Our way to Home: An Exploratory Study of Pasifika Gay Men in New Zealand, Their Lived Experience and Their Navigation of Sexual Orientation related Legislative Change.

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Abstract

Gay men are an uncounted and silenced group of people within communities of Pacific Island diaspora in New Zealand. The silence emanates from histories of deeply conservative social regulation dominated by Christian organisations that grew from the religious colonisation of the Pacific region in the 1800s. With the first mass migrations of Pacific people to New Zealand in the 1950s, Pacific Christian churches in New Zealand were established to become centres where communities practised heritage languages and cultural traditions. In Pacific families, worldviews were practised founded on the *va*, representing the sacredness of the relationship between one person and another. The *va* is central to relationship maintenance as a core component of *being of a Pacific ethnicity*. People in Pacific ethnic groups saw service to family and community as the best way to maintain relationships and their sacredness.

Since the 1980s, Pacific communities in New Zealand have grappled with increasing normalisation and legitimisation of gay men in wider society. Social change was marked by the passing of the Homosexual Law Reform Act in 1986, the Human Rights Act in 1993, the Civil Union Act in 2004 and the Marriage (Definition of Marriage) Amendment Act in 2013. Pacific church teachings condemning homosexuality were challenged by this change, and during times of public interest, Pacific church leaders and other notable community leaders, including celebrities and sportsmen, have publicly campaigned for continued condemnation of homosexuals.

This qualitative hermeneutic study follows the Kakala Research Methodology to explore the lived experience of Pacific gay men of these worldviews, traditions, practices, and relevant institutions. It follows Pacific gay men's attempts to make sense of Pacific worldviews of service to family and community alongside the hurt that resulted from public campaigns of hostility.

The main findings of this study were that Pacific people saw themselves as concerned for and protecting the wellbeing of families, based on the *va.* For some gay men, that protection was extended to them, and for others, the teachings of churches led to hostility. In contrast to the care and relationships in the Pacific families, church teachings were reliant on; the Bible as an authoritative and unique source of teaching, and the authority and power of the church minister.

Based on church teachings, some Pacific gay men were; exposed to marginalisation in the family, protests in public domains and campaigning by church ministers to influence parliament in opposition to marriage equality legislation. This study explores that hostility and questions the authenticity of the structures that sat behind it. It also explores the strength of Pacific families and worldviews to understand the protective factors that offered support to Pacific gay men. Its findings make contributions to studies of Pacific peoples, Pacific ethnic cultural groups, LGBTI people in New Zealand and public policy.

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Attestation of Authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning

Signed:

23 November 2020

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Dedication

To my kind, gentle and loving husband Stephen Bowness. Your insistence about hugs, your commitment to listen and our shared growth gives me renewed hope and strength every day.

Ethics Approval

This research was approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC) on 9 October 2017.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

My interest in this study began as I reflected on how I came to understand my identity as a gay man, as well as the reactions of those around me when I came out. Understanding my sexual orientation felt akin to understanding who I was to my core. It felt instinctive. I thought about my friends and family and felt heartbreak at some reactions and positive energy from some memorable experiences. The instinctive nature of this process led me to questions about my Tongan and gay identities, what is taught and what is deep inside. This study is an opportunity to explore other Pacific gay men's experiences, their energies, heartbreaks and questions that may arise.

This research follows after previous studies and leverages my professional background, as well as personal experiences. I am interested in the implications of this study for communities and government policies following 15 years of working in various policy analysis jobs. In my career as a public servant, I was one of the few policy analysts who worked in community settings and was allowed to incorporate the experiences of people from Pacific families and community groups into Ministerial advice. Incorporating these experiences and viewpoints were important to me. I had been around long enough to see Pacific families and communities not benefit from government policies and investments.

Many of my *Pālangi* European colleagues were not connected to communities and lacked the nuanced listening and inquiry skills. Early in my career, many disregarded the voice of the community. In 2015, I completed a Master of Philosophy thesis about the challenge Pacific policy analysts and policymakers faced in having their voices taken seriously. A key finding was that Pacific policy voices were closely connected to Pacific communities. Since 2017, more colleagues have cried out for that voice, and not known where to look or how to ask. This experience taught me that Pacific voices, that understand Pacific peoples worldviews and cultural traditions have an essential part to play in policy settings.

This professional background implied that I see Pacific communities in a close relationship with the policies and investments of New Zealand governments. As many of the communication lines between the government and Pacific peoples are through community groups, such as churches, these groups become pivotal for policy development. However, to Pacific families, these community groups exist for other reasons than being conduits to government programmes. Pacific people, families and communities see groups and groupings in different ways, for different purposes and based on different interpretations. Therefore, the implications for this study may traverse the border between government and people, but it will also have implications for the ways that we in our Pacific communities consider ourselves and one another.

Significant events and developing interest

As a teenager in the late 1990s, I wanted to explore how Pacific communities in New Zealand and the homelands understood being gay. Also, I yearned to know about those understandings in the contexts of Pacific worldviews and cultural traditions. It was expanded in my adult life as I learned about relevant events in the Pacific region between 2000 and 2015. I will briefly explore two events that influenced my developing interest and explain the questions I faced after those events. The two events were the murders of John Scott and Gregory Scrivener in Fiji in 2001, and protests against the Tongan government's proposed ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination towards Women (CEDAW) in 2015.

John Scott and Gregory Scrivener were found dead at their home in Suva, Fiji on 1 July 2001. Mr Scott was the director of the Fiji Red Cross, had risen in local and global prominence as a negotiator during a coup in 2000 in which the Fijian Prime Minister and MPs were held hostage by a local businessman and a group of military officers (Associated Press, 2000; The Guardian, 2000). CNN (2001) initially speculated that his death was related to the upcoming trials relating to the coup, whereas the New Zealand Herald (Yandall, 2001) reported claims in a pathologist's report, that the couple were tortured by having their fingernails removed. Fiji Police denied the torture claims.

The Fiji police became a focus of some reports. CNN reported a claim by Gregory Scrivener's sister that John Scott was distrustful of the Fiji police due to homophobia among senior officers (CNN, 2001). Scrivener's sister also alleged that Scott's efforts during the coup were in support of the only government administration that had secured the human rights of gay people (CNN, 2001a). The Fijian police chief Isikia Savua told the Fiji Times that the police official position was that "what went on behind closed doors between two consenting adults was their own business" (Fiji Times, 2001; in PI Report, 2001). Police chief Savua also told the press that the investigation required crucial evidence to be tested overseas due to the lack of forensic facilities locally (Yandall, 2001). The officer in charge of the murder inquiry, Superintendent Ravi Narayan told the New Zealand Herald that evidence found in a pathologists report had been confused, as the pathologist had removed the fingernails to understand the killings better (Yandall, 2001).

In November 2001, TVNZ's 60 Minutes current affairs programme investigated claims that the victims had drugged and sexually assaulted young men in two separate stories. Those stories were titled "Saints and Sinners" and discussed claims made by the Fiji police after the killings (TVNZ, 2001) and "Double Lives" (TVNZ 2001a). The "Double Lives" story included interviews with three young men who claimed that they were coerced into sexual intercourse with the couple (Broadcasting Standards Authority, 2002; TVNZ, 2001a).

The New Zealand Herald (2001) reported that two weeks after the killings, police had charged a young man, Apete Kaisau, with the killings, but were concerned at his mental state. At the High Court murder trial, the accused's mental illness was examined. The court heard that Kaisau had lived with delusions and hallucinations. It also heard that the form of schizophrenia he suffered from had amplified the latent homophobia in his existing religious beliefs (Radio New Zealand, 2003). He was found not guilty of murder by reason of insanity and was sentenced to compulsory treatment at a mental health facility.

In 2008, the documentary "An Island Calling" explored social contexts that influenced the killings (Nga Taonga, 2008; NZ On Screen, 2008). The film questioned the homophobic descriptions of the victims that police chiefs made to media immediately after the killings. It explored Kaisau's reading of bible passages condemning homosexuals the night before the killings (NZ On Screen, 2008). It also discussed increased religious fundamentalism in Fiji after a parliamentary coup in 1987. A review of the documentary the following year pointed out "Where Fijians might once have turned a blind eye to gay sex, that "tolerance" was tested if a relationship was regarded as too open and those involved were white men and outsiders" (Stuff, 2009).

As a student in my final year of undergraduate study, I read the initial headlines fearing that an anti-gay hate crime had taken place. Also, hearing two *Pālangi* names led me to wonder if the locals had considered *being openly gay* to be a *Pālangi* phenomenon and killed them as outsiders as well as homosexuals. I wondered about the Fijian gay men witnessing the media coverage, whether those who were closeted felt any pressure or intensified pressure, or if their families were confronting them about their suspicions.

I was also interested in the claims investigated and later made, in the TVNZ 60 Minutes stories. I was both concerned that the young men may have been preyed upon and suspicious that TVNZ's line of inquiry implied that gay men were synonymous with sexual assaults. These fears reflected the experiences from my childhood of my parents, who taught me that homosexuals were also paedophiles and that I was to fear them.

In May 2015, I saw social media posts among my extended family and Tongan news media reports about marches led by the Tongan Catholic Women's League against their government's proposal to ratify CEDAW (Radio New Zealand, 2015; TVNZ, 2015). For context, my Tongan family is devoutly Catholic. Our Catholicism is an integral part of our family identity. An essential aspect of this identity is our affiliation to the Marian and Dominican movements and their commitment to human rights, social justice, and

compassion towards the rights of gay people. Earlier that year, my aunts, cousins, and siblings travelled to Tonga to celebrate the installation of a relative, Soane Patita[1] Mafi as Tonga's first Catholic Cardinal Vicar. I was unable to attend, but my social media feed included family speculation that Soane Patita's installation would lead to a relaxation of attitudes about homosexuality among Tongan Catholics. These aspirations followed statements made by Pope Francis two years prior, which challenged existing Catholic teachings condemning gay people (Spadaro, 2013; Hale, 2013).

Church leaders drove the protest marches and were concerned about CEDAW leading to same-sex marriage (TVNZ, 2015). A protester claimed that CEDAW "would affect future generations of Tongans" (Radio New Zealand, 2015). To me, these stories were exasperating and saddening. My knowledge of CEDAW had developed through employment as a government policy analyst. I studied New Zealand's ratification of the convention in 1985 and contributed to government responses to United Nations Universal Periodic Reviews. I was confused as the New Zealand government did not legislate same-sex marriage as a response to CEDAW. Also, from my perspective as a child of a matriarchal family in a Tongan cultural context, I questioned why this prominent women's organisation opposed frameworks to introduce safeguards against violence and other injustices including homelessness and undignified wages.

Secondly, I was saddened by seeing photos of my relative Soane Patita Mafi at the protests supporting and driving the Catholic Women's League position. In family conversation, the aspirations shared at his installation seemed to die, replaced by a resignation among my aunties that The Tongan Way had overridden any possibility of greater compassion in Tongan Catholic thinking (personal communication, 2015).

This sadness left me pondering the obsession that the church had in opposing homosexuality. I wondered that as an influential and inspirational force in many Tongan

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[1] Soane Patita translates to John the Baptist

families if churches and their leaders realised that their condemnation had the effect of telling people like me that they did not deserve to exist? I also questioned whether church clergy cared about the implications in Tongan families caused by expressing opinions that would lead to such an interpretation.

Between the media reporting of homophobia in the murder investigations and CEDAW protests, I battled a fear that critical institutions of church, and police forces, were homophobic and would manipulate significant events to promote their viewpoints, whatever the inaccuracies or costs. Reflecting on the killings in Fiji, I feared for my safety on future planned trips to the Islands. In the case of the Tongan Catholic church, I was overwhelmed to think that who I was as a gay man could not be reconciled with my identity as a Tongan.

Rationale and Significance of the Study

This study breaks new ground in discussions about homosexuality and Pacific peoples in New Zealand. It is the first thesis where Pacific gay men's voices have spoken about their lived experience and have critiqued existing knowledge about Pacific worldviews and Pacific cultural traditions among New Zealand diaspora.

The starting point for this study is the silence created by narratives about Pacific communities interpretation of worldviews through traditions and expressed opinions that ignore gay men. Numerous accounts of Pacific family and community life in New Zealand have explored ideas of communality, service, spirituality and relationality (Anae, 1998; Ka'ili, 2017; Macpherson, Anae & Spoonley, 2001; Mahina-Tuai, 2012; Pitt & Macpherson, 1974; Tamasese et al., 2005) while avoiding male homosexuality. Authors have explored male sexual orientation identities in the Pacific context and concluded that gay men could be adorned with the traditional terms for the gender identities that are unique to the Pacific (Besnier & Alexeyeff, 2014; Halapua, 2006). Brown-Acton (2011) urged Pacific peoples to stop conflating people whose gender

identity was male with people whose gender identity was part of the MVPFAFF[2] space. Silence about who gay men are and where we fit lies between heteronormativity in existing writing about Pacific cultural practices, confusion in existing authorship about Pacific gay men and rejection by MVPFAFF leaders. The crowding out of relevant spaces makes this study significant.

The period when this study took place became significant as well. I was interested in whether gay men had observed improvements or other changes following the passing of the Marriage (Definition) of Marriage Amendment Act in 2013. However, in 2018 and 2019 social media statements made by international rugby player Israel Folau and some Pacific rugby player colleagues, and the reporting of those statements in the global media, expanded the boundaries of this study. It offered the opportunity to understand; the role of sports stars in Pacific hierarchical world views (Fehoko, 2014), the ongoing entrenchment of homophobia in Pacific communities, and fresh data for post-legislation reflection.

Aims for this study

Primarily, this study aims to break the silence about the existence of Pacific gay men in New Zealand by exploring their lived experiences of Pacific worldviews, cultural traditions and institutions. It also aims to explore their lived experiences of legislative and social change relating to the acceptance of homosexuality and same-sex relationships. As a hermeneutic study, it will consider how Pacific gay men make sense of their experiences and their place in the world. This cultural study is founded on Tongan values of *'ofa*/love, *fakatokilalō*/humility and *fakafatongia*/service.

Research Questions

In pursuit of the above aims for this study, the following questions have guided research activities and inquiry:

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[2] The acronmym MVPFAFF is spelled out and explained in the commonly used terms section.

- What has been the lived experience of Pacific gay men in New Zealand?

- What has been the lived experience of Pacific peoples in New Zealand of changes in legislation related to sexual orientation?

Methodology and Research Methods

The Kakala Research Methodology (Johannson-Fu'a, 2014) grounds the acquisition and treatment of research data in the cultural traditions of the participants involved, and in the overarching worldviews of service (Helu, 1993). Heideggerian hermeneutic phenomenology will illustrate the meaning that participants made of lived experience in family, community, church, education, social and professional settings. Van Manen (1990) noted that hermeneutic phenomenology assists "a deeper understanding of the nature or meaning of our everyday experiences" (p. 9). However, I think that for the research participants, the more in-depth understanding of meaning will already exist. Therefore the value of hermeneutic phenomenology will be in articulating those meanings into the hitherto heteronormative Pacific cultural world, as well as the western construct of a thesis.

I undertook talanoa, or loosely-structured conversations, with 10 Pacific gay men, 3 Pacific MPs and 1 Māori MP. I also obtained 56 submissions to select committee, three items from Parliamentary Debates and 52 news articles.

Clarifications and Commonly used terms

For this research, it is important to define key terms and words used in the study. These definitions have been commonly accepted among many researchers and authors. However, some terms remain the subject of scholarly contesting. A list of terms used in Tongan, Samoan and Fijian languages is found in the glossary as an appendix to this thesis.

Pan-Pacific Terms

Lotu: Spirituality/Church. Most frequently, the term lotu is applied to Christian spirituality, denominations, church buildings or institutions.

MVPFAFF: The MVPFAFF term was the acronym developed by expert Phylesha Brown-Acton in her presentation on Pacific gender identities to the human rights conference that was part of the international Outgames held in New Zealand in 2010. The term stands for the following Pacific gender identities

- **M**ahu – Hawai'i and Tahiti
- **V**aka sa lewa lewa – Fiji
- **P**alopa – Papua New Guinea
- *Fa'afafine* – Samoa
- **A**kava'ine – Rarotonga
- **F**akaleiti – Tonga
- **F**akafifine – Niue

Pacific or Pasifika: In this study, I have attempted to deal directly with specific Pacific ethnic identities, cultural traditions and worldviews where possible. The New Zealand government and many New Zealand institutions (including the media, health systems, education systems and many large employers) will often aggregate the many ethnic identities into a homogenous Pacific, or Pasifika, identity, often for administrative simplicity.

Pālangi: This word denotes people of an Anglo-European ethnic background in New Zealand. Occasionally, this word can also be used as shorthand for people from westernised cultures (such as continental European people, European people from Pacific counties and the USA).

Talanoa: A form of conversation which prioritises the relationships of conversing parties over the transaction of information sharing. It releases its participants from time constraints and acknowledges the sacredness of each party involved. This definition is discussed further in the Research Design chapter.

Va: The Sacred space between two people is foundational to Pacific ways of seeing and being in the world.

Standpoint/Tūrangawaewae of the researcher

I am married, of Tongan (Ma'ufanga, Lapaha), Samoan (Mafutaga, Lotofaga), Māori (Kāti Huirapa, Ngāti Raukawa) and New Zealand European (Irish) heritage. The *mauka* mountains and hills of my genealogy include *Puke Ki Te Raki, Aoraki* and *Savai'i*. The *awa* rivers, *roto* lakes and *moana* oceanic significant bodies of water are *Waianakarua*, *Waitaki, Pareora, Waikanae, Fanga'uta, Lotofaga* and *Te Moana Nui a Kiwa.* Between care arrangements and intra-family adoption, I have been an adoptive parent of four children. My husband is from North Nottinghamshire, and his family *whakapapa* genealogically identifies to that area as well as West Yorkshire

The critical voice of the researcher

One of the critical tasks in this qualitative, kakala led hermeneutic thesis, was to reflect on the voice that I, as the researcher, would bring to the process and the resulting study. A critical turning point in this study was when my supervisor remarked: "people do repress the profound stuff". That insight became the permission I needed to begin exploring and learning about my voice. It is the most liberating thing someone has said to me yet.

To reflect was a new and daunting task. I have never been allowed the time to understand the characteristics of my voice. This lack of permission was the result of systematic abuse in the home, racism and homophobia outside the home. My parents had also decided to avoid teaching me about my cultural heritage, as the outside world had devalued Pacific peoples sufficiently that the future would not require me to know about it.

To explore my voice is to confront the realities of abuse and bullying. Not only do I recoil from the memories of being touched inappropriately and beaten, but I also recall my parents' yelling "*you spoiled brat*", "*others have it worse than you*" and "*I wish you had never been born*". My parents ensured that outsiders had no cause to question, with loud and *loving* claims at how proud they were of any achievements I had made.

The family home environment taught me that my voice was over-reactive, disproportionate and irrelevant.

Instinctively, as a small child, I knew that home was not right and acted out. In the 2020s, a child acting out would be quickly referred by schools or churches for psychological and family harm assessments. This did not happen in the 1980s and 1990s. Instead, I was ostracised for being highly emotional. The lack of acknowledgement cemented the disempowering my voice had learned to endure, and the sense of powerlessness about the abuse I was experiencing. The 1990s was the age of talk show host Ricki Lake's catchphrase, "It takes a village to raise a child" – What bullshit this was to me.

During this study, I journaled my thoughts and processes, as an exercise in reflexivity and understanding the meaning I have made for myself (Van Manen, 2014). Journal entries told me that I repressed traumas and marginalisation from childhood, and normalised the narrative about my voice being over-reactive, disproportionate, wrong and not worthy of being heard. Realising, this was a severe challenge. It undermined my confidence that I was undertaking credible analysis. I focused on the literature review and research design of this study to help me better understand the credibility of my analysis.

It was reconciling my experience of voice with literature about Pacific worldviews and cultural traditions that added to the pain of this process. As a Tongan, my voice represents the villages of my heritage (Ma'ufanga and Mu'a), my *kainga* and *famili*. A relationship breakdown in my mother's generation meant that I have never had close relationships with my extended family. A connection to my heritage emerged when I visited the family villages, but as I was unannounced, I saw the places from afar, not as an insider. It was an awkward time and forced me to question if I was adequately Tongan. According to the benchmarks set by Our Sea of Islands (Ha'uofa, 1993), I felt a longing deep in my soul, and when I stood on the soil, I felt instinctively connected, and cultural traditions came easy to me.

Nevertheless, I was on my own. This loneliness undermined my sense of having a place in the world. The literature focused on the intactness of relationships, as a result of maintenance, including cultural knowledge transfers (Koloto & Sharma, 2005; Vaioleti, 2006). The burden my voice was experiencing from marginalisation, abuse and ostracisation was amplified again by being different from the literature.

It is vital to illuminate this burden as the study seeks to help to overcome marginalisation. It is inherently difficult to be a marginalised person exposing ignorance. This difficulty is complex as my experience of marginalisation was itself compounded by other factors. These impact the voice that I have attempted to describe as being influential in this study. The characteristics of the voice in this thesis can be summarised under the following headings:

1. **It has experience in marginalisation**. The effects of challenges to a voice's legitimacy in a marginalised field of academic writing are multiplied by the additional marginalisation that occurred through childhood trauma, compounded by being un-noticed in the extended family and community, and again by the disempowering through being different from cultural ideas expressed in the current literature. As a result, I am interested in the structures that enable this compounding to happen.

2. **It is a Pacific voice**. The feeling deep in my bones, and spirit of warmth whenever I see Ma'ufanga or hear Tongan being spoken, tells me that my voice is legitimate. Despite the attempts during my abusive childhood, my instinct has not been lost. At the same time, while my attempts to maintain family relationships have not been successful, I benefit from the relationships that are maintained. Therefore, alongside the professional background of policy analysis, this voice carries the joy, confidence and hope that are grown in *tauhi va* relationships wherever they may be. The voice in this thesis is pulled to a calling to serve Pacific communities by developing new ways for us to

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> understand one another which, in turn, influences improved *teu le va, tauhi va,* relationship maintenance in the future.

With the characteristics of the voice described, I then had to consider the implications of this voice for the study. My primary fear has been that my voice may not have been deemed appropriate to use. However, my professional background offered me a context to challenge the fatalistic perception I had of the challenges, and the implications I perceived them to have on the study. I could also see reassurance in the relationships I formed with talanoa participants, my understanding of policy procedures and confidence with navigating the literature.

As one of the few Pacific people to influence policy at The Treasury and the Inland Revenue Department, and provide advice directly to Cabinet Ministers, I am confident that I have significant working knowledge of parliamentary processes and protocols. Additionally, as a former political journalist who reported on New Zealand general elections in 2002 and 2005, I have gained sufficient knowledge to understand newsgathering, editorial systems and editors' worldviews. The professional voice I bring to this study is highly experienced with a set of skills that would be hard to match in New Zealand. This voice will critique social change and legislative processes with the experience of marginalisation as its strength.

The exploration of the researcher's voice assumes privileges, as does the PhD process. Those privileges are the time to think, unencumbered brain power to allow processing and confidence in ability. The process assumes that I have a firm handle on the voice I have and have years of experience in articulating through that voice. In the case of this thesis, I am trusting the instincts and knowledge developed over forty years of life and releasing a voice from decades of silence and darkness.

Outline of the thesis structure

This thesis underwent revisions and rewrites as I became more confident in accessing my critical voice as an added value to the considerable professional expertise I built.

The formation of this thesis has been an iterative process. Following data analysis, I completed a review and rewrite of the research design chapter, which allowed me to focus the construction of findings for discussion around the hermeneutics of sense-making and the kakala of humbly serving communities. I then wrote four findings chapters, the literature review and discussion chapters. In total, this thesis consists of nine chapters and is organised as follows:

- **Chapter Two:** The literature review explores writing that is relevant to the research questions and provides theoretical frameworks by leveraging relevant concepts and theories. This chapter explores the history of Pacific peoples in New Zealand, Pacific worldviews, cultural traditions and institutions, social contexts and legislative reforms relating to homosexuality in New Zealand.

- **Chapters Three and Four:** The methodology chapter discusses the research paradigms and methodological underpinnings. In this chapter, I explain the process of combining the Heideggerian Hermeneutic Phenomenology and Kakala Research Framework. I also explore the implications of this combination as ideas of meaning-making interact with cultural values of service, care and consideration. The research methods chapter discusses the research process designed for this study. I also outline the ethical considerations in recruiting cohorts to take part in talanoa and the process of choosing documentary evidence for review.

- **Chapters Five to Eight:** These chapters combine the findings from the research activity of participant talanoa and documentary reviews. In these chapters, participants' lived experiences are revealed, alongside contextual findings representing the experiences of other people in Pacific communities, and the contexts of legislative change.
  - **Chapter Five** explores the life course of Pacific gay men
  - **Chapters Six and Seven** follow the chronology of legislative change from perspectives of both inside and outside parliament

- o **Chapter Eight** presents findings from a review of news media reporting on Israel Folau's comments condemning homosexuals.

- **Chapter Nine:** This chapter discusses the significant findings of the study. It examines the relationship between the findings and existing data and proposes the impacts the findings have on communities, policies, families and Pacific gay men. I reflect on the methodology and research methods and propose the contributions the study makes, the limitations of the study and recommend options for future research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter outlines relevant studies that affect the lived experiences of Pacific gay men in New Zealand, and Pacific peoples navigating legislative change regarding homosexuality. Beginning with concepts of Pacific worldviews, ontologies, axiologies and epistemologies, the chapter also reviews available literature about Pacific cultural worldviews on gender and sexuality, the social contexts of homosexuality in New Zealand, legislative processes, and legislative reform in New Zealand.

Cultural Contexts and Worldviews among Pacific diaspora in New Zealand

This section presents existing literature about worldviews and the cultural constructs of diaspora from Pacific Island nations who live in New Zealand. In this study, ideas and terms relating to the word culture use the UNESCO definition of "the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or social group, that encompasses, not only art and literature but lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs." (UNESCO, 2009). This review will focus separately on values systems and beliefs as ideas of worldviews. The Pacific gay men who took part in talanoa identified themselves both as "Pacific" and as Tongan, Samoan and Fijian. In response to the diversity of ethnic identities, this chapter's structure is based on a pan-Pacific discussion of the cultural context in which ethnic-specific ideas are discussed. Multi-culturalism is a significant, yet delicate, consideration in this chapter as this study attempts to balance the unique histories of each Pacific homeland with one another as they combine in the pan-Pacific diaspora experience, and then contrast them against the backdrop of cosmopolitan chosen homelands.

Pacific peoples as economic migrants to New Zealand

Migrants from Pacific Island nations have made significant labour contributions to New Zealand industries during boom times since the 1940s (Anae, 2004; Enoka, 2020; Mahina-Tuai, 2012; Pitt & Macpherson, 1974; Salesa, 2017). Mahina-Tuai (2012) explained that government migration policies enabled Pacific workers to fill vacancies

in domestic service and farm labour in the early years of economic migration, followed by factory labour in the manufacturing boom which began in the 1950s. Enoka (2020) chronicled the return to farm labour as the leading industry seeking Pacific migrant labour in the 2010s.

The depiction of Pacific peoples as economic migrants and their place in society is essential to understanding the contexts of Pacific peoples in New Zealand. Salesa (2017) pointed out that the term Pacific Islanders was coined and became popular among government officials, employers and the white New Zealand public alike. This depiction was significant during periods of economic and social uncertainty and turmoil for Pacific peoples in New Zealand between the 1970s and the 1990s.

Dawn Raids and the evolution of temporary worker policy and officials' policy interpretations

Being known as a migrant and diaspora is a crucial element of Pacific peoples identities in New Zealand (Anae, 1998; Ross, 1994). This element of identity became challenged by the actions of the Immigration Division of the Department of Labour and the New Zealand Police (de Bres & Campbell, 1976; Mitchell, 2003; Ross, 1994) who stopped people on streets and raided houses in search of suspected overstayers. The effects of the stops and raids have been discussed in academic writing (Anae, 1997; Anae, 1998; Mahina-Tuai, 2012; Masoe & Bush, 2009; Zemke-White, 2005) and the media (Fepulea'i & Jean, 2005; Kightley, 2018; Tagata Pasifika, 2019). From the raiding period of 1972 and 1976 onwards, Pacific communities reported an erosion of trust in both the government and key institutions in society, such as the police (Fepulea'i & Jean, 2005).

The relationship between the *government*, as a significant institution in New Zealand society, and Pacific peoples is essential to consider in this study. This section follows events between the first known raids of suspected overstayers in 1972 to a controversial Police and Immigration operation in October 1976. It explores the roles of

policymakers, the Immigration Division, and the New Zealand Police. This section separates the actions of parliamentary policymakers from departmental officials to demonstrate the division between activity within parliamentary boundaries and government agents' activity outside of parliament. This section does not include the experiences of Pacific communities and the media as these take place separate to the actions of policymakers and government officials and are discussed later in this review.

At the time of the first known raids of 1972, a quota enabled 1,500 Samoan people to migrate as permanent residents annually and people from the Cook Islands, Niue and Tokelau were permitted unrestricted entry as New Zealand Citizens. Tongan and Fijian workers instead came to New Zealand on three-month visitor permits and sought work once landed (Ongley & Pearson, 1995; Ross, 1994). Mitchell (2003) explained that between 1970 and 1973, labour shortages due to increased demand for manufactured goods meant that workers were encouraged by employers to overstay their visitor permit deadlines due to plentiful work. However, Ross (1994) noted that the incomes earned during the three months were not sufficient to cover living expenses, return airfares and additional funds remitted to the homelands, leading many to overstay to save up the funds to take home.

In March 1972, Police arrested four workers at a New Zealand Dairy Board plant in Auckland, on suspicion of illegally overstaying their visitors' permits. Following those arrests, the Immigration Division suspected an additional 52 Tongan workers at the plant of having questionable immigration status (Mitchell, 2003). Mitchell (2003) explained that after the incident at the dairy plant, the Immigration Division's method of managing visitor permits was found to be inadequate.

In the Governor-General's speech which opened the 37th Parliament, the Government's intentions towards Pacific peoples resident in New Zealand were reflected in a commitment to improved housing and education opportunities (NZPD, 1973, p 9). Later that year the group Citizens Association for Racial Equality (CARE) approached the acting Minister for Immigration Phil Amos to report ongoing harassment of Tongan

communities in Auckland by Immigration Division officers. (Ross, 1994). Following the CARE meeting, the acting Minister called for the Immigration Division to review its methods of locating suspected illegal immigrants. Phil Amos noted that he was concerned that the process of managing visitor permit overstaying not needlessly involve or embarrass innocent people (de Bres & Campbell, 1976, p21). The New Zealand Herald (in de Bres & Campbell, 1976, p. 21) reported that after the Minister's call for the inquiry, the Immigration Division had decided not to change its procedures.

On 15 February 1974, Fraser Coleman, the Minister of Immigration, outlined the general terms of an immigration policy review. He explained that the policy review was unprecedented and involved conditions of entry, reviewing the unrestricted entry enjoyed by British citizens, and regulations regarding temporary visitors (NZPD, 1974, p118-119). Despite the ongoing policy review, as well as the former Acting Minister's call for a procedural review, Immigration Division officials decided to raid more homes of Tongan workers in Auckland (Mitchell, 2003). The first raid at the homes of Tongans in the Auckland suburb of Onehunga took place between 11:00 pm on 12 March 1974, and 3:00 am on 13 March. Fifteen people were arrested. Five days later, on 18 March, twenty-one more Pacific workers were arrested following a raid on six houses. On 19 March, immigration officers with police constables and dogs raided the Free Church of Tonga during prayers and arrested four people (Mitchell, 2003).

Two days later, on 21 March, the Minister of Immigration ordered the Immigration Division to immediately stop the raids (de Bres, Coleman & Harris, 1974, p2). In his statement to the media, Coleman warned officials that their actions of "sporadic raids can only damage New Zealand's image at home and abroad" (de Bres, Coleman & Harris, 1974, p2). On 1 April, the Prime Minister, Norman Kirk, announced the suspension of entry permits to Tongans until the government could establish a systematic vetting and management system (Ross, 1994). At the same time as the suspension, Tongans overstaying in New Zealand were offered the chance to register and be granted a two-month extension to their stay, to earn enough money to pay for

their fares home (Mitchell, 2003), and 3,500 Tongans took up this option. Additionally, a committee was established and granted 300 of these Tongans permanent residency (Ross, 1994).

On 26 June 1974, parliament debated the immigration policy review that had been promised by the Minister four months earlier. Introducing it to the House, Norman Douglas congratulated the Minister's work to propose a non-racist approach to immigration. He explained that the policy controlled the flow of workers to strike a balance between economic development and resources in the community to meet migrant's needs (NZPD, 1974, p2319). Mitchell (2003) noted that between the April 1 announcement and the parliamentary discussion, employers of Tongan workers had petitioned the government about the loss of production, and revenue, the registration scheme would cause them. As a result, the Minister allowed businesses to nominate in-demand workers who would benefit from an additional extension of their stay. Two thousand one hundred Tongans were nominated, and the reprieve for them was extended to 1 December 1974.

The Minister announced a Memorandum of Understanding on Temporary Entry from Tonga in October 1974, which formalised the interim entry arrangements which began in June and were planned to end in December (Ross, 1994). Those interim, and from 1975 permanent arrangements, involved the matching of workers to places where local labour was unavailable, and a four-month employment period. Employers were required to arrange accommodation and cover repatriation costs. Meanwhile, workers were restricted to the job listed on their entry application and permit (de Bres & Campbell, 1975). Ross (1994) explained that when the work scheme was established, the duration of visitor permits offered to Tongan and Fijians was reduced from three months to one. The new work permit scheme created a significant cost barrier for employers and time lag for Tongan workers, and many bypassed the official scheme, instead opting to work on one-month visitor permits (Ross, 1994).

De Bres & Campbell (1976) cited an article in the major daily newspaper the Auckland Star from 1 May 1975 which reported the daily court appearances by Tongan workers charged with overstaying. The article also reported the ongoing raids on Tongan households and the introduction of police dogs into those raids. The article demonstrated that despite the efforts at the parliamentary level to address immigration policy, officials continued with their unsanctioned campaign against Tongan, and other Pacific migrant workers.

On 17 February 1976, immigration officials and police raided eighteen houses in Onehunga, and an additional four raids happened the following night in the central Auckland suburb of Ponsonby, resulting in the arrests of 23 people (Mitchell, 2003). Following complaints of harassment from the February raids, the Police commissioned a report into its handling of Immigration Act policing. The report, prepared by Superintendent R Silk, described a complicated relationship with immigration officials and highlighted that the reliance on Police to enter properties forcibly had no basis in law. He also noted that immigration officials were not warranted to compel those being raided to provide documentation, such as passports or entry permits, or arrest them (Silk, 1976, p15 cited in Mitchell, 2003). Mitchell (2003) found that following the report, senior Police officers dissuaded their constables and sergeants from taking an active part in future Immigration Division activities.

Later that year, on 10 April 1976, the Minister of Immigration, Frank Gill announced a twelve-week stay of proceedings (Mitchell, 2003). The stay of proceedings allowed overstayers the opportunity to apply for three options, including a short stay to arrange return travel, an extended stay to conclude commitments or permanent residency. More than 4500 Pacific workers registered, however statistics about the number of people granted leave to stay under each category was unavailable.

Despite the stay of proceedings and the related policy direction taken by the government, Immigration Division officials executed a wide-scale operation involving further household raids and stopping people on the street to demand verification of the

right to be in New Zealand. Known as Operation Pot Black, between Thursday, 21 October 1976 and Sunday 23 October, police stopped and questioned more than 800 Pacific people in Auckland about their immigration status (Mitchell, 2003). Concurrently, police and immigration officials raided more households. While the operation aimed to arrest illegal overstayers, other people were arrested on the street for not having passports or visitors permits on their person.

This section navigated the Dawn Raids period to identify the differences between the policy-level actions of MPs and Ministers, and the practical actions of departmental officials. During the 1972 to 1976 period, the actions which led to arrests, deportations and fear within communities were the result of government officials who arbitrarily interpreted existing policies and acted independently of MPs and Ministers. At the same time, those Ministers had attempted multiple policy reforms to offer clarity, rules and definitions. This period offers an insight into the independence of government officials, and the lack of power MPs and Ministers had to compel their officials to follow direct orders. The next section of this review explores the media reporting about Pacific peoples and communities, and the impacts felt by communities and families.

Public opinion, stereotypes of Pacific people, and the media space

As the migrant identity became essential, so too was the relationship that Pacific families and communities had with public opinion and media reporting about them. Pacific people have been acutely aware of negative public opinion since the 1970s. This awareness led to some communities developing reluctances to assimilate to New Zealand European cultures (Anae, 1998) while others became wary of taking part in education, health and research programmes (Loto et al., 2006; Vailoeti, 2006). The awareness also drove Pacific people, families and communities to use Pacific-language specific and pan-Pacific media magazines, radio stations and television programmes (Samasoni, 1990).

Part of that awareness was of stereotypes expressed in the news media. Between

2000 and 2020, those stereotypes have included descriptions of physical appearance

(Fitzpatrick, 2013; Grainger, 2008; Hokowhitu, 2008; Maliko, 2007; Mitchell, 2003;

Ross, 1994), and the occupations suited to Pacific peoples (Enoka, 2020; Macpherson,

Spoonley & Anae, 2001; Raela, 2017; Te'evale, 2001). Between 1970 and 2000,

Pacific people were aware of a broad stereotype of *undesirable* promoted in the

mainstream news media (Kolo, 1990; Loto et al., 2006; Mitchell, 2003; Ross, 1994,

Raela, 2017; Samasoni, 1990).

The 1970s is a necessary time to consider in this study as it is the decade where

significant numbers of Pacific people migrated to New Zealand (Mahina-Tuai, 2012;

Ongley & Pearson, 1995; Ross, 1994). It was also a time where Pacific people became

more prominently discussed in the news media. This section explores explicitly news

reporting relating to mass migration and Pacific peoples as workers in the New Zealand

labour market. News articles referred to in this section come from the following outlets

which are categorised by format and journalistic style

Table 1: News Outlets in New Zealand in the 1970s

Name	Location	Format	Style
Auckland Star	Auckland	Evening (Daily) Newspaper	Broadsheet news
The New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation	National	Television and Radio	Bulletins, interviews, documentaries
The New Zealand Herald	Auckland	Morning (Daily) Newspaper	Broadsheet news
Truth	National	Weekly Newspaper	Tabloid, Sensationalist

In the 1970s, newspapers, especially the tabloid Truth became prominent forums for the expression of opinions about Pacific peoples. Mitchell (2003) tracked the letters to the editors of Truth and the New Zealand Herald on issues relating to Pacific peoples between 1972 and 1978. He compared the number of editors' letters to the number of letters received by the Ministers of Immigration during the same period.

Table 2: Subject of letters to Truth, New Zealand Herald and the Office of the Immigration Minister about Pacific Immigration, 1972-1978

Idea	Truth	Herald	Min's office	Total
Anti-Pacific Island Ideas				
Pacific Islanders contribute to crime	24	9	6	39
Pacific Islanders are overstayers	18	9	1	28
Pacific Islanders do not assimilate	11	4	8	23
Pacific Islanders contribute to unemployment	12	1	4	17
Pacific Islanders contribute to shortages of housing	9	2	3	14
Pacific Islanders breed too fast	4	6	3	13
Pacific Island governments do not provide reciprocal rights of entry	5	0	0	5
Pacific Islanders clog hospitals/ bring disease	2	0	0	2
Other anti-Pacific Islander	10	4	3	17
All Anti-Pacific Islander	95	35	28	158
Pro-Pacific Island Ideas				
Unspecified pro-Pacific Islander	21	5	2	28
Pacific Islanders work hard/ contribute to society	7	5	2	14
We (including Islanders) are all New Zealanders	6	2	0	8
Anti-Scapegoating or Anti-Police tactics in Dawn Raids	4	3	1	8
Pacific Islanders are not the cause of rising crime	3	4	0	7
Pacific Islanders are not the cause of housing shortages	1	1	2	4
Pacific Islanders do not clog hospitals	0	1	0	1
All Pro-Pacific Islander	42	21	7	70

During the decade, the sole television news outlet, the New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation (NZBC) broadcast powerful images of the raids on Pacific households and interviewed policymakers and people in the street. "Vox-pop[3]" interviews on the NZBC

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[3] Common journalistic parlance for "Voices of the People"

programme *Survey* captured a tension felt among existing residents between treating

Pacific people well, and adapting society to meet Pacific people's needs

> "These people from the Pacific Islands, we can't absorb them. They're human, same as I am, why not pour the money into them instead of bringing them here? (NZBC, in Fepulea'i & Jean, 2005, 5:23 -5:34)

> We're having trouble accepting the Polynesians fast enough really; we can't educate them, they're not used to our way of life, they don't know the language" (NZBC, in Fepulea'i & Jean, 2005, 5:35-5:44)

The topic of Pacific people was high profile among the emerging talk-back radio

industry of the 1970s (Mitchell, 2003; Ross, 1994). Ross (1994) explained that between

1974 and 1976, talk-back radio callers thought that Pacific factory workers caused

deteriorating economic conditions such as the balance of payments and rising

unemployment. However, young Pacific people in Auckland began to recognise that

low incomes and negative stereotypes had affected many. The NZBC produced a story

which profiled the Polynesian Panthers as an organisation responding to communities'

needs. In the story, one of its founders Will 'Ilolahia explained that Pacific people and

families felt labelled by society-at-large as undesirable "we're not getting a fair deal in

this society. We feel we need a revolution to have society cater for a multi-racial

society" (Ilolahia, 1974; in Fepluea'i & Jean, 2005; Pers Comm, 2020).

Opinions expressed in the tabloid media and talk-back radio were front-of-mind as

newsmakers, and Pacific community members recalled animated advertisements

during the lead-up to the 1975 General Election. Hanna-Barbera produced the

advertisements on behalf of the National Party's advertising agency Colenso (Ross,

1994). The advertisement appeared at the start of a party political broadcast entitled

The Cities (NZOnscreen, 2020) and proposed that as businesses, work, and

populations converged on cities, housing stock, schools and hospitals would become

scarce. The advertisement's narrator noted "One day; there weren't enough jobs either.

The people became angry, and violence broke out, especially among those who had

come from other places expecting great things" During this voiceover, the animation

featured the caricature of a brown-skinned man with bushy thick black hair in a yellow overall, yelling at a white man in blue overalls, who punches him. The pair are ejected from a tavern and continue to fight. In 2005, Aussie Malcolm who in 1975 was a National Party candidate for the Auckland electorate of Eden, recalled being disturbed when he saw the advertisement before the start of the campaign (Fepulea'i & Jean, 2005).

Pacific community leaders felt saddened and confused by targeting in the commercial, and by the political party. Reverend Wayne Toleafoa recalled in 2005 discussions with leaders in his Samoan community about the violent stereotypes they saw portrayed in the advertisement

> "It was obviously aimed at Pacific Islanders, to touch that racist nerve in New Zealand society to say "do we want these people in the country? The person who causes all the crime, rapes people, does all these bad things" – and we thought, that's nothing like us." (Toleafoa, in Fepulea'i & Jean, 2005, 6:59-7:21)

As well as its ability to gauge reaction from people in the street, the NZBC broadcast interview answers which were unable to be edited. Television news editors in the 1970s lacked the resources and technology to edit all lengthy contiguous statements, and newsrooms adopted policies of keeping interviews, statements, and comments verbatim (Pers. Comm, 2012). It broadcasted an interview with Immigration Minister Frank Gill in 1976 and demonstrated the power of an unedited response to drift from a statement about a policy to an opinion about Pacific migrants being a national threat.

> We've allowed them to come on visitors permits and we've done nothing about it. If Tonga, Samoa and Fiji were allowed to come in that way then all of the other island nations, and there are lots of others in the Pacific, will say you can go to New Zealand, it's the only country you can go to. We've got to control our immigration, you can't let a flood come here and swamp us, and swamp our economy" (Gill, in Fepulea'i & Jean, 2005, 8:20-8:59)

The statement by Frank Gill began as a reasonable response to a new era of policy, in which the inbound flow of people was controlled for impact on the economy, as opposed to the pre-1974 approach of controlling by British citizenship.

A significant event: The Reporting of raids in 1976 and Operation Pot Black

Ross (1994) explained that after the 17 February 1976 raids, Frank Gill, the immigration Minister defended the use of household visits at late-night or early-morning times. He reiterated the work and visitor permit scheme had rules which were abided mainly. He also noted that of those who did not follow the rules "most of these, unfortunately, are from the Pacific Islands – choose to ignore it and trust instead to the 11th commandment, 'Thou shalt not get caught'" (Dominion, 1976, in Ross, 1994, p. 96).

Mitchell (2003) explained that on 22 October 1976, Chief Superintendent Berriman had assumed charge of the Auckland police force. Berriman was quoted in an Auckland Star newspaper article about potential street checks, with a warning that "Anyone who does not look like a New Zealander, or who speaks with a foreign accent, must expect to arouse some suspicion" (in Mitchell 2003, p.254)

Stories appeared in newspapers about the police stopping people in the street to ask about immigration status, as well as additional household raids (Mitchell, 2003; Ross, 1994). Journalist Brian Rudman recalled in 2019 the Minister of Immigration's response to being challenged about the focus of the raids and street stops on Pacific people. He explained the Minister answered his question about the specific targeting of Pacific peoples by responding "If you have a herd of Jerseys and two Friesians, the Friesians stand out" (Rudman, in Christian 2019, also quoted in Ross, 1994).

