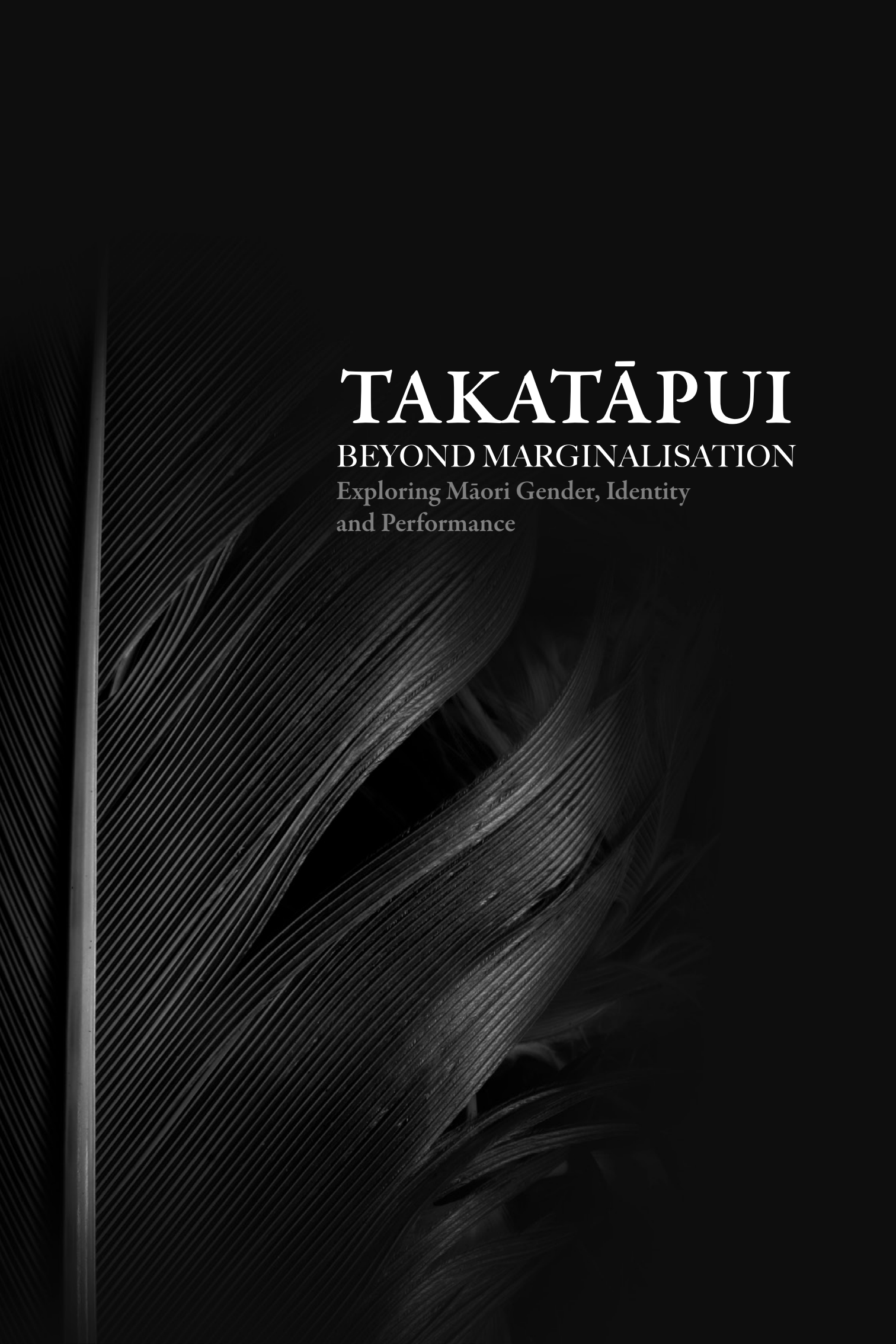

TAKATĀPUI

BEYOND MARGINALISATION

Exploring Māori Gender, Identity and Performance

Design by Nabil Sabra & Tangaroa Paora
Proofread by Elwyn Sheehan

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Takatāpui - Beyond Marginalisation: Exploring Māori Gender, Identity and Performance

DEDICATION

He pukapuka tēnei mō ngā tūpuna o nehe,
i para i te huarahi mō tātou ngā mokopuna
haere ake nei.

I dedicate this thesis to the takatāpui of the past who, although often nameless and erased, have lived lives that have shaped the world.

This thesis is submitted to Auckland University of Technology in partial fulfilment of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Tangaroa Ihaia Pirihongi Paora

Master of Arts in Māori Development [First Class honours] Auckland University of Technology, (2019).

Bachelor of Māori Development Auckland University of Technology (2015).

30th July 2023

ABSTRACT

This practice-led thesis adopts a critically iterative approach to address the question:

How might an artistic reconsideration of gender role differentiation give a unique voice to takatāpui tāne identity?

The research seeks to illuminate experiential contexts, then generate visual and performance artefacts where the principle of irarere within gender identity and sexual orientation might find a purposeful place to stand within te ao Māori.

Emanating from a Kaupapa Māori paradigm, the research employs the methodological metaphor of Te Whare Rangahau, populated with methods including karakia, kanohi ki te kanohi interviewing, iterative experimentation, pakiwaitara (poetic inquiry), photography, and choreography.

Drawing on interviews with takatāpui tāne, the study reveals knowledge about identity and examines how this has been expressed through performance. The study is motivated by my identity as a takatāpui tāne who manifests irarere. In the thesis, this embodiment is synthesised with external data to create a live performance and a published book that interface poetry with portraiture. The live performance merges oratory, imagery and Kapa Haka[1] inside a Whare Takatāpui. In this space takatāpui tāne are conceived as poupou, and agents who maintain the dignity of being Māori and queer.

The significance of the study lies in its contribution to the evolution of both Kapa Haka and takatāpui identity.

1 Kapa Haka deliberately uses capitals throughout the exegesis to accentuate its significance.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I could not have completed this thesis without the support of my supervisors. First, my primary supervisor, Professor Welby Ings. I do not have the words to express my gratitude and honour to have him as my mentor and guide. His patience, care, and creative heart have strengthened my belief in myself and more importantly in this kaupapa. He has been forceful in expecting excellence because of his belief in the significance of this work. His continuous effort in making space for takatāpui to exist in the academy and the world is something that I hold dear to my heart. Tēnei te whakamānawa atu ki a koe, ko Maniapoto te Rohe Pōtae, ko Aotearoa marae te tūrangawaewae okioki.

Second, I would like to thank Professor Hinematau McNeill, who with her whānau unconditionally supported my journey at university and pushed me to be the best I could. I am indebted to her for connecting the analytical and creative fields of scholarship so that this exegesis might have impact within the academy and wider society. She has always checked up on me, making connections and finding support. E kore e tāea te whakakupu tika ai i ngā mihi o te ngākau kei taku Ahorangi, taku māreikura, taku kuia nō Tapuika.

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I express affection and deep appreciation for my whānau and friends who learned, healed, and supported me on my journey, both academically and personally. I will forever be grateful for their support of the kaupapa. He aroha mauroa.

I would like to thank the designers who collaborated with me in the project. I am grateful to Mātangireia Yates-Francis for designing the whare rangahau image, Ripeka Read for formulating the whare rangahau methodology components, Nabil Sabra for help with the design of the exegesis, Kexin Shan for the design of the book Irarere, and Victor Cham, who animated the graphic elements for the live performance of Te Whare Takatapui. I would like to express my appreciation to Reza Yari for his elegant filming and editing of the performances of Te Whare Takatāpui. I am also grateful to Colleen Leauanae for her organisation and back stage management during the performances. I also give a huge thanks to my dear friends who supported me in the performance component of this rangahau and grateful for their time and efforts in bringing the show to life. Tēnei te tungou ki a Mātangireia Yates-Francis koutou ko Peta Were, ko Chrissy Hiraani Hilton, ko Lyndiana Rosieur, ko Rāhera Wharerau, ko Mossiah Finai, ko Jana Marie Nee, ko Alanis Peacock, ko Briar Pomana, ko April Tautari, ko Te Maruata Maxwell, ko Alexandra Hata. He reo aumihi, he reo whakamiha.

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I must give thanks to Elwyn Sheehan for being an outstanding proof reader and for their time, eye to detail and care with ensuring that this thesis is presented to a high academic standard. Tēnei te tuku mihi nui, e hoa.

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Finally, I would like to thank the Auckland University of Technology scholarships office and committee for awarding me the Vice Chancellor's Scholarship that supported my studies over three years. E mihi nui ana ki Te Wānanga Aronui o Tāmaki Makaurau.

TABLE OF IMAGES

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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 noted), 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 Ihaia Pirihongi Paora
30th July, 2023

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30th July, 2023

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ETHICS APPROVAL AND CONSENTS

This research received approval from the AUT University Ethics Committee (AUTEC) on the 5th of March 2021, for a period of three years until the 5th of March 2024.
Ethics Approval Number: 20/146
All research was conducted in keeping with the regulations and guidelines of the approval.[4]

4 Documentation of approval can be accessed in Appendix 1.

1

KARAKIA[5]

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

I sit on the veranda of my house
And ponder, from where do I descend?
From what?
From the void
The void where potential exists
Where nothing is felt.
Perhaps, from the night
The great night, the long night
The night of restless
The night of seeking the passage to the world.
Ranginui stands above,
Papatūānuku below.
Separated by Tāne, ensuring Rangi remains up high,
Cloaked in love
Cloaked in light
Allowing life to flourish.
The question is again posed
From where do I descend?
From what?
I descend from the void, I descend from the night,
I descend from Rangi above and Papa below,
I descend from love, I descend from light,
The question then is
Where am I going?
To ensure a fulfilling life.
(Composed and translated by Parekura Pewhairangi).

5 In maintaining an appropriate cultural approach to the presentation of this thesis, I open with a karakia (incantation) composed by Parekura Pēwhairangi specifically for this study. The karakia preserves and protects both the knowledge that the project holds and what it contributes to those who engage with the thesis. The karakia specifically acknowledges the primal parents Ranginui and Papatūānuku and asks from where humankind has come in the context of Indigenous Māori understandings of creation. It poses the questions: Who are we, and from whom have we been created? For the purpose of this exegesis, this questioning is both a karakia and a narration of the beginning of our story as takatāpui people, and beings of te ao Māori, who navigate an evolving world.

RESEARCH QUESTION

The thesis asks,
How might an artistic reconsideration of gender role differentiation give a unique voice to takatāpui tāne identity?

RATIONALE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

RATIONALE

The artistic and contextual concerns of the study may be positioned alongside a growing body of related doctoral research into Māori gender identification, including studies by Sheehan (2020) and Kerekere (2017). Takatāpuitanga[6] has only become a specific focus of study within the last two decades, and Māori researchers (Aspin, 2005; Kerekere, 2017; Pihama, 2019; Te Awekotuku, 2001). They advocate the need to balance the negative experiences of takatāpui in te ao Māori with positive voices.

The study emanates from a need to focus on the impact of invisibility, and the marginalisation of takatāpui people as the 'other.' At a time when takatāpui are beginning to narrate their identities outside of frameworks of otherness. This artistic work and exegetical writing may provide a vehicle for self-speaking and reflective, critical commentary.

SIGNIFICANCE

Firstly, the thesis proposes, through artistic practice, an expansion of identity expression within performance. Although a holistic Māori world view affirms that takatāpui have been part of Māori cultural practices for centuries (Aspin, 2005; Brickell, 2008; Kerekere, 2017; Te Awekotuku, 2001; Te Rangikāheke, 1854; Te Ua, 2005). However, certain traditional conventions with Kapa Haka also referred to as Māori performing arts, have tended to obscure instances when men have challenged conventional constructs of masculinity. Because this study provides an artistic example of how irarere might contribute to Kapa Haka, it posits a Takiwātanga (consideration in a contemporary space and time). This demonstrates how takatāpui who embrace irarere experience the world and contribute to the richness of contemporary expressions of te ao Māori.

Secondly, the thesis artistically questions what defines masculinity within te ao Māori. Ranginui and Papatūānuku, our ancestors from whom we inherited the essence of male and female identity, the study questions the construct of male identity assumed by Māori during colonisation (Hokowhitu, 2004, 2008, 2012). The thesis suggests that, as children of Ranginui and Papatūānuku, we might be irarua, because we are imbued with their spirits, and we contain within us the power and nature of both ancestors.

6 The nature of being takatāpui. Keelan, (2018) suggests that takatāpuitanga can be evidenced in writings on tangatatanga by Te Matorohanga and in accounts by other tohunga whose mātauranga were transcribed, especially within anceint kōrero, hītori and mōteatea.

Thirdly, the study demonstrates how pakiwaitara, as a form of poetic inquiry, can serve as a device for translating first person accounts into artistic texts.

Finally, the study is significant because it contributes to narratives of takatāpui identity by artistically synthesising and giving voice to collective experiences of takatāpui tāne. In so doing, it contributes to both an exhumed historical and growing body of contemporary work within the arts that challenges entrenched homophobic attitudes still being experienced by Māori today (Aspin, 2005; Kerekere, 2017; Paora, 2019).

THE USE OF TE REO MĀORI IN THE THESIS

This exegesis is presented primarily in English, with te reo Māori (the Māori language) used in specific instances. [7] This decision means that the thinking can be accessed by both Māori and non-Māori, domestically and internationally. This is because it is my intention that the thesis makes an accessible contribution to other Indigenous scholarship that explores gender expression, performing arts, Indigenous and cultural studies, community development, and realms where discussions of inclusivity and acceptance of LGBTQI+ people are pertinent.

When a Māori word is used for the first time in the exegesis, it is followed with an English translation (either in brackets or as a footnote). Because te reo Māori is the first language of Aotearoa/New Zealand and therefore cannot be framed as 'foreign,' it is not italicised. I adopt this practice in an effort to preserve the mana (prestige) and mauri (life force) of the language.

When writing in te reo Māori, I use tohutō (macrons) to indicate vowel length, except in instances where I include direct quotes from an original source that omitted them. The use of tohutō is conversant with guidelines by Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, Māori Language Commission (2012, p. 2).

DEFINITIONS OF KEYWORDS

This thesis uses te reo Māori in specific ways and contexts. Accordingly, I provide here a brief definition of six words that have a distinctive use and meaning in the study..

Irarere

Irarere describes gender fluidity or the ability one has to move between expressions of masculinity and femininity. The word has a lexicographical listing under the variant iarere in Te Aka: Māori Dictionary (Moorfield, n.d.-a).

Irarua

Irarua describes an individual who possesses both male and female ways of being.

7 Unless otherwise noted, all translations are by the researcher.

Irarua is not necessarily tied to sexual orientation, but in many of the interviews conducted in this research, participants relate the concept to their identification as takatāpui tāne. The word also has a lexicographical listing in Te Aka: Māori Dictionary (Moorfield, n.d.-b).

Kapa Haka

Kapa Haka literally translate as kapa (a group) and haka (to challenge). Although commonly understood as a broad term for Māori performing arts, Kapa Haka is a construct of cultural revitalisation and retention of te reo Māori, tikanga, ritual, and local histories. The performative artform currently provides an intrinsic link to culture and identity and is considered an essential element of whanaungatanga (connectedness between people). With its pre-colonial roots in whare tāpere (theatre), Kapa Haka integrates song, chanting, and dance, and it is often performed on marae, at schools, at festivals, and during significant events.

Takatāpui

The word takatāpui historically referred to "an intimate companion of the same sex" (Tīwhanawhana Trust, n.d., para. 1). The description was reclaimed in the 1980s and used by "individuals who were gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, intersex or part of the rainbow community" (Tīwhanawhana Trust, n.d., para. 1). The Trust suggests that takatāpui as an identity arose as a challenge to Western ideas of sex, sexuality, and gender, and emphasised that being Māori is inextricably linked to how gender identity or sexuality are expressed. Like Beckford (2016), Kerekere (2017), Murray (2003), and Nikora and Te Awekotuku (2016), I use the term takatāpui to describe more than sexual preference, because the word embraces forms of attraction associated with wairua (spirit), emotional connection, and cultural identification.

In this thesis, when I refer specifically to takatāpui tāne, I refer to takatāpui Māori who gender-identify as male; however, they may express gender outside of a binary code. In so doing, I suggest that their experiences may be different to those of takatāpui wāhine or whakawahine.[8]

Tikanga

The term tikanga describes the customs and values of Māori culture and how they function within daily life. Incorporating practices from mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge), tikanga guides kawa (practices) that allow space for change and evolution in how Māori live and integrate Māori culture, ethics, and customary and evolving protocols in their day-to-day lives.

8 In studying these men, I do so as an 'inside researcher' who also identifies as takatāpui tane. However, this orientation does not diminish the mana and rights to expression of takatāpui wāhine or whakawahine, and it is hoped that the study may offer a useful contribution to considerations of the multiple dimensions of takatāpui.

Whakawahine

The term whakawahine is a contemporary way of describing trans-women without relating their being to pre- or post-gender reconstructive surgery. Instead, the word is a poetic way to describe becoming a woman. Whakawahine may be used and interpreted in a range of ways, but it is primarily a term employed by takatāpui Māori who identify as female. Like the recent nouns irarere and irarua, the word whakawahine is now listed in the contemporary Te Aka: Māori Dictionary (Moorfield, n.d.-d).

Whare

Te Aka Māori dictionary defines a whare as a "house, building, residence, dwelling, shed, hut, or habitation" (Moorfield, n.d.-e). However, in this thesis the word forms part of two key phrases. The first is Te Whare Rangahau. This is a conceptual space that may be translated as a 'House of Research.' Te Whare Rangahau, as a construction, is a development of Robert Pouwhare's (2020) Pūrākau framework for practice-led, artistic inquiry. Applied to this study to explain the dynamics of Māori principles and processes employed in the research.
The second term, Te Whare Takatāpui, is a development of Te Whare Tāpere, a term used by Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal (2012) to describe a house of contemporary Māori performance. Te Whare Takatāpui may be differentiated from both Royal's term and other words for performance` spaces. These include whare mātoro (a traditional house for entertainment), and whare whakaari (a theatre or playhouse). Te Whare Tapere was also used as a house of learning. In the pre-contact and early contact period, Ngāti Kura of Tapuika used their whare tapere as multi-functional space, primarily for entertainment but also to educate both sexes in tribal lore. Te Whare Takatāpui is also a conceptually fluid space where takatāpui identity and contexts are made explicit through artistic imagery, oratory, and contemporary Kapa Haka.

THE NATURE OF THE PRACTICE

The practical component of this thesis contains three artworks.
The first is a book written by the researcher that contains portraits of takatāpui participants photographed by Dr Marcos Steagall, a prologue, and the researcher's poetry.
The second is an exhibition of the photographic poupou (as portraits) that populate a whare takatāpui. In the heart of this space resides a whare tapere.[9] Here one encounters a live performance that artistically addresses the research question. This work is a composition of sound, imagery, visual design, performance, and commentary.

9 Whare tapere was a traditional name given to spaces or buildings used specifically for storytelling, dance and music. In 2008 the term was revived when Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal formed the Ōrotokare Trust (an organisation that sought to research whare tapere traditions as a way of developing new approaches to Māori performing arts). The first contemporary whare tapere was held at Waimangō marae in 2010 (Derby & Grace-Smith, 2014).

THE STRUCTURE OF THE EXEGESIS

The practical work in this study is supported by this written exegesis. Soanes and Stevenson (2008, p. 498) note that the word exegesis is etymologically linked to the Greek word exegeisthai, "to interpret, guide or lead." In the thesis, the exegesis is a body of writing that explains and contextualises both my research and the methodology that underpins its explication. The document is divided into six chapters.

Chapter 1 opens with a karakia (incantation), an articulation of the research question, and a discussion of the rationale for, and significance of, the study. This is followed by a brief clarification of significant Māori terms used in the thesis.

Chapter 2 considers my orokohanga (origins) and my relationship to both Kapa Haka and takatāpui identity. As such, it positions me in relation to the research question and the values that drive it.

Chapter 3 provides a review of contextual knowledge related to the study. It draws upon material from three fields that contribute to the creative synthesis and exegetical consideration: knowledge relating to takatāpui, the nature and development of Kapa Haka, and historical examples of takatāpui tāne performance inside queer culture.

Chapter 4 discusses the research design developed to progress the study. Framed within a Kaupapa Māori paradigm that orients a practice-led project, the study blends tenets of rangahau (research) and heuristic inquiry. This broad approach is activated through nine distinct but interrelated methods that cover tikanga (appropriate cultural practices), data gathering, and artistic synthesis.

Chapter 5 offers a critical commentary on two bodies of work: the published book Irarere and the performance Te Whare Takatāpui.

Chapter 6 provides a conclusion to the project. Here the study's contributions to the field are discussed and suggestions for further research are considered, before, in closing, a personal reflection is offered on the thesis.

7


2

CHAPTER TWO: POSITIONING THE RESEARCHER

"Tēnei ka noho i te poho o ōku whare; Te Whare Tapu o Ngāpuhi me Te Whare Tawhito o Muriwhenua."
Here I sit within the heart of my sacred houses; it is the Sacred House of Ngāpuhi and the Ancient House of Muriwhenua.[10]

PEPEHA

Tōku Matua
Ko Pūwheke te maunga
Ko Wairahoraho te awa
Ko Mamaru te waka
Ko Haititaimarangai te whare tupuna
Ko Haititaimarangai te marae
Ko Tokerau te moana
Ko Te Rorohuri te hapū
Ko Ngāti Kahu te iwi
Ko Karikari te takiwā
Ko Whatuwhiwhi te rohe pōtae

Tōku Whaea
Ko Pakonga te maunga
Ko Tahekeroa te awa
Ko Ngātokimatawhaorua te waka
Ko Taheke te marae
Ko Hokianga te moana
Ko Māhuri te tupuna
Ko Ngāti Pākau te hapū
Ko Ngāpuhi te iwi
Ko Hokianga te takiwā
Ko Tāheke te rohe pōtae

10 A pepehā is a statement of Māori tribal identity and a traditional way of introducing one's self that is often encountered in formal speeches (Mead & Grove, 2001). In this form, it is a device for connecting and joining people, places and spaces. In it, I trace my father's and mother's physical, spiritual and ancestral relationship to the whenua (land) and their respective people. Through such a recitation I identify where, as Māori, I stand in the world. This initial statement is my family's introduction in oratory. It places us at the heart of our ancestral houses and affirms our connection to our people, the land and our history.

TE MARAE O HOANI WAITITI ME ŌNA KATOA
(My family and Hoani Waititi Marae)

Figure 2.1. Hoani Waititi Marae in West Auckland

Note. This photograph was taken in 2007. © Tangaroa Paora.

This chapter follows my orokohanga (origins) and my connection to te ao Māori through Kapa Haka. In so doing, it explains the origins of the research question and the values that drive it.

My whānau (family), through sporadic visits to our hau kāinga (ancestral home), instilled in us the importance of our identity as Māori. My mother's parents and siblings were also actively involved in the establishment of Hoani Waititi Marae in West Auckland[11] and later Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Hoani Waititi Marae (Figure 2.1).[12]

11 Hoani Waititi Marae is heavily focused on learning and teaching and is named after Hoani Retimana Waititi, the Māori scholar and educator who, although dying at 39, led a significant 'back-to-school' project among Māori adults. He was the chief examiner of Māori in the School Certificate examination and developed innovative methods for teaching. As an extension of these commitments, he worked closely with the Māori Language Advisory Committee, and in the 1960s he wrote the two-volume Te Rangatahi language course that became standard texts for learning te reo Māori.

12 This was the first Māori full immersion school in Aotearoa.

These were significant initiatives for our people, who had become part of the Māori urban migration.[13] The marae itself became a second home for Māori in Auckland and beyond. It was here that the principles and teachings of Te Aho Matua[14] were gifted to tauira (students) under the protection of koroua and kuia (male and female elders) of the marae. In the 1980s, many Māori families who lived in the West Auckland suburbs became heavily involved in fundraising, building, and running the Kōhanga Reo,[15] the Kura Kaupapa,[16] and ultimately Te Marae o Hoani Waititi.

The marae and the education system associated with it became a kāingarua (home away from home) for many urban Māori who wanted to give their tamariki-mokopuna (children and grandchildren) an opportunity to 'live and breathe' a Māori way of being, despite the fact that they were living in Auckland city. The marae was a haven for all Māori, irrespective of iwi affiliation. It was a manifestation of ngā tūmanako o rātou mā (the aspirations of those before us) and its purpose was to provide a centre for Māori culture and practice, including developing skills in Kapa Haka.

Whānau members who were part of the establishment of the marae were largely residents and workers based in or around Te Atatū Peninsula and the surrounding suburbs of Waitākere. In the 1970s, they formed a Kapa Haka group as an extracurricular activity, so families could come together to perform and maintain a sense of identity.

Te Roopū Manutaki, led by Dr Pita Sharples, was based at the newly formed marae. Having won the Aotearoa Traditional Māori Performing Arts Society Festival in 1975 and 1990, Te Roopu Manutaki was acknowledged as one of the leading competitive Kapa Haka (Māori performing arts groups) over a considerable period of time. They won Te Matanini in 1975 and 1990 and subsequently, other Kapa Haka groups were formed under the māhau (auspices) of Hoani Waititi Marae. These included Te Rautahi (led by Tuini Ihaka, Marvis Tuoro, and Irirangi Tiakiawa), which was also ranked among the top groups of Aotearoa in the late 1980s.

13 Māori urban migration refers to the movement of large numbers of Māori to the cities of Aotearoa in the decades following the Second World War. Hill notes that during this period there were "many modes of resistance to assimilation, and [a] great deal of organizational change which [...] contributed eventually to enhancing the cause of rangatiratanga—despite seemingly unpropitious circumstances" (Hill, 2012, p. 256).

14 Te Aho Matua is a foundation of six principles that all Kura Kaupapa Māori use as a schooling system. These principles are dedicated to the continued transmission of Māori knowledge and the strengthening of te reo Māori.

15 A Māori initiative aimed at maintaining and strengthening the Māori language and its philosophies within a cultural framework. Kōhanga is dedicated to early-childhood education (for more on the Kōhanga Reo movement, see https://www.kohanga.ac.nz/).

16 This initiative provides a unique education system for primary to secondary students that immerses students in Māori language and culture (Tocker, 2005).

Te Kapa Puāwai was the primary Kapa Haka group whose members grew up performing with Te Wharekura o Hoani Waititi (as the secondary Kapa Haka group) (Figure 2.2). Both groups have won regional and national titles.

Figure 2.2. Te Kapa Puawai

Note. Te Kapa Puāwai, National Primary Kapa Haka Competition Winners (2007). Photograph © Tangaroa Paora.

In my earliest memories of Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa and Wharekura, I learned to recite, perform, imitate, feel, sing, haka, and express my identity through Kapa Haka. After I graduated from Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Hoani Waititi Marae and left school, I longed for the sense of exhilaration and belonging that Kapa Haka provided. From this desire (as other alumni have noted), Ngā Tūmanako was established. This group, made up of graduates of Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori o Hoani Waititi, was crowned champion of Te Matatini ki te Ao National Festival, held in Wellington in 2019. The way in which my identity is expressed has been a journey of discovery since early

childhood. While I have a strong sense of belonging, I have always known that I was different. In my childhood I experienced an identity crisis when I realised that I was gay. At this time the concept of takatāpuitanga was rarely discussed, and, at home, being gay was not an option. I grew up thinking that maybe there was something wrong with me. As a young Māori, I existed in a world that was steeped within te ao Māori, surrounded in mātauranga (ancestral knowledge), taonga tuku iho (ancestral treasures), and an understanding of te taha wairua (metaphysical being), but I felt I could not connect entirely, because in the essence of my being I existed outside of convention.

NGĀ WAWATA O NGĀ MĀTUA
(Parental expectations)

My parents wanted the best for me, and they worked hard to support my achievements. My mother and father saw in me a respectful, kind, and caring boy. They wanted me to be successful at school, in social environments, sports, and extracurricular activities. They aspired to have a son who was confident, made friends, and grew up as a 'normal' Māori boy. But from a young age, my interests and day to day interactions marked me out as different. My desire to perform poi rather than haka,[17] to play with the girls instead of touch rugby with the boys, and the way I walked and talked, defined me as feminine. My parents hoped that perhaps such behaviour was a phase, and extracurricular activities might reorient my identity. However, when I came out as gay at seventeen, I realised that they suffered the loss of the child they thought they knew. My mother feared for my safety and the judgements of others. Being my parents' only child, my father was worried that his whakapapa (lineage) would end with me, because I could not have children, and he would therefore have no grandchildren to pass on his name. It was a difficult situation. At the time of my coming out, I was uncertain of my journey and what it might mean to be gay and Māori. I spent years educating myself, trying to work through frustration and pain, seeking meaning for both me and my whānau. I wanted to know where young men like me fitted. I was seeking a place and purpose in the world, but what I often encountered were anxieties, traditionally demarcated expectations, and erased histories.

