking are about free choice
2. I used to enjoy cigarettes
3. I always could control my smoking
4. I always feel the temptation to smoke
5. I have loads of good memories which involve smoking
6. Smoking was an emotional crutch
7. It would feel natural for me to smoke again
8. Even in times of stress I am sure I would not start to smoke again
9. Me no longer being a smoker is sometimes hard for my friends/family
10. I would have more friends if I would still smoke
11. Smoking is still part of who I am
12. Now that I have given up, I think I would make a better parent
13. It's no surprise that I started smoking, everyone around me seemed to smoke when I was growing up
14. I feel more responsible for my social network now → I would like to share techniques on how I stopped smoking
15. I feel as a better member of the society now that I have given up smoking
16. I live more future-orientated now that I have given up smoking → I feel that I have given my self the best possible future now that I have given up smoking
17. Now that I have given up smoking I feel control over myself
18. As a smoker I was weak
19. I still feel that I am a smoker, even though I no longer smoke
20. I tend to avoid situations or places where people are likely to be smoking
21. I feel that my social life has been changed by giving up smoking
22. I feel happy about no longer being a smoker
23. Smoking helped me to control my life
24. I do not feel as close to my friends who have continued smoking
25. I find it difficult to socialise with my smoking friends
26. I like to tell people that I don't smoke → proud
27. I can't see my self as a smoker any more
28. I was a smoker through and through
29. I am happier now that I don't smoke
30. I miss the company of other smokers
31. I can't think as clearly now that I have given up smoking
32. I found new friends who don't smoke
33. I feel that my day is less structured now
34. I don't relate to smokers in the same way anymore
35. I feel people have a greater respect for me now that I have given up smoking
36. Giving up smoking was the hardest thing I ever did → Giving up smoking wasn't a big deal
37. Giving up smoking helped me to make other changes in my life
38. I am proud of my self now that I no longer smoke
39. I feel proud of other people who have given up smoking
40. I would like to share with others techniques on how I gave up smoking → see 14
41. I regret giving up smoking
42. I feel I live a healthy lifestyle since giving up smoking
43. It is only my behaviour that has changed
44. I always feel like I am missing something

45. I lost something of myself when I gave up smoking
46. I have forgotten that I used to smoke
47. I feel more attractive
48. I notice large changes in my self since I quit smoking
49. I am just the same without a cigarette in my hand
50. I feel more mature now that I have given up smoking
51. My self esteem has improved
52. I miss the social aspects of smoking
53. I miss the rebellious image I had when I was a smoker
54. I don't like other smokers around me
55. By giving up smoking I feel that I have given my self the best possible future → see 16
56. I prefer socialising with non smokers
57. I hate the thought that I used to smoke
58. If smoking no longer carried any health risks I would start smoking again
59. Although it was a good thing to give up smoking, there were also negative consequences
60. I feel less self-aware since giving up smoking
61. I feel jealous of people who still smoke
62. Smoking is irrelevant to me now
63. Life has got better since I have given up smoking
64. I feel more moral since giving up smoking
65. I feel I am living a decent life since I quit smoking
66. Since giving up smoking I have noticed many more non smokers
67. While I was smoking I did not feel like myself
68. Smoking is something that suited my image (at the time)
69. I feel less sexy now that I given up
70. I feel I have brought my weak self in to line by giving up smoking
71. I have more respect for myself now that I have given up smoking
72. I feel more individualistic now that I have given up smoking
73. I feel more related to other people now that I have given up smoking
74. I feel like I always have felt
75. I changed my self, so I had to quit smoking
76. I did not want to give up smoking, other things around me forced me to
77. I feel no shame / more self worth
78. My life in general has been changed, so I gave up smoking
79. Sometimes I get more easily upset about problem/stress now that I longer smoke
80. As a smoker I felt less self-esteem than now
81. I never felt like a smoker

Appendix III: Final item list as used in the Q-study with ranking on each factor:

