He ia anō ta te *Takatāpui* i te Ao Māori - *Takatāpui*; Being of the Māori world.

Te Ara Poutama

Faculty of Māori and Indigenous Development

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Tangaroa Ihaia Pirihongi Paora

Karakia[1]

E noho ana au i te roro o taku whare, ka whakaaro noa

I ahu mai ahau i hea? I ahu mai ahau i te aha?

I ahu mai pea i te kore

Te kore te whiwhia, te kore te rawea

I ahu mai pea i te pō

Te pō nui, te pō roa

Te pō tahuri atu,

Te pō tahuri mai ki taiao

Ko Ranginui e tū iho nei

Ko Papatūānuku kei raro

Nā Tāne i māwehe, ka tokona ko Rangi ki runga

Kia korowaitia ki te aroha, kia korowaitia ki te māramatanga

Kia tihē ake te mauri ora

Ka rere anō te ui

I ahu mai ahau i hea? I ahu mai ahau i te aha?

I ahu mai ahau i te kore, i ahu mai ahau i te pō

I a Rangi e tū nei, i a Papa e takoto nei

I ahu mai ahau i te aroha, i te māramatanga

Ko te urupounamu ia, e anga atu ana ahau ki hea?

Kia tihē ake ai taku mauri ora

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[1] The *karakia* (prayer/incantation) is deliberately not translated into English, to retain the mana (power) of the karakia. In essence it captures the spiritual intent of the research, acknowledging that we, as Māori, are descendants of the gods.

Abstract

Being *takatāpui*₂ comes with a sense of disconnection about our place among whānau, hapū, and iwi. It is envisaged that this research, which is made up of an exegesis and a creative output (documentary) will engender an understanding of what it truly means to be Māori and *takatāpui*. Methodologically, heuristic enquiry is juxtaposed with a kaupapa Māori approach to explore this kaupapa (issue). Heuristic research relies on the personal; "The power of heuristic inquiry lies in its potential for disclosing truth. Through exhaustive self search, dialogue with others, and creative depictions of experience, a comprehensive knowledge is generated" (Douglass and Moustakas, 1985, p.40). This approach explains the protagonist role I have assumed in the documentary which is artistically set as a dialogue with others. Originally, the research sought to explore historical forces that shape the experiences of *takatāpui* in contemporary New Zealand Society. However, as the research progressed, the study morphed into an exploration of the way *takatāpui* experience "being Māori."

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[2] The term *takatāpui* is used to describe and embrace all Māori who identify as Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transsexual (LGBT).

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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 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.

Tangaroa Paora

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

9 August 2019

Dedication

Mum and Dad

Accepting

Learning

Healing

Acknowledgments

To the best supervisor in the world, I thank Hinematau McNeill for believing in this kaupapa and going above and beyond to ensure that this truly represents who I am and my journey. Without you I would never have been able to do this. E kore e mimiti te puna mihi kia koe.

To my participants, mei kore ake ko koutou e kore rawa tēnei kaupapa e tutuki, e whai mana hoki tō tātou ahua ake i roto i te ao hurihuri nei. He aroha mutungakore.

Ka toro ngā ringa whakamānawa kia Elizabeth Kerekere koutou ko Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, ko Leonie Pihama, ko Clive Aspin. Ngā toa tauā o tē ao Māori i whakatō kākano ki ngā whare wānanga kia puawai ai tēnei kaupapa o te *takatāpui*tanga hei tikitiki, hei tāonga, hei ahuru mōwai mo ngā uri mokopuna haere ake nei. Ka mihi hoki ki ngā kairangahau puta noa, e whakapau kaha ana, kia tū tangata ai te iwi *takatāpui*.

I also give special thanks to the faculty and staff of Te Ara Poutama; for those who have shown support, aroha and belief in my kaupapa; from the check-ups, to the tellings off right to the final product; I am forever grateful to you all. Ko te amorangi ki mua, ko te hāpai o ki muri.

For my friends, both past and present of AUT/Tītahi ki Tua, I truly appreciate all of you who were with me throughout different stages in the development of this thesis. Only you would know the long nights, early mornings, no sleep, bad eating, exercise or lack thereof, procrastination, breakdowns and the laughs. I will remember these moments as memories forever. Ūaaeee!!!

Finally, to my love. You know how much you mean to me and how grateful I will always be, for reminding me of what is important in life…to just be me.

Ethics Declaration

Ethics Application 17/408 was approved by AUTEC on the 11 February 2019

Chapter 1: Introduction

Takatāpui existence traverses multiple, complex and dynamic identities. In modern society, being *takatāpui* Māori can come with a sense of disconnection about our place among whānau, hapū and iwi. The experiences of *takatāpui* in this project explore a ubiquitous cultural alienation amongst our community. Cultural identity adds another dimension to being Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transsexual (LGBT). The challenges of "coming out" and identifying as LGBT are well documented in the literature (e.g. Cass, 1984; Coleman, 1982; Hencken & O'Dowd, 1977; Miller, 1978; Plummer, 1975; Weinberg, 1977). *Takatāpui* is about identifying as Māori LGBT.

Our lived experiences have been shaped by attitudes, stigmas, and marginalisation in contemporary society. Because of the lack of explicit knowledge around *takatāpuitanga* (authentically being the third gender), the main inquiry of this research is to seek what is not known, create more nuanced and informed understandings around the evolution of *takatāpui* identities, and reaffirm the relevance of traditional Māori understandings and perspectives in contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand. This research project reaffirms not only my life experience and identity, but also the lives and identities of all who are Māori.

It is difficult to dispute the role that colonisation had in facilitating the shift from traditional to contemporary attitudes towards sex, and *takatāpui* in particular (Aspin, 2005; Kerekere, 2017; Te Awekotuku 2001; Te Rangikaheke manuscript; Te Ua, 2005). This research is intended to be an indicative study that will be used as the basis for further research. The constraints on a thesis at this level, such as the scope of the research and resource accessibility, provide an opportunity to investigate the feasibility of developing a full-length film as the creative output for a Ph.D. The term *takatāpui* is used to describe and embrace all Māori who identify as Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transsexual (LGBT). However, in this study the focus has been almost exclusively on Māori men.

Structure of the exegesis

Chapter 2: Positioning the researcher

My "heritage teaches me about concepts such as the integrity and interdependency of living things. It makes me quite comfortable with the notion that as a human being I am but one part of a whole and that my generation is also simply one strand in the rope of humanity" (Mead, 1999, p.3). This research project reaffirms not only my life experience and identity as *takatāpui*, but also lives and identity of all who are Māori.

Chapter 3: Literature review

This chapter presents a critical overview and analysis of existing literature. The texts reviewed cover areas of LGBT studies, gender fluidity, and identity. The chapter traverses a range of common themes of struggle for acceptance, colonisation, Western-European attitudes to homosexuality, and the fight for diversity and inclusion. Critiquing the existing literature may indicate the development of new possibilities of *takatāpuitanga* and create new knowledge for *takatāpui* to determine their own pathways with a reflective journey on past, present and future identities. The review includes some of the participants' responses as a way of contextualising contemporary experiences, linking the literature as being part of *takatāpui* understandings and being Māori.

Chapter 4: Research Design and Methodology

A Kaupapa Māori paradigm frames practice-led, heuristic inquiry, and qualitative fieldwork approaches to insider research. The challenges of insider research (often seen as subjective and susceptible to conflict of interests), are addressed by applying heuristic inquiry as a key methodological approach. The study is inspired by my own experiences as *takatāpui* and a curiosity about traditional and modern attitudes towards *takatāpui*. The research outputs include an exegesis that captures *takatāpui* in contemporary Māori society and in the process, canvasses a range of attitudes from insiders about their personal experiences.

Practice-led research drives the inquiry. The purpose for using a practice-led paradigm is to capture both verbal recollections and insights about *takatāpui* whilst using visual data to accompany and enhance the understanding of *takatāpui* in society. As part of this research approach, a documentary was created to showcase the lived experiences of *takatāpui* in society today as a resource of new knowledge for learning and reflecting, not only for *takatāpui,* but for all Māori as well.

Chapter 5: Critical Commentary

The documentary aims to present a timeline of history for *takatāpui* people. The fight for human rights and acceptance of LGBTQ+ people, is a fight for identity within a society that only acknowledges male and female genders. This work recognises a third gender in te ao Māori, *takatāpui.* In expressing the third gender I add another dimension to the research project, as I take a lead role in the documentary as *takatāpui.* This role explores two dimensions, firstly the link to te ao Māori as *takatāpui* are genealogically integrated in the Māori cosmogony as children of the gods. By assuming the role of the celestial parents, Papatūānuku and Ranginui in the opening scenes I express the male and female elements of humanity that also alludes to the third gender of *takatāpui.* This scene also exemplifies the principles of heuristic inquiry, which places the researcher at the centre of the research. Within the chapter is a reflexive commentary that develops the research and the learning experiences from creating and developing a documentary.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

Finally, this chapter eloquently gives a commentary of the overall study to capture key points from the participants and research findings, to create a correlation with the literature, societal views, te ao Māori, and future contributions to the field of knowledge.

Chapter 2: Positioning the researcher

Figure 1: *Muriwhenua* Papatūānuku, Ranginui rātou ko **Tangaroa.**₃ Waatea News.

This photograph shows Pūwheke maunga (ancestral mountain). It is the maunga of both my mother and father, it is who I am. As an *uri* (descendant) of Te Whare Tapu o Ngā Puhi and Te Whare Tawhito o Muriwhenua, the image of my *hau kāinga* (ancestral lands) captures the essence of my identity. In the foreground is Papatūānuku, with Ranginui the sky father above. The moana (ocean); the domain of Tangaroa, gently caresses his mother. This completes my connection to the heavens, as a child of the gods. I was born long after the time of the *ngā ātua* Māori (Māori gods), but the following *whakapapa* (genealogy) (figure 3) provides a visual appreciation of the connection between people and the gods. All Māori are descendants of the gods and this affirms the place of *takatāpui* within te ao Māori. I have articulated this truism in the documentary depicting Ranginui and Papatūānuku as both the male and female aspects of who I am (figure 2). It reveals how I see myself as *takatāpui Māori tūturu* (truly Māori). I belong to the northern tribes of Ngāti Kuri, Te Aupōuri, Ngāi Takoto, Te Rarawa, Ngāti Kahu, Ngā Puhi and Ngāti Rehia.