HE PUNA REO, HE KURA KĀINGA, HE RŪMAKI REO.
(A nest, a Māori worldview, and the search for the new.)

I grew up in the world of Kapa Haka. I recall being told stories of attending my first Auckland regional competition as a four-week-old newborn. My first baby toys

17 Poi is a performance art often associated with women. It entails swinging tethered weights in rhythmical and geometric patterns. Poi artists may also sing or dance while swinging these artefacts (Huata, 2000).

were poi and patu (Māori tools used in performance). At school I was known by my kaiako (teachers) as 'Poi boy' (Figure 2.3).

Figure 2.3. Poi Boy

Note. Te Puna Reo o Manawanui. Performing Kapa Haka alongside the kōtiro, I am the small boy featured in the front row (circa. 1998). Photograph © Tangaroa Paora.

I did not fit in with the rough world of boys. I was bullied for being different, not because of poi but because my innate identity marked me out. In the private, safe space of my bedroom I could express my femininity, but outside it became my daily task to perform masculinity so I could fit in with my peers. I pretended to want to play rugby or touch with the boys; I would talk about girls and invite the 'bros' over. I joined the basketball team. I buried myself in pretence and forced myself to become somebody else.

By the age of eleven I had not performed competitively with Te Kapa o Puāwai. The only time I ever did 'hakas' was on Friday mornings at hui-a-kura (the school assembly). However, one day, during the final class, our kaiako Kōkā Irihāpeti Nepe Macdonald asked who would like to become part of the 2006 regional campaign. I agreed, hoping, perhaps, that by joining Kapa Haka my life might become less frequented with bullies. Maybe being fat, weird, slow, and 'gay' might not count here.

This single move was the beginning of discovering my tangatatanga (authentic being). For the next two years I performed in and won both regional and national titles. I experienced te ao haka (the world of haka) as somewhere safe and inclusive. I remember the last practice we had before our nationals' performance.[18] The girls had split to finalise the poi item and the boys were finalising the haka. Once we had finished, our pouako (teacher) Pāpā Eraihia Matahiki asked the boys to recite their pepeha to evoke a connection with our tūpuna (ancestors), so we could portray their wairua (spirit) through our performance. Once we had finished, the boys were sent out to play a game of touch, and our pouako looked at me and said to me in front of the other boys, "Kei te pai Tangaroa, e pai ana ina kāore koe i te hiahia ki te tākaro" (It's fine Tangaroa, if you do not want to play with the boys). I sensed in his words a form of acceptance for who I was, even though I was still considered different.

In the final weeks of my intermediate year, I and many other classmates discussed with our families a desire to attend different schools in the search of a range of educational subjects that were not offered at kura kaupapa (this was the excuse I used to transfer schools). The motivation behind my desire to change schools, however, was fear. I was trying desperately to escape abuse, belittling and physical harm at the hands of tāne Māori: tuakana mai, teina mai (my older and younger peers). I had been nominated to be a class representative for my year, and in this capacity, I was part of a board that was formed from students from each year in Wharekura. The intention was that we formed a voice for our student body, in collaboration with kaiako of the kura.

It was here that I raised concerns about the safety and mana of our students transitioning into high school at the kura, because we had been told about mock raping in the Wharekura among older students. I presented this as a 'class' concern, but actually it was an expression of fear for my own safety. What shocked me was that some students believed that the mock rapes were a myth (although I know that this still happens today). I felt ridiculed for bringing up the issue. This concern was dismissed, and what this signified was the catalyst for my changing schools.

On the last day of kura in 2007, those of us who were leaving spent the last hour in the warmth of our wharenui, Ngā Tūmanako. We acknowledged and farewelled the tauira who were leaving. There were more than ten of us. Our class was last in the wharenui, and as we said our goodbyes, tears were shared, handshakes exchanged, and memories captured, in the hope that we would all return for our final year at high school, ending our education with the same people with whom we started. But this did not happen.

18 Reciting our pepeha evokes the spiritual connection to our ancestors. We take this with us when performing haka (war dances) to enhance and exude our mana and acknowledge those who have come before us; especially those who have lost their lives during warfare.

HE TIMATANGA HOU
(Starting a new journey)

I wanted to prove that I could do better in mainstream education, but I did not anticipate the ostracism I encountered at high school. For two and a half years, I was labelled as "too Māori," and I learned that knowing te reo Māori was 'dry,' 'wack,' and 'gay.'[19] I rapidly realised that being Māori, in a Māori unit, in a mainstream state school, did not afford you the best of both worlds. I also saw groups of teenage boys tease and ridicule openly gay people at school, while paradoxically accepting that performing mock gay sex positions with other boys was funny and cool. School was not a safe place. Added to ostracism because of my sexuality was bullying related to my weight, my lack of athleticism, and my inability to read and write in English at the appropriate year level (even though I was conversely fluent in te reo Māori).
After being called a 'faggot' for the first time, I concealed my identity behind the proposition that I was a consummate heterosexual male who had been sexually active for over a year. Among my classmates I graphically shared my first sexual experience with a female, and with this came admiration and inclusion that resulted in being invited to school parties, smoking cigarettes. I hung with the 'naughty' Māori students, and with the boys at lunch. My friendships with girls were excellent, and they saw me as a friend who was considered a bro.

After my first week at high school, I attended the first weekend wānanga (learning and training) for the Polyfest competition.[20] I was fortunate to gain an inclusion in the group, but because our male leader was withdrawn, there were very few of the boys who knew the leading parts for the haka. Because I had memorised these from prior rehearsals, I was asked to lead our high school team at the competition. After the event, having led the group at twelve years of age, I experienced a temporary degree of notoriety... but it did not last.

In 2010, my life took a turn for the worse. Although I had experienced being physically abused by boys in my class, and mocked in and around school, I was now sexually groomed by a staff member. The pain of this was endured not only by me but also by my whānau. When the adults stood by and allowed this behaviour to be swept under the carpet to protect the man, we decided that it was time for me to find another school. Luckily, an old kura friend who had left Massey was now attending Western Springs College, and he indicated that the school had an extensive whānau support system and a committed drive by teachers and others for Māori student success (both academically and in extracurricular activities).

19 The use of the word 'gay' here is interesting. In the 1990s, it became a generic derogatory term among students for something weak, lame or ineffectual (Urban Dictionary, n.d.).

20 Polyfest has a significant history spanning 45 years. In Auckland the four-day event has become a focus for school groups who perform on five stages, competing for awards in traditional music, dance, costume, and cultural speech. For more information, see https://www.asbpolyfest.co.nz/

Fortunately, I was able to enrol at Te Rumaki Reo o Ngā Puna o Waiorea (the school's unit for Māori students) at mid-term. In retrospect, I suspect I was accepted into the department based on my Level 2 and Level 3 te reo Māori and te reo Rangatira credits (which made up for my hitherto poor performance in other subject areas). I learned that the school had a Kapa Haka group that had recently made a name for itself at the national competitions. I was still fearful of people knowing that I was gay, so I remained in the closet for the remainder of 2010 and most of 2011.

TŌKU REO KIA RERE
(My voice now freed)

In 2011 I had my first real gay experience with a student while I was in Hawaii. However, because we were caught by a school friend, I was afraid that I would be 'outed.' Because my distress was so obvious, other students alerted the teachers and I found myself struggling, over three hours, to come out to my school principal.
I had never cried happy tears before, but that night I slept with a deep sense of relief because I had been able to talk about my sexuality with somebody. I realised then that when I returned to Aotearoa, I would need to tell my parents. I practiced what I would say for over a week. I was afraid of being thrown out of the whānau and disowned, but I was unprepared for what eventuated. What I encountered was complete silence. I later learned that my parents spent the next few weeks waking up, looking at each other, hoping that it was all a dream; then realising it was not, and crying for the loss of the son they thought they knew.

When I returned to school for my final year I was an openly gay Māori. I was accepted by my peers, kaiako, and other whānau for who I was. My orientation was embraced, celebrated, and supported. This encouragement galvanised my confidence to perform poi openly. I had witnessed an alumni student at Kapa Haka practice being given the honour of creating and teaching a poi item to the girls. I was in awe of him. Here was somebody who was crossing the line and being respected. The 'Poi boy' in me began to find his feet; to stand up with greater strength and dignity. I realised that poi was my muse and the vessel of my creativity (Figure 2.4).

Figure 2.4. Ngā Puna o Waiorea

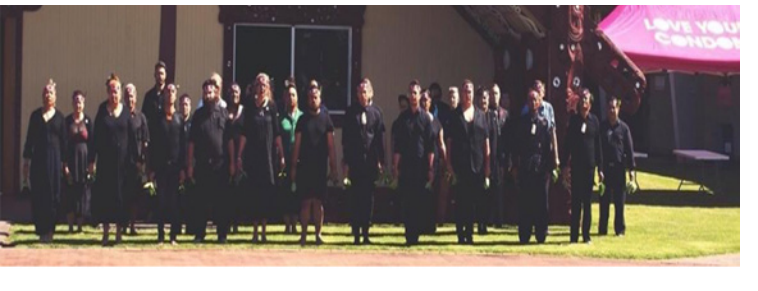
Note. Ngā Puna o Waiorea: Polyfest Kapa Haka competition winners (2012). Photograph © Tangaroa Paora.

HE HONONGA TAKATĀPUI
(Connecting through reclamation)

In 2012, at the end of my final year at high school, I began associating with others in the takatāpui/LGBTQI+ community.[21] I became interested in understanding historical forces and origins of takatāpui Māori, prior to European settlement. I had felt a sense of disconnection, a lack of cultural identity, and ultimately a lack of wider acceptance among whānau, hapū, and iwi; in this way, many takatāpui struggle to cope with and understanding their place and responsibilities in a marae.

I sought out pūrākau (narratives) of customary and traditional practices of takatāpuitanga and the act of tāne moe tāne (men sleeping with men). This commitment to locating and giving voice to what has been erased in my culture resulted in me speaking on television about rangatahi (youth), takatāpuitanga, and how it is connected to te ao Māori (Te Hiku Media, 2016). Significant to the broadening of my experience has been my association with the Auckland based whānau group, Ahakoa Te Aha, which constitutes a Māori and Polynesian space within the LGBTQI+ community (Figure 2.5).[22]

Figure 2.5. Ahakoa te Aha



Note. Ahakoa Te Aha – Pōhiri opening for Hui Takatāpui (2016). ©. Tangaroa Paora.

In Ahakoa Te Aha, men can perform poi and women can perform the haka. From 2016 to 2018, I attended Kapa Haka practices every week with this group and it was the first time that I felt surrounded by others like me. As a rōpū whānau, we contributed to numerous Pride performances, community events and Hui Takatāpui.[23] Ahakoa Te Aha provided me with a connection to the past and hope for the future. I experienced in this group how haka can be used to reclaim identity and a hononga (spiritual bond) to ahurea Māori (Māori culture).

HE TAKAHITANGA TE WHAI, HE IRARERE TE HUA
(A search for existence, a reclamation of being)

These things became a catalyst for this doctoral project. The study builds on my Master of Arts thesis, He Ia Anō Tā te Takatāpui i te Ao Māori: Takatāpui; Being of the Māori World, which I completed in 2019 (Paora, 2019). This study constituted an inquiry into the ways that takatāpui experience 'being Māori,' and it emanated from my involvement with the Auckland University of Technology

21 The acronym refers to Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, and Queer individuals. I connect being takatāpui to this group but do not automatically integrate it, because being takatāpui is specifically associated with being Māori (Murray, 2003).

22 For more information on the group, see https://www.facebook.com/ahakoateaha/.

23 Hui Takatāpui is a bi-annual national hui (gathering) for the Māori gay, lesbian, bisexual, transsexual, and queer communities.

Māori students' association Tītahi ki Tua. This group afforded me the opportunity to perform poi items alongside female performers (Figure 2.6).

Figure 2.6. Tītahi ki Tua

Note. Tītahi ki Tua at Te Huinga Tauira Conference Kapa Haka competition (2017). Photograph © Tangaroa Paora.

Although my poi performances were acknowledged and celebrated, I was aware that such incursions into convention occur in sheltered worlds, and I accepted that I must question within and beyond the academy if I was to pursue artistic and societal rethinking of identity. Groups like Ahakoa Te Aha and Tītahi ki Tua were not representative of wider environments, and they could sometimes be seen as challenging cultural customs and practices.

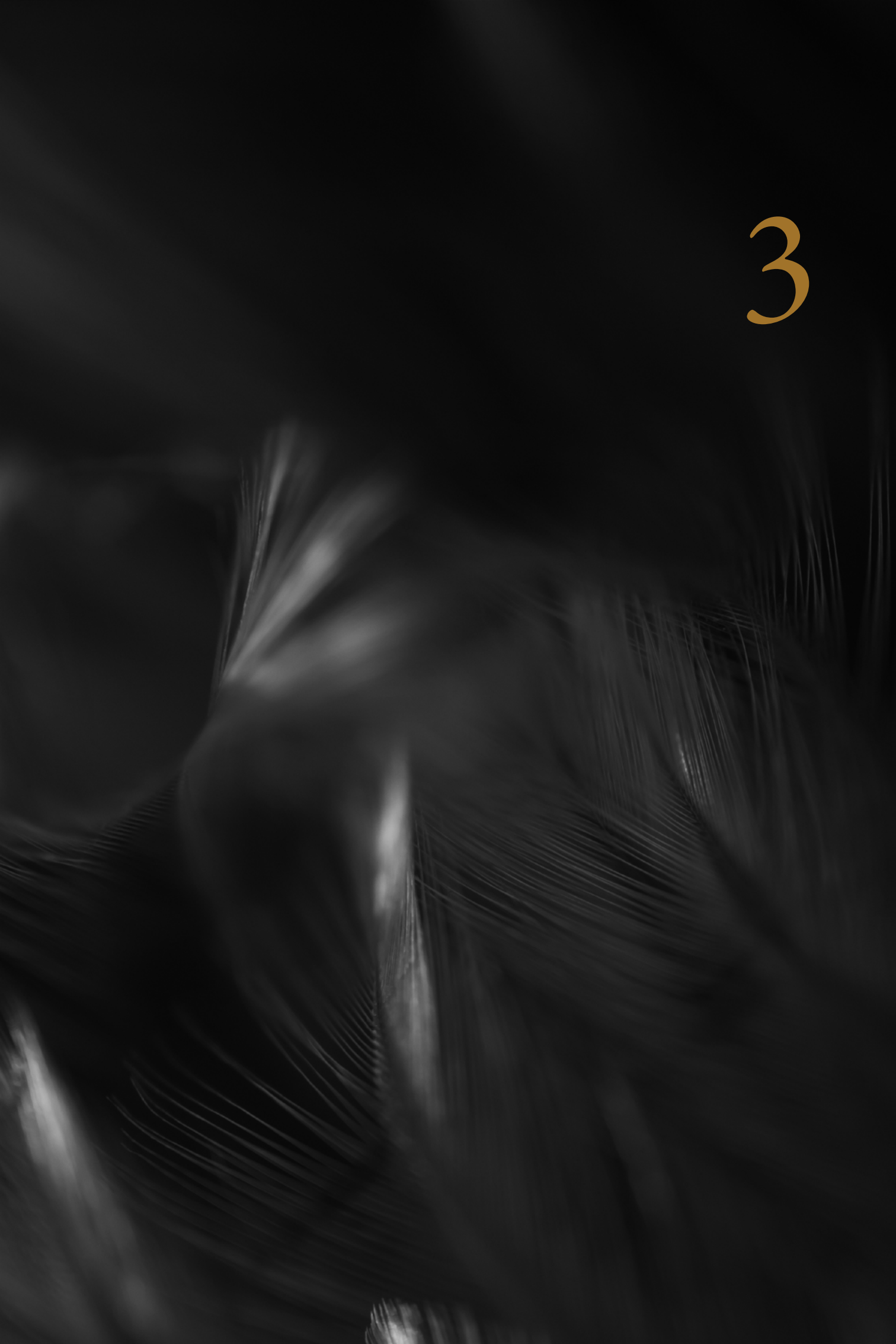
HE TAKAHANGA POIPOI
(Orienting the thesis)

Therefore, I choose to consider and shape new forms of gender expression through Kapa Haka in the hope that, eventually, te ao Māori might embrace alternative notions of gendered performance. As part of this, I understand the importance of the experiences of others, both those who are living and those whose lives as takatāpui. Now they exist only as fragments in recollections, ephemera, pūrākau (narratives, storytelling),

waiata (song), and oriori (chant/lullaby). Some of these experiences and lives have been subjected to cultural erasure as a consequence of the colonising impact of Christian missionaries (Brickell, 2008; Fanon, 1967; Te Awekotuku, 2001, 2005).

As a performer, poet, and artist, I have employed 'creative realisation' as a scholarly substrate. Within this, Kapa Haka and takatāpui identity narratives have become a vehicle for expressing gender fluidities and their contexts. My fluency in te reo, my knowledge of te ao Māori, and my experience growing up in a Māori world have been shaped by my ability to swing poi. The intricate movements, mathematical complexity, and connection to my wairua and mauri are all related to my experience and identity as a takatāpui.

I am tangata Māori; a descendant of the atua, a child of my tūpuna, and my identity as irarere informs my connection to my ao Māori and ao hurihuri (the revolving world). It is from this position that I have oriented the thesis.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CHAPTER THREE: REVIEW OF CONTEXTUAL KNOWLEDGE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a review of contextual knowledge related to the study. Drawing upon material from early manuscripts, articles, books, artefacts, and people, the review is structured into two areas. The first considers knowledge related to takatāpui tāne and includes discourses from a range of disciplines: health, social sciences, lexicography, history, and gender studies. The second section examines knowledge related to the history and development of takatāpui tāne performance, including drag and Kapa Haka.

When reviewing historical knowledge related to Māori, it is useful to remember that traditionally Māori used complex oral and visual methods to archive and disseminate knowledge. Accordingly, the concept of a literature review in Indigenous research can become problematic because it excludes primary repositories of non-written material. Consequently, in a number of Indigenous, artistic doctoral theses, the title 'Literature Review' has increasingly been replaced by 'Review of Contextual Knowledge' (Chen, 2018; Pouwhare, 2020; Ete, 2021).

Given the nature of my thesis, this review is partially a reconstruction of peka (fragments) that have resulted from Indigenous Māori knowledge being erased or dislocated from its original worldview. Because the study is specifically concerned with takatāpuitanga (sexual orientation) and irarua/irarere (gender fluidity) among Māori, certain material has suffered from dislocation from context and historical continuity. Accordingly, the researcher is sometimes reduced to searching for insight through letters, songs, objects, court documents, and stories told within hapū (extended families) and iwi (tribes). Yet I am reminded, when constructing such a document, of the Latin concept of disjecta membra, the "scattered fragments" of knowledge that Horace suggested can still be identified as part of an original whole, even when torn apart, rearranged, or partially lost (Tracy, 1948).

SECTION 1: KNOWLEDGE RELATED TO TAKATĀPUI TĀNE

Overview

Moloney (2005, p. 44) maintained that in early New Zealand, "documentation of same-sex relations is sparse," and its existence is sometimes contested. This said, some early written references to takatāpui tāne do exist. One of the most cited appears in Te Rangikāheke's 1854 manuscript, where he described the love story of Hinemoa and the famous Te Arawa chief Tūtānekai—as well as his takatāpui tāne, Tiki. In his text,

Te Rangikāheke recounted Tūtānekai 's expression of love and grief when his male partner died:

> Ka aroha atu a Tutānekai ki a Tiki, ka mea atu ki a Whakaue,[24] 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. (Te Rangikāheke, 1854, MS. 51)

This account is referred to in many articles that discuss same gender attraction in Māori society, including Aspin (2005), Aspin and Hutchings (2006), Black (2007), Kerekere (2015), Te Awekotuku (2001), and Te Ua (2005). These writers, along with Binney (2004) and Brickell (2008), have suggested that, prior to colonisation, same sex relationships appear to have been a normal part of traditional Māori (pre-European) society. Arboleda and Murray (1985), Aspin (2005), and Te Awekotuku (2001) argued that colonisation had a significant role in facilitating the shift from traditional to contemporary attitudes towards takatāpui. However, both Te Awekotuku (2005) and Aspin (2011, 2019) noted expressions of takatāpui attraction in waiata aroha (love songs) and mōteatea (chants). As an example, Aspin cited a lament composed for the youth Papaka Te Naeroa, who was killed in battle:

> Ko te tama i aitia[25] e tērā wahine e tērā tangata (A youth who was sexual with that woman, with that man). (Aspin, 2019, para. 5)

Historical Perspectives

Academic writing preceding the work of these scholars sometimes contested the accommodation and significance of takatāpui tāne in Māori society. In 1974, the psychiatrist Laurie K. Gluckman, in "Transcultural Consideration of Homosexuality with Special Reference to the New Zealand Māori," posited that homosexuality did not exist within Māori culture prior to European arrival in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Gluckman (1974) argued that male homosexual behaviour in traditional Māori society was punishable by supernatural diseases that affected not only the individual but also extended to family members. He also suggested that homosexuality is socially determined, and Māori only became accustomed to homosexual behaviour following the first European encounters. Building on an earlier paper (Gluckman, 1967, which adopted a similar position in its discussion of lesbianism among Māori women), he argued that colonisation destroyed or modified traditional value systems. His premise of learned 'unnaturalness' is based on an assertion that

24 Young (1995) noted that although Tūwharetoa was his biological father, Whakaue cared for Tūtanekai as his own.

25 Aspin, C (2011, p. 7) noted that "the original term 'aitia' in this work was later replaced with the term 'awhitia,' meaning 'hugged' or 'embraced," when it was incorporated into Ngā Mōteatea, Ngata's significant collection of traditional songs, published in parts in the 1920s-1950s, and eventually collected in Ngata and Jones (2004–2007).

homosexual expression cannot be considered a biological norm, because if it was universally followed, the human race would become extinct (Gluckman, 1974, p. 125).

This paper, considered in retrospect, may be seen as somewhat problematic, partly because of subsequent revelations surrounding Gluckman's professionalism and scholarship.[26] Beckford (2016) criticised his dubious selection of "facets of history, whether true or not, to corroborate his argument" (p. 27). This being said, Gluckman's writing offers a useful insight into certain attitudes to homosexuality prevalent within academia at the time.[27]

In the field of lexicography, Gluckman's position or interpretation, and thereby his academic credibility, was challenged by the mid-1980s. Arboleda and Murray's (1985) article, "The Dangers of Lexical Inference with Special Reference to Māori Homosexuality," considered the absence of recorded language describing homosexuality in pre-European, Māori society. The authors argued that this absence may not mean that homosexual practices did not occur, but rather that the imposition of Christian/Victorian values may have distorted lexical perception and reporting of Māori same sex orientations. Their article proposed that the non-recording of takatāpui behaviour at the time may simply indicate non-identification of lexical material, rather than an absence of homosexual practices.[28]
In 2003, Murray progressed his thinking in a second article: "Who is Takatāpui? Māori Language, Sexuality, and Identity in Aotearoa/New Zealand." This work investigated the complex relationship between sexuality, language, and identity in Aotearoa and, in particular, the socio-political implications of language acquisition and how this contributes to identity discourse. Specifically, the paper discussed the use of the term takatāpui over the 20 years preceding its publication; the author contrasted this with the use of English terms like gay, poofter, or queen. Predating later work by Beckford (2016), and Nikora and Te

26 In 1990, Gluckman was found guilty of professional misconduct by the Medical Council, and prior to this, questions had been raised about his scholarship and about corrupt reports he had written for government departments associated with accident compensation (Mold, 2000).

27 It is useful to note that, in the 1950s, Evelyn Hooker's (1956) empirical testing of the assumption that gay men were mentally unhealthy and maladjusted revealed that there were no discernible differences between gay and non-gay participants. This work initiated a body of empirical research that began debunking the belief that homosexual men and women were psychologically and morally unhealthy. Hooker's work, in conjunction with these subsequent studies, resulted in the American Psychiatric Association removing homosexuality from their standard classification of mental disorders (DSM) in 1973, the year before Gluckman (1974) published this article.

28 However, the article's emphasis on recording only the written word may be considered problematic, given that Māori language was oral, complex, nuanced, and more diverse than could be understood through the European anthropological concept of a homogenous Māori worldview.

Awekotuku (2016), Murray suggested that the word takatāpui encapsulates not only a sexual orientation but also one's spiritual and cultural identity.[29]

A number of historical texts have examined accounts of same sex attraction in the early years of colonial encounters with Māori. Beaglehole's edited two-volume edition of The Endeavour Journals of Joseph Banks (Banks, 1963), which was prepared from the manuscript of The Endeavour Journal of Sir Joseph Banks, 1768–1771, presented Banks' observations of Māori upon initial contact in October 1769. The journals cover a range of material, including botany, Māori customs, costume, clothing and adornment, social structure, and language. Te Awekotuku (2005) discussed Banks' observations about Māori sexuality and gender diversity, specifically his reference to either cross-dressing or transgenderism. Māori sexual attitudes are further evidenced in Banks' account of a sailor who stayed with a Māori family whom he paid, so he could have sexual intercourse with a young woman. He noted, "The 'young woman' who retired with him, turned out to be a boy. He returned and complained and was given another 'young woman' who turned out to also be a boy. When he complained again the family laughed at him" (Banks, as cited in Aspin, 2019, para. 3).

In 1984, Stevan Eldred-Grigg published a historical account of colonial New Zealand: Pleasures of the Flesh: Sex and Drugs in Colonial New Zealand 1840-1915. However, the book was criticised as being "overdrawn," and employing "un-critical accounts" of sexual behaviour (Smith, 1985, p. 192). Focusing on the early contact period, his work questioned assumptions about puritanism and Victorian restraint as it related to sexual expression and the consumption of drugs. Eldred-Grigg observed significant differences between Māori and Pākehā sexual behaviour. He also discussed the influence of Christianity on sexual language and belief, nudity, morality, and disease. His work denounced politicians, lawmakers, newspapers, and middle and upper class Pākehā society for censorship in relation to explicit details of sex cases brought before the courts, and he argued that Māori expressed sexuality openly in both action and in language (including in front of women and children).

Notably, Eldred-Grigg (1984) observed that Māori (of the nineteenth and early twentieth century) were not shy of expressing passions, feelings, and sensations, even though this was generally framed in the colonial mindset alate nineteenth as licentious or disgusting. He also mentioned authors like Richard

29 This article is closely related to Murray's chapter "Takatāpui, Gay or Just HO-MO-SEXUAL Darling? Māori Language, Sexual Terminology and Identity in Aotearoa/New Zealand," that was published a year later (Murray, 2004). Here, Murray again considered the relationship between sexuality, language, and Māori identity, by examining the emergence and use of the term takatāpui. Following this discussion, he again analysed the socio-political nature of language construction in identity discourses and the ways that language may be interpreted in "Anglo-postcolonial society."

Davis, who wrote with impunity about male homosexuality, despite being criminalised by the colonial government (Eldred-Grigg, as cited in Aspin, 2005). Based on such accounts, Eldred-Grigg argued that relationships among Māori men of sexual, intimate, and lasting natures were widely practiced and accepted in both Māori life and wider Polynesian society.

Judith Binney (2004) has also contributed an analysis of early contact recordings of same sex attraction among Māori rangatahi (youth). In "Whatever Happened to Poor Mr. Yate? An Exercise in Voyeurism" (2004), she discussed intimate correspondence from male Māori students to the missionary William Yate. He was later (in 1837), dismissed from the Church Missionary Society for homosexual practices. These letters illustrate the affection felt by a number of young Māori men towards Yates and are interesting, given the number of the rangatahi who testified at his trial about engaging in homosexual 'intimacies' with him. In her analysis of what came to be known as the 'Yate Scandal,' Binney contends that the reframing of male sexual intimacy as immoral, or a lustful sin, provides insights into the sociology of sexuality during the period of missionary dominance. Of particular interest is her discussion of a dislocation between Māori attitudes towards naturalised sexual diversity and European judgement induced sexual anxiety. Binney's consideration of the correspondence and subsequent testimonies of these young men supports other literature in the field that also suggests fluid and diverse forms of sexual expression among traditional Māori (Aspin, 2011; Kerekere, 2017; Pihama, 2019).[30]

Chris Brickell, in the opening chapter of his book Mates and Lovers: A History of Gay New Zealand (2008), offered an additional discussion of early homosexual relationships between Māori and Pākehā men, in relation to the social, political, and legislative environments in which they developed.[31] Usefully, he discussed the missionary William Yate's sexual encounters with young Māori men, Joseph Banks' accounts of "sodomy" among local Māori, and the missionary Richard Davis' claim that, among Māori youth, homoeroticism was not a colonial import (Ason, 2011).