Shortly after the October raids and street-stops, the NZBC Network News broadcast a story about police officers' reaction to their involvement in the raids. The reporter summarised interviews with officers by noting "Rank and file officers felt they were being used politically, and that to be upset would be an understatement" The police association was quoted in the report as saying "all the goodwill built up between the Island community and the police has been destroyed" (NZBC, 1976; In Fepulea'i & Jean, 2005).

From this sample of articles that reported significant events, it is essential to demarcate the attitudes latent in the journalism, and the attitudes in opinions reported. Those reported opinions and attitudes directly confronted Pacific peoples' views of themselves. However, the choices journalists made to pursue stories, to ask particular questions, to frame narration, voiceover and imagery are essential too. Those attitudes and their manifestation indirectly confronted Pacific people's views of themselves, both at the time in the 1970s and the intervening years leading to 2020.

The NZBC vox-pops included people whose opinion was that New Zealand was a place of benevolence but had limited social resources. Those opinions were the opposite of talk-back radio and Truth who labelled Pacific people as generally undesirable and a threat to the country's stability. The theme of Pacific peoples threatening national stability was leveraged in the rhetoric of Frank Gill. This leverage undermined the work of his Cabinet, the previous Cabinet and MPs. These people had negotiated an immigration policy regime that attempted to bring order to a system rendered chaotic due to a lack of attention before 1973.

Television's ability to convey a contiguous message, from a newsmaker or vox pop, was emphatic in exposing the depth of a speaker's opinion. At the same time, as an advertising medium, provocative creative treatments such as the Hanna Barbera animation and Colenso advertising messages proved television could be confrontational. The variety of experiences and viewpoints screened indicated that the television industry in the 1970s attempted to balance the diverse experiences in society. Newspapers, instead, pursued entrenched worldviews, the Truth followed sensationalism, and the Auckland Star followed its interest in the social issues of the day (Booth, in Fepulea'i & Jean, 2005).

For Pacific communities, the reporting of those opinions added to the distress of fearing random police questioning. Additionally, while factory work in New Zealand offered opportunities to remit money to the homelands, remittances often meant sacrifices in living conditions while working. Some Pacific people responded to the media reporting

by focusing on *fa'aloalo/*humility (Kightley, in Fepulea'i & Jean, 2005), disbelief in the opinions being broadcast (Toleafoa, in Fepulea'i & Jean, 2005) or to develop a resistance mentality and work to change the social environment ('Ilolahia and Anae, in Fepulea'i & Jean, 2005).

The effect of the media and public opinion from the 1980s to the 2000s

Economic reform and industrial change meant that the 1980s were a decade of economic upheaval for those Pacific families and communities that had settled as permanent residents and citizens (Mahina-Tuai, 2012). As the manufacturing sector contracted, the news media continued to frame Pacific temporary workers as illegal overstayers (Toft, 1990), and residents were labelled as unjustified recipients of social security[4] benefits (Mahina-Tuai, 2012).

Samasoni (1990) explained that by the late 1980s, Pacific communities were disillusioned by being relentlessly confronted with news imagery and narratives about them being undesirable. This compounded the stress many residents faced due to rising unemployment. Communities responded by establishing and patronising radio stations that catered to specific ethnic groups in both heritage languages and English (Samasoni, 1990). In the mainstream media, Wilson (1990) explained that very few Pacific people took part in the journalism training programmes that were established in the 1970s and 1980s. He noted that those who did take part were not confident about advancing their careers in the mainstream due to the lack of cultural awareness among the *Pālangi* editors who headed up newsrooms in the 1980s.

Kolo (1990) noted that specific events, such as the killing of a young Tongan man by a group of young Samoans at a prominent marketplace, became sensationalised by the news media who drew-out the coverage over months. The Otara Flea Markets killing ended up being reported in both the Auckland and national media over eight months (Kolo, 1990). The subsequent reporting on the killing led to follow up stories which

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[4] Known in New Zealand a social welfare

labelled young Tongans and Samoans as bored people looking to create violence. Kolo (1990) claimed that the media's propensity to stereotype young Pacific people were motivated by a desire to continue negative images of undesirability, started during the reporting of Pacific migrants in the early 1970s.

Toft (1990) and Ross (1994) agreed that Pacific people, families and communities had continued to be marginalised by media and still stereotyped as undesirable. Both believed the persistent presence of negative images in the media, coupled with damaging opinions expressed by influential figures, such as the Minister of Immigration in the 1970s set the pathway for some ill-informed journalists to follow in the following decade.

Pacific communities responded by preferring media outlets that had either visible Pacific faces or a Pacific ethnic focus. In the 1990s, receiving media from Samoan or Tongan language radio services became a critical component of identity as a Samoan or Tongan person in New Zealand (Anae, 1998; Esau, 2005). The celebration of Pacific news and media outlets also signalled that trust in mainstream media institutions had eroded (Esau, 2005; Kolo, 1990).

During the 1990s, performing arts emerged as an additional public space where Pacific communities could experience uplifting imagery about themselves. Performer Oscar Kightley recalled discussing an idea for a play about the Dawn Raids with his parents (in Feplulea'i & Jean, 2005). He explained that negotiating the idea and asking for his parents help to understand the event led to a tension between the younger people's need to tell the story, maintain the history and honour the older generations and their parents' distress at bringing up traumatic memories (Kightley, in Fepluea'i & Jean, 2005). The drive towards creative arts signalled that storytelling, a sense of place in the world and knowledge sharing between generations was valuable in Pacific communities of the late 1990s. Notably, the 1980s and 90s emerged as a time when Pacific performing arts became increasingly accessible through community festivals and inter-school competitions (Mackley-Crump, 2015).

Insights and reflections on public opinion and representation 2000 to 2020

Between the year 2000 and 2020, more people in Pacific families and communities questioned persisting marginalisation in the media, and the authenticity of the institutions perpetuating those messages (Enoka, 2020; Loto et al., 2006; Raela, 2017). As well as the media itself, some had begun to question the impact of media representations on the way families and communities managed their health and wellbeing (Loto et al., 2006). Loto et al. (2006) became concerned that the marginalisation and othering over thirty years had eroded Pacific peoples self-confidence. They argued that in New Zealand's neo-liberal economy, eroded self-confidence had led to reduced access to adequate health care services. Vaioleti (2006) pondered the effects of Pacific peoples erosion of trust in government agencies over many decades. He cautioned government officials and researchers that Pacific communities were tired of them and their programmes promising help.

Between 2000 and 2010 Pacific athletes became prominent in the news and sports media, especially as many young athletes had become high profile, rugby players. Macpherson, Spoonley & Anae (2001) noted that sporting and artistic endeavours had become legitimate pathways for young Pacific people to achieve success in the eyes of their families and New Zealand society. Grainger (2008) explained that the reporting of Pacific players, of migrant and New Zealand-born heritages, was initially framed as an invasion of players taking the places of New Zealand athletes. However, the coverage became fixated on the physical prowess of the Pacific players and their ability to win matches for their respective teams. Hokowhitu (2008) claimed that the physical prowess narrative was an external gaze fixed on the brown male body and continued to perpetuate ideas of violence from those sensationalist newspapers of the 1970s.

Between 2010 and 2020, the divide between the effective Pacific media and the inauthentic mainstream media had become more pronounced. Raela (2017) noted that the number of Pacific journalists as a proportion of newsrooms had not improved since the 1980s and that the stories and programmes produced had not improved in cultural

awareness. He pointed out that entrenched unwillingness among editors to raise the cultural competency of reporters' writing and editors' decisions contributed to the lack of progress.

Enoka (2020) explored newspaper reporting about temporary workers from the Pacific in the 2010s. She found that Pacific migrant workers were framed by the media as cheap labour to do work that locals were not prepared to undertake. She also found that the temporary nature of their working visas and risk mitigation about overstayers remained an essential theme in news stories (Enoka, 2020).

Pacific media outlets, however, took opportunities to highlight positive narratives in Pacific communities in their reporting of same-sex marriage law changes in New Zealand. Following the royal assent of the Marriage (Definition of Marriage) Amendment Act in 2013, TV current affairs show Tagata Pasifika witnessed the first mainstream Samoan church minister to publicly declare his willingness to marry same-sex couples (Sunpix, 2013). The show's host seized the opportunity to discuss the minister's declaration and his enthusiasm as well as the benefits of same-sex marriages in Pacific families and communities. A year later, the TV show broadcast a feature on a same-sex wedding between two Samoan men in the Wairarapa (Sunpix, 2014). The show's producer explained that broadcasting the wedding was an attempt to normalise the idea of same-sex weddings, in communities where weddings were a widely celebrated event in families (Pers. comm, 2017). He noted that except for less than five written complaints, the show received many congratulatory and supportive messages.

In 2018 and 2019, online Pacific news outlets became pivotal in encouraging rounded community debate on the condemnation of homosexuality, following the publicised social media comments made by Israel Folau and some other Pacific athletes. The pan-Pacific journalism website E-Tangata ran a blog post from Reverend Apelu Tielu who criticised Folau's approach to the evangelisation of Christian teachings while ignoring social harm he caused. The E-Tangata format afforded Reverend Tielu the

space to state his message without fear of sensationalism by any editorial decision. Additionally, his blog was reported by the Kaniva Tonga news website (Cass, 2018). Kaniva Tonga was interested in Reverend Tielu's interpretation of Folau's comments as a contrast to the condemnation that became expected from church ministers. A year later, following the sacking of Israel Folau by Rugby Australia, Kaniva Tonga ran a follow-up story exploring the comments left in response to Reverend Tielu's statement. It found that a small number of public commenters had agreed with Reverend Tielu and that happiness of family members by being accepted as gay was more important than church teachings (Cass, 2019).

This section has explored the reporting of Pacific people, families and communities in the mainstream news media and Pacific news and online media between the 1970s and 2020. As time has progressed, the presence of Pacific-specific media outlets has demonstrated the inadequacies of the mainstream media in responding to and reflecting the cultures and worldviews of Pacific peoples in New Zealand. Pacific families and communities' acceptance of Pacific media outlets demonstrated that people were interested in seeing their issues and responses reflected with cultural responsiveness. This section also demonstrated that representation in the media affected its consumers, at its worst impacting their ability to see themselves as participants in neoliberal economies and at its best as having permission to reclaim Pacific cultures of story-telling and care for families.

Worldviews and cultures among Pacific populations in New Zealand

Literature describing the worldviews of Pacific peoples living in New Zealand have often referred to values systems, identities and influences. Values systems have been referred to as resulting in both caring (Koloto & Sharma, 2005; Tamasese, Peteru & Waldegrave, 2004), and sharing of communal economic resources (Families Commission, 2012; Koloto & Sharma, 2005; Pasikale & George, 1995, Tu'itahi, 2009). Writing about Pacific peoples identities has focused on collectivism in opposition to individualism (Anae, 1998; Fairbairn-Dunlop, 2014; Ha'uofa, 1993; Pasikale & George,

1995; Tamasese, Peteru & Waldegrave, 2004; Tui-Atua, 2014), and is influenced by language (Fehoko, 2015; Tui Atua, 2014; Wilson, 2017) and spirituality (Anae, 1998; Fonoti, 2011; Fouvaa, 2011; Lameta, 2015; Lui, 2007; Tu'itahi, 2009; Tunufa'i, 2005).

The ways that worldviews influence cultural traditions and have an impact on individuals is an area of significant interest in this study. The Samoan Head of State, Tui Atua (Efi, 2014) pointed out that in Samoan worldviews, the connection between the individual and the physical realms of land, sea, people and the metaphysical realms of spirituality, genealogy and history was the basis for people's concern for one another and communities' combined effort to ensure wellbeing was achieved. Tui Atua (Efi, 2014) highlighted that worldviews are both omnipotent and omnipresent. Other writing has taken a more granular approach, which is explored in this section.

Authors have also attempted to define authentic Pacific identities, as an opposite to imposter or 'plastic' identities. Macpherson (1999) and Hunkin (2012) both witnessed persistent attitudes among Samoan-born adults that their New Zealand-born children were less Samoan due to their lack of language, dance and protocol proficiency. Wilson (2016) noted that parents desired their children to be 'better' Samoans (p.172) through improved use of Samoan language, one parent labelled her children as 'plastic' when they did not speak fluent Samoan. Fehoko (2016) argued that *faikava Tonga,* kava drinking groups, enhanced young Tongan men's sense of cultural identity. The ceremony and groups did this by integrating the cultural setting of the *faikava Tonga*, intergenerational knowledge sharing and religious tradition.

Ethnic-Specific Contexts

This study was undertaken by a Tongan, using a Tongan research framework and involves data that discusses *'anga fakatonga*, the Tongan way. Therefore, the review of literature about Pacific peoples' constructs of reality, value and knowledge starts with a Tongan focus and is expanded, and greatly enriched, by learnings about other Pacific

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groups. The other Pacific groups I focused on learning about were Samoan and Fijian

as these were the main ethnic groups talanoa participants identified with.

Pacific ways of viewing the world and cultural frameworks have gained traction in

literature since the 1980s. This section explores worldviews involving;

- *'ilo mo e 'ako ki he 'anga fakatonga*, knowledge and learnings about, and

  framed by, the Tongan way of life (Besnier, 2011),

- *le fa'aSamoa, ie le tautala fa'aSamoa*, living and communication in the Samoan

  way (Anae, 1998), and

- *na I vakarau ni bula vakaViti, i tovo vakavanua*, living in the Fijian way, in the

  manner of the land and the people (Hulkenberg, 2019).

Besnier (2011) claimed that the *anga fakatonga* could have multiple meanings,

essentially embracing all that it means to be Tongan. Similarly, Anae (1998) traversed

the duality inherent to understanding the *fa'aSamoa,* that it was about what Samoans

both did and thought. In the Fijian way, the tension between the terms *bula vakaViti,*

the Fijian way, and *bula vakavanua,* the *Way of the Land*, highlighted the importance of

a relationship with the land in Fijian identities (Nainoca, 2011).

Hierarchies are the hallmark of traditional Tongan society under the *Tu'i Tonga*

Monarch (Gailey, 1987; James, 2003; Kaeppler, 1971; Marcus, 1975; Le Va, 2015).

Salmond (2002) noted that in addition to the presence of the hierarchies, the modus

operandi of Tongan society before the arrival of Missionaries was *faka'apa'apa*

(respect). This respect operated mainly between *fakafanua* and *matāpule* (nobility),

and the *kakai tu'a* (commoners), who offered goods and services to the nobility.

Niumeitolu (2007), however, noted that village and area chiefs would pass harsh

sentences, often death, for often small offences without inquiry, and often with

immediate effect (p. 79). He pointed out that the brutality of the Tongan village chiefs

dedicated the willingness of the commoners to please chiefs, at any cost. Kalavite

(2010) noted that hierarchies in Tongan society both in the Kingdom and among the

diaspora had evolved in the 20th and 21st Centuries to include western institutions, such as Christian churches and government. Fehoko (2015) argued that among the diaspora, this additional layer of hierarchy included prominent people such as sports players.

Figure 1: Tongan Social Hierarchy in the 21st Century
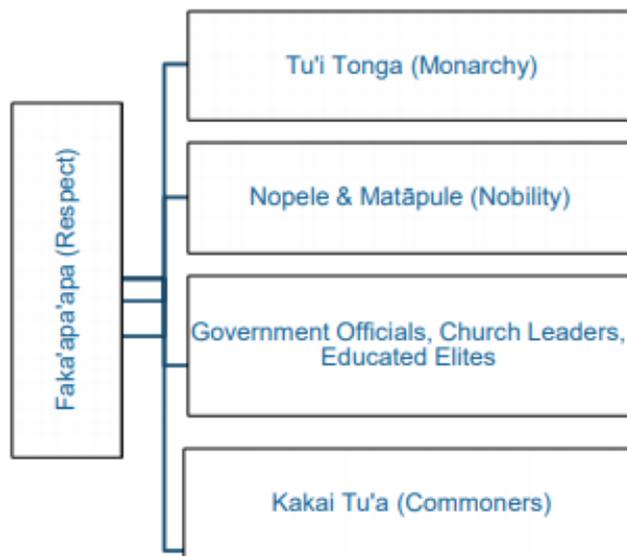
Source: Kalavite (2010)

Constructs of Identity, Value and Knowledge in Pacific cultures

Relationships are fundamental to accessing and understanding Pacific worldviews and exploring Pacific cultural traditions. Tui Atua (2014) pointed out that relationships exist between people and their tangible worlds, as well as intangibles such as knowledge and history. The relationship with history highlights the importance of temporality as an added dimension in the ways Pacific people access and understand worldviews. Mahina (2004) explained that change and time were constants in the *anga fakatonga*.

> 'Oku 'uhuinga ke he 'alu pe me'a mo hono taimi pe ta pe kuonga. Na'e 'ikai fa'a tolonga 'a e lohu 'o e to'ukai 'e taha ki he to'ukai 'e taha, pea na'e pau leva ke ngaohi ma'u pe ha lohu fo'ou ki he to'ukai fo'ou.

> Nothing is static; over time, things move. Lohu are forked sticks used to collect breadfruit from the trees. They do not last from one season to another, so new ones are made next season (Māhina, 2004, p. 54)

Fonoti (2011) and Tui Atua (2000) explained that individuals needed grounding as a starting point to explore both the temporal and intangible aspects of worldviews to understand both place and reasons for action. They both saw grounding in ideas of *tofi*, the inheritance that the individual is duty-bound to share including the *fanua* (land), *aganu'u* (culture), and *tu ma aga* (customs) (Fonoti, 2011; Tui Atua, 2000). From the *tofi* the *fa'asinomaga*, the identity emerges, and as an individual grows in that identity, the *tofi* become guiding forces for thoughts and behaviours (Tui Atua, 2000). As groundings, these become valuable to the individual as starting points and honouring these become cultural values.

Nainoca (2011) explained that for Fijians, the values in the *bula vakavanua* Fijian worldview are operated in a duality of the *Vanua* land worldview and the *lotu* Christian worldview. To operate these values, Ravuvu (1983) and Toren (1986) both highlighted the importance of *vakarokoroko* (deference), *loloma* (love) and *yalo malua* (kindness). Additional values structures of *veilomani* (love for others), *veidokai* (respect) (Seruvakula, 2000, translated in Nainoca, 2011), *veivakaliuci,* (putting others first) and *veirogorogoci*, (good communications) (Nainoca, 2011) were prevalent. Nainoca (2011) also highlighted that as Fiji became urbanised as international agencies set up branches in the main centres, the *bula vakavanua* had adapted to recognise the balance between traditional village life and modern urban life and also the indigenous culture alongside generations of diaspora.

Relationship with the land is a relationship with others

Fanua/Fonua land added an interesting texture to considerations of relationships as part of ontologies. Sumeo (2016) explained that for Tongans land ownership or tenure was decided by the Monarch either directly or through *fakafanua* village nobility, and that women risked being left landless or destitute following divorce or death of a husband. However, the idea or notion of the *fonua* was comparatively romanticised by both Hau'ofa (1993) and Vaioleti (2014) as being a focal point and inspiration to diaspora seeking grounding.

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Kailahi (2014) explained that the idea of the *tala 'o e fonua* encapsulates the pathway towards and the way of being in the world, seen through the spiritual lens of the *fonua* lands, and what they represent. Tuitahi (2009) explained that fonua represents the sacredness of peoples relationship with Gods and the transfer of that sacredness, via the va, to other people.

> Maintaining a sustainable, harmonious and balanced relationship with nature and one's fellow human beings, both individually and collectively, illustrates the spiritual dimension of the *fonua*. Since the introduction of monotheistic religion, Tongans reconceptualised the spiritual dimension of *fonua* to include God (p. 14).

However, the land is tied deeply to the *bula vakavanua* or Fijian worldview/way of living. Thaman (1997, p12) explained that "Vanua is more than land. It is the Fijian worldview, ethos and cosmos, all living and non-living things wrapped in one." Bolabola (1986) noted that the integration of people, land and spiritual realms was through customs and traditions linked to the land, as well as ceremonies for related gods.

As well as relationships on a large scale, Pacific worldviews distil the implications of these relations to the spaces between individuals. Ka'ili (2017) noted that the *tauhi va* required two or more people to represent the points where the *va* and its sacredness, its knowledge, its power is bordered. Those people also needed time, space and knowledge to offer the *va*, one another, and those they represented sufficient *tauhi* or maintenance and guardianship. In order to successfully maintain sacred spaces with and for the other, the Tongan values of *anga fakatōkilalo* humility and *faka'apa'apa* respect are operationalised. Taumoefolau (2013) explained that *'ulungāangaa totolu* behaviour, *anga vala fe' unga* the correct clothing, *hiva* singing, *faiva* dancing, *talanoa* speaking and *tu'unga fakafamili* gendered roles in the family were all material in activating the faka'apa'apa in the anga fakatonga. Churchward (1959) also noted that underpinning the activation of the anga fakatonga was the idea that all actions were done with *'ofa* or with love for the other.

Service to others is also an essential consideration in Pacific worldview ontologies, as well as understanding axiological systems. In post-modern late 20th Century Tonga, the traditional job of *punake* transitioned from poet and historian to arbiter of language and communication. Dawson (2016) pointed to critique by village *punake* of *lea ohi* transliterated words in conversation, media, oratory, preaching and writing as an indicator of Tongan society's value of *totonu* correctness.

Cultural Institutions

As Pacific worldviews highlight the importance of people to one another, it becomes crucial to explore the forms and functions of primary groups in Pacific societies and cultural traditions. Two central institutions emerge as the focus for different Pacific ethnic ways of seeing self in the world and operating values systems. Those institutions are the *kainga, aiga and* extended family and the *lotofale,* church.

The Family

The concept of Pacific families, their values and protocols have been discussed both in pan-Pacific contexts (Koloto & Sharma, 2005; Southwick, Kenealy & Ryan, 2012, Fehoko, 2016) and contextualised against the perceived dominant values of New Zealand society (Pasikale & George, 1995; Anae, 1998; Families Commission, 2012; Fairbairn-Dunlop, 2014).

The Families Commission (2012) reported that Pacific families used coercion in resource sharing and that more ideal economic outcomes could be achieved if Pacific families stopped giving money to churches and extended families. Pasikale & George (1995) noted that "Pakeha New Zealanders may view (from their particular set of cultural glasses) with bewilderment and sometimes horror, that Pacific Islanders value meeting obligations to the community and extended family before meeting their personal needs" (p. 68). These authors demonstrate a perception that the norm in New Zealand is for individual nuclear families to take responsibility for needs before considering others. They also demonstrate that culturally, Pacific people live a different

economic life and also feel vulnerable at a judgement about the difference between their approach and the assumed norm.

However, Fairbairn-Dunlop (2014) explained that family systems were comprised of complex and responsive transactions of resources, knowledge and comfort in the pursuit of wellbeing that harmonised layers of inputs and outputs. For Fairbairn-Dunlop (2014), the stability of the family was paramount and would be achieved through ongoing relationship maintenance, which demanded activation of the family systems. Fairbairn-Dunlop's (2014) description expanded that from Tu'itahi (2009), which established harmony in action towards wellbeing as focused on harmony between people and the natural environment.

Inside the family, a hierarchy emerged as a significant consideration, especially those inside the kāinga. Thaman (1999) noted the kāinga comprised parents, children, grandparents, aunties, uncles and cousins.

> Kāinga network is a pivotal axis where societal and familial relationships form the basis for economic gain and distribution, profit sharing, redistribution and discourages profiteering and capitalistic tendencies (Helu, 1999, p 147)

Fehoko (2016) also noted that the *kāinga* family was the primary unit in Tongan society. However, Fehoko explained that the family was a structure where, through their upbringing, children and young people understood the purposes and value of the *va* and the ways to maintain the relationships. However, Sumeo (2016) noted that the Tonga Legitimacy Act 1988, restricted the legitimacy of a child's existence as being the product of a married opposite-sex couple.

Anae (1998) argued that among Samoan diaspora born in New Zealand, the *āiga* or family system was the core feature of the *fa'aSamoa* Samoan way, in conjunction with the *tautala fa'aSamoa* ability to communicate. As such, the individual is born into a range of *āiga*, their father's, their mother's, the extended *āiga* of parents and other relatives. In these networks, the practices and principles of the social hierarchy are

formed. Central to these practices and principles are the ideas of *tautua* service and *fa'aaloalo* respect for people in higher rankings.

It is essential also to note that Tongan custom does not recognise equality. Instead, Moengangongo (1986) noted that instead of egalitarianism or equality, Tongan structures contain informalities which offer advantages or rights to those in higher ranks. This inequality complements the *faka'apa'apa, 'ofa, tu'unga fakafamili* and *anga fakatōkilalo* to ensure those unfavoured in the ranking are protected. Protection occurs through the responsibility of higher ranked people to act in the best interests of the lower-ranked. Social rules about expected contributory acts by people in specific rankings also provide protection, and accountability if protection rules are broken (Bleakely, 2002; Moengangongo, 1986; Niumeitolu, 1993; Salmond, 2003).

Figure 2: Hierarchical structures in Tongan families
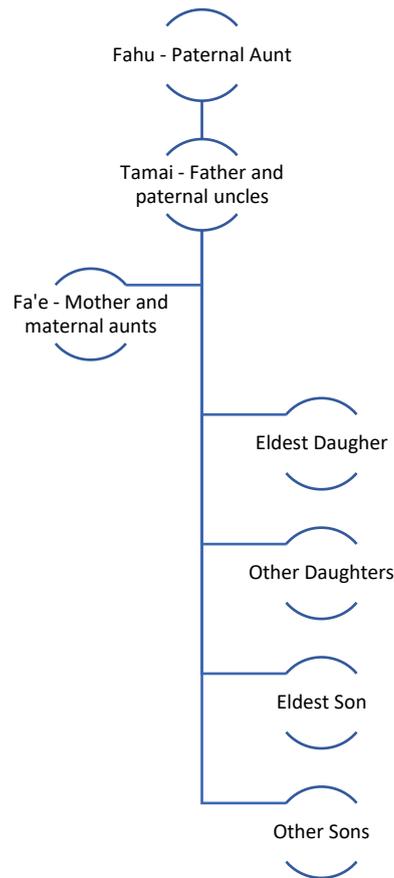
Source: Niumeitolu (1993)

Niumeitolu (1993) indicated that the paternal aunt, known as *fahu* sat atop of the family hierarchy. Bleakely (2002) noted that descent through the bloodlines of a brother or sister in generations above was highly influential in understanding one's place in the family. The *faka'apa'apa* and *fakatōkilalo* offered towards *fahu* afforded both rights and privileges. The principal rights were over the naming of a brother's children, often to ensure oral traditions were maintained in the naming conventions across generations. Sumeo (2016) found that fahu were often given first crops from their brothers' harvests. The offering of harvest crops reflects the social traditions of the offering of money, gifts and food to the fahu at significant family occasions. Fairbairn-Dunlop (2014) and Koloto & Sharma (2005) also found that women held roles of economic responsibility in family hierarchies. Those roles were often spread between planning for the future and preparing added-value goods to enhance intra-family and external relationships

(Fairbairn-Dunlop, 2014) and undertaking high-energy interpersonal care which included payment for resources, or sacrificing income generation (Koloto & Sharma, 2005).

Toren (1990) explained that in Fijian *matavuvale* family systems, *vakarokoroko* or respect was essential in the operations of family hierarchies. Nayacakalou (1955) proposed that a paternal focus dominated kinship in Fijian families; however, Toren (1990) argued that more earnest claims to ethnicity and lineage always included considerations of maternal chiefly ranks. Toren (1990) also explained that in family systems, resources were shared laterally, whereby an individual could unquestionably rely on their cousins or aunts and uncles. However, at the same time, an intricate set of rules and protocols for approaching family houses, seeking permission, interacting with family ensured that layers and levels of the family were articulated and practised.

The Church

The other prominent institution in New Zealand Pacific diaspora was the church. At the 2018 Census, 67.9% of Pacific people in New Zealand affiliated with Christianity, while a further 22.9% claimed no religious affiliation. These two statistics have changed since 2006, where 80.2% identified as Christian, while 14% affiliated with no religion (Statistics New Zealand, 2019). To contrast these statistics, in Tonga, at the 2011 Census, 101,272, or 98% of the population affiliated to Christianity. Of those, 36% affiliated to the Free Wesleyan Church, 19% were Mormon/Latter-Day Saints, and 15% were Roman Catholic (Secretariat of the Pacific Community & Department of Statistics, 2014).

Tu'itahi (2009) noted that as Christian religious entities were introduced to Tonga, Tongans compensated for the additional structures by incorporating God, and creationist teachings, into traditional spiritual worldviews. Also, Niumeitolu (2007) found that the Methodism of the Monarch was foundational to the ways Tongans saw their culture, including their relationship with social hierarchies. Both 'Ahio (2007) and

Niumeitolu (2007) have provided a comprehensive exploration of Tonga's transition from ancient spiritualities to Christianity, following the interactions between King Taufa'āhau and the Methodist missionaries of the 1820s. Niumeitolu (2007) explained that Taufa'āhau, as leader of Ha'apai, had travelled to Tongatapu and converted to Christianity after hearing the preaching of Nathaniel Turner. After this, he returned with Pita Vi, the first Tongan teacher who had been recommended by the London Missionary Committee, to convert villagers. On the pair's journey around Ha'apai, a series of tests and feats were performed to solidify Taufa'āhau's commitment to Christianity. 'Ahio (2007) noted the turning point was King Taufa'āhau testing the traditional gods during a canoe journey

> "Taufa'āhau saw a shark, which he believed was his god Taufa'itahi. He threw a spear at the shark, thinking that if it was truly a god the spear would miss, which it did. Pita Vi and another man were then thrown into the sea to fetch the spear and bring it back. Taufa'āhau reasoned that, if the Christian God was truly God, He would save Vi and the other man from the sharks. The two men were not attacked and arrived safely on shore with the spear."
> ('Ahio, 2007, p 45)

In 2020, the title of Taufa'āhau belonged to the son of the Crown Prince, and the title-holder maintained the power to determine the Kingdom's religion. Faletau (2005) noted that in Samoa, missionaries' wives established local committees which resulted in their control over village life and broader society. Sier & Fiti-Sinclair (2008) explained that as a result of these church-based committees, Samoan women strove to become increasingly acceptable.

Churches have been recognised as multi-dimensional spaces where communities of Pacific people meet in separate or combined ethnic communities. Regardless of the ethnic basis, churches have emerged as spaces where language and cultural worldviews were taught and reinforced (Anae, 1998; Fehoko, 2015; Fuka-Lino, 2015; Morgain, 2015; Tomlinson, 2019; Wilson, 2017). Prescott (2009) noted that churches became centres of social capital and potential business for new entrepreneurs through creating networks of both support and customers. Besides, churches have been

recognised as providers of early childhood education (Human Rights Commission, 2020; Ministry of Education, 2012), places where health information can be shared (Counties Manukau District Health Board, 2017; Ministry of Health, 2019), safe spaces for new migrants to learn about residency (Enoka, 2020; Esau, 2005) and support systems for children in school-based education (Latu, 2009).

Anae (1998) explained that the prominent PIC (Pacific Island Church) at Newton in Auckland had a range of structures which offered parishioners and congregations community activities. The structures involved administration committees, an education system, choirs, and Bible classes. Additionally, Anae (1998) noted that structures were made available in Samoan, Cook Islander, Niuean and the English Speaking Group and that elders were essential figures in the operation of these structures.

Some authors have highlighted that as congregations have attempted to navigate cultural traditions in church environments, they experienced stress. Koloto & Sharma (2005) noted that additional church fundraising for overseas missions and building maintenance left families experiencing financial strain. Anae (1998) explained that the full calendars of events and celebrations, in addition to church services, committee meetings and bible studies added stresses to families with long work hours and existing significant travel commitments between school, work and home.

Tongan churches have also been forthright in their role in regulating the *'ilo* knowledge and *'ulungāangaa* behaviour of their parishioners. The Tokaikolo Church-run Pacific Christian School's Ministry of Education registration as a private school was suspended in 2015 after it was revealed its teaching staff was unregistered. The school's management claimed (Johnston, 2015) that its choice to be a private school was based on its Christian basis and disagreement with the State

> "We are not a state-integrated school, and we firmly take this stand at all cost because we believe that what our children need is not just education but Christian education," its statement read.

> "The only way to secure the integrity of Christian education is to employ Christian curriculum in the place of the Government's secular curriculum. Not implementing the national curriculum has put us in the disadvantage as we are not fully entitled to the Government's financial assistance schemes to education providers. This has, however, not deterred the Board of Trustees and the teachers from their commitment to act in obedience to God and to work in co-operation with parents in teaching their children in Christian character and values."
> (Johnston, 2015)

The statement by the Pacific Christian School and Tokaikolo Christian Church demonstrated that churches held a place of enculturating younger Tongans with senses of what was deemed to be *mo'oni,* true and *totonu* right (Fuka-Lino, 2015). This enculturation was also seen in the evolution of *faikava tonga* kava ceremonies and practices, into the Free Wesleyan Church. Niumeitolu (2007) explained that the emerging practice of *faikava tali malanga* or kava with the *faifekau* minister before the service educated young men in accepted behaviour.

> The conversations in the *faikava tali malanga* are led by the *'eiki* and his two *matāpule* and the preacher. The rest do not take part as it would be seen as disrespectful for one sitting at the bottom end to participate in the conversation, except to ask questions: it is here that the young men learn the manners required in kava ceremony watching and learning twice each Sunday. (Niumeitolu, 2007, p. 202).

Alexeyeff and Besnier (2014) noted that Tongan, Fijian and Samoan congregations in the New Zealand Methodist Church sought to enforce their moral code of *mo'oni* and *totonu* at the churches national conference in 1997. The Pacific congregations disputed the denominational hierarchy's consideration of ordination of gay and lesbian clergy. The groups were angry that they "could not live with the increasingly radical liberal theology of the Methodist Church of New Zealand and acceptance of Ministers living in sexual sin" (Wesleyan Methodist Church of New Zealand, 2009). Three years later, the three groups established the Wesleyan Methodist Church of New Zealand and broke away from the Methodist Church of New Zealand.

Tui Atua (Efi, 2014) commented on the influence church doctrines, and behaviours had on Samoan languages relating to procreation and family formation. In his essay

Whispers and Vanities in Samoan Indigenous Religious Culture, Tui Atua (Efi, 2014) explained that the traditional forms of relationship, interpersonal protocols and ceremony that were common in the procreative processes were rendered impossible to translate, describe and explain. He noted that as churches had dispensed with and preached in opposition to those processes, the language relating to the description of bodily states, activities and relationships had been sanitised. The effect of these changes was the gradual loss of indigenous spiritual knowledge (Efi, 2004).

In response to the essay Sister Vitolia Moa (2014) responded that Samoan's had disregarded the time before missionary religion and pondered if re-connection would activate a "harnessing of Samoa's soul-energies (which are in danger of dissipation) from religious and cultural disconnect" (p. 46). Sr Vitolia (2014) considered the Samoan language of secrecy that emerged from missionary colonisation of indigenous religion alongside a critical analysis of the Book of Genesis written by the late Cardinal Josef Ratzinger (Ratzinger, 1995, in Moa, 2014). In considering the cardinal's writing alongside the head of state's essay, she noted that as preachers had isolated Biblical stories from the rest of the chapters and the context of the Bible as a collection, congregations did not have access to cultural context. She noted that Ratzinger's exploration of the Israelite and Babylonian customs of cosmology and land would have resonated with Samoan congregation worldviews. She also pondered whether Samoans in 2014 would welcome the challenge of reassessing their religious worldviews.

Pacific notions of Gender, Masculinity and Sexuality

To some in Pacific communities, the idea of same-sex relationships is considered foreign to Pacific ways of living (personal communications, 2015). Pacific peoples responses to the 2014 General Social Survey (Statistics New Zealand, 2014) reflected these views as well. The survey found that Pacific respondents were less tolerant of same-sex couples they did not know than Maori or European New Zealander

respondents. Pacific people told Statistics New Zealand that their reaction was due to the perceptions of same-sex couples being something abnormal.

Gender and Sexuality

It is important to note that little is written about the words that are used to identify gay or same-sex attracted people in Pacific languages. The simplified dictionary of modern Tongan (Tu'inukuafe, 2001) refers to a homosexual as *mohe 'a e tangata 'a e tangata*, or a man who sleeps with another man. However, the term *fakasotoma* is more likely to be used in Tongan family and community contexts, especially church preaching or informal *faikava* (pers. comm, 2015).

Brown-Acton (2011) explained to a Human Rights conference that since the 1980s, research undertaken in the Pacific had led to the names for unique gender identities being misappropriated to refer to gay men. The terms' misuse implied that the familial hierarchical spaces, traditions of service and knowledge sharing embodied in these names were undermined (Brown-Acton, 2011; Toelupe, 2011).

Brown-Acton's (2011) presentation and Toelupe's speech about the lived experience of being *Fa'afafine* (2011) are at odds with other authors who have used MVPFAFF terms to refer to male homosexuals (Besnier, 1997; Kaltenborn, 2003; Schmidt, 2003; Halapua, 2006), men who act similarly to women (Good, 2014) and effeminate male as opposed to homosexual. Pulotu-Endemann challenged the privilege given to heterosexuality and the male-female gender binary of Pacific Christian cultures. He noted that *Fa'afafine*, *Fakaleiti, Mahu,* and, *Whakawahine* existed in Samoa, Tonga, Hawai'i and Aotearoa before the arrival of missionaries in the 1820s. Pulotu-Endemann (2010) explained that the privilege afforded to heterosexuality in Pacific cultures is the result of Christian missionary teachings from the 1800s.

Pulotu-Endemann and Peteru (2001) highlighted that in the 1990s, a movement emerged among *Fa'afafine* seeking greater self-determination to both articulate their identities, and access more significant normalisation in both Samoan and New Zealand

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societies. They noted that Christian teachings had colonised Pacific paradigms of sexuality, gender and identity and that *Fa'afafine* sought to address colonised decimation of their identities.

Pacific Masculinities

Masculinities in Pacific cultures are presented in literature through the lenses of gender power imbalances and colonisation of male forms. As previously noted in this review, specific hierarchical positions for people of different genders are considered normal in Pacific cultural traditions. Those hierarchies, and the expected social interactions (Suali'i, 2001) and cultural metaphors (Lutui, 2007) are situations that men can both participate in and enjoy the benefits. Suali'i (2001) argued that in Samoan historical accounts of village formation, titled men, and their male offspring held privileged roles with having the freedom to have sex with their choices of lower-ranked women, as well as chiefly positions to determine marriages when the men were ready. Mageo (1996) and Schoffel (1987) highlighted that the pre-marriage promiscuity was seen as a right by the titled-men, and as honourable among the families of the low-ranked women.

For Lutui (2007), living in the skin of the Tongan body was about navigating Tongan cultural rules and expectations about male bodies. Significantly, his body, in relationship to the women, and their ranking, in his family, was critical. As a male, he was directed to undertake men's work in the plantation, and never be around the house. As a boy nakedness was acceptable only in the presence of other males and not when females, especially sisters or cousins, were near. Lutui (2007) also noted that as a high school rugby player, he saw his body as one in a group, striving towards the goal of honouring the team and being in a family. This self-realisation was decimated when a new, *Pālangi*, rugby coach introduced body-evaluations into team selection processes.

Lutui's experience of the *Pālangi* coach highlights the influence western attitudes about race, culture, and superiority have had over Pacific men's bodies, and their navigation

of worldview, value and identity. Former All Black Eroni Clarke recalled his re-education of prominent rugby coach Graham Henry to increase his awareness about Pacific men's pathway to achievement (in Faigaa, 2019). Clarke explained that Henry's training style at the Auckland Blues team in the late 1990s adopted a hyper-masculine approach of swearing and yelling at his young players. He noted that once he and fellow Pacific player Michael Jones taught him to speak about aspiration, teamwork, loyalty and to avoid yelling and swearing, the Pacific players became increasingly cohesive and successful. Like Lutui, those players saw themselves as part of a family.

Hwang Chen (2014) explained that Pacific football players' understandings of themselves and their place in cultural, family and social settings were challenged, when engaged in playing in professional sporting codes. He explained the public marketing of these players in the NFL, NRL and Super Rugby competitions had reinforced imagery of Pacific bodies being idealised as large, strong, powerful and warriorlike. Grainger (2009) referred to such narratives in New Zealand rugby as the "cult of Pacific primitivism" (p. 49) in which Pacific bodies were idolised to the point of being considered untamed savages.

The attention gained through sporting codes has meant that young Pacific men in the Islands, New Zealand, Australia and the USA have outlets to see themselves as powerful, desirable and as upwardly mobile (Grainger, 2009; Hawkes, 2018; Henderson 2011; Hwang Chen, 2009; Lutui, 2007). In addition to the experience of upward mobility, the publicity about Pacific athletes was also bounded by the supremacy of the white storytellers (Grainger, 2009; Henderson, 2011; Masters, 2009). Henderson (2011) noted that popular media presentation of Pacific men in the USA summarised body types into a small group of categories, based around themes of negativity and fear of things that are large and dark coloured in white American society (p. 287-288).

Both Grainger (2007) and Masters (2007) noted that in New Zealand Rugby and Australian NRL, respectively, media commentaries focused on the idea that Pacific

peoples were overrepresented in the two codes. Hawkes (2018) made the same claim in her study into entrenched racist tendencies in Australian schools and communities to see sport as the only limited avenue for young Pacific people to experience success. The idea that any ethnic group is over-represented alludes to ingrained tendencies to believe that there is an illegitimate number of Pacific people interloping in the sporting codes.

The experience of Pacific males experienced by Lutui (2007) and explained by Hwang Chen (2009), Grainger (2007) and Masters (2009) denotes a range of indigenous realities of experiencing masculinity and a range of colonised expectations of how masculinity ought to be experienced. Mageo (1996) explained that the same tension was evident between missionaries' dismissals of *fa'afafine* and other non-heterosexual-marriage depictions of masculinity in Samoa of the 1930s and male transvestism in Europe during the same time.

Mageo (1996) pointed out that fa'afafine held a unique place in the Samoan cultural depiction and experience of gender, and through performance art, challenged binary gender stereotypes in a way that normalised more fluid definitions of gender, as well as act as key communicators at times where male/female relations required considerable tact. She noted that the missionaries who came to Samoa with experience in performance art, as imitation of life, decided to ignore those social contributions made by fa'afafine in their writings of the time. Instead, she explained, missionaries' depictions of social discourse about gender positioned men as husbands and fathers, and authority figures in the family system.

Available Statistics about Pacific gay men

At the time of writing this thesis, there was little data available about Pacific gay men in New Zealand. The closest data source involving Pacific ethnicity and same-sex attraction was the Youth2000 series of studies from the University of Auckland. In the Youth'12 report, (Lucassen et al., 2014), the Adolescent Health Research Group found

that among its cohort of 1040 Pacific students, 41 or 3.9% of them were either same or both sexes attracted. This was not further broken down by gender. Of the 301 students who identified as same or both sexes attracted, the Pacific cohort was approximately 10 per cent.

According to the 2006 Census, 174 Pacific men were part of a male same-sex relationship. This is compared to 552 Maori men and 3474 European men (Statistics New Zealand, 2010). Statistics New Zealand's *Characteristics of Same-Sex Couples in New Zealand* (Statistics New Zealand, 2010) report was released; no further information has been collected about male same-sex couples. In 2019, 690 same-sex couples were registered by marriage or Civil Union (Statistics New Zealand, 2020). Helu et al. (2009) and Rossen et al. (2009) noted that 2.6 per cent of Pacific young people surveyed acknowledge same or both sex attraction and another 7 per cent identified either being unsure of their sexual attraction or not being attracted to any gender. The percentage of same-sex attraction for Pacific young people was lower than that for Māori (3.4%), Asian (3.4%) and European (4.6%) ethnic groups.

Health screening and infections' statistics was another source of data on the number of Pacific gay men. The minimal amount of research into the health of Pacific gay men and MSMs in New Zealand has focused on HIV infections (Shea et al., 2011; Dickson, 2015; Dickson et al., 2015). In 2014, 5 per cent of MSM HIV infections diagnosed were Pacific men, 7 per cent of heterosexual HIV infections were Pacific people and 1% of AIDS notifications were Pacific (Dickson et al., 2015). The AIDS Epidemiology Group had previously noted that Pacific MSMs were "more than twice as likely to have advanced HIV disease at diagnosis than those of European ethnicity" (Shea et al., 2011, p. 2). Current marriage statistics (Statistics New Zealand, 2015) do not provide ethnic breakdowns of same-sex married couples.

Social and Legislative Contexts

This section explores the social traditions, ideas and behaviours that contextualised the lives of gay men in New Zealand, as seen in the available literature. It will navigate the protocols and processes of legislative change and outline critical events in law changes relating to gay men and same-sex couples.

Gay men in New Zealand

Little has been written previously about the experiences of Pacific gay men in New Zealand. A small group of studies and books, however, has documented lived experiences of mainly *Pālangi* gay men in New Zealand in the latter half of the 20th Century. The main themes explored in this literature review are social conformities, social groupings and exploration of identities. In general, New Zealand society transitioned over the 20th Century from normalised condemnation of same-sex couples to acceptance with hopes for integration in society. Allan's (2017) exploration of lived experiences among men who lived in New Zealand from the 1950s effectively traced an "arc, moving (in general terms) from intense and unrelenting homonegativity towards increased understanding and acceptance" (p. 282). Allan (2017) observed that as New Zealand's society valued those people who make contributions to local communities, those men who challenged societies' prejudices made contributions towards a more diverse and inclusive society (p. 286).