Figure 2: Screen grab (00:00:52) Tangaroa Paora. Ranginui rāua ko Papatūānuku

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₃ In bold to connect my name with my atua/ancestor Tangaroa.

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                                    Io
                                     |
        (Female Line.)             Whetu              ( Male Line.)
                                     |
                 ┌───────────────────┴───────────────────┐
                 │                                        │
            Te Marama (the moon)                    Te Ra (the sun)
            Te Po-nui                               Te Ao-nui
            Te Po-roa                               Te Ao-roa
            Te Po-papakina                          Te Ao-papakina
            Te Po-pakarea                           Te Ao-pakarea
            Te Po-ki-tua                            Te Ao-ki-tua
            Te Po-ki-roto                           Te Ao-ki-roto
            Te Po-tawhito                           Te Ao-tawhito
            Te Po-ruru                              Te Ao-ruru
            Te Po-aio                               Re Ao-aio
            Te Po-whero                             Te Ao-whero
            Te Po-ma                                Te Ao-ma

            Te Po-pango                             Te Ao-pango
            Te Po-whakaruru                         Te Ao-whakaruru

            Te Po-kumea                             Te Ao-kumea
            Te Po-whakarito                         Te Ao-whakarito
            Te Po-i-runga                           Te Ao-i-runga
            Te Po-i-raro                            Te Ao-i-raro
            Te Po-i-matau                           Te Ao-i-matau
            Te Po-i-maui                            Te Ao-i-maui
            Papa-tuanuku              =             Rangi-nui
                                     |
  ┌───────┬───────┬─────────┬────────┼────────┬──────────┬──────────────┐
Rongo   Tane   Tangaroa  Tawhiri-matea  Haumia   Ruaimoko.   Tu-matauenga.
```
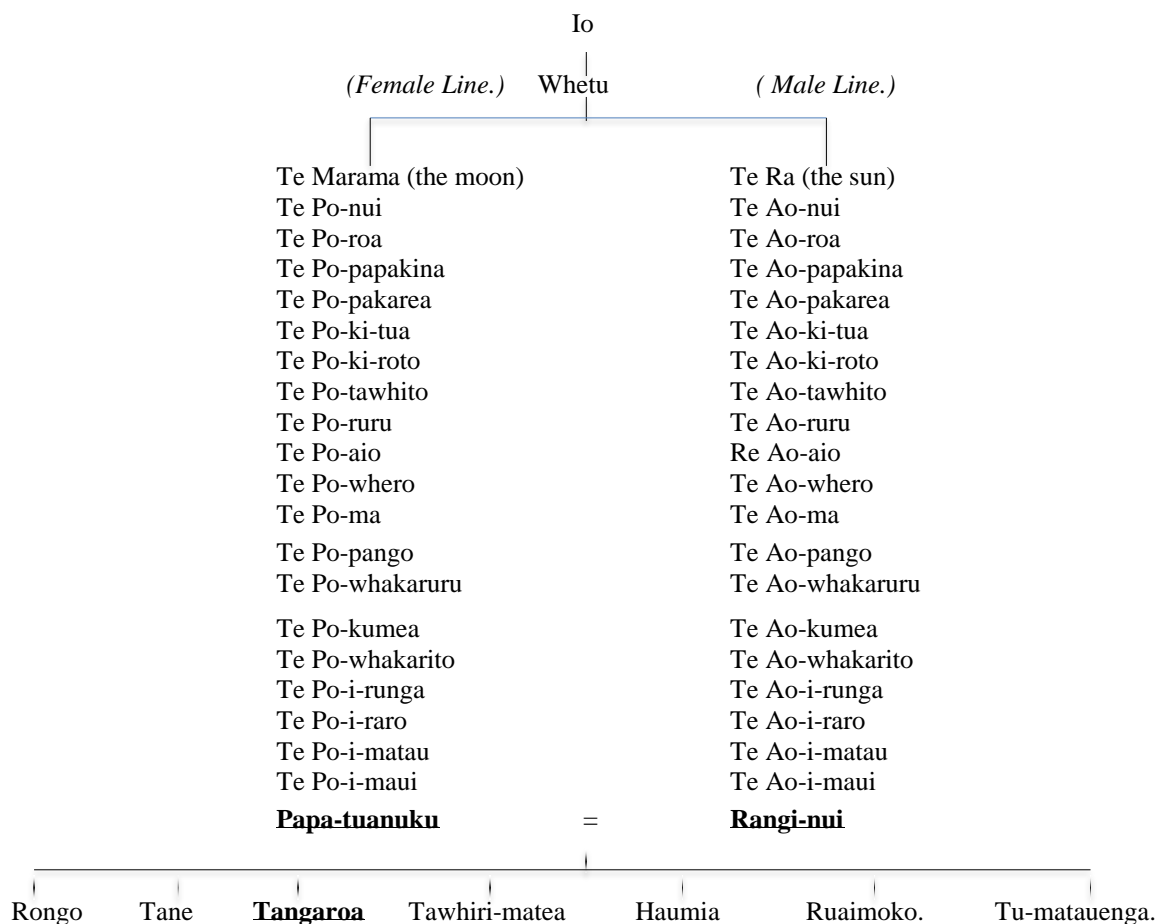
Figure 3. Māori cosmogony with the primeval parents, and Tangaroa, the god who bequeathed me my name (in bold) (Best, 1924, p. 70).

Early experiences of maintaining my "ahi kā" links with my hau kāinga

> Te kuaka marangaranga, kotahi manu i tau ki te tāhuna: tau atu, tau rā
> The godwit flock has arisen; one bird has come to rest on the beach: others will follow.
> *Nō Muriwhenua*

As long as I can remember, almost every second weekend my whānau and I were making the five-hour trip from Auckland to the Far North. We would attend *tangihanga* (funerals), unveilings, *hui-a-marae*, *hui-a-whānau*, (birthdays, weddings) or just return home. I am grateful that my whānau retained our links with our *hau kāinga* as I was growing up, as it consolidated my *whakapapa* connections and my sense of identity. As I got older, the pressure and stress of urban living impacted on the *whānau* and our visits home became less frequent. This coincided with my own feelings of insecurity about my place as a tribal member of a small rural marae community. The lifeways between rural living and city living became more obvious to me. As a member of the tribal diaspora in Auckland there were opportunities that my people at home were not exposed to. The chasm between my city self and my *hapū* (sub-tribe), *iwi*, and *hau kāinga* was a source of conflict and sadness.

Identifying as *takatāpui*

The identity crisis I experienced during my childhood was exacerbated by the realisation that I was gay (at that time there was no Māori reference, and no knowledge of *takatāpuitanga*). At home, being gay was just not an option. Fortunately, my *whānau* (despite sporadic visits home) instilled in us the importance of our identity as Māori. Our family were actively involved in the establishment of Hoani Waititi Marae in West Auckland and later Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Hoani Waititi Marae, which was the first Māori full immersion school in Aotearoa. It was there that the principles and teachings of Te Aho Matua were gifted to *tauira* (students) under the protection of *kaumatua* and *kuia* (elders) of the marae based in West Auckland.

It was at *kura* (school) that my passion for kapa haka, te reo Māori, and all facets of my Māori identity grew and flourished. Yet I still felt like I did not fit in. I can recall being as young as eleven and not having any interest in participating in boys' games. However, my interests were hanging out with the girls, discreetly playing with poi. I struggled with the injustice of being bullied for being different. Remembering these times of struggle was the catalyst for this research. I came to realise that I was not alone in my struggle to navigate hostile spaces. In the journey of self-discovery, I am hoping to find reference points within *te ao Māori*, which could potentially make the journey through life safer for *takatāpui*.

Being openly *takatāpui* for the past few years, I have, alongside others of the *takatāpui*/LGBTQ (Lesbian, Gay, Bi, Trans, Queer) community, developed an interest in learning and understanding the historical forces and origins of *takatāpui* Māori. I am particularly interested in the roles, behaviour and lives of *takatāpui* prior to European settlement.

I have always felt a sense of disconnection, lack of cultural identity, and ultimately a lack of wider acceptance among *whānau, hapū* and *iwi*. For example, many *takatāpui* struggle to cope with understanding their place and responsibilities in a *marae* setting (Ahakoa Te Aha, personal communication, 2016). Furthermore, this research provides evidence that many *takatāpui* can feel lost within their own families, communities and culture. I have struggled to validate my very identity not only as *takatāpui*, but also as Māori. I want to reaffirm a standing place for *takatāpui* in te ao Māori by using pūrākau narratives of customary and traditional practices on the essence of *takatāpuitanga* to mitigate the impact of Christianity, which demonised the act of *tāne moe tāne* (men sleeping with men) even though there is evidence of a traditional community acceptance of open homosexuality (Aspin, 2011; Kerekere, 2017; Pihama, 2019; Te Awekotuku, 2001).

For this research, I have fully embraced my *takatāpuitanga* not just as Maori, but also as a member of the LGBTQI+ community. I have been on national television speaking on behalf of the *takatāpui*

community, specifically for *rangatahi* (youth) around aspects of *takatāpui*tanga and how it is connected to *te ao Māori*.

Figure 4: Screen shot of a news item that illustrates my embracement of *takatāpui*tanga

The negative experiences that have impacted on *takatāpui*, including myself, are revealed in the documentary. I had feared that we would never have a space in *te ao* Māori (Māori world) because of ignorance; this is what motivated this study. I wanted to explore the reality or authentic traditional knowledge about *takatāpui*. This journey was emotionally challenging. However, revealing our truths reaffirms not only my life experience and identity but the identity of other *takatāpui*. In an eloquent statement by Hirini Moko Mead (1999),

> …being Māori means my heritage teaches me about concepts such as integrity and interdependency of living things. It makes me comfortable with the notion that as a human being I am but part of a whole and that my generation is simply a strand in the rope of humanity (p. 3).

Chapter 3: Review of contextual knowledge

Colonisation had a significant role in facilitating the shift from traditional to contemporary attitudes towards *takatāpui* (Aspin, 2005; Kerekere, 2017; Te Awekotuku 2001). There is compelling evidence (e.g. Kerekere, 2017; Te Awekotuku 2001; Te Rangikaheke 1854; Te Ua, 2005) that *takatāpui* were a normal part of traditional Māori (pre-European) society. There are *waiata aroha* (love songs) and *mōteatea* (chants) celebrating *takatāpuitanga*. This study is intent on challenging negative attitudes and stereotypes about *takatāpui* and their place and role in modern society. It is evident in the interviews undertaken for this study that traditions have impacted enormously on their sense of belonging.

> *There is that aspect of te ao Māori that is steeped in tikanga, kawa and mātauranga. All of those components where we as takatāpui we must find our place in our hapū, marae and whānau so we feel that connectedness that we are still considered whānau* (Rāwiri Keelan).

Some participants were aware of historical writings that provide evidence of an enlightened approach to *takatāpuitanga* (authenticly being) in pre-colonial Māori society.

> *Elsdon Best 1926 Maori Lore there were aspects of his kōrero and the kōrero he captured from kaumatua then that lensed to this idea that there were not just male and female, and takatāpui was not just gay males. If you look at it carefully and analyse it carefully you may discover that there was actually up to five genders.* (Rāwiri Keelan).

However, the pre-contact literature on *takatāpui* is not comprehensive, mainly because Māori is traditionally a spoken language, and colonial attitudes reflected European perspectives towards same sex relationships. With that, the existing literature does provide a broader context for the research and that is the inspiration for how the documentary developed and evolved.

Figure 5: Wirimu Maihi Te Rangikāheke (1815-1896). Alexander Turnbull Library, Reference number: PA1-q-232-10-2.

According to Kerekere (2017), the term *takatāpui* appears in the original manuscripts of Te Rangikāheke (Figure 5) to describe the relationship between the famous Te Arawa chief Tutanekai and his close male companion Tiki (Kerekere 2017 p. 17). This 1854 manuscript describes the well-known love story of Hinemoa and Tutanekai. Te Rangikāheke recounts that when Tiki died, Tutanekai openly expressed his loss:

> *Ka aroha atu a Tutanekai ki a Tiki, ka mea atu ki a Whakaue, ka mate ahau I te aroha ki toku hoa takatāpui, ki a Tiki*
> Tūtānekai loved Tiki, he told Whakaue, I am stricken with love for my friend Tiki (Rangikaheke MS, 51).