Note: Rankings on Factor –C have been reversed

	A	B	+C	-C	D
1. I used to enjoy cigarettes	+4	+4	+3	-3	+5
2. It would feel natural for me to smoke again.	0	-3	+3	-3	+5
3. I feel that I have become a more responsible person now that I have given up smoking.	+2	+2	0	0	-3
4. I feel that my social life has been changed by giving up smoking.	-2	-1	-3	+3	-2
5. I always could control my smoking.	0	-4	+4	-4	-4
6. Even in times of stress I am sure I would not start to smoke again.	0	+5	-4	+4	-4
7. I feel that I have less control now that I have quit smoking.	-3	-2	-1	+1	+1
8. Smoking helped me to control my life	-3	-4	+1	-1	0
9. I always feel the temptation to smoke	0	-3	+5	-5	+2
10. I would have more friends if I would still smoke.	-5	-2	+1	-1	-1
11. As a smoker I was weak.	+4	+2	-4	+4	+1
12. I do not feel as close to my friends who have continued to smoke.	-4	-2	-1	+1	-2
13. I have loads of good memories which involve smoking.	+1	0	+2	-2	-1
14. Smoking is still part of who I am.	-1	-1	+3	-3	+4
15. I still feel that I am a smoker.	-2	-3	+4	-4	+4
16. I find it difficult to socialise with my smoking friends.	-4	-1	+3	-3	0
17. Smoking was an emotional crutch.	-2	+1	-2	+2	-1
18. Now that have given up, I think I would make a better parent.	+1	+2	0	0	+1
19. I tend to avoid situations or places where people are likely to be smoking.	-5	-2	+1	-1	-3
20. I like to tell people that I don't smoke.	+2	+2	-2	+2	+1

Ex-Smokers' Experiences: Appendix III

	A	B	+C	-C	D
21. I can't see my self as a smoker anymore.	+5	+5	-5	+5	-5
22. I found new friends who don't smoke.	-1	-1	-2	+2	-3
23. Giving up smoking helped me to make other changes in my life.	0	+3	-3	+3	0
24. I have forgotten that I used to smoke.	-3	-2	-4	+4	-3
25. I was a smoker through and through.	-1	0	-3	+3	+2
26. I feel that my day is less structured now.	0	0	+2	-2	+3
27. I am proud of my self now that I no longer smoke.	+4	+5	-3	+3	+2
28. I feel more attractive now that I no longer smoke.	+3	+2	+2	-2	+1
29. I am happier now that I don't smoke.	+3	+3	-1	+1	0
30. I don't relate to smokers in the same way anymore.	-1	+1	-2	+2	-1
31. I would like to share with others techniques on how I gave up smoking.	+1	+4	0	0	+3
32. I notice large changes in my self since I quit smoking.	-1	+3	-2	+2	-2
33. I miss the company of other smokers.	-4	-3	+5	-5	-1
34. I feel people have a greater respect for me now that I have given up smoking.	+1	0	+2	-2	+3
35. I regret giving up smoking.	-5	-5	-1	+1	-5
36. I am just the same person but without a cigarette in my hand.	+3	+2	0	0	+3
37. I can't think as clearly now that I have given up smoking.	-2	-4	-2	+2	0
38. Giving up smoking wasn't a big deal.	+5	-5	-5	+5	+1
39. I feel I live a healthy lifestyle since giving up smoking.	0	+1	+1	-1	-2
40. I feel more mature now that I have given up smoking.	+3	0	+1	-1	-2
41. My self esteem has improved since quitting smoking.	+1	+1	-1	+1	0
42. I prefer socialising with non smokers.	-4	+3	-1	+1	-1
43. I feel jealous of people who still smoke.	-1	-5	+5	-5	+4
44. Smoking is something that suited my image at the time.	+3	+1	-4	+4	+3
45. I miss the social aspects of smoking.	+2	0	+1	-1	+2
46. I hate the thought that I used to smoke.	-2	0	-3	+3	-3
47. Smoking is irrelevant to me now.	+1	+1	-5	+5	-3
48. I feel less sexy now that I given up smoking.	-2	-2	-3	+3	+2