Social Conformity

After the Second World War, New Zealand's society had benefitted from increasing international demand for export goods, which created both a stable economic environment and a social pride in being a New Zealander (King, 1985). Also, post-war New Zealand had benefited from the establishment and expansion of a comprehensive welfare system, and government policy which sought to equalise incomes. Hansen (1968) observed that both the equalisation policy and the novelty of universal welfare care developed a cultural sense of uniformity in post-war New Zealand. Guy (2000)

further noted that the uniformity bred a culture which celebrated conformity among New Zealanders. Culturally, King (1985) described New Zealand in the 1940s as a "single culture society" (p. 9).

Allan (2017) noted that New Zealand society between the 1950s and 1990s was not conscious about sexual orientation as a legitimate component of the human self. He explained that the lack of understanding was seen in the "complex interplay of legislation, healthcare practices, religious teaching and social conditioning" (p. 275). Guy (2000) noted that the lack of understanding in the community was illuminated when H.G.R. Mason, the Minister of Justice in 1959, sought an amendment to the Crimes Act to reduce sentences for people convicted of male homosexuality, from life imprisonment to 7 years. He explained that media reporting of the amendment reiterated existing viewpoints about perversion and society's revulsion of anything that challenged its conformist views. However, two years later, in 1961, when the Crimes Act was reformed, the originally proposed reductions in the sentence for male homosexuality convictions were passed without debate.

Allan (2017) observed that for gay men themselves, social attitudes, inculcated in early years through parents, created an environment of ignorance and unfamiliarity for them to navigate as adults. He noted that the response was to follow an established path that was assumed by all society (p. 279). He also noted that if the pathway were to settle down and raise a family, the societal expectation would be that "(p)resumably, everything will be all right in the end" (p. 279).

Adulthood appeared to be a space where gay men were required to respond to the difference between what they understood of themselves and social expectations. Neville, Kushner & Adams (2015) found that between the 1940s and 1960s, sex-play between young boys was a common phenomenon, but the idea of sexual orientation, or challenging the idea that males had sex with females, was reserved for adulthood. Allen (1998) agreed and said sex-play between same-aged boys was normalised behaviour in sporting and farming settings, despite it not being talked about in family or

society. Also, Neville, Kushner & Adams (2015) reported that gay men of that era naturally assumed that marriage to a woman was a routine step in eradicating homosexual tendencies.

As a medical student, Ngaei (1967) reported difficulty in finding gay men to participate in his study due to their fears of exposure to friends, communities and police, as well as suspicion of being blackmailed (in Guy, 2000). Ngaei observed, "most homosexuals are constantly preoccupied with disguising their homosexual behaviour" (1967, p. 31 in Guy, 2000, p. 39). Neville, Kushner & Adams (2015) noted that between the 1950s and 1970s, sex between men in public toilets and other places reflected the tension between vigilant neighbourhoods that would lead to police tipoffs about men coming and going from houses and the desire of men to seek out sexual activity.

Influence of the churches

Guy (2000) noted that in addition to the culture of virtue around conformity, an identity of collectiveness was prevalent in New Zealand society, which was seen in churches in the 1960s. He explained that the result of a monolithic and conformist view of and in New Zealand society was that homosexuals were seen in public discourse as a novelty. In summarising public discussion during the early 1960s, he pondered the various questions posed in the media "were they in control of themselves? Could they change? Could they be healed? Some said yes, many said no" (p. 34).

At that time, the view of church leaders was the leading voice of *expert* opinion on the subject. Guy (2000) noted that both the established religious groups and emerging Pentecostal movements were condemnatory of homosexuality. He quoted an article by J.G. Matheson, a Presbyterian minister who argued that permissive societies overseas had led to the destruction of the moral foundations of Western civilisation. He claimed that any coherent society needed to have a "commonly held religion or mystique, a sense of identity and an accepted code of morals" (p. 41). Guy also quoted author

Winkie Pratney and the first edition of his book Youth Aflame (1967) whose rhetoric

referred to homosexuality as 'the final horror.'

> The <u>real</u> horror of homosexuality is the utter <u>bondage</u> it
> makes on the will. It is harder to break free from deep
> homosexuality than from almost any other selfish lust. A
> Sodomite becomes a <u>worshipper</u> of human flesh. (1967,
> pp 8-9, in Guy, 2000, p 45, Emphasis Original)

Lindsey (2011) noted that the emergence of Pentecostal religion in New Zealand public

discourse reflected a change in churches at that time. He explained churches moved

from maintaining monolithic and homogenous groups in society and towards intimate

and individualised relationships between worshipper and God. For gay men, Neville,

Kushner & Adams (2015) explained that between the 1960s and 1980s, conversion

into these churches was a solution for gay men who wished to conform to social

expectations.

Identifying as gay men

Existing writing about gay men in New Zealand has pointed to late adulthood as the

point where men are in a position to declare their sexuality to others, including family

and community. Allan (2017) explained that among the reflections of older men, their

recognition of identity as gay was their response to the calls of their authentic self.

Additionally, as gay men recognised their identity, they realised social circumstance

forced them to live less-authentic lives, and that by marrying, other lives were

implicated through those marriages and the families produced. For Allan's (2017)

participants, those contexts and the impacts on others delayed the process of self-

awareness of their gay identities through feelings of discomfort, grief, guilt and shame.

Allan's findings provide social context to the more individualistic focus of theories, such

as Cass's (1979) six stages of identity confusion; identity comparison; identity

tolerance; identity acceptance; identity pride, and identity synthesis. Eliason (1996)

noted that "(f)or an identity formation theory to 'work', it must make sense to the people

whose identities are at issue" (p. 57). Allan (2018) went on to note that the result of

navigating the awkwardness of challenging societal views, and the heartbreak of disrupting the ideals of families was a sense of pride and achievement of the confidence to disclose their identities publicly and to live authentically.

Legislative Process

McGee (2017) noted that passing legislation is considered the most crucial business undertaken in the House of Representatives. He explained that under sections 15 and 16 of the Constitution Act (1986), supreme legislative power rests across the two main parts of the Parliament of New Zealand, the House and the Sovereign (p 356).

In New Zealand, the idea of legislative process refers to the passage of proposed legislation through the House and concludes with a bill receiving Royal assent to become an Act of Parliament. McGee (2005) explained that in essence, the process was "a series of hurdles or tests that a proposal (a bill) must negotiate if it is to survive and become law" (p.421). It consisted of two primary purposes (McGee, 2017, p 394), to test whether the bill was needed and whether it would affect adequate change while minimising the risk of adverse outcomes.

McGee (2017) noted that since the late 1970s and following the introduction of Mixed Member Proportional representation in 1993, the speed of the legislative process reduced while the quality improved[5]. He attributed this to the rise of minority governments and the differentiation between minority parties who may support governments on confidence and supply matters but take their own view on legislative matters.

Member's Bills

McGee (2017) explained in early English parliaments, petitions seeking address for injustices were sent to the Monarch, with the written responses becoming recognised

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[5] See Geoffrey Palmer (1979) Unbridled Power? An Interpretation of New Zealand's Constitution and Government (Oxford University Press, Wellington) – for a critique of New Zealand's legislative process, ch7.

as statues with the force of law. Over time, members of parliament became more experienced in drafting bills for the King to either accept or reject. He noted "A proposal to change or add to the body of statute law in force in New Zealand comes before the House in the form of a bill, which will take effect as law if the bill is passed (p. 356).

The following table sets out the types of bills that can be presented to the House, as outlined in section One of Standing Order 253 (2017).

Table 3: Types of Bill introduced in the House of Representatives

Type of Bill	Introducing Party
Government bill	Minister in Government
Member's bill	Member of Parliament (not a Minister)
Local bill	Local Authority (affecting the authority's locality only)
Private bill	Member of the public, or a group (which does not necessarily need to be incorporated).

McGee (2017) explained that the main differences between the four categories relate to the Member in charge of the Bill and the extent of application. Also, the categories indicate the process taken by the House during consideration. He noted that Members of Parliament enter their proposed bills into a ballot, and these remain on file until they are either drawn or withdrawn by the proposing member. Member's ballots are drawn, and proposed bills are debated on alternate Wednesdays when the House sits. Member's bills are usually debated after local and private bills. McGee (1985) explained that the rules set out in Standing Orders mainly ensured that time was rationed appropriately between the many competing forces in Parliament. McGee's manual on parliamentary procedure also noted that Standing Orders were necessary for laying out a framework for robust legislative decision making.

Standing Orders (2011; 2017) explain that following the introduction of a Member's Bill, it is "set down for first reading on the third sitting day following its introduction". The standing orders explain the speech moving a bill for first reading nominate the select committee to consider the Bill and any special powers or instructions for the committee's consideration.

The probability that a Members' Bill is not subjected to the ballot is affected by the volume of Government, Members, private and local orders on the agenda of parliamentary sitting days. Therefore, it is commonly assumed that Members' bills are likely to be subjected to being drawn from the ballot by the Clerk.

Voting and Conscience Issues

Voting is central to the decision-making process in the House. McGill argues "through the will of the people – as expressed in parliamentary elections – is realised in the form of particular decisions that determine the laws and governance of the country" (2017, p. 246). The process that leads to a vote in the House begins when the Speaker proposes a question before the start of the debate. Following the debate, the question is put to the House, and the Speaker seeks a majority of votes of Aye or No. This is first achieved by calling for votes verbally, after which any MP can call for a further vote. McGill (2017) explained that the next stage of votes is based on the Speaker's judgement of the bill and results in either a party vote or a personal vote.

Standing order 142 (2017) provides that personal votes are made available to MPs if the Speaker considers the vote subject to be an issue of conscience. The Speaker's judgement that a personal vote is allowed includes consideration that the Business Committee has discussed the bill and that MPs had been advised in advance. This advance notice would usually be announced in the Thursday business statement by the Leader of the House, as well as informal interactions between Business Committee representatives and MPs. McGill (2017) also pointed out that conscience issues often arose from parties not having general positions on particular issues. As this study will be exploring the influence and contexts of the Marriage (Definition of Marriage) Amendment Bill, this section will focus on conscience votes.

Lindsey (2007) explained that conscience voting gave Members of Parliament abilities to justify their participation in decision making as something more personal, or constituent-focused as opposed to the party vote. Lindsey (2011) noted that following

the first Labour Government in 1935, and the formation of the National Party the following year, parties sought increased discipline from Members and increased expectations for their votes to emulate the party's intentions. Lindsey also noted that the formalisation of Split Party Votes in Standing Orders signalled to members that dissents from party lines were less momentous than previously thought.

As the votes on the Marriage (Definition of Marriage) Amendment Bill 2013, Homosexual Law Reform Bill 1985 and the Crime Amendment Act 1974 were all matters regarding homosexuality which were all put to a conscience vote, it is crucial to consider the relationship between conscience votes and matters of public moral values. Speaker of the House Margaret Wilson noted during debate of the Property (Relationships) Amendment Bill that "debates bring out some interesting perspectives, which in truth reflect a deeply-held personal view… the reality, however, is that the law has to cater to the needs of people as they actually live their lives, not as they do in some fairy-tale book" (NZPD, 2001, 8137).

External influences on conscience matters

Lindsey (2011) explored the external influences on MPs voting habits on matters of conscience. The two critical influences presented in this literature review are Christian churches and the media. He noted that following World War II, growing diversification in society, including the rise of migration and secularisation of social attitudes had diminished the prominence of the Church in New Zealand society. Also, the expansion of the welfare state saw the Church deliver fewer services, thereby reducing its broad reach into government business. He also noted that as the number of Māori, women and people supportive of gay and lesbian causes increased in parliament, the socially and racially conservative tendencies of Churches in the 1960s and 1970s were less influential.

Lindsey (2011) noted, however, that despite the overall decrease in influence, Churches remained influential in matters of sexual morality. This influence had been

enabled as Churches evolved from social institutions to personal belief systems, and vehicles for articulating those systems in the political and parliamentary system (Adhar & Stenhouse, 2000). Lindsey (2011) also explained that the issue of sexual morality in legislation emerged at a time where assumptions about legislation being in place to uphold moral codes policed by churches were being challenged.

As the media evolved with journalists increasingly interest in policy, conscience issues were more widely reported (Lindsey, 2011). Lindsey (2011) argued that in the 1960s and 1970s, the rise of television media occurred during times of increasing ethnic and social diversity, as well as protest activity. He noted

> By disrupting the political consensus and combining with searching interviews and constant examination of politicians, the mass media encouraged parties generally, and the executive, in particular, to articulate opinions on a wider range of issues, thus paving the way for further expansion in the scope of social issues the state was involved in. (p. 138)

He also explained that as well as broadening the horizon of topics MPs and parties were able to discuss, parties saw increased media involvement as exposure. The main risk of that exposure was that those parties became reluctant about being associated with subjects that didn't serve their political purposes. Luxton[6] (in NZPD, 1993) argued that the media had become both a space for greater activism and a spectacle which undermined parliamentary decision making. Lindsey (2011) explained that parties responded to the risk they saw by claiming to vote in opposition when personal votes on conscience matters arose.

Select Committee

McGill (2017) noted that select committees are not prescribed a standard size[7]. Standing order 158 (2017) stipulated that the membership of subject-based select committees was to be proportional, as practicable, to the membership of the House..

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[6] NZPD, 537, 3 August 1993, 17168, Electoral Reform Bill
[7] Except for the period 1996-2004, when membership of 8 MPs was prescribed.

Standing order 287 (2017) explained that at the first reading, the MP moving the bill must nominate the select committee to consider it.

The Select committee then examines the bill and may recommend that the bill proceed as well as making recommendations of amendments. The committee reports to the House within six months of referral.

Submissions

Select Committees are responsible for determining whether advertising is needed to attract submissions, also known as evidence, on a bill referred to it. Six weeks is the minimum deadline placed on a call for public submissions, enabling interested people sufficient time to formulate and express their views. The New Zealand Parliament website notifies the public about bills before committees and those committees accepting submissions. It also provides links to the bills, and any disclosure statements of regulatory impact to support people considering submissions. The website has accepted electronic submissions since 2011.

A programme of hearings is organised where committee members are presented with both written and in-person oral submissions. When making a written submission, members of the public are invited to indicate if they wished to speak to their submission directly to the committee.

After select committee stage

After the select committee report is presented in the House, the bill is referred for its second reading. McGill (2017) argued that the second reading is the stage where the House is asked to approve the bill in principle and make a fundamental commitment to "the desirability of passing the bill at all" (p. 422). A Supplementary Order Paper is used to indicate proposed amendments.

Following a successful vote at the second reading, the bill is then referred to a committee of the Whole house. This stage is a parliamentary debate which enables direct exchanges of views. McGill (2017) also noted that in the MMP environment, the

committee of the whole House was "the point in the legislative process at which the full
proportionality of the House is brought to bear" (p. 426). If the majority support the
measure, the bill is set down for its third reading.

Once a bill is read for the third time and passed, it goes to the Governor-General for
Assent.

Legislative Reform on Homosexuality Issues in New Zealand

The House of Representatives has considered laws relating to male homosexual
behaviour five times. The following table presents a timeline of law reforms that related
to the equality of homosexual men with others in New Zealand society and the
representation of Pacific members of the New Zealand House of Representatives.

Table 4: Timeline of relevant bills

Year	Law Reform	Reform MP – Party – Electorate/List	Pasifika MP (timeframe, current as at 2019)	Pasifika MP's Party – Electorate/List
1974 (Bill lost)	Crimes Amendment Bill	Venn Young – National – Egmont		
1986	Homosexual Law Reform Act	Fran Wilde – Labour – Wellington Central		
1993	Human Rights Act (supplementary paper)	Hon Katherine O'Regan – National, Waipā	Taito Phillip Field (1993-1996) (1996-2007) (2008) Vui Mark Gosche (1996-1999) Anae Arthur Anae (1996-1999) (2000-2002)	Labour – Otara Labour - Mangere Independent Labour – List National – List National – List
2004	Civil Unions Act	David Benson-Pope, Labour, Dunedin South Liane Dalziel, Labour, Christchurch East	Taito Phillip Field (1996-2007) (2008) Vui Mark Gosche (1999-2008)	Labour - Mangere Independent Labour - Maungakiekie

2014	Marriage (Definition of Marriage) Amendment Act	Louisa Wall, Labour, Manurewa	Luamanuvao Winnie Laban (1999-2002) (2002-2010)	Labour – List Labour - Mana
			Charles Chauvel (2006-2013)	Labour – List
			Asenati Lole-Taylor (2011-2014)	NZ First – List
			Carmel Sepuloni (2008-2011) (2014 – present)	Labour – List
				Labour - Kelston
			Su'a William Sio (2008 – Current)	Labour – Mangere
			Peseta Sam Lotu-Iiga (2008-2010)	National – Maungakiekie
			Kris Faafoi (2010-Current)	Labour – Mana
			Alfred Ngaro (2011-Current)	National – List
			Poto Williams (2013-Current)	Labour – Christchurch East
			Jenny Salesa (2014-Current)	Labour – Manukau East

The following table outlines how Pacific MPs voted at all three readings of the Marriage

(Definition of Marriage) Amendment Bill

Table 5: Pacific MPs during the Marriage (Definition of Marriage) Amendment Bill and their votes

Member	Vote at First Reading	Vote at Second Reading	Vote at Third Reading
Asenati Lole-Taylor	Against	Against	Against
Charles Chauvel	For	N/A[8]	N/A
Su'a William Sio	Against	Abstain	Against
Peseta Sam Lotu-Iiga	Against	Against	Against
Kris Faafoi	For	For	For
Alfred Ngaro	Against	Against	Against
Poto Williams	Against	Against	Against

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[8] Charles Chauvel resigned from Parliament to take up a position with the United Nations in March 2013.

Explanatory policy notes accompanying the Bill noted that under the Marriage Act 1955 non-heterosexual couples were unable to obtain marriage licences, despite the Act not being specific about gender in access to marriage licences. noting that marriage was a social institution and a fundamental human right.

Early homosexuality legislation: Abominable Crime vs Human Rights

The framing of homosexuality in New Zealand's legislative system is the result of a dynamic and powerful debate from the 1860s to the 1980s. This study needs to recognise and chart the arguments and their sources in New Zealand's legislative and social debate about homosexuality. The social aspect of the debate will provide insights into the power that institutions had in shaping the worldviews of debate participants and the power those worldviews have in shaping their recognition of real-world experiences. It is also essential for this study to recognise the evolution of policy or legislation-making in New Zealand in the 1840-1980 period as further links could be made between a movement towards New Zealand's self-determination of viewpoints and the increased openness to the validity of homosexuality in society.

Homosexual male sex became illegal in New Zealand in 1840 when New Zealand adopted British law after the Treaty of Waitangi was signed. The Offenses Against the Person Act 1867 had made the act of anal sex illegal by outlawing "the abominable crime of buggery committed with mankind or with any animal" and imposed a maximum sentence of life imprisonment with a minimum term of ten years (Christie, 2009).

The UN Charter of 1945 presented New Zealand with a framework for considering human dignity. Despite sexual orientation not being specified in article two of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations, 1948), its insistence on the rights of every person offered legislators opportunities to conceptualise homosexuals as human beings with the right to dignity. McCrudden (2008) explained that the

drafting of human rights charters placed individuals into social dimensions due to a need to balance universality and regional differences. McCrudden noted

> "where human beings are regarded as having a certain worth by virtue of being human, the concept of human dignity raises important questions such as 'what kind of being are we? How do we express the kind of beings we are?' Radically different answers are possible, of course, and therein lies the root of the problem with the concept of human dignity" (2008, p. 3).

Despite the emergence of a narrative of human dignity led by the United Nations, Guy (2000) noted that religious viewpoints remained prevalent in social discourse about homosexuals in New Zealand in the 1940s

The lead up to Homosexual Law Reform

Until 1941, persons charged under the 'unnatural offences' sections of the Offenses against the Person Amendment Act (1893) faced a penalty of either flogging or life imprisonment with or without hard labour. The penalty of flogging was repealed in 1941, and the hard labour penalty was repealed in 1954. In 1961, the Crimes Act implemented a maximum prison term of seven years for sodomy and five years for indecent assault on a man or boy. Newbold (1992) noted that in 1973 there were 50 convictions and 14 imprisonments under those laws.

The New Zealand parliament considered various reforms about homosexuality in 1968, 1974, and 1986. Between 1984 and 1986, the opinions of religious leaders were prominent in discussions about legislative reform. Guy (2000) reported that the chairman of the Parliamentary Petitions Committee considering a petition from the Homosexual Law Reform Society had difficulty in reconciling the viewpoints of a Methodist minister being questioned who was in favour of reform. Guy also noted that the Christian groups and their claims of Biblical condemnation of homosexuals were prominent in public discourse and debate with politicians the 1985 and 1986 period (2000, p204-206). He (2000) found that churches in favour of the reform were prominent, as was seen in the reporting of the National Council of Churches voting

eleven votes to six to support the Homosexual Law Reform Bill. The *church*, however fragmented, was perceived to be prominent in New Zealand society in the 1985/1986 period.

Following the 1984 election, gay-rights activists began to prepare for a campaign of homosexual law reform by forming committees and establishing fundraising systems. Guy (2000) explained that central to the reform campaign were the inclusion of sexual orientation in Human Rights Commission legislation, decriminalisation of homosexual acts for consenting males and parity between ages of consent for homosexual and heterosexual acts. It is important to note that the Gay Task Force amended the wording of the initial draft of the reform legislation replacing the word 'sodomy' with 'anal intercourse' due to the emotive connotations of the language used (in Guy, 2000, p. 268), shifting in the mindset to focus on human rights.

Lindsey (2011) noted that as the Homosexual Law Reform Bill (1985) was debated in the House of Representatives, the Labour government contained a significant number of members who opposed the party's policy of liberalisation of laws relating to homosexuality. He saw the dissent of the Labour MP's as the reasons for the Homosexual Law Reform Bill (1985) being a conscience vote.

Members of Parliament utilised the Conscience Vote environment to explore the link between moral values and the legislation before the House. MP for Pakuranga, Neil Morrison noted

> "… is the purpose of the House to be concerned with the nation's morals? The answer must be yes. Parliament does not allow me to go home and have intercourse with my daughter, for the very good reasons that the product of that connection would be a mutation." (NZPD, 1985, 3530-31)

George Gair, the Member for North Shore, urged his colleagues to consider improved rights for gay people as beneficial to the community.

> "No doubt, many members will view the vote they make on this Bill in conscience terms. However, I feel that

> something more important than conscience is involved –
> although perhaps indirectly it involves conscience – and
> that is to decide where we, as members of Parliament,
> feel the overriding public good must lie" (Gair, in NZPD,
> 1985, 7271)

Ann Hercus explained that Members of Parliament, as decision-makers, were required to vote without consideration of morals or social values.

> "John Stuart Mill asserted the view, reasserted much
> later by the British Wolfenden report on homosexuality,
> that legal coercion – the weight of the criminal law – can
> be justified only for the purpose of preventing harm to
> others. … Law and morality are overlapping circles.
> Morality condemns murder, as does the law. Morality may
> condemn adultery; the law does not. As lawmakers, we
> have the responsibility to decide not where morality lies,
> but where the law should lie." (Hercus, in NZPD, 1985,
> 7601)

From Homosexual Law Reform to Civil Unions

Following the passage of the Homosexual Law Reform Act in 1986, the framing of homosexuality moved away from moral judgements and became explicitly about human rights and the rights of the individual to be free from discrimination. The Bill of Rights Act 1990 established the civil and political rights of individuals which included (among others) rights to refuse medical treatment, rights of thought conscience and religion, peaceful assembly, justice and movement. Christie (2009) noted that the Act ensured that while religious groups were granted freedom of expressions, religious doctrines could not be imposed on the public-at-large. The change in attitude from 1986 to 1990 enabled the legislative environment to become more specific about the rights of gay men and the conditions that threatened their wellbeing.

The Bill of Rights Act 1990 also established the right to freedom from discrimination. The grounds of discrimination were later defined and outlined in the amendments to the Human Rights Act 1993. An earlier proposal to include sexual orientation as a prohibited ground of discrimination in the Human Rights Commission Act 1977 had been put forward, but not voted on (Christie, 2009). Associate Health Minister

Katherine O'Regan told the House during responses to Parliamentary Questions in 1992 that her proposal to include sexual orientation in the forthcoming Act would improve the efficacy of HIV and AIDS prevention programmes run by the Ministry of Health (NZPD, 1992, 12606). Bennachie (2009) claimed that Katherine O'Regan had attempted to have sexual orientation included in the initial draft of the Human Rights Bill but had been defeated in caucus.

At the introduction of the Human Rights Bill, O'Regan told the House that she intended to issue a Supplementary Order Paper which sought to amend clauses to include sexual orientation and illness-causing organisms in the body. She noted that as well as the human rights benefits offered in the legislation, the amendments would also improve access to disease prevention programmes and improve public health responses to communicable disease risk (in NZPD, 1992, 13207). In the speech, and afterwards in the media, Katherine O'Regan encouraged the public to make submissions to the select committee so that the specific issue of sexual orientation could be considered by them (NZPD, 1992, 13209). The select committee report to the house noted that 640 of 700 submissions received related to O'Regan's proposed amendments. 497 submissions supported the amendment, and 142 opposed it, and an additional 57 petitions supported its inclusion, and 56 opposed it (Reeves, in NZPD, 16742)

The passing of the Human Rights Act in 1993 meant government departments needed to ensure consistency with other legislation. The Ministry of Justice published a discussion paper called Same-sex Couples and the Law in 1999. Despite searches, I have been unable to secure a copy of this discussion paper. However, the Law Commission's discussion paper entitled Recognising Same-Sex Relationships (Baragwanath et al., 1999) argued that the law should exist to uphold the independence and autonomy of individuals, and not act to hinder their freedoms. Advice from the Ministry of Justice noted: "722 legislative provisions that unjustifiably discriminate against people on the basis of relationship status" (Ministry of Justice,

2003a, p. 2). The advice outlined critical areas for concern such as social assistance, tax revenue and provisions related to parenting and minors. An additional advice paper (Ministry of Justice, 2003b) proposed a de-facto relationships registration system for opposite and same-sex couples called a Civil Union Bill.

From legal recognition of identity to marriage

The period following Homosexual Law Reform and the Human Rights Act also saw same-sex couples test the law regarding marriage. In 1995, Jenny Rowan and Jools Joslin were declined in their application for a marriage licence. The Acting Registrar of Births Deaths and Marriages had cited Common Law as the reason for refusal, which was reiterated in a letter by the Deputy Registrar-General. Christie (2009) explained that the applicants believed they were protected under the Human Rights Act 1993 due to gender-neutral language used in the Marriage Act 1955, issuances of marriage licences could be viewed as a service and the possibility that the Registrar-General acted contrary to the Human Rights Act 1993 by not issuing the marriage licence. The Human Rights Commission advised the couple that it was unable to investigate their case due to exemptions and the sunset clause in the Human Rights Act 1993 (Christie, 2009).

Christie (2009) provided a comprehensive account and analysis of the Quilter v Attorney-General case in 1997, in which Jenny Rowan and Jools Joslin were also appellants. The significance of the Quilter Case to this study was that it was the first testing of the Marriage Act 1955, the Human Rights Act 1993 and also the Family Proceedings Act 1980, precursors to the reform campaign surrounding the Civil Unions Act 2004 and later the Marriage (Definition of Marriage) Amendment Act 2013. The Quilter Case was heard in both the High Court and the Court of Appeal. Following the judgements of the court, Jools Joslin then communicated with the ICCPR (International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights) Committee on the rights to equal treatment before the law, in reference to Article 26 of the ICCPR (Christie, 2009). Christie (2009) explained the Joslin v New Zealand communication made to the UNHCR was about

the right to equal treatment before the law, framed by inaccessibility to marriage under New Zealand law.

The Quilter Case and the subsequent Joslin v New Zealand petition to the ICCPR Committee demonstrated that same-sex couples continued to face challenges, even after Homosexual Law Reform Act 1986 and the amendments to the Human Rights Act 1993. Christie (2009) noted the Quilter Case saw the Crown argue that procreation was a foundation for marriage based on a case heard in 1795, and an Appeal Court judgement influenced by the 1662 version of the Anglican Book of Common Prayer and its basis of matrimony on the need for procreation. It was interesting to see the endurance of Biblical arguments in favour of heterosexual couples after the 1986 legislation. It also raised the question about policymakers' opinions about the validity of Biblical thinking during the debate about the Marriage (Definition of Marriage) Amendment Bill.

Summary

In this chapter, I have briefly explored disparate concepts of Pacific worldviews, cultural traditions, social viewpoints, New Zealand social contexts and gay men, legislative practice, and reform in New Zealand. As seen in this review, considerable research regarding Pacific worldviews and cultures, social contexts affecting both Pacific peoples and gay men and legislative process and reform has been published. However, Pacific gay men in New Zealand have been left out of these volumes.

Pacific people migrated into a country in search of economic opportunity and found a profoundly conservative and culturally homogenous homeland, in which unacceptance was a theme that endured through the second half of the 20th Century. At the same time, as New Zealand *Pālangi* led mainstream societies and their institutions of church, media and legislation moved towards acceptance of diversity, Pacific peoples were often left out of the diverse peoples being accepted, especially by the media. As

churches moved away from being responsible for public morality, Pacific churches became a forefront of what was *mo'oni* and *totonu*, right and correct.

This knowledge gap has silenced Pacific gay men as contributors to knowledge about Pacific ways of viewing the world and values systems, and as people who are affected by legislative change. The next chapter discusses the methodological focus of this study and its research design.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Introduction

In this chapter, I outline the methodological approach and research methods that support me, as a researcher, to achieve the goals established in the rationale for the study, as well as the research questions.

Exploring towards methodology

Following a review of the relevant literature, I was interested in how participants would perceive power dynamics. I became concerned that perceived dynamics might influence the sense-making of their place in the world or the legitimacy of their knowledge. Additionally, the Pacific worldviews and instinctive types of knowledge built through cultural traditions appeared, at times, to be at odds with the permanent and official sources of knowledge, such as Standing Orders, Acts of Parliament as well as academic texts. These considerations were front of mind as I considered my approach to selecting a methodological basis for this study. Helu-Thaman noted such concerns were appropriate for studying in Pacific spaces.

> "What we might perceive to constitute Pacific studies (knowledge) therefore constitutes a type of power exercised over those who are 'studied' or "known", and those who produce the discourse (that is, we) have the power to enforce its validity and its scientific status and make it "true" (Helu-Thaman, 2003, p. 3).

Helu-Thaman was concerned that Pacific people as researchers and participants had experienced disempowering by westernised ideas overwhelming and belittling indigenous knowledge. Therefore, as I considered the search for a methodology, I was reminded that this study was also challenging silence and overcoming other forces of marginalisation. Therefore, a methodological approach which amplified the voice of participants was of paramount importance.

Inquiry in this study, and the researcher

Mitaera (1997) noted that researchers brought their visions, principles and values to processes of research; as such, the researcher was the primary paradigm. My unique blend of life and professional experience shapes how I see myself and understand the Pacific cultures of my upbringing and family life. I was additionally encouraged by Gershon's (2014) idea that as Pacific diaspora balancing cultural, community, family, professional and market forces, our visions, principles and values are enhanced. Also, these experiences are among the mauri or life-force that encourage me into this study.

The researcher's exploration of Pacific ontologies, axiologies and epistemologies

The concepts of ontology, axiology and epistemology are essential in answering a research question based on lived experience. The following are short descriptions of the three terms (Vaka'uta, 2013)

- Ontology – How a community might conceptualise its worlds
- Axiology – How a community might conceptualise what is valuable
- Epistemology – How a community might conceptualise knowledge, knowledge creation, ownership and sharing

As this study engages ideas of cultural tradition and knowledge creation, the relationships between ontology, axiology and epistemology gain additional methodological significance. Mamea, Ioane & Slater (2019) discussed Samoan ontologies as the relationship between the internal and external, the physical and metaphysical, the current and the past. The active part is the axiology which is focused on the value of the individual as a participant, contributor and beneficiary in, to and of these relationships. Samoan epistemologies are embodied in artefacts, such as songs and lore, activities like storytelling and tatau (tattooing), and structures, like families and villages. Also, 'Epeli Hau'ofa (1993) discussed an ontology of reciprocity between traditional homelands and marketised western lands where diaspora live.

Paterson et al. (2016) concluded that the primary benefits of these Pacific-centred ontologies and their integration with axiologies were heightened levels of self-

perception among young Pacific people and the endurance of support networks. My personal experience undermined my self-perception, and it rendered me untrusting of those few support networks that existed. Cresswell's (2013) idea that the researchers' philosophical position influences the research course initially concerned me. Would any study conducted by me be seen as rigorous, given this backstory? My experiences challenged Pacific ontologies, axiologies and epistemologies. When I contextualised personal with professional and other experiences, under Gershon's framework, I became more confident that I had significant capabilities of perceptions and much experience.

I explored supplementary questions, as I considered both the research question and potential topics for discussion with participants. It became important to understand:

- What did Pacific gay men think of their ways of being in the world in the contexts of; church teaching, family structure, social discourse, and cultural traditions which were overwhelmingly heteronormative?
- What were the tensions between self-identifying as different, but being told that you are part of something bigger and duty-bound to contribute?
- Were participants subjected to other communities, *Pālangi* or Pacific, devaluing their cultural knowledge and analytical skills?

Requirements of a methodology

My experience and resulting questions about expressions of Pacific worldviews led me to consider their implications on this study (Mitaera, 1997). While choosing a methodology, I was concerned about balancing my scepticism of Pacific ontologies and the inherency of a call to serve the community, which was the primary motivation for this study.

This study would take place in the subject areas of male homosexuality and policy studies in New Zealand, which are dominated by non-Pacific worldviews. As a result of this domination, Pacific gay men had not yet been seen as legitimate. Therefore, I had to pursue a methodology that would celebrate the legitimacy of Pacific knowledge and be recognisable within western research paradigms.

Establishment of a research question

Gadamer (2013) explained that, from a hermeneutic perspective, in order for a question to be asked, the questioner requires background knowledge of the phenomenon. The research questions in this study are about what it means to be Pacific and gay, and what impact this has for participating in processes of legislative change in New Zealand.

The research questions for this study arose from the following:

- My experiences of being both Tongan and gay
- My experiences of legislative change and policy processes as a policy analyst

Gadamer (1975, p312) noted that knowledge and understanding, and the consciousness that grows from the two, emerges as a result of personal involvement and also collective history. The repression of Pacific people from New Zealand's recorded dialogues of homosexuality, Pacific gay men from public discourses about Pacific sexualities, orientations and genders and Pacific peoples from discussions about legislative change and policy systems.

Coming to a mixed methodology

I wanted to explore the lived experience of participants, therefore approaching methodological choices needed to start from a place of people and sharing. Portz and Burns (2020) explained that mixed methodology studies among Transgender and Gender non-conforming participants helped reflect the greater diversity of experience than single methodology studies. For their participants, a mixed methodology approach enabled the intersections of gender and society, non-conformity and culture to be better understood. I chose to explore a mixed methodology for this study to reflect the contexts and requirements I outlined earlier in this chapter. In consideration of a mixed methodology, I aimed to partner a hermeneutic phenomenological approach with a Pacific model.

Hermeneutic Phenomenology

Lopez & Willis (2004) explained that hermeneutic phenomenology focused study participants' interpretations of situations and events. Heidegger (1962) proposed that researchers with experience in their study topic should not be obliged to separate their experiences from the study. Therefore, Heideggerian hermeneutic phenomenology is an attractive methodological approach which embraces narration and interpretation of Pacific contexts and allows me to be inspired by my background and experiences.

As the research question asks participants to reflect on lived experience, Heideggerian hermeneutic phenomenology enables the researcher to consider the meaning of 'being' (Draucker, 1999). The idea of "in-der-welt-sein", shortened to "dasein" (Gadamer, 2013; Vaioleti, 2014), is the individual's conceptualisation of themselves in the world around them. The research question for this study will likely see participants exploring their dasein as they respond to the question of lived experience. In addition to this, Van Manen (2012) also noted that phenomenology enables adults reflecting on their childhoods to explore previously suppressed memories. Lopez and Wills (2004) explained that participants were experts and research data was as an essence, or a concentrated form, with layers, textures and richness that demonstrated an experience.

To van Manen (2007) the combination of the participant, researcher and reader were central to meaningful phenomenological research. That combination of viewpoints, world views, and experiences was the space where knowledge transitioned to become an entity that embodied strength for those involved.

The Heideggerian (1994) approach to phenomenology contrasted that of Husserl (1993), which focused on interpreting ways of experiencing the world. Fleming, Gaidys & Robb (2003) noted that Husserl's approach mediated qualitative research through scientific logic. McCann (1993) asserted that the phenomenological process relied on reducing the complexities of a subject's narrative to patterns of words. Paley (1997) noted that the Husserlian method used narratives to create variables that could be

exploited for objective analysis. Upon reflection, I determined the Husserlian approach unsuitable in this study as the potential for complexity in participant talanoa may not suit being reduced to variables for analysis.

Heideggerian hermeneutic phenomenology offers this study a framework for the exploration of ontological, axiological and epistemological aspects of an individual's experience. However, it's grounding in Europe leaves the exploration of experiences lacking a grounding in research frameworks that are familiar with the worldviews of the Pacific. This need to ensure that data exploration was grounded in Pacific worldviews led me to explore Pacific research frameworks.

The Kakala Research Framework

Kakala, the Tongan term for fragrant flowers, is also the name given to ornate garlands which guests of highest honour receive and wear at ceremonies and special occasions. The Kakala Research Framework was developed over multiple iterations from its inception by Helu-Thaman in 2003 to an adaptation by Taufe'ulungaki and Johannson-Fu'a (2005) and a further expansion by the three academics with the addition of Manu'atu (2009). Helu-Thaman's (2003) exploration of relationship maintenance, the continuation of family and village lore, apportion of labour to fulfil obligations related to family future planning, and the celebration of participation led me to see its valuable contribution to the aims of this study. I chose to consider the 2005 version framework, which revolves around four key concepts, which mirror the Tongan tradition of *tui kakala* or garland weaving.

Stage One – Teu

The Teu is a process of coming to terms with the needs of communities and developing a research question to help and then planning a research approach to answer the research question to bring benefits to the community.

Stage Two - Toli

The Toli is the collection of information, insights and resources as set out during the Teu phase. In garland making, the expert element of the toli is the instinctive recognition of flowers which meet suitable quality standards including texture, freshness, shape, colour and scent. Flower collectors and weavers are under pressure to pick the right flowers for the needs of the ceremony. This analogy is reflective of the importance of data collection to meet the needs of the research, as established in the teu.

Stage Three – Tui

The Tui refers to the data analysis stage of the process. In garland-making, the Tui is the process of stringing flowers together. The stringing together itself is an ornate process involving different knotting techniques. These techniques ensure garlands are sufficiently robust, to cope with movement and dancing, and that flowers demonstrate the beauty and the honour of the occasion. Johannson-Fua (2016) explained that in a significant research project she was involved in, the Tui stage was where researchers undertook sense-checks of the analysis, sought out hidden contexts from data, and explored meaningful solutions to the problems posed in research questions.

Stage Four – Luva

The term Luva is relevant to Tongans. It refers to the heartfelt sincerity, care and gravity of the gift made in luva. In the research environment, the Luva is the reporting and dissemination process, which is the signal that the knowledge created in the community is coming home, returning to the community.

In garland-making, the luva of a kakala honours the recipient, community, family, genealogy, the purpose of the event, and contributors. In research, luva honours participants' knowledge as well as honouring the objectives established in the Teu stage.

Talanoa Methodology (considered)

In the talanoa methodology, lived experience is at the centre of knowledge creation during research processes. In the talanoa methodology, knowledge develops in the back and forward disclosing of ideas and information between the researcher and participant (Halapua, 2000, 2003; Vailoeti, 2006). Vaioleti (2006) noted that the act of talanoa, conversations between parties underpinned this knowledge creation. In Tongan society, talanoa was the communication method used for issues of local and national importance, especially those with policy implications (Morrison, Vaioleti & Veramu, 2002).

From his experiences as a researcher with Pacific diaspora in New Zealand, Vaioleti (2006) saw talanoa as a methodology for collecting knowledge, and the strength of the *talanoa* was that it was the sum of its parts, namely t*ala* and *noa*. The concept of the *noa* was described by Vaioleti (2006) as a *fluid* conversation. Vaioleti (2006) explained that as two people engaged in *noa,* they were creating a space between them in which experiences were valued, values were significant, differences welcomed and where all shared knowledge was valued. Tunufa'i (2016) challenged the Pan-Pacific cultural universality of the *tala* and *noa* when knowledge creation took place between non-Tongan participants. He explained that the Samoan idea of talanoa was not easily reducible to *tala* and *noa* and that talanoa was a high-status form of communication.

Vaioleti (2006) explained that the talanoa was a concept that had both a surface meaning and a deeper meaning. On the surface, the talanoa led to a data set and research discussion. However, Vaioleti (2006) was more concerned with the richness of research outputs from talanoa-inspired studies. He explained that knowledge was created, not from the discussion, but from the sharing of spirit and care that two parties who engaged in *tala* and *noa* would have experienced. He saw a study grounded in the talanoa as one where the analysis was active, contextual and more complex than a study that was observant and distanced from its participants (Vaioleti, 2006, p26).

Chapter 4: Research Methods

In this section, I discuss my choice of research methods. I also discuss the importance of secondary sources of research data. Through this discussion, I also explore working in phenomenological and Pacific cultural spaces.

Patton (2014) explained that "triangulation, in whatever form, increases credibility and quality by countering the concern (or accusation) that a study's findings are simply an artefact of a single method, a single source, or a single investigator's blinders" (p. 674). In this study, I brought together data from participant talanoa, publicly available documents and relevant literature to understand experiences and the structures behind those experiences. However, in the process of considering the methodological approach, I considered various disjoins between sources of knowledge that would help answer the research questions. As Heideggerian hermeneutic phenomenology involved layers of "making meaning" in multiple domains, I was interested in the potential limitations of a single data source, such as participant talanoa interviews. Therefore, the question of triangulation was less about mitigating risks and more about reflecting the multiple domains that each research question traversed. I considered the dual data sources of talanoa and documentary review.

Face to face talanoa (semi-structured interviews)

Prescott (2008) explained that the notion of the talanoa is guided by a set of beliefs and frameworks and founded in a range of different cultural traditions. Tunufa'i (2016) warned that while talanoa are recognised communicative practices in Tonga, Samoa, Fiji and Tokelau – referring to it as pan-Pacific would be akin to acting in a colonialist manner to people from other Pacific cultures.

With a research question that involves the subjects of sexuality, culture and legislative process, talanoa provides opportunities for participants' worldviews to come together in an unstructured way. Vaioleti (2014) explained that the Pacific dasein would include the connection to the homelands through culture, language and customs. He noted the

talanoa allowed researchers into participants' worlds and become "party to the description of any phenomenon under research" (p 207). The intimacy afforded in Vaioleti's (2014) interpretation of dasein was meaningful due to the lack of existing linkage between Pacific gay men and published ideas of Pacific worldviews and the dasein.

This study will be informed by two sets of key-informant interviews that will be semi-structured and in the form of the Pacific talanoa (Vaioleti, 2006). The first group will comprise of men of Pacific ethnicity, over 18 years of age, who identify as gay, MSM or same-sex attracted. The second group of participants will be made up of Members of Parliament and critical Pacific activists who were involved in advocating for the Marriage (Definition of Marriage) Amendment Bill 2013. Interview participants will be purposively selected (Tongco, 2007; Iaquinto, Ison & Faggian, 2011) so that the total sample is an appropriate response to the criteria of Pacific ethnicity, same-sex orientation or knowledge of the legislative processes (Mason, 2002; Patton, 2014; Ritchie, Lewis & Elam, 2003). Person to person unstructured conversation was deemed the most appropriate qualitative research method as they enabled each participant to explore their values and viewpoints (Ritchie, Lewis & Elam, 2003).

I aimed for up to 30 participants, between both cohorts (Cresswell, 1998) to provide a diversity of experience to support the collection of rich data. Fa'avae, Jones and Manu'atu (2016) explained that talanoa was a necessary enactment of cultural competency which reflected each parties' years of preparation and training by observing their elders and learning to be aware of context. As I prepared to recruit, invite and talanoa with participants, I was aware that my years of preparation would be on display to my participants, and therefore I was concerned that I would be sufficiently competent as a Tongan to conduct these talanoa.

I was also interested in the type of talanoa that could be conducted, following a discussion with a student-colleague of mine, of his experience of researching in the

talanoa faikava context (Fehoko, 2018, personal communication). Vaioleti (2013) proposed eight types of talanoa that could be integrated into the research context.