There are several references to the relationship between Tutanekai and Tiki as a touchstone of traditional Māori attitudes towards sexuality and gender (e.g. Aspin, 2005; Aspin & Hutchings, 2007; Black, 2007; Kerekere, 2007, 2015; Te Awekotuku 2001; Te Ua, 2005) and *takatāpui* as a normal variation of gender relationships in traditional society. Some of the participants were aware of the Tiki and Tutanekai story.

> *When I was at university, (and) one of our texts we had to read was* Ngā mahi a ngā Tūpuna *by Te Rangikaheke the story of Hinemoa and Tutanekai … then it moves into Tutanekai me Tiki. So, ka kite ahau i tērā kupu tana hoa…no tōna you can see most of those are in the "o" category which links us, ay, ki tōna hoa takatāpui ko Tiki. You look at your Williams Dictionary, page 269 and you see [an] intimate companion of the same sex.* (Lee Smith)
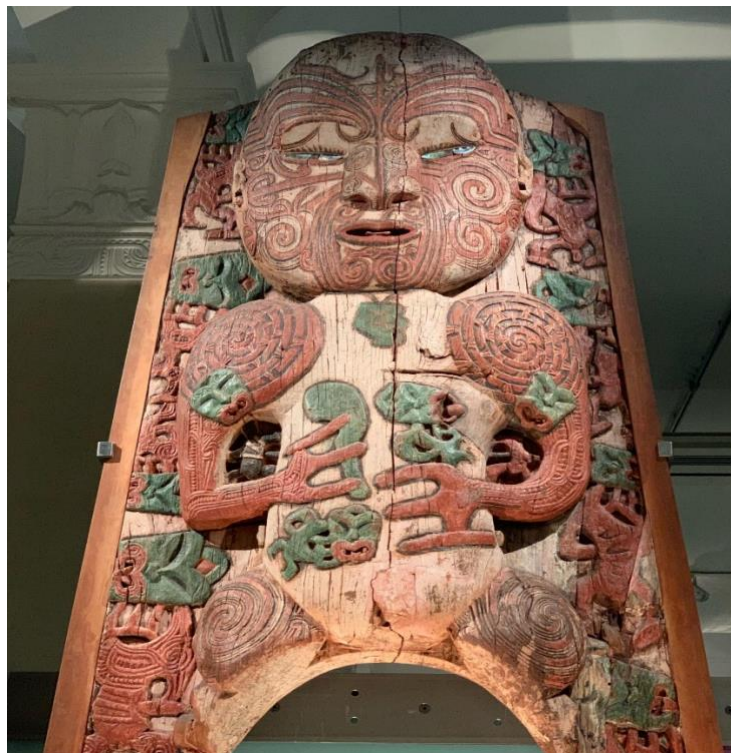

Figure 6: "Tiki" carving at the entrance to Pukeroa pā (the site of the Rotorua Hospital). The carving is now on display at Auckland War Memorial museum. Of particular interest are the eyelashes on the male carving. Photography by researcher.

Another participant made reference to *takatāpui* in the 19th century manuscripts of tohunga Te Matorohanga.

> *...the writings by Te Matorohanga and some of our tohunga whose mātauranga were transcribed. Within those kōrero, hītori and mōteatea you will find elements where tangatatanga is spoken about. And when you delve into that kōrero you can see that they are talking about takatāpuitanga.* (Rāwiri Keelan)

Traditional *waiata mōteatea* (sung laments) also provide additional evidence that *takatāpui* were an integral part of Māori society. The following example describes the sexual predilections of a young man who died in battle.

> *Ko te tama i aitia e tērā wahine e tērā tangata.*
> *A youth who was sexual with that woman, with that man*
> (Ngata, 1988, p. 212).

The original term "aitia" was later replaced with the term "awhitia," meaning "hugged" or ''embraced."(Aspin, 2011) and of course "ai" refers to sex, this is an example of colonial meddling.

> *Ehara koe i te tane, he puhi koe nāku,*
> *Te ipo ki te moenga.*
>
> You are not a man, but a maiden who belongs to me,
> Beloved in bed.
> (Aspin, 2011).

According to Pouwhare (2016), the influence of the early colonisers and missionaries in censoring sexually explicit traditions and non-heterosexual liaisons is irrefutable whereas "in pre-contact Māori society, narratives were often sexually explicit because sex was considered natural". (p. 36)

Pouwhare (2016) discusses in detail the impact of bowdlerisation on Māori literature in early colonial New Zealand. He aruges persuaively that the Victorian predilection for sanitising explicit references to sexuality as psychologically detrimental because it engenders shame. According to him, literary bowdlerisation coincided with the removal of genitalia from carvings and this cultural vandalism told Māori that what was considered natural was now a source of shame. This critique was reiterated by one of the participants who criticised the focus on female genetalia.

> *It's the sanitisation of our language by missionaries and educationalists to wipe out all that stuff, the homo stuff. Because there's untold stories still of hetero sex. Timoti Karetu has an amazing paper on ngā korero a ngā tipuna sort of thing all about sexuality, about female vaginas, female vaginas, female vaginas and fuck all about cocks. You know what they did to our meeting houses by chopping off the penis and all that stuff because it's a bad look. Friend of mine said there is 71 words in Maori for a vagina and there are 22 for a penis. So, I think it's sanitisation of our language.* (Lee Smith)

As part of Christian orthodoxy, colonised peoples were required to embrace monogamous heterosexuality, eliminate pre-marital sex, and erase any credence of traditional expressions of sexuality (Powhare, 2016p. 29)Kerekere (2017) refers to this as the 'integral grind of decolonisation in Aotearoa...that *takatāpui* faced a globalised genealogy of colonisation, which had systematised homophobia and transphobia throughout much of the world' (p. 51). Rose Pere's (1991) perspecitve saw "Maori were routinely cast as 'heathen savages' and 'sexually wanton' (Pere, 1991, p.37). One of the participants echoed the literature when he observed that

> *I think modernity, foreign concepts, religion and other factors have actually forced a shift where we as takatāpui and we as Māori now have to fight and push our identity and claim our identity, he taumaha tērā mahi.* (Rāwiri Keelan)

The celebrated post-colonial intellectual Frantz Fanon (1967) focussed on the psychological effects of colonisation and argued that, "The oppressed will always believe the worst about themselves" (Fanon, 1967, p. 141) because the constant disparagement and degradation of the colonised becomes internalised. Fanon was a native of the Carribean French colony Martinique and a French-trained psychiatrist observed that colonialism "…turns to the past of the oppressed people, and distorts, disfigures, and destroys it" (p.12).

The repression of Māori sexuality as it was articulated in pre-contact society was particularly damaging, relegating the *takatāpui* way of being and living to cultural obscurity.

> *The pae is where every boy is looking at too, and if our young Māori men can see takatāpui on the pae strong and confident and with that [will come a] change of perspective of that toxic masculinity with that change. If anything, the mentality needs to be the changed by our takatāpui community pushing into these spaces to have more exposure, and positive examples of takatāpui in masculine dominated areas to show our capability and that there shouldn't be limitation to what whaikōrero looks like.* (Pere Wihongi)

It is not just indigenous intellectuals who challenged West-European sexual mores. The celebrated intellectual Foucault (1981) derided 18th century European sexual repression arguing that in Roman and Greek societies, sexual relationships, particularly between men, were "exalted", whereas

> Christianity drew the line at monogamous marriage and laid down the principle of exclusively procreative ends within that conjugal relationship or the disallowance of relations between individuals of the same sex. (p. 14)

Foucault (1981) was not alone in identifying the source of European sexual repression in the rise of capitalism (see D'Emilio, 1992; Drucker, 2015; Wolf, 2009). However, the impact of sexual repression rejuvenated Christian homophobic attitudes that predate capitalism. For example, in the Bible there is the often cited justification of homophobia that "If a man lies with a male as with a woman, both of

them have committed an abomination; they shall surely be put to death; their blood is upon them (Leviticus 20:13)." In Fanon's words (1967), Christianity is colonialism's favoured weapon.

The Church in the colonies is the white people's Church, the foreigner's Church. She does not call the native to God's ways but to the ways of the white man, of the master, of the oppressor. And as we know, in this matter many are called but few chosen (Fanon, 1967, p. 20). It can be safely surmised that in the colonial period, Māori were indoctrinated with Christian and Catholic notions of morality. Consequently, *takatāpui* were subject to the homophobia that crosses lines of gender, religion, ethnicity and class as socially produced discrimination (Murray, 2009; Mays, Cochran & Rhue 1993; Jones, 1996; Pilkington & D'Augelli, 1995). The persecution of LGBT has a long history which culminated in discriminatory legislation. The 1533 Buggery Act was passed under Henry V111 and punishable by death. Certainly, the murder of so many homosexuals in Nazi concentration camps has its genesis in homophobia (Garu, 1995; Heuger, 1986; Rector, 1981).

While history accounts for some of the most disturbing acts of inhumanity towards LGBT, the insidiousness of covert discrimination is evident in employment (Badge, Lau & Sears et. al. 2007; Douglas 2015; Tejeda, 2006; Tilcsik, 2011). Douglas's (2015) research into the efficacy of anti-discrimination laws that protect LGBT employees found that although people are generally accepting of LGBT, this acceptance has not transitioned into the workplace, resulting in LGBT workers hiding their sexuality at work. She noted that the discussions on the limited acceptance of gender fluidity and sexualities in the workplace needs greater exploration.

For many *takatāpui*, the traditions of the ancestors illuminates the future because in Māori conceptualisations, the past is described as being in front - "ngā wā o mua." This refers us to our ancestral past and the great migration of *tūpuna* (ancestors) to Aotearoa. According to the spiritual narratives, our origins are in the East Polynesia, from Hawaiki, , the sacred island of Raiatea in Tahiti. Taputapuatea marae was built at Raiatea, a significant landmark to the people of Raiatea, and a site where Ariki were anointed as the chiefly authority of their people (Robson & Heke, 2011, p.8). According to many traditions in the Pacific, a chief named Kupe led a fleet of Māori to Aotearoa from Raiatea during a mass migration in about 1350 (according to genealogical calculations) (Brockway, 1987, p. 222).

Figure 7: Taputapuatea marae at Raiatea, Tahiti (UNESCO). By Kahuroa, 2008 (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Taputapuatea_marae_Raiatea.jpg) CC BY 2.0

These origins can help us understand pre-colonial Māori attitudes to homosexuality as in the Pacific islands, there is clear acknowledgment of non-heterosexual inclusion in society that remains a part of contemporary Pacific life. These include the mahu of Hawaii and Tahiti; the fa'afafine of Samoa; the akava'ine of the Cook Islands and the fakaleiti of Tonga (Adam, 2014; Besnier, 1994; 2003; Mageo, 1992; Schmit 2005). These terms indicates that gender fluidity and sexualities were widely accepted and enriched cultures throughout the Pacific. Pacific ommunities have gifted their knowledge and terms to describe beings of diverse genders as a way of coming together to fight for their rights.

This has led to a plethora of literature supporting indigenous LGBTQI+ rights in the Pacific (see Mageo, 1992; Meneses, 2010; Riches, 2011; Schmidt, 2005; Vanessa, 2007). In the process, there is LGBTQI+ terminology that is Pacific specific, such as *takatāpui*, fa'afafine, fakaleiti and māhū. As one participant observed,