Ex-Smokers' Experiences: Appendix III

	A	B	+C	-C	D
49. I miss the rebellious image I had when I was a smoker.	+2	-1	+2	-2	+2
50. If smoking no longer carried any health risks I would start smoking again.	+1	-3	+4	-4	+5
51. Life has got better since I have given up smoking.	+2	+1	0	0	+3
52. I feel I have brought my weak self in to line by giving up smoking.	+3	+3	+1	-1	+2
53. I don't like other smokers around me.	-3	+4	0	0	-1
54. Although it was a good thing to give up smoking, there were also negative consequences.	-3	-1	+3	-3	0
55. I feel more moral since giving up smoking.	-2	-1	+3	-3	-2
56. I have more respect for myself now that I have given up smoking.	+5	+4	0	0	-2
57. By giving up smoking I feel that I have given my self the best possible future.	+4	+3	0	0	0
58. I feel more self-aware since giving up smoking.	+2	0	-1	+1	0
59. While I was smoking I did not feel like myself.	0	0	+2	-2	-4
60. I feel more independent of other people now that I have given up smoking.	+2	+2	-2	+2	+1
61. I did not want to give up smoking, other things around me forced me to.	-3	-4	+4	-4	+4
62. Sometimes I get more easily upset about problem/stress now that I no longer smoke.	-1	-3	0	0	-4
63. I never felt like a smoker.	0	-2	+2	-2	-5

Appendix IV:

INSTRUCTIONS FOR COMPLETING THE Q-SORT

Enclosed in this set of materials you will find one Q-sort that is based people's identity after they have given up smoking.

The Q-sort consists of several sheets of paper on each there are numbered statements about quitting smoking. The statements are things that people who have given up smoking have said in interviews, at conferences and in conversations, and have been collected from books and magazines, television and radio. For the Q-sort there are sixty-three statements. Your task will be to sort the set of statements in a way that gives and impression of how you feel about them.

You will also find a 'markers' sheet, on which there are markers from -5 through 0 to +5. To carry out the Q-sort you will need to cut the items from the Q-pack and the 'marker numbers' sheet out, so that you have two piles of small bits of paper, one pile of sixty three statements, and one pile of eleven marker numbers. You will also need a large, clear table of desk – or the floor (as the process takes up a fair bit of space).

Your task will be to sort the statement from your STRONGEST DISAGREEMENT (-5) to your STRONGEST AGREEMENT (+5). If you look at the response grid, you will see the format of choices. As you will see, at the extreme ends (-5 and +5) you will need to place just 3 statements – those with which you most disagree with at one end, and those with which you most strongly agree at the other. In between, you will place increasingly more statements to form a V shape.

In this way you should be able to give rough accounts of your own experiences of giving up smoking. We say 'rough accounts' because a technique like this can only go so far, and can not represent a lot of detail, nor take into account the "...yes, but..." feeling we all have about any issue or topic. However, this technique is not intended so much to give an accurate picture of just one person's views, we use it to look for patterns of ideas, examining the ways some people sort in similar ways and others very differently.

An open-ended 'free' response booklet is also included to give you the chance to get your own particular viewpoint across to explain your reactions to the statements, why you have put particular statements in particular places, any problems with interpreting the statements, or whatever. Don't feel you have to comment about every statement (although we do welcome this if you have the time and the inclination as this will help us to understand your pattern of responses and therefore represent your viewpoint more accurately); simply use these as an opportunity to make your views clear.

Starting to sort

To begin each Q-sort, sort the numbered statements (which you cut up earlier) fairly roughly into three piles like this:

Pile A	Pile B	Pile C
disagree	unsure	agree
	no strong feeling	
	don't understand	

At this stage it is probably worth going through the piles a second time, to make sure that you are happy with where you have placed the statements. Include in pile

A all those with which you disagree, even if only on 'balance' or mildly; and in pile C ensure that there are all the statements with which, on balance, you agree, even if your agreement is pretty small. You can go on changing statements from pile to pile as long as you want, right up to the end of the sort, but people usually find that sorting get easier later on if they make sure they are fairly happy at this stage.

Doing the Q-sort

When you are satisfied with your three piles, your need for a lot of space arises. Set out the marker numbers in a row in front of you like this, with plenty of space below;

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
----	----	----	----	----	---	----	----	----	----	----

{PLENTRY OF SPACE}

Your task from this point on is to sort the statements according to two considerations. First and foremost, consider the extent to which you agree or disagree with each one. When a decision gets hard, however, you should also consider the importance of the subject to your beliefs and opinions – place those statements that are of more importance for you before those that are of less concern.