- **Talanoa vave** – quick-paced, shallow exchange
- **Talanoa faikava** – informal group chat about shared interests, historical information transmission during kava drinking
- **Talanoa usu** – intimate, focused on recognition of change or achievement and what that means for the future, significant use of hilarious metaphor
- **Talanoa tevolo** – deeply spiritual (with a focus on ancient Tongan non-Christian spiritualities) where discussions are about dreams, visualisations about people who have previously died, occasionally used as a pathway to intergenerational learning about family history and lore
- **Talanoa faka'eke' eke** – a westernised discussion where questions are probing
- **Pō talanoa** – traditional chat in family/neighbourhood after evening meals, about family matters, the community, politics, children, church
- **Talanoa'i** – discussion with high-level analysis, synthesis and evaluation
- **Tālanga** – focused constructive debate about specific issues that need resolution

I proposed to attempt to achieve a balance of Pō talanoa, Talanoa usu and Talanoa'i in my engagement with participants. To achieve this, I was concerned with preparing the space for the eventual talanoa by ensuring the recruitment process would set up both the participant and me to achieve these intimacies and connections.

Documentary review

This study involved a review of documents that discuss the viewpoints of Tongan or Samoan communities concerning the Marriage (Definition of Marriage) Amendment Act 2013. These documents included; parliamentary procedural documents, parliamentary debate transcripts, select committee submissions, newsletters, television programmes, radio programmes, news websites, community websites, health or social service providers' websites, personal communications, news reports, editorials, speeches, strategic documents and media releases. A document review enabled this study to provide a picture of the frameworks where opinions and viewpoints by or about Pacific peoples might be found.

In addition to the participant talanoa, documentary review enables this study to explore the complex layers of context experienced by the cohort. Government documents will be selected as a source of research data for this study to address the public policy contexts that surround the research questions.

Ethics

The Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee approved the ethics application for this study on 9 October 2017 with the AUTEC reference number of 17/317. Ethics approval enabled the study to progress to the invitation of participants.

Ethics from a Pacific LGBTI perspective

I worked on the ethics application for this study in the six months before the approval date. In the New Zealand context, research ethics seek to emulate the emerging restitution of rights guaranteed to iwi Maori, indigenous New Zealanders, under the Treaty of Waitangi, enabled by the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975[9]. For this study, the research ethics process involved answering a series of questions on the principles of Participation, Partnership and Protection, which have been central to government agencies' interpretations of activating the Treaty[10] (Hudson & Russell, 2009). In my previous studies, I explained that since the passing of the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975, the New Zealand government had also matured its view on public policy and Pacific peoples with the establishment of Ministerial positions and government departments (Katavake-McGrath, 2015).

As I prepared my ethics application that related to Participation, Partnership and Protection, I was interested in the cultural homogeneity of the ethics process. I understood that the ethics application process was an attempt to engage people from a diversity of backgrounds, many of whom lacked access to the indigenous knowledge

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[9] For a cohesive and concise introductory summary of the Treaty of Waitangi and Research Ethics – see Hudson and Russell (2009)

[10] And it is important to note that Universities in New Zealand are subject to the Crown Entities Act (2004) which denotes that it is considered to be part of the "public sector" and bound by the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975.

that I had experienced from childhood. However, in working through the application process, I was aware that it I was responding a from an indigenous starting point which had a range of impacts and implications. The form, with its questions that researchers were required to answer, represented a monolithic world view where, the background of the researcher, their levels of cultural understanding, their considerations of methodology and any relation to their potential participant cohort, were less relevant than the requirement to provide answers. The irrelevance of the insider researcher appeared to be most strongly embodied in questions E1 and E2, where the applicant is asked "what familiarity does the researcher have with the social and cultural context of the participant" and then "what consultation has occurred". In my case, the answer to E1 was that I was a Pacific gay man, and I seek to speak to other Pacific gay men – I was one of them. To be required to consult on the appropriateness of my speaking to people similar to me appeared to disregard my potential to be knowledgeable in the space of participation, partnership and protection.

The nature of this disregarding was a second source of interest. Exploring feelings of being disregarded in the process of applying for ethics approval led me back to recollections of abuse, racism and homophobia in my upbringing and career. In reliving the abuse, racism and homophobia in responding to a stage in the ethics application process, I recalled wondering about the barriers that the influential university was putting in my way. At this point, I was curious about whether my eventual participants might have experienced their barriers, related to abuses, racism and homophobia, in engaging with me and this research.

Participant Consent

An information sheet and consent form were part of the pack given to potential participants. Participants were asked to return a copy of the consent form before the start of talanoa, either by email or in person. This was done for all participants and kept in a secure file.

Confidentiality

Cohort One

Participants in this cohort will remain confidential in the outputs of this study. Given names and contact details were used during recruitment and consent processes, and when I undertook talanoa, I used names out of respect. In the writing process, I assigned codes which acted as pseudonyms in the research outputs, including this thesis. Where required, place names and other identifying information were made confidential in the findings (such as specific church names and place names.)

Cohort Two

Participants in this cohort, by nature of being a Member of Parliament, are publicly available to the electorate at large. Therefore, participants in this cohort will not be anonymous in the study or its findings. This decision was arrived at following consultation with supervisors and policy system colleagues. This was discussed with MPs during recruitment; all of them understood and agreed with the approach.

Care for Participants

In the ethics application, my consideration of questions related to the care I would show for participants was redolent of my consideration of the Treaty of Waitangi section. Again, this was a process where the choice of methodology and research methods reflected the congruence of my understandings of culture with the understandings of potential participants. However, I was required to restate these under a range of headings for the group overseeing the ethics process.

Koha/Gifting

In the New Zealand and Pacific public spaces, indigenous traditions of *koha*, *mea alofa* or gifting in recompense for costs incurred or incomes lost have become formalised parts of the research process, to the point where those practices require an explanation in ethics applications. In this study, the attached information sheet advised participants that they would receive a *koha* or gift. However, they were not be advised of their

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value. The note advised that the value of the *koha* will conform to government rules about the receipt of gratuities by Members of Parliament and Public Servants. This advice reassured participants who were either MPs or Public Servants that the study is considerate of their need to avoid conflict of interest risk from receiving *koha*.

Respect for participants' time

Participants were invited to attend a talanoa/semi-structured informal conversation. The duration of talanoa were agreed before the beginning. The information sheet advised potential participants that duration will be discussed, so that appropriate time is allocated to enable the participant to engage meaningfully. The shortest talanoa was with Kris Faafoi, who was busy as a newly appointed Cabinet minister at the time of the interview, and we spoke for one hour and six minutes. The longest talanoa was with P01 and held over an afternoon tea and lasted for three hours. The majority of talanoa lasted between 90 minutes and two hours.

Other risks

This study was designed to pose a low level of risk of discomfort to participants. The main risk I considered was potential embarrassment at discussing some aspects of experiences or interactions with the family, community or other groups. Another risk may have been that some participants might have suffered violence or other threats because of their sexual orientation, and I had to consider the risk that talanoa may trigger negative feelings for them.

Some participants may experience discomfort due to perceptions held in their communities or community institutions, such as churches. My approach to addressing such discomfort was to employ a Pacific-specific research method (Vailoeti, 2006). The talanoa offered two ethical support mechanisms. The main one was a cultural expectation that I would be concerned for the welfare of my participant due to our connection and secondly the opportunity in the talanoa to build trust through gentle and informal conversation.

Participant Recruitment

Vaka'uta (2013) explained that in research involving Pacific cultures, customs and people, there was a significant amount of pre-interview communication needed to establish trust with participants before they consider the researcher's invitation.

Initial contact with potential participants took place via email. The email addresses of potential participants were gathered through:

- my network
- academic, professional and community contacts
- a snowball recruitment technique (in which confirmed participants would be asked, if appropriate, to recommend potential participants).

The initial contact included:

- An introduction, including (where applicable) a reference to any shared connections we may have.
- A brief outline of the study
    - The research question, a brief background about the researcher and their experience in the policy sector and also previous research
- An outline of the expectations involved with being a participant in the study
    - This list of expectations will advise potential participants that if they decide to accept the invitation, they will be asked a question about their identifying as gay/MSM/homosexual or as Pacific third gender (incl. *Fa'afafine*, fakaleiti, vakasalewalewa, fakafefine)
- An invitation to consider participation (with advice that if they had not responded to accept or decline participation within two weeks, the primary researcher would follow up with another email)

The first round of invitations was sent to 10 potential participants from the community cohort and five from the parliamentary member cohort in late October 2017. The response from the first round of invitations came in quick succession, and by Christmas 2017 I had completed four talanoa, a month later and three more had been completed. In the year that followed, I completed an additional six community participant talanoa and an additional one with an MP.

The recruitment of MPs proved to be the more challenging of the two groups. One MP, in particular, was reluctant to take up the invitation, despite three face to face meetings where he asked questions about the invitation and sought reassurance from me that the focus would not be on vilifying him for voting against the Marriage (Definition of Marriage) Amendment Bill. Another MP, who had voted in favour at the first reading and had left parliament by the second reading, had left New Zealand to take up a post with the United Nations Development Programme.

Selection Criteria

Cohort one

Participants in this cohort were invited, subject to meeting the following criteria:

1. The invitee must self-identify as a male with a homosexual orientation (which could include terms such as gay or MSM (Men who have sex with men)
2. The invitee must be of Pacific Islands ethnicity
3. The invitee can either be born in New Zealand or the Pacific Islands

Cohort two

Participants in the second cohort are invited, subject to meeting the following criteria:

1. The invitee must be a current or former member of the New Zealand House of Representatives (and)
2. The invitee must have introduced, or sponsored, a Private Members Bill to the House of Representatives on a subject related to the advancement of LGBTI peoples in New Zealand (or)
3. The invitee must have engaged in debate or discussion (not limited to Parliamentary Debate) about matters to do with Private Members Bills or other legislation related to the advancement of LGBTI peoples in New Zealand from a Pacific peoples' perspective.

Participant Profile

The table below profiles the participants in both research cohorts.

Table 6: Talanoa Participant Profile

Participant Identifier	Ethnicity	Identity/Party		Age Group
P01	Samoa	Gay Male	*Fa'afafine*	50+
P02	Samoa	Gay Male		50+
P03	Samoa	Gay Male		30-39
P04	Fiji	Gay Male		30-39
P05	Fiji	Gay Male		40-49
P06	Tonga	Gay Male		30-39
P07	Samoa	Gay Male	*Fa'afafine*	40-49
P08	Samoa	Gay Male		40-49
P09	Samoa	Gay Male		20-29
P10	Samoa	Gay Male		30-39
Luamanuvao Winnie Laban	Samoa	Labour MP		
Alfred Ngaro	Cook Islands	National MP		
Kris Fa'afoi	Tokelau	Labour MP		
Louisa Wall	Tangata Whenua	Labour MP		

The table shows that a significant proportion of the research cohorts were Samoan participants. While ethnic proportionality was an aspiration in this study, I found myself focusing on proceeding with willing and qualified participants, in order to progress the study in a timely fashion. The main challenge I had with achieving greater ethnic

diversity was that participants from other ethnic groups were reticent about talking about their experiences and a couple of people I engaged with were concerned that as they were from smaller communities, they may have risked exposing themselves or their families to unwanted attention.

Data Analysis

The analysis process for this study will involve two sets of data to be analysed. The sets are a selection of publicly available documents, and the other will be the transcripts of participant interviews.

Document Review

Data sources included 56 submissions made to the Government Administration Select committee which accepted written submissions between 29 August 2012 and 26 October 2012. The committee received and considered a total of 21,533 submissions, of which 10487 were in favour of the Marriage (Definition of Marriage) Amendment Bill and 8148 were in opposition. Submissions were sourced using the New Zealand Parliamentary Service's website, which offers an open-access repository of artefacts created or presented during the process of development of legislation. While the website provided me with easy access, the repository has a rudimentary filing system, and no metadata identifying submissions as coming from organisations with a particular ethnic or cultural affiliation was available.

In order to locate Pacific ethnic submitters and ideas among the 21,533 submissions, my only option was to read each submission, which took place over two months while preparing the literature review. Following the completion of participant interviews, I re-attempted a review of all submissions to ensure I had not missed any other Pacific submissions. The criteria used for identifying Pacific submissions was the presence of a Pacific name, which would then be able to be cross-checked via web searches or by talking to my networks, or the direct articulation of a Pacific ethnic-cultural perspective. The other critical parliamentary source of documentary evidence were the

parliamentary debates following readings of the Marriage (Definition of Marriage) Amendment Bill as well as the Supplementary Order Bills debated as part of the Committee of the Whole House stage.

The other critical documentary source of data in this study was articles from media coverage of the Marriage (Definition of Marriage) Amendment Bill processes, associated commentary from online newspapers, television and radio journalistic sources, and reporting related to claims made in social media by Australian Tongan rugby player Israel Folau, and his sporting colleagues in April 2018 and again in April 2019. I undertook web searches using google and the websites of New Zealand media outlets including TVNZ, Radio NZ, NZME, Mediaworks and Stuff.

The data derived from media in this study was categorised under three headings, the media that occurred before Royal Assent of the Marriage (Definition of Marriage) Amendment Act 2013, media that occurred afterwards and the media relating to the statements made by Israel Folau. There were 20 media articles relating to the period before the royal assent. There were 32 media articles relating to the period after my interviews and relating to the comments made by Israel Folau.

Individual Interviews

Audio recordings of the talanoa were made and stored digitally on my computer. I transcribed each recording for the first three talanoa data analysis. In April 2018, I was made redundant from my job as a Health Economist, and I quickly found work as a Senior Analyst with the New Zealand Treasury. The job change impacted this study with an increased amount of work pressure, which meant that I needed to become more efficient with data analysis in this job.

Following consultation with my manager at work, who had her own experience of working and completing a PhD thesis, and my supervisors, I purchased transcribing services. By chance, following a participant interview, I became acquainted with an online-based international service that had speakers of Pacific languages. This service

was used to transcribe the remaining 11 talanoa recordings. Transcripts were loaded into NVivo and were coded, recorded, categorised and recategorised.

Thematic Analysis

Data derived from talanoa, submissions, Hansard and media were filed using NVivo, which provided easy access to the data for analysis in a consolidated space. As I began the first round of coding to explore the themes in the data, I reflected on a family event that had taken place the year before, and itself was a reflection of the context Helu spoke of in her poetic anthology (1993), which was the basis for the Kakala Research Framework.

The family event was a decision to throw a surprise 70th birthday party for a much-loved family matriarch, Auntie Ailine, in the rural South Island at the end of a long and hot summer. As the family fakaleiti, I was tasked with transporting sufficient taro leaves from Auckland to South Canterbury for the traditional food making, and then to weave the ceremonial Kahoa or floral garland to be presented to Auntie.

The first problem I encountered was a garden to raid for the Kahoa. Auntie had the best flower garden in the family. Upon consultation with my cousins, I suggested that I raid my uncle's garden, which had a good variety of appropriate flowers. At this point, I was informed that a rift had formed, and was informed my next *fakaleiti* responsibility was to address that issue.

As I was driving to my uncle's farm, I realised that I was living Helu's (1993) Kakala. I had a position, I had responsibilities, I had learned about doing these by watching people before me, it was part of a cultural context, and people were relying on me. It was also the opportunity for my extended family to start acknowledging the abuse and ostracisation that occurred in my childhood.

It was this experience that helped clarify the rationale of using the Kakala research framework and how I planned to employ it. The experience reminded me that the service to my kainga and famili were the focal points I needed to maintain as I

considered the themes that would emerge. For the months of data analysis, I repeatedly asked myself, how does this theme represent service, care, ofa, reciprocity and how will the outcomes of this theme represent service, care, ofa and reciprocity. Thematic analyses of the data in NVivo took around six months, after which time the following analytical frameworks were developed.

Figure 3: Analytical Framework
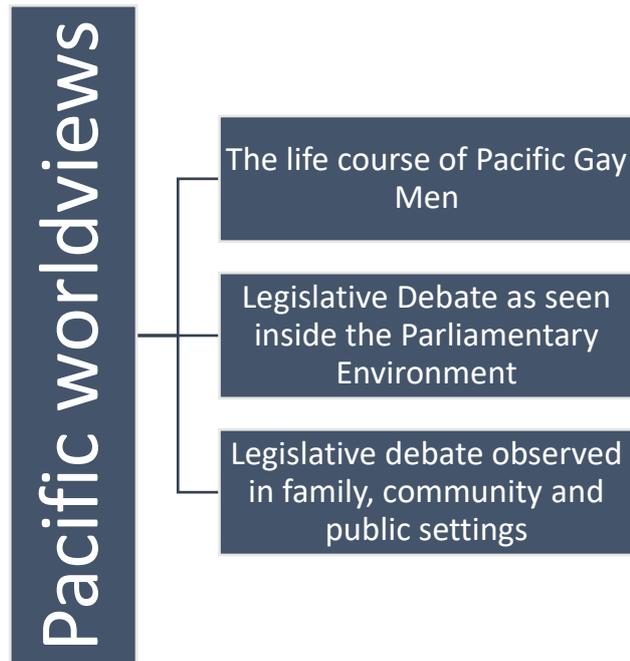
The frameworks helped me to visualise the links between themes as found in the data and critical focal points. The themes identified in the study were then written into chapters where combinations of elements and themes resulted in the findings presented in the findings chapters.

Findings are presented in the following chapters and have been grouped around chronological sequences. For findings that relate to the lived experience of Pacific gay men, the chronological sequence is that of the life course from childhood through to adulthood. Inside each life stage, findings are then organised chronologically which reflects the wide age-range of participants, and also offers readers an insight into how particular life stages have changed over the past 40 years.

The findings that relate to Pacific people's involvement in and contribution to legislative change follow the chronological sequence of the parliamentary processes of a Private Members Bill, as noted in the Standing Orders (2011).

Chapter 5: Pacific Gay Men and Lived Experience by Life Course

Findings are presented over the following four chapters. The data in this study is split into three main groups,

- the experiences of Pacific gay men, discussed in talanoa,

- the experiences of Pacific Members of Parliament as told by them and as seen in official documents

- the perceptions of people in Pacific communities as seen in publicly available documents

This chapter presents findings in response to the research question "What has been the lived experience of Pacific gay men in New Zealand". The chapter is organised around the main themes explored by participants during talanoa and grouped by life cycles from childhood into adulthood. Inside the life cycle groupings, exploration of themes is presented chronologically.

Chapters 6 and 7 respond to the research question "what has been the lived experience of Pacific people of changes in legislation related to sexual orientation". In these chapters, a similar structure is applied. Findings are grouped around the critical stages of legislative change, and presented chronologically, to demonstrate the parliamentary life-course.

Chapter 8 contains additional findings found during fieldwork. These findings relate to media articles which reported an everyday dimension on Pacific peoples perspectives of homosexuality in 2018 and 2019. The reporting followed statements made in social media by rugby players of Pacific ethnicity about the condemnation of homosexuality.

Critical events in social change, the AIDS epidemic, and Homosexual Law Reform

This chapter explores the social contexts of New Zealand, through the eyes of participants and addresses the paucity of documented experiences of Pacific gay men.

In talanoa, participants reflected on their experiences of legislative and social changes which promised equality and justice for gay men.

During their talanoa, participants discussed the social change that came with migration to New Zealand between the 1960s and 1980s, and others discussed the dynamics of being born and raised in both metropolitan and rural New Zealand, and these perspectives are discussed in following sections and chapters. This section focuses on the social contexts relating to the AIDS epidemic of the 1980s and 1990s and the Homosexual Law Reform Bill of 1985.

The combination of the epidemic and the Bill made the 1980s a busy time for P02. He noted that those dynamics reflected social changes of that time.

> In 1981 there was the Springbok Tour. There was an
> extraordinary rebellious streak going throughout the whole
> of society. Some traditionalists wanted everything to be
> the same. And then there were the young people who
> wanted everything to change. (P02)

Pacific peoples and the AIDS epidemic

Four talanoa participants were over the age of 18 between 1981 and 1995, which encompassed the emergence of HIV and AIDS in New Zealand. One participant was involved in educating communities about HIV and AIDS. P01 explained that the formation of the Pacific Islands AIDS Trust in the early 1980s followed the establishment of other social and community groups in the 1970s. The dominant discourse in the public arena highlighted homosexuality as a separate and unique identity, which immediately conflicted with Pacific worldviews.

> There were mainstream groups, and they started to make
> an impact on Pālangi. PACIFICA would talk about things
> like sexuality, mental health, employment and good
> parenting. (P01)

He explained that as AIDS deaths began to occur in Pacific communities, the groundwork laid between PACIFICA and the Pacific Islands AIDS Trust led to opportunities for those who grieved to have understanding and support.

> Those mothers in PACIFICA had children. The first one to die of AIDS, the mother in Tauranga, her son died in Australia was one of the first cases. She was part of PACIFICA; she had these mothers. This link demonstrated the context, in education, of families. (P01).

Through his work in the Pacific AIDS Trust, P01 became involved in national initiatives to combat HIV and AIDS. In the early 1980s, community groups were not supported by the Department of Health. He also explained that the Department had not engaged with gay men, who had been highlighted in local and international media as the people most likely to transmit and contract the diseases. He explained that as a result, communities of gay men became better informed than the government

> I was at a conference and what was clear was we had these policy people who had no idea about HIV AIDS, but the community did. Remember, no internet – but we got information about HIV by connecting with gay men who worked in San Francisco. I'd ask the university people who'd say 'I'll get it to you by lunchtime". The policy people came, and they didn't want to talk. (P01)

The Trust delivered workshops to families and community groups about safe sex and addressing issues in family environments. Communities had deemed the Department of Health's AIDS awareness campaign irrelevant to them. P01 recalled the story a youth group member told him about the effectiveness of the Trust's presentation to Pacific parents.

> "This guy told us 'After the workshop, my father called us in for a family meeting and said we are going to pray, the only time we pray is a funeral or Christmas - in the prayers he said 'and father give me the strength to talk to my silly children about sex, look what you made me do, I have to pray about talking to you all about sex!'" (P01)

P01 was convinced that despite being abandoned by the Department of Health, their latitude in developing culturally appropriate education material helped achieve low rates of HIV transmission in Pacific communities. P05 recalled that in the 1990s, Pacific communities were quick to trust the Pacific doctors and health workers, many due to the work of PACIFICA and the Pacific Islands AIDS Trust.

Pacific gay men and Legislative Change

Five participants in this study were above the age of 16 when the Homosexual Law

Reform Act was passed in 1986. Participants described the various dynamics,

dimensions and tensions that they experienced and navigated. Participants reflected

on views in society and within their communities that were dismissive and derogatory

towards homosexuals. P01 recalled an event that happened on the streets of his

provincial town.

> Every time I think about it I get angry – it was in 85, we
> were doing a gay march in town, and a Samoan man
> called out this offensive thing in Samoan.

> I've heard other things said by Palagi and you just pfft,
> who cares goes from one ear to the other. Hearing your
> people, that offended me. (P01)

Due to the prominence of condemnatory and dismissive attitudes in communities, gay

men's social groups attempted to avoid confrontation. P02 recalled visiting a gay club

when he was travelling around the North Island, and the anticipation of not knowing

what the response would be.

> There was this nightclub above a garage. You had to go
> upstairs and knock three times, and then an eye would
> look you up and down. (P02)

After admission to the club, he made connections in that club with friends in other parts

of New Zealand. As someone who travelled around New Zealand during this time, he

found himself creating networks of disparate Pacific people, who often were the only

Pacific gay people in their communities.

> If you knew there was another Pacific Islander, another
> gay person there, we were all together. Some wonderful
> elder men brought us together and showed us how to
> enjoy being a community. (P02)

However, for those who were isolated, as P05 was, when public discussion about the

Bill increased in 1985, it was safer to conform to prominent views in the community.

> I went to a public meeting, to my shame, I defaulted to the
> societal view. I didn't want to be seen as strongly
> advocating for gay men. I couldn't be the one standing out

> I was in a new relationship and still quite finding my feet. I
> wasn't openly gay. Maybe I was just slow. I wasn't
> comfortable with the community. (P05)

P02 considered himself too young to take part in demonstrations, which caused him to feel shame. He explained that he saw standing up for gay rights as a Pacific person as incredibly brave due to the social and economic contexts caused by ongoing perceived threats of deportations by the government.

> It was a time of terror for the Pacific people. I worked at
> the freezing works, and there would be over-stayers
> there, they would find my name and realise that my
> grandfather was this influential guy on immigration issues.
> So, I would take over-stayers to my grandfather (P02).

The 1980s emerged as a significant time for talanoa participants as communities formed around the treatment of HIV and AIDS and to push for the Homosexual Law Reform Bill in 1985. Participants explained the influence these communities had on their development, as well as the power of the groups in influencing policy development, especially in the fight against HIV and AIDS.

Being a Pacific child

This section explores participants' recollections of life surrounding pre-school and early school years. Participants explored the relationships of their early years, the various locations of childhood, and the influential factors in their lives.

Geographic locations and childhood

In talanoa, participants discussed their childhoods and upbringings. The intention of not asking leading questions but relying on participants' framing was to maintain each unique researcher-participant relationship or *va*. Participants illustrated their lived experience, and their interpretations of it through a range of topics, such as family, location, language, church, schools, rules, self-perception and relationships. Location of childhood was essential to participants and features in this section of the findings.

Childhood in the Pacific

In the Pacific gay men's cohort, three participants identified as being raised, either in part or entirely in a Pacific Islands nation. P05 explained that location and relationships helped him understand his place in the world.

> We didn't live in the village. We lived in various rural, urban areas of Fiji. Holidays with the grandparents in the village that was the very rural Fiji, no electricity, swim in the river.
>
> There were always aunties, uncles, cousins popping in. I remember the sense of belonging and unquestionable love from the relatives. Mum's family, 8 women, 3 guys. My best friends, closest associates are my first cousins, and a lot of them were from mum's side of the family. (P05)

P01, who was raised by his grandparents in Samoa in the 1950s, explained that they were crucial in helping him understand his identity and his place in the world.

> My grandfather taught me never to be afraid of authority. In the community, he could be quite ruthless, but to me, he was loving and caring. My grandmother was very nurturing, but it was her power with him. When my grandfather would do a speech, he would always run it past her. My grandmother was higher ranked than him, and that's where my matai title comes from. My grandfather is in my surname – it's a titled name. I carry them with me. (P01)

In the late 1950s, P01 was moved to New Zealand to be near his parents, who had joined the economic migrations of the time. Again, his elders offered him clarity about the motivations for this change, as part of the family's story of aspiration.

> I was 9 and up with the play. My role was to look after them. My grandfather told me 'I will take you to New Zealand to be educated'.

The intergenerational knowledge of place and purpose was influential to P04, who grew up between Fiji and New Zealand in the 1980s.

> The Fijian traditions are not as strong now, because we're not living in the fale, we're not Indigenous Fijian in the village any more. My grandmother and my grandfather were taking kids somewhere, and paying for someone to go to school, all that kind of stuff.

> There's not a Fijian term to describe it. You make sure
> everyone else is looked after. It is reciprocated back to
> you, and they also look after you. (P04)

Those participants in this study whose childhoods began in the Pacific Islands spoke, in talanoa, about the influence of communal help, language, families' instilling a sense of purpose, and rituals. P04 and P05 both expressed that their respective family environments were conducted in a spirit of informality and may not have conformed to notions of a Fijian Way of life.

Childhood in New Zealand

The majority of participants in the Pacific Gay Men's cohort identified as being raised, either entirely or in part, in New Zealand. Participants spoke about the different geographic and social settings of their childhoods. P07 reflected on his childhood in the late 1960s, living in a once-rural setting which over time became an urban part of Auckland.

> Dad worked, Mum stayed home, looked after us, she
> worked in a factory, sewing. Good Christian upbringing,
> much like every one of my generation in those early days.
> A house that was full of love and full of conflict, five kids in
> a bedroom (laughs). And then when they bought their first
> house, it was all farmland. That house that was the only
> house for miles, over time, they saw it all come out
> towards them. (P07)

P03 understood his place in the world by understanding how his parents came to be in New Zealand.

> South Auckland born and raised, both parents both
> migrated here. My mother ran away from Samoa, ran
> away from her family when she discovered she had been
> adopted.
>
> My father was the same, but he ended up in New Zealand
> when his family moved here. He never wanted to be here.
>
> They didn't teach me Samoan, and it was a very Palagi
> kind of upbringing which is strange cos my mother has
> broken English. (P03).

P10 agreed that location, family history and family activities were essential in helping him experience instinctive aspects of knowing his place in his Fa'asamoa culture.

> My mother comes from a 'known' family, and so there was
> always a lot of Samoan going on, much fa'alavelave.
> Mum is one of 24 kids, and they're all active people in the
> community.
>
> Every weekend from Friday to 1 am on Monday travelling
> around Auckland doing family stuff. Well, I was a kid
> running around saying 'can I have something to eat' with
> my fifty-million cousins who, of course, I didn't know how I
> was related to them. (P10)

P06 explained that his upbringing in a rural town involved a small community of other

Pacific families. He noted that while his extended family was a long way away,

extended family was a constant presence in family life.

> There was a Samoan boy in my year at school, his
> brother the year above us, three Cook Islanders in the
> year below me, and two of them had siblings in the year
> above. Luckily, we all lived in the same neighbourhood.
>
> Our kainga was always at the end of the phone, and we
> were always sending money. We used to send food and
> toys to cousins I never got to meet. I had one auntie in the
> same town and used to love going over to their house and
> trying to get my big cousins to play with me, at times
> they'd oblige!
>
> My other cousins were about six hours away. We got to
> visit them twice a year. I used to hang out for those visits,
> where I got to see my other five Tongan cousins and my
> five Pālangi ones. (P06)

Participants' experiences of their childhoods pointed to a mix of geographic location

and connections to others, including extended family and other communities, as being

essential in how they saw themselves in the world.

Growing up in multi-ethnic environments

The multi-ethnic composition of families was a theme among participants born and or

raised in New Zealand. Most participants identified with more than one ethnic group.

Contrasts between cultures was a theme that some participants were interested in.

Churches were an environment which saw the mixing of cultures and ethnicities. Some

churches were pan-Pacific, and as P03 found, offered insights into other Pacific

cultures, traditions and practices.

> I grew up in a mixed church – lots of different Island influences, so I grew up eating my Chop Suey with a ripe banana cos I got taught to do that by the Cook Island people with Gluten Steaks cos I was Seven Day Adventist, so we had much vegetarian food. It would have been easy to stay in a bubble. And that again is unique cos there's no gay people in that bubble. (P03)

For P10, the link between Pacific churches and cultures was magnified when his mother remarried a *Pālangi* man who belonged to a mainstream religious church.

> When he decided he found the lord, we had to go to a Palagi church because he didn't want to go to a Samoan church. For mum who grew up bilingual in Samoa, she missed that cultural-community aspect.
>
> For six months, we'd be at Palagi church where it would be precisely an hour-long, and we'd sing the little hymns and say the little verses, and we'd be all done. Then we'd go to EFKS or Lotu Pouesi which is our family church and go back into Samoan styles for a while and then go back and forth. (P10)

For P09, the church was a place of process and service outside of the family

> You had the relationships with God, but it was process focused. You would finish the church and then you would go and serve. You'd serve the faifeau, the faletua. You were at their behest, and also at the behest of the elders in the church. (P09)

Being effeminate, Being "fafa."

Another significant theme to emerge from talanoa was ideas relating to masculinity and effeminacy in various settings such as family, community, churches and schools. For some, being labelled as "fafa" was an uplifting experience of identity building, and for others, the experience of labelling and the identity involved was negative.

Being effeminate in the family environment

The family environment was, to some participants, the central place where identity, including traits of effeminacy, was to be defined. For P01, the dynamic of the family's acceptance of his identity changed between his living in Samoa and New Zealand, due to unexpected expectations laid down by his family.

> I came to NZ, and I noticed the difference. I remember my mother saying to me 'you're not in Samoa, in New

> Zealand, you can't do that'. I would ask 'why not' because
> I didn't think I was doing any harm. What was being
> nurtured in Samoa, I could dance, I could sing, I could do
> everything else – well that wasn't appreciated here. (P01).

P01 explained that the nurturing of his ability to use voice, movement and personality underpinned his sense of knowing his place in the world and his value and service. P07 noted that his family's recognition and acceptance of his natural effeminacy gave him a sense of self that was normal in the home and family environment, while he was navigating feeling different in the outside world

> I knew that I wasn't the norm, and I always had the
> aunties that were going, "Oh, he's fafa," My father was
> amazing, and he always knew that there were differences.
> He always encouraged us to be ourselves. My mother
> thought it was going to be a more difficult life. (P07)

P07 also explained that in contrast to his family's care for him as an effeminate male, he found groups like schools and communities less welcoming in 1970s rural Auckland. P10 explained that in his childhood, the aiga, the extended family was the environment where being non-masculine had the most significant impact on him.

> I felt it acutely because everybody used to call me "fafa". I
> was a quiet kid, quite bookish, quite athletic, and
> innocent. I was quite girly, and I used to get teased a lot
> for being this bookish kid. It happened amongst my family.
>
> It wasn't right for me to be girly, or even potentially
> present as someone who might eventually be fafa. In
> terms of the way my family wanted to operate, my family
> was somewhat liberal and forward-thinking, with
> conservative elements. *Fa'afafine* didn't fit – we didn't
> have many open *Fa'afafine* in our family, not at that time.
> (P10)

The school environment – being a camp child

As well as the family environment, schools were a space where effeminacy was visible. For P04, the school environment was about regulation. He noted how a significant event highlighted the internal tensions he had hitherto been navigating about his effeminacy, culture and being different.

> I was very effeminate, very gay. I remember entering into
> this white village, the teacher lined up all the kids who
> were in brown and black shoes, and my sister, whom I'll

> never forgive for this, said to our mother that boys wore
> brown shoes.
>
> Boys wore black shoes. She lined us up, boys on one
> side and girls on the other, and because I had brown
> shoes, I had to line up with the girls. (P04)

P06 hoped school was a potential haven, a place to indulge his interest in people.

> I wanted the school to work out. However, aside from the
> name-calling, and there was plenty of it, it was as if no-
> one knew where to look. I was a bright child, and from a
> very early age, I was inquisitive and hungry to understand
> stuff – but my effeminate nature turned everyone off.
> (P06)

P06 recalled as a small child had just started school, watching Television news reports of public meetings and parliamentary activity of the Homosexual Law Reform act and being distressed at seeing the outraged reactions of his parents. He recalled feeling similar energy emanating from the kids at school who bullied him for his effeminacy.

Being a Pacific Adolescent or Young Adult

Participants all spent a significant amount of time discussing their late teenage and early twenties, despite not being asked questions that related to specific age groupings. Participants discussed the way their families related to them as young men and the ways that family and society began to increase pressure on them to conform to heteronormativity and begin socialisation and sexualisation. Participants also discussed their navigation of education and community environments.

Participants in this study, at the time of talanoa between 2017 and 2019 were aged between their early thirties and late sixties. The period of adolescence covered by participants took place between the 1970s and the early 2000s. These recollections make a significant contribution to studies about Pacific peoples' as it brings together a range of experiences against a range of social contexts.

Navigating sexuality

As participants transitioned from childhoods to youth, opportunities to explore values systems emerged. Some participants explained that coinciding with their adolescence

and early adult years were shifting attitudes towards the acceptability of homosexuality – which led to an increased discussion for some and heightened anxiety for others. Participants explained that their navigation of sexuality, gender identity and sexual orientation became a prominent part of their navigations towards their own identities as well as the place in self, family, community, and society as Pacific people.

Making sense of sexual orientation and identity

Participants' experiences of learning about sexual orientation began with the judgemental language used in their families to scrutinise and label their effeminacy. As effeminacy was scrutinised, labelled, defined and entrenched by others, participants had part of a gay identity, however inaccurate, imposed upon them. After the establishment, or imposition, of this identity, participants experienced reconciling their sexual attraction or orientation. Coming to terms with his sexual orientation was a significant turning point for P10.

> I would have been 16 or17. I accepted that I had always been intrigued by males, certainly people who had a masculine character (P10)

P03 reflected on the lack of outlets to explore his burgeoning sexual orientations in the 1990s.

> I never was attracted to women. I used to look at the men in the Farmers Trading Company department store catalogue! (P03)

For P04, understanding his sexual orientation as a teenager meant he had to navigate multiple ways of looking at other people.

> Looking back, you reflect on how you look at the boys; some was an attraction but also hero worship (P04).

P05 explained that as he became comfortable with his sexual attraction to other males, he needed to navigate the idea that he would be identified as gay. He explained that social implications were a challenge for him as a young man in the 1980s.

> I was okay one-to-one but not with other people around. I felt uncomfortable being seen or being outed in front of

others. I was seeing this guy, and I stayed at his, I didn't
even want my car to be seen" (P05)

The gaze of others was a shared experience among Participants. They explained that

scrutiny and questions came from family networks, institutions such as school and

church communities, as well as other parties in the public. When scrutiny came from

Pacific questioners, participants quickly found themselves in the position of having to

come to terms with their understandings of sexuality and sexual orientation, as well as

being a key expert communicator for others. In the 1970s and 1980s, P01 challenged

focused ideas that questioners had picked up in society and the media.

the typical thing you get asked is 'is that transvestite?'

'yes'

'is that transsexual?'

'yes'

'is that gay?'

'yes'

'is that bisexual?'

'yes'

'is that straight?'

'yes'

'oh no, it can't be.'

'well, what do you think it is?'

'men dress up as women'

'oh for god's sake' – I look dreadful in drag for god's sake.
And what I soon learned was that it had a different world
view.

Furthermore, when the discussion transitioned from *what you did* to *what you call it*,

P01 found himself caught between cultural traditions.

I object to being called gay because to me, to be gay in
the 80s in New Zealand, you went from this English
version of camp to this gay definition from America which
was to dress up as cowboys, or in leathers. I thought 'oh
my god, that is not me' and I thought it's better to stick to
my own *Fa'afafine*' (P01)

He went on to explain that for some Samoans in the 1980s, the term *Fa'afafine* had

been defined as transvestitism, or as gay, influenced by research in the Pacific at that

time. In response, he needed to clarify the term by referring to ancient legends and the

teachings of elders, as well as the service he performed in his family. In P07's

experience, the safe spaces his family created offered him the mental bandwidth to

explore his gay sexual orientation and *Fa'afafine* identity. He wanted to explore these

identities in Samoa.

> When I went there, I went to a fa'afa meeting, they were
> looking at me, and I was not fa'afa, I was a gay man.
> You're not in that traditional space. Had I been brought
> up in Samoa, within that traditional context, then maybe I
> would've been more effeminate because I would've had
> the license to be. (P07)

For P07, having his identity challenged by other *Fa'afafine* served as a turning point.

This turning point had implications for his journey to a mixed-gender identity as well as

how that identity would integrate with Samoan values of service to others, as he saw

them. P02 had a similar experience in navigating interpretations of the term *Fa'afafine*

in his family and circle of friends in the 1980s and 1990s.

> I'm not *Fa'afafine*. I take it from my cousin's interpretation
> of *Fa'afafine*, anything that's not straight. So, I will gladly
> stand side by side with *Fa'afafine* around that. But I'm a
> gay man (P02)

While some participants benefited from cultural definitions to critique and strong family

networks to provide reassurance, P09 noted that as well as no cultural references for

being a gay man, there were no Pacific gay role models when he was a teenager in the

late 1990s and early 2000s.

> We did not see anything in a Pasifika space either, NZ
> born, Pacific peoples, there was no representation there
> at all, except for *Fa'afafine*, fakaleiti, akavaine and so on.
> (P09)

For P04, the lack of available role models made it challenging to understand labelling

and identities before being able to either act out or tell others about his emerging

sexuality and identity.

> The mirror has two faces, there was the emerging me that
> I was finding, and there was the me that I was trying to
> portray. They each portrayed different people to make it
> all work. (P04)

Participants explained that their coming to understand that they were attracted to other males was something that occurred in isolation of external resources such as gay support groups or youth groups. In talanoa, I observed that participants did not talk about access to support resources during adolescence, and when asked, many participants were not aware of agencies or groups being available to teenagers.

Navigating Family

Family and community influence over relationships

As participants became adolescents, their families established and communicated expectations about the kinds of men they were to become. P03 recalled the church environment as a space where his family and community communicated their expectations of him as a potential husband to one of the young women in the community.

> I played the piano in church, so I'd be up the front, and I'd
> look over to mum, and there she would be with these girls
> sitting in the front seat and smiling at me with these big
> doe-eyes, and I'm just like "that's just never going to
> happen". [Laughter] I just felt so bad for them. (P03).

For P08, church teachings and expectations became a framework used by his family to encourage him to form opposite-sex relationships. He explained that as a family who was heavily involved in the Mormon church, teachings about family cohesion were the ideal. From his teenage years into his early twenties during the 1980s, he responded to expectations by inventing scenarios where he could comply with expected norms.

> I used to make up this story whenever I met somebody or
> was dating somebody. I would never tell them it was a
> guy. I always told them it was a girl. my sisters always
> say, "Oh, so what's her name?" I'd go, "Her name's Chloe.
> She's from Denmark, and she's a tourist." But my sisters
> kept saying, "we want to meet her." I had to keep up. My
> fear was not knowing how bad it was going to get from my
> coming out. Whether they would disown me or tell me to
> get lost. (P08)

Families' interpretations and inculcations about worldviews of service to the family were also influential. P09 contended with social norms and family expectations and his internalised exploration of how he fitted.

> You had a responsibility to your family. Part of that responsibility was to have a family. It was my job to make sure the family line continued. Also, my father's expectations that I become a matai but, how do I be a matai if I don't have a wife and children?. I'm not *Fa'afafine*. (P09)

Experiences of Coming Out

Coming out, or declaring their sexualities was a milestone for participants. Their experiences ranged from supportive through the mixed to destructive. P08 explained that he first came out to his siblings in the mid-1980s. All but one sibling were supportive. That negative response left him reconsidering efforts in helping the family to understand his identity as a Pacific gay man.

> All but one already knew, and I thought, "Oh okay, cool." And then this other sister, she said that I needed to go see a psychiatrist, and I was like, "What? I'm not sick". So I was like, "you deal with this. If that's what you think, it's your problem." (P08)

P08 decided to not inquire further into the source of his sister's reaction. Instead, he focused on the development of his identity as well as forming of friendships and relationships.

In the late 1990s, P10 came to a point where he felt coming out was appropriate for him. He explained that the closeness he experienced while his mother was the sole caregiver gave him the confidence to not only come out but also to assume that her response would be nurturing. His mother communicated the coming out to the family, and her position in the family enabled her to navigate intra-family politics.

> It was a relief to know that she wasn't going to kick me out of the house. She did research. She read books, and we would talk to others. She would need to be a gatekeeper to the rest of the family.

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> It made me want to cry because I knew I wasn't going to face it alone. My family is significant; there are political factions. She knew whom to talk to first.

> And one of the first people she started with was her brother because he is a public figure, he's been very demonstrably open to *Fa'afafine* and the rainbow world. She thought I should tell him. He was very understanding and kind. He recognised that mum was shoring up support. (P10)

For P07, his immediate family became pressured by the aiga not to include him in more expansive family gatherings or discussions.

> It was okay for my family and me because I get on well. I'll tell them all the stuff that I'm doing, That hasn't come easily, I've had to draw the line, and say, "If you don't like our relationship, then, I'm quite happy to take it somewhere else."

> That's when everything started to get real, and the sharing started, as opposed to sort of being part of the family for certain things. (P07)

The school environment and adolescence

Participants reflected on their school environments when exploring their lived experience of adolescence. P01 explained that during the 1960s, enjoyment of school, and potential success relied on conforming to social stereotypes of the day.

> My secondary school was great if you were a rugby player, but I got top in the form class in geography – these are topics that traditionally, Pacific children weren't good at. There was history, geography, English – and I learned, about barriers and that just because there is a way that others perceive you doesn't necessarily mean that's how you are. (P01)

P01's grandfather's had moved him from Samoa to further his education. He felt caught between the dreams of his grandfather and the barriers imposed by his school. P10 explained that in his schooling in the 1990s, his peers communicated to him that "who he was" was unacceptable. He described his attempts to exist in that context.

> I felt it at school, particularly young boys, they can smell blood, and I was an easy target. I didn't know it was sexuality at the time, but others knew there was something different about me, and they equated it with being a poof.

> I used that minimising tactic of trying to minimise
> difference and maximise similarity, so I would walk
> differently, speak differently and play every sport under
> the sun that I could, I was good at it, and I enjoyed it, and
> I tried to be not so Samoan, not so brown, not so gay.
> (P10)

Acceptability among school peers was a factor that P06 found himself navigating. He came out as gay at school in response to gossip, that speculated that he was bisexual. The idea that he was bisexual was the combination of their speculation that he was not straight, and that exclusive homosexuality was too harsh a concept to bestow on him. He was seen as a "good-sort".

> I think people tried their best not to let it get to them – but
> the number of times I was told not to flaunt it in their
> faces. Despite those pressures, I played lots of sports. I
> was in cultural things and held down two afterschool jobs.
> I needed to as I had been kicked out of the home. (P06).

P04 was surprised at the lack of conflict he experienced in an all-boys school in the 1990s.

> Very meat and two veg. Worked hard, did well but I spent
> my time figuring out where do I fit within this, these boys
> and where they are. And again, you're different, you know
> you're different, you're not sure what the difference is.
> (P04)

The school environment was essential to participants, as an external, non-home, non-church space which offered social opportunities. However, as demonstrated in these findings, participants found it a space where their legitimacy as young gay men was challenged, often at the same time, the family or church environment was also challenging.