Reports

Supplementing this historical analysis are five research reports that provide useful data relating to takatāpui tāne.

In 2006, John Fenaughty published an article: "Sexual Coercion Among Gay Men, Bisexual

30 This work also offers an interesting account of Yate's description of the graceful attractiveness of Māori men. Specifically, Binney highlighted the missionary's recordings of men like the influential Bay of Islands' chief Titore, whom Yates described as "peculiarly melancholy ... slow and solemn ... graceful ... beautifully modulated ... his language copious and flowery" (Yates, as cited in Binney, 2004, p. 155).

31 In a later chapter, Brickell also offered a consideration of Carmen Rupe, the famous Māori drag queen who was at the forefront of the Wellington gay scene in the 1970s. Rupe's contribution to takatāpui expression is discussed later in this chapter.

Men and Takatāpui Tāne in Aotearoa/New Zealand." This work discussed the findings of two projects that, although related, emanated from different research paradigms. The first, an investigation into sexual coercion among gay and bisexual men in Aotearoa New Zealand. This study did not explore the challenges of sexual assault or abuse against gay and bisexual men who have not "come out". The second study, conducted within a Kaupapa Māori paradigm, identified five gay Māori men who were interviewed about their personal experiences of sexual coercion. The findings of this report highlight that Māori participants can experience coercion in contrasting ways to Pākehā. From the comparison, the author identified a gap in ethnic research relating to sexual coercion, assault, and abuse among homosexual men. The article also emphasised the impact that sexual coercion has on the emotional, spiritual, and mental stability of Māori men, and drew attention to the need for specific, culturally driven healing processes that may be of benefit to takatāpui Māori.

A year after Fenaughty's work was published, two other works expanded knowledge in the field. The first reported on a study into lesbian, gay, and bisexual people in Aotearoa/New Zealand, and the second considered discrimination against transgender people, specifically.

"Ko Wai Rātou? Managing Multiple Identities in Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual New Zealand Māori" (Henrickson, 2006) reported on the 2007 Lavender Islands: Portrait of the Whole Family[32] strengths-based study of lesbian, gay, and bisexual people in Aotearoa/New Zealand.[33] The 133-item survey is recognised as the first national study of its kind. In the research sample, 8.3% of the respondents identified as being of Māori descent.[34] Data was collected on a range of topics, including education, income, coming out journeys, identity and self-definition, societal pressures, families of origin, families of choice, community connections, relationships, and spirituality.[35] The study highlighted significant differences between Pākehā (Western) identity frameworks (like gay, lesbian and bisexual) and Māori perspectives relating to gender and sexuality.[36]

32 Lavender Islands: Portrait of the Whole Family was a project headed by Mark Henrickson and developed with Stephen Neville, Claire Jordan, and Sara Donaghey. It was New Zealand's first national study of lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) people. Initiated in April 2004, with a 133-item survey (made available on the web and via paper copy between April and July 2004), the study considered "identity and self-definition, families of origin, relationships and sexuality, families of choice, immigration and internal migration, well-being, politics, income and spending, education, careers and leisure, community connections, challenges, and spirituality" (Henrickson et al., 2007, p. 223). The research also tested a four-axis model of sexual identity. In the study, 2,269 responses were received: 45% from women and 54% from men.

33 Philosophically, a strength-based approach views people using services such as health, education, and social support as resourceful and resilient. Such studies are 'client-led' and are concerned with future outcomes and the self-determination and strengths that people may bring to a problem or situation. The approach is normally focused on individuals' strengths and those of their wider cultural, social or community networks.

34 169 respondents.

35 The study identified a well-educated, relatively high-income, politically active lesbian, gay, and bisexual community.

36 The study also identified that male and female respondents experienced identity and same sex relationships in different ways.

It illustrated that Māori tend to fuse differences into an integrated whole during the course of their lives, and that the use of Western constructs of sexuality fail to reflect either Māori sexuality or gender identity.
The second report, To Be Who I Am: Ka Noho Au ki Tōku Anō Ao; Report of the Inquiry Into Discrimination Experienced by Transgender People; He Pūrongo mō Te Uiuitanga mō Aukatitanga o Pāngia Ana e Ngā Tangata Whakawhitiira, was conducted by the Human Rights Commission.
This inquiry into discrimination against transgender people in Aotearoa/New Zealand is recognised internationally. It was the first study of its kind to focus on experiences of discrimination, access to health services, and barriers to legal recognition of gender status. Recommendations from the report emphasised the need for change in the health and wellbeing sector at a policy level, so that transgender people are more perceptively cared for. The inquiry included participants aged between eleven and their late seventies. Of particular interest is the inclusion of individuals who identify as Māori, who shared lived experiences of their struggle to find their place as transgender people. Although the study does not delve deeply into the struggles of intersectionality and identity, it is a key resource in pinpointing the overall experience of trans people within Aotearoa/New Zealand, and it highlights the necessity to recognise these people's right to dignity, equality, and security.

A year later, Jenny Rankine's (2008) report, commissioned by the Auckland City Council, was published: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Takatāpui, Transgender Community Centre Needs Assessment. Reflecting on data collected from a review of existing research, interviews with 20 community participants, and the analysis of over 130 survey responses completed at the Big Gay Out[37] and email networks, the study surfaced rich data related specifically to takatāpui, including information on the organisations Te Aronga Hou Ināianei: Takatāpui-a-Iwi Tautoko Whānau (TAHI) and Hauora Takatāpui, which focus on the needs of transgender and gay Māori men, respectively. The survey also identified a need for service provision for takatāpui wahine in the form of support and network groups. The study emphasised the need to access appropriate cultural organisations in affording better representation of LGBTI peoples in marginalised communities. It also asserted the need for further research, so that the cultural and health needs for takatāpui within the LGBTQI+ community can be met.
Six years later, in 2014, Clark et al. published "The Health and Well-Being of Transgender High School Students: Results from the New Zealand Adolescent Health Survey (Youth '12)." This was the first nationally representative survey to consider the health and well-being of students who reported

37 The Big Gay Out is a non-profit LGBTQ+ festival and fair, held since 2000 in Auckland, New Zealand. The event is normally organised and run by the New Zealand AIDS Foundation, but it attracts a diverse array of community service groups. In 2021, attendance at the event was estimated at 12,000–15,000 people.

transgender identification. The survey focused on four groups: those who reported being non-transgender; those who identified as transgender; those who were unsure about their gender; and those who did not understand the trans-related question. The study noted that transgender students were represented across diverse demographic variables, including sexual attraction. Of the sample who identified as Māori, 19.4% identified as transgender and 20.6% were uncertain how they identify. Those who identified as transgender unanimously stated that they have experienced compromised safety, uneven mental health, and difficulties accessing health care. Significantly, this study was an early adopter of culturally relevant Māori words to indicate transgender identity, including tangata ira tāne and whakawahine. The study showed that a small group of students were aware of being transgender from a young age and that over half of the respondents came to the realisation of a change in gender identity before the age of twelve. The results indicated that during adolescence, students navigate both gender and sexual identity. It also identified gaps and disparities in both health and support services, demonstrating that they fail to provide the same level of access for transgender youth. The authors contended that this lack of access and insufficient expertise impacts negatively on how young takatāpui navigate their identity journeys. Drawing much of this material together, in 2016 Kara Beckford produced an annotated bibliography of research related to takatāpui. Takatāpui: A Place to Start was commissioned by Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga. Beckford's analysis outlined and critiqued existing research relating to the Māori LGBTQ+ lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, queer plus) community in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The review noted that Māori have often been erroneously viewed as a homogenous group and have been marginalised within dominant Western discourses (including much of the LGBTQ+ research). Acknowledgment of the work of foundational takatāpui scholars like Elizabeth Kerekere, Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, Leonie Pihama, and Clive Aspin was included.

There was also recognition of scholars from diverse disciplines, including health and wellbeing, identity, and sociology (encompassing anthropology, psychology, and history). Beckford's bibliography documented the development of different conceptions of takatāpui, dating back to the 1970s. Dominant themes in the literature include the impact and nature of colonial oppression, the nature of takatāpui as a people holistically tied to whanau, and the physical and spiritual dimensions of takatāpui identity (in contrast to European identity concepts, such as LGBTQI+). The study also identified notable gaps in the literature, including research related to takatāpui suicides and takatāpui who are homeless and/or working as sex workers.[38]

38 The study did acknowledge Clive Aspin's work on suicide but noted that it was primarily limited to studies of Māori gay men.

Content Analysis

In 2020, Francesca Marino published a study that considered post-colonial reconstruction of Māori identity and the reclamation of what it means to be takatāpui in contemporary society. The study employed multimodal discourse analysis of audiovisual texts produced by Māori takatāpui activists or texts that contained their self-narratives or claims. By using historical references, published works, and audiovisual texts, Marino provided evidence of a discourse in which takatāpui identity has been redefined, through multiple aspects of lived experience. The idea of identity as Māori and being takatāpui, she argued, forms part of a continuous process of reconstructing and reclaiming a way of being, while living in a Western world dominated by an imperial power. Marino also observed that many takatāpui Māori tend to prioritise Māori identity over being takatāpui.

Documentation of Lived Experience

Two significant compilations of individuals' accounts of navigating takatāpui experience provided qualitative research to supplement the studies already discussed.

In 2007, Clive Aspin and Jessica Hutchings published Sexuality and the Stories of Indigenous People. This collection presented a compilation of first-person accounts, written as poetry, prose, and personal reflection. It featured the contributions of 17 takatāpui men and women (many of whom were prominent leaders in Māoridom and the New Zealand LGBTQI+ communities). The editors drew upon testimonies of takatāpui experience to focus a critical lens on constructions of sexual and gender identity.[39] The contributors' narratives covered journeys to coming out, searching for places of belonging, navigating self-expression, and struggles with discrimination emanating from colonial mindsets within Māori and wider LGBTQI+ communities. The collection offered a distinctive and nuanced resource that was distinguished by the fact that it was written by takatāpui, about takatāpui. The work shed light on Indigenous stories that reclaim takatāpui existence and people's places of belonging in society, including whānau and iwi.

Following this publication, in 2016 Jordan Harris, in collaboration with Oratia Media and the New Zealand AIDS Foundation Te Tūāpapa Mate Āraikore o Aotearoa, published Takatāpui: A Place of Standing. This book was launched during the 2017 annual Hui Takatāpui. Using portrait photographs and personal narratives of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender Māori, the book provided a rich insight into lived experience that included accounts of takatāpui seeking solace in large cities, having been denied or disregarded by their whānau Māori. Many of the contributors reflected on their pursuit of authentic being, while healing from the impact of Christian and Western practices of ostracism and vilification. A shared desire among many of the takatāpui

39 Contributions from Elizabeth Kerekere, Louisa Wall, Paul Reynolds, Rangitunoa Black, and Georgina Beyer were included.

interviewed was to establish a whānau community in the cities, to ensure that their cultural practices and connection to their identity as Māori were sustained.

Of particular interest to this study were contributions that offered hitherto unpublished accounts of the role of takatāpui in Māori society. Indicative of these is Jennifer Lee Edward's gay uncle's accounts of takatāpui tane in the old world. These men, she claimed, cared for women and children when other men went to war, or they attended warriors on the battlefield where women weren't allowed. The book also offered a useful account from the mid-20th century by Ngāhuia Te Awekotuku, who recalled her first experience of a wahine Māori performing Kapa Haka in a masculine manner. Te Awekotuku suggested that the fluidity between masculine power and feminine elegance represented what 'queer' might mean for women in a Māori world.

Although this book had limited distribution, due to a controversy surrounding author permission to publish, some copies remain in circulation. The text stands as a reaffirmation of takatāpui Māori existence and the importance of pursuing oral histories to counter dominant discourses.

Significant Contributors to the Field

Although this review considers a spectrum of writers, six researchers have contributed substantial bodies of work related to takatāpui (specifically takatāpui tāne) or Māori masculinities. Because in some instances their scholarship has spanned a number of decades, or it has been combined with the work of other scholars in the field, it is useful to consider their contributions as a collection. The authors are discussed in alphabetical order of first authorship.

Clive Aspin

Clive Aspin (Ngāti Maru, Ngāti Whanaunga, and Ngāti Tamaterā), was a senior specialist advisor on the Suicide Morality Review Committee and is involved in both government policy development and community-based health management.

Aspin's 1996 paper "Gay Community Development in New Zealand in the 1970s and Implications for the Health of Gay Māori Men in the 1990s" traced the development of the gay community and health of gay men in Aotearoa/New Zealand between the 1970s and the mid-1990s. His article paid particular attention to historical legislation and social prejudice resulting from colonisation and its impact on the sexual health of takatāpui tāne. In this context, he offered historical accounts of Māori sexuality and gender expression, before extending his discussion to the emergence of contemporary Māori support groups (over a 30-year period) who formed to fight against HIV and AIDS. His discussion includes groups like Te Rōpū Tautoko Trust, Te Waka Awhina Takatāpui and He Manu Anō. Aspin claimed that Māori gay men during this period were at higher risk of contracting HIV than non-Māori. However, Beckford (2016) contests this, arguing that at the time the paper was written there was insufficient evidence in relation to HIV/AIDS to support the claim.[40]

40 Aspin's article has some limitations because its focus was essentially on the sexual health of takatāpui tane, so it excluded consideration of whakawahine (trans people) who were also vulnerable to contracting the virus.

In 2002, Aspin contributed a chapter, "I Don't Have to Go to a Finishing School to Learn How to Be Gay: Māori Gay Men's Understandings of Cultural and Sexual Identity," to a collection of work that considered masculinity, health, and sexuality within contemporary society. Drawing on two studies: the 1996 Nationwide Survey of New Zealand Men;[41] and interviews about gay Māori masculinity, conducted by the researcher with a cohort of Māori men between 1997 and 1998, his essay discussed features of Māori gay masculinity in contemporary society and historical forces that have shaped the way in which takatāpui tāne are perceived and relate to their sexual and cultural identities. Aspin argued that contemporary understandings and expression of takatāpui resulted from a fusion of both Western and traditional understanding of sexuality and culture. His chapter contributed to discussions of how takatāpui tāne express themselves culturally.

In the 2006 chapter called "Māori Sexuality" (co-authored with Jessica Hutchings), Aspin argued that traditional Māori society accommodated a diverse range of sexualities and gender expressions. Discussing the relationship between Tūtānekai and Tiki, the authors considered both the historical context of the word takatāpui and its later adoption by contemporary Māori. The chapter also explored contemporary issues impacting on takatāpui, including discourses surrounding same sex unions, HIV/AIDS, and the influence of the Destiny Church.[42]

In the article "Reclaiming the Past to Inform the Future: Contemporary Views of Māori Sexuality" (2007), Aspin, again co-authoring with Jessica Hutchings, discussed Māori resistance to Western, colonialist views of sexuality, including those promulgated by fundamentalist churches. The authors delivered a convincing counterargument to theories posited by mid-20th century researchers like Gluckman (1967, 1974) and conservative churches. They provided historical accounts that valued same gender relationships, including those evidenced in oral histories and carved artworks. These accounts, they suggested, provided evidence of the acceptance of relatively diverse sexualities among pre-European

41 Male Call/Waea Mai Tāne Ma was the first survey of its type in Aotearoa New Zealand, detailing the investigation into sexual practices and social environment of gay and bisexual men in the country.

42 The chapter also extended discussions about takatāpui tane to include considerations of wahine takatāpui and mana wahine. For context on the Destiny Church: this is a sect founded in 1998 by the Māori, Pentecostal, fundamentalist Christian Brian Tamaki. The Church, in addition to teaching prosperity theology and strict adherence to biblical, conservative family values, has always been assertively anti-gay. In August 2004, the Destiny Church organised a march of approximately 5000 protesters on Parliament, under a slogan 'Enough is Enough.' The rally protested against New Zealand's legislation concerning civil unions, which, among other things, sought to afford legal status to same sex marriages. Tamaki has recently launched attacks on the transgender community and has assured the public that, if elected as a member of parliament, he will "legislate against the whole gay pride movement, who have now infiltrated the politics of this country, they've infiltrated the police force, they've infiltrated businesses, they've infiltrated our banks, they've infiltrated our companies" (Tamaki, as cited in Nightingale, 2023, para. 5).

Māori. Building on assertions in their 2006 chapter "Māori Sexuality," the authors argued that Māori embraced sexual diversity and difference, and traditional Māori sexuality was understood as fluid. They concluded their article by elaborating on the positive impact evidence-based discourse has had on the sexual rights and the health of Indigenous peoples, including the ongoing development of Māori communities.

In 2009, co-authoring with Reynolds, Lehavot and Taiapa, Aspin published "An Investigation of the Phenomenon of Non-Consensual Sex Among Māori Men Who Have Sex With Men." In this article, the authors investigated non-consensual sex (NCS) among takatāpui tāne. They concluded that NCS among these men is under-reported. Their study demonstrated that takatāpui tāne experience higher rates of sexual assault than other men, and they are less likely than Pākehā to report an assault. The consensus was that there were no support systems in place for them, and participants reported considerable, long-term health effects, even when there was support within their cultural networks.

In a 2011 chapter: "Exploring Takatāpui Identity Within the Māori Community: Implications for Health and Well-Being," Aspin argued that the experience of queer Indigenous people is shaped by multi-layered forces. In discussing the decolonisation of queer Indigenous research and theory, he proposed that praxis should be based on collective resistance that leads to constructive change. The chapter's primary focus was on takatāpui identity and its position in traditional and contemporary Māori society. Aspin attributed the decline in takatāpui wellbeing to historical forces that have discriminated against non-heteronormative people, and he highlighted the fact that takatāpui tāne were at three times higher risk of suicide or mental illness. The chapter argued for the reclamation of takatāpui identity within Māori society and reaffirmed the author's ongoing argument that there is a direct correlation between wellbeing and social position.

Brendan Hokowhitu

Professor Hokowhitu (Ngāti Pūkenga) is an academic at the University of Waikato. His research, while not directly about takatāpui tāne, is concerned with the nature and agency of Māori masculinity, and in this regard it has been useful to this study because it helps to unpack how contemporary ideals of Māori manhood have been constructed.

Hokowhitu (2004) argued that "traditional" Māori patriarchy may be a "colonial hybrid."[43] Subsequently, he suggested that, although

43 Both Hokowhitu (2008) and Salmond (1983) considered the concept of traditional Māori society an unreliable reconstruction. They noted that when missionaries, early European travellers, and anthropologists used the word "traditional" to refer to Māori cultural practices before Europeans arrived in New Zealand, their assumptions about what constituted tradition were misleading, because European methods of investigation were not capable of adequately depicting Māori life prior to colonisation. Salmond noted that, as a consequence, "Bits and pieces of information from anywhere between 1769 and 1969 have been cobbled together in accounts of traditional behaviour that included practices which never would have co-existed in any given Māori community at any given time" (Salmond, 1983, p. 316).

colonization provided the environment for the genesis of Māori patriarchy [...] modes of Māori patriarchy existed prior to colonization (i.e., patriarchy as constructed by Māori tribal epistemologies, focused on notions such as whakapapa [genealogy] and mana [power/prestige/respect]). (Hokowhitu, 2008, p. 115)

In "Tackling Māori Masculinity" (2004), he suggested that racist representations of Māori men were shaped by the colonial notion that Pākehā men were normal, and the Māori was abnormal. He noted that negative representations of Māori men related to their not having attained the refined sensibilities of their European counterparts. Hokowhitu added:

> While [...] civilized white men were the most manly ever evolved—firm of character; self-controlled; protectors of women and children [...] Māori men were physical, whimsical, unsophisticated, childlike, ruled by passion—and therefore in need of enlightenment through civilization. (2004, p. 265)

Hokowhitu argued that the stereotypical description reinforced the idea that Māori men were violent, savage, lazy, and despised refined academic or artistic thought as whakahīhī (conceited). Hokowhitu further argued that the construct of Māori masculinity is often defined by physicality, and Māori boys may face "barriers to the nonphysical realm that Pākehā boys do not" (2004, p. 259). He suggested that Māori masculinity has bought into "the hegemonic notion that tāne should demonstrate their masculinity through physical pursuits such as manual labour and sports" (p. 261). Hokowhitu also argued that because Pākehā considered that tāne Māori were ruled by passion, as opposed to reason, the belief was perpetuated that they should be encouraged to pursue physical rather than intellectual excellence.

In a 2008 publication, "The Death of Koro Paka: 'Traditional' Māori Patriarchy," Hokowhitu linked Māori male stereotypical profiling to the colonial practice of encouraging Māori leaders to institutionalise their sons in private boarding schools. Here, he suggested, British concepts of masculinity ensured that boys learned the centrality of physicality through new sports like rugby.[44] They also learned about bullying, elitism, and subservience to tiered hierarchy.

Much of Hokowhitu's research (2004, 2008, 2012) has explored how contemporary constructions of Māori masculinity have been strategically applied to disempower Māori men. His research is useful in understanding how we might think about masculinity, and it forms a basis from which requestioning might occur.

44 Hokowhitu (2008, p. 121) notes that, in New Zealand's private boys' schools, rugby became an important conduit of British imperialism. He observes, "The culture of the rugby field was designed to impart features of imperial masculine leadership: 'courage, endurance, assertion, control and self-control' (Dimeo, 2002, 80). Rugby, in particular, as a form of 'muscular Christianity,' became readily promoted at Te Aute to impart desirable attributes of manly virtue, that is, the acceptance of authority and perseverance against the odds."

Elizabeth Kerekere

Elizabeth Kerekere (Te Whānau a Kai, Te Aitanga-a-Māhaki, Rongowhakaata, Ngāi Tāmanuhiri, Ngāti Oneone) is a New Zealand politician, artist, takatāpui activist, and scholar. Her work is broadly concerned with mental health and the culture of takatāpui whānau.

In 2011, Kerekere's conference notes "Health for Takatāpui," discussed takatāpui health and wellbeing within the nursing sector.[45] Specifically, she considered the historical origins of the term takatāpui, the normalisation of sexual and gender diversity within Māori society prior to European arrival, and how colonisation and Christian beliefs have influenced and denied takatāpui existence. Kerekere also discussed the challenges of reclaiming takatāpui knowledge, within both te ao Māori and a broader society undergoing processes of decolonisation. Although the paper contained few details of how one might address these challenges, it drew attention to issues facing takatāpui Māori in the areas relating to health and wellbeing, identity, culture, and colonisation.

In 2015, Kerekere released a resource: Takatāpui: Part of the Whānau, published by the Tīwhanawhana Trust and Mental Health Foundation. This contained a wide range of mātauranga Māori (knowledge of the Māori world) related to understanding takatāpui. The document provided an accessible educational resource for those wishing to gain a deeper understanding of culture, sexual orientation, and gender identity as they relate to takatāpui Māori. The resource drew on Kerekere's experience in academia, political and social activism, and her creative engagements with the arts. However, it was developed in collaboration with other takatāpui leaders, elders, and rangatahi (youth) from a wide spectrum of gender, sexuality, ages, and iwi. The contributors included Ahi Wi Hongi, Hinemoana Baker, Morgan Cooke, Jennifer Edwards, and Kevin Haunui. The resource detailed the history of takatāpui and the word's contemporary meaning. However, it extended this discussion to associated considerations of mana tūpuna (ancestral knowledge), mana wahine (the sacredness of the female element), mana takatāpui (the role and place of takatāpui) and mana whānau (practicing the care and nurturing of families).

The following year, Kerekere published "LGBT Activism Among Māori," in the Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Gender and Sexuality Studies. This 2016 article offered a historical overview of the history of takatāpui and activism in Aotearoa/New Zealand. In it, she recorded instances of Māori who identify as LGBTIQ forming networks from the 1950s, when they began featuring prominently in diverse forms of activism, including feminism, gay rights, the renaissance of Māori language and culture, and the pursuit of Māori land rights. Here, she described the first Māori- LGBTIQ organization, Te Rōpū Tautoko, established

45 This was a summary of an address presented to the 2011 Aotearoa/New Zealand Nursing Organisation Conference.

in 1988 to provide sexual health services. Her article also traced the development and use of the term takatāpui, offering historical, socio-cultural, and political explanations for its use among LGBTQI+ Māori. Her work is important because it traced relationships and networks that developed across and between activist movements in Aotearoa/New Zealand. It also documented the role of takatāpui in challenging and changing social environments for both Pākehā and Māori.

In 2017, Kerekere's doctoral thesis, Part of the Whānau: The Emergence of Takatāpui Identity; He Whāriki Takatāpui, focused on takatāpui identity. Takatāpui Māori participants included individuals who identified as whakawahine, tangata ira tāne, lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, intersex, and queer. Takatāpui identity and well-being was metaphorically constructed as a whāriki takatāpui (a woven mat) to establish a foundation for both future research and increasing advocacy. Conducted as oral history research into the health and wellbeing of six self-identifying takatāpui, her study drew on diverse iwi, geographical locations, gender identities, and sexualities from participants between the ages of seventeen and sixty-eight.

The study also considered the perceptions of whānau about takatāpui family members and revealed new evidence of takatāpui behaviour within traditional Māori narratives. Kerekere (2017) argued that "takatāpui identity is predicated on Māori identity with a spiritual connection to takatāpui tūpuna (ancestors)" (p. 5). She considered this understanding to be necessary when addressing discrimination that takatāpui face within their whānau and culture.

My study builds on her work, although it focuses specifically on takatāpui tane and considers both the nature of Māori masculinity and queer expression within the performing arts.

Leonie Pihama

Associate Professor Leonie Pihama (Te Ātiawa, Ngāti Māhanga, Ngā Māhanga ā Tairi) is a Senior Research Fellow at the Te Kōtahi Institute at the University of Waikato. In 1998 she published the chapter "Reconstructing Meanings of Family: Lesbian/Gay Whānau and Families in Aotearoa." This work raised issues unique to Māori lesbians (wahine takatāpui) and adopted a Māori cultural/historical lens. The work recognised that, like takatāpui tāne, wahine takatāpui voices are often subsumed by dominant LGBT discourses. In this work, Pihama provided a critique that considered how wahine takatāpui have been influenced by colonisation, resistance, whakapapa, whāngai, and reproductive agency.

Paul Reynolds

Paul Reynolds (Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Whanganui) is the Co-Director at Te Atawhai o te Ao (an independent Māori research institute in Whanganui). He has published widely on kaupapa Māori research, sexual relationships, Māori research ethics, and biotechnologies. In 2007 he wrote the

chapter "I'm Takataapui! I'm Takataapui Tane!" in Hutchings and Aspin's Sexuality and the Stories of Indigenous People. In this work, Reynolds discussed his journey of being takatāpui and coming out later in life. Although growing up knowing his true sexuality, coming out to his family wasn't an option for him, and this resulted in years of internal struggle. Reynolds contrasts his trajectory with that of his younger takatāpui brother.

In 2014, Reynolds co-authored with Smith and Pihama "Leaving Home to Become Stronger: Māori LGBT (Takatāpui) in New Zealand." In this article, the authors discussed the issue of takatāpui who exile themselves from whānau and iwi because of rejection and abuse. Building on Pihama et al.'s (2009) work, they considered how urban migration sometimes enables takatāpui to enter a more neutral, accepting environment. Like previous studies (Aspin, 2009; Hokowhitu, 2004; Eldred-Grigg, 1984; Murray, 2009), they documented the victimization of takatāpui, including prostitution, risk-taking, self-destructive behaviour, and trauma resulting from non-consensual sex. However, the article also celebrated cases where takatāpui remained with, or returned to, whānau. In this process they emphasised the importance of forming support systems.

Ngāhuia Te Awekotuku

Ngāhuia Te Awekotuku (Te Arawa, Tūhoe) has a long history of political activism that she interfaces with scholarship and creative writing.

In 2001, she published "Hinemoa: Retelling a Famous Romance," a partly fictional text in which she reimagined, through her lesbian consciousness, the pūrākau (story) of the romance between Hinemoa and Tūtānekai.[46] In so doing, she challenged identity construction within a story that had been historically popularised as purely heterosexual. The narrative Te Awekotuku related cast Hinemoa as a strong, courageous wahine, and it explored her relationship with a lover who had already gained companionship with someone of the same gender. In this work, she recounted discovering the original Te Rangikāheke manuscripts (which use the term takatāpui).[47] The author's retelling of this famous love story not only challenged a heteronormative account, but also proposed the possible characteristics of the three protagonists whose queer identities, Te Awekotuku suggested, had been bowdlerised. As a semi-fictional work, this text is of significance to my study, because it fuses historical accounts with artistic interpretation.