Now using the response grid on the back page, begin to sort your statements accordingly to the pattern we have specified (that is three statements at -5, four at -4, six at -3 and so on). Most people start by selecting one pile, e.g. pile A, and choosing from it the three statements with which they feel the strongest disagreement, placing these under the -5 marker.

The object from this point on is to gradually refine your strength of disagreement by next selecting four statements to go under -4, then six statement to go under -3 and so on, working from pile A until you have used them all up. Then you should move to pile C, and working in a similar way, you should first find your three statements of strongest agreement to put under the -5 marker and so on.

When you have used all your statements from piles A and C, go on to place pile B. Here you should aim, as far as possible, to work from disagreement to agreement. While for some people the 0 row will be sufficient for all of pile B, for others you may be using + or - columns. Some people even find that their 'agrees' spread over into the 'disagree' side or vice versa. If either of these happens to you, the mark the grid with lines, to show where your agreement ends and where your disagreement starts. But these statements in the middle of the grid don't matter so much, and you don't have to worry over them for too long. It is the statements at the end that are most important for comparing your sorting with those of other people.

At the end of your sorting, you should have something in front of you that looks like this:

disagree

agree

	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	
Item no, e.g 29	45	23	43	15	11	24	09	25	10	51		
22	04	52	44	32	46	50	27	26	08	60		
21	31	14	05	33	12	02	28	36	37	20		
3 items	63	13	06	42	01	38	34	47	07	3 items		
4 items		30	53	55	40	39	35	48		4 items		
		56	54	17	41	61	57	19				
6 items		03	16	49	62	58			6 items			
		7 items	7 items		59	7 items	7 items					
					18							
					9 items							

Even at this stage if you want (and have the time) you should feel free to move the statements around. When, however, you are reasonably happy with your choices, fill in the grid with the numbers of the statements.

Please note, however, that for the purposes of the analysis we will carry out on the responses, it is absolutely crucial that you stick to the format specified by the grid (that is the number of statements we have asked for under each marker card), with exactly the right number of statements in each column, you should not put, say, four statements under the -5 marker column, however much you may feel you would like to do so.

SO PLEASE DO STICK TO THE RIGHT NUMBER OF STATEMENTS IN EACH COLUMN – OTHERWISE THE COMPUTER WILL NOT ACCEPT THE DATA.

Please return the response grid and free response booklet with any further comments you have made within 2 weeks.

Thank you very much for helping us with our research, we appreciate the time and effort required, and your willingness to give your support.

THINGS TO REMEMBER WHEN DOING THE Q-SORT

1. The Q-sort contains a number of statements which have been collected from a variety of sources and are intended to cover a wide range of opinions – because we have decided to include particular items, this does mean we necessarily support or challenge them.
2. We want to find out about those things, which may influence ideas and opinions, so we would appreciate knowing something about your background. We also ask for this information (e.g. sex, age, occupation etc.) to ensure that we have covered as wide a range of viewpoints as is possible with a study of this kind. But you are free to respond anonymously if you prefer.
3. This is not a test and we are not trying to measure or diagnose anything. We are simply studying ex-smokers' different viewpoints and understandings of identity and self.
4. While we will interpret data by computer, no information linked to you as an individual will be kept in a data file. If we quote from what you say in a research report, this will be done anonymously.
5. We will be happy to send you a report of the research when it is finished, or include you in further studies if you indicate this on the response grid, or alternatively feel free to contact us direct.
6. We are happy to discuss any part of the research, or answer any questions. We can be contacted at:

Claudia Kufeld
 Department of Psychology
 Luton University
 Park Square
 Luton LU1 3JU
 E-mail: 99119057@luton.ac.uk

Response sheet

Name (you wish to be known by in the study):

Please tell us something about your smoking history:

e.g. when have you started to smoke / for how long have you smoked?
 / on which occasions mainly?

When did you give up? / How many previous attempts to give up
 smoking did you have?