Boyfriends during adolescence

Following the declarations of being gay, some participants went on to discuss first romantic and sexual relationships formed in their teenage years or their early twenties. Participants expressed a lack of preparedness for what such relationships would look like, especially given the lack of Pacific gay role models. Participants also noted that

such relationships ran contrary to the expectations of their families and communities at the time.

P07 explained that while his family had been openly accepting of his being effeminate and gay, he also took advantage of prevailing attitudes towards opposite-sex orientated sexuality and expected standards of behaviour in Samoan families.

> I met my first boyfriend at high school in the sixth form. It was okay to bring friends home if they're boys. If I had bought a girl home, you know, there's no way you'd be able to spend the night together in a room, but because it was a boy, it was just, "Oh, they're just mates." (laughs).
> (P07)

P06 explained that as he focused on schoolwork, sport and cultural pursuits while in secondary school, he formed his first relationship. He explained that he became close to his peer-tutor, a senior student in the same school, who was also a rugby teammate.

> Almost immediately, the rugby boys who bullied me began to rib me jokingly, and it spread pretty quickly across the school, they defended me. I felt like one of the boys. (P06)

P06 was protected by having a rugby team, which in New Zealand school culture in the 1990s, represented an aspirational elite group. He reflected that in his school environment, he was respected by many peers. That respect smoothed his time in school, in contrast to his family life.

From adolescence to sexuality in early adulthood

Early adulthood, the period between the ages of 18 and 30, was a critical time for some participants. Among the experiences discussed were international travel, careers and communities.

In the 1970s, male homosexual sexual activity remained illegal, but P02 described social attitudes as increasingly supportive of decriminalisation. It was still socially 'normal' to acquire girlfriends in the 18 to 28 year age group, which he avoided by travelling and studying. He described early attempts to engage the gay helpline, which offered safety in its anonymity.

> And then you would write and then maybe two weeks
> later some sweet guy took the time to reassure me and all
> that. So, I did receive much support in that regard. So, I
> just needed the strength to come out to everybody. (P02)

P02 explained that the support he received from the gay helpline and other support networks filled him with confidence, which helped him to begin telling his family. He noted that as the eldest in a religious family, he expected resistance and anger.

> They were accepting. My brother was very religious. He
> had trouble. However, he didn't voice that to me. But he
> had long conversations with my father. (P02)

Later, P02 discovered that his brother was worried about the future of the family chiefly title and corresponding responsibilities for the village in Samoa. At the same time, the brother's religious viewpoint was challenged by the coming out.

P05 was a Pacific student at a New Zealand university in the 1980s in his late teens and early twenties. He explained that he remained adherent to his family's religious customs, including weekly church attendance, well into his fifth year of university. As a Seventh-Day Adventist, the religious adherence extended to not engaging in sports or shopping on a Saturday, a traditional sporting and shopping day in New Zealand. In his final year of study, he recalled overhearing two of his university flatmates commenting on his change in attitude and that he had become more personable, and upon further reflection he found himself wondering about why his adherence was so resilient even to that point.

> I think back with embarrassment, the gay thing, I didn't
> embrace it until that final year. I struggled, experimented
> with 'one-offs', but you can look back and ask, "what was I
> thinking!" (P05)

For P06, moving away to attend university was combined with freedom from challenges he experienced in his adolescence. He looked forward to experiencing a wide range of people and new ways of experiencing social and cultural acceptability.

> I finally got to enjoy being around people, platonically or
> otherwise. I remember my flatmate telling me "you are
> such a flirt – you'll flirt with anything". I hadn't realised this
> – I became quite popular (laughs). (P06)

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Communities of Support

Participants discussed the role of communities as providers of space and socialisation that helped their development of identity, sense of self and understanding of place in the world. P01 explained that following secondary school in the 1960s, the buoyant employment market offered him a significant range of options which, at first, he found confusing to reconcile against his search for the right career path.

As he entered the workforce, he desired to address some strong *Pālagi* Western influences over his upbringing in New Zealand. Following employment in the Ministry of Works, he undertook nursing training and felt able to continue his exploration of his connection to others and culture.

> Then it started to make sense to me – that sense of holism. I could start to go back to my past and go back into my community back to the Pacific. We've taken people and trained them, but haven't show them the way home, even in nursing education. It's finding your place who you are. (P01)

P01's experience of career settings and conflicting cultural messages from his upbringing highlighted the insider/outsider experience of traversing service values and values of personal enjoyment. For some participants, the external community was a place to be contributory; for others, external communities were a place of benefitting from the contributions of others. Once P02 found himself in a large workplace, his workmates encouraged him to enjoy his place in the world, sexual orientation and identity. He noted the popularity of his workplace with gay people, Pacific people as well as *Fa'afafine*, offered role models.

> It gave me confidence. Somebody said to me, "But you're gay, aren't you?" And I went, "Yeah, that's right." Furthermore, I remember it because it was in the cafeteria. What I used to do was not answer, just dodge the question. So, I was relatively late to the party, if you know what I mean. However, still early enough to have a party. (P02)

In the lead up to that moment in the cafeteria, P02 struggled with avoiding declaring his sexuality. He realised that his Pacific gay and *Fa'afafine* colleagues were undertaking a

tautua service towards him. P05 experienced similar influences with his *Pālangi* ex-boyfriend. The boyfriend had decided that P05 deserved to experience a wider group of people, to help him feel better about being openly gay.

> My ex had decided I needed to meet this friend of his. I remember coming down the drive. There were 12 other guys there! I was so angry with my ex, our host just said 'oh come on' … and it was a fantastic evening. I was so nervous about being labelled or be seen as being gay.
> (P05)

P07 explained that after being labelled as non-*Fa'afafine* in Samoa, he reconciled his mixed gay male/*Fa'afafine* identity through the care and support of his immediate family, and some in his wider aiga. As a result of this, he began to take his *Fa'afafine* identity into the world of drag queens, and the gay club scene of the 1980s and 1990s.

> To make that link to drag, to own that space, where Pacific drag was at the frontier for 20 years was fascinating. At that time, drag was mainly a palagi thing, and bitchy.
>
> In the club I worked at, we needed somebody warm, caring and could make people feel welcome.
>
> Being queer is hard enough. People are walking up and down outside those doors. When they walk in through the door, the first thing they see is a big friendly drag queen, and it takes the pressure off them,
>
> They know that they're in a safe place, they can enjoy themselves. Once they go out and home to wherever they're going, you don't know what their life is like. (P07)

Trying new settings

For some participants, the homophobia of families was a meaningful context in their early adulthood between 18 and 28 years of age. Two participants explained that their coming out to their families took place in their late twenties, in the late 2000s and early 2010s. P03 recalled coming out to his mother, whose first response was to refer directly to Bible verses

> She said, "here is the bible verse that tells you that you are going to go to hell". So, that was an interesting experience for a late 20-year-old. However, you are raised in the church, and there are principles like everyone is a sinner. (P03)

For P03, the condemnatory response to his coming out led him down a path of increased independence from his family.

P08 explained that following his coming out, tensions had grown with family members who resisted accepting his identity. He was encouraged by friends to move from Auckland to Sydney to escape the tension, earn better money and to experience a more extensive and dynamic social scene. He explained that following a period of unsuccessful job hunting, he had heard about a well-known sex-working area in the central city and decided to try and earn money there.

> If you were new, you had to work across the road, you're not allowed to work with the girls, and I was the only recruit. The first night was horrifying. I didn't wear a wig. Just a scarf and a hat and everybody kept calling me lady Diana.
>
> Over the next ten months, I was working as a tranny. Made some terrific friends on the street, and most of them were Polynesian, from Auckland, Mormon.
>
> It became like the whole family thing, and we used to always talk about the church environment, and the church's teachings and how they are against homosexuality. So we used to have good conversations. We used to attend church conference down the bottom, at the café. (P08)

For P08, the connection he found among other Pacific sex-workers in Sydney enabled him to put his experiences into perspective as he finally was able to see himself in others who were also gay, Pacific and from strictly religious backgrounds.

P06 went overseas to extend the adventure he began by moving away to university. He quickly made groups of friends in the UK, Europe, the USA and Africa. He found that among the different cultural contexts, he recognised worldviews similar to Pacific values systems.

> I discovered underground gay bars in Belfast, Berlin, then onto Johannesburg and Cape Town where these big brutish-looking Afrikaner guys look like they're going to beat you up – but they instead were gentle, funny, loyal, caring. And, wow – when they discovered I played rugby!. (P06).

Returning to New Zealand was an essential part of early adulthood navigation. P06 explained that his return home was initially intended to be a short break to consider whether a permanent move overseas was the right thing for him. Without a meaningful relationship with his family and the discovery of people who held similar values, he was amenable to establishing a life outside of New Zealand.

For P08, he had decided that long-term sex-work was not going to be a part of his future and that a range of illnesses needed treatment. Upon his return, he immediately tried to re-invigorate the relationship with his family.

> I decided then, after a year, I'm going home. I went to the travel agency, booked my ticket to come home, the family didn't know I was coming home. When I left to go to Sydney, I was 120 kilos. When I returned, I was 71.
>
> When I got home, I got back to Auckland. I went to see my sister. She didn't recognise me, so she asked, "Can I help you?" Because the door was open, and I walked in.
> (P08)

He noted that the time the family spent apart offered them space and distance, which had the effect of a re-start. Tensions de-escalated between with his eldest sister and his deeply religious father. His father's retirement from ecclesiastical duties reduced pressure on the family to adhere to religious traditions, rules or viewpoints. This smoothed the path for family relationships to be rebuilt.

Being a Pacific Adult

Adulthood, for participants in talanoa, was seen through the lenses of family, sexuality, community and careers. Careers were an important consideration, and this cohort had careers that involved national and, for some, international exposure and recognition. Many participants were experts in their field and were either called on by national media, governments, government agencies or community groups for insight or advice.

For the majority of participants, being aged post-30 meant that they were at the stage of life where building careers and relationships were meaningful. Those participants aged over 50 agreed that they were enjoying the activities and benefits of relationships

and careers; however, they were becoming more reflective as the years progressed. The transition from teenager to a student to income-earning adult was a critical life stage. Families were a prominent context that participants saw the life stage in. The family was prominent as an anchoring point for seeing themselves in the context of others and cultural expectations. For P07, early efforts to nurture him resulted in his sense of resilience and loyalty.

> When it's in your family that sort of takes the mystery away from it, I could've just walked away from it. My brother said to me at my father's funeral, "Dad always wanted us to look out for you" and he said to me, "always make sure you look after your younger brother because he's not like you." (P07)

Emerging into relationships and families

Most participants had experienced a long-term relationship at the time of talanoa. At the time of the talanoa, two participants were married to their partners, while three others were considering marriage. P07's high school romance had lasted until his late twenties. After the end of that relationship, he found himself both re-learning how to date and how to navigate his family.

> And then we used to go to family things, and they'd say, John's* lovely, fantastic with mum and my family. But often, mum would be praying for all my brothers and sisters and their partners, and never pray for us. Or there would be a family formal, and invitations were never extended to John.
>
> One day I told her "We contribute to this family too if you keep doing that, we're not going to come anymore". She didn't realise she was doing it. (P07)

P04 explained that his moving into a long term relationship challenged him to address the tensions he experienced in preparing to come out to his parents.

> He was in his PhD fieldwork. I liked him, and he liked me. The first six months were intense. I was still living at home, and I hadn't come out. I was 28 and trying to juggle between my parents, working and him. I wasn't keeping anyone happy. It forced me to put a stake in the ground. (P04)

For P05 internalised pressure was made up of multiple layers. The implications of his completing medical studies on top of what he perceived to be cultural and familial expectations wore heavily on him.

> There was an expectation that I would go back to Fiji, get married, make mum and dad proud. This won't happen if I was in a gay relationship. A lot of shame if they found out. This was all my perception.
>
> Mum and dad came, and I took them on a tour of the South Island. I think I told them "my friend will come with us to do the driving."
>
> They met Benjamin and loved him. I booked two rooms in the motel, mum and dad in one room, Benjamin and I in the other. When they were leaving, they said to Ben, 'the next time our son comes to visit us, you need to come with him'.
>
> Two months later, we went to Fiji, I said to Benjamin, we may be in single beds or separate rooms. When we walked in, dad said 'oh sorry, that's your room over there' and this was a guest room, big double bed, they just expected we'd stay there together, as a couple. (P05)

Becoming fathers

At the time of participant talanoa, two participants were parents, one by surrogate mother and the other by court order of guardianship and adoption. These participants discussed their motivations for parenthood and the respective pathways they followed, and the implications those pathways had for them, and the families they were building.

P07 explained that before fatherhood, his nieces and nephews were a big focus.

> My sister's kids had grown up and asked: "Who are you?" And my sister said, " that's your Uncle,". I realised I needed to be involved in these kids' lives. My aunties and uncles were involved in our lives. Now, we have a great relationship. It was a link to the fa'asamoa, which I had forgotten entirely. (P07)

P06 agreed that nieces and nephews across extended families had been a strong theme in his adult life, before fatherhood. In his case, he became a parent to nieces and nephews in a tragic circumstance.

> I had come back from living in the USA and was staying with my sister and fell into part-parenting my sister's child as well as the children of another cousin.

> One night, I came home from work at about 11 pm and had discovered my sister and our cousin had abandoned the children and their house. After a few days trying to locate the parents and checking with extended family – I was left to seek guardian status through the family court.

P06 explained that the court processes were complicated, at that time there was a lack of precedent of a homosexual man seeking guardianship status, there was also entrenched homophobia in his family and community

> I was threatened; the children were threatened. I was obsessed with staying safe, as well as keeping a roof over our heads and food in our bellies. I had to keep working. I had a high profile job, but it was all Pālangi. I was on my own.

> The government staff were suspicious of my intentions. I was panicked about losing them to state care. When guardianship was granted, the weight was lifted off my shoulders. (P06)

For P07, his pathway to parenthood came through a partnership with a lesbian couple who offered to carry and co-parent a child.

> One of the mums, Michaela, had approached us, 12 years ago to discuss whether I'd be interested in being the dad. I talked to John about it, and then we got together with her and her partner. We didn't know how it was going to work out. All we knew was, the mums wanted us involved.

> The original plan was that the egg would come from the other mum Flora, I was the sperm donor, and Michaela would carry. And she got pregnant a couple of times, but she lost the baby and consequently worked out that, she just couldn't carry to term.

> So, Michaela's health needs put paid to the pregnancies - but ten years down the track, Flora asked: "Why don't I give it a go?" So, we revisited it, and she got pregnant straight away.

P06 explained that the impact of his complex pathway to parenthood enabled him to confront ideas of Pacific values and family structures.

> I think back to what I know of how my family ended up in our village to start with, something was fishy about what I was taught, and that was Tonga in the 1940s.

> I think our faifekau and other leaders have been giving us fairy stories – there is no Pacific way of having a family.

> I've had to spend so much energy helping my children
> make sense of the abuse we've copped from the wider
> family. Why? At the same times, it's also been about
> recovering from their parent's abandonment AND times
> tables and spelling as well as the family history in Tonga.
> (P06)

P07 noted that naming his children at birth helped him gain clarity about the origins of identity in his Samoan cultural systems

> They're brought up in the fa'asamoa, I speak to them in
> Samoan, they've got Samoan names. So, the eldest is
> named after my maternal grandmother, whom we never
> met. And we were going to name her after my mum, but I
> spoke to mum, who said it would be nice if we could,
> name her after nana, her mother. Which is interesting,
> because three of my mum's sisters called their children for
> her, but because mum's sister's had called their children,
> she didn't want to name any of us after nana. But as it
> turned it, you know, when my mum said that and I floated
> it with the mums, they loved it.
>
> The youngest was named for the ocean as she was born
> at home, facing the sea. (P07).

Becoming husbands

At the time of participant talanoa, two participants had married. In the time between the talanoa, two further participants had married their long term partners.

P04 explained that his pathway into marriage emerged from his first long term relationship.

> We'd backpacked when he'd finished his PhD. We'd both
> never travelled. We left for a year and came back with no
> money. We lived with my parents for four months. And I
> think that was the final piece in that puzzle, for them to
> understand that our relationship was just like theirs finally.
>
> I knew that he was it for me. I knew that I wanted to be
> with him, and to get married would be amazing. We were
> engaged in 2014 December, and a wedding in 2016.
> (P04)

While planning the wedding, he pondered the idea of same-sex marriage and his Fijian cultural identity.

> What is a gay wedding if you're a Pacific Island man who
> grew up within the church and had spirituality? I disagree
> with what church is teaching or their standpoints, but the
> spiritual elements are part of the way I am. A lot of it has

> to do with my grandmother, who was staunch Methodist.
> My sister told her that I was gay. She was fine. (P04)

P06 had been in a relationship with his partner for three years before their marriage.

> I was taken by surprise when he proposed, we hadn't
> talked much about marriage, and to be honest, I wasn't
> that bothered, about the institution! I did want to spend my
> life with Rob, so it was nice to formalise it with the
> ceremony (P06).

P06 explained that despite feeling blasé about the idea of marriage, it was on the wedding day itself that he felt encouraged by the idea that, after his upbringing, he was part of an institution or community.

> I remember looking out at the congregation and seeing
> those cousins who I had been close to. It was so lovely to
> see them there. They had all travelled a long way. They
> all wanted to be there. It was official (P06)

Entering careers

As well as relationships, careers were a dominant theme that emerged from talanoa with participants. Participants in this cohort worked in the finance, corporate, government, education, health and media sectors. In their talanoa, participants spoke about the struggles they faced for their perspectives to be taken seriously as professionals and as Pacific men who were gay.

Silencing of Pacific Gay men's perspectives

For P01, being reinterpreted by well-meaning government officials was not only embarrassing, but it also undermined the effort he had taken to consider what his non-expert audience needed to hear and the complexities of concepts he was portraying.

> I couldn't stand people saying 'what he meant was…'
> After a while I say, 'no that's not what I was saying' - so I
> used to say it in Samoan. (P01)

P05 recalled a warning about his lack of status in discussing spiritual matters in an audience with Pacific church ministers

> I was asked to talk about high blood pressure at the end
> of a 2-day conference. I talked about the risks of smoking
> and stress. I repeated a biblical verse about God knowing

> even when a sparrow falls – why should you worry when
> God in heaven looks out for you. This Minister stood up
> and said, 'I just thought I would correct that last
> presentation' and lectured us about the bible and how
> Ministers are trained to be able to interpret the bible.
> (P05)

P03, at the time of his talanoa, had built a successful career in corporate banking. He reflected on the behaviours he experienced in the banking industry and the contrast with the behaviours he was taught to exhibit in his Samoan upbringing.

> I was taught respect, service and reciprocity. When I
> came into the corporate environment, I had to train myself
> to look people in the eye, not lower my head
>
> I was taught that service was something with dignity, it
> was a gift, and it wasn't about a power ranking. And then
> we come to corporate settings, and people treat you like
> dirt if you volunteer to go and get a coffee for them. (P03)

Being Voices of Pacific sexuality

Talanoa participants reflected on pressures they experienced to be community experts on sexuality. These pressures involved being on call to provide advice to community leaders, families, government agencies and the media. Another pressure for participants was to be defenders of the legitimacy of being gay, when church leaders, or their congregations, wanted to criticise homosexuals.

P01 noted that in a career with health and policy professionals, he found himself frustrated by highly-educated *Pālangi* government officials misinterpreting anecdotes as blanket cultural practices.

> I can't stand that bloody argument 'well, In Samoa they've
> got no females they'll dress you like one ' – BULLSHIT – I
> come from an extended family of 11 – we've got some
> gay men, but all my other brothers and sisters are happy
> to walk with who they are.

In his years of educating multi-cultural audiences, P01 found it hard to reconcile his Samoan worldview where integration is vital with prevalent westernised views of compartmentalisation.

> Sexuality is an intrinsic part of who you are; you may as
> well cut off your arm. I struggle with Pālangi insisting

> there's a difference between sexuality and culture. I've
> heard a Pālangi say 'my sexuality it's that other part of
> me'. I think 'I've never been anything else but this'. (P01)

P05 was concerned that, at times, perceptions among Pacific community and

government leaders about his sexuality diluted his efforts to educate and inform.

> I think some of the responses or delay in the acceptance
> of some of the messages were because they thought I
> was gay. I have to temper that with being from a minority
> Pacific group, Fijian, I wasn't Samoan or Tongan or Cook
> Island. (P05)

Those concerns ran high when he was confronted by angry church ministers who had

formed their own opinions about a new vaccination programme.

> The minister asked, "So why are you advocating for this
> injection to be given to our girls, so they become
> nymphomaniacs?" I tried explaining. I found a nurse in
> Auckland who was the wife of another Minister. We had a
> roadshow of community meetings. I would explain what it
> is, and she would explain how it was important for the
> health of the young women, the family in the future. To
> this day, the Pacific is still the highest of any ethnic group
> in terms of getting immunised. (P05).

Summary

In this chapter, Pacific Gay men have discussed their lived experience of family, social,

political and professional lives between the 1960s and the 2010s. Among the findings

of this chapter, relationships that occurred in the familial, workplace, social and cultural

settings were influential in the life courses that participants experiences. Values in

families and community were important to participants. For some, values expressed by

a family led to protection from vulnerability, and for others values learned were anchors

that offered strength and motivation for perseverance.

Chapter 6: Pacific people and legislative change within Parliament

Introduction

The research findings in this chapter address the second research question in this study "what has been the lived experience of Pacific peoples of changes in legislation related to sexual orientation". During data analysis, themes were coded and are organised into the findings presented in this chapter. Data sources in this chapter include:

- Participant talanoa with people who self-identified as Pacific, male and as gay

- Participant talanoa with elected Members of the New Zealand Parliament of Pacific ethnicity

- Participant talanoa with a Member of Parliament experienced writing and submitting a Private Members Bill on relevant legislation.

- Parliamentary Debates

- News media articles

- Written submissions to select committees.

This chapter is organised around the stages that legislation undergoes between proposal and acceptance by the Governor-General of New Zealand, as representative of the Head of State, and is indicated by the graphic at the foot of each page in this chapter. In their talanoa, participants discussed the Homosexual Law Reform Bill of 1985 and 1986, the Civil Unions Bill of 2003 and 2004 and the Marriage (Definition of Marriage) Amendment Bill of 2011 to 2013.

The following table summarises the phasing and dates of each of these bills.

Table 7: Dates and phases of relevant legislation

	Homosexual Law Reform Bill	Civil Unions Bill	Marriage (Definition of Marriage) Amendment Bill
Introduction	7/03/1985	21/06/2004	26/07/2012
First Reading	8/03/1985	24/06/2004	29/08/2012
Due date: Select Committee Submissions	-	6/08/2004	26/10/2012
Select Committee Report	8/10/1985	29/11/2004	27/02/2013
Second Reading	13/11/1985	2/12/2004	13/03/2013
Committee of the Whole House	20/11/1985 5/03/1986 25/03/1986 2/04/1986 7/04/1986 16/04/1986	7/12/2004	27/03/2013
Third Reading	9/07/1986	9/12/2004	17/04/2013
Royal Assent	11/07/1986	13/12/2004	19/04/2013

MPs, legislative process involvement, and the reason "why."

Four MPs took part in talanoa for this study, and at the time of writing in 2020, three were current MPs, and one had retired from politics. These MPs brought to this study a wealth of knowledge and a diversity of backgrounds, influences, worldviews and experiences.

- **Louisa Wall**, of Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Hineuru and Waikato iwi was the MP for Manurewa in South Auckland and sponsored the Marriage (Definition of Marriage) Amendment Bill. Prior to her becoming an MP, she was a national representative netballer and rugby player and was in the New Zealand Black Ferns team who won the first Women's Rugby World Cup. Her talanoa provided

valuable and unique insights into the preparation of a bill and the negotiation of parliamentary systems and structures.

- **Luamanuvao Winnie Laban**, of Samoan descent, was the MP for the Mana electorate, North of Wellington between 2002 and 2010. She was both the Associate Minister of Pacific Island Affairs and the Minister of Pacific Island Affairs between 2005 and 2008. During her time in parliament, Luamanuvao Winnie voted in favour of the Civil Union Bill in 2004 and voted in favour of the Prostitution Reform Bill at its third reading in 2003, after having voted against it in its first and second readings.

- **Kris Faafoi**, was the sitting MP for the Mana electorate in January 2019 and succeeded Luamanuvao Winnie Laban, following her retirement from politics. At the time of talanoa, he held the Ministerial portfolios of Commerce and Consumer Affairs, Broadcasting, Communications and Digital Media and Digital Services. He is of Tokelauan descent, grew up in Christchurch, and has acknowledged his mother's union involvement and his father's leadership of education programmes as influential to the politics he brought to his parliamentary and Ministerial duties. Kris Faafoi had worked as a journalist and political commentator for the BBC and as a Parliamentary Press Gallery reporter for TVNZ. Before becoming an MP, he was chief press secretary for then Labour party leader Phil Goff. Both Kris Faafoi and Luamanuvao Winnie make a critical contribution to this study as they discussed their motivations for supporting the respective legislation they voted on. They both also discussed their experiences of sharing their viewpoints in communities who were hostile to gay men.

- **Alfred Ngaro** at the time of writing this thesis was an opposition MP on the National Party-list. He became an MP at the 2011 election, and between 2016 and 2017 held the Ministerial portfolios of Community and Voluntary Sector and

Pacific Peoples, after the retirement of his colleague Peseta Sam Lotu-Iiga[11].

His membership of the National Party is unusual, as Pacific peoples are often

perceived to support the Labour Party. He was raised in West Auckland by his

parents, his mother was a cleaner, and his father was a labourer and a union

delegate. His is a qualified electrician and holds a degree in Theology from

Laidlaw College[12].

- This chapter will include Parliamentary Debate from **Aupito Tofae Su'a**

  William Sio, who at the time of writing this thesis in October 2020, was the

  Minister for Pacific Peoples and the MP for Māngere. He is an experienced

  politician serving as a local city councillor in Manukau City between 2001 and

  2007 and serving as the deputy Mayor between 2007 and 2008. He has also

  held prominent roles in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. Both

  Aupito Sio and Alfred Ngaro make a significant contribution to this study with

  their experiences of opposing legislative change from a Pacific cultural

  standpoint.

MPs explained that lived experience in their families and communities often served as

motivation for standing as candidates in general elections. For Louisa Wall, those lived

experiences involved witnessing the destruction of elements of heritage and identity,

such as language.

> My dad was born in the 1940s, experienced the beatings
> of the language out of him. It was evident when we were
> growing up that I needed a good education because
> holding onto some of our cultural competencies possibly
> wasn't going to be beneficial for me in life. (Louisa Wall,
> 2018)

The influence of intergenerational relationships, with parents, aunties, uncles and

grandparents, was significant for all MP participants in this study. Luamanuvao Winnie

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[11] Peseta Sam Lotu-Iiga did not respond to invitations to participate in this study.
[12] Formerly known as the Bible College of New Zealand

Laban reflected on her sense of place and contribution to realising the aspirations of others in the community.

> There had been generations of Pacific people before me who should have been supported into politics. They wanted us to participate as equals and encouraged us to be proud of who we are, where we come from and work to support the wellbeing of our people.
>
> For me, that next step was to increase visibility in parliament and politics – and show the younger generation that they belonged there as well. (Luamanuvao Winnie Laban, 2018)

For Kris Faafoi, the influence of his parents focused on the balance between politics and leadership, as an act of service in his native Tokelauan cultural worldview. He also explained that in his upbringing, faith and spirituality were evolving away from traditional ideas.

> Dad wanted us to have more of our own minds. He wanted us to understand our Island Principles, not of "the" God, but of "our" God. While we knew we were similar to our relatives and other island families, there wasn't a rigid sense of religion in the house. It helped us have respect for religion but also a free-thinking spirit too. (Faafoi, 2018)

Louisa Wall explained that winning an electorate seat as well as a nomination to lead the Rainbow Caucus of her party helped her realise her aspirations to serve the LGBTI community. Those events were the critical enablers for her to begin the process, which would result in the Marriage (Definition of Marriage) Amendment Bill.

> I outlined what my responsibilities would be in addition to being the chair of Labour's rainbow caucus. As the chair, I would be leading the discussion about marriage equality. So, I put it out there in the paper and said if anyone wants to come and have a meeting or discuss what my responsibilities are, my door is open.

Louisa Wall explained that her wife's occupation as a lawyer and support for the proposed Bill allowed her to take sole responsibility for the ownership and drafting of the amendment Bill, instead of relying on others in the party to help draft it. The focus of the Bill became important in the complex political environment. For Louisa, the contrast of representing Rainbow/Queer/LGBTI communities in parliament whilst also

being the MP for an electorate with outspoken conservative Christian leaders was a challenge. She explained the legislation needed to overcome norms entrenched under the existing legislation.

> The other avenue we were going down was to define "a person". A person is a person regardless of their sex, sexual orientation, or gender identity, and get into the real heart of some of the issue. And that's about whether LGBTI people are human beings. (Wall, 2017)

Introduction of a Bill and the First Reading

Louisa Wall reflected on the sequence of processes that followed her drafting of the Bill. Her appointment had smoothed the pathway towards the legislative process.

> I had already done the preparation; I already had a bill ready to go, took it through the caucus, put it in the ballot and it got picked.

> Sometimes things happen because it's the right time. This was the right time all that other work had to have been done beforehand to then capitalise on this opportunity that had been created because of global interest in marriage equality (Wall, 2017)

Consultation in parliament

Three participants discussed their experiences of being consulted inside the parliamentary context before the first reading of a Private Member's Bill. Former Member of Parliament Luamanuvao Winnie Laban explained that in considering the Civil Unions Bill in 2004, she took an opportunity to engage in negotiation with her rainbow caucus colleagues.

> There was a confidential matter at the time that was both racist and sexist. At the same time, the gay Pālangi men in our Labour Government were lobbying for the Civil Union Bill. I said you need to also support me in this other issue. (Laban, 2018)

National Party List MP Alfred Ngaro was lobbied from both inside his party and interested members of the public. He attempted to balance what he saw was care for his LGBTI relatives and maintenance of his Pacific values.

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> Then the message goes out, and there's an influx of emails, and constant lobbying and then some of the lobbyists would get really angry. It's incredible. (Ngaro, 2019).

Kris Faafoi was not lobbied before any of the votes on the Marriage (Definition of Marriage) Amendment Bill. He explained that party and parliamentary colleagues assumed that he would vote in favour of the Bill. The most notable silence for him was that of his Pacific parliamentary colleagues who had made significant comments in the media on the risks of voting for the legislation.

> My Pacific colleagues, early in the piece, knew where I was going to vote, no one came up to me and warned me about the perils of voting that way and if I'd voted in favour and paid the price, electorally. (Faafoi, 2018)

Electorate MP, Aupito William Sio, spoke in the Parliamentary Debate which followed the First Reading of the Marriage (Definition of Marriage) Amendment Bill. In his speech, he discussed the various intersections in his Samoan culture, including gender and place in society. He also discussed a conflict between society's viewpoints and sexuality.

> In the Samoan community, many recognise Samoan same-sex relationships and *Fa'afafine*, to the extent that they are given very high-ranking titles, but everyone conducts their affairs within the boundaries of culture and religion. I understand the desire of the gay community who want to have same-sex marriage, but many who oppose this Bill believe that the civil union and the statutory relationship laws already provide these legal rights to same-sex couples. (Sio, in NZPD, 2012).

The Select Committee Stage

The following section presents findings which emerge from the select committee stage of the Marriage (Definition of Marriage) Amendment Bill. In this section, submissions are organised around the arguments presented in them, instead of ethnicity, religion or another demographic or social category. The Bill proceeded to the Government Administration Committee on 29 August 2012, and the closing date for public submissions was 26 October 2012.

Written submissions to select committee

The Committee received a total of 21,533 submissions, and it considered that 18,635

of those replicated content of a similar manner. Of those replicated submissions,

10,487 were in favour, and 8,148 were in opposition to the Bill.

Policy advice to the committee was received from the Ministry of Justice, Department

of Internal Affairs and the Crown Law Office. The Bill's sponsor, Louisa Wall, explained

the steps that followed the First Reading. She explained that after the lobbying

processes, she was keen to maintain dialogue among her parliamentary colleagues.

> After the Bill went through the first reading, I wrote to
> everyone to say thank you, and now there was an
> opportunity to debate. I thought it was good to keep
> engaged with my colleagues and to keep my door open if
> they thought they wanted to talk.

Wall explained that while Party convention did not require Members' Bills to conform to

a policy agenda, she required the party's caucus support to submit her Bill.

> There were discussions within the party. In the Pacific
> sector, some talked about how damaging this was after
> prostitution law reform and even going back to
> Homosexual Law Reform (Bill). There were people
> cautioning and people saying how I shouldn't be allowed
> to do this.

As Member's Bills sit outside of a party's policy agenda, there is no allowance made for

administration support. This lack of resources required Wall to self-manage negotiation

with supporters as well as administer the process and lead the public-facing elements

of the campaign.

> The discussions I was having with the public, I also had to
> have internally, including monthly briefings with the
> rainbow sector and my colleagues.
>
> I had to run that process myself, and the whips couldn't
> help me, I had to communicate with my colleagues. I had
> to get the forms for people to vote if they weren't there.
>
> I ran everything; I did my own speeches, my own press
> releases.

Pacific voices in select committee submissions

I located 56 written submissions where Pacific ethnicities or the Pacific ethnic group was referred to. The specific ethnicities represented were Samoan, Tongan, Fijian and Tuvaluan. Many submissions, however, referred to the general Pacific ethnic group. Submissions were made by church organisations, church leaders, collectives of church and community leaders, people from church congregations, people writing on behalf of extended families and individuals.

Most of the 56 submissions were opposed to the Marriage (Definition of Marriage) Amendment Bill. Many were concerned about the impact of same-sex relationships on family formation as well as the conflict between same-sex marriages and their Christian teachings about marriage. Submissions concerned about family formation were worried that normalisation of same-sex relationships would lead to same-sex parenting, undermining traditional opinions about gendered parenting roles of fathers and mothers, as well as idealised notions about Pacific family units.

Pacific gay men's submissions

A small number of submissions were written by authors who self-identified as being Pacific gay men. Two of these submissions are included among the findings in this chapter. The select committee submissions by Aho and Haulangi documented the lived experience of the submitters about the exclusion and inequity that the Bill sought to address. Aho spoke about the hypocrisy he experienced in direct conversation with other Tongans about the proposed legislation.

> Tongans have approached me to say that while they do respect 'fakaleitis', this is not the time for such social progression. The acceptance of the Tongan' fakaleiti' is an acceptance of an effeminate male, not a male homosexual. I find it disheartening then that some members of our very own communities (Tongans and Pacific Islanders) would seek to stand in the way of progress and equality, because of a clear lack of

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> information about what it is to be a member of the LGBT community. (Aho, 2012)

And Haulangi explained the removal of dignity that underpinned the way his family dealt with his sexuality.

> I arrived in New Zealand in 1989 with my families from Tuvalu. I came out in 1995 at the age of 21. It felt like a weight came off my shoulders. Telling my families was not easy, but I had to. My mother called me a "Pina", Faggot in English. Being bullied makes it hard to fit in. (Haulangi, 2012)

Churches and voices of authority

Church organisations were the most prominent of Pacific cultural and religious institutions making submissions to the Select Committee. Pacific-church-based submissions were in opposition to the Bill.

The Vahefonua Tonga o Aotearoa (VTOA), the Tongan Synod of the Methodist Church of New Zealand, claimed that more than 8000 parishioners supported its mission and viewpoint.

> "a safe environment within the church and in Aotearoa, for all Tongan congregations within the church for their worshipping of God and practising life-affirming and life-giving theology" (Veikune et al., 2013, p1)

The Tongan Catholic Chaplaincy took a similar approach to frame its submission as coming from an authoritative standpoint.

> The Tongan Catholic Chaplaincy in Auckland serves 7000 Tongan Catholics and their families. Though they are required to join and participate in their respective parishes, the Tongan Catholic Chaplaincy serves as a catalyst to aid their belonging, participating and growing in the Catholic faith. (Motulalo et al., 2013)

A delegation of Tongan church leaders highlighted the universality of church adherence and the importance of opposite-sex marriage to Tongan people in New Zealand, as its authority to speak on their behalf, as well as individually.

> The members are from congregations from these different churches: Tongan Methodist Church, Tongan Catholics, Siasi Uesiliana Kalisitiane 'i Nu'usila, Free Constitutional Church of Tonga in New Zealand, Mormon Church, Siasi Tonga Tau'ataina 'I Nu'usila, and United Church of Tonga in New Zealand (Finau & Motulalo, 2012).

Authoritative voices on what a Pacific family "ought" to be

The following section presents findings from submissions in opposition to the Bill, which focused on the language of exclusion used by submitters.

Notions of marriage

Among submitters, marriage was exclusively heterosexual. For churches, the notion of marriage was tied to their traditions, whereas for individuals, it was tied to identity. The Vahefonua Tonga o Aotearoa established its opposition to the Bill by first arguing that marriage was viewed, universally, as a religious institution.

> Throughout the Methodist world, marriage is seen to be the faithful, life-long union in body, mind and spirit between one man and one woman. This view is held by the vast, overwhelming majority of Christians in the world from the Catholic, to the Orthodox, to the Pentecostal wings of the Church, and also reflects the opinion of other world faiths, such as Islam, most of Judaism and other faiths originating from the Indian subcontinent. (Veikune et al., 2012).

The Ekalesia Fa'apotopotoga o Samoa i Niu Sila Henderson agreed and suggested that religious interpretations were the sole source of truth for defining marriage.

> The proposal that marriage is a social institution is incorrect. Marriage is founded in religion and Christianity specifically. The proposal to separate marriage into a social institution is flawed because marriage cannot be separated from its origins (the Church). (Toleafoa & Wong, 2012).

The Tongan Catholic Chaplaincy of Auckland pointed out that procreation was central to the religious definition of marriage.

> Not only that it points to Man and Woman as the apex of God's creative work, but the very fact that Man and Woman shares in God's creative role. We co-create. We procreate.

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> Same-gender relations do not share that gift and cannot procreate. (Motulalo et al., 2012).

For Va'afusuaga, the value of marriage was foundational to functioning society, married people valorised as upholding that society and to allow other people to join the "club" of people able to become married was tantamount to eroding its value.

> This is not a matter of discrimination against people with different sexual orientations, but a matter of what will benefit the next generation of New Zealanders.
>
> The Civil Union was created to give same-sex relationships a place for their union; therefore, there is no need for marriage to be redefined, so it includes same-sex unions. (Va'afusuaga, 2012).

For the Ekalesia Fa'apotopotoaga o Samoa i Niu Sila Henderson, the legislation was the same as offering gay and lesbian people a social advantage

> Essentially the amendment bill gives 'equal rights' to the gay and lesbian community whilst retracting the sacred values and beliefs of Christian communities. (Toleafoa & Wong, 2012).

Preserving the Pacific cultural institution of marriage

Some submissions discussed marriage as an inherent part of Pacific cultural traditions. For Seiuli, Marriage was fundamental to the Samoan worldview and modus operandi of society.

> Prior to colonisation or religious assertions into the Pacific, Samoan people have always viewed marriage as tapu or sacred, an honourable declaration that ensures the continuation of the family lineage, ancestral ties and cultural solidarity. (Seiuli, 2012)

Taumoepeau agreed and explained from a Tongan perspective, maintaining marriage as a heterosexual institution was essential for maintaining families' ability to operate in the 'Anga Fakatonga.

> It is about the survival of our kainga, our matakali (generations of people), and our ha'a (genealogy). The marriage brings together two families with different obligations and ranking into the new family due to gender

> roles played out by all who are connected to the two individuals that marry. (Taumoepeau, 2012)

Taumoepeau noted that pre-missionary ideas of marriage helped contribute to Tongan Christian identities.

> The Amendment to the Marriage Act 1955 will be detrimental to our culture and traditions beliefs which pre-dates Christianity but had meant that it was easier for the Tongans to embrace Christianity. (Taumoepeau, 2012)

Maintaining the ideal family rearing conditions

Following the assertion that marriage was primarily Christian and therefore, Pacific, some submissions referred to marriage as a basis for family formation. Some submitters feared same-sex marriages would influence Pacific family formation and parenting. From Collins' perspective, functioning societies required children to be raised by heterosexual parents.

> Children have the right to be raised by a mother and father, as this is the cornerstone of our society. In the Pacific, we often talk about how the village raises the children as the support base for the child's immediate parents. (Collins, 2012)

Sotutu agreed and noted that procreation was a reason that governments regulated marriages.

> Whilst procreation is by no means a requirement for marriage, and children are a natural outcome of most heterosexual unions, which is why the government takes such a vested interest in marriage. (Sotutu, 2012)

The Pacific Child, Youth and Family Integrated Care Service noted that children benefited from gendered approaches to parenting which, when combined, provided children with a rounded experience.

> Mothers and fathers play differently; fathers push limits; mothers stress safety; mothers and fathers communicate differently; mothers and fathers discipline differently mothers and fathers provide a unique look at the world of women and men, and fathers teach respect for women and mothers. (Pacific Child, Youth and Family Integrated Care Service, 2012)

The Wellington Tongan Leaders Council was concerned that the government was not

focused on helping opposite-sex parents with parenting skills.

> Not only are they the right people to produce children, but
> they should also be responsible for raising them in a
> loving environment.
>
> We have seen a lot of dysfunctional families in New
> Zealand. Families who have no support or could not find
> support need the State. The State should focus its energy
> and resources on supporting families rather than focusing
> on sexual orientation or preferences. (Finau et al., 2012)

Submitters' speculation about the efficacy of same-sex parents.

Some submitters sought to warn the government against the possibility of same-sex

couples, or gay singles, becoming parents. Hastie noted that same-sex parenting was

the opposite of the ideal and optimal child-raising environment.

> Two men might each be a good father, but neither can be
> a mum. Two women might each be a good mother, but
> neither can be a dad. (Hastie, 2012)

The submission made by the Pacific Child, Youth and Family Integrated Care Service

claimed that same-sex couples were incapable of making meaningful contributions in

raising families.

> A same-sex relationship is always lacking a necessary
> part of humanity. They cannot do the job humanity needs
> them to do, raise a healthy next generation of humanity.
> (Pacific Child, Youth and Family Integrated Care Service,
> 2012).

For the Vui family, same-sex parenting deprived children of relationships with other

parents.

> We believe every child has the right to a mother and
> father. Allowing gay couples to marry will lead to them
> wanting to have children which naturally they will not be
> able to do, so they will want to adopt. Young children who
> are adopted by gay couples will be living lives absent a
> relationship with at least one biological parent and absent
> either a mother-figure or a father-figure. (Vui et al., 2012)

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The verisimilitude of Christian love or Pacific ofa towards "gay and lesbian."

As Vui demonstrated, some submitters were conflicted between the love for gay people in their families and their cultural or religious beliefs.

Some submitters talked about their opposition to the Bill in the contexts of the relationships they held with gay people. These submitters explained that their opposition to the Bill was not a reflection on their aspirations for gay people they knew. Instead, religious beliefs were the foundation of their opposition.

> As a Christian, I would like to state my opposition to this Bill. My reason for doing this is not to belittle the gay community or because I despise them in any way. I have cousins that are gay, during my working life, I have worked alongside gay people and seen them as friends with a different opinion which they are entitled to. (Tukua, 2012).

> 4.2. We agree that the gay and lesbian community have their place in society, but this Bill is encroaching on our own religious beliefs and favouring their free choice over our sacred institutions. (Toleafoa & Wong, 2012).

The authoritative voice on social order and hierarchy

For some submitters, the idea that the government and legislation defined marriage was a challenging concept. The Pacific Child, Youth and Family Integrated Care Trust told the government that despite the stated aim of the legislation, defining marriage was the domain of religion.

> The State recognises and regulates marriage because of its importance to the good of society, but the State does not give marriage its meaning. The government should not presume to re-engineer or redefine marriage. Instead, the government should preserve traditional marriage as a natural human institution. (Pacific Child, Youth and Family Integrated Care Trust, 2012).

The Pacific Gospel Mission Church took exception to ideas of gay people and human rights.

> It is not a "human right" for a small minority to re-invent marriage for everyone else. Parliament should not agree to such radical social innovation.' (Pacific Gospel Mission Church, 2012).

Christian fear of persecution

Some submitters feared persecution due to their opposition to both the Bill and their views on same-sex couples in society. The Tongan Catholic Chaplaincy was concerned that it could be forced to conduct ceremonies for non-Catholics in its churches, which traditionally contravened existing Catholic diocesan policy.

> To redefine marriage laws in a secular society like New Zealand threatens the Church's position in society. What happens when a non−member wants to be married at a Catholic Church, in our holy of holies? (Motulalo et al., 2012).

Collins was concerned that the legislation would compromise opposers' rights to hold their views.

> The idea that everyone has the right to marry is a popular ideology which is being forced on people. In many ways, certain communities are being demonised because of their cultural beliefs that marriage is between a man and woman only. (Collins, 2012).

Toleafoa & Wong agreed and were concerned that theirs and other Christian views were being devalued to a position of being less-equal than the access of gay and lesbian people to marriage.

> The amendment bill polarises Christian values and overrides the rights of the Christian community. Essentially the amendment bill gives 'equal rights' to the gay and lesbian community whilst retracting the sacred values and beliefs of Christian communities. (Toleafoa and Wong, 2012).

Hastie expressed concern for those religious communities that she assumed would be forced to open their facilities and services to same-sex couples under the proposed law.