In 2005, Te Awekotuku wrote "He Reka Ano: Same Sex Lust and Loving in the Ancient Māori World." Here she considered the Māori

46 As a Te Arawa descendant, Ngāhuia Te Awekotuku is genealogically connected to this story. Hinemoa is her ancestor.

47 By 1854, Wiremu Maihi Te Rangikāheke had authored 21 manuscripts and contributed to 17 more, all of which are now in the Grey Collection in the Auckland Public Library. Te Rangikāheke's manuscripts contain documentation relating to diverse aspects of Māori culture, political perspectives, and autobiographical material.

word reka (sweetness or pleasure), and the phrase he reka anō (meaning diverse or other pleasures). The paper was structured into four parts, with the first three encompassing: Ngā Whakaaro Māori—the Māori record—in which she provided insights into laments, poetry, and narratives that identify fluidity in sexuality, when one close-reads messages hidden within the words; Ngā Whakaaro a Tauiwi, where she considered early European records, including the journals of voyagers and missionaries; and Ngā Whakaata, where she discussed sexuality in traditional Māori carving, and reported evidence of sexual diversity within Māori material culture. From this data, Te Awekotuku claimed that homosexuality and lesbianism were not only part of everyday Māori life but were also celebrated and illustrated within cultural depictions.
Her concluding section, Whai Muri Atu, discussed contemporary reclamations of takatāpui identity and its existence within te ao Māori. Here she advocated that takatāpuitanga should be cultivated within all facets of Māori culture.

In 2016, Te Awekotuku and Linda Nikora published "Moehewa: Death, Lifestyle & Sexuality in the Māori World" (Nikora & Te Awekotuku, 2016). This article investigated the complexities of death rituals (tangihanga) for tūpāpaku (deceased) takatāpui. It included lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transexual accounts of customary death rituals and practices and considered how contemporary Māori might navigate colonisation and the influence of Christian practices. In this work, three case studies of takatāpui men and tangihanga processes were documented. Tangihanga, in this context, the authors suggested, opens space for dialogue around cultural practices and understandings related to being takatāpui, and they encouraged community (whānau and friends) to engage with the process, so that tūpāpaku (both in its physical and spiritual forms) takatāpui can be mourned honourably. Takatāpui inclusion, especially during cultural rituals, the authors argued, is vital for the wellbeing of all Māori.

Other Writers
Three other writers, Mark Henrickson, Jessica Hutchings, and Kim McBreen have also made a significant contribution to takatāpui discourse.
In 2006, Henrickson published "Ko Wai Ratou? Managing Multiple Identities in Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual New Zealand Māori." The article considered data from the Lavender Islands: Portrait of the Whole Family multidisciplinary study of lesbian, gay, and bisexual people in New Zealand. The work explored a range of themes, including coming-out processes, identity adjustment and ways in which individuals manage sexuality, cultural identity, family support, spirituality, and relationships. The paper also differentiated ways in which non-Māori LGB[48]identity differs from that of Māori.
In 2012, Jessica Hutchings (Ngāi Tahu, Gujurati) published "The Hetero-Patriarchy and the Corruption of Tikanga." In this article she considered the impact heteropatriarchy has on tikanga Māori

48 Henrickson uses the LGB acronym.

(customs). Specifically, she discussed the effect that conceptions of masculinity, maleness, dominance, and power have on sexuality and gender as they relate to wahine Māori and takatāpui Māori. Hutchings argued for a "decolonisation" of tikanga and proposed that the practice of tikanga should be inclusive of wahine Māori and takatāpui. She maintained that when tikanga is in place it can guide cultural practices, so that, rather than reflecting oppressive, hetero-patriarchal models, it can enable development pathways that embrace diversity.

In the same year that Hutchings published her text, Kim McBreen (Kāti Mamoe, Ngāi Tahu), in the chapter "Ahunga Tikanga and Sexual Diversity," argued for an alternative approach to understanding tikanga and Māori sexual diversity. She noted that studies over the last hundred years have generally focused on attempts to reconstruct the behaviour and attitudes of pre-European Māori, by imagining and unearthing historical evidence. She proposed that research might now usefully look to the current reality of queer-identified Māori in a dominant Western culture. She suggested that by focusing on the principles that underpin tikanga Māori, we might determine a more appropriate approach to sexual diversity. McBreen argued that this approach could be more effective because colonisation has left Māori with fragmented knowledge about the actions and values of tūpuna. She suggested that even when researchers document how tūpuna behaved, their motivations are difficult to interpret; their actions may not have reflected their values. She also suggested that a contemporary paradigm is appropriate because significant changes have occurred, such that "what was tika pre-colonisation may be inadequate in a society dominated by hetero normativity "the wellbeing of te ao (McBreen, 2013, p. 21).

Her proposed approach might enable Māori who are sexually diverse to locate values and behaviours in contemporary contexts, and this might offer more useful guidelines for behaviour, safety, and inclusivity as it relates to sexual diversity.

I would suggest that McBreen's proposal falls into the tikanga practices of manaakitanga (care/nurture) and te oranga o ā tātou whakapapa (survival of our people). Takatāpui are first and foremost Māori, and their safety and inclusivity is integral to the wellbeing of te ao Māori.

Objects as Repositories of Knowledge

Although reviews of knowledge normally focus on written discourse, in contextualising the thesis project it is also useful to note two objects. Both were mentioned in Chris Brickell and Judith Collard's (2019) book, Queer Objects. In this work the editors provided a social biography of objects, seen through a queer lens. Their approach is useful to this study because it articulates a queer way of seeing. Their hypothesis was that objects' meanings can be malleable and may become queer when considered in specific ways. Drawing on examples (including some predating colonisation), the book noted a number of Māori artefacts. Discussing

the nature of queer theory, the editors showed how non-normative sexualities can challenge conventional meanings, and, through commentaries on objects, the book's contributors revealed how the meaning of artefacts can be shaped by both context and intention.[49]

The first object we might associate with takatāpui identity is a papahou (carved box), currently housed in the British Museum. This depicts figures engaged in sexual relations (Figure 3.1). The surfaces of the papahou and lid are carved with wheku-faced figures. Of these, six are female and four are male, linked in various types of sexual union. The centre of the carving features a figure with a penis in his mouth (Aspin, 2008).

Figure 3.1. Papahou (Carved Box)

Note. This papahou is held in the British Museum, registration number Oc1964,05.1.a.

49 The reading of objects also extends to clothing that Brickell and Collard (2019) argue queers often modify or wear in ways that challenge heteronormative codes. Such objects, they suggest, become expressions in networks of space, time, and sociability. Their observation is of relevance to this study because of the role that clothing and objects play in expressions of takatāpui identity.

A second carving of note is a bargeboard from a Te Arawa chief, Rangitihi, that has been interpreted by some writers as depicting two male figures entwined in a sexual manner (Aspin & Hutchings, 2007a; Te Awekotuku, 2005). Although some researchers have referred to it as a ridgepole (Aspin, 2011; Brickell & Collard, 2019), all references to the artwork note that it was cut in two, and photographs of it in the public domain distort its original form and potential meaning by placing the figures adjacent to each other (Figure 3.2). In the original work the men were connected at their feet (Figure 3.3).

Figure 3.2. Ridgepole From the Te Arawa Chief Rangitihi

Note. Separated parts of the ridgepole from the Te Arawa chief Rangitihi, held at Museum für Völkerkunde, Leipzig, Germany, and Miklukho-Maklay Institute of Anthropology and Ethnology, St Petersburg, Russia. Registration number: P01775, 1279.75.

Figure 3.3. Reconstruction of the Ridgepole in its Original Form.

Note. Reconstructed digital photograph © Tangaroa Paora.

When the work was divided, one section was sent to a museum in Leipzig, Germany, and the other to St Petersburg, in Russia. Technically, this carving may be understood as a victim of a colonising propensity for exoticization, because it may have represented an exoticized sexual 'otherness' challenging the ideologies of the Christian missionaries who saw same sex attraction as reprehensible.[50]

Designs showing partners connected at the feet were not unknown in Māori iconography. For example, Figure 3.4 (p. 44) shows a similar bargeboard at Mātaatua Marae that depicts a married couple whose relationship is illustrated above the entrance to the wharenui.

Objects like the papahou in the British Museum and the ridgepole from the Te Arawa chief, Rangitihi, may be understood as peka; fragments that are disconnected from their contextual narratives. They are open to interpretation, and in discussing them in this review, I respectfully balance two ideas.

First, I cannot provide absolute data relating to the original meaning of these artefacts. This has been lost. Against this, I acknowledge that a significant number of takatāpui scholars have attributed queer readings to these taonga. Accordingly, in the contemporary domain, the objects have accrued associations and resonance in contemporary takatāpui communities. These artefacts are evidence of spaces of loss that we must sometimes question in the pursuit of knowledge.

50 Here I am referring to Victor Segalen's Essay on Exoticism (Segalen, 2002), where he discussed a phenomenon used to reinforce the idea of cultural 'otherness.' Exoticism may be compared to 'Orientalism,' which is Edward Said's (1978) term to describe a patronising Western attitude towards Middle Eastern, Asian, and North African societies. Like exoticism, Said's Orientalism involved the West (sometimes as a coloniser) essentialising the complexity of an Indigenous culture, perceiving it to be static and therefore capable of being studied, depicted, or collected in the service of Western knowledge. However, Segalen's 'exoticism' is not normally associated with a particular time period or culture, and it generally refers to preoccupations with 'primitivism' and an emphasis on cultural difference. For Maori, this exoticism often took the form of 'acquiring' people and artefacts for dislocation and display. This included sacred objects and also toi moko, mokomokai, and upoko tuhi (human heads), which were an important part of Māori sacred ceremonies but were purchased and sold into European museums and private collections.

Such objects are evidence of the necessity to research, to draw into the light fragments of stories from private worlds, and, carefully, to treat such peka as valuable.

Figure 3.4. Ridgepole of Umuariki me Tikina

Note. Ridgepole of Umuariki me Tikina, at Mātaatua Marae, Te Whai o te Motu, Ruatāhuna, New Zealand. Reproduced with permission from Te Rangimonoa Rangihau

SECTION 2: THE HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF TAKATĀPUI TĀNE PERFORMANCE INCLUDING DRAG AND KAPA HAKA

The thesis is also informed by a body of research relating to the development and nature of takatāpui tāne performance. This is important because the creative work emanating from the study draws artistic correlations between takatāpui tāne identity and its expression. Accordingly, in this section, I discuss literature relating to Kapa Haka in general, then I document takatāpui tāne whose work has historically integrated expressions of irarua or irarere into performance.

The History and Development of Kapa Haka

Tīmoti Kāretu

Kāretu's (1993) publication Haka: Te Tohu o te Whenua Rangatira—The Dance of a Noble People emphasised cross-tribal differences as an influential factor, and he argued that regional pūrākau, tikanga, and traditional Māori knowledge shape different emphases in Kapa Haka. However, he described a binary gender differentiation that my study challenges. He noted that "Haka is the generic name for all Māori dance. Today, Haka is defined as that part of the Māori dance repertoire where the men are to the fore with the women leading vocal support in the rear" (Kāretu, 1993, p. 24).

Kāretu also contends that Kapa Haka has evolved through discernible periods of development. Two of the most significant were the period between World Wars I and II, and

the decades of urbanization (post WWII). He suggested that World War I heralded the emergence of the modern waiata-a-ringa (action song), and Kāretu credits Apirana Ngata with successfully promoting the waiata-a-ringa, such that it became a significant part of Kapa Haka history. Kāretu (1993) maintained that the first Kapa Haka groups hailed from the Rotorua villages of Te Wairoa, Ōhinemutu, and Whakarewarewa. Smith (2003) concurs, observing that by the late nineteenth century Rotorua had developed as an international resort, where tourists could enjoy the natural splendour of the 'thermal wonderland,' and haka and poi were central to the tourist industry.

Valance Smith

Valance Smith's 2003 Master's thesis, Colonising the Stage: The Socio-Cultural Impact of Colonisation on Kapa Haka, argued that Kapa Haka has been fundamentally influenced by colonisation, but he also examined the evolution of Māori ways of knowing Kapa Haka, prior to this period. He suggested that neither Māori nor Pākehā initially attempted to force their worldview on the other, but this cultural balance was upset when early missionaries began imposing Victorian values on the artform. From this point of impact, he contrasted Māori and Pākehā perspectives on Kapa Haka, suggesting that the different epistemologies impacted on how and why the artform evolved the way it has. Building on his analysis, I maintain that because Kapa Haka as a performing art draws its source from Atua, whenua, and tāngata, it encompasses the spectrum of rich cultural customs and practices; including the nature and experience of takatāpui and the concept of irarua.

Francesca Horsley

In 2007, Francesca Horsley published "Kapa Haka: Guardian Of The Dance," in DANZ Quarterly. In this article she interviewed and considered the contributions of the Kapa Haka matriarch, Kuini Moehau Reedy (Ngāti Porou). Reedy's contributions to the style and stance of East Coast Kapa Haka have been widely acknowledged, as have her waiata and haka compositions. Her work made significant advances in the revitalisation and advancement of te reo Māori me ōna tikanga (Māori customs and practices), competition judging, Māori performing arts and education, including kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa initiatives. Reedy explained how the use of te reo within Kapa Haka accentuated body language to tell stories. She saw Kapa Haka as a holistic experience where the artist is intimately connected with her environment. She said, "This is who I am—communicating with the environment and the environment communicating with me. I feel connected and as one with the universe" (Reedy, as cited in Horsley, 2007, p. 15). Reedy also differentiated between Kapa Haka on stage and Kapa Haka on the marae, noting that a marae performance is different because of its context and non-competitive nature.

Paul Whitinui

In the same year that Horsley's article was released, Paul Whitinui completed his doctoral dissertation, The Indigenous Factor: Exploring Kapa Haka as a Culturally Responsive Learning Environment in Mainstream Secondary Schools (Whitinui, 2007). This research investigated educational benefits associated with Māori students participating in culturally shaped activities, such as Kapa Haka. The study found that Māori students experienced Kapa Haka as a "culturally responsive" learning experience, and, as a consequence, felt increasingly confident and optimistic about both school and their education. The study also found that Kapa Haka can provide opportunities for students to celebrate and connect with cultural identity in mainstream schooling contexts, enabling them "to 'protect', 'problem-solve', 'provide', and 'heal' their inner self-worth, essence, and wellbeing as Māori" (Whitinui, 2007, p. ii).

Maria Paenga

Paenga's (2008) Master's thesis, Te Māoritanga: Wellbeing and Identity; Kapa Haka as a Vehicle for Māori Health Promotion, considered Kapa Haka through the lens of health and wellbeing. Drawing on the work of Kāretu (1993) and Smith (2003), she argued that positive identity and wellbeing can be developed through the performance artform. Specifically, she suggested that when identity is reinforced and actualised through Kapa Haka it can also become the basis of good health. She endorsed Durie's (2003) contention that poor mental health often stems from an insecure identity that impacts negatively on wellbeing. Although I would propose that wellness and its relationship to Kapa Haka can be an issue for takatāpui, Paenga does not discuss gender identity or sexuality in her thesis.

Dance Aotearoa New Zealand (DANZ)

In 2011, DANZ published "Te Matatini—The Evolution of Kapa Haka." In this article, the editors of DANZ Quarterly challenged the Te Matatini festival organisation to consider their duty of care—responsibilities that included: ensuring the protection, fostering, nurturing, and development of Māori performing arts; and supporting regions in the advancement of Kapa Haka.

I would argue that this duty of care also extends to the performers' wellbeing (specifically takatāpui performers who may be performing in front of hetero-normative audiences). In the article, Executive Director of the Te Matatini festival Darrin Apanui also observed that Kapa Haka is constantly changing and should not be considered "a static art form that belongs in history, [because] it moves with the times" (Apanui, as cited in Dance Aotearoa New Zealand, 2011, p. 7).

Te Urikore Biddle

Te Urikore Biddle (2012) discussed how tikanga is addressed in haka competitions. She maintained that, although culture changes, certain foundational principles tend to remain consistent. Considering Kapa Haka as a physical expression of culture and

identity, she noted tensions and challenges in judging work, especially as they relate to lyrical accuracy and the expression and assessment of iwi-specific performances (in contrast to more generic, urban styles of presentation).[51]
Referring to Tūhoe and their participation within Kapa Haka, she noted that the preservation and commitment to customary depictions of stance, tribal dialect, takahi (rhythmic pace), and matemateāone (kinship) are distinctive expressions of tribal style. She argued that haka is an organic expression that reflects the context in which it is practiced. However, she proposed that space must be made for transformation, regardless of performers' tribal or urban-based communities. Specifically, she suggested that urban, metropolitan expression might contain an amalgamation of cultural norms where performance is "remodelled" (p. 76) and reconciled into new, coherent wholes.

Pihama, Tipene, and Skipper
Pihama, Tipene, and Skipper's (2014) scoping report, Ngā Hua a Tāne Rore: The Benefits of Kapa Haka, explored the multiple ways in which we might view and value the contribution of Kapa Haka within cultural, social, and economic contexts. Their findings showed that Kapa Haka has contributed meaningfully to the revitalisation and retention of te reo, tikanga, histories, and ritual processes. The authors suggested that the most significant aspects of Kapa Haka are its reinforcement of Māori culture, identity, and whanaungatanga (the importance of people and connectedness). Although the article argued that Kapa Haka fosters a richer and more inclusive society in Aotearoa (and as such strengthens New Zealand's nationhood), the role of takatāpui in challenging conventional norms in Kapa Haka was beyond the scope of their study.

Piri Sciascia
Sciascia's 2014 article, "Kapa Haka's Rich and Developing Fabric," traced the history of Kapa Haka from pre-European times (when haka was performed in the whare tapere), through to its contemporary manifestations. Like Paenga (2008) and Pihama et al. (2014), Sciascia investigated Kapa Haka's cultural significance. However, he also considered new movements and forms of expression in Māori contemporary dance that have developed over the past thirty years. Referencing new Māori dance companies and projects like the New Zealand Māori Theatre Trust, the Kahurangi Māori Dance Theatre, Taiao, the Atamira Dance Company, the Okareka Dance Company, and the Ko-whiti Dance Festival, he posited a cultural renaissance, where haka theatre has contributed to a dynamic genre that is leading Kapa Haka through innovation into new territory.[52]

51 This issue, I would suggest, might be extended to issues such as the gendered use of whaikōrero.

52 Sciascia noted that "Haka Theatre is not a new term; Te Puea Herangi first used it over a hundred years ago. It encompasses the essence of this development, bringing excellence in Kapa Haka innovation into the theatre, and is available for all New Zealanders and indeed the world to see. It brings Theatre to Ma-ori, and Ma-ori to Theatre" (2014, p. 27).

Te Rita Papesch

In 2015, Te Rita Papesch's doctoral thesis considered ways in which Kapa Haka has contributed to the creation and development of a modern Māori identity, and how such identity is described in and by Kapa Haka. Weaving together personal histories (including those of participants who remembered the first festival in 1972) with social history, her study considered formative forces on Kapa Haka, from the early concert parties, through iwi and Hāhi hui, to Te Matatini in the present day.

The following year, Papesch and Mazer co-authored an article that challenged the notion of 'traditional' Kapa Haka in the 21st century. It noted that while Kapa Haka is a traditional cultural practice there have been contemporary influences from theatre, from what the authors describe as "not-quite-post colonial" Aotearoa (Papesch & Mazer, 2016, p. 2). Their paper referred to the biannual Te Matatini National Kapa Haka competition as evidence of challenges to traditional assumptions and evolutionary practices in Māori performing arts. Papesch argues that theatre syncretism and amalgamations can be employed to decolonise the stage, while remaining true to a Māori perspective and approach to performance in Kapa Haka.

In 2019, Papesch published an article that considered a new age of Kapa Haka and its relationship to tikanga (customs). She noted that Māori tend to forget that Kapa Haka is an evolving form of theatre in both its production and execution, and argued that, because of increasing levels of participation, we must ensure advancement. Papesch referred to examples where the use of non-traditional tools (as a way of enhancing performance), have been criticised, and she argued that such attitudes can restrict the artform's potential evolution.

Cruz Banks

In 2017, Cruz Banks' "Haka on the Horizon: Māori Contemporary Dance and Whare Tapere" reviewed the Atamira Dance Company's (ADC) new approaches to Māori dance. Under the leadership of Louise Potiki Bryant and Jack Gray (in collaboration with Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal), the article considered expressions of "new indigeneity." Building on Hyland's (2015) claim that "Kapa Haka actually began as an event initiated by women" (p. 73), Cruz Banks suggested that we seek to rebalance the masculine and feminine energies of haka.

Thus, research and commentary indicates direct links between Kapa Haka, cultural identification, and wellbeing (Paenga, 2008; Papesch, 2015; Pihama et al., 2014; Whitinui, 2007). The literature also notes that Kapa Haka is an evolving art form (Kāretu, 1993; Papesch & Mazer, 2016, Papesch, 2019; Sciascia, 2014; Smith, 2003), that, while respecting tikanga, positions itself as a contemporary expression of identity (Cruz Banks, 2017; Biddle, 2012; Dance Aotearoa New Zealand, 2011; Papesch, 2015). Given this position, this thesis weaves takatāpuitanga, photography, poetry, and performance narratives into a contemporary

iteration of Kapa Haka, that embraces irarere as an expression of living identity, inside te ao Māori.

Takatāpui Performing Artists

Having reviewed literature relating to the evolutionary nature of Kapa Haka, in concluding this chapter it is useful to consider four renowned takatāpui tane whose contributions to Māori performing arts stand outside of conventional conceptions of Kapa Haka. They are: Carmen (Trevor Rupe), Mika (Terrance Pou), Fafswag, and Pere Wihongi.

Carmen

Carmen (1936–2011) was born Trevor Rupe in Taumarunui (Figure 3.5). She arguably remains New Zealand's most celebrated drag performer.

Carmen was also a famous brothel keeper, impresario, anti-discrimination activist, and aspiring politician. The cafés she managed in Wellington in the 1960s and 1970s became cultural centres for takatāpui.[53] She is credited with lifting the mana of Māori drag queens and making queer performance explicit within café culture. Carmen elevated the idea of takatāpui performance as both spectacular and defiant of social norms of the period.

Figure 3.5. Carmen Rupe

Note. Left: Carmen Rupe in nightclub drag (circa 1960). Right: Carmen on Parliament steps, Wellington, 1975. Ref. EP/1975/2576/4A-F.

53 Brickell (2008) noted that Carmen's 'International Coffee Lounge' was decorated with avant-garde art, mirrors, tropical fish, peacock feathers, and Spanish shawls. It was public knowledge that, at her café, patrons could position their coffee cups in specific ways to indicate a proposed sexual liaison with a heterosexual, gay, transsexual, or drag queen sex worker.

Carmen noted that drag, as a mode of performance, traditionally has three features. Firstly, a drag queen assumes a stage name. Secondly, the performance is normally associated with overstatement, "through the use of heavy makeup, 'falsies', and a gender-bending technique known as 'tucking'" (n.d., para. 4). He added that, in stage performance, the authenticity of femininity is always undermined by a certain roughness, "which often includes a vulgar stage presence and desire to shock" (n.d., para. 4). Finally, he noted that drag gives voice to a form of gender fluidity that is made visible through performance.

Within the spectrum of drag performance, Carmen was generally associated with snake-work and hula dancing.[54] Her contribution to both drag performance and wider social activism can be usefully appreciated in the context of legislation in New Zealand; at this time, takatāpui tāne and Pākehā gay men could be imprisoned for up to seven years for engaging in same sex activity, and trans people were apprehended on the street by the police and charged with "frequenting with felonious intent," as they were arrested for wearing women's clothing (Ings, 2005, p. 296).[55]

Mika Haka

Born Terrance Pou in 1962, then renamed Neil Gudsell and later, Mika X (with the stage name of Mika Haka), Mika is a queer Māori performance artist (Figure 3.6).

Figure 3.6. Mika Haka and Carmen Rupe

Note. Mika Haka (right) and Carmen Rupe (left) (circa.1990). CC BY-SA 4.0

Mika has worked across a range of contexts, including television, music, drag, activism, nightclub performance, and fashion. Being mentored and guided by Carmen Rupe, Dalvanius Prime, Mama Tere, and Merata Mita, he has sought a creative balance between his queer and Māori worlds. With his creation and debut of Mika Haka, he sought to question Māori understandings of masculinity, and in the process he has challenged conventions of haka in performance.

Significant in his catalogue of work was the 1992 Hero Party in Auckland, where he performed his original song "Lava Lover."

54 Snake work is an old drag term for a sinuous form of dance developed by Queens in the 1950s and 60s (although its origins may be earlier than this).

55 Ings (2005) noted that homosexual intercourse between men in New Zealand was criminalised (with a death sentence) when the country adopted British laws in 1840. By 1867, New Zealand had passed the Offenses Against the Person Act 1867, which replaced the death penalty for buggery with life imprisonment. In 1893, the Act was broadened to outlaw any sexual activity between men, with recommended punishments ranging from imprisonment with hard labour and flogging (irrespective of whether sexual congress was consensual). Although in 1941, the requirements for flogging—and in 1954, the provision for hard labour— were removed, the consolidation of the Crimes Act 1961 meant that homosexual activity between men was constituted as an 'indecency' (when consensual) and an 'indecent assault' (when non-consensual). The two crimes were considered equally severe (Crimes Act 1961, ss 140, 141) and carried penalties of five to seven years' imprisonment. It was against the legal provisions of this Act that Carmen's coffee lounge stood as an example of takatāpui defiance.

The performance was indicative of the high level of theatricality and the spectacularising that permeates most of his work. The performance began with a karanga, with Mika positioned on top of a stage accompanied by over 300 drag queens, Pacific Island dancers, lesbian taiaha, and men attired in semen costumes. Other significant works by the performer included his 2010 gala work alongside the Auckland Philharmonic Orchestra, at the opening of the Aroha Festival, where he performed "Lava Lover" and "Do U Like What U See?"; and his Mika Aroha Madi Gras (that formed part of the 2011 Rugby World Cup), where he was accompanied by over 760 performers in a work narrated by Rena Owen.

Since the early 1980s, Mika has been a leader and nurturer of young takatāpui tāne, creating environments where these men find expression in the Māori performing arts.

Figure 3.7. FAFSWAG Arts Collective

Note. FAFSWAG Arts Collective, NZ Arts Foundation Arts Laureate Ceremony 2021. Permission FAFSWAG,

FAFSWAG

FAFSWAG describe themselves as an Auckland arts collective of fa'afafine, fakaleiti, fafine, akavaine, mahu, or takātapui performers who celebrate LGBTQI+ Pacific Islander culture through parties, events, and videos. Members make up three 'houses' within the underground ballroom community in Aotearoa.[56] These houses constitute a safe space for individual performers, some who have been exiled from their families.

FAFSWAG define themselves as artists who "navigate a particularly complex cultural landscape" (Syfret, 2016, para. 2).[57] Through creative performance, they have built a contemporary vogue scene, where friendship underpins impromptu performance. Vogue is a dance form and social support system often associated with the drag ball culture of African American and Latin American LGBTQI+ people.[58] These balls, which surfaced into the public consciousness in the late 19th century through Jennie Livingston's documentary Paris is Burning

56 The House of Coven, the House of Aitu and the House of Carangi.

57 Tanu Gago (a member of the collective) noted in 2016 that members face challenges not only within the Pacific and Māori environments but also within the LGBTQI+ community. He argued that the effects of colonisation have effectively stripped much recorded literature relating to gender and sexual diversity from the Pacific, and he suggests that the reframing of a third gender has been important in establishing degrees of cultural acceptance for differentiation.

58 Bailey (2011) suggested that as a countercultural phenomenon, ball culture grew out of the need for defiance against dominant heteronormative values. He also suggested that these events were a reaction against existing laws that banned individuals from wearing clothes associated with the opposite gender.

(1990), displayed performers' talents in dance, lip-syncing, and modelling. As d'Larté (2017) noted,

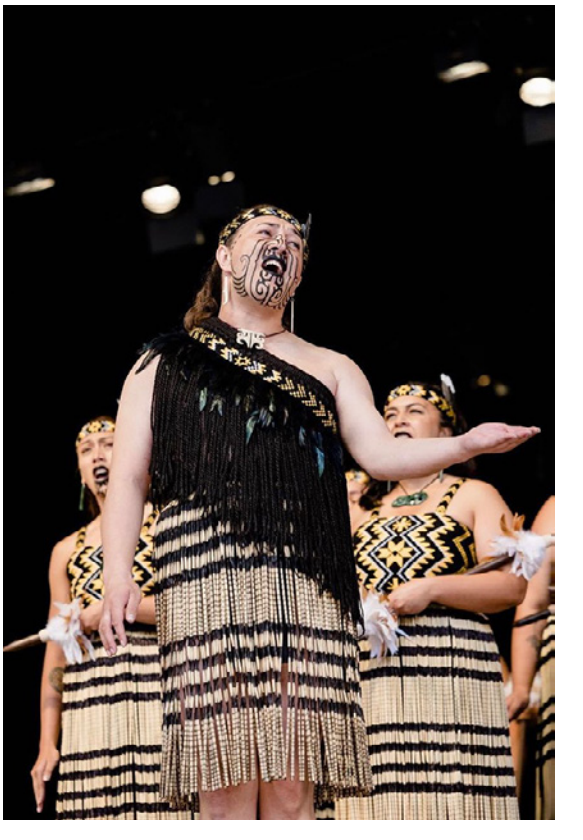
> FAFSWAG is very much aware of the discrimination LGBT+ Māori and Pasifika youth can face, on multiple fronts. Members of the scene are able to reconnect with both their identities and communities through art, dance, performance, and friendship. This powerful, creative outlet plays an important role in transforming their lives. (para. 5)

The first FAFSWAG Aitu Ball was held in South Auckland in 2013. However, from 2016 balls have been held in central Auckland, and the 2018 ball was located at the Auckland Art Gallery.