> *We can take reference from our island whānau across Polynesia then there's no denying that we existed in precolonial times because there's too many commonalities amongst the Polynesian people in terms of language, customs, features; we look the same, and [there is] too much that connects us to deny that there was a place for people of diverse genders and sexualities in precolonial Māori society.* (Whatitiri Te Wake)

However, according to Vanessa (2007) in Samoa, fa'afafine were not immune from the negative effects of colonisation and "Christianity taught the evils of homosexuality to the Samoan people and its consequences, it directed the attention to fa'afafine (p. 68).

Although Tonga was never colonised, the Tongans have been subject to the same missionary conquests as those in the rest of Polynesia. Colonisation has infiltrated and afflicted traditional ways of being and lives of all indigenous people throughout Polynesia. Christianity and its teachings were used as a vehicle to elimanate *takatāpui* histories and and the sense of belonging within their culture. Ngata (1986) identified issues in translation from Māori to English, highlighting the importance of content in translation because English and Māori had significant linguistic differences. One example is the use of the personal pronoun 'ia' to denote 'her,' 'hers,' 'him,' 'his,' and 'it.' This gender-neutral terminology can be interpreted as a cultural acceptance of *takatāpui* as gender-neutral people.

The impact of colonisation for *takatāpui* was devastating, resulting in marginalisation, discrimination and a fractured cultural identity.

> We need to be clear that homophobia does not come from *tikanga*. It comes from the colonisers. *Whakapapa* is about inclusion – there needs to be a really good reason to exclude or demean someone in any way. Who they sleep with is not a good reason. (McBreen, 2012, p. 63)

Adam (2014) reinforced this hope for a future that is shaped by justice and humanity and argues that "same-sex relationships recognition, gay marriage are important steps towards full participation in civil society" (p. 276). He argued that although the treatment of same-sex relationships has been a struggle for many men and women over the last two centuries, it has not stopped some, who persevere and "flourish in unprecedented ways" (p. 265).

The literature indicates evidence of historical and cross-cultural same-sex relationships being an integral part of the kinship system, household economies and iconography of many societies. And Māori society is no exception.

The interviews in the creative outcome/documentary are revealing. Without exception, all the *takatāpui* interviewed expressed that their *takatāpuitanga* was shaped by their identity as Māori, reflected in the *whakatauki* (aphorism):

> *He kākano ahau, i ruia mai i Rangiātea*
> I am the seed sown in Rangiātea

Chapter 4: Research Design and Methodology

Methodologically, heuristic enquiry within practice-led research is combined with a kaupapa Māori approach to explore this research topic. The study is inspired by my own experiences as *takatāpui* and a curiosity about traditional and modern attitudes towards *takatāpui*. The research outputs include an exegesis that captures *takatāpui* in contemporary Māori society that is complemented with a short documentary (artefact).

Elizabeth Kerekere (2017) claimed that "Kaupapa Māori research provides the tools…while kaupapa Māori theory ensures the harvest of Māori narratives is underpinned by *te reo, tikanga* and *mātauranga* of Māori language, culture and knowledge" (p.5). Linda Smith (2000) argued that we need Kaupapa Māori Research as, "we have a different epistemological tradition that frames the way we see the world, the way we organize ourselves in it, the questions we ask, and the solutions we seek" (p. 230).

A kaupapa Māori paradigm frames the practice-led, heuristic inquiry and qualitative fieldwork approaches to insider research. The challenges of insider research, (often seen as subjective and susceptible to conflicts of interest) are addressed by applying heuristic inquiry as a key methodological approach. Heuristic inquiry demands personal commitment and a declared self/personal interest in the project. As Moustakas (1990) argues, "in heuristic research the investigator must have had a direct, personal encounter with the phenomenon being investigated. There must have been actual autobiographical connections" (p. 14).

The examination of the place of *takatāpui* in modern Māori society research brings together my own personal identity as *takatāpui Māori* and encapsulates the challenges that *takatāpui* Māori face in our own communities:

> Heuristic research begins with a personal question or challenge, but one that has a social or universal significance. It is aimed at discovery through self-inquiry and dialogue. The life experience of the heuristic researcher and the research participants is not a text to be interpreted but a full story that is vividly portrayed and further elucidated through art and personal documentations. (Moustakas, 1990, p. 14)

Heuristic research is a demanding process, and requires "rigorous definition, careful collection of data, and a thorough and disciplined analysis. It places immense responsibility on the researcher" (Frick, 1990, p. 79). The methods utilised in this research paradigm involve identifying clearly with the topic and engaging with and understanding the research and its intended outcomes.

Qualitative research methods were used to collect and process the data (from the interviews). The way the interviews were undertaken ensured that a kaupapa Māori approach was integral to the process. Kōrerorero (face-to-face interviews) is the most appropriate way to conduct this component of the

research because it practices Māori cultural norms. This is a kaupapa Māori driven study. This means that all of the qualitative methods and procedures included in the study have used a kaupapa Māori approach to research. The data collection process involved organising and presenting the themes, meanings and essences as illustrations of the investigated experiences (see Schneider, Bugental & Pierson. 2001).

However, it is in the application of a pūrākau methodological approach that heuristic Inquiry and kaupapa Māori come together. According to Ware (2009) *pūrākau* (Māori narratives) "embody the values and beliefs of the people and ultimately reflect human qualities, essentially a society's principals, values, traditions, customs and human qualities are learnt from their pūrākau" (p. 22). These beliefs and values are covert and overt and resonate with a heuristic approach. I am particularly interested in the elements in heuristic inquiry that are associated with the concept of tacit and explicit knowledge because my initial research strongly indicated that traditional knowledge about *takatāpui* is subjugated, and, in my opinion, much of it remains hidden. Of particular interest is evidence from *waiata* (songs) and archival sources that *takatāpui* were considered to be an integral and accepted aspect of pre-European Māori culture.

The concept of tacit and explicit knowledge underpins all the methodologies used in this study. The diagram below demonstrates how the hermeneutic and kaupapa Māori paradigms came together methodologically. The pūrākau concept connects what is unseen and tacit and what is seen and explicit into a dynamic of creative growth. Papatūānuku and Ranginui, the primal parents in Māori cosmogony, symbolise unseen or tacit knowledge (*takatāpui* in Māori traditions) being exposed or made explicit through the research processes. The combination of different processes and methodologies are explained graphically in a diagram from Pouwhare (2016) and used here with the author's permission.
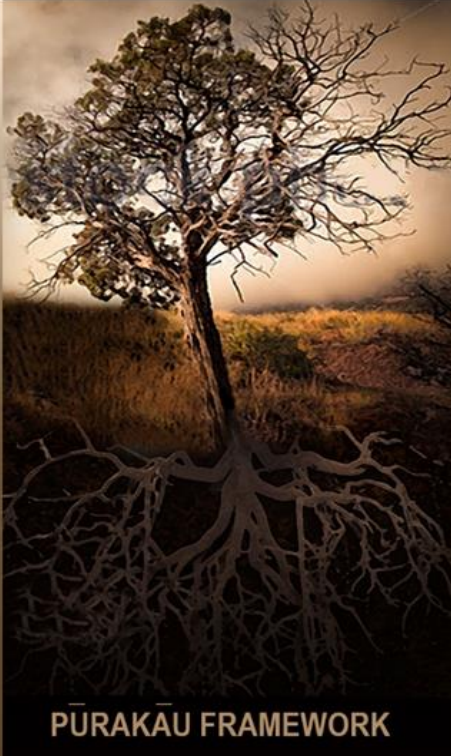
Figure 8. Pūrākau Methodological paradigm.
Reproduced from Pouwhare (2016) and used with permission of author, Robert Pouwhare.

Practice-led research concerns the relationship between theory and practice as it is the practice leading to research insights (Smith & Dean, 2009, p. 5). The purpose for using a practice-led paradigm is to capture both verbal recollections and insights about *takatāpui* whilst using visual data to accompany and enhance the understanding of *takatāpui* in society. As part of this research approach, a documentary was created to showcase the lived experiences of *takatāpui* in society today as a resource of new knowledge for learning and reflecting, not only for *takatāpui*, but for all Māori as well. Although Māori epistemology and practice-led research come from different world views, they intersect across key principles, such as a holistic approach to understanding the world, acknowledgement of the subjective as reality and the acceptance of different ways of thinking and knowing as valid scholarship that challenges academic convention.

In this project, triangulation clearly encouraged me to use diverse ways to expand and question my approach and thinking. These align closely with the notion of the tacit and explicit knowledge. The basic principle of practice-led research is that knowledge is in the making. While this is not commonly stated in Māori conceptualisations of knowledge, it does however add another dimension to the project that does not violate Māori beliefs and values, but rather, adds merit as Māori epistemology recognises the *taha kikokiko* (physical) and the taha *wairua* (spiritual) as key principles of existence.

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Kaupapa Māori provides a way to empower Māori to regain control of our lives, our culture and research related to those things (Bishop, 1994). In this sense, kaupapa Māori can be viewed as an assertion of our cultural beliefs and practices, our ways of knowing and being and our right to both live and maintain them. Kaupapa Māori advocates excellence within Māori culture as well as in Pākehā culture. It is not an either/or choice, for example, in Māori parents wanting full access to both cultural and educational frameworks for their children. The ultimate goal of kaupapa Māori research, like much of the scholarship from indigenous and minority peoples, is to challenge and disrupt the commonly accepted forms of research in order to privilege our own unique approaches and perspectives, and our own ways of knowing and being (Mahuika, 2008). A kaupapa Māori methodology is the foundation of this research as this topic focuses on the current state of te ao Māori and attitudes towards people of Māori descent who identify as LGBTQI+. It is anticipated that the creative output will encourage conversations that could bring about a positive and much needed change in attitude, amongst conservative elements in Māori society.