> Anyone who disagrees with it will be at odds with the law, for example, church ministers, marriage celebrants,

church elders/ leaders, churches hiring out their facilities, photographers and caterers and any other person or entity supplying services to the public will be in breach of the Human Rights Act 1993, if they refuse to supply services to a couple seeking to be married, by reason of the same-sex of the couple." (Hastie, 2012).

However, Tafua discussed the struggle that she experienced in weighing up the gay people she knew and their desire to have the same rights as her and the fear of persecution directed at those who opposed the Bill.

I don't want my gay friends, and family members abused or told they're inferior. I love my husband, and I understand why gay couples want to marry. I wouldn't want someone to tell me I couldn't marry the person I loved because they were the wrong sex or gender.

So why do I oppose this Bill? Because I am genuinely worried about the rights of the conservative minority groups (especially religious) who will continue to teach and preach traditional values. (Tafua, 2012).

Advocating for the eradication of homosexuality

Some submitters took the opportunity of communicating with the select committee to complain about the presence of homosexuals in society.

Please tell me why we have to break law with rebellious lifestyle people who refuses to be what God made them be, a man or a woman? It is time to say," devil Satan you get behind me, worship only God, amen!"

Homosexual is sin and so it breaks god's ordered law, and this is why we are suffering as a country. It says in the bible. Homosexual is a sin in Romans, chapter one. (Ah Poe, 2012)

For the Mafutaga Faifeau Samoa in Wellington, homosexuality was simply the most visible sin available to demonstrate its point of view about failures in the population at large.

There is ample condemnation of homosexuality in the Bible and Christians are warned about this practice - "Do not be misled. Neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor

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adulterers, nor men kept for unnatural purposes, nor men who lay with men will inherit God's kingdom." (I Corinthians 6: 9) We affirm that God made human beings as sexual beings and that sexuality is God's good gift to us.

We affirm that in this fallen world, distortions can occur in the expression of human sexuality; however, such distortions should not be viewed as acceptable or embraced as being good.

Contrary to popular belief, we are not homophobic or anti-gay! Rather we see all of humanity as falling short of God's ideals. ("Since all have sinned and fall short of the glory of God" Romans 3:23) Distorted sexuality is but one of the manifestations of this brokenness. However, there are many other examples such as greed, pride, exploitation etc. We do not count ourselves separate from humanity, but all too well know the brokenness of our own lives. (Su'a & Leasi, 2012).

Pacific narratives of inclusion in submissions

A small number of submissions written by Pacific people in support of the Bill talked about Pacific cultures and their ability to include gay people. For Cowley, the nature of Pacific families meant there was ample capacity for care and aspiration for family members in same-sex relationships.

I have family members who are gay, lesbian and transgender and as a family member support those members in whatever paths they choose and in this context support any family member to have the opportunity to marry the person they love. I am so proud of each gay member of our family as they have contributed positively to our families and the communities they live in. They have also gone on to have successful careers. (Cowley, 2012).

Extending space to gay men to undo 'othering.'

For some, there was a motivation to undo the marginalisation and exclusion of negative narratives in Pacific communities. P09 explained that his social media and community activity during the select committee phase addressed a dehumanisation of gay people in Pacific churches' perspectives in the public domain.

I saw the impact it had on people around me. It angered me, my understanding of Christianity is that as much as

> it's going to Church and being part of a religion is to be
> part of a social institution, your faith is personal. It can't be
> a community thing, and you must foster that on your own.
> The faith itself has nothing to do with someone else's
> reading of the bible. (P09)

In his select committee submission, Manuela discussed the lower status forced on

same-sex couples and gay people.

> It is fundamental in New Zealand's open and accepting
> society that rights should be afforded regardless of a
> person's partner preference. Excluding couples from this
> civil institution due to their gender or sexual orientation is
> discrimination. I believe people should not have to
> express love by different names and institutions because
> of their sexual orientation or gender. (Manuela, 2012).

Dyer agreed and explained that as a Pacific gay man, he felt as if the existing settings

labelled him as lower status than other people.

> I choose to live in New Zealand instead of my Pacific
> homeland because of New Zealand's tolerant society,
> attitudes towards homosexuality and the rights/protections
> afforded to all New Zealanders.
>
> But if GLTBQ New Zealanders are to be equal in New
> Zealand society, then we must be given the right and
> choice to marry our partners.
>
> If I can be taxed in the same manner as all New
> Zealanders, abide by the same laws as everyone else,
> then why should I only be legally entitled to a civil union.
> (Dyer, 2012).

MPs experiences of select committee hearings

The Government Administration Committee heard 220 submissions in person, in

sittings held in Wellington, Auckland and Christchurch. The Government Administration

Committee on Marriage was a cross-party group which comprised the following MPs

- Hon Ruth Dyson (Chair)

- Chris Auchinvole

- Kanwaljit Singh Bakshi

- Hon Trevor Mallard

- Eric Roy

- Holly Walker

The rules of select committees enable committee members to be replaced by other MPs if appropriate. The following replacements occurred in the Government Administration Committee on Marriage.

- Hon Trevor Mallard – at times replaced by Moana Mackey and on occasion Charles Chauvel

- Holly Walker – replaced by Kevin Hague

- Eric Roy – at times replaced by Tim Macindoe

In addition to committee-member replacements, other MPs were able, when appropriate, to view meetings and participate by asking questions of committee members and oral submitters. National Party List MP Alfred Ngaro recalled one oral submission from the Council of Trade Unions, which he claimed misrepresented the views of Pacific people.

> The CTU explained how big the union is, then they talked about how they're representing them and overwhelmingly, they support the Bill.
>
> At the end of the presentation. I asked, "did you survey the membership?" And they said, "No.".
>
> "So how did you come to a decision?" Oh, we just got the delegates to vote.
>
> And I said, "If I look at your stats, it shows there nearly 45% of your membership is Maori and Pacific. Have you thought about what their views are on it?" and did they know that their delegates were voting on this issue?

Kris Faafoi recalled his discomfort at witnessing the behaviour of a select committee member to a submitter of the opposite view.

> I only got to go to one session, and there was the one submitter that came in, and one of the other MPs who was a select committee member was just going to the polar opposite of the submitter in the hearing.
>
> I was thinking, 'you're not making it any better by fuelling flames' it was a contained physical environment, and fanning the flames when you have people from both sides of an argument in the room I thought it wasn't the standard of behaviour you should expect from an MP.

Both participants pointed out oral submissions were designed to be an opportunity for the select committee to gain further insight into the nuances of viewpoint or opinion. Both observed at the committee hearings they attended and in conversation with parliamentary colleagues that oral submitters had no further insights to add in addition to their written submissions.

The Second Reading

Following the end of the select committee stage, when the Committee's report was tabled in the House, Alfred Ngaro recalled facing a mounting pressure to make a speech in the Parliamentary Debate as well as increase the number of his speaking engagements in Pacific communities. To be honest, being new, just coming into the house, and there are people that had an expectation on me to make a speech, and I couldn't. Because at that moment, I was new trying to find myself in this place. I don't regret that. I had already spoken to media, I had spoken in churches.

Media portrayal of MPs during voting environments

Participants in this study reflected on the ways in which the mainstream media presented Pacific viewpoints, as part of the wider community, and the impact of that representation. Alfred Ngaro explained that in a media interview, journalists challenged his attempts to focus attention on fears expressed by Christian communities.

> I was on the way to the caucus when they were interviewing everyone. Duncan Garner and the press came along, cameras and so forth, he asked: "Alfred, how are you gonna vote on the gay bill." And I said, "Well it's not a gay bill, he said it is, and I said, "No, it's called Marriage Redefinition, that's the way it's been written." I said, "as soon as you start to call it the gay bill, you change the conversation."

Following this interaction, Ngaro noticed that he was stereotyped by journalists.

> There's the list of the conservatives and the list of the liberals. They've split us into two camps. We say we want to be tolerant, but we're deemed, by them, intolerant by our action.

> They label people. You're the sort of people that don't care. You're the sort of people that are inconsiderate. You're religious and have conservative views. That's how they frame us.

The Committee of the Whole House

Following the passing of the Bill from Second Reading into the second Committee stage, MP Aupito William Sio attempted to introduce a new clause into the Marriage (Definition of Marriage) Amendment Bill through a Supplementary Order Paper. The new clause sought to provide safeguards for the freedoms of religious Ministers and other clergies. His speech in the House sought to reinforce the key messages in submissions made by church leaders in opposition to the Bill.

> Many in the religious and faith communities, whether they are Christian, Muslim, Jewish, Hindu, or other faiths, have expressed and continue to express a view that marriage is a union of a man and a woman. These beliefs are real and genuine. They are not made up; they are not fairy tales. They are true and heartfelt, and many trace the source of this belief back through history to their deity. (Sio, 2013).

Aupito William Sio noted in his speech that the viewpoint he was expressing was a compromise position.

> The basis for my introducing my amendment at this late hour is because many of the Churches prefer that this Bill not pass at all. However, as reflected in the votes so far on this Bill, it appears that, if we are honest with ourselves, this Bill may pass, thus launching New Zealand into new territory where we elevate same-sex unions from civil unions and provide new legal marriage freedoms for two people regardless of their sex, sexual orientation, or gender identity.
>
> If this be the will of the House that this bill pass at its third reading, then my amendments become critical in creating a balance between the religious freedoms currently enjoyed by religious and faith groups and the new same-sex marriage freedoms provided for by this Bill. (Sio, 2013)

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The Supplementary Order paper proposed to amend the Bill to

- Define a celebrant as someone not obliged to solemnise a marriage if that solemnisation "would contravene the religious beliefs or convictions" of the celebrant or the religious body they represented
- Prevent challenges under any legislation to the lawfulness of freedom of expression about marriage being between males and females exclusively
- Prevent challenges under any legislation to the lawfulness of owners of facilities or service suppliers restricting their services to same-sex couples based on their religious beliefs.

The amendments to the Bill proposed in the Supplementary Order Paper received 22 aye votes and 88 no votes. It lost. The report of the Committee of the Whole House, which sought that the House be resumed and that the Bill be reported without amendments received 77 aye votes and 43 no votes.

The Third Reading

MP Kris Faafoi was the only Pacific MP who spoke in the Third Reading debate of the Bill. He explained during his talanoa that during the various stages between the introduction and the third reading, he had talked to church leaders in his electorate. He also reflected on being of the minority viewpoint, as a Pacific MP in support of the Bill.

> There were two things happening. I was always going to vote in favour. I wanted to make sure that was okay. Not just locally, as I needed to speak to a whole lot of people, but I was pretty intent on making sure there was another Pacific voice as part of the debate. I weighed up in my mind how I achieved that, where to do it. I kind of tried to engineer it to do it in the third reading cos that's where it was most important to have (Faafoi, 2017).

He recalled deeply considering the implications of the lack of Pacific voices in support

of the Bill, and what it represented.

> I wanted to make sure there was another Pacific voice
> there.
>
> I was also thinking of some friends who had a more
> traditional Pacific upbringing than mine, whom I've had an
> inkling that we're gay, and I wanted them to know that it
> was okay.
>
> From the community, there was an overwhelming
> narrative that was against it – but I wasn't. I wanted to let
> them know that the Pacific voice in parliament wasn't all
> one-way.
>
> I've got one friend I really focused on making sure he
> heard it. I knew the troubles that he went through, and I
> wasn't happy with it, and he needed to know that I took it
> to another stage so that the tribulations he went through
> were worth it.
>
> Also, out of respect for a lot of people I knew, and others
> in the same position – to let them know that in the
> changing society of NZ, to be comfortable in who you are,
> that's a challenge for a lot of young Pacific Islanders.

Faafoi described the steps he took in order to get onto the list to speak in

Parliamentary debate. His objective was to avoid the risk of being declined time to

speak due to his status as a junior MP.

> You have to be a bit sneaky about these things – because
> the speaking time is limited, and every man and his dog
> wanted to speak. I went to the speaker at the time, Dr
> Lockwood Smith and I said to him that I'd like speaking
> time in the third reading, - he said 'you're going to have to
> make a special case'.
>
> I said 'every other Pacific MP is voting against and I want
> five minutes to make sure there's a different voice. It is
> important for the Pacific community that there is another
> voice in this debate'.
>
> And he made it happen, I don't think he was the chair at
> the time, but he passed the message on and made the
> deal.

In his speech during Parliamentary Debate following the Third Reading of the Bill, Kris

Faafoi described the conflicts he saw between stated viewpoints on equal access to

Marriage, and the experiences of young Pacific gay people.

> Our gay community is also proud and vibrant. They too have battled, and, like all other Kiwis, they deserve the full enjoyment of the values of family, love, inclusion, equality, and respect. I know there are strong religious veins in the Pacific community, and I respect that and the views that they have, but many young, gay Pacific Islanders have found this debate difficult. Many have grown up and maintained strong religious beliefs. They have told me one of the hardest things in the public debate has been hearing that the God that they worship seems to see them differently. My God does not.
>
> I hope that our community can embrace that there are many in our families who on a daily basis, struggle to be openly who they are. For cultures whose very survival relies on a pride of identity, cultures and language, and being proud of who we are, we need to let our youngsters know that in every respect they should be proud of who they are and that we are proud of who they are. (Faafoi, 2013).

Summary

In this chapter, Pacific MPs shared their experiences related to parliamentary legislative change processes, opinions held by Pacific peoples regarding same-sex marriages were expressed in the media and select committee submissions, and Pacific gay men discussed the impacts the process had on them. Among the findings, Pacific church groups claimed authority to represent Pacific cultures and the place of marriage as a Pacific cultural institution, and Pacific MPs discussed the role of religion in the prominent opinions about Pacific cultures. The next chapter explores the voices of Pacific people in legislative change from communities and the media.

Chapter 7: Pacific peoples and legislative change, outside Parliament and in communities

Introduction

The research findings in this chapter continue to address the second research question in this study "what was the lived experience of Pacific peoples of changes in legislation related to sexual orientation". This chapter discusses the Homosexual Law Reform Bill of 1985, the Prostitution Law Reform Bill of 2003, the Civil Unions Bill of 2004 and the Marriage (Definition of Marriage) Amendment Bill of 2013.

The pathway towards a Bill

For some people involved in policy activities, their first struggle was convincing their Pacific communities that their support would be valuable during periods of legislative change. After experiencing marginalisation in during the 1970s and 1980s, P01 faced difficulties in convincing Pacific communities with spending time supporting Homosexual Law Reform.

> Their view was 'oh well, it's just a the palagi thing' and even *Fa'afafine* was saying that. I would say 'but we will benefit' and they'd say 'well just get on with it'. A lot of our people were concerned with just surviving. (P01)

Additionally, he was concerned that Pacific people would miss out on vital HIV and AIDS education due to existing education programmes and resources not taking into account cultural values, accepted sexual behaviours among heterosexual men and religious viewpoints among Pacific communities at that time.

> We recognised if we concentrated on the palagi thing, we'd miss out. The HIV education was on gays; our thing was about families. (P01)

Introduction of a Bill

After the Marriage (Definition of Marriage) Amendment Bill was drawn from the Ballot, Louisa Wall was invited to write for a political blog. Following this blog post, and subsequent interviews on radio and television, church leaders from her electorate urged her to withdraw the Bill.

> They came and asked me to withdraw the bill, and that I wouldn't have the support of their religious community and they wouldn't support me if I continued. We talked through it, and I said 'well, I respect what you're doing, but I'm going to support my bill and I'm hoping it will go through'. (Wall, 2017)

After that meeting, the church leaders mobilised local congregations with attempts to intimidate her into withdrawing the Bill.

> My mailbox was flooded, my EA at the time was abused every day, people would leave rude messages 'you're going to go to hell', 'you're going to burn in hell', 'you're evil', all those things, you don't take it personally. However, these are people in my community. (Wall, 2017)

The First Reading

Before the First Reading of the Bill, on the 29th of August 2012, a significant number of media articles were published which established a range of viewpoints, and the identities of parties who could be held responsible or as leaders of those viewpoints.

The New Zealand Herald published an article on the 8th of August 2012 including the opinions of some Pacific MPs. The article referenced a Radio New Zealand interview with the MP for Māngere, Aupito William Sio, who warned about his party being vulnerable to Pacific voters turning away from it at the 2014 General Election. In the article, Louisa Wall claimed she had received support from Maori and Pacific communities as well as church leaders.

Four days later an opinion article was published in the New Zealand Herald by Pacific journalist Tapu Misa. Misa (2012) proposed that Pacific voices opposing the legislation

had romanticised ideas of traditional marriage. What exactly does that look like? Is it polygamy (where a man can have multiple wives), the marriage form found in more places and at more times than any other, and which was acceptable in biblical times?

> Does it include the beating of wives, once lawful in "traditional" marriages? Or the prohibition against mixed-race marriages? (Misa, 2012)

Misa's article was a rare moment where a Pacific voice appeared in the mainstream media and critiqued the condemnation that was prevalent. However, Pacific voices in opposition to the Bill influenced radio and television interviews and community forums that Louisa Wall took part in during the early stages of the Bill. At those events, she noted the churches exploited their fears that the Bill eroded their rights to their faiths.

> It was me against three others who were clear that they would fight to the death to protect the position of the church, and they would go to jail. I was always clear that this was balancing freedom of religion with freedom from discrimination. (Louisa Wall, 2017)

The Parliamentary select committee process

At the select committee stage, the public communicate their views to the committee and debate in the public sphere increased during that period. Data in this study revealed that families and individuals were deeply affected by the debate taking place in community forums and through the radio, television and newspaper media.

The emergence of family debate

Increased levels of debate in newspapers, radio, television, online and in communities influenced family debate that P10 witnessed. He saw the debate in the mainstream go through waves of first being about opposition, then about support. For his family, as arguments in the public arena outlined the benefits of supporting the legislation, he saw pressure increase within the family environment.

> Opposing views were silenced. A lot of my family is engaged in social media, and sometimes they are reluctant to be out there with their views, they know there

are heaps of others who will come down on them like a
ton of bricks. (P10)

Social media became the platform of choice for Pacific church organisations to post

their views on sexuality and same-sex marriage. The *comment*, *reply* and *like*

functionalities of sites such as Facebook and Instagram offered people access to these

views, and the opportunity to make their opinions known. At the same time, it also

provided participants with the chance to share their experiences of marginalisation.

P08 wrote a post about his experience, and responses challenged his understanding of

Samoan cultural values about families.

My aunty responded to a Facebook post I made about
homosexuality and the LDS church. She didn't appreciate
it, she posted on Facebook page and said, "Can you not
send negative about the LDS church." And I just thought,
"Block." I was like, "I don't need that." (P08)

The debate in the community

Outside of the family environment, people in Pacific communities engaged in the

debate through informal groups, community forums and Pacific-language radio

stations. The debate in the community included attempts to change established

viewpoints based on first-hand and lived experiences. P01 attempted to change the

viewpoints of a community stalwart that Prostitution Law Reform was helpful to young

Pacific sex-workers.

She was against the PLR. She said nobody wants to be
bashed up on the streets, but it's about providing good
employment for the girls, so they don't have to be on the
streets.

At the time I said let's just get the legislation through and
then we can debate that. She disagreed. (P01)

In the same debate, voices decrying the presence of prostitution in society had made

the debate more difficult, and P01 wondered if the community leader's focus on getting

people out of sex-work was a response to the ongoing condemnation in the community,

and not wanting people to be subjected to it. The discomfort at challenging accepted

Pacific norms emerged a year later in 2004 when he took part in community forums

about the Civil Union Bill. He witnessed Pacific MPs' attempts at talking with communities about progressive attitudes to the two Bills, and what they represented, but found entrenched community opinions too overwhelming.

> There was a lot of vehemence. Poor Luamanuvao really had a hard time with the churches. Philip Field was making commentary separately. Mark Gosche was quite supportive; he and I were in one of the community debates. That's when we saw the second lot of the bible bashers coming through. (P01)

P10 reflected on the impact of high levels of emotional debate in Pacific communities' debating during the Marriage (Definition of Marriage) Amendment Bill. He concluded that if the debate had been less emotive, with less fear, Pacific traditions of complex thinking, and reason might have been more prevalent.

> if the differences had been drawn on a piece of paper with a little Venn diagram in the middle, if it had been explored and made more explicit, then there might have been more demonstrable support. (P10)

Despite significant voices of opposition in the community, some people were able to express their anger at the dominance of opposition viewpoints over other worldviews. P05 recalled a community member standing up to someone in a leadership position in a public setting.

> I remember a Cook Island woman Doctor saying to a Tongan man that might be your culture, but it's not mine, let's not mix what the missionaries colonised into your consciousness. I was amazed that they said this wasn't culture. (P05)

At the time of the select committee process, Patrick Thomsen a gay Samoan blogger deconstructed comments made by Pacific MPs in the Samoa Observer newspaper and discussed hypocrisies he witnessed in the words of the politicians.

Despite a lack of representation in the broadcast and newspaper media at that time, online spaces offered gay Pacific voices a place where they were both visible and in

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control of their narrative. Thomsen deconstructed the romanticisation of Samoan

cultural values of marriage that he had witnessed in the public sphere.

> If you are Samoan, you know for a fact that there is
> sometimes nothing 'Divine' about our people's sexual
> practices.
>
> We don't talk about it, but we all know it happens (married
> men sleeping with other men and *Fa'afafine*)
>
> The truth be told, our community are closeted bigots when
> it comes to the issue of homosexuality. And we promote
> an idea of social piety when in actual reality, we are far
> from chaste or pure. (Thomsen, 2012)

Thomsen proposed that in the debates he had either seen or participated in, Samoans

were unwilling to challenge what they saw as foundational structures, even if that

meant other Samoans could be free from condemnation.

> We are sticklers for hierarchy, …and Samoan society
> accepts *Fa'afafine* and 'gays' at the bottom of the social
> hierarchy. … [accepting gay marriage] would mean that
> Samoans would have to accept a caste of people, that
> they have long designated to the bottom of the heap in
> society. (Thomsen, 2012)

Consultation in the community

MPs saw consulting with community groups as an essential part of the legislative

process. During the select committee process of the Civil Unions Bill and Prostitution

Law Reform Bill, Luamanuvao Winnie Laban was concerned about community

reactions to her progressive attitudes.

> I was targeted more at the time, because I was the only
> woman, and because I spoke out.
>
> I had to weigh that up, my electorate being 26% Pacific,
> and I didn't want to be a fia-poko. I wanted to see if we
> could see some reason, see a sense of justice and
> consistency. (Laban, 2018)

For Kris Faafoi, community consultations about the Marriage (Definition of Marriage)

Amendment Bill led him to learn about how leaders' thinking had changed with both

time and changes in the community.

> They weren't harking back to previous discussions had,
> after the civil union bill passed, that was round one. Most
> Ministers were respectful as they realised, especially
> among the younger people in their congregations, that
> there are a lot more being openly gay. (Faafoi, 2018).

Faafoi noted a small minority of church leaders he met who remained opposed to the

validation of homosexual people in civil society, believed the prior Civil Unions Act

2004 needed to be repealed. He explained that the anti-legislation lobby held a

diversity of viewpoints, which included a reliance on the Civil Unions Act 2004 as a

viable alternative for homosexuals.

> But the issue was with the definition of marriage. That's
> why the civil union bill helped [them], it gave people the
> opportunity to say 'there is the opportunity to have a civil
> union, we think that marriage is a religious concept which
> is why we are opposed to the Bill. (Faafoi, 2018)

Louisa Wall explained that in her electorate, emotions were high, and protests were

planned to condemn her personally.

> There was one incident when the Tongan Methodist
> specifically had rallies, and there was a proposition that
> they were going to march to my office and have a rally.
> I've had an amazing relationship with our General Synod
> Minister, a Tonga Church Minister in the General Synod.
> He supported me in what I was doing and said what I was
> doing was right, really unusual.
>
> I think the Tongan Methodists, in the end, were the most
> anti. He was amazing, and that rally never happened –
> didn't happen here. They ended up going to Mangere, but
> they didn't protest against me specifically.
>
> They protested generally, and I know there was some
> intervention, somewhere, I don't know who, but they didn't
> deliberately march down the street to my office. (Wall,
> 2017).

The Media and portrayal of Pacific people during the public debate

The portrayal of Pacific communities by mainstream media

In September 2012, media outlets produced articles about two events where Pacific

people expressed viewpoints about same-sex marriage. The first article, ostensibly

juxtaposing the opinions about same-sex marriage held by MPs Louisa Wall and Colin

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Craig, referred to a community meeting, held by Craig, which involved Pacific participants (Herald on Sunday, 2012). The Herald on Sunday referred to one of the participants as "one big Pacific Island woman". The article also quoted Reverend Asora Amosa, who was impressed by Craig's belief in family values.

The second story, reported by Radio New Zealand, Tagata Pasifika and the Herald on Sunday on the 28th of October, followed a protest in a Tongan community about the proposed legislation. The Herald on Sunday story focused on the attendance of MPs and carried the headline "MPs attend protest against gay marriage" (Herald on Sunday, 2012a), and included the following images.

Figure 4: Image One: Tongan Church protestors

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Figure 5: Image Two: Tongan Church protestors

Figure 6: Image Three: MPs (Aupito Willian Sio and Kanwaljit Bakshi) at Tonga Protest March

Tagata Pasifika, however, reported on the difference in viewpoints expressed by

people at the protest.

> Host 2 Introduction: While the rally was largely peaceful, some of the inflammatory banners reveal the difference in thinking between those in the community opposed to the change, and those who aren't. John Utanga reports.

[VIDEO STARTS]

Reporter – John Utanga.: This was a gathering to
galvanise support.

[Shots] – Brass band, marching, placards

Alisi Tatafu: We've organised this march in response to
the Marriage Act Bill and have come together to organise
this peaceful and respectful march.

Reporter – John Utanga: But not all the messages on the
day were peaceful. A couple were just plain inflammatory.

[Shots] – The placards and signs reported by the New
Zealand Herald

Alani Taione: This is our message we want to give to
those people who are voting for this bill. We are against it.
(Sunpix, 2012)

Pacific community radio and Pacific policy agents

Participants expressed favourable opinions of the media outlets that gave airtime to the

diversity of experiences and opinions in Pacific communities. Luamanuvao Winnie

Laban explained that during both the Prostitution Law Reform Bill in 2003 and the Civil

Unions Bill in 2004, community members had attacked her on Samoan-language radio

stations. She recalled that her mother wanted to address the attacks.

> I was in parliament debating – I hadn't spoken on the Bill
> yet, I was still thinking of our people too. The first time she
> got key points from my husband and got onto Samoan
> radio

> Later, in the Civil Union, she rang them again, and said:
> "my brother is gay, he's 83 now, and why should he be
> denied the same rights I had." She told the announcer
> "your callers are attacking my daughter, I'm not happy
> that she's being attacked' (Laban, 2017)

MP Kris Faafoi noted that Samoa Capital Radio was a well-regarded space of debate

between multiple perspectives and dimensions with a strong Pacific cultural and values

underpinning.

> They were always ready to listen; they were respectful. I
> did four interviews with Samoa Capital Radio, and none of
> them was confrontational. It was a case of 'we've asked
> you to come on, this is a big issue for our community as

> religion is big for us, talk us through why you're taking this
> stance.' (Faafoi, 2017)

During the select committee stage of the Civil Unions Bill, P02 was involved in media coverage of MPs opinions. He noted that the Pacific media outlets became known for illuminating a range of experiences and viewpoints.

> The only thing that we could do was to get people to talk
> openly about their own experiences. It was not just to get
> those people who were political, not only community
> leaders and not religious leaders but leaders in their own
> right. (P02)

Pacific Gay men's reflections about the media

Participants reflected on their experiences as consumers of mainstream media, their distrust of newspapers and television and gravitation towards media outlets run by Pacific people and social media. P01 questioned the integrity of the mainstream media and suggested that it intended Pacific people be viewed in a way that appeared unattractive to white audiences.

> The first thing they do is ask the church ministers view.
> We are rapidly getting this reputation as all being
> conservative. We are just as diverse. It's a deliberate
> move of colonisation to keep us in that place. (P01)

For P09, the rise of social media, and the control it offered Pacific voices, rendered the traditional and mainstream media irrelevant.

> There are media like e-Tangata which provide platforms
> for more nuanced pacific voices. I'm not talking about our
> home identities. I'm talking about that NZ born identity
> which has an integration of all of the home pacific
> identities plus our Māori brothers and sisters. (P09)

Voices in Social Media

P09 explained that he regretted the lack of young, brown and LGBTI faces in the mainstream media, instead of the over-represented MPs and clergy. He explained that this lack of representation encouraged him to become involved with social media and to create a space for debate.

> It was something I could do. I didn't have to try and
> activate a whole community, and pull everyone together,
> put people at risk. Instead, I could create quiet
> conversations with spaces where I knew people were all
> the time. (P09)

Newspapers and Television stations noticed the social media pages that P09 was

involved with. As mainstream media outlets interviewed him, he felt as if those

agencies were treating him like he was the only Pacific gay man around, which

confirmed the suspicions which drove him to develop social media discussion among

Pacific gay men.

The impact on gay men – upon reflection

The Pacific gay men in this study also reflected on the personal impact of the public

debate. For P06, who was a relation to several high-profile Pacific people who publicly

opposed the Bill, the public debate was isolating.

> Some were my extended family, and others were
> colleagues. Despite what they knew about me, the church
> was the priority.
>
> I had to remember that my children deserved to maintain
> relationships with the family, even if I wasn't worthy of
> those relationships. (P06)

P06 was saddened that members of his family were happy to have their viewpoints

enshrined in the public record. For P02, hearing comments in the media intended to

marginalise Pacific people, and gay people brought back memories of experiencing the

racism of Auckland in the 1970s and 1980s.

> It didn't help when you had Pacific doctors saying, "All
> AIDS people should be put on an island," it was that
> politics of exclusion and hate.
>
> I can remember when I was young on a train and realising
> that people were crossing their noses with their hands,
> with their fingers, and I remember one day I suddenly
> realised that they were doing it about me and they were
> laughing at me. (P02).

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Submissions to select committees

Deciding not to make submissions

Those participants who chose not to make submissions explained that a range of factors impacted on their ability and enthusiasm to make a select committee submission. Through his work as a broadcast journalist, P08 was surprised to see select committee submissions made by churches which had statements that were repeated, verbatim, by some of his interviewees. By the submissions deadline, he was facing more existential issues.

> I actually learnt a lot more from the news stories and interviews. I didn't know enough about it. I had to form a conclusion by being in the industry. I began to research more, more again, when my sister left the church. I realised that rather than focusing on the reasons why the church doesn't want you there, I should be focusing on why it's important for me to be a part of this community. (P08)

P05 reflected that the select committee submissions process became overwhelming and that by the time he had consulted in communities, with MPs and colleagues, he lacked the resources to form his own submission.

> I looked online, attempting to find the form looking at how and when to send it in. It's quite involved, and I thought that I just didn't have the time.

> My partner was supportive and outspoken about it among our friends. Looking back, I would have been able to put in a submission with his help, but at the time he was completing a study and was just too hard. (P05)

Experiences of preparing submissions

P10 explained that he and his partner had written a select committee submission and participated in the campaign to gain public support for the Civil Unions Bill in 2004. He felt a sense of confidence in the process given his prior participation as well as level of education. He noted that there was a need to engage family networks beforehand.

> I had to tell mum beforehand so she could call in all the
> family, so they knew it was coming. We're speaking for
> ourselves and also people who are not speaking for
> themselves. (P10)

P04 was surprised to hear that a relatively small number of Pacific submissions were in favour of the Marriage (Definition of Marriage) Amendment Bill. He explained that he saw the process as something easy to access because he was in established networks that had an interest in participating in select committee submissions.

> It was like writing an email. I find it easy to type that up
> and to say how I was feeling, and they make the process
> easy for you to submit.
>
> Info started to come through my email box. There were
> many websites. (P04)

The Second Reading

MPs seeking advice on votes

Following the select committee stage, MPs sought out the advice of prominent Pacific people to help them navigate the opinions expressed in submissions and their responses to the select committee's report. Pacific and non-Pacific MPs invited P05 to meetings where his viewpoints as a Pacific leader, health administrator and medical professional were sought. He explained that one particular meeting was awkward as he couldn't gain a sense from the MP about the value his opinions were adding to the MPs considerations.

> He asked quite a few questions about the gay community,
> Pacific community. I didn't feel there were any deep
> conversations about it; it was more just superficial and
> stereotypical. Nothing about the humanity of it all. (P05)

P08 explained that he was related to a Pacific MP who had made comments in Pacific communities and the media in opposition to the Bill. He noted that the MPs interactions with the LGBTI people in the family were inconsistent with their comments in the public sphere.

> I felt that the person that I knew all these years didn't really know me. I thought "Are you worried that if you said, 'Yes', you would lose your seat?" Because for me it's important to say whether you opposed the Bill because you personally don't agree, or because of what you've been told by other people. (P08)

P01 had interacted with policy analysts and other public servants during his involvement in the Homosexual Law Reform Bill, Civil Unions Bill and Marriage (Definition of Marriage) Amendment Bill. The network of gay and gay-friendly officials was resilient, and over time, their advocacy expanded from being about LGBTI issues to issues affecting Pacific peoples. However, he noted those networks at times endured ambitious interlopers who lacked an understanding of the nuances of the accumulated knowledge and connections

> I'm protective of people who work in Wellington, I think about the unsung heroes behind the scenes – you knew they were gay you'd know they were all supporting.
>
> I went to this meeting, this palagi woman, she said "don't feel so out of it, you're the only pacific there" and I walked into the room, and I thought 'no girl, you're the one who's out of place cos half of the people there were gay men, and I knew them'. The network is important. (P01)

Royal Assent

The Royal Assent stage of the legislation, when the Bill became the Marriage (Definition of Marriage) Amendment Act 2013, took place on the Friday 19th of April 2013. This was two days after the Third Reading when 77 Ayes were recorded against 44 Noes. The vote and the Royal Assent were reported in the mainstream media as a time of celebration (NZ Herald, 2013, Radio New Zealand, 2013).

The weekend following the third reading TVNZ's Tagata Pasifika programme aired an interview with a prominent Pacific church leader, about the effects the new law would have on his role as a minister, as well as his congregation.

> **Interviewer Sandra Kailahi**: Reverend Fai'ai, would you marry gay couples in Manukau PIC church?
>
> **Reverend Kaurima Fai'ai:** Well, can I say from the outset that my views here do not reflect the views of many among my community, church and my family. An answer to your question, I probably would.
>
> **Interviewer**: Wow.
>
> **Reverend**: Let me qualify why I say that. The license which I hold that allows me to officiate at weddings has got two aspects to it, that there was a religious aspect, and there was also a civil aspect. I feel that as a person, as a question, I need to show integrity and honour my role as a celebrant and be able to officiate people from all walks of life.
>
> **Interviewer**: Would you do that in Manukau PIC church if your congregation did not want that?
>
> **Reverend**: Well, that will be for the church to decide. I probably would. If the church doesn't think that it's okay to marry at the church, then they will probably have to find some other alternative venue. It depends on the couple. (Tagata Pasifika, 2013).

The statement by Reverend Fai'ai was an important milestone offering multiple interpretations. On the surface, the acceptance by the leading minister of a large established congregation in a well-regarded Christian denomination signalled that marriage became a possibility for Pacific people who wanted a blessing and a marriage. At the same time, the reverend's statement could have signalled to his parishioners that as the bill had passed into law, it was time to accept both the law and the normalisation of gay people.

Summary

The findings presented in this chapter encompassed Pacific gay mens' experiences of exposure to debate in the family, community and the media about changes to laws which regulate same-sex relationships. Among the findings, the debate in the family was often influenced by external forces such as a church, community and the media. The mainstream media was challenged by participants as not being reflective of the diversity of opinions and experiences among both Pacific and gay communities. Instead, the social media offered both sets of voices more significant opportunity to be represented and greater control over the prominence of their voices. Participants also recalled a disconnect between Pacific values of family and community during times of debate on topics of same-sex relationships, instead seeing condemnation as a significant theme.

The next chapter in this section explores the media coverage, and further public debate about same-sex relationships after Pacific sports stars expressed their opinions in social media and mainstream media in 2018 and 2019.

Chapter 8: Israel Folau and Pacific athletes condemning homosexuals

During the data analysis and writing phases of this study, in 2018 and 2019, the news media reported comments made in social media and church sermons by international Rugby Union player Israel Folau. Additional reporting captured comment made by other Pacific-ethnic rugby players that supported and criticised his social media activity. Israel Folau was an important figure among sport-loving Pacific people in New Zealand. He played in the Australian Rugby League, Rugby Union and Australian Rules competitions between 2007 and 2019. He was a member of the Wallabies Australian Rugby Union team and the Kangaroos Australia Rugby League Team. He has also played in the multi-national Super Rugby competition for the New South Wales Warratahs, and in 2019 broke the record for the number of tries scored by an individual player (RTE, 2019).

His social media activity was focused on a biblical condemnation of gay people. The comments, and the reporting of them, provided this study with an additional, and unexpected, data source. Findings in this chapter are organised around themes that emerged from data analysis and are presented chronologically where appropriate, with reportage resulting from the 2018 event preceding findings related to the 2019 event.

Following searches, I found 41 items from news media published between April 2018 and December 2019. I decided to exclude social media from this search, as I would have needed to join online groups and communities to gather this information. I thought that acceptance into such groups was not guaranteed, and therefore I may not have been able to access the information.

In April 2018, the rugby star had posted an image depicting the difference between an individual's self-visualisation of plans in life and their perception of God's influence over an individual's plans. He posted this image to demonstrate his feelings following an

injury during a rugby match and his finding out that he would be unable to play for an extended period. A follower of his social media site posed a question about God's plan for gay people and Folau responded that the plan was Hell unless the gay person repented.

Figure 7: Instagram post by Israel Folau
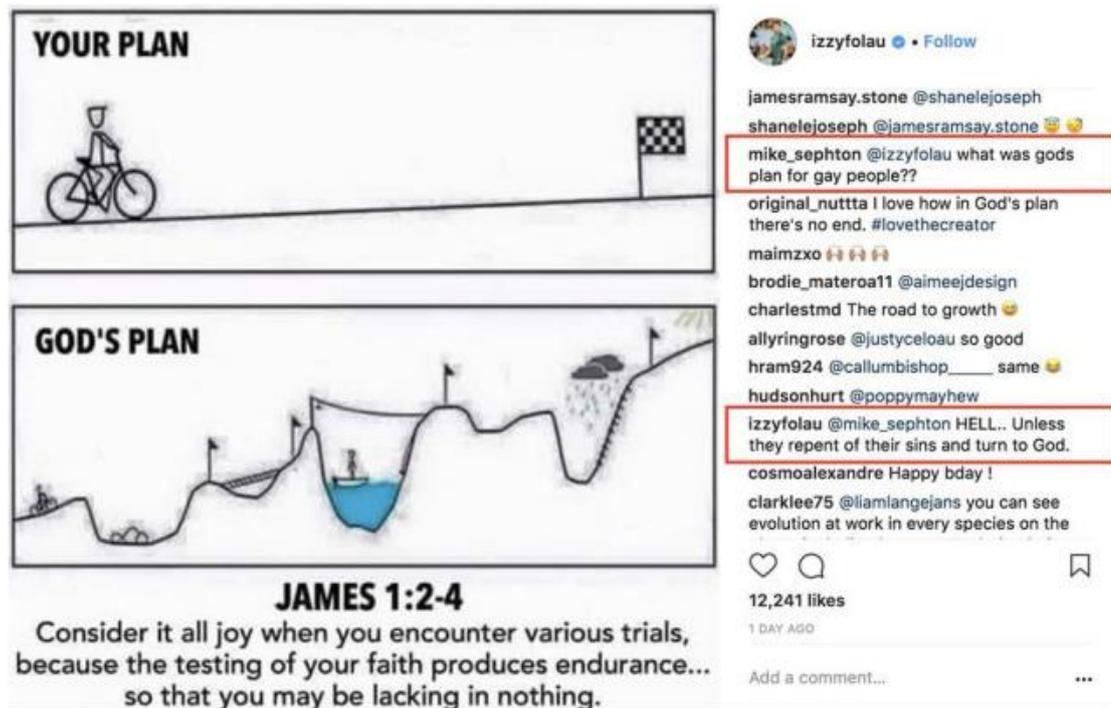
The exchange on social media was reported in the mainstream media, first emerging in the Sydney Morning Herald, on 4 April (Robinson, 2018) immediately followed in Ireland on the website the42.ie. Robinson pointed out that the year before Folau had tweeted his opposition to same-sex marriages, during Australia's marriage legislation change process.

On 17 April, Israel Folau was interviewed by Newshub in New Zealand. He explained that his viewpoint was focused more on Christianity than about condemnation of homosexuality.

> The Wallabies centre said while he believes "people's lives are not for me to judge", he felt he had the opportunity to save someone with what he wrote…

> "I do not know the person who asked the question, but
> that didn't matter. I believed he was looking for guidance,
> and I answered him honestly and from the heart.
>
> Folau went on to explain that being openly gay is akin to a
> "walk into a hole".
>
> "I think of it this way: you see someone who is about to
> walk into a hole and have the chance to save him," he
> wrote. (Newshub, 2018)

On 22 April, Reverend Apelu Tielu, a Samoan church minister in Auckland, wrote an

opinion article which appeared on the e-Tangata news website. Reverend Apelu

explained that while many Pacific churches, and subsequently churchgoers, believed

the fire and brimstone ideology promoted by Folau, he had ignored his responsibilities

to young Pacific people who saw him as leader and role model.

> In this case, Israel is irresponsible for not taking the time
> to consider the likely adverse effects of his comments on
> vulnerable people — and it appears he hasn't taken the
> time to reflect on his status in wider society, and how his
> words and actions would impact on his fans.
>
> Gay people are perhaps the most maligned people in our
> society … Condemnations of their beings by their role
> models could have lethal consequences for some,
> especially the youngsters. (Tielu, 2018).

On 26 April 2018, Israel Folau wrote an article for the Athlete's Voice in which he

expanded on the themes he had discussed during the Newshub interview. He also

used the article to discuss his uncompromising stance on holding and preaching those

values in the public sphere.

> In this case, we are talking about sin as the Bible
> describes it, not just homosexuality, which I think has
> been lost on a lot of people.
>
> There are many sins outlined in that passage from 1
> Corinthians, and I have been guilty of committing some of
> them myself.
>
> I believe when Jesus died on the cross for us, it gave us
> all the opportunity to accept and believe in Him if we
> wanted to. To enter the kingdom of Heaven, though, we
> must try our best to follow His teachings and, when we fall
> short, to seek His forgiveness. (Folau, in Athletes Voice,
> 2018)

Israel Folau wrote about a meeting he had with executives of his club, the Warratahs and Rugby Australia. He explained that in the meeting, he reiterated his belief that the comments made were not intended to condemn gay people.

> During the meeting, I told them it was never my intention to hurt anyone with the Instagram comment, but that I could never shy away from who I am, or what I believe…
>
> I acknowledge Raelene and Andrew have to run things in a way that appeals broadly to their executive, fans and sponsors, as well as its players and staff. It is a business.
>
> After we'd all talked, I told Raelene if she felt the situation had become untenable – that I was hurting Rugby Australia, its sponsors and the Australian rugby community to such a degree that things couldn't be worked through – I would walk away from my contract, immediately. (Folau, in Athletes Voice, 2018)

Following the article Israel Folau wrote for the Athletes Voice, Rugby Australia was reported as being satisfied with his clarification of position (Webster, 2018) and did not issue a notice of breach of its code of conduct. In April 2019, Israel Folau posted a meme with a list of the types of people whom he believed were destined to Hell and damnation.

Figure 8: Instagram meme post made by Israel Folau in 2019

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Pacific athletes defending Folau's Pacific Christianity

In response to this post, some high-profile athletes posted messages of support on both Folau's and their social media accounts. Others posted messages criticising the comments. The mainstream news media reported on both the views of these athletes and social media activity. One particular defence of both Folau's actions and his message, made by former Rugby League player John Hopoate, vociferously criticised Folau's critics and promoted his anti-gay viewpoints.

> "All these idiots carrying on like he's murdered someone. If your (sic) a bloody HOMO who cares, I've been called racist names and all other crap all my life and if you can't handle been (sic) told your (sic) going to Hell we'll toughen the F up cause no 1 cares if you do or if you don't.
>
> "But 1 thing I can say is GOD MADE ADAM AND EVE NOT ADAM AND STEVE."
>
> Hopoate also included a number of inflammatory hashtags on his post: "#AustralianRugbyAreMuts #IfTheBossOfTheMajorSponsorIsAHomo #LookForAnotherSponsor #SpeakWhatYouBelieveNotWhatOthersWantYouToSay".
> (NZ Herald, 2019)

John Hopoate is a Tongan-born former player in the National Rugby League (NRL) teams, the Manly-Warringah Sea Eagles (between 1993 and 1999 and again between 2003 and 2005) and the Wests Tigers (2000-2001) and the Northern Eagles (2001-2002). In 2001, Hopoate was suspended for ten matches by the NRL conduct committee, on three charges of contrary conduct after being he was found inserting his fingers into the anuses of opposing players as he tackled them. (Sydney Morning Herald, 2005) In 2005, Hopoate was suspended for seventeen matches (the remainder of the season) for striking another player in the head rendering his opponent unconscious (Sydney Morning, Herald, 2005). The Sea Eagles sacked him following the suspension. The same year, Hopoate was banned from rugby league for 12 months after threatening a match official.