Pere Wihongi

Pere Wihongi (Ngāpuhi and Te Rarawa) is a contemporary, takatāpui tāne-identifying composer and performing artist who has worked with a range of leading Kapa Haka groups throughout Aotearoa (Figure 3.8).

Figure 3.8. Pere Wihongi



Note. Pere Wihongi at Te Matatini Festival 2023. Permission Te Matatini Inc.

As an artist, he focuses on creative content that has a reo Māori foundation. He is heavily involved in reo, waiata, Kapa Haka, and television production, and in 2019 he released his debut single, "High on Ingoingo." This work spoke to the importance of maintaining creative passion and the discovery of his confidence (Wihongi, 2019).

In the 2023 Te Matatini: Herenga Waka, Herenga Tangata,[59] Pere's Kapa Haka group presented a concept that blurred conventional, binary-gendered performance (male or female). Both Pere and Tūhoe wore altered kākahu (Māori performing attire) to reflect their gender non-conforming identities. Their initiative pushed the boundaries of Kapa Haka by breaking down gender roles within performance on a competitive stage.

Pere believes that by being his authentic self he can inspire takatāpui who negotiate diverse ways of being masculine. He has said,

> If anything, the mentality needs to change 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. (Paora, 2019, p. 11)

Summary

This chapter has reviewed contextual knowledge impacting on the artistic practice in the thesis. It opened with a consideration of knowledge relating to takatāpui tane, then examined literature related to the history and development of Kapa Haka and takatāpui tane performance, thereby identifying a gap in research into Māori performing arts, examining, and discussing takatāpui identity. Moving outwards from an expanding body of literature on takatāpui identity, this study seeks to create a bridge between Māori performance and the actualities of takatāpui experience, and in so doing, to offer a body of contextualised practice into the realm of Māori performative storytelling.

Having now considered knowledge that contextualises the study, it is useful to unpack the research design underpinning its realisation.

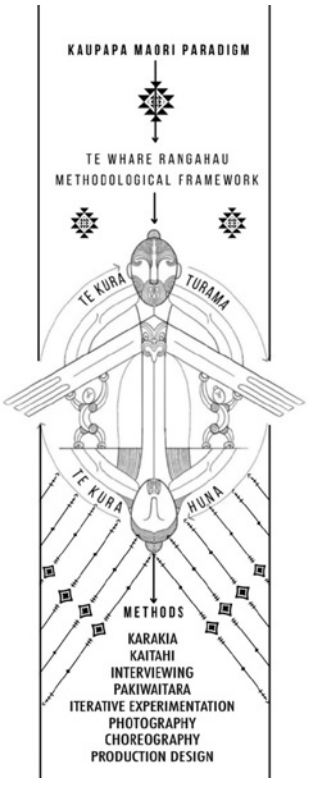
59 This was the national senior Kapa Haka competition held in Tāmaki Makaurau, after being postponed in 2021 due to limitations resulting from the COVID-19 global pandemic.


4

INTRODUCTION

This chapter considers the research design for the thesis. It is divided into three considerations: the study's Kaupapa Māori paradigm; its Te Whare Rangahau methodology; and its methods (Figure 4.1). The chapter concludes with a critique of the advantages and challenges of the approach.

Figure 4.1. Research Design



Note. Research design for the thesis, showing the relationship between the paradigm, methodological framework, and eight methods.

KAUPAPA MĀORI PARADIGM

Carroll described a research paradigm as "a body of beliefs and values, laws, and practices which govern a study" (1997, p. 171). Mackenzie and Knipe suggested that "the choice of the paradigm sets down the intent, motivation and expectations for the research." They argued that "without nominating a paradigm as the first step, there is no basis for subsequent choices regarding methodology, methods, literature or research design" (2006, para. 6).

This research was framed within a Kaupapa Māori paradigm (Bishop, 2005; Mead, 2003; Smith, 2000) that oriented a practice-led, heuristic inquiry.

Pihama et al. (2002) suggested that Kaupapa Māori research paradigm was developed to challenge Pākehā hegemony and legitimise te ao Māori (ways of thinking within a Māori worldview). They describe Kaupapa Māori as "Māori asserting the right to be Māori while at the same time building a critique of those societal structures that work to oppress Māori." They see Kaupapa Māori as pushing forward "Māori aspirations and pushing back on Pākehā (European) control and domination" (p. 41). Under the tenets of Kaupapa Māori, Māori knowledge must be made accessible to all Māori. Research

operating under such a paradigm is predicated on an in-depth understanding of te ao Māori (the Māori world view) and tikanga Māori (customs), because such a position upholds and respects Māori epistemology. It is through Kaupapa Māori that I, as a Māori researcher, exercise my Māori ways of knowing and prioritise my obligations within this research.

Practice-Led Inquiry

Within a Kaupapa Māori research paradigm, the study is shaped and led by artistic practice. Here, research is gathered and progressed through mahi (making) and critical reflection upon what emerges (Ings, 2015; Scrivener, 2002; Pouwhare, 2020; Toluta'u, 2015). In Aotearoa, this form of doctoral research is conversant with the New Zealand Tertiary Education Commission's (TEC) definition, which described research as an "original, independent investigation undertaken to contribute to knowledge and understanding and, in the case of some disciplines, cultural innovation or aesthetic refinement" (TEC, 2016, p. 14). The Commissions' guidelines noted that "in some disciplines, research may be embodied in the form of artistic works, performances or designs that lead to new or substantially improved insights" (2016, p. 14).

Guided by a Kaupapa Māori paradigm, the study employs practice to generate knowledge. Bolt (2004) described practice-led research as essentially performative, and Barrett and Bolt (2007) suggested that, in a practice-led inquiry, "new objects of thought emerge through cycles of making and reflection" (p. 10). The approach, they claimed, recognises "the generative potential of the ambiguity and the indeterminacy of the aesthetic object, and the necessity for ongoing decoding, analysis and translation." They also asserted that "instruments and objects of research are not passive, but emerge as co-producers in collaborative and, in the case of audiences, participatory approaches that may not be pre-determined at the outset of the research" (Barrett & Bolt, 2007, p. 10).

METHODOLOGY

Guba and Lincoln (1994, p. 108) proposed that a methodology asks, "How can the inquirer go about finding out whatever they believe can be known?" Thus, a research methodology describes an overall approach to an inquiry. In discussing the methodological approach to this project, it is useful to consider two ideas: rangahau (research) and heuristic inquiry. Rangahau emanates from Māori epistemology, and heuristics is a concept borrowed from an ancient Greek approach to research, where one is not governed by pre-set formulae.

Rangahau

In Māori, rangahau may be understood as gathering, grouping and forming, to create new knowledge and understanding. Wheturangi Walsh-Tapiata noted that "Rangahau is grounded in a cultural perspective which is tikanga Māori and āhuatanga Māori"[60] (n.d., para. 11). Accordingly, rangahau offers an Indigenous perspective on research that is guided by non-Western experiences and truths.

60 Ahuatanga Māori refers to an attribute, trait or aspect of Māori culture, including its people, customary practices, values, and beliefs.

The word rangahau consists of two parts. Ranga means a cohort or grouping of people; it can also mean to raise or pull up by the roots in preparation for transportation. Thus, when applied to knowledge, ranga may be associated with collective endeavour, exhumation, and preparation for distribution. The word hau refers to the vital essence of a person, place or object, or to the wind. While the idea of locating the essential essence of knowledge is easily associated with research, it is the metaphorical nature of the wind that is significant to the protean nature of the inquiry.

When I experience the wind, I can feel its presence, but its physicality is not visually evident. Wind is dynamic and it can change direction; it can touch an idea with the lightest movement or disrupt a landscape with disruptive force. I see creative thought in a similar manner; it is neither static, formulaic, nor capable of being moulded. Its effect is discernible but often its presence is invisible. It can influence by nuance, or it can shift whole ways of thinking.

When the two words ranga and hau are combined, they offer rich potential. Conventionally, we understand rangahau as a distinctly Māori understanding of research that is predicated on the active exhuming or gathering of knowledge. Within this process, one seeks the essence of ideas and resonances that may lead to creative expressions of identity. This process may draw upon tacit[61] and explicit knowledge.

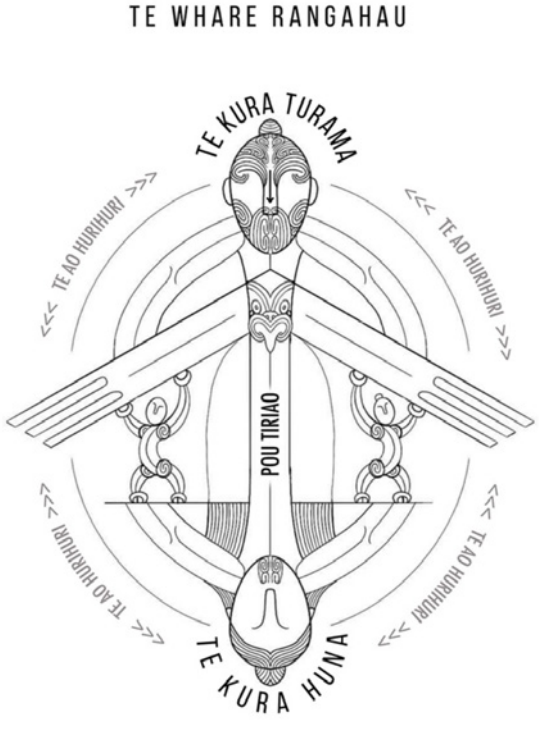
The Whare Rangahau Metaphor

Such a process can occur in a conceptual shelter that we might describe as Te Whare Rangahau. In this project, Te Whare Rangahau integrates a number of features from Pouwhare's (2020) Pūrākau framework for artistic inquiry; specifically, his observation that in much artistic Māori research, through mahi (practice) and reflection, the researcher may draw sustenance from both the realm of Te Kura Huna (what is unseen, genealogical, esoteric, or tacit), and Te Kura Tūrama (what is explicit and seen). Together these provide the project with nutrients.

61 Tacit or implicit knowledge describes knowledge that isn't seen or explicit. Polanyi (1967) argued that tacit knowing is precognitive and cannot be adequately articulated verbally. Sela-Smith (2002) stated that "tacit knowledge is a continually growing, multi-levelled, deep-structural organization that exists for the most part outside of ordinary awareness and is the foundation upon which all other knowledge stands" (para.15).

However, when such a process is conceived as occurring inside Te Whare Rangahau, the artistic researcher is protected by a whare (building) that may be understood as a cultural shelter and ideological manifestation of te ao Māori (Figure 4.2).

Figure 4.2. Te Whare Rangahau



Note. Detail of the thesis' research design, showing the dynamic relationship between Te Kura Huna and Te Kura Tūrama within Te Whare Rangahau.

The flow of mahi (practice) and reflection on mahi is the dynamic that enables knowledge to move fluidly between the realms of Te Kura Huna and Te Kura Tūrama. This dynamic is depicted as Te Ao Hurihuri (circular air movement) and in Figure 4.2, its direction is indicated by the manu (birds, represented by arrowhead forms).[62]
In traditional Māori architecture, a whare was not separated from the earth by floorboards; it rested on the body of Papatūānuku. As a primal parent, Papatūānuku is not only associated with the land, but also with Te Kura Huna (Pouwhare, 2020; Pouwhare & McNeill, 2018). In this research I understand Te Kura Huna as knowledge that resources the inquiry but cannot be seen. Such knowledge may include taha wairua (the metaphysical), whakapapa, erased histories, and the mysterious and unknown. All of these things rest in the fertile world of Papatūānuku.[63]

However, when we stand on the earth, inside the wharenui, we are in the realm of Te Kura Tūrama (what can be seen). This may be likened to the world of Ranginui, the other primal parent. Ranginui is the Sky

62 Manu are native birds of Aotearoa and sometimes have significance within traditional Māori iconography as symbols of navigation. In the diagram in Figure 4.2, the manu represent the winds and cycle of life within te ao Māori.

63 Papatūānuku is the Earth Mother within the Māori creation narratives. She is recognised as a primal parent. Her counterpart is Ranginui or the Sky Father. These beings were once considered as a single entity before their sons separated them and the evolution of the world began.

Father, who is omniscient, seeing all that is discernible in the light. He is ngāwari (gentle), fertile, and protective. Connecting the realm of Ranginui and the realm of Papatūānuku is an invisible pou, that in te ao Māori is called the pou tiriao. The pou tiriao is a spiritual pillar that connects both physical and metaphysical worlds. Thus, in my diagram it reaches above the apex of the wharenui to touch the essence of Ranginui, and it reaches down through the earth to unite with the body of Papatūānuku. Conceptually, this pou tiriao connects all things within, above and below the whare, containing in its essence the mauri or life force of the research.

If one looks around the walls of a traditional whare, one experiences stories, the histories of place and people (in a wharenui[64] these are generally poupou (carvings) and in a private home they are photographs). Thus, in the Whare Rangahau the researcher is positioned inside a structure that is imbued with spiritual, symbolic, and significant connections to the cosmos, and the natural and social environment. The wharenui ultimately links the present to the ancient past, authenticating and legitimising a Māori world view through whakapapa. The layers of meaning that are contained in the wharenui allow me to explore facets of what it means to be human and to be takatāpui in te ao Māori.

I suggest that the whare also holds another layer of symbolic meaning, as te whare tangata. The interior of the wharenui usually represents the womb of Papatūānuku. We are all her uri (offspring) and here I believe that gender is irrelevant. Concealed in the walls of the wharenui are truths about being Māori that are revealed through pūrākau (stories). Ware noted, "Pūrākau embodies the values and beliefs of the people and ultimately reflects human qualities, essentially a society's principles, values, traditions, customs and human qualities are learned from their pūrākau" (2009, p. 22). In this context, pūrākau stand inside the movement of te ao hurihuri and resource the transformation of tacit knowledge into explicit knowledge through the act of heuristic, practice-led inquiry.

Inside the protection of the Whare Rangahau the mauri of irarere can function without impediment. No longer constrained by colonial-shaped binaries regarding male and female, the researcher is able to consider and contemplate forms of identity where characteristics of gender are fluid and protean. The outcomes of such research, as print and performance artefacts, may find a place to stand that embraces the past, present, and aspirations for a fairer, more informed future.

64 A wharenui is a Māori meeting house that is built to represent the body, and within it resides the god of peace, Rongo-mā-tāne. The wharenui holds the knowledge, genealogy, and stories of ancestors and of the people. The pou or poupou within the whare are representatives of people, ancestors, or atua. Each has its own story, and each has a unique voice. The outside space of the wharenui is the realm of Tūmatauenga: the god of war. It is the marae in which the wharenui situates itself. Here the world of war and peace, and life and death exist— encompassed within the realms of the physical and metaphysical.

Cyclic Practice

Inside the Whare Rangahau, I experience the research process as cyclic. Here practice-led inquiry draws from Te Kura Huna and Te Kura Tūrama, and develops thinking through iterations. For example, I may gather information from interviews and existing literature (this knowledge comes from the explicit realm of Te Kura Tūrama). However, I also draw on ancestral, creative processes, inspiration, and my ability to sense 'rightness', from Te Kura Huna. Thus, I may be guided by what I sense as much as by what I see. However, although I represent knowledge passing through these realms, the process is not chronological; the creation of pūrākau (as a book or a performance) draws on both realms, often together or in oscillations. As cyclic iterations of practice, reflection on practice, and new practice evolve, I develop and refine artistic artefacts. These eventually become objects or performances that bring storied experience into the world.

Heuristic Inquiry

In considering Te Kura Huna, we might find certain resonances in the non-Māori methodological concept of heuristic inquiry. As an approach, heuristics has a deeply embedded history in artistic research (Ings, 2011; Najafi, 2023; Scrivener, 2002; Tavares & Ings, 2018; Ventling, 2018; Wood, 2004). Heuristics comes from the Greek word heuretikos, meaning to discover, and it describes a methodological approach where the researcher turns ideas over, examining them in flexible ways from multiple perspectives (Kleining & Witt, 2000), eventually coming "to understand through experimentation, evaluation, and trial and error methods" (Ventling, 2018, p. 126). Ventling has suggested that heuristic inquiry's flexibility and embracing of a subjective, personal viewpoint has made the methodology increasingly attractive and relevant to certain kinds of artistic research. He noted,

> The intuitive, imaginative artistic practitioner can adapt the heuristic framework to an individualistic exploration. Because heuristics does not focus on a pre-determined formula or course of action, it allows continuous changes to concepts, the researcher's position, or even the research design. Particularly in experiential practice-led research, this adaptability may be useful because it heightens chances of discovery and supports the artist/researcher in finding and developing their own meaning. (2018, p. 127)

His observation resonates with Moustakas' (1990) description of heuristic inquiry as,

> an internal search through which one discovers the nature and meaning of experience and develops methods and procedures for further investigation and analysis. The self of the researcher is present throughout the process and, while understanding the phenomenon with increasing depth, the researcher also experiences growing self-awareness and self-knowledge. (p. 9)

In a heuristic inquiry, Douglass & Moustakas (1985, p. 47) suggested that "vague and formless wanderings are characteristic in the beginning, but a growing sense of meaning and direction emerges as the perceptions and understandings of the researcher grow and the parameters of the problem are recognised." Like hau (the wind), heuristic inquiry is not constrained by formula or predetermined expectations: it moves to uncover and reveal (Moustakas, 1990); to shift and sift (Douglass & Moustakas, 1985); and it can bring together what has not been formally joined (Ings, 2011). Douglass and Moustakas suggested that a challenge the heuristic researcher faces is to "examine all the collected data in creative combinations and recombination, sifting and sorting, moving rhythmically in and out of appearance, looking, listening carefully for the meanings within meanings, attempting to identify the overarching qualities that adhere in the data" (1985, p. 52).

METHODS

Using the Whare Rangahau as a methodological metaphor for space and approach, I utilise diverse methods to gather and creatively process knowledge. These methods enable new objects of thought to emerge through cycles of making and reflection (Barrett & Bolt, 2007). Eight of these methods warrant brief discussion:

Karakia (incantation);
Kaitahi (breaking of food);
Kanohi ki te kanohi (face-to-face) interviewing;
Pakiwaitara (poetic inquiry);
Iterative experimentation and self-dialogue;
Photography;
Choreography and
Production design.

Karakia

A karakia is an incantation that Māori evoke. It forms a connection between the physical and metaphysical realms. In the morning I karakia to orient myself for the day, and at night to give thanks for the blessings that will journey with me into the future. Karakia stands as both the conduit and foundation for all interactions with people, atua (gods), and whenua (land). In the process of karakia, one creates protection and safe passage for both the researcher and all who interact within the space of exploration and discussion (including the sharing of vulnerable knowledge). Thus, at the outset and sometimes at the close of a kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face) interview or kōrerorero (deep discussion), it is customary practice to begin and end with a karakia.[65]

Kaitahi

Broadly, kaitahi means to eat together, but the practice is deeper than this. Kaitahi is made up of two words, kai (food baskets) and tahi (compassion). Kaitahi describes the practice of welcoming and joining people with food and hospitality inside a Kaupapa

65 A karakia that I used in this research project is associated with taking care of takatāpui and our place within te ao Māori. It reflects on the creative narrative and how we, as Māori, are seen as descendants of Ranginui and Papatūānuku.

Māori research paradigm. Here, people karakia (pray), and share food, thinking and kōrero (discussion). Katahi helps to shape the safe and compassionate space of a study. In the phase of the project associated with photography and poetic inquiry, kaitahi was used to welcome and settle participants before subsequent photoshoots or interviews.[66] Over kai at Te Kaipara, Ngā Wai o Horotiu Marae, Auckland University of Technology, takatāpui participants, the researcher, crew, supervisors, collaborators, and supporters met as a whānau. In the grace of kaitahi, people felt safe because they shared in a relaxed, hospitable environment positioned within te ao Māori (Figure 4.3).

Figure 4.3. Kaitahi

Note. Kaitahi at Te Kaipara, Ngā Wai o Horotiu Marae (June 17, 2022). Left to right: Janet Rodregues (technical assistant), Whati Te Wake (participant) Gigi Pikinga (participant), and Peter Tumata (participant). Photograph © Tangaroa Paora.

Kanohi ki te Kanohi Interviewing

Kanohi ki te kanohi refers to face to face interaction. In Māori research, kanohi ki te kanohi interviews are recommended practice because they ensure both personal connection and the presence of values and practices that will be carried out through discussion, reflection and wānanga (collective learning).[67] Kanohi ki te kanohi interviewing also accommodates karakia and whānau tautoko (support people) because they are essential elements to any interaction within kaupapa Māori research. According to Smith (1999), kanohi ki te kanohi interviewing contains five principles that are significant to the study.

He kanohi kitea (a face seen, is appreciated)
Titiro, whakarongo, korero (looking, listening and speaking)
Manaakitangata (sharing and hosting people, being generous)
Kia tūpato (being cautious)
Kāua e takahi i te mana o te tangata (avoiding trampling on the mana of participants)

Interviews for this project were conducted on the 26th of August 2021; the 10th of December 2021; the 17th and 18th of June 2022; and the 2nd and 10th of April 2023. The distribution of interviews was affected by the availability of participants and facilities, because of interruptions resulting from the COVID-19 pandemic and Cyclone Gabrielle.
The research involved an orienting discussion (several weeks before the formal project

66 A number of participants discussed the significance of the method for helping them to initially feel validated and welcome in their interviews. See Appendix 2 interviews, Te Wake, Tumata, Pikinga.

67 Although this was a guiding principle in the study (60% of interviews were kanohi ki te kanohi), the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on the participants' safety meant that a number of follow up interviews (appearing as interview B in Appendix 2) had to be conducted online.

began), followed by two interviews with each participant. The first interview, conducted just prior to the photo shoot, involved participants talking about how identity shapes their everyday life. The kōrero also considered the nature of Kapa Haka and beliefs relating to the gendering of physical and esoteric dimensions of takatāpuitanga. A second interview was scheduled two weeks after the shoot (when photographic proofs had been developed). This kōrero enabled each participant to see their portraits and to reflect on how they experienced being part of the project and what they felt when seeing their images. These interviews were audio recorded, and the transcripts became the source material for pakiwaitara.

Pakiwaitara (Poetic Inquiry)

Pakiwaitara refers to a particular form of iterative experimentation, specifically related to narratives within te ao Māori. Pakiwaitara enables the researcher to explore ideas and relationships and synthesise recorded material into coherent artefacts.

Pakiwaitara's origins lie in storytelling from beyond the written word, such as waiata, mōteatea, carvings, and oratory. In this research, poems appearing in the published book Irarere (Paora, 2023b) have their origins in the spoken word interviews that I conducted with each participant. In creating these poems, I traversed each person's interview transcripts and employed a process of subtraction to elevate the essence of what was communicated. Accordingly, the resulting poems only contain words that were spoken by the interviewees. Prendergast (2006) described this method as "found poetry," which involves writers creating new work from existing texts. Gannon defined the approach as poetic inquiry and argued that through "the rearrangement, restructuring and editing of existing texts down to their essence, experiences can be simplified and presented in poetic form" (2022, p. 19).

As a method, poetic inquiry builds on approaches developed by Szto et al. (2005) and Gannon (2022), who have demonstrated how such methods can be used for compressing data or locating resonance within an interview.[68] Richardson (1994) maintained that poems can, in some cases, better represent individuals than verbatim quotation, because poetry gives space to understand their "pauses, repetitions, alliterations, narrative strategies, and rhythms" (p. 522). By extension, Holmes (2014) has shown how poetry can be used as a method for presenting data.

In addition to poetry in the publication Irarere, pakiwaitara also shaped a significant part of a performance, Te Whare Takatāpui.

68 Poetic inquiry describes research that uses poetry "as, in, [or] for inquiry" (Brown et al., 2021, p. 257). As a method, it encourages creativity and deep engagement with qualitative data. The method is attentive to participant language and it "can deepen researcher reflexivity, increasing the emotive impact of research, and promoting an efficiency of qualitative expression through the use of 'razor sharp' language" (Brown et al., 2021, p. 257). In the last two decades, poetic inquiry has challenged traditional methods of data synthesis. Prendergast and Galvin (2012) suggested that poetry emanating from poetic inquiry can also cross disciplines and enable new ways for readers to connect with findings, because poetry can elevate human experience and the human being beneath.

The oratory in this presentation was developed by standing back from the literature and interviews and creating a 'voice of overview.' In other words, I designed a performative voice for the thesis. As a consequence, the performance flowed between te reo Māori and English.

Because pakiwaitara is essentially an oral form of communication, the oratory for this work was refined iteratively through rehearsal and reflection. This process meant that I could shape words, pauses, and emphases in response to the acoustics of the room, and the physical and metaphysical nature of the performance space.

Iterative Experimentation and Self-Dialogue
Within the Whare Rangahau there is a cycle of practice and reflection that draws on both Te Kura Huna and Te Kura Tūrama. In this process, the researcher experiments, watches, listens, and feels for the inherent kupu (rightness) of what is emerging. In this process the researcher is in dialogue with the research question, the self, and data that emerges from it (Ventling, 2018). Kleining and Witt (2000, para. 12) note that, in a heuristic inquiry:

> Research procedures are not linear but dialectical. We 'ask' our material 'questions' in a similar way one may ask a person, receiving 'answers' and questioning again. We preferably use 'open' questions. [...] The text should be interrogated from as many different perspectives as possible and the answers analyzed. [...] The dialogic procedure is a means to adjust the epistemic structure of the researcher to the structure of the phenomenon and brings it in line with itself.

In this study, iterative experimentation and self-dialogue were utilised in rehearsal processes associated with development of the final performance and in photographing and synthesising participants' stories into pakiwaitara.

Photography
Photography is a method that was integral to the construction of the poupou, in both the book and the Whare Takatāpui. The photographing of the participants was conducted using a collaborative process with Dr Marcos Mortensen-Steagall.[69] Knopf (2006) describes a continuum between the fully authoritarian (noncollaborative) research and the purely collaborative. He suggests that a collaborative relationship contains both experimentation and risk. Within this dynamic no researcher is assumed to have a prerogative on effective thinking and the sum of a collaborative process will be greater than its parts. Knopf (2006) also suggests that effective collaborative relationships actively engage with experimentation and risk and in effective collaborations, the element of trust is essential to the success of the process.

69 Marcos Mortensen-Steagall is a widely acknowledged photographer whose doctoral thesis examined relationships between the land and the photographer's embodiment (Mortensen-Steagall, 2019). His work is concerned with recording the mauri of living things. Because of this emphasis, he was a valuable collaborator, due to his experience in searching beneath the visual surface of subjects to record their living essence.

Material was recorded in black and white photography studios at Auckland University of Technology (Figures 4.4 & 4.5). These shoots were accompanied by kanohi ki te kanohi interviews.

Figure 4.4. Studio Space and Lighting Rig

Note. Exterior and interior views of the lighting rig and studio space for recording the pou pou of Aniwa Koloamatangi, (June 18, 2022). The shoot used a Studio Nixon D850 camera and Broncolor Precision lighting kit. Photograph © Tangaroa Paora.

Figure 4.5. Photographing Peter Tumata

Note. Photographing Peter Tumata, in collaboration with Dr Marcos Steagall (June 18, 2022). The computer screen on the right enabled instantaneous viewing by both the researcher and photographer, so adjustments to lighting and the camera could be made after each image was captured. The instantaneous availability of these images meant that we were able to resource an ongoing critical discussion, where we shared technical suggestions as the participant revealed expressions of his identity. Photograph © Tangaroa Paora.

For the shoot, participants were asked to bring clothing that expressed how they felt they were seen (or 'passed')[70] in the world, in contrast to apparel that they felt expressed their inner identity. These contrasting forms of attire were used to co-create a generic studio study and a comparative portrait that each takatāpui tāne felt was an expression of his inner self (Figure 4.6).

Figure 4.6. Ethos of the Two Photographic Shoots

Note. An indicative example of the ethos of the two photographic shoots. Piripi Gordon said, when viewing these images, that they demonstrated his ambiguity. Both, he maintained, were accurate representations of his identity (see Interview 6B, Appendix 2). Photograph © Marcos Steagall.