Kaupapa Māori methodologies mean that the use of Māori practices and norms are integrated in the research practices. These are listed next.

Kaupapa Māori methods

Karakia (prayers/incantations) are the conduit that link the temporal to the spiritual. Applied to the research process, the rituals safeguard the researcher, participants and any sacred content. The exegesis opens with a karakia which is recited at the opening of the documentary and before each interview.

Whakapapa:

Māori ontology and cosmology are an indication of the principles that inform kaupapa Māori (Ka'ai & Higgins, 2004; Smith, 2003). Māori creation mythology is considered sacred whakapapa and not just folk tales (Walker, 1990). The integration of whakapapa into the research, from the time the universe was created, is a critical tool because it establishes *takatāpui* cultural identity.

> *Na Rangi taua, na Tuanuku e takoto nei; ko ahau tenei, ko mea a mea.*
> We are descended from Rangi and Tuanuku; as for me I am so and so; child of so and so (Mead, 2003).

The concept of whakapapa is also evident in the researcher's and participants' tribal identifies.

Kōrero a waha:

Kōrero a waha (discussion) with *takatāpui* includes recollections and insights of cultural traditions. *Kōrerorero* (open discussion) is an unstructured interactive engagement that can meander away from the topic. Using a more structured approach to *kōrero a waha* helped to keep the focus on the key questions of the qualitative interviews.

Kōrero tuhituhi:

Written knowledge for this research involved collecting data such as *pūrākau* (oral narrative), *whakapapa* (genealogical connections) and *waiata* (chants). The main archival sources were drawn from New Zealand National Archives and the Auckland Public Library. The Journal of the Polynesian Society was also a source of traditional material. The Rangikāheke manuscripts held in the Auckland Library, are especially significant because it is from these manuscripts that traditional attitudes to *takatāpui* are recorded.

Waiata:

Ka'ai-Mahuta (2010) states that "waiata have been likened to the archives of the Māori people, preserving important historical and cultural knowledge (p. 11). Waiata offer an alternative view of the history of Aotearoa/New Zealand to those that are based on Eurocentric history books and archives. Intimacy between people of the same sex are celebrated in *waiata aroha* (love songs) and *mōteatea* (chants). Today, *takatāpui* community groups such as *Ahakoa Te Aha collective* have contributed to the repertoire of waiata *takatāpui* and mōteatea. The research draws on waiata as literature.

Pūrākau:

Narratives can be interpreted as reference points within our own histories. Participants were asked to give insights and personal narratives around aspects of their own understandings, teachings and knowledge of *takatāpui*. It is through this conversation where we draw on experiences that have shaped and defined our people as *takatāpui*. That in itself can be a safe space for Māori to be who they are, express themselves freely and still feel connected to their ao Māori, iwi, hapu and whānau.

Mahi auaha:

The artefact created for this research is a documentary that involved collaborations with others that are identified in the next section.

Key Practice-led research methods

My methods differ slightly from those developed by Pouwhare (Figure 7) around his use of artistic practice-led inquiry as his methods were designed specifically for his research project. I did not incorporate relational charting or narration into my creative output. However, collaboration on design, sound, and cinematography involved support, guidance and assistance from members of the Māori community at my university.

Immersion:

My research is underpinned by the fact that not only is this to help my own journey in navigating my place of belonging within te ao Māori as *takatāpui*, but during the research process I fully immersed myself in activities of rōpū tautoko (support groups), LGBTQI+ events. As a tribal person living in the city and studying in a Māori environment I am always immersed in my culture. However, as part of the research process I was more mindful of both my being Māori and *takatāpui*. Initially the pathway for the research was a self-discovery. As I went deeper into the research, I realised on reflection, that the place of *takatāpui* was embedded in Te Ao Māori through whakapapa.

Iterations:

Artistic, practice-led research is knowledge in the making (Bolt, 2007). It incorporates hermeneutic analysis in the sense that it demands constant review and reflection. All aspects of the research process were subjected to constant reflection and reviewing of interview content from different perspectives, deliberating over the interpretations. This involved redesigning the sequences in the documentary and adding footage as is expected when the process is driven by reflexivity. As a result of this method I can truly say that the research was practice-led and the creative output determined the direction of the entire project.

Qualitative interviews methods

Underpinning the qualitative interviews are the principles of heuristic inquiry and kaupapa Māori research methods. Both approaches subscribe to a notion of inclusivity and collaboration.

> From these individual depictions and portraits from research participants, a composite depiction is developed. This represents the entire group of co-researchers. The primary researcher then develops a creative synthesis from this material. (Moustakas, 1996, p. 21).

The profile of the participants required that they

        a) identified as *takatāpui*;

        b) had a working knowledge of te reo Māori; and

        c) were in the age range of 20-45 years.

Data collection

The marae was chosen as the most appropriate venue to interview *takatāpui* participants. The interview process began with *karakia* (prayer/incantation) that helped settle the participant and create the right environment for the interview process.

Data Analysis

I used conventional qualitative methods to analyse the data and in conformance with heuristic inquiry, this was tempered by constant reflection and reviewing of interview content from different perspectives, deliberating over the interpretations. Thematic analysis gave the process structure. Data analysis involved identifying patterns or emergent themes from the responses to questions. Miles and Huberman (1994) described the process of thematic analysis in as a set of data systematically as "sub clustered... organised to permit the researcher to contrast, compare analyse, and bestow patterns upon them" (p. 511).

Interviews

Collecting and processing data from the interviews enabled them to be incorporated into the film documentary to complement the exegesis. There were two key questions:

1. How does your Māori identity impact your *takatāpui* identity?
2. How does your *takatāpui*tanga influence your Māoritanga?

The analysis of the qualitative data from these two questions is presented in chapter 5.

Methods for the creative output: documentary

The following methods were used to develop the documentary. Throughout the development reflexivity occurred with resultant iterations that improved the creative outcome.

- Design the structure of the documentary.
- Storyboard the script, always checking to ensure it aligns with the written exegesis.
- Collect and collate images for film footage.
- Film the interviews.
- Record the narrator.
- Edit visuals.
- Record music and sound effects.
- Undertake final edit.

Conclusion

This chapter has focused on outlining the integration of three methodologies and how the methods from these is used in the research and creative processes. The next two chapters (Chapters 5 and 6) present an analysis of the qualitative interviews and chart the development of the creative research output.

Chapter 5: Qualitative Research Interview Findings

The interviews were filmed inside the whare at Ngā Wai o Horotiu marae. The previous chapter outlined Māori protocols were practiced to create a comfortable environment for participants. The researcher complied with the ethics requirements to ensure that the rights of participants were assured and this included consent to use their names, tribal affiliation, age and occupation.

Profile of participants

Table 1 shows the names, iwi, age range and occupation of each of the participants. This indicates different tribes, occupations and an age range of 20 to 70 years, to give different perspectives, experiences and knowledge of *takatāpui*. All participants were men who identified as *takatāpui* and were approached directly by the researcher through my personal networks.

Table 1: Interview participants' demographic profiles

Participant	Tribal affiliation	Age range	Occupation
Rawiri Keelan	Ngāti Pōrou	40-50 yrs	Lecturer (Education)
Whatitiri Te Waka	Te Rarawa ki Hokinga	30-40 yrs	Journalist
Shaun Hindt	Waikato Tainui	30-40 yrs	Advisor (Auckland High Court)
Pere Wihongi	Ngāpuhi	20-30 yrs	Creative Artist
Lee Smith	Ngāti Kahungunu	60-70 yrs	Linguist/Academic

The connection to te ao Māori was pervasive and positive throughout all of the interviews. I had not anticipated the richness and depth of information that participants shared so generously. To make the best possible use of this rich data, I used their stories in other parts of the exegesis as supportive evidence.

After reviewing and reflecting on the documentary it became apparent to me that the interviews had not captured the discrimination and prejudice that is the reality for most, if not all *takatāpui*. Mindful of the trauma that delving into this aspect of the *takatāpui* experience I chose to investigate and expose myself. This gesture protected my participants from potentially experiencing very painful recollections.

Relating my own personal experiences was extremely confronting. However, on further reflection, as it symbolised the collective experience, that I suspect all of the participants had intimate knowledge of.