In 2018, he was banned by the NRL from having any involvement in Rugby League for ten years after pleading guilty to three counts of contrary conduct and one of striking during a club-level match (ABC, 2018). Outside of Rugby League, Hopoate has been charged with assault twice, once in 2010 and again in 2016 and charged with intimidation in 2013. In both 2013 and 2016, he pleaded guilty to both charges.

Taniela Tupou was another Tongan-born and high-profile rugby player who was reported in the mainstream media for his social media posts in support of Israel Folau.

> "Seriously ?????????? Might as well sack me and all the
> other Pacific Islands rugby players around the world
> because we have the same Christian beliefs ??????,"
> Tupou posted late on Tuesday night.
>
> "I will never apologise for my faith, and what I believe in,
> religion had nothing to do with rugby anyways ????????
> #TYJ" (Stuff, 2019)

Billy Vunipola, an Australian-Tongan rugby player, based at Saracens, who also played for the English Rugby team was reported as also in support of the Christian views promoted by Israel Folau.

> Both posts remain visible on the players' accounts with
> rugby league-bound Luther Burrell among those to have
> liked Vunipola's entry, which the 26-year-old is refusing to
> delete.
>
> "So this morning I got 3 phone calls from people telling
> me to 'unlike' the @izzyfolau post. This is my position on
> it. I don't HATE anyone, neither do I think I'm perfect," the
> Saracens back-row said.
>
> "There just comes a point when you insult what I grew up
> believing in that you just say enough is enough" (New
> Zealand Herald, 2019b)

Pacific Sportsmen challenging Folau's position

Challenging Folau's view of Christianity

As the numbers of stories published increased, rugby players in Australia, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and Ireland were issued warnings about codes of conduct and the values systems of their organisations. Media outlets were reporting comments made by New Zealand born-Pacific athletes overseas. For some Pacific

athletes based in New Zealand and abroad, the period was an opportunity to respond to Israel Folau's comments with their viewpoints.

A social media post written by Ireland-based Samoan-New Zealand rugby player Bundee Aki apologised for his initial support of Israel Folau's 2019 post, and the clarified his personal views on sexual orientation was quoted in the Irish Times.

I just want to address that I mistakenly liked Israel Folau's post without paying any attention to the content," Aki tweeted.

"When I realised what the post was about, I immediately unliked it straight away, as it does not reflect my views as a Christian.

"Yes, I do believe in God, but my belief is that he is a God of kindness, peace and loves people in all aspects.

"I have family members, friends, and I have worked with many people who are gay, and I have nothing but love and respect for every one of them (Irish Times, 2019).

Michael Leitch, a Fijian-New Zealand player who was the captain of the Japan rugby team, was reported in New Zealand media expressing his anger at Folau's comments.

"Israel Folau I am calling you out. I thought your first comment regarding gays going to Hell was outrageous, but this latest post is…this is out the gate and it's so wrong on so many levels.

"To go out and say that if you are homosexual or one of those types of people you're going to Hell – that's a real stab in the heart." (Leitch in Rugby Pass, 2019)

And Australian-born Samoan athlete, Tai Tuivasa was reported as also angry at the comments Folau made

The heavyweight fighter joined the chorus of athletes condemning Folau's homophobic comments, saying he needed "a hiding".

"I know what I've seen that idiot do when he's out and about"," Tuivasa told the Daily Telegraph.

"I've seen you out blind as a skunk carrying on now you wanna be all churchy?

However, Tuivasa said even if Folau has changed his ways, "that's no reason to go around trying to bring other people down"

> "Has he even thought there might be young footballers
> out there following him on social media — kids who are
> 11, 12 — and they're gay? What happens to them when
> they read that at home?" Tuivasa said (news.com.au, in
> New Zealand Herald 2019a)

TVNZ interviewed New Zealand representative rugby player, Nehe Milner-Skudder. He

agreed that as a Pacific role model, Folau had acted irresponsibly. Milner-Skudder

used the interview as an opportunity to speak directly to Pacific gay youth.

> "We should be able to come together and love one
> another and respect each other. Don't let his words
> influence you.
>
> "There are plenty of other people out there spreading
> positive messages trying to empower and uplift our
> people. Love who you are, love who you want to be and
> be kind to others." (TVNZ, 2019)

Media outlets became aware of Samoan-New Zealand rugby player Angus Ta'avao

who had added rainbow laces to his rugby boots during a Waikato Chiefs Super Rugby

match on 19 April 2019. He was interviewed shortly after the match, and he revealed

he had worn rainbow laces on his boot for years prior.

> "I wore them at the Tahs [Waratahs] as well. It's
> something I always wear to show a bit of support
> [because] rugby's for everyone" (Pearson in Stuff, 2019).

Former All Black Michael Jones was notable during his rugby playing days in the 1980s

and 1990s for refusing to play matches on Sundays, due to his Christian beliefs. His

refusal to play on Sunday's resulted in him not being selected for the All Black's 1995

Rugby World Cup team, due to the number of Sunday matches in the schedule. He

had previously missed three Sunday matches during the 1991 Rugby World Cup

campaign. Stuff interviewed Michael Jones, ostensibly about his election to Rugby New

Zealand's Board. The article, which appeared on 19 April 2019 also discussed his

perspectives on the Israel Folau situation, as a player with documented views on

Christianity

> "He's got a good heart, and a strong faith. He's a friend,"
> Jones said. "At the same time, I recognise that, in terms
> of my faith, it's very much a faith built on love and grace.

> "There are members of my family from those
> [gay] communities, and we love them. They're integral in
> our lives and a big part of who we are, and I'm sure Israel
> has that scenario too. We have big families and such
> diverse families (Strang in Stuff, 2019).

Other Pacific voices on Folau's views

As well as the views of Pacific athletes, news.com.au interviewed other Pacific people

with interest in the Christianity that was being expressed by Israel Folau and those

colleagues in support of his comments. One church pastor expressed concern at the

implications of the publicity on people with similar Christian faiths.

> Apostle Taniela Haunga, of the Just Jesus Ministry, said
> when someone like Folau voiced their views, it made it
> harder for others in their religious community. "When
> they're thrown into the same category, people like to
> generalise" (news.com.au, in New Zealand Herald, 2019)

The article also reported on an interview with a Tongan academic who questioned the

approach Israel Folau had taken.

> Dr Tangikina Moimoi Steen, a Tongan researcher at the
> University of South Australia, said people had to be
> responsible for what they said. "For me, people should be
> questioning if that's a Christian thing to say. We are
> taught not to be judgmental" (news.com.au, in New
> Zealand Herald, 2019).

However, Israel Folau's lawyer was reported as endorsing both the views, the

approach to sharing them and Folau's rationale.

> The lawyer - a representative in the Tongan community -
> said Folau's comments had put everyone on notice. "It's
> almost like we have to stand up for ourselves because it's
> something we believe in," he said. "It's pretty much where
> we all stand." (news.com.au, in New Zealand Herald,
> 2019)

Pacific LGBTI academic, Dr Patrick Thomsen lamented, in an article for the e-Tangata

website, that connectedness in a Samoan worldview conflicted with modern Christian

teachings and westernised compartmentalisation of sexual orientation and ethnicity.

> My itulagi (worldview) emphasises my relationships to
> others. I am not Sāmoan and gay. I'm a gay Sāmoan.
> There is no "and". I am both at the same time; not simply

> one at one moment, nor the other in another. These parts relate to each other. They constitute each other.
>
> I have never doubted that Folau represents the dreams and aspirations of one massive part of my community. This narrative is part of all Pacific people's tapestry of experiences. But his insistence on attacking the LGBTIQA+ community represents violence and a willingness to harm another part of my community.
> (Thomsen, 2019)

Dr Thomsen explained that Folau's comments sat within multiple contexts of racism and homophobia, as well as traditional Pacific contexts of relationship maintenance.

Reflection following Israel Folau's departure from Rugby Australia

On 17 May 2019, the employment contract Israel Folau held with Rugby Australia was terminated early, following a hearing which found Folau had breached its Code of Conduct. In August 2019, Israel Folau launched legal action in the Federal Circuit Court of Australia for unlawful termination of employment based on religion, as well as breach of contract and restraint of trade (Robinson, 2019a). He sought compensation of AUD 14 million as well as an apology and the right to play rugby union again (Cormack & Mills, 2019). In December 2019, Rugby Australia issued a joint statement and apology with Folau and announced that a confidential settlement had been reached (Rugby Australia, 2019).

During this period, some Pacific voices reflected on the events and the impacts felt by in Pacific communities. Social media posts by Folau's Pacific rugby playing colleagues about their grief and sadness at his departure from the sport were reported in the media.

> On the eve of the Waratahs' away clash with the Reds on Saturday night, Kerevi posted a photo of the pair on Wallabies duty with the caption: "Tomorrow night won't be the same without you there mana [Fijian for brother]. God's in control, always."
>
> Kepu, a revered senior figure in the Wallabies and particularly among the Pacific Islander contingent, said he would miss his "Toko".
>
> Curtis Rona, in Brisbane preparing for Saturday's Super Rugby game, was clearly hit hard by the news and made

> a number of posts, including a photo of the pair at
> Waratahs training with a passage from the Bible referring
> to persecution.
>
> "Missing you, brother!", Rona posted, followed by a
> passage from the Gospel of John: "If the world hates you,
> be aware that it hated me before it hated you.."
>
> Taniela Tupou also posted a message of support. "Good
> luck with your future endeavours toko! It's definitely been
> an honor (sic) and a privilage (sic) to have played
> alongside you … Ofa atu and God Bless." (Robinson,
> 2019)

Former Otago Highlanders player Seilala Mapusua explained in an interview that young Pacific rugby players in New Zealand, Australia and Europe faced a complex web of pressures. A critical pressure was the brand of loyalty inculcated in rugby training environments.

> "If they support him, they could be wrong. If they don't
> support him, they can feel like they are not a good
> Christian or not a good person. It is a no-win situation.
> They are torn on whether to stand up for Israel, while
> others are saying 'how could you'?" (Caldwell, 2019)

Stuff sporting journalist Paul Cully compared Israel Folau's behaviours of devout religious adherence to those of fellow Pacific athlete Sonny-Bill Williams, who had converted to Islam in 2009. For an article comparing the two sportsmen, he interviewed University of Auckland academic Caleb Marsters on research into young Pacific men and religion.

> "The stuff he does within communities, the refugee
> community, the Pacific community, the mental health stuff
> which he does with Le Va, which is a Pacific mental
> health organisation.
>
> "The way players like Sonny Bill use their platform is
> really important and can have a large influence on our
> communities, and they can influence the views they
> have." (Marsters, in Cully, 2019)

In June 2019, the Kaniva Tonga website investigated the comments posted in the online article posted by Reverend Apelu Tielu more than a year before. The reporter noted that comments posted around the original date of the article supported Israel Folau's views, more recent comments challenged those views.

> Bro Junior Metuangaro wrote: "I hope that by the grace of God, Israel Folau will be more careful how to present the word of God. My prayer is that we should still love those who may not agree with us."

> 'Tupe' wrote: "Why would someone go to Hell because they loved? When I see my cousin and his husband hold hands, I don't think 'Aww he's going to hell.' I think 'Wow, I wish that love and understanding for myself and others.' (Cass, in Kaniva Tonga, 2019)

In December 2019, former church Minister Andre Afamasaga wrote an opinion article which appeared in several media outlets. He noted that the article was a way for him to "publicly come out in response to growing resentment towards LGBTIQ+ people" (Afamasaga, 2019). In the article, he detailed his experiences of using Christianity as a means to escape his sexual orientation. He also explained that his experience as a church minister gave him insights into the way Pacific peoples viewed themselves and the world.

> Lines between church and culture have converged into a set of untouchable rules and assumptions. Pacific diasporas in Australia or New Zealand cannot decipher where today's accepted norms originated from and why.

> What is clear is that a strain of fundamentalism has hijacked Pacific cultures and Christianity, in a manner that exhibits united disgust of all things gay. (Afamasaga, 2019)

Afamasaga agreed with the points made by Thomsen earlier in 2019, that social stratification and hypocrisy were supreme in the ways Pacific leaders, and their followers thought of gay people in Pacific society.

> In a Pacific context, anti-gay stigma casts homosexuals as the ultimate example of societal decay. It is a symptom of a "last days" eschatology. Sermons routinely blame us for causing natural disasters and for undermining cultural purity and family values.

> Critics dissect our sexual habits with no intention of disclosing their own. These sanctimonious double-standards are farcical, but discriminatory and dangerous if legislated. (Afamasaga, 2019)

Summary

The findings in this chapter demonstrated the opinions and viewpoints of Pacific people about same-sex relationships expressed in the social media and reported in the mainstream and online media between April 2018 and June 2019. Among the findings of this chapter, some high-profile Pacific people maintained similar condemnatory opinions discussed in the legislative periods considered earlier. However, this period saw alternative viewpoints emerge, challenging the condemnation, questioning the integrity of decisions to condemn people publicly and affirmation of same-sex relationships. At the same time, Pacific gay men were afforded space in the mainstream media for the first time, as it reported their comments and statements made in the online media.

The next chapter discusses the findings of this study, highlights areas for future study and proposes ways this research could improve the lives of Pacific gay men and other Pacific people.

Chapter 9: Discussion

This Heideggerian hermeneutic study, influenced by Pacific cultural values and guided by the Kakala Research Framework, aimed to answer the following research questions:

- What was the lived experience of Pacific gay men in New Zealand?
- What has been the lived experience of Pacific peoples in New Zealand of changes in legislation related to sexual orientation?

To answer these two questions, I first collated relevant literature about the challenges faced by gay men, legislative change and the ways Pacific peoples in New Zealand see themselves and the world. After this, I undertook talanoa with a cohort of Pacific gay men and with a cohort of four MPs who had experienced relevant legislative change. Public records which represented the viewpoints and opinions of other Pacific people were then analysed. This chapter discusses these findings, the contributions the study makes to academic and public spheres, and limitations of the research. I conclude with proposed areas for additional future research.

The idea of culture was an overarching theme that was integral to the findings of the study. Some participants expressed concern that their upbringings away from villages and in the cities of New Zealand may not have been considered authentically Pacific. At the same time, church leaders attempted to demonstrate their opinions about family form, function, and formation as being cultural knowledge. Perceptions about the authenticity of lived experiences of Pacific cultures was a critical tension in the findings of this study.

The findings are discussed from a starting point of the way individuals relate to their ideas of culture, as seen in observations of research participants and opinions expressed in parliamentary submissions and media articles. This discussion reveals layer by layer, how the lived experiences of Pacific gay men were influenced by family members' perspectives, families' responses to perspectives and collective responses in community settings. Family and community settings were important in the findings,

especially when ideas of culture were applied to the ways individuals, families and communities defined their settings. However, various borderlines emerge in this discussion. These borders emerge between the perspectives, responses and settings that constitute authentic indigenous Pacific knowledge and those reflecting a colonisation of culture.

This discussion, and its layered revelation and critique of authenticity, begins from the perspective of communities. The idea that Pacific peoples see themselves as parts of larger communities was universal across research findings and the literature. The two prominent groups were the family and the church. This chapter discusses findings using the family and the church as its primary lenses.

He kāinga, le aiga, i vuvale – The Family

The findings of this study highlighted the importance of family networks to Pacific people in New Zealand. Talanoa participants P07, Louisa Wall and Kris Faafoi spoke of their families as focal points that inspired them in their careers. Select committee submitters Vui (2012) and Taumoepeau (2012) noted family members actively participated through relationships and knowledge sharing to ensure that children were linked to their identities through understanding their genealogy, language, custom and Pacific homelands. Fairbairn-Dunlop (2014) explained that Pacific family systems enacted resource sharing as one of many mechanisms to enhance both wellbeing and identity for its participants. Families were also spaces of political dynamics (P10), social expectation setting, (P06; P08; P03), and places where history, genealogy and culture grounded the individual (Cowley, 2012; P07; P01; P02; Tafua, 2012; Va'afusuaga, 2012).

Concerning the rights of Pacific gay men, it was surprising to find these universal definitions of Pacific family characteristics applied in settings that supported improved rights as well as those settings that opposed them. This discovery was confronting, especially when applied to settings and experiences where the rights of Pacific gay

men were opposed, such as the select committee submissions of Tafua (2012), Taumoepeau (2012), Va'afusuaga (2012) and Vui (2012). Among submissions, two ideas emerged. The first was that mothers were central to families in Pacific cultural settings and traditions. The second was that concern for the harmonious future of generations to come was a characteristic of Pacific worldviews and ideas of family. Considering these led this study to explore the role of mothers in how Pacific family systems were defined, and how they contributed to knowledge systems that could span support and opposition for improved rights for Pacific gay men.

Hierarchy, women, safety

P07 explained that in his adolescence, his mother became worried about his wellbeing as a future gay man (P07). His mother's concern for the next generation was mirrored by family matriarch Va'afusuaga in her select committee submission opposing the Marriage (Definition of Marriage) Amendment Bill. Luamanuvao Winnie Laban's recollection of her mother taking on the abusive talk-back callers extended the consideration. Not only was Winnie's mother speaking for her daughter, but she was also concerned for the young sex-workers who may be impacted by the Prostitution Law Reform Bill being defeated. P01 reflected that he battled the same concerns held by a prominent Pacific woman who also opposed the same legislation.

For the Pacific gay men who participated, the power of women in family systems was a critical aspect in their safety as out gay men. As Fairbairn-Dunlop (2014), Kalavite (2010), Koloto & Sharma (2005), Niumeitolu (1993), Sumeo (2016) and Tu'itahi (2009) all suggest, Pacific extended families benefited from a hierarchical system where women were concerned that future generations were planned for, that resources were gathered and that relationships were directed to harmoniously secure wellbeing. For P10, P07 and P01, women in their family hierarchies directed men to ensure their son's and grandson's protection when sexual orientation or outward effeminacy was confronted. Notably, the direction was not *directive* nor episodic; instead, it was something that the men knew to enact based on the relationship with the matriarch.

Conversely, for P09 and P06, the directive and episodic actions of their mothers led to experiences of vulnerability.

These findings are a pathway into this study's exploration of network and hierarchy, as well as the constituent elements of authentic Pacific indigenous knowledge. As the findings demonstrate, the network is concerned for its most vulnerable, its children and young people. Furthermore, those children are a focal point for understanding the composition and operation of family systems in the literature (Anae, 1998; Fairbairn-Dunlop, 2014; Fehoko, 215; Helu, 1999). Women were important in family hierarchies as the holders of familial knowledge, recipients of gifted wealth for planned distribution and the operatives bringing money into family networks (Efi, 2014; Fairbairn-Dunlop, 2014; Koloto & Sharma, 2005; Niumeitolu 1993; Sumeo, 2018). Therefore, the women in these findings, regardless of their moral stance, were undertaking an indigenous Pacific role of concern for the young, considering social, mental and physical wellbeing, and planning for the future.

Indigenous and non-indigenous ideas of power in families

Another way to view the place and role of women in Pacific familial hierarchies is to consider power dynamics. Moengangongo (1986) and Niumeitolu (1993) noted that in Tongan systems, a vertical hierarchy equated the vestige of power to the compulsion of responsibility and care for others. This study found that among many families, people had their jobs to do and were relied on to contribute to the family. Family negotiations drowned out P10's concern about potential anti-gay sentiment. Those negotiations also demonstrated his confidence that the process had not shut people out of the conversation, but that they had been asked to be considerate to their relatives. They had been engaged in a family system to show care for another, and they contributed. This experience demonstrated that hierarchies replaced ideas of power with ideas of service.

Moreover, differential rankings and deferential behaviours point to the abundance of power that flows through indigenous Pacific family systems. Elders, as seen among the older talanoa participants, the family elders who submitted or were referred to in select committee submissions, are revered for their wisdom, from years of service. Children are celebrated in family settings, and universally cherished for the potential they offer and the signal of a future they provide. Youth are encouraged to be the adopters of new technology and to bring ideas into the family while adults are relied upon for their balance of energy and experience.

Each of these positions in the family life-course denotes a sphere of power. Each has the power to command a level of concern from others in the family because each group has a contribution to make. These contributions are seen in the literature as the cultivation of the *tofi* inheritance by sharing the *aganu'u* culture (Fonoti, 2011) and the *veirogorogoci* communications (Nainoca, 2011) that enhances the family. Therefore, the authentic indigenous family is a space where power is abundant; people are confident in their contribution to others; knowledge through culture is the guide and hierarchies are organisations that activate.

This view of the family contrasts with the research findings from select committee submissions opposing the Marriage (Definition of Marriage) Amendment Bill. Various submissions (Finau et al., 2012; Hastie, 2012; Vui et al., 2012) proposed that the family, in a Pacific context, was the same as the western construct of the nuclear family. Collins (2012) claimed that villages were the support base to immediate biological parents; however, Helu (1999) pointed out that while the family system involved parents and children, it did not exclusively comprise of them as individual units joined together.

These findings support the ideas from the literature that in indigenous Pacific terms, the *aiga*, the *vuvale*, the *kāinga* and the family system is a dynamic mix of people, relationships, traditions, expectations, activities and outcomes. This mix is dynamic to the needs of the people and external forces at any given time (Helu, 1999). As the

literature speaks to a dynamic network of people working in concert to ensure wellbeing, the experiences of P01, P07, and P10 demonstrate the indigenous family system working to enhance wellbeing on indigenous terms. Conversely, matriarchs acting alone to cast out undesirables is not compatible with an indigenous view of family or wellbeing.

He kāinga, he 'ilo: The family and knowledge

Exploring what a family is by what it does was a revealing process for this study. This process, however, became the pathway towards understanding the roles of families in knowledge creation, production and maintenance. This element of the discussion is critical as it re-examines some findings to draw out additional ideas of indigenous knowledge for later critical discussion. The findings of the study identified a diversity of experiences and opinions about the nature of knowledge production and the role of the family in learning.

Pacific gay men recalled their families being the places where they learned about what was expected of them based on church teachings (P06; P03). Other Pacific gay men learned about cultural connections to the land (P05), to genealogy (P01) and identity (P02). For the MPs who participated, family systems were spaces where they were allowed to challenge stated knowledge, encouraged by the wisdom of their elders. It is essential to recognise that these learnings were not a linear accumulation of information. Instead, participants learned by listening to a conversation, maintaining relationships, direct conversation with elders, song and dance and participation in events. In the media coverage of opposition to the marriage legislation, families brought children to marches, held Tongan language banners and participated in Tongan cultural brass band music.

The family system is recognised as the heart of Pacific worldviews and cultural traditions (Koloto & Sharma, 2005; Niumeitolu, 1993; Sumeo, 2018; Tamasese, Peteru & Waldegrave, 2004; Wilson, 2016). Wilson (2016) highlighted that family systems

enhanced the development of language as a form of indigenous cultural knowledge. The importance of Wilson's findings to this study was that not only was the acquisition of language beneficial to the user and the family but the classification of language as a *tofi,* an inheritance, supported the role of the family as key to the indigenous Samoan knowledge-building experience. Family hierarchies, relationships, and events provided other opportunities for knowledge transfer, encouragement to learn, and frameworks of knowledge maintenance. Tamasese, Peteru & Waldegrave (2004) found that cultural knowledge was often grown and maintained as family members cared for relatives with significant physical and mental health needs. The connection between carer and patient was a source of and reason for learning in its own right, in addition to information passed between participants.

The prevalence of the relationship between people as an active and passive space of learning highlights the importance of Pacific worldview ideas of the *va* as a sacred space. The *va* is foundational to the way Pacific individuals see themselves as parts of collectives. When viewed through its contribution to family-level knowledge creation, the literature of the *tauhi va* as a determiner of family members' presence for specific tasks (Lutui, 2007; Niumeitolu, 2007) is confirmed. When combined with ideas of matriarchial hierarchies enacting family networks based on a concern for the future, the *va* is a robust and logical framework to understand the person-to-person aspect of knowledge creation. Also, the knowledge creation by relationship aspect of the *tauhi va* is both enhanced and made more accessible for non-expert audiences when Vaioleti's (2006) explanation of the *talanoa* is recounted, *talking about nothing* helps the communicators understand another, and themselves, better and be open to sharing information. Also, the instinctive-ness of trust in the relationship is grown.

Research findings highlight the importance of active family systems of relationships, planning, and events to the indigenous approach to knowledge creation. As P01 explained through observing his grandfather, and as Wilson (2016) noted, indigenous knowledge systems celebrated each individual's presence in the *va* as a recipient of

the *tofi* and each person's participation. These systems propose that knowledge is innate in everyone, ready for cultivation and the gift for cherishing is both the information taught and the people teaching, transmitting and learning. In the family, knowledge becomes a force that is dynamic, unstoppable, unquantifiable, where power is irrelevant, and it is unable to be commodified.

Family knowledge and their gay sons and brothers

This chapter has so far established the platform of Pacific families in an indigenous worldview as dynamic combinations of people, activity, purpose and a unique knowledge framework. With this platform in place, it is possible to explore the lived experiences of Pacific gay men and their families from an indigenous standpoint. There is no literature which specifically addresses an indigenous family view of accepting gay men, and this discussion relies on the platform established.

This study found that effeminacy or coming out were the first opportunities that families and gay men had to interact on the subject of sexual orientation or gender identity. Settings were an essential factor, as P01's experience of being told to stop singing, dancing and running around was premised by being moved to New Zealand. His grandfather reminded him of his place in the family, their aspirations for his education and the contribution he would make to the family in the future. His grandfather enhanced his knowledge about his identity and place in the world by referring to family and a purpose. Significantly, his grandfather also demarcated the indigenous world of the *Fa'asamoa*, which celebrated his effeminacy, from the colonising world of New Zealand with its expectations of masculinity.

Some participants recalled that as naturally effeminate children, their siblings, cousins and elders would label them as "fafa". Tension has emerged in the literature about naming gay men in Pacific cultures. One group posits that the terms used to identify people with unique Pacific gender identities are also applicable to gay men under terms that are spectral (Alexeyeff & Besnier, 2011; Halapua, 2008). However, people who live

with the MVPFAFF gender identities desired to have the terms focused on them as an alternative to the binary male-female space (Brown-Acton, 2011; Toelupe, 2011; Poiva, 2015). Participants, as a group, also experienced a tension about the words used to name their sexual orientation. For some, to be *gay* was not to be Pacific. P01, P02, P07 and P09 all recognised that to name sexual orientation was to add to their description of identity. For P01 and P07, their cultural knowledge from their families led them to *Fa'afafine*. For P01, his upbringing and links via Matai to the Samoan village led him to be considered by others as credible. However, for P07, his upbringing in New Zealand meant that Fa'afafine would not accept his identity in Samoa. For P02, the knowledge of the village identity led him away from self-identifying as *Fa'afafine* and for P09, not seeing himself as *Fa'afafine* was a barrier to fulfilling the family and village expectation of a *matai* chiefly title.

Those recollections from P07, P09, and P10 about being labelled as *"fafa"* expose the family's use of the label to activate traditional knowledge about gender identity and their desire for their sons/brothers/cousins wellbeing. The term *Fa'afafine* invokes the pre-coloniser histories and establishes the identity based on service, responsibility, and knowledge transfer. The English-language alternative of *gay* denotes difference from an established norm. It makes the *normal* heterosexual powerful and the *abnormal* gay person powerless.

Instead, the Pacific term denotes normality and power abundance, as recognition of their service, alongside everyone else's. As P06 noted, the Tongan-language alternative transliterated from English church knowledge was *fakasotoma,* sodomite. Therefore, the actions of labelling their children as *"fafa"*, instead of *gay* or *fakasotoma* points again to the availability of indigenous knowledge in family relationships. It also highlights families' authentic desire to enhance the young man's identity and knowledge base by using a label that was aligned to the Pacific worldview ideas about families, people and service. This desire is compatible with the stated aims of family

hierarchies of concern for young and planning for the future by enhancing identity and teaching history.

Moreover, for participants, this relationship maintenance in the family was influential in their success. For P07, his journey of *Fa'afafine* gender and orientation identity played out as service to the LGBTI community as a compassionate and welcoming drag queen. His inherent understanding of service in his identity led to his working with other Pacific drag queens to change the images from being bitchy to welcoming for LGBTI questioning, fearing, closeted and newly outed people.

From the findings of this study, the authentic indigenous ideas of Pacific family systems emerged as a complex and dynamic grouping of relationships, influences, purposes, outcomes and implications. Willingness in *aiga* to activate kinship to pursue wellbeing through enhancing already inherent knowledge was a hallmark of its indigeneity and authenticity. The result of these systems, their activities and their cultural settings was the growth of authentic indigenous knowledge, in and for the family system. For Pacific gay men, the authentic indigenous family was a place where they first and foremost were nurtured as kin. The secondary stage of nurturing was to apply this authentic indigenous knowledge. This expanded the gay man's knowledge-base by offering a personal identity that linked to the larger family institution and was recognisable in a cultural setting. The authentic Pacific way was to celebrate and nurture the gay son, and his choices of partner or life course.

This experience dramatically contrasts westernised constructs of nuclear families challenged by gay men wanting to marry proposed in the select committee submissions. The tension experienced by some participants dissipated as indigenous knowledge became more prominent in the family's modus operandi, while others with unresolved tension recognised the power of non-indigenous behaviours. In the indigenous Pacific family system, participants were reassured against concerns about individual relationship tensions, mainly parent-child confrontations due to the existence

of wider hierarchical and knowledge systems. Those systems offered increased nurturing as the families adopted indigenous thinking.

Ko'e lotu – The Church

The findings of this study highlighted that church organisations and denominations, church communities, and church ministers were significant in the way Pacific people saw themselves and their place in the world. P03 explained that the church community became an extension of the family in teaching him about connections to culture through language, food and relationships. P01 and P05 noted that church communities came together to understand new health and social welfare information and discuss ways it could support their families. For P10, the contrast between the *Pālangi* and Samoan churches of his childhood let him witness his mother's cultural enrichment found by crossing into an authentically *Fa'asamoa* church community.

Churches were also places of power dynamics. The Vahefonua Tonga o Aotearoa and Tongan Catholic Chaplaincy of Auckland submissions to select committee stated each group's desire to demonstrate authority. They desired to represent not only thousands of people but also the right to speak for them. P05 witnessed that authority when a church minister corrected him in front of an audience by virtually repeating his original statement.

The tension between ministers' assumption of power and the consideration taking place within congregations demonstrates that church structures were not an extension of indigeneity witnessed in the family. As the literature noted, churches in the Pacific region were the invention of the London Missionary Society whose job was to evangelise Christianity in the 1800s ('Ahio, 2007; Anae, 1998; Niumeitolu, 2007). The history of establishing the church in Tonga became important to the findings of this study, especially the number of Tongan people who expressed condemnation of gay men. Both 'Ahio (2007) and Niumeitolu (2007) explained that missionaries' had learned that impressing the top of the social hierarchy was the primary pathway towards

support needed to establish their churches. The missionaries' modus operandi was to impress the royal and noble classes with *miraculous* feats and to overwhelm leaders with new information from the Bible.

The framing of Biblical texts was also important. The Bible, as a collection of published historical texts from foreign, non-Pacific, places was revolutionary to the oral traditions of the region. Also, compared to the complexity of existing indigenous knowledge systems, the Biblical texts were direct. As the Mafutaga Faifeau o Wellington, Israel Folau and P03's mother all pointed out, the verses of Corinthians 6:9 and Galatians 5:19-21 told adherents what would happen if they disobeyed. The direct and instructive nature of the texts, combined with the readymade congregations from the endorsement of royalty and noble leaders, created the church system.

Churches, power and hierarchy

The findings of this study display a tension between families' indigenous activation of hierarchy for wellbeing and the manipulation of church systems by some clergy to accumulate and consolidate power. The Vahefonua Tonga o Aotearoa demonstrated its consolidation of power by claiming to the select committee that its opinions about marriage were held by the "vast, overwhelming majority of Christians in the World" (Veikune et al., 2012). The Tongan Catholic Chaplaincy complained that changing the Marriage Act would undermine its position of power in society.

Following the unquestioning and automatic acceptance of missionaries by Pacific leadership hierarchies ('Ahio, 2007; Moa, 2014; Niumeitolu, 2007), the gradual growth of church leaders' entitlement to self-identify as powerful forces seems to have been a natural and logical progression. Niumeitolu (2007) noted that missionaries' endorsement by nobility shielded them from having to build congregations person by person, and they did not face dissension in villages. Also, in the Tongan context, missionaries witnessed a particularly brutal model of social hierarchy (Niumeitolu,

2007) which they translated as fear by lower-ranked people of higher ranked people.

Fear in social rankings mirrored the Christian theology of the 1800s (Guy, 2000).

In the 2010s, Pacific parishioners were exposed to this foreign idea of hierarchy as power dynamic while attempting to navigate their indigenous understandings. This tension among parishioners manifested itself in the select committee submission from Tafua (2012) who admitted

> "I understand why gay couples want to marry ... So why do I oppose this Bill? I am genuinely worried about the rights of the conservative minority groups (especially religious) who will continue to teach and preach traditional values".

Tafua demonstrated that among parishioners called to support efforts to defeat the proposed changes to the Marriage Act, some saw this opposition through the indigenous eyes of wellbeing for their diverse families. However, they wanted to be loyal to their church leaders. Tafua's submission crystalises the tension between indigenous ideas of family, wellbeing, love, community and leadership, and the colonised ideas of the church as powerful, and the permanence of direct Biblical teaching condemning homosexuals to hell.

The emphatic welcome that village elites offered the first missionaries led to existing hierarchies being subsumed by the new churches. Churches replaced hierarchies that guided family systems through spirituality (Moa, 2014), family formation (Efi, 2014) and social support (Niumeitolu, 2007) with an imposed new order. Integral to that order was the notion that power was held at the top of hierarchies and was acquired at the expense of others, as interpreted through their witnessing of brutality among isolated Tongan nobles (Niumeitolu, 2007). This idea of power was incompatible with Pacific indigenous ideas that hierarchies were focused on activating family networks to harmoniously achieve wellbeing. This contrast also demonstrated that while churches perceived power to be a force held over people, among families, power was something held between groups to achieve an outcome of wellbeing.

The other aspect of the church from research findings is the implications of its structures, practices, and protocols on the production and dissemination of knowledge.

Knowledge in church systems and indigenous family knowledge

Pacific people in church congregations found themselves confronted by a tension between their experiences of indigenous family settings and the construction of rote-learned Biblical chapter and verse. The critical tension experienced among research participants was the influence of the church over their families' lives, more than being in the church as a physical space. The outside-family space is highlighted in the literature as the expansion of intra-familial networks into the villages or the island ('Ahio, 2007; Efi, 2014; Niumeitolu, 2007; Torren, 1990).

Participants witnessed this influence through:

- relatives' prioritising support for churches condemnatory practices and teachings over their protests,
- parental focus on Bible passages during coming out, or
- the church as a setting for parents to inform their young men about their obligations as potential fathers.

This tension was also seen in select committee submissions that defined the nuclear family as Pacific and claimed direct linkages between nuclear families and villages (Collins, 2012) as well as nuclear families and ideas of genealogy (Taumoepeau, 2012).

The findings of this study reveal a tension between the indigenous family approach to constructing and developing knowledge, through the *va,* and the simplified and transactional nature of knowledge production in churches. The influence of the church is the result of Pacific people and their families' attempts to navigate the shallowness of interpretations of church knowledge systems and their protocols of power-hunger. The submissions by Collins and Taumoepeau demonstrate that each wanted to frame a discussion about church teaching on sexual orientation from the perspective of the

family. This intention illustrates their natural inclination towards seeing the world through the eyes of welfare for people in a family. However, the over-arching theme of their submissions was a defence of the church's interpretation of marriages of nuclear families as central to Pacific cultural life.

The church itself became a focal point for P08, as he discovered his aunt's concern about her beloved church being criticised. Instead of considering the wellbeing of her nephew, P08 witnessed his aunt's prioritisation of the church's image over his desire for equal rights under the law. P08's experience of his aunt's interpretation of a church's public relations risk demonstrates the potential for family systems to be split between those whose experience led them to prioritise the indigenous Pacific view, and the assumed authority and power possessed by corporatised church organisations. For P03 and P06, that prominence shifted from the church to the Bible as the centre stage focus of their parents' condemnation of their coming out.

To appear more credible, churches emulated ideas of hierarchy to convince indigenous-thinking families that its version was authentic. The term *faletua* was lifted from a village leader's position and bestowed on the wife of a minister, who commanded respect and service from youth in the congregation (P09). However, those churches had realised in the 1820s that the indigenous cultural traditions valued trust. After using their connections to elites to demonstrate authenticity, churches emulated cultural traditions to promote biblical teachings as cultural teachings. The role of the church Minister became included in social hierarchies (Kalavite, 2010) and churches adopted structures of committees, groups and activities to emulate the village (Anae, 1998)

As more families and communities settled in New Zealand, churches transplanted traditional cultural teaching spaces into many urban settings. Early on, churches became the safe cultural havens for first-generation Pacific New Zealand families. Churches allowed them to maintain languages and cultural ceremonial traditions,

especially in trying circumstances following Dawn Raids and negative media attention. (Anae, 1998; Wilson, 2017).

Church hierarchies leveraged their power by emulating cultural traditions and hierarchies to transfer knowledge from the Bible to congregations. The Tongan Catholic Chaplaincy referred to itself as "a catalyst to aid belonging, participating and growing in the Catholic faith" (Motulalo et al., 2012). As a catalyst that aided belonging, it claimed to speak for 7000 people. It also argued that while heterosexuals could share in Gods gifts of creation, same-sex couples could not. Additionally, Hastie (2012) claimed that same-sex relationships lacked the necessary elements of humanity to raise children. P07's parenting by sperm donorship and a surrogate mother proved that same-sex couples could indeed both share in Gods gifts, and contribute to humanity, by procreating.

The willingness of parishioners like Hastie to go on public record claiming that people in same-sex couples were less humane demonstrate the levels of trust parishioners placed in their religious leaders. Similarly, the placards reported in the New Zealand Herald and on Tagata Pasifika which claimed that "gays and lesbi[ans]s copied animals" and that "marriage was only for human beings", demonstrated that these parishioners unquestioningly believed in the cause that their church had rallied them to support.

The hostility expressed in the Lotofale'ia placards and the disproven claims made by Hastie and the Tongan Catholic Chaplaincy are attempts by people to navigate a colonised knowledge system using indigenous knowledge. Each remained concerned for the wellbeing of others, trustful of social leaders and believed themselves to be enriched by the Biblical teachings from their churches. Notably, out of extra-familial trust, congregations attempted to compensate for the relative shallowness of Biblical teaching, by conflating those teachings, such as the list of hell-bound people in Corinthians 6:9 and Galatians 5:19-21, with their indigenous-led focus on families (Ah Poe, 2012; Folau, 2018; Folau, 2019; Hastie, 2012).

Exposing Biblical and church teaching highlights the critical differences between the characteristics of indigenous knowledge in Pacific families and knowledge imparted by Churches. As the characteristics of indigenous knowledge in Pacific families have been discussed earlier in this chapter, I will focus on those characteristics of church-originated knowledge. The church knowledge can be characterised as novel and simplistic. Its novelty stemmed from its importation with missionaries as the written word, which was a foreign concept to indigenous oral and active knowledge traditions. Whereas ideas conveyed in indigenous-Pacific knowledge were complex and relevant to multiple domains, the ideas conveyed in the Bible were straightforward, such as the list of people destined to Hell in Corinthians 6:9.

The knowledge construct was a vital characteristic in assessing the depth of church-originated knowledge in Pacific communities. Information presented in written form as a book indicated knowledge as a discreet entity for consumption. The evolution of formalised church services created time boundaries for that consumption, and the knowledge held by the minister denoted that information consumption was transactional.

The advent of time-bound and transactional information transfer introduced the idea that knowledge was a commodity to be acquired. The minister-to-congregation relationship emulated the nobility or elite to community relationship or the *fahu* to *kainga* relationship. Therefore knowledge transactions took place in a quasi-cultural environment. The addition of titles such as *faletua* enhanced the attempts at cultural environment emulation (P09). As a result of a semi-recognisable environment, parishioners could begin to understand their information-consumption on the same knowledge-transfer terms as they saw in their families.

The power attribute helps further to explain the final characteristic of knowledge as a commodity. Missionaries' learnings about hierarchy from brutal examples of Tongan nobility (Niumeitolu, 2007) were combined with the power inherent in Biblical teaching to have an additional effect on Pacific congregations. Church ministers used chapters

similar to Corinthians 6:9 and Galatians 5:19-21 to teach their congregations that those destined to Hell were less desirable and less powerful than themselves. In turn, parishioners learned that as recipients of this valuable knowledge about avoiding Hell, they had found *power* to avoid Hell (Su'a & Leasi, 2012). This power was passed from God to the Bible, Bible to minister and minister to the congregation. By introducing the idea of power and dynamics in a quasi-cultural setting, with God at the top, churches had manipulated Pacific notions about systems to normalise the idea that hierarchy equated to power.

Summary of discussion about families, churches, power and knowledge

This study has found that Pacific gay men, Pacific MPs and people from other Pacific communities experienced a tension between knowledge generated in the family environment and knowledge created in churches. The findings pointed to families ability to activate indigenous knowledge creation systems. These systems extended from ancient Pacific cultural histories and worldviews and set out to enrich the wellbeing of everyone involved. The tension, especially for gay men, was that the knowledge created in churches lacked compatibility with Pacific worldviews. Instead, church teachings were shallow and imposed ideas of hierarchy and power. While the comparatively shallow teachings of churches created numerous implications for gay men's navigation of society, a larger question emerged about the persistence of homophobic marginalisation. These factors made it normalised among Pacific communities and its contrast to stated worldviews about wellbeing.

The next section of this discussion considers the research findings of Pacific families' and communities' transitions of church spaces with indigenous knowledge. This section will also consider the tension caused by churches in response to increased indigenous knowledge and the associated implications for gay men.

Navigating our way to reclaim indigenous spaces outside the family

This study found that churches had increasingly become responsive to the indigenous knowledge of their families and communities. P03 noted that the Seventh Day Adventist Church of his upbringing had integrated the church's vegetarian doctrines with various non-meat dishes from the different Pacific Island communities represented in the congregation. His experience of churches as spaces for communities to maintain traditions, aligned to the findings from both Anae (1998) and Wilson (2017), that churches were a readymade space for Samoan language preservation activities to continue.

P05 noted that he was often called on to speak to church communities about health policies and available health promotion programmes. Churches also became places where Pacific families and communities could be gathered to learn about available resources (Counties Manukau District Health Board, 2017; Esau, 2005; Ministry of Health, 2019). Churches also offered opportunities for pre-school children to receive an education based on indigenous knowledge transfer such as relationships with other children and elders, song, dance and folklore (Latu, 2009).

The integration of indigenous family and knowledge systems indicated that authentic Pacific knowledge was gaining a hold on some church spaces. Kris Faafoi pointed out that as churches began witnessing families' acceptance of gay people, church Ministers changed their opinions about opposing improved rights for gay people. Also, Louisa Wall highlighted the unofficial encouragement she received from senior clergy figures in the Tongan Methodist Church. These findings suggest the indigenous knowledge among some families was reflected in some congregations and warrants further investigation to clarify the relationship between family knowledge, church transition and a minister's opinions.

Other findings from this study suggest that for some churches and church leaders, the increased indigenous knowledge threatened the prevalence of entrenched church

power dynamic thinking. The example P05 gave of the church minister who corrected him by requoting him to an audience, demonstrated that church ministers could become frustrated at the loss of power to determine a spiritual message in front of an audience. The findings of this study, especially those seen in the select committee submissions and news articles from 2018 and 2019, demonstrate the tensions between churches attempts to maintain their power and families' increased acceptance of gay people.

Implications of reclaiming spaces on gay men

Thomsen (2012) proposed that Samoan people's affinity to hierarchy has actively pushed *Fa'afafine* and gay people to the bottom of society. The findings of this study suggest that church-originated knowledge gave Samoans and other Pacific families and communities a sense that they belonged to higher echelons than gay people in a power-oriented hierarchy. The earnest nature of Israel Folau's defences for condemning gays to Hell illustrates an incomplete indigenous attempt to appease the hierarchical and simplistic characteristics of his church knowledge. The inadequacies of his approach were highlighted in the responses by Reverend Tielu (2018) and Lauuli Michael Jones (2019). As each explained, the diversity and wellbeing of families is the most important consideration. They also highlighted the need for Biblical interpretations to be aligned to the authentically Pacific worldview.

The contrast offered by Reverend Tielu offered an opportunity to question the semantics of colonised condemnation of homosexuality in addition to the Pacific language terms already discussed. Those select committee submissions that sat with the tension between church opposition and indigenous family ideas referred to "people with different sexual orientations" (Va'afusuaga, 2012) and "gay people" (Tafua, 2012), explicitly noting that people were implicated in the discussion. However, the institutions that opposed the law change *othered* gay people by referring to "the gay and lesbian community" (Toleafoa & Wong, 2012) and "same-gender relations" (Motulalo et al., 2012). As institutions othered Pacific gay men, they reinforced their entrenched ideas

that communities were power-dynamic hierarchies with quickly definable desirables and undesirables.