Appendix V: Response grid

please write in the numbers of your statements

strongly disagree		neutral don't know don't understand					strongly agree			
-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
3 items										3 items
	4 items									4 items
		6 items								6 items
			7 items	7 items			7 items	7 items		
					9 items					

Name (as you wish to be known by in the study): _____

Age: _____

Gender: Female Male

Nationality: _____

Occupation: _____

Any other relevant information: _____

Appendix VI: Ideal Grids with statements

Factor A

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
10. * I would have more friends if I would still smoke.	42. I prefer socialising with non smokers.	7. I feel that I have less control now that I have quit smoking.	15. I still feel that I am a smoker.	30. I don't relate to smokers in the same way anymore.	9. I always feel the temptation to smoke.	50. If smoking no longer carried any health risks I would start smoking again.	3. I feel that I have become a more responsible person now that I have given up smoking.	29. I am happier now that I don't smoke.	57. By giving up smoking I feel that I have given myself the best possible future.	21. I can't see myself as a smoker anymore.
35. I regret giving up smoking.	16. I find it difficult to socialise with my smoking friends.	24. I have forgotten that I used to smoke.	48. I feel less sexy now that I given up smoking.	43. I feel jealous of people who still smoke.	39. I feel I live a healthy lifestyle since giving up smoking.	18. Now that have given up, I think I would make a better parent.	49. I miss the rebellious image I had when I was a smoker.	28. I feel more attractive now that I no longer smoke.	1. I used to enjoy cigarettes.	56. I have more respect for myself now that I have given up smoking.
19. I tend to avoid situations or places where people are likely to be smoking.	12. I do not feel as close to my friends who have continued to smoke.	54. Although it was a good thing to give up smoking, there were also negative consequences.	55. I feel more moral since giving up smoking.	32. I notice large changes in my self since I quit smoking.	63. I never felt like a smoker.	31. I would like to share with others techniques on how I gave up smoking.	45. I miss the social aspects of smoking.	36. I am just the same person but without a cigarette in my hand.	11. As a smoker I was weak.	38.* Giving up smoking wasn't a big deal.
	33. I miss the company of other smokers.	53. I don't like other smokers around me.	37. I can't think as clearly now that I have given up smoking.	14. Smoking is still part of who I am.	23. Giving up smoking helped me to make other changes in my life.	41. My self esteem has improved since quitting smoking.	60. I feel more independent of other people now that I have given up smoking.	44. Smoking is something that suited my image at the time.	27. I am proud of myself now that I no longer smoke.	
		8. Smoking helped me to control my life.	17. Smoking was an emotional crutch.	22. I found new friends who don't smoke.	26. I feel that my day is less structured now.	47. Smoking is irrelevant to me now.	51. Life has got better since I have given up smoking.	40. I feel more mature now that I have given up smoking.		
		61. I did not want to give up smoking, other things around me forced me to.	4. I feel that my social life has been changed by giving up smoking.	62. Sometimes I get more easily upset about problem/stress now that I no longer smoke.	5.* I always could control my smoking.	34. I feel people have a greater respect for me now that I have given up smoking.	58. I feel more self-aware since giving up smoking.	52. I feel I have brought my weak self in to line by giving up smoking.		
			46. I hate the thought that I used to smoke.	25. I was a smoker through and through.	6.* Even in times of stress I am sure I would not start to smoke again.	13. I have loads of good memories which involve smoking.	20. I like to tell people that I don't smoke.			
					2.* It would feel natural for me to smoke again.					
					59. While I was smoking I did not feel like myself.					