Lee Smith, was not filmed and does not appear in the documentary, as he preferred an unstructured conversation. As the responses were collated thematically, this posed a slight challenge. However, as I used participant responses in other parts of the exegesis, insights from his interview proved to be valuable within the exegesis.

All participants, except Lee Smith, were asked four open ended questions.

1. What is the place of *takatāpui* in Māori society?
2. In your opinion, what are the cultural attitudes towards *takatāpui*?
3. Have you got any thoughts about the role of *takatāpui* in marae protocols?
4. What would you like to see change about the place of *takatāpui* in Māori society?

The three key themes that emerged from the research were:

Theme 1: Being *takatāpui*

Theme 2: Gender roles on the marae

Theme 3: Stereotyping in Māori society

I took excerpts from the conversations that aligned to the collated thematic analysis from the four participants who appear in the documentary. I structured the findings this way because each participant presented different insights and perspectives on the theme. These excerpts added depth to the interviews that were presented in the documentary. A photograph of each participant from the documentary is included in the analysis section. Lee Smith's photograph is also included.

Figure 9: Screen grab (00:07:50) Rāwiri Keelan.

All of the participants affirmed and celebrated dual identity as *takatāpui* and Māori. The findings from the interviews give credence to the data from the 2013 Census (Statistics New Zealand, 2013) which showed that a person's connectivity to Māori culture was influenced by identity and a sense of belonging, rather than behaviour.

We found no significant association between life satisfaction and the other measures of connecting with Māori culture (te reo Māori speaking proficiency and visits to their ancestral marae). This suggests that the impact on life satisfaction that comes from Māori culture is through a way of thinking rather than any specific behaviour. (Statistics New Zealand 2013, p.16).

Cultural connectivity and *takatāpui* identity were synonymous for all of the participants.

> *I use my Maori identity to claim my space, to uphold my mana, so that I can stand as takatāpui. My takatāpuitanga actually serves to challenge those boundaries that keep me out or restrict me and it allows me as takatāpui to enter and then my Māoritanga is able to solidify in those spaces and amongst those people.* (Rawiri Keelan)

> *It has everything to do with my identity as takatāpui being Maori, for the reason the word is used for people of Maori descent and identify with diverse sexualities and gender identity, I think they go hand in hand.* (Whatitiri Te Waka)

> *When I reconnected with my taha Māori, it was where I really found a place where I did belong and why I felt being takatāpui was celebrated. It was a space where I wasn't criticised for being who I am, and it was also a space where I could express myself and not be ostracised for being contrary to the understandings of the Bible that I had grown up with, so once I found that place and established that I connected with my ao Māori, it was a platform for me to accept who I was and taking ownership of my ao Māori and my ao takatāpui.* (Shaun Hindt)

With takatāpuitanga we can take forward with us the values from our traditions, our customs and in our upbringing, we also take with us the values of the women that have inspired us growing up and also subtle traits of the males that have inspired us as well. It is their world it is their environment the way they're in which they were nurtured and grown in te ao Māori ināianei and shows how much the Māori world has influenced them. (Pere Wihongi)

I was going to be a Māori speaking activist, a teacher, researcher, and I was going to be a full out gay man. They were problems I had to solve, and they resolved at the same time because as soon as I accepted my gayness te reo Maori just flew out of my mouth like that. (Lee Smith)

Theme 2: Gender roles

Figure 10: Screen grab (00:08:20) Whatitiri Te Wake

Clearly, although gender roles are a site that is potentially contestable for *takatāpui*, surprisingly, there were participants who supported conventional sexual role differentiation in ritual life.

Some mātauranga that should be and can only be held [by] males, some mātauranga that can only be held by females, but there are other types of mātauranga that cannot be held neither of those gender and the perfect guardians for that mātauranga and that is how it was traditional[ly] (Rāwiri Keelan).

There is a place there for takatāpui to teach and guide and tuku i ēnei mātauranga. I would rather teach wāhine Māori myself the karanga than do it myself. I would want to try and find strategies in which we can not only build our pae wahine but also allow our whānau takatāpui to gift those taonga. (Pere Wihongi)

by a specific gender, thus it is that mātauranga that is gifted to *takatāpui* because we are

However, others observed *takatāpui* blurred gender lines on the marae.

I've always found that Māori gay people or takatāpui are always helping somewhere on the marae, you're either doing the dishes, singing the waiata tautoko, you're working in a kōhanga. (Lee Smith)

Heavy influences from the outside has definitely reprogrammed our minds to think that this is how things should be, you're either man or woman, no grey area black or white and I find that problematic…We can sometimes find ourselves having to be deflecting masculinity because the idea of that in te ao Māori is about being staunch male, but never we talk about the feminine side of how tane Māori (men) can portray themselves. (Whatitiri Te Wake)

Others were contemplative about the place of *takatāpui* in our culture.

I think the myth is that we don't always recognise that there are two te ao Māori as well. There is that aspect of te ao Māori that is steeped in tikanga, kawa and matauranga all of those components where we as takatāpui we must find our place in our hapū, marae and whānau so we feel that connectedness that we are still considered whanau. (Rāwiri Keelan)

As for asserting my mana, nō te ao Māori, nō ōku tūpuna toku mana, and if being takatāpui is part of who I am, then the goal is for those two kaupapa to be intertwined and be connected. (Whatitiri Te Wake)

There were also those who expressed the need to challenge the status quo regarding gender roles in te ao Māori.

To an extent I would challenge those whakaaro in the interest of being true to myself. I encourage and support the idea that to be Māori doesn't mean to prescribe [i.e. subscribe] to what I would consider Western ideologies around hegemonic masculinity. I don't think to be Māori means to be a man, and haka like a man…for me I express myself most authentically when I am expressing myself through waiata more femininity and that's how I connect. (Shaun Hindt)

I guess to an extent I feel the pressure around hegemonic masculinity in te ao Māori and being a Māori man and what that means to me. Many of our whānau are who still chained by the shackles of those ways of thinking that modern concept of what or who we should be as people. (Shaun Hindt)

*Mō te taha o te whaikorero, I believe we can have trick (great) takatāpui on our pae, the pae doesn't have to stop at tokotoko, why not poi on the pae, the tools are to enhance the kōrero and is an extension of who you are. (*Pere Wihongi)

Theme 2: Stereotypical gender roles are problematic

Figure 11: Screen grab (00:09:30) Pere Wihongi

The consensus from all participants was that negative attitudes to *takatāpui* have no place in Māori culture. *Takatāpui* are born into whānau and are descendants of the gods Ranginui and Papatūānuku. Despite this truism the responses from participants showed the disjuncture between tūturu Māori beliefs and practices and the contemporary expression.

This is indicative of the part we play in contemporary Māori society as the vanguard of change. In our own way, we as *takatāpui* are challenging the status quo and reclaiming ancient traditional spaces, perverted by colonialism. Evidence of *takatāpui* acceptance within pre-colonial Māori culture is meagre, which is unsurprising given that Māori was an oral language. Literacy came with the colonisation. However, there are sufficient reference points from the study to establish that *takatāpui* and their existence in the pre-European contact world was a given. This provides a platform for challenging the status quo today.

Figure 12: Screen grab (00:09:00) Shaun Hindt

I think if we look traditionally at te ao Māori there was no clear boundaries or definition around takatāpui or gender differences. Takatāpui in our old world was simply about being. I think modernity, foreign concepts, religion and other factors have actually forced a shift where we as takatāpui and we as Māori now have to fight and push our identity and claim our identity: he taumaha tērā mahi. I think the role of takatāpui today and place in this world is firstly define where and how they fit in. It's an ongoing challenge about being recognised and celebrated as takatāpui. (Rāwiri Keelan)

It all comes down to Christianity and how genders fall under the Bible and traditions around the Bible. My family being Mormon and then Catholic, Rātana, so there is a heavy colonisation effect there and it's shown how our Māori acknowledge takatāpui and how it has been lacking throughout history since arrival. (Pere Wihongi)

Figure 13: Lee Smith screengrab from Wakahuia, 2017. Retrieved from
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AqzVO75-SqQ

The next chapter on the documentary presents a more cohesive and nuanced rendition of the themes. The message is clear that despite the challenges (and there are many) of being *takatāpui*, being Māori is the constant in all of our lives. The film is a celebration of *takatāpui*tanga.

Chapter 6. The Making of the Documentary

Creating this film meant facing many challenges. Storyboarding was a crucial part to creating the documentary as within the story board it was identified that the narrative of the film needed to be clear and precise in order to carry out a visual timeline of *takatāpuitanga*. This project was a low budget film and filming was shot on Auckland University of Technology grounds at Ngā Wai o Horotiu marae. As a production with an extremely limited budget there were significant obstacles obtaining access to filming gear that fitted in with the availability of the location and participants. Time management and organizing for multiple shoots and interviews required the researcher to navigate everyone's needs and availability.