Most participants used provided takatāpui makeup artists for their portraits (Figure 4.7). However, two tāne chose to apply their own makeup. (One of these, Gigi Pikinga, is an internationally respected practitioner in the field.) These two participants wanted to create their own makeup because they sought greater control over their recorded identities.

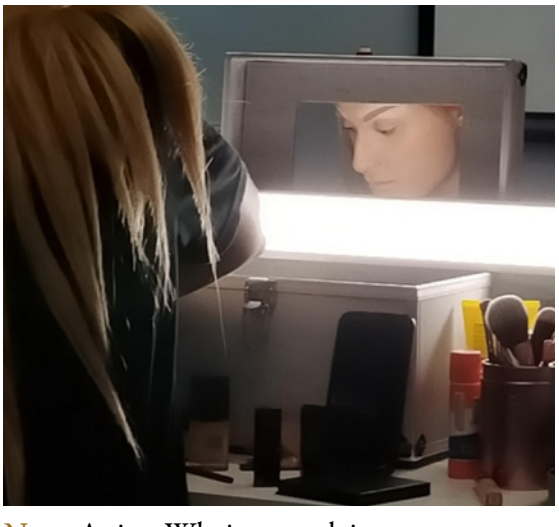
Figure 4.7. Applying Makeup

Note. Gigi Pikinga applying makeup to Peter Tumata and Abbie Ahmed applying makeup to Piripi Gordon (June 18, 2022). Photograph © Tangaroa Paora.

70 'Passing' is a historical term used in LGBTQI+ cultures to describe the preservation of safety by appearing in public in such a way that one's 'queerness' or irarere is not identifiable.

Aniwa Koloamatangi said, "I have a particular way of doing my brows, my lips, my hair, et cetera. I also think most queens like to do their own face because it is part of a skill and craft with painting a face that no one else can truly replicate" (Figure 4.8).[71]

Figure 4.8. Aniwa Whaiapu Applying Makeup



Note. Aniwa Whaiapu applying makeup (June 18, 2022). Photograph © Tangaroa Paora.

Using the proofs of the shoot, I discussed portrait preferences with each participant, and these images acted as catalysts for their second (follow-up) interview.[72]

Choreography

The performance work Te Whare Takatāpui was also developed through a process of iterative experimentation. I choreographed six wāhine who were highly proficient with the poi and had all been a part of Tītahi ki Tua Kapa Haka. In shaping the work, I collaborated with Mātangireia Yates-Francis, who has a long history of involvement as a performer and tutor, talented with taiaha and other forms of Māori weaponry. The mahi involved shaping and reshaping movement and reflecting on iterations of development. As the elements within the performance took shape, I was able to assess both the physically evident (form, rhythm, timing), in the realm of Te Kura Tūrama, and feel the mauri of the work rising up from Te Kura Huna. It was as the power and force of this energy from the realm of the unseen became manifest that I was able to sense artistic decisions approaching a state of resolution.

The choreography involved three sequences. The first depicted a relationship between two parts of a male gender spectrum. These initially separated manifestations approach each other from across a room—dignified in their essence—until they combine in the centre. One identity carries a rākau (a staff weapon used for striking, stabbing, and parrying); he is a manifestation of conventional, contemporary masculinity. The other identity uses poi to express an older, more fluid form of being masculine. The choreographed sequence was shaped through reflective rehearsal until the work resonated an inherent kupu tōtika (rightness) that communicated a continuum of 'being masculine,' where two warriors find their way back to a single unit (a suggestion of gender that existed before it was divided by contemporary associations).

71 See Interview 5B, Appendix 2.

72 As a koha, I offered each participant a high-quality digital inkjet print of the portrait that they liked the most.

The second choreographed sequence was filmed and edited by Jana Nee in a darkened room. This involved recording close-up movement, cut to the rhythm of a drum. The idea behind the work was that no individual character is identifiable, and the dance is a collective expression of ungendered movement and rhythm (the mauri of irarere). This piece was designed to be a transition device in the performance, which could act as a bridge between the mirroring of tāne dualities and a third waiata/poi performance.

The third sequence was a response to a waiata that was composed to explain the relationship between a takatāpui tāne and his place within te ao Māori. The performance used poi and waiata to express a story of identity rising up and finding its tūrangawaewae (place to stand in the world). I choreographed this work in stages, using rehearsals in diverse spaces, before refining it in the final performance space (so we were able to ensure that timing and distance were refined and elements within the choreography flowed accordingly).

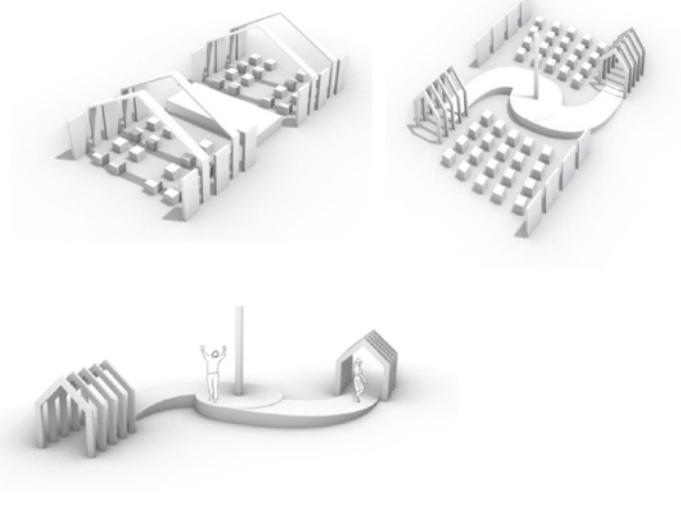
Production Design

The final method warranting discussion is production design. By this I refer to the design of the physical and spiritual realm of the Whare Takatāpui that became the conceptual space of the final performed work. The idea of a traditionally designated space for performance has a deep history in te ao Maori, and it is sometimes referred to as a whare tapere (Royal, 2012).[73]

Initially, I considered an open space that was divided by a stage. I wanted the whare to contain large portraits of the takatāpui tāne who had been photographed as part of the study. These would serve as photographic interpretations of poupou. The physical design for this space was developed through a process of physical and digital model making. This enabled me to think about lighting, sound, movement, and the tone of people's initial encounter with the work.

The concept initially explored the idea of fluid space and time (Figure 4.9). I explored multiple possibilities, experimenting with projection, sound, seating plans, and performance space, such that people experiencing the work might feel physically and spiritually sheltered, while encountering what might be relatively new and challenging ideas.

Figure 4.9. Experimental Architectural Models Of The Whare Takatāpui



Note. Here I was exploring approaches that might afford uninterrupted visual and aural access to a moving performance (October 2021).

73 This idea is discussed more fully in Chapter 5: Critical Commentary.

However, as the thesis developed I began to face the logistics of a performance that I hoped might manifest itself in a life beyond the examination. This was because I wanted the research to have agency, potentially featuring in national and regional arts festivals. As a consequence, I needed to design something that had the potential to travel and adapt. A number of determinants began to reshape my considerations. Firstly, I needed an interior space that was acoustically neutral, so that sound mixes and the pakiwaitara could be discernible in their more subtle registers. Secondly, because I was considering projected backgrounds, I would need a darkened environment. Thirdly, I wanted the performance to deal with subtle shifts in concealment and revelation, so the space would need to accommodate a lighting system. Finally, I required some way of displaying the poupou, so they would hang in a stable manner but also be pivotable. This is because I wanted to turn them from the 'passing' portrait to reveal the 'revelationary' portrait during the performance.

Consequentially, I began designing for a small, generic theatre space that would accommodate up to 50 people, could afford silent access and egress for up to six performers, and would have a facility for suspending the portraits of the takatāpui tāne.

CRITIQUE OF THE RESEARCH DESIGN

The research design for this project presented both advantages and challenges.

Advantages

Firstly, the research design was predicated on a concept of partnership with participants. This was not only integral to the principles of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, but it also lies at the heart of Kaupapa Māori research. Drawing on five of Linda Tuhiwai Smith's list of Kaupapa Māori practices that guide Māori research, this partnership was activated by kanohi ki te kanohi interviewing and was made evident in collaborative approaches to both photography and pakiwaitara. Such partnership engages directly with the values of titiro, whakarongo, kōrero (looking, listening, and speaking); manaaki tangata (sharing and hosting people, being generous); kia tūpato (being cautious); and kaua e takahi i te mana o te tangata (avoiding trampling on the mana of others) (Smith, 1999).

Secondly, the research validated and blended the experiences of the researcher with those of participants, to create artistic works that provided insight into the nature of takatāpui identity. The role of the self in practice-led artistic inquiry is significant because, as Griffiths (2010) noted, "the self is inescapable, because the person creating, responding to, working on, developing or evaluating performances, artefacts and practices is central to those activities" (p. 185).

Thirdly, the research design enabled relationships between Māori principles and practices. Initially, karakia and kaitahi created security for both the participants and the researcher. In addition to this, overriding values, such as manaakitanga, he kanohi kitea, and tiaki i te mana o te tangata (protecting the integrity of people), positioned participant's experience of the research within te ao Māori. Without such principles becoming practices, the research would not have been safe, and takatāpui, sharing vulnerable insights and experience, would not have had the security of a familiar cultural context to support their contributions.

Finally, the research design enabled a high level of fluidity, where the researcher could move backwards and forwards, above and below, iteratively experimenting and discovering inside both explicit and esoteric realms of knowledge. Such a methodology also validated Māori facilities for discerning quality, like kupu whakaaro tōtika (the 'rightness' of ideas).

Challenges

However, the fluid nature of the research design and its position within the values and expectations of a Māori world view also presented distinct challenges.

Firstly, kanohi ki te kanohi interviewing can be expensive. Such an approach can challenge time and budgets, because the researcher is required to demonstrate manaaki tangata (generous and sensitive hosting of participants). This normally entails the provision of kai (food) and refreshments for both the takatāpui tāne participant and support people he might bring with him. To address this, I budgeted support into the study as koha,[74] so participants did not face unforeseen expenses for parking, transport or accommodation. Kanohi ki te kanohi interviewing and photography shoots also occurred during a pandemic that was followed by a highly destructive cyclone that affected a number of the participants' worlds. These events impacted on participants' availability and meant that we often had to reschedule shoots around the availability of personnel and facilities.

Secondly, because kanohi ki te kanohi interviewing involves kia tūpato (being cautious) and kaua e takahi i te mana o te tangata (avoiding trampling on the mana of participants), respect for the participants' shared kōrero sometimes meant that discussions were lengthy, far reaching, and seemingly unstructured. However, this is a Māori way of doing things. As a way of addressing the challenge, I discussed with each participant (before their involvement) how much time they could afford to contribute to the project. I also designed the data gathering process in such a way that kōrero would be audio recorded. This meant that I could respectfully let people talk, and then, in the process of pakiwaitara, draw out what I felt might be the essence

74 Conventionally, koha is a gift, offering, or monetary contribution, that is used to maintain social relationships and reinforce the concept of reciprocity.

of their kōrero. Photographic portraits and drafts of poems were discussed with each participant, so that we eventually reached a description of their identity with which they felt comfortable.[75]

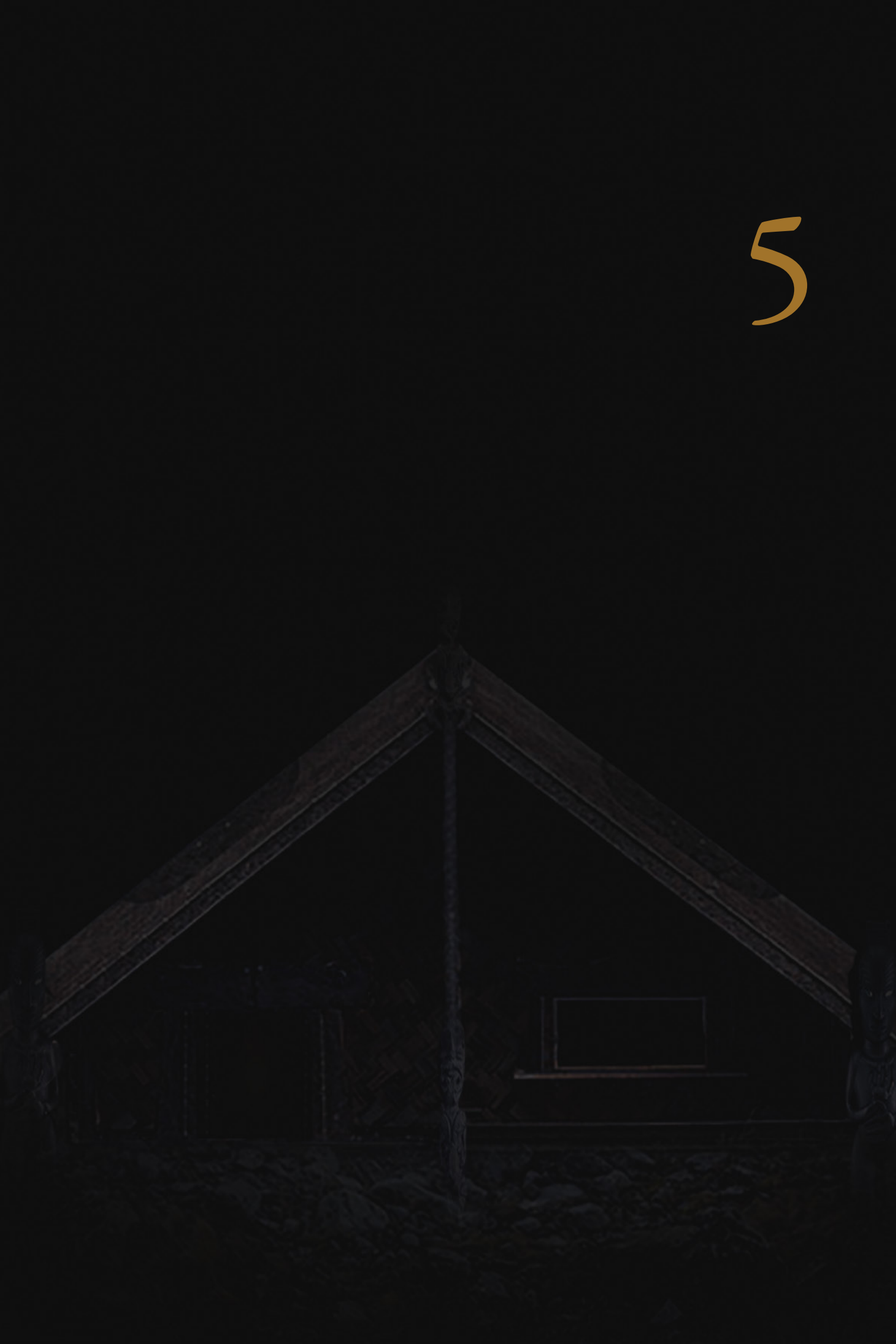
Thirdly, because the research involved vulnerable personal material, I had to develop safe relationships with critical thinkers who could talk with me honestly about my work. Accordingly, the study had a supervisory team who knew me and understood what I was doing. This was supplemented by a support group of takatāpui colleagues who would question my thinking from informed positions. This meant that both my background research and interpretations were constantly fed through compassionate but critical networks.

A fourth challenge lay in finding participants who would trust both the research and me, as the researcher. Takatāpui tāne are particularly vulnerable to exploitation and misunderstanding. Accordingly, potential participants had to be located through informal networks, where potential participants were able to verify that the research was not only by Māori, for Māori, but also by takatāpui, for takatāpui.

Finally, the research involved experimentation in sometimes vulnerable areas, where tikanga or religious belief might come into conflict with my inquiry. To address this, I connected with other Māori researchers and discussed research challenges and hypotheses. This resulted in the development of a research whānau (family) around our studies. Here we shared critical support, resources, and encouragement. Discussions and reflections relating to kaupapa Māori (including tikanga practices, gender role differentiation, Māori performing arts, and the journey towards inclusivity of takatāpui Māori) occurred inside this space. Having an interdisciplinary whānau of other researchers (both takatāpui and non-takatāpui) around me helped me to carefully consider the implications of what I was doing, remove jargon from my writing, and think critically and culturally about the research's progression and interpretations.

75 This may be likened to ethical practices in some forms of journalism, where a writer provides a draft copy of an article for review by the person interviewed, before it is released for publication. Kent (2020) noted that, although journalists often employ one-way relationships with sources, the vast majority of interviews are not adversarial situations. He observes, "the people we interview are often helping us out. Our relationship with them is a cooperative one. Being human, we sometimes misinterpret what they tell us. Our interviewees, also being human, can overstate a case or leave out an important qualification" (para. 3). Given the principles of kia tūpato and kāua e takahi i te mana o te tangata, and the desire to provide an agreed description of identity to a person who might be vulnerable, I used the process of verification and rewriting as a form of respectful response to what I encountered.

5



CHAPTER FIVE: CRITICAL COMMENTARY

INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a critical commentary on the body of work that constitutes the creative component of the thesis. Presented for examination as Te Whare Takatāpui on the nights of September 10th and 11th 2023, in the Blackbox Theatre at Auckland University of Technology, the artefacts and composite performance may be divided into three areas of consideration: the designed space, the published book, Irarere, and the live performance, Te Whare Takatāpui. Each aspect was shaped by discourses previously discussed in the exegesis, and each was designed or choreographed as a manifestation of takatāpui pride and identity.

THE DESIGNED SPACE

Given the need for Te Whare Takatāpui to travel and transform itself to accommodate diverse venues, the designed space was treated as a simple rectangle that could contain conventional or tiered seating, facing an integrated performance area. The back of this area contained a simple projection screen suspended above head height, and on both sides of the space were facilities for suspending the eight composite A1 poupou (as photographic portraits) (Figure 5.1).

Figure 5.1. Floor plan of Te Whare Takatāpui

Note. Floor plan of Te Whare Takatāpui, showing Te Paparahi (the performance space) and the positioning of the poupou.

The space had facilities for the projection of sound and imagery and an acoustically neutral environment. The triangular performance area, te paparahi,[76] was positioned between the poupou and in front of the projection screen. Here the takatāpui footprints of the past were called forward, and they mingled with those of the present. The triangular shape was an apexed meeting point where binaries flowed in to each other as the past and the present, as divisions between gender, and as the esoteric and the physical.

Lighting and Sound

The interior of the Te Whare Takatāpui was subtly lit, a space in anticipation. It was reminiscent of the wharenui at night, before people slept, when we were at one with each other in the low light of safety. Inside this realm, people and movement appeared and disappeared, gathering form and retreating again into darkness.

Against this fluidity there were punctuations: a sudden screen of projected dancers pulsing to the beat of a drum; the drama and power of poi; or a choreographed opposition of masculinities that accosted, then integrated.

The low-light design enabled what is spiritual (from the realm of Te Kura Huna, the ancestral and esoteric) to speak from a space without physical borders. The subdued light enclosed karakia and waerea (protective incantations), so sound and performance glowed. This same glowing accompanied the whaikī tōtahi (monologue) and the revelation of the poupou.

The principle of merging fluidity also applied to sound. Much of the performance had subtle atmospheric mixes behind it that suggested time and space, beyond the physical dimensions of a building. For example, we heard the subtle sound of water and air passing through grass. Appearing and coming forward from such soundscapes were elements like Parekura Pewhairangi rendition of the karakia.[77]

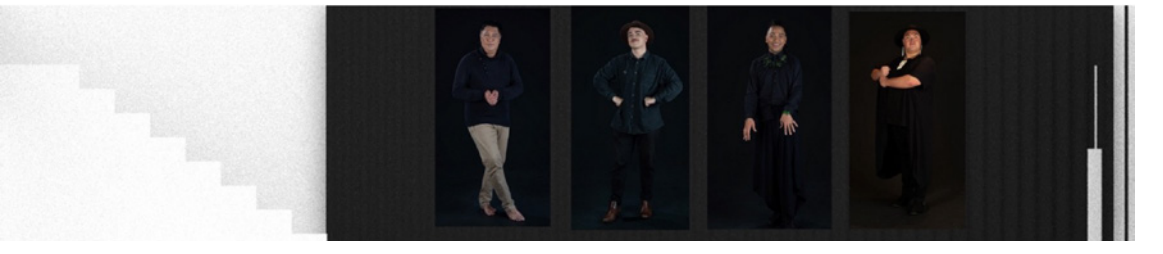
76 Although te paparahi can mean a foundation, it can also refer to a footprint or track (Moorfield, n.d.-c).

77 The karakia was composed by Parekura Pewhairangi in 2019. I chose this work because it poses the question, 'Who am I and where do I connect myself to te ao Māori?' The karakia allows for a journey to seek out answers that may be tacit to us, but are still explicitly Māori. It proposes that we can position ourselves among the knowledge, narratives, and symbols that reside within the whare. It is in this space that we find our place and come to know new ways of understanding our world.

Ngā Poupou

The poupou appeared to be singular portraits that were dimly lit at the beginning of the performance. They were poised in the semi-darkness like ancestral carvings in a wharenui (Figure 5.2).

Figure 5.2. Cross Section of Te Whare Takatāpui



Note. Cross section of Te Whare Takatāpui, showing the suspended poupou in relation to seating. Photograph © Marcos Steagall.

The audience was unaware at the beginning of the performance that each poupou had a hidden aspect. Being double sided, the portraits were mounted on light MDF board and suspended in such a way that they could be pivoted during the whaikōrero, to reveal the more resonant identity of each tāne (Figure 5.3).

Figure 5.3. [pp. 78-95] Dual portraits of the nine participants in this study. Gigi Pikinga, Whati Te Wake, Rawiri Keelan, Peter Tumata, Awatea Kake, Piripi Gordon, Varron Armstrong, Aniwa Koloamatagi, Tangaroa Paora. Photographs © Marcos Steagall.

Gigi Pikinga

Real, I feel, I change

Whati Te Wake

Rawiri Keelan

Awatea Kake

Piripi Gordon

Varron Armstrong


Aaliyah

Aniwa Koloamatagi

Tangaroa Paora

Fluid, Ungendered, Another

Because the space in which the performance occurred was a whare, the poupou represented people of significance. Although traditionally such poupou are ancestors or tūpuna, in this kaupapa each takatāpui tāne was a pillar who had contributed to contemporary takatāpui journeys in the world. We currently draw on their wisdom, experience, and care to inform our understanding of who we are and what it means to be takatāpui.

Each tāne was photographed against a dark background, so when the poupou was suspended in front of a black curtain it was the contours of the tāne rather than the frame that became the focus of attention. In the dim light it was unclear whether these takatāpui were physical, spiritual, or both. They stood in silence until the final third of the whaikōrero, when each was addressed in turn. The portraits were then pivoted to reveal the identity behind the surface that was displayed when people entered the whare.

The first portraits evident when people entered the space were the takatāpui tāne as they presented themselves in the world. This we might call, in LGBTQI+ slang, the 'passing' self. The term refers to LGBTQI+ people who can choose to conceal stigma associated with being a member of a sexual or gender challenging minority.[78] In many of these portraits the participants clothed themselves in black or dark colours.

When each poupou was turned, we saw turned to the public eye the manifestation of irarere. Here we encountered the participant's projection of their richer identity. Significantly, in all instances, both dimensions were still distinctively Māori.

The Experience of Value

Consistently, the participants expressed appreciation for an opportunity that enabled them to have recorded a deeper dimension of themselves, both as a photograph and interview. In discussing this, Varron Armstrong (Interview 8B, Appendix 2) said, "From the morning to evening it was an uplifting of wairua. For myself I just came to fill in my role where I could, and my cup was filled. It replenished my wairua and I felt tau."

Peter Tumata talked about how the interview and photographic process lead to heightened levels of self-reflection. He said, "The continuous reassurance but also the affirmations around what the kaupapa was, was important. I was encouraged to ask myself, 'Well who are you' and what you stand for, what is it you want people to know?" (Interview 4B, Appendix 2).

Aniwa Koloamatagi highlighted the value of making explicit what is often difficult to bring into the light. He said, "when I'm geeshed up and stuff like that. I don't know, I feel very empowered when dressed like this. This process felt more comfortable and more

78 For more information on passing, see Emerson College (n.d.). The 'passing' self is not a disguise but it is sometimes an edited, identity projection choice in environments that might be socially unsafe.

free-flowing and natural" (Interview 5B, Appendix 2).

Identity

In discussing gender identity, a distinctive theme that all participants expressed (in interviews and photoshoots) was integration. Unlike many traditional, Pākehā 'drag' demarcations that involve swapping dramatically between being masculine or feminine, all the takatāpui tāne saw their identity as being in a constant state of flux. Gigi Pikinga expressed the idea in this way:

> They/Them, Non-binary, He/Him, She/Her, That Bitch. Enough [...] I'm thinking like, Boy? No. Girl? No. Even the term non-binary itself, it starts with NON, and the NON is the annulment of something over another. So, I kind of get it, but it doesn't feel all encapsulating of who I am and that's the tricky part. I don't want to not acknowledge the masculine or the feminine because they are both there and exist side by side. For me to choose one over the other does not make sense to me. Can they just not be varying expressions of who I am, and do I have to close one out in order to claim another? Non-binary doesn't seem to fit. (Interview 2A, Appendix 2)

Other participants emphasised the same fluidity but simultaneously anchored their identity to being Māori. Koloamatangi said:

> I think I really affiliate with takatāpui, but I am also like, I don't even care, girl. Call me what you want, as long you are calling me [...] I am Māori before anything else. It always keeps me grounded, and whereever I go in the world, I always carry that Māori perspective and thinking with me. (Interview 5A, Appendix 2)

Piripi Gordon described the connection like this:

> I would identify as takatāpui, but I don't feel the need to use that. If anything, I am who I am, kind of thing. [...] I don't have any nawe (objection) with the word gay or being takatāpui because that is me, 100 percent, but it isn't just black or white. [...] I would say being Māori is at the crux of everything I do really, it is so a part of my day-to-day things. My life is Māori, I am Māori. (Interview 6B, Appendix 2)

Whatitiri Te Wake discussed the connection in relation to the use of pronouns. He stated:

> Takatāpui was the umbrella term that I felt comfortable using in terms of my sexuality. In terms of my gender, he tāne ahau, he tāne Māori, nō Hokianga. I love the concept with pronouns, because I have friends who use their hapū as their pronouns and I love that. I can see that is a Māori term that describes who I am, hakoa (regardless) tāne mai, wahine mai, ira herekore mai. So if I was to choose words in terms of

> my gender identity, takatāpui, which to me is a spectrum. So today I could be wearing red bands gumboots and tomorrow, lip stick, and that is fine and I love it. (Interview 3A, Appendix 2)

Varron Armstrong expressed the same connection between gender fluidity and being Māori, but he drew a distinctive connection to the spiritual realm.

> I don't care how people identify me. If you see as a that, then you see me as that. Thank you for seeing me like that, and if it's hey girl, then it is hey girl back, if it's hey bro, then it's hey bro back. [...] It is no difference with the Māori me, or the takatāpui me, they go together. [...] To me, ko te tuakiri, it is aroha, ko te aroha ki a koe anō. I don't think one should have to explain what their identity is, but it is something we all just know and believe in. It's a spiritual connection that connects us to our higher being. Ko mātau e ngana ana te whakatinana i ngā wawata, mā te aroha. We always continue to live our life with aroha and everything we do should always come from aroha. (Interview 8A, Appendix 2)

Both Peter Tumata and Rawiri Keelan also discussed their fluidity as something that responds to different social contexts. Peter said:

> Foremost I am Māori. I do not mean it as to identify my ethnicity as Māori, but referring to identify as Māori meaning natural, the natural state of being. [...] I hold myself in a certain way in public, it is not to say it is not me, but I choose to hold myself in a particular way because I want to show that you do not have to be this way all the time. You can change and move as you feel because that is your safety. If I was to go into a hui, I would not be the Peter happy and smiley you see every day back home or the nurturing Peter who naturally feels the need to take care of the person or people he is talking to. The hui is for a purpose, and I have to fulfil that purpose, so therefore I will change my personality, and that is a beauty of takatāpui, is we can shift and change as we feel right. That is something that is recorded; the use of our takatāpui to navigate spaces with whānau, hapū, and being peace makers. (Interview 4A, Appendix 2).