The media was another information domain where an indigenous or coloniser knowledge system emerged. The mainstream non-Pacific news media commodified negative imagery about Pacific peoples to meet commercial imperatives. In response, Pacific agencies were established to provide an alternative media picture. In addition to an alternative commercial imperative that avoided the mainstream brand of commodification, Pacific media outlets intrinsically knew that oral traditions, invoking discussion about wellbeing and celebrating culture were natural elements of Pacific media discourse (Faafoi, 2018; P01; Tagata Pasifika, 2013).

For Pacific gay men, this meant that forums were available that would not only consider a non-homophobic narrative; they would also consider their wellbeing and Pacific identities. The freedom Pacific media platforms had from the *negative commodity* imperative of the mainstream outlets also meant that less prominent Pacific voices were likely to appear and be influential. The potential for influence was proven when Tagata Pasifika heard the claim that Reverend Kauirma Fai'ai would happily marry a same-sex couple and members of Tongan communities wrote comments in favour of the blogpost by Reverend Apelu Tielu.

Pacific gay men demonstrated that the authentic Pacific indigenous family experience applied to them in their explorations of relationships, marriage and family. For P04, planning for his wedding included pondering the Fijian religious and spiritual ceremonies that he might, or might not, have access to. As parents, P06 and P07 enthusiastically attempted to continue traditions of knowledge building through relationships with extended family and teaching about family tradition. P07's adamance that his children would be named for the matriarchs of the family, as well as speaking Samoan in the home was his ongoing link and contribution to the Fa'asamoa. For P06, despite trying circumstances in the early years of his children's lives, teaching his children about family lore and traditions was essential. All three participants

instinctively knew that maintaining links to spirituality, genealogy and knowledge were vital for the wellbeing of their families, and in the absence of hierarchies to direct them, they knew to activate what resources they had.

The contributions of these participants to ongoing cultural traditions and enhancement of worldviews resolve one of the most prominent questions that plagued many younger participants. That question was "am I authentically Pacific?" Participants had talanoa with me about the landscapes, locations, languages, foods, relationships and knowledge systems of their childhoods. Despite the enthusiasm to talanoa, participants questioned the authenticity of their upbringings. P05 contrasted his upbringing to a *real* Fiji, P04 lamented losing traditions by not living in the *fale*, P03 called his upbringing *Pālangi,* and P07 travelled to Fiji to understand his *Fa'afafine* identity better.

Who could blame them for not being convinced about the authenticity of their upbringings? Church ministers established systems, structures and titles to emulate traditional ethnic and cultural protocols (Anae, 1998; Niumeitolu, 2007), as well as promote their power-hierarchy ideologies, and Biblical teaching condemning homosexuality. Those participants who questioned the authenticity of their cultural experience were recipients of prominent social institutions' inventing *authentic* definitions of Pacific culture, which included their overt and covert condemnation of homosexuality. The findings of this study show that Pacific gay men were firmly entrenched in authentic indigenous ideas of Pacific family, culture and knowledge.

This study has found that Pacific gay mens' lived experience in New Zealand is one of the significant contributions to families and communities. This exploration has encountered their experiences of upbringings, social settings, relationships and hostility. By exploring the hostility they faced, this study was able to question the authenticity of claims of cultural knowledge by respected Pacific social institutions. By comparing experiences of hostility to other experiences of family, this study was able to explore the composition of indigenous knowledge in the family environment and the

construction of knowledge in the premier extra-familial institution in Pacific societies, the church.

I did not expect to critique the basis of knowledge underpinning the hostilities that participants, and other Pacific gay men, as well as other Pacific LGBTI and MVPFAFF people, have faced. Happily, this study also found that Pacific indigenous knowledge was active in evolving church environments. This would reduce the incidence and risk of future hostilities to the next generations of Pacific LGBTI and MVPFAFF people. The findings of this study propose implications for academic research about Pacific communities, LGBTI and MVPFAFF people, policy and methodology which are discussed next. After discussing the impacts, this chapter will consider its limitations and areas for future research.

Contributions this study makes

This study makes significant contributions to research about Pacific peoples, Pacific gay men, other LGBTIQ and MVPFAFF people, research methodologies and policy. As an original piece of research, this study is the first time the voices of Pacific gay men have been heard discussing their lived experience of Pacific worldviews and cultures.

Contributions to Pacific academy

This study breaks new ground in the exploration of what makes Pacific peoples in New Zealand unique and successful. Learning about the tension between indigenous knowledge and colonised imposed knowledge has implications for studies about Pacific peoples progress through life stages, our problem-solving capabilities and the ways that families and communities interact with one another.

This study critiques previous academic endeavours that have promoted Pacific churches as crucial spaces of authentic cultural knowledge as well as extends the community's exploration of appropriate uses for Pacific gender identity terms. It also contributes to our knowledge of the frameworks of marginalisation inside Pacific communities.

Contributions to methodology

This study makes contributions to both Heideggerian Hermeneutic Phenomenology and the Kakala Research Methodology. These contributions are made in humble gratitude to their original authors and their hopes for society and knowledge.

As I embarked on the research design for this study, with a vivid mental picture of *Kahoa* and *Kakala* weaving, I was concerned at the heteronormativity embedded in events at which *Kakala* were presented. In the *anga fakatonga,* the Kakala was symbolic of familial hierarchies, events such as weddings or funerals, and these processes excluded gay people, in my experience, and as hostile communities were desperate to assert. Therefore, I held deep concerns that applying the Kakala Research Methodology to a study that would ultimately challenge the hierarchies and traditions it was a symbol of, would be offensive to its authors and other Tongans.

As a result of this study, the Kakala, while still a symbol and embodiment of ceremonies and Tongan cultures of hierarchy, can be applied to non-heteronormative worldviews. As I write this section, in a sense a stage of *mafana* or consideration of the best for the community, I am struck that any offence taken at the use of *Kakala* in settings that challenge Tongan heteronormativity have missed the point. The flowers in the garden were still fragrant; the stories of the Pacific gay men still contributed to knowledge-bases both pan-Pacific and ethnic-specific. At the same time, I am resolute that the Kakala Research Methodology offered this study a framework that recognised the complexity, dynamics and reciprocity inherent in Pacific indigenous knowledge.

Contributions to Pacific communities

The findings of this study are humbly offered to our communities in reciprocation for my exposure to cultural knowledge. I also offer this study in concern for the wellbeing of future generations of Pacific people, especially our LGBTI and MVPFAFF people today and in the future. This study tells our Pacific families that it is okay to 'ofa each other, whomever they may be or love. This study tells our Pacific LGBTI and MVPFAFF

people that we are part of enduring cultures of service and knowledge, the words we use denote our place in care, reciprocity, harmony, and history. If our lives take us to those places, we are those ancient words. This study tells our Pacific churches that by letting go of the condemnatory theology and celebrating the LGBTI and MVPFAFF people as part of our families, your authenticity as Pacific spaces increases exponentially.

Contributions to Policy

This study highlights an insider-outsider knowledge tension that has significant implications for current policy settings and future policy directions. This study found that Pacific people, families and communities, interpret information from external, non-Pacific sources using Pacific indigenous knowledge systems. It also found that the basis of knowledge between the two is fundamentally incompatible. This incompatibility will impact future policy proposals, the framing of social and economic benefit in family systems, legislative and funding frameworks seeking policy efficacy, and operationalisation among Pacific policy users.

Limitations of this study

A range of limitations influenced the journey of this research, the insights and learnings gained and conclusions that have been reached. The most significant are:

- I worked with small cohorts of participants to explore their lived experiences in-depth and to elicit rich data. While the findings point to the richness of the data, the small sample size would not be entirely representative of the Pacific gay men's population in New Zealand.

  - Also, I had hoped to talanoa with Pacific gay men who lived ostensibly as heterosexuals, but who had sex with men regularly. Colloquially, these men are known as *DL* or *Down-Low poly boys*. I had located and begun negotiations with two people I knew, however, they eventually declined to participate.

- o I also faced challenges in recruiting a larger number of Pacific MPs. One MP became unavailable at the last minute, and another two MPs evaded my invitations. I have assumed that evasion was due to public exposure of their voting and debating behaviours. These MPs could have provided additional perspectives that would have complemented the insights of those MPs who participated.

- Choosing select committee submissions for sampling was a difficult task as ethnicity information is not included in the metadata. I screened every submission in the parliamentary online database for names that looked familiarly Pacific or contained the words Pacific, Pasifika, or references to specific Pacific ethnic groups. Where there was doubt about a submission's representation of Pacific people, I used online search engines to research submitters and establish ethnicities. Where I could not find information, submissions were excluded. As a result of this data collation method, it is possible that I missed some submissions written by Pacific people with European names who I was unable to research online.

- Transcripts of oral submissions were excluded due to the limited number of Pacific submitters who elected to speak to their submissions, and the repetition of the written submission. I was also confident that select committees had not explicitly requested any Pacific oral submissions. Following participant interviews with MPs, I was also reassured that there were no instances where Pacific MPs were in a position to interrogate Pacific submitters. Had this been the case, I would have sought those transcripts for inclusion in the study.

Areas for additional research

As well as considering limitations, the natural boundaries imposed through the scoping of this study were exposed as I explored the literature and the findings. I would like to propose three key ideas for further exploration in future research. Significantly, these

areas for potential research will also contribute to the ongoing healing of our communities from generations of racist and homophobic hostility.

1. Further exploration of Indigenous knowledge creation in Pacific families

This study benefitted from literature that discussed active knowledge creation in Pacific families and communities through cultural activities, economic resource sharing and language learning (Efi, 2014; Fairbairn-Dunlop, 2014; Fehoko, 2015; Koloto & Sharma, 2005; Wilson, 2016). This literature offered context to the lived experiences of P01 and his exposure to song and dance, P03 and Luamanuvao Winnie Laban of debate in family and community and of P09's experience of serving in the church and the wider community.

This thesis demonstrated that despite the teachings of church, community leaders and some media, Pacific gay men enhanced cultural definitions of family and worldviews of modus operandi. As I explored these enhancements, I was reminded of the explorations by Fairbairn-Dunlop (2014) and Koloto & Sharma (2005) of the enactment of Pacific knowledge systems, including structures, in economic resource allocation, despite rampant sexism in many community settings. Fairbairn-Dunlop (2014) and Koloto & Sharma (2005) and their cultural knowledge production appeared covert in comparison with young mens' learning of traditions, lore and expected behaviours in the faikava groups (Fehoko, 2015). Wilson's (2016) exploration of Samoan language learning appeared to me as a midway point, especially as some of her participants considered themselves and their children to be of varying degrees of *samoanness.*

After considering the literature and findings in this way, I became interested in the various ways indigenous knowledge is created by individuals within Pacific families and communities. Additionally, I was interested in the contexts of indigenous knowledge creation including tensions that knowledge creators faced in those family and community settings, especially tensions created through challenges to existing teachings, or power structures.

2. **The implications of existing Pacific knowledge teaching systems on the people who live by those systems.**

This study challenged the truths that many Pacific people lived by, as well as the structures that ensured Pacific peoples lived those particular truths. The most prominent truth to be challenged was the idea that Christianity and Pacific identity were innately linked.

In approaching the findings I was interested in the delicacy between the enduring innately Pacific ideas of hierarchy and trust (Helu-Thaman, 1999; Niumeitolu, 1993) and the reframing of indigenous ideas to suit the agenda of Christian organisations from England (Niumeitolu, 2007). This delicacy was exposed in the select committee submissions made by Pacific people opposed to same-sex marriage, as well as social media comments made by Pacific rugby players in support of Israel Folau.

As I explored those findings, I became concerned that these people had been inculcated with Pacific values of trust and an understanding of hierarchy, but had been manipulated into trusting a particular brand of hierarchy. Thomsen's (2012) observation of Samoan's and modern hierarchical thinking pointed out that some churches' brand of Pacific hierarchy involved judgement of others. While Thomsen (2012) rightly pointed out that Samoan LGBTI people and fa'afafine were the collateral damage of families' adoption of religious intolerance, I was concerned that families themselves were collateral damage of church manipulation, and compounding cultural damage by undermining authentic cultural values in the way they judged.

The select committee submission by both Vui (2012) and Tafua (2012) encapsulated the concern that I experienced. While other opposing submitters dismissed the LGBTI people in their families (Tukua, 2012), or held definite opinions about the wrong-ness of gay people (Ah Poe, 2012), Tafua (2012) was torn between her family members and her church community. P03's reflection that, as his extended family mobilised to debate

accepting his sexuality some may have been marginalised further, demonstrates the tensions between the indigenous idea of the family as the pre-eminent social structure and the church.

The tensions highlighted by both P03 and Tafua present a research opportunity to further explore the implications of the nuances behind the *God-First* ideas that were presented in social media and select committee submissions. Specific topics include Pacific church congregants' and families' experiences of their role in harming others while defending their faiths, and the pathways to healing harm caused in the defence of faith. Ultimately, research topics in this space will also contribute to deepening our knowledge about indigenous knowledge creation and demarcating it from imposed teachings.

3. **Spaces of increased nuances in exploring Pacific LGBTI and MVPFAFF voices of lived experience.**

A critical theme in Brown-Acton's presentation to the LGBTI human rights conference in 2011 was that it was time to stop speaking on behalf of Pacific MVPFAFF people, and to expect their voices to grow in public prominence. In this study, participants' exploration of their MVPFAFF, gay and Pacific cultural identities contributed to that growth in prominence. P01's connection to the homeland as a basis for knowing himself as *fa'afafine* and P07 working through a *fa'afafine* identity from the perspective of service to the community in enhancing wellbeing demonstrated the first-hand experiences of people encountering their MVPFAFF identities.

This study has attempted to remain respectful of the point made by Brown-Acton and not attempted to speak for a diversity of other voices that have also been marginalised by imposed cultural teachings. At the same time, this study has attempted to provide avenues for future studies to support the growth in prominence in other hitherto marginalised Pacific voices.

Future studies could expand on the limitation in this study of cultural exploration to Tonga, Samoa and Fiji, opening opportunites to study other Pacific cultural groups. Other studies could explore lived experience from the perspectives of people in specific Pacific church denominations. Such studies could expand on the histories of the London Missionary Society in Samoa (Sier & Fiti-Sinclair, 2008), the Pacific Islander's Church in New Zealand (Anae, 1998), the Church of Tonga ('Ahio, 2007; Niumeitolu, 2007) and the Wesleyan Methodist Church of New Zealand (Besnier & Alexeyeff, 2014).

Further groups that came to mind but were not represented in this study included:

- The lived experience of Pacific gay men who were not living openly as gay
- The lived experience of Pacific LGBTI women
- The lived experience of Pacific transgender people

Final Remarks

This research journey has had a profound effect on me. At the start of this thesis, I shared the impact that racism, homophobia and marginalisation had on my understanding of my place in the world. I also outlined that those three states had profoundly undermined my self-confidence and levels of self-trust in my abilities. The processes of reviewing literature, sourcing and interviewing participants and other data, brought me to a community of beautiful people whose skill, charm, wit and experience filled me with warmth and confidence.

Translating the data into findings was mind-blowing – my insecurities were at their highest, and they persisted right to the end. Of course, they would, I started looking at the hostility and ended up challenging the basis of what we know as Pacific peoples. This is not easy to do when childhood abuse trauma rings loudly in the ear.

However, I had to put that aside. As I wrote the findings, it dawned on me that the in-depth discussion about hostility in churches, in homes, and the media would not happen. It was not the point. The point was this massive gulf between these inherent

beliefs we as Pacific people have, in our bones, that we are part of a life-giving and wellbeing focused ecology of land, sea, cosmos, genealogy, language, song, dance and spirituality, and the structures that caused the hostility.

It has been humbling to discuss the central tensions between the two and deconstruct those structures. It has also been special to propose future research paths to get more Pacific people embracing our beautiful and warming wellbeing knowledge systems. I know that in a westernised sense, I have abandoned the expected discussion about hostility. However, this final comment honours the contributions of the Pacific gay men and *Fa'afafine* who took part in the talanoa. Your experiences of families, communities, hostilities were the grounding this study needed to celebrate the power in our authentic identities, the reciprocal activation in our hierarchies and the safety inherent in our traditional knowledge. Your contribution to this study proves that sexual orientation does not undermine Pacific cultures; instead, we as gay men and *Fa'afafine* do what Pacific people do best and have done for centuries, we transfer knowledge to one another, strengthen our identities and prepare the path for the next generation.

Ofa atu

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List of Personal Communications

- Edmund Fehoko

- Sela Pole

- Fuimaono Karl Pulotu Endemann

- Pauline-Jean Luyten

- Malia Veilangilala Selui

- Falakiko Masanga Selui

- Francis Selui

- Taualeo'o Stephen Stehlein

- David Thomson

- Joshua Thomson

- Tevita Thomson

- Denise Thomson

- Savelio Katavake

- Malia-Soana Tina Katavake-Leger

- Ailine Luyten

- Ailini Finlayson

- Tenisia More

Appendix A: AUT Ethics Committee Approval

AUTEC Secretariat

Auckland University of Technology
D-88, WU406 Level 4 WU Building City Campus
T: +64 9 921 9999 ext. 8316
E: ethics@aut.ac.nz
www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics

9 October 2017

Marilyn Waring
Faculty of Culture and Society

Dear Marilyn

Re Ethics Application: 17/317 Pasifika gay men's' lived experience of New Zealand's marriage equality legislation changes

Thank you for providing evidence as requested, which satisfies the points raised by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Subcommittee (AUTEC).

Your ethics application has been approved for three years until 5 October 2020.

Standard Conditions of Approval

1. A progress report is due annually on the anniversary of the approval date, using form EA2, which is available online through http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics.
2. A final report is due at the expiration of the approval period, or, upon completion of project, using form EA3, which is available online through http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics.
3. Any amendments to the project must be approved by AUTEC prior to being implemented. Amendments can be requested using the EA2 form: http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics.
4. Any serious or unexpected adverse events must be reported to AUTEC Secretariat as a matter of priority.
5. Any unforeseen events that might affect continued ethical acceptability of the project should also be reported to the AUTEC Secretariat as a matter of priority.

Please quote the application number and title on all future correspondence related to this project.

AUTEC grants ethical approval only. If you require management approval for access for your research from another institution or organisation then you are responsible for obtaining it. You are reminded that it is your responsibility to ensure that the spelling and grammar of documents being provided to participants or external organisations is of a high standard.

For any enquiries, please contact ethics@aut.ac.nz

Yours sincerely,

Kate O'Connor
Executive Manager
Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee

Cc: filipo@kahoapasifika.co.nz; Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop

Appendix B: Participant Information Sheet – Pacific Gay Men

Participant Information Sheet

AUT
TE WĀNANGA ARONUI
O TĀMAKI MAKAU RAU

This participant information sheet is to be used in preparation for interviewing people who identify as both of Pacific ethnicity and as gay, homosexual or MSM.

Date Information Sheet Produced:

23 August 2017

Project Title

Pasifika gay mens' lived experience of New Zealand's marriage equality legislation changes

An Invitation

Talofa lava, Malo e lelei, Kia Orana, Bula Vinaka, Halo Olaketa, Fakaalofa lahi atu, Taloha ni and Warmest Pacific Greetings. My name is Filipo Katavake-McGrath and I wish to say Malo e tau lava, Afio Mai and Welcome to this research about Pacific gay men's lived experiences of marriage law changes in New Zealand. This research contributes to a Doctor of Philosophy qualification I am pursuing. You are warmly invited to take part in this project by having a talanoa with me. Our talanoa will be about how you identify with being attracted to other men, being Pasifika and your experiences living through a period of law change that related to greater equality for gay men. You don't need to be married to be a part of this study. Our talanoa may include discussions about your observations and experiences of how families, groups, communities and churches reacted or navigated the law changes.

What is the purpose of this research?

This research contributes to a Doctor of Philosophy qualification and provides an opportunity for the voices of Pasifika men who are same-sex attracted, homosexual, gay or MSM to be heard on the lived experience of marriage equality. I hope that I will be able to present the findings of the research in a thesis to attain the PhD qualification as well as in conference papers and other academic publications.

How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research?

You have been identified through discreet enquiries made through my research, professional Pacific community and LGBTI community networks. You may have been identified following a discussion with either myself or a colleague during a community event. You may have been identified through online or public record searches or through a social-media presence that I became aware of.

You are being invited to take part in this research because you have been identified as a Pacific ethnicity man (either New Zealand or Pacific Island born) who self-identifies as being attracted to other men or otherwise as gay, MSM or homosexual.

In this study I am excluding people who do not identify as Pacific ethnicity and also people who do not identify with male gay/homosexual orientation. It is important to note that some people who are of Pacific third-gender identities (including Fa'afafine, Fakaleiti, Mahu, Wakasalewalewa) may also identify with male homosexuality and some may not. I will also exclude people who are unable to conduct this interview in English. The use of Pacific language terms is very welcome during the talanoa.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

After you have read this information sheet, I invite any questions you may have about the research or any related processes (such as interviewing). Following discussions, if you are willing to participate a consent form will be provided to you either in person or electronically by email, which will also outline the interview process and some suggested topics for discussion. You are invited to read, agree to the conditions listed on it and then sign the consent form. Any interviewing will not take place until you have signed the form.

Your participation in this research is voluntary (it is your choice) and whether or not you choose to participate will neither advantage nor disadvantage you. You are able to withdraw from the study at any time. If you choose to withdraw from the study, then you will be offered the choice between having any data that is identifiable as belonging to you removed or allowing it to continue to be used. However, once the findings have been produced, removal of your data may not be possible.

What will happen in this research?

Your participation in this study will be a talanoa (or semi-structured interview) with me. Before the start of the interview, I will present you a series of question areas that we may wish to talanoa about – this will not be complete list and there is no requirement to stick to that particular list.

What are the discomforts and risks?

This has been designed as a study which should have a low level of risk of discomfort to you. The main risk will be that you may feel embarrassed discussing some aspects of your experiences or interactions with family, community or other groups. Another risk may be that you may have experiences related to your sexual orientation and this interview may trigger negative feelings for you.

Another risk may be that you may feel at risk of your sexual orientation being made public when you are not comfortable opening this to your family, community or current partner/spouse and/or children.

How will these discomforts and risks be alleviated?

This study has been designed to be a safe space for all participants and time has been taken to consider the needs of participants who may feel threatened or embarrassed. To alleviate these risks, the following resources are available

1. Contact details for counselling services should you require support following the interview

2. I will be happy to share my story of navigating the Tongan Way/Anga Fakatonga as a gay man with you.

3. We can organise an interview location away from places where your family or community gather at a time that suits.

If you require counselling support services, AUT Health Counselling and Wellbeing is able to offer three free sessions of confidential counselling support for adult participants in an AUT research project. These sessions are only available for issues that have arisen directly as a result of participation in the research, and are not for other general counselling needs. To access these services, you will need to:

- drop into our centres at WB219 or AS104 or phone 921 9992 City Campus or 921 9998 North Shore campus to make an appointment. Appointments for South Campus can be made by calling 921 9992

- let the receptionist know that you are a research participant, and provide the title of my research and my name and contact details as given in this Information Sheet

You can find out more information about AUT counsellors and counselling on http://www.aut.ac.nz/being-a-student/current-postgraduates/your-health-and-wellbeing/counselling.

For participants outside of Auckland, please contact the Researcher or Project Supervisors (contact details are listed below) for contact details of counselling support services in your local area.

What are the benefits?

There are benefits to both myself as researcher and you as participant.

The benefits to me as a researcher are that this study contributes a significant amount towards my obtaining a Doctor of Philosophy qualification.

To you as a participant, your involvement in this study may benefit you in being a space where 'your story' is heard in a non-judgemental space and given respect and honour. Participation in this study may also benefit you in being an opportunity to understand your own experiences in the context of others' experiences. Participation in this study may also benefit you in knowing that you have contributed to a piece of research that helps Pacific communities have meaningful and positive talanoa about matters of sexuality and legislative change.

How will my privacy be protected?

Your given name, address, contact details that have been gathered outside of public records for this study will remain confidential. They will not be published. In published findings of research, your data will be represented by a chosen pseudonym that we will agree on when you give your consent to participate in this study. This pseudonym will not be linked to your given name in any record that will be publicly available.

What are the costs of participating in this research?

The main cost to you will be your time. As the subject matter in this study will be of personal experiences and recollections, I want to ensure that you are given a meaningful amount of time to discuss your experiences while also ensuring you are not inconvenienced by taking too much time out of your day. As part of the preparation process for this interview, we will discuss a timeframe and duration that is respectful of your availability.

You may be required to fund your own transport to the agreed talanoa venue – however, if this is a challenge we can make alternative arrangements to ensure your comfortable participation in this study.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

You have two weeks from the date this information sheet was sent to you via email or given to you in hard copy. During this time, you are welcome to contact the Researcher (using the phone number or email address given under the heading "Researcher Contact Details" below) to confirm your participation. The researcher will contact you two weeks after you received this information sheet to confirm your participation if you have not made contact.

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

I warmly invite you to request feedback on the results of this study. You can request feedback by ticking yes to the statement "I wish to receive a summary of research findings" on the Participant Consent Form.

You will also have the opportunity to review a transcript of your talanoa/interview. The transcript will be sent to you via email or by post within one month following the interview. This will be discussed when you and I meet for the talanoa/interview.

What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, Professor Marilyn Waring, Marilyn.Waring@aut.ac.nz or on 09 921 9999

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary of AUTEC, Kate O'Connor, *ethics@aut.ac.nz* , 921 9999 ext 6038.

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?

Please keep this Information Sheet and a copy of the Consent Form for your future reference. You are also able to contact the research team as follows:

Researcher Contact Details:

Filipo Katavake-McGrath

csf7012@aut.ac.nz

021 744 198

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

Professor Marilyn Waring

Marilyn.Waring@aut.ac.nz

09 921 9999

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on *9 October 2017* AUTEC Reference number *17/317*

Appendix C: Participant Information Sheet – MPs

Participant Information Sheet

This information sheet is to be used when preparing to interview current or former Members of Parliament.

Date Information Sheet Produced:

23 August 2017

Project Title

Pasifika gay men's' lived experience of New Zealand's marriage equality legislation changes.

An Invitation

Talofa lava, Malo e lelei, Kia Orana, Bula Vinaka, Halo Olaketa, Fakaalofa lahi atu, Taloha ni and Warmest Pacific Greetings. My name is Filipo Katavake-McGrath and I wish to say Malo e tau lava, Afio Mai and Welcome to this research about Pacific gay men's experiences of living through marriage law changes in New Zealand. This research contributes to a Doctor of Philosophy qualification I am pursuing. You are warmly invited to take part in this project by having a talanoa with me. Our talanoa will be about your experiences as a Member of Parliament and your exposure to the worldviews of Pacific communities expressed to you during periods where legislation that related to sexual orientation was changed.

What is the purpose of this research?

This research contributes to a Doctor of Philosophy qualification and provides an opportunity for the voices of Pasifika men who are same-sex attracted, homosexual, gay or MSM to be heard on the lived experience of marriage equality. I hope that I will be able to present the findings of the research in a thesis to attain the PhD qualification as well as in conference papers and other academic publications.

How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research?

You have been identified through my academic, professional and community networks as well as through publicly held records. You are being invited to take part in this study because you have been identified as a Member of Parliament who either sponsored or participated in the processes that supported legislation change where sexual orientation was a key topic under consideration. Importantly, you are being invited due to your proximity or exposure to Pacific worldviews as presented as arguments in debates and discussions during these legislative change periods.

In this study I am excluding people who did not have direct exposure to Pacific worldviews, either as an MP of a significant Pacific electorate or as a Pacific ethnicity MP. Your vote (either aye or no) is not a factor in inclusion or exclusion in this study

How do I agree to participate in this research?

After you have read this information sheet, I invite any questions you may have about the research or any related processes (such as interviewing). Following discussions, if you are willing to participate a consent form will be provided to you either in person or electronically by email, which will also outline the interview process and some suggested topics for discussion. You are invited to read, agree to the conditions listed on it and then sign the consent form. Any interviewing will not take place until you have signed the form.

Your participation in this research is voluntary (it is your choice) and whether or not you choose to participate will neither advantage nor disadvantage you. You are able to withdraw from the study at any time. If you choose to withdraw from the study, then you will be offered the choice between having any data that is identifiable as belonging to you removed or allowing it to continue to be used. However, once the findings have been produced, removal of your data may not be possible.

What will happen in this research?

Your participation in this study will be a talanoa (or semi-structured interview) with me. Before the start of the interview, I will present you a series of question areas that we may wish to talanoa about – this will not be complete list and there is no requirement to stick to that particular list.

What are the discomforts and risks?

This has been designed as a study which should have a low level of risk of discomfort to you.

How will these discomforts and risks be alleviated?

This study has been designed to be a safe space for all participants and time has been taken to consider the needs of participants who may feel threatened or embarrassed. To alleviate these risks, the following resources are available

1. Contact details for counselling services should you require support following the interview

2. I will be happy to share my story of navigating the Tongan Way/Anga Fakatonga as a gay man with you.

3. We can organise an interview location away from places where your family or community gather at a time that suits.

What are the benefits?

There are benefits to both myself as researcher and you as participant.

The benefits to me as a researcher are that this study contributes a significant amount towards my obtaining a Doctor of Philosophy qualification.

To you as a participant, your involvement in this study may benefit you in being a space where you can tell your story of advocacy for the community. This may be the first time you have been able to publicly discuss your aspirations for the community, the process you went through to hear community concerns and, the impacts the process had on your own worldviews. You may also be benefited by a public record of your contribution to legislative changes.

How will my privacy be protected?

Your given name, address, contact details that have been gathered outside of public records for this study will remain confidential. They will not be published. In published findings of research, I would like to request that you are referred to using your given name, any portfolios held and, if appropriate, your electorate. I am requesting this right to waive confidentiality based on the idea that as there are a limited number of potential research participants you may be easily identified through recalling a specific event, discussion or recollections related to voting.

What are the costs of participating in this research?

The main cost to you will be your time. As the subject matter in this study will be of personal experiences and recollections, I want to ensure that you are given a meaningful amount of time to discuss your experiences while also ensuring you are not inconvenienced by taking too much time out of your day. As part of the preparation process for this interview, we will discuss a timeframe and duration that is respectful of your availability.

You may be required to fund your own transport to the agreed talanoa venue – however, if this is a challenge we can make alternative arrangements to ensure your comfortable participation in this study.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

You have two weeks from the date this information sheet was sent to you via email or given to you in hard copy. During this time, you are welcome to contact the Researcher (using the phone number or email address given under the heading "Researcher Contact Details" below) to confirm your participation. The researcher will contact you two weeks after you received this information sheet to confirm your participation if you have not made contact.

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

I warmly invite you to request feedback on the results of this study. You can request feedback by ticking yes to the statement "I wish to receive a summary of research findings" on the Participant Consent Form.

You will also have the opportunity to review a transcript of your talanoa/interview. The transcript will be sent to you via email or by post within one month following the interview. This will be discussed when you and I meet for the talanoa/interview.

What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, Professor Marilyn Waring, Marilyn.Waring@aut.ac.nz or on 09 921 9999

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary of AUTEC, Kate O'Connor, *ethics@aut.ac.nz* , 921 9999 ext 6038.

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?

Please keep this Information Sheet and a copy of the Consent Form for your future reference. You are also able to contact the research team as follows:

Researcher Contact Details:

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Filipo Katavake-McGrath

csf7012@aut.ac.nz

021 744 198

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

Professor Marilyn Waring

Marilyn.Waring@aut.ac.nz

09 921 9999

Appendix D: Consent Form

Consent Form

For use when interviews are involved.

Project title: Pasifika gay mens' lived experience of New Zealand's marriage equality legislation changes

Project Supervisor: Professor Marilyn Waring and Tagaloatele Professor Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop

Researcher: Filipo Katavake-McGrath

O   I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 23 August 2017

O   I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.

O   I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audio-taped and transcribed.

O   I understand that taking part in this study is voluntary (my choice) and that I may withdraw from the study at any time without being disadvantaged in any way.

O   I understand that if I withdraw from the study then I will be offered the choice between having any data that is identifiable as belonging to me removed or allowing it to continue to be used. However, once the findings have been produced, removal of my data may not be possible.

O   I agree to take part in this research.

O   I wish to receive a summary of the research findings (please tick one): YesO   NoO

Participant's signature: ....

Participant's name: ....

Participant's Contact Details (if appropriate):

....

....

....

....

Date:

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on *9 October 2017*   AUTEC Reference number *17/317*

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form.

Appendix E: Talanoa Topics – Pacific Gay Men

Discussion Topics – Pacific Gay Men

Below are some ideas to help guide our talanoa about your experiences during the period where the Marriage (Definition of Marriage) Bill was proposed, debated and became law. In our talanoa, we do not have to stick directly to this list of topics, nor is there any requirement to answer every question. Any areas for discussion you would like to suggest would be welcomed.

You and your culture, ethnicity and communities

- Tell me about (what is your experience of) your cultural background?
    - Were you Island Born? NZ Born? Elsewhere Born?
    - Are you of mixed ethnic heritage (either via your parents, or in your ancestry?)
- Have you lived as part of a Pacific 'way of life' (ie the Fa'asamoa, 'Anga Fakatonga ...)?
    - What protocols stood out to you?
    - What concepts/philosophies were meaningful?
    - How were you influenced/affected by a Pacific 'way of life'?
    - Do you still engage in this 'way of life'?
        - If not – what has replaced it and why?
- Is religion (or Christianity) a significant part of your cultural background?
    - What kind of influence was religion in your cultural experience?
    - In what ways were you influenced by religion?
    - Do you feel that religion could have influenced your culture in a different way?
- Are you part of a community linked to your cultural and ethnic background?
    - Do you have any special responsibilities or positions of prominence/service?
    - Do you take part in community ceremonies or events?
    - Do you take part in community information sharing (like Tongan faikava kalapu, or associations?)

You and your family

- What is *family* to you?
- What is your experience of *family?*
    - Has this experience changed over time?

You and your sexuality

- What is being a gay man mean to you?
- What does being a Pacific gay man mean to you?
    - What is your experience in navigating being Pacific and being gay?
    - Did you have role models?
    - What was the influence of these role models?

Integrating you, culture, family, sexuality

- How does your culture view homosexuality?

- Do homosexual people have a place in your cultural background?
  - What is that place?
- Does your family know about your being gay?
  - Is your sexuality accepted by your family?
  - Do you have a place in your family?
    - As a Pacific gay man?
  - How does your family relate to you?
    - Is your sexuality a factor in the way you and your family relate to one another?
    - Are there parts of your wider family/family/aiga …. Where relations are stronger or weaker?

The Law-Change Period

- Were you aware that Parliament was debating changes to the Marriage Act between 2011 and 2013?
  - If so, how did you become aware?
    - Whose/which perspectives were prominent in the information you were presented with?
    - How did you feel as you found out about the Marriage Law Change?
  - How did you feel about this parliamentary process?
  - Did you discuss this process with anyone?
    - Who did you discuss Marriage Law change with?
    - What were their reactions, thoughts, feelings?
    - How did you feel about the discussions?
- Did you take part in any activities relating to the Marriage Law change between 2011 and 2013?
  - What activities did you take part in?
  - Where these LGBTI community activities?
  - Where these Pacific communities activities?
  - Were there Pacific LGBTI combined communities?
  - How did you feel about taking part?
- Did you discuss the law change with your family?
  - Were the sentiments expressed in discussions positive, negative, neutral, mixed?
  - Did you feel empowered and strong in yourself when discussing the law change in the family environment
  - If no – were attempts made to discuss? What happened?
  - If no – did you, or they, show signs of wanting to discuss, or avoid discussion?
  - How did you feel about discussing/not discussing the law change with your family?
- Were you aware of discussions in your Pacific community about the Law change?
  - How were you made aware?
  - What were the perspectives that were prominent in those discussions?
  - How did this information make you feel?
  - Were sentiments expressed positive, negative, neutral, mixed?
  -

- Did you discuss the law change with people in your Pacific community?
  - Were there forums where the law change was being discussed?
    - If Yes, were you able to take part in those discussions
      - If yes, how did that go?
      - If no, what were the reasons behind refusals?
      - How did this interaction/non-interaction leave you feeling?
- It has been four years since the Marriage (Definition of Marriage) Amendment Act was passed – do you think attitudes in your family and/or community have changed?
  - Have new sentiments been expressed?
  - Have you seen new acceptance or rejection in Pacific communities?
  - Are Pacific gay men a validated part of Pacific society?
    - Has the law change contributed to this (either validation or non-validation?)
  - Do you think Pacific communities had adequate opportunities to navigate the social change of same-sex marriage?
    - Do you think Pacific communities navigated the social change of same-sex marriage?
    - Have Pacific communities gained anything from the changes to marriage law? What gains have been made?
  - Is the way you feel about yourself influenced by discussion in the communities about homosexuality, or same-sex marriage?
  - How has this period influenced the way you see yourself
    - As a gay man
    - As a Pacific man
    - As a gay Pacific man
    - As part of a community?

Appendix F: Talanoa Topics – MPs

Discussion Topics – Members of Parliament

Below are some ideas to help guide our talanoa about your experiences during the period where the Marriage (Definition of Marriage) Bill was proposed, debated and became law. In our talanoa, we do not have to stick directly to this list of topics, nor is there any requirement to answer every question. Any areas for discussion you would like to suggest would be welcomed.

You and your culture, ethnicity and communities

- Tell me about (what is your experience of) your cultural background?
  - Were you Island Born? NZ Born? Elsewhere Born?
  - Are you of mixed ethnic heritage (either via your parents, or in your ancestry?)
- Have you lived as part of a Pacific 'way of life' (ie the Fa'asamoa, 'Anga Fakatonga …)?
  - What protocols stood out to you?
  - What concepts/philosophies were meaningful?
  - How were you influenced/affected by a Pacific 'way of life'?
  - Do you still engage in this 'way of life'?
    - If not – what has replaced it and why?
- Is religion (or Christianity) a significant part of your cultural background?
  - What kind of influence was religion in your cultural experience?
  - In what ways were you influenced by religion?
  - Do you feel that religion could have influenced your culture in a different way?
- Are you part of a community linked to your cultural and ethnic background?
  - Do you have any special responsibilities or positions of prominence/service?
  - Do you take part in community ceremonies or events?
  - Do you take part in community information sharing (like Tongan faikava kalapu, or associations?)

Your place in the Marriage (Definition of Marriage) Amendment Bill or other relevant legislation

The voice of Pacific peoples has grown since the most recent debates about creating pieces of same-gender relationship recognition legislation. There were three Pacific MPs during debates over The Civil Union Bill and Relationships (Statutory References) Bill 2004 (Vui Mark Gosche, Luamanuvao Winnie Laban and Taito Philip Field).

- What is your recollection (either as a member of the public or as a Member of Parliament) of the debates related to Bills like the Homosexual Law Reform Bill, the Civil Union Bill, the Relationships (Statutory References) Bill, The Marriage (Gender Clarification Bill)?
  - Were Pacific voices present during those debates in the House and in Select Committee?
  - Were Pacific voices present in the public discourse about the readings and debates?

- o Can you recall hearing Pacific LGBTI, specifically Gay men, among Pacific voices? What were they saying?
- o If you were a sitting MP during those earlier pieces of legislation (ie Vui, Luamanuvao, Taito) – was it necessary to balance the Pacific community/institutional voices alongside those of Pacific gay men?
  - ▪ If so, how did you balance those voices?
- By 2012 (when the Marriage Amendment Bill was drawn from the Ballot) – the number of Pacific MPs had grown, as had the number of parties where Pacific MPs were represented. What were your recollections of how different Pacific MPs negotiated these matters in the party environment (if at all, being a conscience vote)?

The Law-Change Period

- What are your recollections of the debates that surrounded the readings of the bill?
- As a matter of conscience, what were the main considerations you made?
- How did this vote challenge your perceptions of:
  - o The LGBTI community
  - o Pacific communities
- Did you discuss the bill with members of the Pacific community?
- Which groups did you discuss the bill with?
  - o What were their main concerns?
  - o How did they view your role as an MP?
  - o Did they make any demands/requests from you regarding the bill?
    - ▪ How did you feel about those requests?
    - ▪ How did those requests influence your participation and voting?
- Were you aware of Pacific voices in the public debate (in social media, in the mainstream and Pacific media?)
  - o What were your recollections of the Pacific representation in the media discussion about same-sex marriage?
  - o How did feel about those Pacific voices? Did you agree/disagree/have mixed feelings?
- Were you exposed to the concerns of people from Pacific LGBTI communities?
  - o How did you process those concerns against your viewpoints and experience of Pacific cultures?

Looking back

- It has been four years since the law change – could you please reflect on how you might view the issue of same-sex marriage today?
- Do you think that the viewpoints of Pacific communities has changed?
- Is there greater compassion, or greater dissatisfaction, or other changes?
- Has the incidence of same-gender marriages among Pacific men made Pacific communities upset?
- Has your viewpoint on the matter of the rights for Pacific men who are gay changed?

- Do you think that Pacific men who are gay have been fairly treated over the law-change period, before and after?
    - If not – is there a place where communities seek reconciliation with Pacific men who are gay?
    - If so – what are the key cultural strengths that you have witnessed?

Appendix G: Coding nodes from NVivo

Participant Perspectives of Making Meaning

- Experiences of upbringing
  - Growing up in New Zealand
  - Growing Up in the Islands
- Navigating Respective Pacific Cultures
  - Experiencing Mainstream NZ culture as a Pacific person
  - Experiencing the influence of family structures
    - Communicating in family structures
      - Voice of sexuality in the family
    - Intergenerational Relationships
    - Mobility in family structures
      - Transnationalism
    - Pacific family discourse
    - Pacific family economics
    - Pacific Family Expectations
    - Service in the family
    - Tactics for navigating family structures
  - Experiencing the Influence of Pacific Cultural Institutions
    - Pacific Religion
    - Pacific Transnationalism
  - Navigation in ethnic communities
    - Pacific Community Debate of Marriage Law Reform
    - Pacific gay fafa v NZ Pacific gay fafa
    - Pacific views of sexuality and marriage

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Pacific voices in select committee submissions

Themes discussing debate in families, communities, and media

- How we participated and influenced
  - Debate in the community
    - Experiencing debate with religious institutions
    - Holistic approaches
    - Teu le va in times of conflict
    - The history of previous debates
  - Debate in the family
  - How Pacific peoples self identified in submissions
  - In the media
    - Mainstream media
      - Mainstream Media Outlets
      - Othering of Pacific
    - Pacific-specific media
      - Pacific media
    - Social media
      - What we did
      - What we saw
    - The Media and Pacific Worldviews

Pacific Gay Men's Contribution to change in communities and families

- Pacific peoples experiences of legislative change
  - How we participated and influenced
    - Debate in the community
    - Debate in the family
    - How Pacific peoples self identified in submissions
    - In the media
    - Involvement in legislative change
    - MPs reflections
    - Navigating the House of Representatives
    - Select Committee Submissions
    - Understanding Politics before law change
  - Pacific reasons for participating
    - Fa'alavelave or community service
      - Attempting to maintain a 'Pacific' concept of family or marriage
      - Pacific notions of ensuring everyone has a place
      - Relationships with the homelands
        - Pacific Regional Policy Implications
    - Using a system that's there to be used

Appendix H: Glossary

Ethnic Specific Terms

Tongan Terms

- 'Amanaki – young people (traditionally referred to as young unmarried men)

- 'Anga Fakatonga – The Tongan Way

- Anga vala fe' unga - The correct clothing

- Fa'e - Mother and maternal aunts

- Fahu - Paternal Aunt

- Faifekau – Church minister

- Faikava – Kava Ceremony

- Faiva - Dancing

- Faka'apa'apa – Respect

- Fakafanua – an informal term for village noble, also an official nobility title

- Fakasotoma – Sodomite, common Tongan term for a gay man

- Fakatōkilalo - humility

- Fonua – Lands

- Hiva – Singing

- 'Ilo - knowledge

- Kāinga – Extended Family system

- Kakai tu'a – Commoners

- Lea Fakatonga – Tongan Langauge

- Lea Ohi – Transliterated words from English to Tongan

- Lotofale - Church

- Matāpule – Nobleman

- Misinale – Church overseas missions

- Mohe 'a e tangata 'a e tangata – male homosexual (dictionary definition)

- Mo'oni - True

- Punake – Poet, musician, cultural knowledge taker

- Tala 'o e fonua – Seeing the world through the lands

- Tamai - Father and paternal uncles

- Tauhi va – The maintenance of sacredness between two people

- Totonu – Correctness/Rightness

- Tu'i Tonga – The Monarch

- Tu'unga fakafamili - Gendered roles in the family

- 'Ulungāangaa totolu – Behaviour

Samoan Terms

- Aiga – Extended Family system

- Aganu'u – Culture

- Fa'aaloalo - Respect

- Fa'asamoa – The Samoan Way

- Fa'asinomaga – Identity

- Faifeau – Church minister

- Faletua – Women with high ranking/wives of Matai or Faifeau

- Fanua – Lands

- Fia-Poko – Arrogant

- Matai – Chiefly title

- Tautua – Service

- Teu le va – Maintaining the sacred space between two people

- Tofi - Inheritance

- Tu ma aga - customs

Fijian Terms

- Bula Vakavanua – The way of the (Fijian) lands

- Bula vakaViti – The Fijian Way

- Matavuvale - family systems

- Vakarokoroko – deference

- Veidokai – respect

- Veiolmani – love for others

- Veirogorogoci – family communications

- Veivakaluici – Putting others first