The first shoot for the performance scene was creative in capturing individual depictions of Rangi and Papa, however, there was no link or synergy with each individual's performance. Upon reflection, however, the second shoot was where the narration or karakia became the storyline, and the performance illustrated the actions representing the words of the karakia that created a connection between the two characters and with the researcher. Collaboration with peers and others around storyboarding, planning, filming and editing the documentary was all premised on each individual and their ability to carry out different stages of the project.

Key purpose of the documentary

This documentary aimed to present a timeline of history for *takatāpui* people. The past showed the fight for human rights and acceptance of LGBTQ+ people, and the present shows that generations today are now fighting for their identity within a society that acknowledges only male and female genders, in the hope that *takatāpui* can be acknowledged as a third gender in te ao Māori. I chose to take a lead role in the documentary. This conforms with the principles of heuristic inquiry, which places the researcher at the centre of the research.

Documentary structure

Opening scene

The opening scene of the documentary begins at Ngā Wai o Horotiu marae. It is a place that symbolises our university's commitment to its Māori community and is my "home" marae in the city (i.e. Auckland). The marae is the bastion of *mātauranga* Māori (knowledge).

Figure 14: Ngā Wai o Horotiu marae. With permission AUT.

The opening karakia creates a space with the intention of connecting the audience to a metaphysical realm. The narrator, Parekura Pewhairangi, was chosen for the quality of his voice and his ability to recite the karakia in such a way as the *ihi* (psychic force/power) and *wehi* (awe) is captured.

I am the main protagonist in the documentary, which was deliberately designed to encapsulate the spirit of heuristic inquiry and places me, as the researcher, in the centre of the research. The image of me to symbolize *takatāpui*tanga) entering the wharenui is the beginning of my/our journey of self-discovery. The karakia hangs over me and poses the question: "*E noho au i te roro o tōku whare, ka whakaaro noa. I ahu mai ahau i hea? I ahu mai au i te aha*?" (As I sit within the body of my house, I wonder - where did I come from, what are my origins?). The scene is set in black and white as the narration starts back in time of te ao Māori and its origin story of *te kore* (the void) and *te pō* (the darkness).

The image of me using patu and poi on the *marae ātea* (open space in front of the wharenui) represents the male and female elements. In a Māori ontology, we are descendants of both *Papatūānuku* (female atua/element) and *Ranginui* (male atua/element). The use of the *patu* and the *poi* symbolise this phenomenon (Figures 15 & 16).

Figure 15: Screen grab (00:22:15) Tangaroa with poi

Figure 16: Screen grab (00:00:21) Tangaroa with patu

Scene one: Ranginui and Papatūānuku

Scene one is a performance piece that depicts the story of Ranginui and Papatūānuku and their separation which brought light to the world, Te Ao Mārama. A side-by-side mirror shot of the performer as both Ranginui (with a patu) and Papatūānuku (with poi) conveys a key message that all Māori (despite gender) are children of Ranginui and Papatūānuku. The intention of using *taonga pūoro* is to enhance the atmosphere and spark an emotional connection to both Ranginui and Papatūānuku.

The backdrop of scene one is the carvings that cover the walls of Ngā Wai o Horotiu Marae. One of the *poupou* (carved post) depicts the famous demi-god, Māui morphing into a *mokomoko* (lizard) in his quest to gain immortality in the *whare tangata* (womb) of *Hinenui-i-te-pō* (the great goddess of death). The use of this backdrop was calculated, and acts as an indication of the human ability to morph aspects

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of *taha tāne* and *taha wahine* into one body. This scene ends with the title of the documentary "Ko au tēnei, nā Rangi, nā Tūānuku" taken from the whakatauki.

> *Nā Rangi tāua, nā Tūānuku e takoto nei; ko ahau tēnei, ko mea a mea.*
> You and I are the descendants of Ranginui and Papatūānuku. I am from so and so.

My playing both roles is deliberate – it is a metaphor to say, "we are all the same". That one can be any gender, and still be children of Ranginui and Papatūānuku.

Scene two: Archival footage

Scene two is a montage of archival footage that demonstrates recorded footage of both LGBTQ+ and *takatāpui* people throughout New Zealand history. The purpose of the montage is to provide a realistic snapshot of the current world for the LGBTQ+ in Aotearoa. The first video presents protesters agitating for homosexual law reform in New Zealand; the legislation was passed in 1986.

Figure 17: Screen grab (00:02:55). (Image from Te Karere You Tube clip, 2011). Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-nEwJw_jOrU

The second video is of the 1987 Grim Reaper commercial aimed at raising awareness in Australia and New Zealand of the dangers of the acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS) virus. Underpinning this campaign is the prejudices and discrimination that were linked to the AIDS epidemic.

> Social researchers and political activists in the 1980s argued that sexual risk-taking is not a question of who you are but of what you do, how, and with whom. This assertion that risk-taking is cultural activity carrying a range of meanings, shifted strategies for containing human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) away from moral judgements of risky social and sexual identities towards attempts to understand risky sexual practices and their meanings. In this shift, heterosexual identities lost their innocence (Holland, Ramazanoglu, & Sharpe et.al., 1998, p.2).

The next clip acknowledges the 2011 death of key activist Carmen Rupe, who was one of New Zealand's first drag queens. This is followed by a short video that commemorates the day that gay marriage was recognised and passed into New Zealand legislation with the Marriage (Legal recognised union between two people as partners in a relationship) Amendment Act 2013. This was significant progress for the LGBTQ+ community and symbolises the shift in attitude since the era of the "grim reaper" commercial

The final video is a short segment from *Marae*, in which the Matua twin sisters were interviewed about their kapa haka experiences. One of the sisters explains that she "is a tane in a wāhine's body" and she wishes to perform in the male line one day. These snapshots of the *takatāpui* experience are put in chronological order to illustrate the progress Aotearoa has made for the community. However, it is clear, from the participants' responses there is more work to be done.
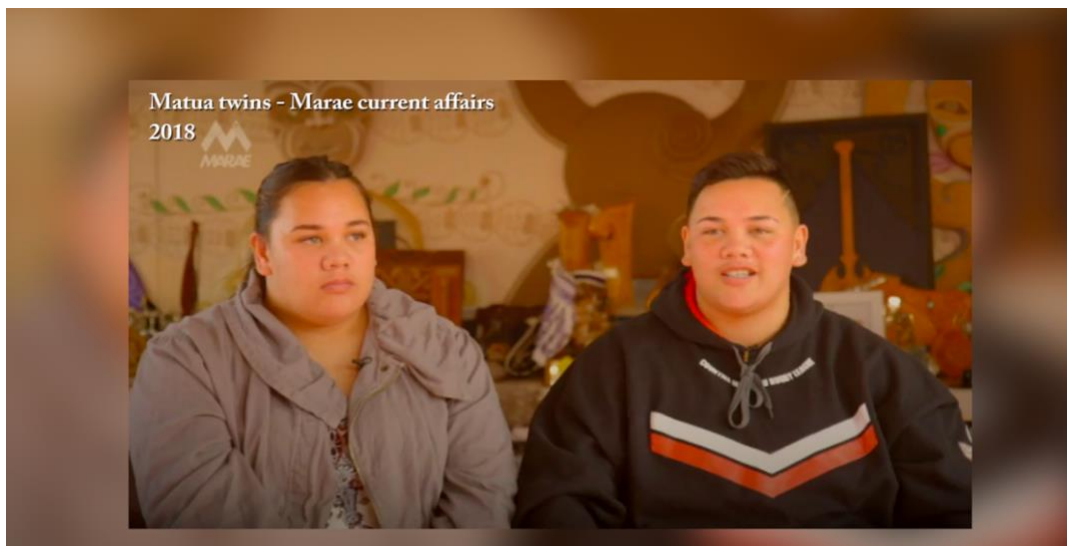

Figure 18: Matua twins screengrab from Television New Zealand (TVNZ), 2018. Retrieved form https://www.tvnz.co.nz/one-news/new-zealand/-really-want-stand-tane-south-auckland-twins-challenge-traditional-gender-roles-in-kapa-haka

Scene three: My story

Figure 19: Screen grab (00:04:20) *Kairangahau* (Researcher)

This section of the documentary captures my story and lived experiences as *takatāpui*, my personal journey, and connection with the topic. I speak directly to the audience. It is the most personal and emotional experience in the documentary and was personally very challenging. It was also part of the reflexive process; as I reflected on the documentary, I felt it needed to include experiences that are unfortunately the reality for most if not all *takatāpui*. I was also very careful not to put any of the participants in a position that would cause them stress. Again, my story is our story.

Scene five: Interviews

Figure 20: Interview participants – L-R Rāwiri Keelan, Whatitiri Te Wake, Shaun Hindt, Pere Wihongi

I anguished about whether to interview each participant in a place of their choosing - at their home or by the sea, depending on their preferences. However, on reflection, Ngā Wai o Horotiu marae was the right place for the interviews, because the kaupapa is *tūturu* (authentic Māori). The marae is pan-tribal, and given that the participants are from different tribes but in an urban centre away from their tribal areas, it was the most appropriate environment in which to film their interviews. However, there were technical issues due to the low budget, as the filming of the interviews would have benefitted from being shot from different angles. This learning will inform future postgraduate work.

Closing scene: Credits and poi performance

The documentary ends with the film credits. While the credits are rolling, the researcher performs an original poi item, choreographed by the researcher. The poi item is based on an individual who sits within the wharenui and reflects on the histories, *pūrakau* (narratives) and teachings embedded within each part of the whare of Ngā Wai o Horotiu. It identifies the diversity and inclusivity for all people from all backgrounds and cultures. It is confirmation that everyone and everything is connected through *whakapapa* (genealogy). Included within this poi is the acknowledgment and acceptance for people to be their authentic selves. Identifying firstly as Māori is synonymous to being *takatāpui*. The combination of the waiata and the original poi performance guides the audience back on to the ātea and symbolises the coming out into the evolutionary world where the whakatauki is re-emphasised to affirm the place of all Māori as descendants of Ranginui and Papatūānuku.

Figure 21: Screen grab (00:22:35*)* The indisputable place of *takatāpui* in te ao Māori

Conclusion