Discussing a related flexibility, Rawiri Keelan expressed fluidity thus:

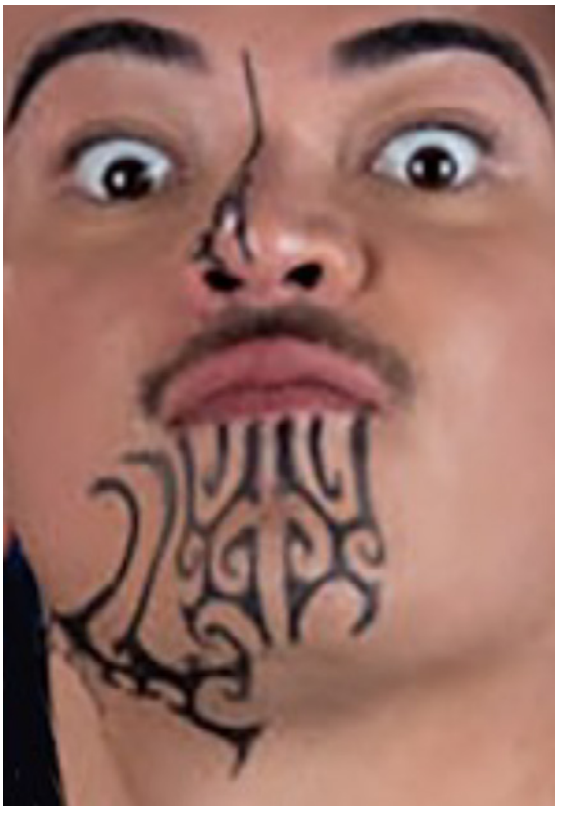
> Each identity I take on becomes a mantle of who I am as a person, as a Māori, as a takatāpui, as Rā, as Aunty or Uncle, as Felecia or Mary, it is just an ever-changing river. [...] I think gender identity is something we can choose, or we have to wear, to help others understand. I don't need that. I know what I am about for about five minutes, and you must keep in mind I am a river and I'll change it in five minutes time.

> That is where I'd love to see everyone at, where they don't need those types of labels projected onto them but they feel in the moment who they are. (Keelan, 2022, Interview 9B, 9A, Appendix 2).

In the photographic poupou, significations of Māori identity were either explicit or quietly stated. For Aniwa Koloamatagi, such connection appeared subtly, in a delicately tattooed limb. Conversely, for Varron Armstrong, the expression of Māori identity appeared in his kākahu (garments) that referenced his iwi, Ngāti Hine. His face was adorned with a moko kauae. It was with this moko that he connected his identity to his ira wahine (female essence).

Awatea Kake's pose and kākahu reflected his identity as ira tāne, but he also referenced his multi-cultural identity as Māori/Niuean with his kahoa (head piece) and being a mōrehu (remnant) of the Ratana faith.[79] Significantly, his moko was half mataora and half kauae (referencing the blend of his ira tāne and ira wahine). Although distinctly separate in signification, Awatea created a method of blending the two facially gendered designs into an integrated expression (Figure 5.4).

Figure 5.4. Awatea Kake's Moko



Note. Awatea Kake's moko blends mataora (male) and kauae (female) designs. Photograph © Marcos Steagall.

Other participants, like Rawiri Keelan, adopted a pose that distinctively recalled an old way of performing haka that is still seen today, and through such gestures, the teachings, voices, and people who had much to do with his upbringing within te ao Māori became manifest. The use of symbolic gesture was also prominent in a number of the poses adopted by Peter Tumata and Piripi Gordon. Here, we saw evidenced the dilating of the eyes (known as the pūkana) and either the

79 Followers of the Rātana faith refer to themselves as mōreru (survivors or remnants of the old world). They believe that by following the word of Tahu Pōtiki Wiremu Rātana they will be guided into the new world.

showing of teeth or the protrusion of the tongue, as an expression of fearlessness and strength (Figure 5.5).

In discussing these poses, Piripi Gordon said:

I feel like it is an accurate representation of who I am as a person. Sometimes I'm a girl pūkana (dilating of the eyes), and sometimes I'm a whētero (protruding tongue). You never know what you're going to get, and I like that. (Interview 6B, Appendix 2)

Figure 5.5. Proofs from the First Shoot

Note. Proofs from the first shoot of Piripi Gordon (2022), and a detail from the poupou portrait of Peter Tumata (2022). Photograph © Marcos Steagall.

These distinctions noted, it is a significant feature of the poupou that most of the participants chose to express their identities without physical reference to traditional Māori adornment. When asked about his decision, Whatitiri Te Wake said:

> I feel like I adorn my taonga Māori every day. There is no particular reason, when I feel compelled to, I will. Sometimes in my work I will remember

> to wear my heitiki (carved greenstone), and I love my heitiki. Then there are times when I think, 'No, I'm good.' If anything, I wear the most prominent taonga Māori on my face. Maybe, there wasn't a need for me to wear it. (Interview 3B, Appendix 2)

When creating the poupou for the whare and selecting portraits for the book Irarere, I found myself working with expressions of identity that were both fluid and proud. Although the two portraits were responses to different questions ('How do you 'pass'?' and 'What is the resonance of you?'), when participants finally selected their photographs from the proof sheets, the images showed very high levels of identity integration.

Accordingly, in the book I designed an approach where the first (passing) portrait and the deeper, resonant portrait occupied identical spaces on consecutive pages. However, as poupou the two dimensions of each takatāpui tāne were displayed on alternate sides of the same board (in identical proportion). Thus, the photographic portraits were not displayed as separate pictures, hung next to each other; instead I exhibited them as integrated versions of the same tāne that were fully revealed in a single pivot.

I was aware that, for most of the participants, it was the second expression of the self that was more comfortable and more resonant. Accordingly, in the whaikōrero, it is this portrait that I address.

In commenting on his second portrait, Gigi Pikinga said, "that expression, that natural state of me. I am happy, I am me. So much but so very little" (Interview 2B, Appendix 2).

Aniwa Koloamatangi said:

> I feel very empowered when dressed like this. This process felt more comfortable and more free-flowing and natural. I just feel like when I am dressed up like this or touching base or lining myself up to be a level up from my everyday [...] to just be—and be in that space—and feel as I feel in that moment. (Interview 5B, Appendix 2).

Varron Armstrong described his second portrait as:

> Very much more tau (settled), but can I put words to this, really? This is a hard one, if I look at these images, ultimately it is me saying kua tutuki ngā moemoea. It is no longer a dream; we can tick that off with my heart. I know what I look like, and it is ok. [...] I am a little blinding because its real now. I feel complete looking at these images. (Interview 8B, Appendix 2).

THE BOOK *IRARERE*

This book was created in collaboration with the photographer Dr Marcos Steagall. In creating the work I began with the principle of ira. For Māori, ira is our vessel of connection to the physical and spiritual worlds, and also to the past and future. Within this connection we are forever moving along the strands of time and space. As humans we are made up of irarua, constituted of both masculine and feminine traits that may form an integrated relationship. The takatāpui in this book have an inate understanding of irarua and are able to manifest this through fluid, authentic expressions of identitiy. When such identitiy is physically and spiritually connected, it is known as irarere.

In giving voice to this phenomenon, the book Irarere reveals reflections in photographs and poetry on the identities of nine tāne Māori who understand themselves as takatāpui, who also form poupou in the Whare Takatāpui. In the book they appear as portraits made up of three parts.

The first is a photograph that records how each tane 'passes' in society. The second captures how he expresses himself 'authentically.' For the photoshoots, each tāne chose how he adorned himself.

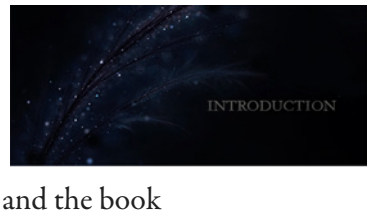
Two interviews with each participant explored their perceptions of being Māori, takatāpui, and the nature of their essential essence. The interviews also inquired into iwi and hapū knowledge related to historical manifestations of takatāpui, its cultural and spiritual nature, and the role of performance in self expression. By creatively editing transcripts of these interviews, I constructed a poetic portrait of each tāne as a pakiwaitara (an artistic response to his expression of speech). Each word used in a portrait was spoken by the individual, and the tone of the poem sought to give literary form to his expressed identity. Thus, the poems sought the essence of ira (the life principle that each person possesses), by drawing from the breath of his speech.

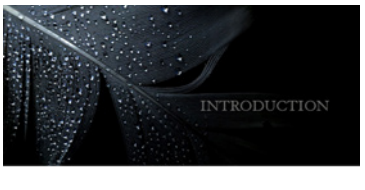
Design Principles

In designing the book, I explored the iconography of a feather that moves between the worlds of Te Kura Huna and Te Kura Tūrama. I considered a black feather on a black background, alluding to what is evident and what has been lost (but may still exist).[80] I also thought of a single feather as a peka that contributes to a greater whole, knowing that on its own it can't fly (Figure 5.6, see p. 103).

80 This is why the feather is repeated multiple times in the design of the exegesis.

Figure 5.6. Concepts for the Exegesis and the Book, Irarere





Note. Concepts for the exegesis and the book Irarere, based on black feathers. Photograph © Tangaroa Paora.

I also considered a feather as a revered treasure, in reference to the huia feather that in traditional Māori culture symbolises leadership and mana. Such feathers were worn in the hair or around the neck by both men and women and were often stored in wakahuia (intricately carved boxes) (Figure 5.7).

Figure 5.7. Takatāpui Huia Feather

Note. Takatāpui huia feather featuring subtle rainbow lighting (in reference to the wider Rainbow community of Aotearoa). Photograph © Tangaroa Paora.

THE PERFORMED WORK WAEREA, MAIOHA, AND KARAKIA

Te Whare Takatāpui began in the darkness, and it transitioned into the light in three stages: through two waerea, a maioha, and finally a karakia.

The waerea is a Māori convention that is traditionally performed by men, and it may be compared to the female practice of karanga, because both rituals are performed as protective incantations when approaching and entering a whare.

The first waerea was a call to the house. It opened the space and cleared the way for manuhiri to enter. Initially, we could not see the house because it resided within Te Kura Huna, but the recitation of the waerea in the darkness invited the house to open (Figure 5.8).

Figure 5.8. Design for Te Whare Takatāpui Waerea 1

Note. Design for Te Whare Takatāpui and its iterative appearance. In the final production, Ranginui (the sky) is called forth from Te Pō. The heavens are then animated and gradually Papatūānuku becomes more discernible. As the performance progresses, the whare fades in, occupying the space between them. The whare is always slightly ephemeral, suspended between aspiration and physical presence. Photograph © Tangaroa Paora.

Huakina mai te whare
Kia tū, kia oho, kia matāra
He kapua kei runga
Nā runga o Ranginui e tū iho nei
He whenua kei raro
Nā runga o Papatūānuku e takoto nei
Taku kiri ka pā ki te wai
He wai aroha
He wai tūtuki
He wai hei tāmata i taku kiri
Huakina mai ngā tatau o te whare
Kia kite ai te tangata
I te Irarua
I te Irarere
I te ira o te Māori
E te iwi e
Hui huia mai
Rarau mai
Ngā tai ira e ngāhiri nei
Tēnā Huakina.
(Composed and pre-recorded by Tangaroa Paora)[81]

The second waerea was a live performance and, at this point, from the darkness, I entered te paparahi in subdued light. At this point human presence became discernible. This second waerea ackowledged those who have gone before and cannot be with us. However, their presence and wairua are still with us. The work spoke to the journeys, loss, and mourning attached to those who had helped pave the way for those of us who remain. The piece was dedicated to Shaun Hindt (Ngāti Tipa, Ngāti Te Wehi, Ngāti Te Ata, Hāmoa) a takatāpui tāne who could not take his place in Te Whare Takatāpui, but who will forever represent the pou tokomanawa which is the spiritual heartbeat of the whare.[82]

Waerea 2
Tēnā tineia atu
Te marama me ngā whetū
E māhuru nei i taku noho
I te pō uriuri
I te pō tangotango
Tangohia rā, hūtia rā
Unuhia rā
Unuhia atu rā te mamae
E pā kikini nei
I te tau o taku ate
Unuhia atu te pō
Tē kitea
Kua tō te rā
(Composed by Rapaera Tāwhai).

Following the two waerea, I performed a maioha to evoke and describe the purpose of gathering. This work also positioned the manuhiri within the realm of Rongo, the god of peace. Within the whare we were welcomed into the domain of Hine Rehia me Tāne Rore, the deities of haka and performance. It is from here that Kapa Haka takes a form that is seen, heard, and felt. The maioha was peformed in Te Kura Tūrama (the realm of light), and it brought the manuhiri into the physical presence of the whare.

81 I have not translated the waerea or maioha because they are esoteric, and a translation numbs their resonance. In the performance, these works vibrate so we can feel meaning and the movement from Te Kura Huna into Te Kura Turama. It is in the realm of Te Kura Turama that te reo Māori and te reo Pākehā became evident.

82 Both the second waerea and the book Irarere were dedicated to Shaun Hindt, who passed on Thursday 18th March 2021. His life was cut short in his battle with cancer, yet he left behind footprints that will forever remain planted on the earth.

Maioha

Hopukina te hau
He hau kōkōuri
Nō runga i te waonui a Tāne
I rikoitia te haere
ki uta
Ki te toi whenua a Hine Rēhia
A Tāne Rore
I tēnei te whakatū i tōku whare
Hei tirohanga mā koutou
Anei te whare
Kua tū te whare.
(Composed by Te Raina Kaipara).

Karakia

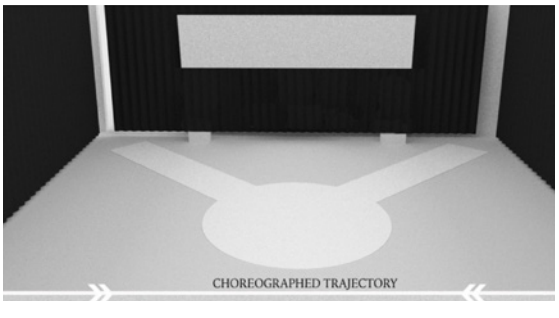
The final component of the opening was a karakia that was pre-recorded. Although it was used to open and settle the realm of the exegesis (see p. 1) it was also created to secure and settle the pakiwaitara (narrative) that was about to be related. The karakia referred to both our physical and metaphysical existence. It also acknowledged our Atua, from whom the world came into being. It began with the voice of the kaikarakia (conductor) sitting within the whare, pondering the question of identity. As the work progressed we observed two forms of tāne begining to emerge from the darkness in front of te paparahi. Their movements transformed into the choreographed work Te Iho o te Ira Tāne. [83]

THE CHOREOGRAPHED SEQUENCES

Te Iho o te Ira Tāne

Te Iho o te Ira Tāne[84] was the first of two consecutive works that I choreographed and co-performed. In this piece, two alternative manifestations of tāne approached each other, from opposite sides of an empty space (Figure 5.9). In this work, I considered the interaction and fluidity of conventionally opposed conceptions of Māori masculinity who, although initially separated, then joined in a harmonious and powerful expression of male identity.

Figure 5.9. Choreographed Space for Te Iho o te Ira Tāne



Note. Choreographed space for Te iho o te ira tāne. Photograph © Tangaroa Paora.

One tāne (performed by Mātangireia Yates-Francis) represented a 'conventionally masculine' manifestation. He was a warrior

83 The karakia positions itself as the audio illustration of Te Iho o te Ira Tāne.

84 The essence of ira tāne.

in the accepted sense. I choreographed him with the rākau (a combat weapon), utilising the stances, strikes and counter strikes of a toa (warrior) who exhibits prowess and dexterity. I performed the role of the other tāne. He represented a manifestation that might conventionally be understood as more 'feminine.' However, he was in fact an expression of a much older idea of maleness that blended my thinking about the gentleness and embracing nature of our primordial father Ranginui with the reclaimed historical presence of our takatāpui tāne ancestors. Like the rākau performer, this dancer used training weaponry. Here, the poi was choreographed as an expression of its original use as a tool for developing physical dexterity in weapon handling. Before choreographing this piece, I reflected on an early discussion I had with Pere Wihongi (Te Rarawa, Ngāpuhi) about the traditional use and purpose of the poi. He stated, "Many will know that in our old world, tāne would use poi as a training tool to build strength and dexterity in the wrists and forearms, to improve hand-eye coordination that prepares one for weapon use in war and combat" (P. Wihongi, personal communication, April 9, 2019).[85]

In the work, the two tāne mirrored each other as they moved, reflecting both power and fluid grace. The poi and rākau were observable as tools that naturally work in conjunction with each, in preparing the body and mind. They were also a reaffirmation of what participant Whatitiri Te Wake described as an embracing expression of mana, "the journey back to old ways of understanding in the time of being in your own mana, not mana tāne, not mana wahine, but mana Māori" (Interview 3A, Appendix 2).

In discussing certain recent evolutions of Kapa Haka, Varron Armstrong echoed the same thinking. He said, "There is no bias on sides of being tāne or wahine, and it is fitting for them because it is not mana tāne, or mana wahine, but rather mana tangata, ira tangata" (Interview 8A, Appendix 2).

Accordingly, the dancers shifted and changed as they deemed appropriate, expressing the dexterity that, Peter Tumata argued, is the fluidity of takatāpuitanga: "Change ... is a beauty of takatāpui; we can shift and change as we feel right" (Interview 4A, Appendix 2).

Poi Tupua

The second work, Poi Tupua,[86] was choreographed in response to the waiata Āhuru Mōwai (which was composed especially for the production by Parekura Pewhairangi). The waiata speaks to the heart of the whare where one is embraced by the security of those who make journeys towards takatāpui identity and, as such, claim their place of standing in the world.

85 Pere Wihongi is an acknowledged expert with poi. He has judged and tutored both secondary and adult Kapa Haka groups in Aotearoa and Ahitereiria (Australia).

86 Encountering the metaphysical human through the physicality of poi.

Ka noho au i te pūāhurutanga
O taku āhuru mōwai rokiroki e
Kei ōna hekeheke ōna tohutohu
Me manawa whenua te wai o te aroha!

He āniwa ki te rangi
Ko Te Aronui ki te whenua
Tīaho mai i runga
Mārama i raro
Hei whakahikohikotanga mā
te manotini e
Me manawa whenua te wai o te aroha!

Ka noho au i te pūāhurutanga
O taku āhuru mōwai rokiroki
Kei ōna hekeheke ōna tohutohu
Me manawa whenua te wai o te aroha!

Hei aha māhau te whakaparahako
Te whakaiti e
Ki te whiti ake ko te tau o Whiro
Noho mai rā koe he whetū ngāngahu
He whetū tārake e
Ahakoa nō hea, nō hea e takahia!

Ka noho au i te pūāhurutanga
O taku āhuru mōwai rokiroki
Kei ōna hekeheke ōna tohutohu
Me manawa whenua te wai o te aroha![87]

Poi Tupua, Poi Tangata was a homage to both my childhood engagement with performance with poi (see Chapter 2: Positioning the Researcher) and the recollections of a significant number of takatāpui tāne participants in the study who had 'crossed the lines' to embrace poi as part of their contributions to performance (Whatitiri Te Wake, Piripi Gordon, Aniwa Koloamatagi, and Awatea Kake).

Interviews with these tāne revealed journeys from the threshold of marginalisation to courageous expressions of gender fluidity and non-binary gender expression in Kapa Haka. The work had considerable power and confidence because, in choreographing it, I was aware of the grief that participants like Gigi Pikinga and Whatitiri Te Wake had felt when access to such expression was denied to them in their childhood. Pikinga recalled:

> When I was younger, I wanted it to be Kapa Haka. I really did because all of my cousins and friends did it at home and at school. But it was in a time where roles were very gendered.

87 As I sit in the heart of my house,
Sheltered by the narratives of my people
The ribcage of the house illustrates the inclusivity of all
To reclaim your place of standing, wrapped in aroha
For the land, and the waters

A rainbow in the skies
A world of acceptance below
Shining bright above
Understanding bestowed on all
The enlightenment for all who seek
To reclaim your place standing, wrapped in aroha
For the land, and the waters.

Who am I to question your validity
Be cautious, for Whiro will consume you
Your true authentic self is what shines, as the outstanding star of the night
Your pathway was sown in the sands of time

I now sit in the heart of my house,
Sheltered by the narratives of those who have continued their journey of self-discovery
The ribcage of my house is inclusive of all
Reclaiming your place standing, wrapped in aroha
Across the land, and waters.

(Translation by Tangaroa Paora).

> I was specifically told that if it was something that I wanted to participate in, it was only going to be with the boys, in the boys' line. Not surprising, even thinking back to that time and even now, I was just as staunch then as a little kid. Just as I am now, I would not compromise. I would not take off my t-shirt, I would not slap my chest, I refused to, so I abstained. (Interview 2A, Appendix 2)

A similar sense of exclusion was discussed by Whatitiri Te Wake. He recalled:

> This is probably one thing I feel, truthfully ripped off in a sense that society ... hmmm ... that's the ruku aye. That's me wanting to freely express myself, i te ao haka, I wasn't able to authentically express that because it wasn't accepted, and what I am trying to say is, I don't feel at home being in the boys' rows of haka. There are times where I have done it and I have found home in those lines but it will never be home. [...] I grew up in kōhanga reo and primary wanting to perform with my girl cousins wearing a pari (bodice). I mean I was a better performer than all of them and I say that with absolute humility in my heart because I love them, and the thing is, they will all agree with me as well. Yet there was no opportunity to ever explore that, and because of that I feel like that was something taken away from me. (Interview 3A, Appendix 2)

In contrast, Aniwa Koloamatagi and Piripi Gordon discussed the sense of fulfilment they experienced when they were able to perform poi on stage. Aniwa recalled:

> Once I got to high school, I really started to ruku hōhonu ki ngā mahi haka (delving into Māori performing arts), which was with Ngā Puna o Waiorea (Western Springs College) and it was just a huge mihi to Tūhoe Tamaiparea and Pere Wihongi because that was a safe space there. It was amazing. I have had the pleasure of performing poi on stage in 2015 in my year 10, living my absolute best life on that stage, and that was the first time I really felt like there was a boundary being pushed like this, and thinking I have never seen this sort of stuff before, that is so cool, that kura allowing us to be little gay boys on stage. (Interview 5A, Appendix 2).

Discussing the same environment of inclusion, Piripi Gordon said:

> One year at school, Aniwa and I were lucky enough to be able to do the poi at Ahurea which was cool as, and it was so relevant, because the kaupapa of the poi was he kāpo te aroha (love is blind) and we were just talking about that love has no gender, no colour, love has no requirements or boundaries. It was the perfect time to show boys with poi, we wanted to challenge that stereotype or social standard of only

> wahine can do that, and tāne do rākau [weaponry]. So, it was really cool to have that opportunity to kind of go against the status quo and be ourselves on stage and because we had never been able to do that before. (Interview 6A, Appendix 2)

An earlier account of this positive embracing of inclusivity was discussed by Awatea Kake. He recalled:

> I love to do the poi, and one of my tutors at kura let me do the quads (quadruple poi) because none of the girls could pull it off, and that for a cultural exchange in Hawai'i. We went over there and performed at the PCC (Polynesian Cultural Centre) and yes performing the quads, I really felt like I was in my element and it was a beautiful thing. (Interview 7A, Appendix 2)

However, Poi Tupua was also an expression of aspiration. Drawing on commentaries that discuss the evolution of Kapa Haka (Cruz Banks, 2017; Biddle, 2012; Dance Aotearoa New Zealand, 2011; Kāretu, 1993; Papesch, 2015, 2019; Papesch & Mazer, 2016; Sciascia, 2014; Smith, 2003), my choreography was cognisant of comments made by Rawiri Keelan, Peter Tumata, and Whatitiri Te Wake, all of whom expressed joy in witnessing change. For Keelan it was delight at seeing more accommodating spaces made for the contributions of takatāpui rangatahi. He said:

> I just recently saw one of my nephews doing the poi on the Tamararo stage and all I thought was "Oh man, why wasn't that available to me, I would have done better." He and three of his mates were in front of the kōtiro doing the poi, and I was both astounded, thrilled and excited for what this allowed for our people. The reason why I highlighted it, it has opened the door, its allowed it to come back, because we know the act of Christianity and the gender bias that influenced our culture over the years. What is happening on stage now isn't something new, but something that's coming back to where it use to be, in not recognising 'You are a boy, You are a girl', but recognising the mana of the performer and that mana is what is coming through in the performance regardless of gender and I think that is a beautiful thing. (Interview 9A, Appendix 2)

For Peter Tumata, spaces of inclusion were traced back to a generation before, when others set positive examples of inclusivity and gender flexibility in performance expression. He said:

> I have seen and been part of a Kapa Haka rōpū that was not at all competitive, but we did travel around and perform ngahau (entertainment) and things like that, but if you know the North and you know we have quite a few Trans in the north, and they are

> tūturu ki te ao Māori (committed to the nature of being Māori) and they have that passion for te ao Māori. We have one of our sisters Matiu Weri, who was very much involved with Kapa Haka and with our college. Weri's passion was so great that they would challenge the males in haka as a man and then challenge the women in haka as wahine and that was very unique to see, and it made the environment of that kapa to be so safe and open for me. Because the tāne had respect for Weri and so did the wāhine and for me to see that as a takatāpui not being out, it was inspiring. It made me see that I did not have to conform to the gender normalities of everyone else, and could freely express my takatāpuitanga in those settings. So yes, I have seen it. Is it common? No. But the beautiful thing about tikanga, [is] that tikanga is malleable and that it can change with time. Those are the discussions that are taking place and need to take place. With that analogy of looking to the past to guide the future, if we look back far enough we would find that we existed. (Interview 4A, Appendix 2)

In his interview, Whatitiri Te Wake paid homage to specific Trans aunties in women's lines in early national competitions. He acknowledged the spaces created by these performers for more diverse kinds of gender expression.

> My early memories are watching the national competition, which is now Te Matatini, watching videos and seeing some kaihaka specifically in women's lines whose gender was ambiguous, as like … hmmm … He wahine tērā? Iēnā he wahine i whānau mai ki te ao, wahine (are they female? Born into the world as female). They were all pātai (questioning), and these were women who performed for groups such as Te Rautahi, one of the groups who fostered and nurtured that, and that was probably the earliest experience with challenging the norm. As an adult, I joined a group in Tāmaki, that was the epitome of that as well. Ahakoa Te Aha was a Kapa Haka group mainly for takatāpui and allies in Tāmaki Makaurau. It was beautiful to see all the Trans aunties in the earlier days of that Kapa Haka group, a lot of the Trans aunties taking a leadership role in that, because they were the keepers of that knowledge. And I am not just talking about how to perform poi, I am talking about ngā kōrero tuku iho (ancestral knowledge) a ngā tūpuna, te reo Māori, which to me felt normal. So if it is something that challenges the norm, then I did not feel that what the group stood for, or the people inside the group were challenging the norm because it felt normal. (Interview 3A, Appendix 2)

Choreography

Poi Tupua was choreographed so that actions respond to and interpret words and phrases in the waiata. The shape of the performance visualised the changes one makes on a journey to come to know and believe in one's place within te ao Māori. Drawing from Te Iho o te Ira Tāne, the takatāpui in this work was now part of and proudly contributing to the evolving conventions of poi within Kapa Haka. He performed poi with wahine, imbuing the artform with elegance, grace, and a sense of gentleness—illustrating the continued connection of tāne to poi since its original use in the old Māori world. In the work we witnessed irarua given form, as the poi transitioned between masculine and feminine energies.

Whaikī Tōtahi

Following these choreographed works, Te Whare Takatāpui transitioned into a whaikī tōtahi or whaikī (monologue) that I composed in two parts. These were separated by a homage paid to each poupou.

In poetic language, the whaikī drew a whare into being through movement in the night. As it became identifiable, it was recognised as a whare takatāpui; a building that is a testament to the tenacity of peka (fragments) and aspiration. The aim of this opening was to settle the place and the spirit into one space. In support of this, the whaikī was accompanied by an image of a whare that emerged and disappeared into darkness. The whaikī was delivered in English and te reo Māori because I wanted audiences (irrespective of their level of language proficiency) to understand the essence of takatāpuitanga.

Drawing together secondary knowledge and thoughts of the takatāpui tane participants, the whaikī contemplated our primordial parents, weaving together beauty and loss. Tonally, the work was esoteric, reflecting the mauri and wairua of takatāpui. Its transcendent nature was an expression of an assertion made independently by each participant in the study. All acknowledged the significance of a spiritual dimension to takatāpui identity, and all argued that mauri and wairua were, in essence, ungendered.

Whatitiri Te Wake said:

> I don't see wairua as gendered, I feel like we are more than gender. I feel gender is just a tiny expression of who we are in our entire being. I feel that ira tangata being on Papatūānuku, it is not our human form [...] but our wairua that experiences life and our tinana is the waka kawe (vessel). (Interview 3A, Appendix 2)

This idea was supported by Peter Tumata, who noted how our ancestors would evoke the wairua and mauri of our atua, rather than the characteristics of their gender. He argued, "wairuatanga is not gendered [...], when we think of it, our tūpuna were very much the embodiment of our atua Māori and not the embodiment of the sexes" (Interview 4A, Appendix 2).