Factor B

	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
35. I regret giving up smoking.	8. Smoking helped me to control my life.	15. I still feel that I am a smoker.	63. I never felt like a smoker.	49.* I miss the rebellious image I had when I was a smoker.	26. I feel that my day is less structured now.	41. My self-esteem has improved since quitting smoking.	36. I am just the same person but without a cigarette in my hand.	52. I feel I have brought my weak self in to line by giving up smoking.	56. I have more respect for myself now that I have given up smoking.	21. I can't see my self as a smoker anymore.	
43. * I feel jealous of people who still smoke.	5. I always could control my smoking.	62. Sometimes I get more easily upset about problem/stress now that I no longer smoke.	48. I feel less sexy now that I given up smoking.	55. I feel more moral since giving up smoking.	13. I have loads of good memories which involve smoking.	17. Smoking was an emotional crutch.	20. I like to tell people that I don't smoke.	32. I notice large changes in my self since I quit smoking.	31. I would like to share with others techniques on how I gave up smoking.	27. I am proud of my self now that I no longer smoke.	
38. Giving up smoking wasn't a big deal.	61. I did not want to give up smoking, other things around me forced me to.	33. I miss the company of other smokers.	12. I do not feel as close to my friends who have continued to smoke.	22. I found new friends who don't smoke.	40. I feel more mature now that I have given up smoking.	39. I feel I live a healthy lifestyle since giving up smoking.	28. I feel more attractive now that I no longer smoke.	23.* Giving up smoking helped me to make other changes in my life.	1. I used to enjoy cigarettes.	6. Even in times of stress I am sure I would not start to smoke again.	
	37. I can't think as clearly now that I have given up smoking.	50. If smoking no longer carried any health risks I would start smoking again.	10. I would have more friends if I would still smoke.	4. I feel that my social life has been changed by giving up smoking.	59. While I was smoking I did not feel like myself.	30. I don't relate to smokers in the same way anymore.	11. As a smoker I was weak.	57. By giving up smoking I feel that I have given my self the best possible future.	53. I don't like other smokers around me.		
		2. It would feel natural for me to smoke again.	7. I feel that I have less control now that I have quit smoking.	54. Although it was a good thing to give up smoking, there were also negative consequences.	58. I feel more self-aware since giving up smoking.	44. Smoking is something that suited my image at the time.	60. I feel more independent of other people now that I have given up smoking.	29. I am happier now that I don't smoke.			
		9. I always feel the temptation to smoke.	19. I tend to avoid situations or places where people are likely to be smoking.	16. I find it difficult to socialise with my smoking friends.	46. I hate the thought that I used to smoke.	51. Life has got better since I have given up smoking.	3. I feel that I have become a more responsible person now that I have given up smoking.	42. * I prefer socialising with non smokers.			
			24. I have forgotten that I used to smoke.	14. Smoking is still part of who I am.	34. I feel people have a greater respect for me now that I have given up smoking.	47. Smoking is irrelevant to me now.	18. Now that have given up, I think I would make a better parent.				
					25. I was a smoker through and through.						
					45. I miss the social aspects of smoking.						

Factor C

Note: Factor C is bipolar

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
38. Giving up smoking wasn't a big deal.	6. Even in times of stress I am sure I would not start to smoke again.	46. I hate the thought that I used to smoke	17. Smoking was an emotional crutch.	35. I regret giving up smoking.	3. I feel that I have become a more responsible person now that I have given up smoking.	8. Smoking helped me to control my life	26. I feel that my day is less structured now.	2. It would feel natural for me to smoke again.	5. I always could control my smoking.	9. * I always feel the temptation to smoke.
47. Smoking is irrelevant to me now	11. As a smoker I was weak.	4. I feel that my social life has been changed by giving up smoking.	20. I like to tell people that I don't smoke.	7. I feel that I have less control now that I have quit smoking.	31. I would like to share with others techniques on how I gave up smoking.	19. I tend to avoid situations or places where people are likely to be smoking.	49. I miss the rebellious image I had when I was a smoker.	14. Smoking is still part of who I am.	15. I still feel that I am a smoker	43. I feel jealous of people who still smoke.
21. I can't see myself as a smoker anymore.	24. I have forgotten that I used to smoke.	48. I feel less sexy now that I given up smoking.	22. I found new friends who don't smoke	42. I prefer socialising with non smokers.	18. Now that have given up, I think I would make a better parent.	40. I feel more mature now that I have given up smoking.	28. I feel more attractive now that I no longer smoke.	16. * I find it difficult to socialise with my smoking friends	61. I did not want to give up smoking, other things around me forced me to.	33. I miss the company of other smokers.
	44. Smoking is something that suited my image at the time.	27.* I am proud of my self now that I no longer smoke.	30. I don't relate to smokers in the same way anymore.	58. I feel more self-aware since giving up smoking.	56. I have more respect for myself now that I have given up smoking.	52. I feel I have brought my weak self in to line by giving up smoking	13. I have loads of good memories which involve smoking.	55. * I feel more moral since giving up smoking.	50. If smoking no longer carried any health risks I would start smoking again.	
		23. Giving up smoking helped me to make other changes in my life.	32. I notice large changes in my self since I quit smoking	12. I do not feel as close to my friends who have continued to smoke.	62. Sometimes I get more easily upset about problem/stress now that I no longer smoke.	10. I would have more friends if I would still smoke.	34. I feel people have a greater respect for me now that I have given up smoking.	1. I used to enjoy cigarettes.		
		25. I was a smoker through and through.	37. I can't think as clearly now that I have given up smoking.	29. I am happier now that I don't smoke.	51. Life has got better since I have given up smoking	45. I miss the social aspects of smoking.	63. I never felt like a smoker.	54. Although it was a good thing to give up smoking, there were also negative consequences.		
			60. I feel more independent of other people now that I have given up smoking.	41. My self esteem has improved since quitting smoking	53. I don't like other smokers around me	39. I feel I live a healthy lifestyle since giving up smoking.	59. While I was smoking I did not feel like myself			
					36. I am just the same person but without a cigarette in my hand.					
					57. By giving up smoking I feel that I have given myself the best possible future.					