Ever since my parents described to me how they saw my way of expression, this research topic has been important to my journey of self-discovery. After 'coming out' to my family (i.e. disclosing my sexual orientation) in 2012, between then and 2016, the way I felt my world defined me as, was simply gay. However, my struggle to connect and remain connected to my Māori world has been apparent since my childhood and understanding my own fear of exclusion if I did not fit within it. I learned after engaging with other *takatāpui* in my urban community that there was a common fear of disconnection and exclusion from whānau, hapū and iwi. This research has been of great benefit to my own journey, and the transformative practice of others around me as they establish and negotiate their own understandings around *takatāpui*tanga.

Today it is still a fight for many young Māori to claim their identity in whatever shape or form that is. Despite the effects of colonisation, Māori people have come a long way in retaining, reclaiming and decolonising aspects of the Māori culture. Due to the bastardisation and hybridisation of some of those cultural aspects, there is still more to be done, more stories to be told, and traditional forms of knowledge to be recaptured and gifted back to our communities. The practice of decolonising the minds of Māori people is vital to the survival and the development of this evolutionary culture that is steeped in tikanga, kawa and mātauranga Māori. It is a *tumanako* (aspiration) that one day te ao Māori will acknowledge and celebrate a third gender again, so that those who identify as such can stand, not only within their communities and culture, but also, as their true, authentic selves.

The purpose of the study was a means to seek what is not known and create a new way of understanding of what it means to be *takatāpui* in combination with what it means to be Māori. The methodological approach of heuristic enquiry within a kaupapa Māori paradigm helped to explore this issue facing *takatāpui* Māori in contemporary society. Creating a visual component through the documentary was envisaged as a safe, authentic and empowering means to distribute the findings of this research. It was envisioned that a documentary would capture not only my own journey and experiences but those of other Māori who are *takatāpui* as well and encourage conversations among our people to discuss and create understandings about being *takatāpui* and being Māori.

Creating a film was considered to be the best way to create a connection for audience members, so they could be carried through the narrative along with the participants, in order to evoke an informative analysis of the struggles, attitudes, historic forces, and colonised ways of thinking has impacted hugely on those who were simply being themselves. The original research was to investigate the historical forces that shape *takatāpui* experiences in New Zealand society. However, the findings correlate to show the significant impact on, and implications for the ways in which Māori people experience being

in the world. From the beginning of the study it was clear that developing a documentary would enhance and give a visual lens to complement my postgraduate research, despite its challenges.

The process of film making from pre-production through to post-production was time-consuming yet crucial to the overall completion of this study. Having no real experience in documentary filmmaking was a major challenge, however the amount of learning from this experience was greater than expected, and the end result is humbling. This film was created so that it would stand as a reference point for Māori who feel lost, disconnected or excluded from their ao Māori and a reclamation of their identity as *takatāpui*.

There are real challenges facing Māori who identify with diverse genders and sexualities. The perspectives on *takatāpui*tanga and what it means to be *takatāpui* have been infiltrated by foreign concepts, religion and other factors that have shaped not only *takatāpui* people but the way in which all Māori see, react and engage with *takatāpui*. This study was to reaffirm not only the researcher's own life and identity, but those of all who struggle to understand who they are and where they fit in within their ao Māori.

Parallel to cultural identity is the exploration of LGBT and how that fits or does not fit within *te ao Māori*, as discussed in a critical overview of literature that explored LBGT studies, gender fluidity and identity, struggle for acceptance, religion, and its own perspectives on male and female only roles in society. In addition, an overview was provided of Pacific knowledge around beings of diverse genders and sexualities along with other commonalities such as language, customs and practices. It also provided the background to the term *takatāpui* itself and the narrative it stems from with reference to *takatāpui* being part of its culture and society in pre-colonial times. The existing literature that identifies *takatāpui* today affirms their identity and the use of a term to describe Māori who are of diverse genders and sexualities. The interview participants confirmed their existence as *takatāpui* and their identity as Māori were connected through whakapapa that is premised on the idea that whakapapa connects us all.

It was clear that using pūrākau and its methods would bring forth the creation of new and lost knowledge from te ao Māori, and with it a true reflection of how *takatāpui* can still be who they are and yet still embody the values and beliefs entrenched within our Māori ontologies and epistemologies. Kaupapa Māori research, practice-led research, and qualitative interview methods proved to be effective tools to gain insights *takatāpuitanga* experiences within the broader historical context. In the process, I endeavored to capture the lived experiences of *takatāpui* in pre and post-colonial Māori society.

Throughout the interviews it soon became apparent that there was a vast amount of knowledge both lost and forgotten, and also new knowledge that had to be included in some way. Within the documentary there is a limited amount of time to expend on kōrero from participants. To ensure that these voices

were heard, some of interview content is included in the exegesis to support and complement the documentary. The final chapter was a critical commentary of the documentary and captures key points from the participants in order to create a correlation to literature, societal views, te ao Māori and discuss future contributions.

Contributions to the Field

This research contributes to the LGBT + field of research by challenging negative and incorrect stereotypes about *takatāpui* and their place and role in modern society. Because there is a lack of research around *takatāpuitanga* and its Māori world view, we reference *takatāpui* or its equivalent to beings of diverse genders and sexualities from other indigenous cultures and specifically, within Polynesia and Melanesia, to seek commonalities to establish an understanding of who they are and the roles they had in our old world. This research is empowering for *takatāpui* and an acknowledgment of their *takatāpui*tanga. It also validates indigenous knowledge and demystifies misconceptions of historic influences by illuminating truth, stimulating a legacy of research on *takatāpui*tanga as well as inspiring other *takatāpui* to be researchers. The documentary is also a safe component for those who hold strong negative views towards *takatāpui*, as a resource to provide them with an informative lens without conflict and give them the space to draw their own conclusions about aspects of *takatāpui*tanga.

Further Research

The finding from my research strongly indicate that prescribed gender roles in contemporary Māori society are still a challenge for *takatāpui*. This indicative study will be used as the basis for further research on the topic to facilitate the development of a full-length film as the creative output for doctoral research. With the opportunity to develop this study into a film, it is a hope that this may resonate with not only Māori but with all people of indigenous cultures. The film will be a visual reference for those seeking a way to connect and remain connected to their culture. Having a low budget made the creation of this film difficult to carry out, which restricted the creative flare and authenticity of what needed to be captured. However, it is an indicative study, because I now intend to use the film as a base for a full-length documentary for my PhD.

*Takatāpui*tanga has only been a genre of study within the last decade or so. With literature from indigenous researchers such as (Kerekere 2017, Te Awekōtuku 2001, and Pihama 2019), it is evident that there is a need to balance the negative experiences in te ao Māori. This research has taught me that the tension between positive and negative experiences creates an opportunity to creatively explore this dialectical positioning of *takatāpui*tanga. From a historical point of view, we can identify the colonial influences and hegemony that impacted not only *takatāpui* but all Māori; we do however need to look at how some Māori have allowed these colonial biases and prejudices (internal factors) to influence them to the point that they perpetuate these Western ideologies, thus causing harm to their own whānau,

hapū, and iwi (external factors) and enabling the continuation of entrenched homophobic attitudes still being experienced by Māori today.

Although the status quo for inclusiveness within formal settings is determined by each *marae, hapū* and *iwi,* we are yet to acknowledge these as another part of our cultural history and existence. Gender roles and expectations are limiting for both *takatāpui* and our communities. In this study the past has proved to illuminate the future (*ngā wā o mua*) as the research has proved that pre-contact attitudes to *takatāpui* were positive and healthy. The imposition of colonisation has had a detrimental impact on all aspects of Māori existence and the *takatāpui* experiences is a microcosm of attitudes to sexuality that have no place in any society.

The masculinity and femininity duality inherent in every person are biological (female and male chromosomes) or as we know it, taha wahine, taha tāne. The holistic Māori world view affirms that truism and has recognised the place of *takatāpui* as integral to our world since the beginning of time. Māori are all descendants of Ranginui and Papatūānuku. It is through our whakapapa that we seek validation of who we are and where we come from, for our place in te ao Māori and te ao hurihuri cannot be denied.

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