Factor D

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	
21. I can't see my self as a smoker anymore.	5. I always could control my smoking.	3.* I feel that I have become a more responsible person now that I have given up smoking.	4. I feel that my social life has been changed by giving up smoking.	10. I would have more friends if I would still smoke.	8. Smoking helped me to control my life	7. I feel that I have less control now that I have quit smoking.	9. I always feel the temptation to smoke.	26. I feel that my day is less structured now.	14. Smoking is still part of who I am.	1. I used cigarette
35. I regret giving up smoking.	6. Even in times of stress I am sure I would not start to smoke again.	19. I tend to avoid situations or places where people are likely to be smoking.	12. I do not feel as close to my friends who have continued to smoke.	13. I have loads of good memories which involve smoking.	16. I find it difficult to socialise with my smoking friends.	11. As a smoker I was weak.	25. I was a smoker through and through.	31. I would like to share with others techniques on how I gave up smoking.	15. I still feel that I am a smoker.	2. It would feel natural for me to smoke again.
63. I never felt like a smoker.	59. * While I was smoking I did not feel like myself.	22. I found new friends who don't smoke.	32. I notice large changes in my self since I quit smoking.	17. Smoking was an emotional crutch.	23. Giving up smoking helped me to make other changes in my life.	18. Now that have given up, I think I would make a better parent.	27. I am proud of my self now that I no longer smoke.	34. I feel people have a greater respect for me now that I have given up smoking.	43. I feel jealous of people who still smoke.	50. If smoking no longer carried any health risks I would start smoking again.
	62. Sometimes I get more easily upset about problem/stress now that I no longer smoke.	24. I have forgotten that I used to smoke.	39. I feel I live a healthy lifestyle since giving up smoking.	30. I don't relate to smokers in the same way anymore.	29. I am happier now that I don't smoke.	20. I like to tell people that I don't smoke.	45. I miss the social aspects of smoking.	36. I am just the same person but without a cigarette in my hand.	61. I did not want to give up smoking, other things around me forced me to	
		46. I hate the thought that I used to smoke.	40. I feel more mature now that I have given up smoking.	33. I miss the company of other smokers.	37. I can't think as clearly now that I have given up smoking.	28. I feel more attractive now that I no longer smoke.	48.* I feel less sexy now that I given up smoking.	44. Smoking is something that suited my image at the time.		
		47. Smoking is irrelevant to me now.	55. I feel more moral since giving up smoking.	42. I prefer socialising with non smokers.	41. My self esteem has improved since quitting smoking.	38. Giving up smoking wasn't a big deal.	49. I miss the rebellious image I had when I was a smoker.	51. Life has got better since I have given up smoking.		
			56. I have more respect for myself now that I have given up smoking.	53. I don't like other smokers around me.	54. Although it was a good thing to give up smoking, there were also negative consequences.	60. I feel more independent of other people now that I have given up smoking.	52. I feel I have brought my weak self in to line by giving up smoking.			
					57. By giving up smoking I feel that I have given my self the best possible future.					
					58. I feel more self-aware since giving up smoking.					

15,021 words without references and appendices

24,403 words including all materials