Aniwa Koloamatagi, Piripi Gordon, and Varron Armstrong also saw wairua and mauri as fluid. Varron stated:

> Your spirituality can be fluid. I think we can sometimes be distracted because we are getting caught up with "I am he, she, they and them." [...] Wairua and mauri are not male or female but can be both of masculine and feminine energies, that feed the soul and mind. Māori are a true example of the blend of both energies that combine to create our unique authentic selves. (Interview 8A, Appendix 2)

With this thinking in mind, when composing Taki (the first part of the whaikōrero), I was guided by idea of a fluid, spiritual connection that reached between the ancestral and the peka of the physical. The work placed takatāpui experience and longing at the centre. This decision was inspired by Varron Armstrong's assertion that:

> It's a spiritual connection that connects us to our higher being. Ko mātou e ngana ana te whakatinana i ngā wawata, mā te aroha. We always continue to live our life with aroha and everything we do should always come from aroha. (Interview 8B, Appendix 2)

Ngā peka pūrākau [Taki]

Imagine the night ...
The movement of air through the grass.
Papatūānuku.
Above ... an eternity of sky
Forever reaching
Ranginui—the father.

... And here
a whare.
Perhaps a whare tapere,
A house of performance.
But more
In the half light,
Unadorned
A whare takatāpui
A house for those erased.
The bachelor sons and maiden aunts
The tungāne and tuāhine
Takakau (who never married)
Who loved their own.

Once,
Before the missionaries
And the condemning laws,
We were treasures.
The tane who cared for the wounded,
The wahine whose voices called
through the haka.
We were irarua,
Irarere,
Our genders fluid and uncompromised.

Takatāpui tane,
Who as men gazed up at their father,
The embracing heavens.
Who loved,

Who protected,
... Who cried,
At the grief at separation.
The ancient male.
The first male.
Who did not measure manhood,
On the rugby field or battle ground.
The lover and protector of all things.

But we the takatāpui,
... Our stories were stripped from history.
The bargeboards that showed our love,
Cut in half,
Divided,
And exiled to cities on the other side of the world.

Our papahou
Intimate.
Locked behind glass in museum cases,
In London.

Desecrated,
Eradicated,
Erased ...

The traces of our tupuna,
Our whakapapa,
Whispers behind the hand.
Peka—fragments.

But here?
In these half-lit walls,
In the whare takatāpui,
A restored place to stand.
The new poupou.
The pillars that hold up the house.
The takatāpui tane.
The living strength.
A people,
Who will not be silent.
Proud,
Māori,
Eternal,
Protecting ....

Kapi, the second and closing part of the whaikōrero, began by acknowledging the story of the Te Arawa chief Tūtānekai and his takatāpui tane, Tiki. This fragment is one of the few pūrākau known widely amongst takatāpui people, and, for many, it has been an anchor and a signifier of cultural acknowledgement. In composing Kapi, I sought to slowly draw the audience back into the space of the physical, after having spoken to the lives and wisdom of the takatāpui tāne poupou (acknowledging their contributions to keeping the whare erect, strong, gentle, and safe). The reference to Tutānekai and Tiki was designed to remind the audience of lives and stories to which we have only faint exposure: the pūrākau and pakiwaitara that exist as peka, despite colonial erasure.

The absence of takatāpui stories was something that a number of participants in the research referred to. Peter Tumata recalled:

> I heard of whispers from the nannies and koros having little cup of tea and me probing to see if it was all right to be gay—all right to be takatāpui. "Did you know any of our tūpuna who might have been?" ... and they would

> say … "Oh, yeah there might have been stories" … But no! It was always sort of pushed to the back, so unfortunately those stories were lost. (Interview 4A, Appendix 2)

Gigi Pikinga experienced similar conversations. He said, "No one really openly discussed it. It was like kōrero tapetape.[88] No one was willing to serve it up hot and actually have these discussions" (Interview 2A, Appendix 2).

These tāne, like many takatāpui, navigated fragments of histories. However, Aniwa Koloamatagi suggested:

> There has been hītori that was forgotten, not erased but forgotten, that talks about the fluidity of our gender. I have heard of Irarere who tap into te ao tāne and te ao wahine and there is a lot of history that we can tap into. (Interview 5A, Appendix 2)

Koloamatagi's acknowledgement of the possibility of finding fragments, when we begin talking with each other in more open ways, reached out in Kapi, embracing the manuhiri[89] and calling to a future where we might all live and be proud of what defines us.

Hei [Kapi]

There was a story,
Once told.
Before the colonisers,
And tourist buses.
Of takatāpui tāne,
Tūtānekai and Tiki.
Two men who loved.
The calling of flutes across the waters of
Te Rotorua nui a Kahumatamomoe.
Pūtōrino,
Kōauau.
Ka piri ō rāua wairua ko tōna hoa takatāpui ko Tiki, anō he teina he tuakana rāua
Their spirits clung to each other almost as one, an unbreakable bond

Their love story,
Almost lost,
Is our story,
Reclaimed.

From this whare,
We reach out,
Through whānau, iwi … hapū.
Connecting,
Becoming one,
Embracing and
Being embraced by wider worlds.

Thank you for coming.
Thank you for all that you do,
To support,
And make visible.
Each of us a poupou …
Standing in the light.

As you leave here,
Through these doors,
in the half-light you will find a book.

88 Tapetape is a form of colloquial language meaning to gossip, whisper, or slander.

89 In Te Whare Takatāpui, the poupou and the speaker call the guests into the house. In conventional practice, honoured guests are referred to as manuhiri.

On each page are poems and photographs
of the poupou in this room.
Let them help you seek and discover the
poupou of your own whare,
The pillars who stand tall and strong
... and sometimes silent.
Reminding us to be proud of who we are
... and who we might become.

I closed the performance in te reo Māori, so the composite work began and ended in te ao Māori. The closing mihi acknowledged that the manuhiri arrived as guests to the whare, but they would leave as whānau.

Tīmata mai ai te whaikōrero i te pae o Tūmatauenga, mutu ana ki rō whare, i raro i te āhuru mōwai o Rongo, tau ana. Nō reira e āku nui, e āku rahi, tēnei te kapo ake i ngā mihi o te ngākau kia koutou, he huihuinga tāngata, he hokinga mahara, he tuku i te aroha. Rātou te hunga kua whetūrangitia ki te poho o Ranginui e oki, kanapa mai rā. Tātou te hunga e pae tonu nei ki te mata o Papatūānuku, tū tonu, mau tonu. Tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā tātou katoa.

This chapter has been structured like a raranga (weaving), where the threads of secondary research, the content of interviews, and sequences in a performance work have been woven into a fabric that reveals not only the content of Te Whare Takatāpui but also the thinking that shaped it. In offering a critical commentary on the performance space, the published book Irarere, and Te Whare Takatāpui, I have endeavoured to demonstrate how artistic works were created as vehicles for complex and intimate experiences and as advocations for the continued evolution and connection between Kapa Haka and takatāpuitanga.


6

INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

The study had its seeds in my experience growing up different; belonging to te ao Māori yet desiring to find a voice for identity. Accordingly, the thesis asked,

> 'How might an artistic reconsideration of gender role differentiation give a unique voice to takatāpui tāne identity?'

The study's journey to realisation began with a consideration of my ōrokohanga (origins) and my relationship to both Kapa Haka and takatāpui identity. Using these two orienting experiences, the inquiry moved forward to consider contextual and catalysing material, specifically knowledge relating to takatāpui, the nature and development of Kapa Haka, and historical examples of takatāpui tāne performance inside queer culture.

As the creative inquiry progressed, the initially tenuous structure of its research design took form. Unlike many theses, the study did not adopt an existing Pākehā framework, but sought instead to understand how I 'came to know and create' as a Māori artist who worked within a Kaupapa Māori paradigm. Blending the tenets of rangahau and heuristic inquiry with deeper questions about the relationship between esoteric and explicit knowing, I developed a metaphorical structure and dynamic for the project that was activated through nine interrelated methods. These methods integrated tikanga, data gathering, and artistic synthesis.

Finally, as parts of Te Whare Takatāpui took form, I was able to discuss artistic manifestations of my thinking as a raranga, where concepts and practice were woven together. In the exegesis this became a critical commentary on the book Irarere, and on Te Whare Takatāpui, as a house of performance and revelation.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE FIELD

The thesis contributes to established and growing discourses surrounding Kapa Haka, takatāpuitanga, and Māori methodological approaches to artistic research. At a time when takatāpui are beginning to narrate their own identities outside of frameworks of 'otherness' (Aspin & Hutchings, 2007b; Harris, 2016; Kerekere, 2017; Reynolds, 2007), the study contributes to an emerging body of work where self-speaking and reflective, contextual commentary is employed to explain takatāpui identity (Fenaughty, 2006; Kerekere, 2017; Harris, 2016; Henrickson et al., 2007).

Broadly the study's contributions can be considered under three headings: irarere and its voice within Kapa Haka, discourses surrounding takatāpui identity, and Te Whare Rangahau as a methodological construct.

Irarere and its Voice Within Kapa Haka

Although certain conventions within Kapa Haka have avoided instances when men challenge conventional constructs of masculinity, the thesis draws on the assertions of Māori scholars and commentators who argue for increasing levels of evolution and inclusiveness (Cruz Banks, 2017; Biddle, 2012; Dance Aotearoa New Zealand, 2011; Kāretu, 1993; Papesch, 2015, 2019; Papesch & Mazer, 2016; Sciascia, 2014; Smith, 2003). In response, the study provides an artistic example of how irarere might contribute to Kapa Haka, inside a conceptual space called Te Whare Takatāpui.

Although this call for inclusiveness is embedded in the practical component of the thesis, it has also constituted the core of a peer-reviewed conference paper delivered during the course of the study. In December 2022, I deliver a paper at an international conference considering issues in Indigenous research in the Global South (Paora, 2022a)

Discourses Surrounding Takatāpui Identity

The study contributes to narratives of takatāpui identity by artistically synthesising individual interview data (as pakiwaitara) and integrating this material with an exhibition of photographic portraits depicting nine tāne. In so doing, the creative practice contributes to a growing body of contemporary work within the arts that challenges certain homophobic attitudes still being experienced by Māori (Aspin, 2005; Kerekere, 2017; Paora, 2019). As an extension of this, the study also sheds light on differences between takatāpui tāne and what might be more generically described as gay men.

In drawing attention to discourses surrounding takatāpui tāne, I have also published two sole-authored articles in peer-reviewed journals on the issue of recovering erased or marginalised knowledge (Paora, 2022b; in press a).

Te Whare Rangahau as a Methodological Construct

The thesis' third contribution is methodological. Drawing on a growing history of Indigenous research frameworks used by Māori doctoral candidates who engage with artistic inquiry, the study contributes an example of how Māori principles and methods might be designed into a coherent dynamic for examining and artistically synthesising knowledge.[90] Specifically, Te Whare Rangahau proposes a way in which esoteric and explicit knowledge might be understood as a dynamic, where the flow of mahi (practice as te ao hurihuri) operates through methods such as karakia, kanohi ki te kanohi interviewing, iterative experimentation, photography, and choreography.

In addition, the thesis contributes the concept of pakiwaitara to current discourses surrounding poetic inquiry (Brown et al., 2021; Gannon, 2022; Holmes, 2014; Prendergast, 2006; Prendergast & Galvin,

90 Significant among these are Moana Nepia's (2012) Aratika methodology; Robert Pouwhare's (2020) Pūrākau metaphor; and Zak Waipara's (2022) Whakapapa framework.

2012; Richardson, 1994; Szto et al., 2005), proposing an Indigenous Māori approach, where the oral origins of data are honoured as both written and performed syntheses in a study's outcomes. In elucidating this material, I have recently had a third article, "Te Whare Rangahau," accepted for publication in the bilingual, peer-reviewed, LINK Praxis Journal of Practice-Led Research in the Global South (Paora, in press -b).

SUGGESTED FURTHER RESEARCH

This project connects scholarship, artistic practice, community, and the self. Inside the study we encounter principles such as hā, te ao hurihuri, Kapa Haka, and te reo Māori. These things have life; they are dynamic, and they require us, as thinkers and artists, to contribute as vessels of progress. When considering how this thesis might further contribute to an anticipated trajectory, I reflect on three potentials: the agency of the creative work, the potential for further publication, and the necessity of embodied activism.

The Agency of Creative Work

Irarere

The book Irarere has been issued with an ISBN number, and copies are now housed in the National Library in Wellington.[91] This means that, while a digital version will be available through the university's open access repository (Tuwhera), additional print editions of the work are securely archived. However, it is my intention to extend this publication with further interviews and photographs, expanding the spectrum of experience before commercially publishing an extended version of the book. I believe that this is timely and important because, although Jordan Harris' Takatāpui: A Place of Standing (2016) had limited distribution before being removed, a publication that draws takatāpui identity to the fore through photography and poetry may make a significant contribution to understanding.[92]

Te Whare Takatāpui

The poupou of Te Whare Takatāpui (as photographs) are able to be exhibited in diverse locations. This is because the originals have been archived as DNG raw files.[93] Wherever possible, it is my intention that the performance accompanying these occurs in conjunction with their exhibition. However, because the photographs and interviews were a collaborative undertaking, Dr Mortesen Steagall has asked if they can be exhibited in

91 ISBN: 978-1-99-101116-9. A pdf copy of the book accompanies this exegesis.

92 As an extension to this, the exegesis will be available as an open access text, after being deposited in Tuwhera. Being cognisant of this, I have included, as Appendix 2, all of the contributing interviews. This is so researchers can have access to the takatāpui tane's insights, in their own words, and to provide access to their discussions about identity and perceptions of complex relationships, like connections between gender, mauri, wairua, and performance. These may help people to understand the specific nature of takatāpui experience, as distinct from a generic, European understanding of LGBTQI+ identities.

93 Because the poupou are digital, they are easily transported and can be printed in countries where exhibitions might occur.

Sao Paulo, Brazil, during December/January 2024. Such international exhibitions will be accompanied by a dual-authored catalogue that will contain the Foreword (HĀ) that I wrote for the book Irarere, in addition to the poems and an essay about collaborative artistic inquiry.

With the expansion of World Pride celebrations and their accompanying artistic exhibitions, I also envisage exhibitions in Aotearoa and internationally. Te Whare Takatāpui is a performance work that is well suited to the Te Timatanga Festival that co-exists with Auckland Pride. I will also be liaising with Wellington and Christchurch Pride Festivals to ascertain if there is potential for presenting the work in 2024. Sydney Pride also has an associated Arts festival, and the organisation has recently recognised the significance of Indigenous voices and identities.[94] I will also be approaching Auckland Arts Festival as an Indigenous artist to ascertain the potential for a performance within their 2024 calendar. I will also consider approaching Te Matatini, the National Kapa Haka competition that is held every two years. However, I will treat the timing of such an approach carefully, because the festival is hosted by different regions across Aotearoa, and if a contribution is accepted I would propose altering the poi section of Te Whare Takatāpui to reflect the iwi and region where the festival takes place.

Further Publication

In addition to the peer-reviewed journal publications already produced from the thesis, it is my intention to publish a visual essay in the international, peer-reviewed journal Visual Studies. This highly ranked journal publishes:

> visually-oriented articles across a range of disciplines, and represents a long-standing commitment to empirical visual research, studies of visual and material culture, the development of visual research methods and the exploration of visual means of communication about social and cultural worlds.[95]

The essay would feature all sixteen poupou and discuss the relationship between collaborative inquiry, photography, and pakiwaitara. In addition, articles discussing takatāpui tane identity may be developed for queer academic journals, such as: Queer Studies in Media & Popular Culture,[96] the Journal of LGBT Youth,[97] and GLQ: the Journal of Lesbian and Gay studies.[98]
It is also my intention to write an article for MAI on Te Whare Rangahau as a methodological framework for artistic inquiry. This open access journal publishes multidisciplinary research that addresses

94 This year Sydney Pride acknowleged the Gardigal people of the Eora nation as the guardians and protectors of the land in which the festival is held. See https://www.sydneypride.com/ for more information.

95 Aims and Scope of the journal Visual Studies are explained on the journal homepage: https://www.tandfonline.com/action/

96 For more information on this journal, see https://www.intellectbooks.com/queer-studies-in-media-popular-culture

Indigenous and Pacific issues related to Aotearoa New Zealand.[99]
Publishing collaboratively with Dr Mortensen Steagall, we anticipate writing articles for DAT Journal, GEMINIS, and the journal LINK Praxis.

Embodied Activism

This thesis originated from a need for representation and an abiding commitment to te ao Māori. Accordingly, it forms part of a wider obligation to scholarship and representation that is manifest in my current appointment to the Auckland Pride Māori Advisory Board, wider media appearances where I have discussed education, the honour project, and takatāpui identity (Kaupapa Rangahau, 2019), and the New Zealand Mental Health Foundation, where I was appointed as an ambassador for Pink Shirt Day (Pink Shirt Day, n.d.). In my current role as a lecturer in Māori studies, teaching language and development, I will also continue to mentor rangatahi takatāpui and their families.[100]

PARTING THOUGHTS

I have spent most of my life looking for peka: fragments of information pertaining to takatāpui existence in the old world of Māori. Having spent a childhood feeling ostracised and sometimes excluded from parts of my culture for being different, I have wrestled with a sense of not truly belonging. This is not because people have stated directly that being gay, fluid in my gender expression, or fat, is wrong or not Māori, but rather that it has been difficult to find anchors in evidence about my takatāpui forebears within pūrākau, waiata, whakairo, or personal stories of our tūpuna. It may be that, as takatāpui Māori, we never needed demarcating words, stories, or knowledge to have a place of belonging. We belonged simply because we naturally were. It may have been through colonisation, the disruption of being Māori, and the influence of the Western world that our existence as takatāpui has been both demarcated and erased over time.

In the last decade, I have been supported and sustained by my family, friends and communities in my search for who I am. What is clear to me now is that identity verification has little to do with me, and more to do with the new generations of mokopuna who are takatāpui; it is their need for representation that matters. I choose to be a person of reference for people who seek someone who reflects who they are, so they might feel connected and part of te ao Māori, so they can stand proudly knowing that their identity is celebrated and acknowledged.

All that we contribute is part of a greater whole. This thesis is an offering into the heart of this idea.

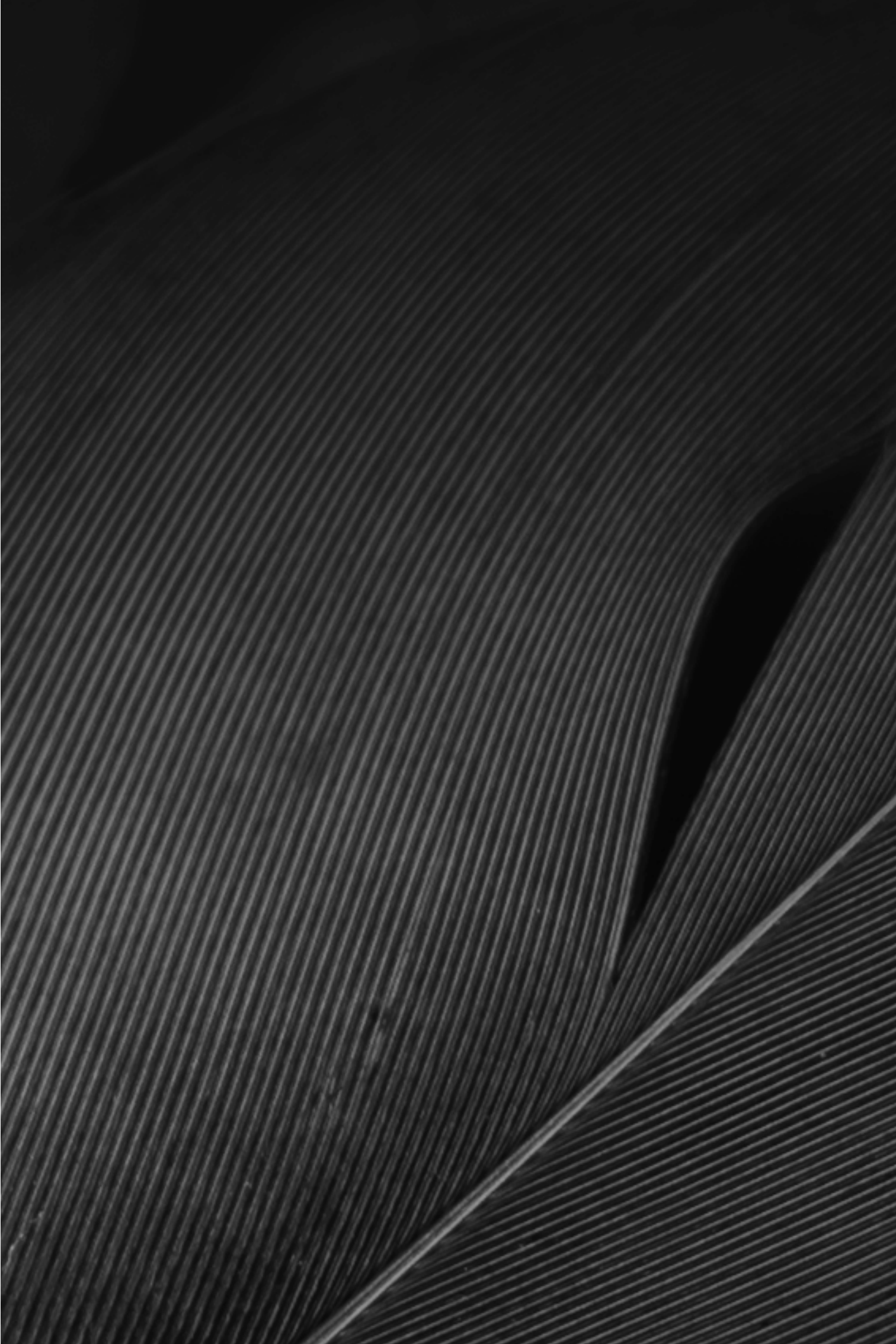
97 For more information on this journal, see https://www.tandfonline.com/toc/wjly20/current

98 For more information on this journal, see https://read.dukeupress.edu/glq

99 For more information on this journal, see https://www.journal.mai.ac.nz/

100 This carries a deep responsibility and challenge because I have encountered examples where something I have said has been taken out of context. I also accept that I am one takatāpui tāne and I cannot speak for the whole world. All I can do is show support and care and use networks of information to help people make informed decisions for themselves.

Nā Rangi tāua, nā Tūānuku e takoto
nei, ko ahau tēnei ko mea a mea.
We are descended from Rangi and
Tūānuku, as for me I am so and so,
child of so and so.



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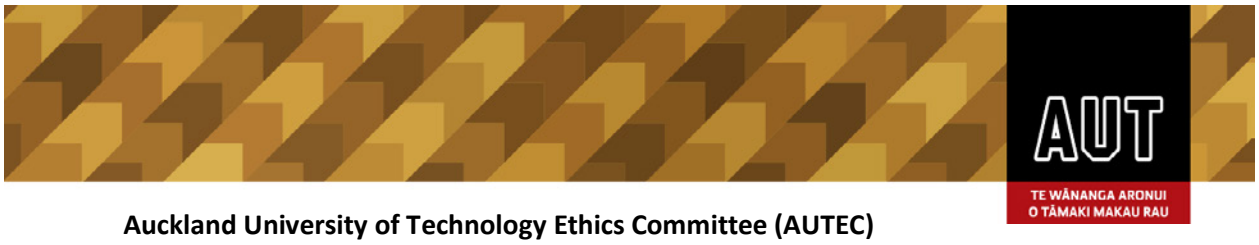

Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC)

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15 July 2020

Welby Ings
Faculty of Design and Creative Technologies

Dear Welby

Re Ethics Application: **20/146 Takatāpui Beyond Marginalisation: Contesting Gender Roles in Kapa haka**

Thank you for providing evidence as requested, which satisfies the points raised by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC).

Your ethics application has been approved for three years until 15 July 2023.

Standard Conditions of Approval

1. The research is to be undertaken in accordance with the Auckland University of Technology Code of Conduct for Research and as approved by AUTEC in this application.
2. A progress report is due annually on the anniversary of the approval date, using the EA2 form.
3. A final report is due at the expiration of the approval period, or, upon completion of project, using the EA3 form.
4. Any amendments to the project must be approved by AUTEC prior to being implemented. Amendments can be requested using the EA2 form.
5. Any serious or unexpected adverse events must be reported to AUTEC Secretariat as a matter of priority.
6. 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.
7. 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 and that all the dates on the documents are updated.

AUTEC grants ethical approval only. You are responsible for obtaining management approval for access for your research from any institution or organisation at which your research is being conducted and you need to meet all ethical, legal, public health, and locality obligations or requirements for the jurisdictions in which the research is being undertaken.

Please quote the application number and title on all future correspondence related to this project.

For any enquiries please contact ethics@aut.ac.nz. The forms mentioned above are available online through http://www.aut.ac.nz/research/researchethics

(This is a computer-generated letter for which no signature is required)

The AUTEC Secretariat
Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee

Cc: tangaroa.paora@aut.ac.nz; hinematau.mcneill@aut.ac.nz

APPENDIX 2: Transcribed interviews

INTERVIEW 2A: Gigi Pikinga
Interviewer: Tangaroa Paora
Location: Auckland University of Technology, Room WE 706, Auckland, Aotearoa
Date: December 10, 2021, 12:00pm
Time: 00:02:00 – 00:26:10
Recording device: Iphone 12pro
Transcribed by: Tangaroa Paora
Translation: Tangaroa Paora

Wāhanga Tuatahi (Introductory questions)

00:02:00 – Can you tell me your preferred name and iwi affiliation?
00:02:05 – My name given at birth is Geoffrey Koroki Pikinga. I don't mind being called Geoffrey, but I prefer to be called Gee or Gigi. It isn't a nickname assigned by myself, my whānau have called me Gee, Gigi, baby Gee, since I was a little and it is a handle that has followed me through life and it has stuck.

00:02:35 – Where were you born?
00:02:40 – I was born in the fabulous in Middlemore Hospital in Ōtāhuhu, girl. Where everyone is born. What does your passport say? Ha ha.

00:02:55 – Where did you grow up?
00:03:00 – I grew up in Bombay, in Pukekohe, which is in South Auckland, and at Taipa Beach, which is in Doubtless Bay.

00:03:20 – Can you describe your personality in three words?
00:03:30 – REAL. I want to say FEELING or FEEL because I feel a lot. I don't know if that makes sense ... CHANGING, changing, changing.

00:04:25 – What terms do you use to identify with?
00:04:35 – They/Them, Non-binary, He/Him, She/Her, That Bitch. Enough.

Takatāpuitanga Questions relating to Wāhanga Tuatoru

00:05:25 – Are there any words or terms that you use to describe your sexual orientation and gender?
00:05:32 – KEEN. That's a hard one, why is it a hard one?. I'm thinking, like, boy? No. Girl? No. Even the term non-binary itself, it starts with NON, and the NON is the annulment of something over another. So I kind of get it, but it doesn't feel all encapsulating of who I am, and that's the tricky part. I don't want to not acknowledge the masculine or the feminine, because they are both there and exist side by side. For me to choose one over the other does not make sense to me. Can they just not be varying expressions of who I am, and do I have to close one out in order to claim another? Non-binary doesn't seem to fit, it's like a pair of jeans that are not mine and I can sort of put them on, but they are not comfortable all the time. So it feels like I kinda got no pants on.

00:08:10 – Have you ever been involved in some kind of performance where you expressed your being, whether as a non-binary artist, or fashion icon?

00:08:45 – I think any space can be performative, and we can choose to share our most elevated version of ourselves in any space. Be it in a performance or not. Just to claim that I just exist in a performing space may perhaps indicate that me expressing a certain part of myself is performative, when really it's not. It is just being; the action of being and existing. Whether I am wearing false lashes or not.

00:09:40 – Can you tell us about your life at the time this happened?

00:09:45 – My life at this very time, I feel like I'm growing up a lot. I don't mean becoming more of an adult, but definitely growing and constantly only ever wanting to move in an upward direction. That's what I mean when I say, "I'm growing up." I'm not growing down and I'm not growing around in circles; I'm growing and only going up. Whatever I need to do to keep that momentum growing is where I need to put my energy into. Life throws so much at us.

Sometimes we feel that we can handle more than others, sometimes too much of a good and a bad thing, to the point where we find ourselves struggling to just be. I've chosen to only allow them to grow and shape me for the better, no matter what the experience, no matter what the expense to myself, spiritually, emotionally, physically, financially. I only ever want to take it as a growing experience. Giving me trajectory in an upward direction. Forward and not staying stuck. Or whatever.

00:11:50 – Did being Māori influence how or what you perform?

00:12:00 – Absolutely, it really did. When I was younger, I wanted it to be Kapa Haka. I really did, because all of my cousins and friends did it at home and at school. But it was in a time where roles were very gendered. I was specifically told that if it was something that I wanted to participate in, it was only going to be with the boys, in the boys' line. Not surprising, even thinking back to that time and even now, I was just as staunch then as a little kid. But as I am now I would not compromise. I would not take off my t-shirt, I would not slap my chest, I refuse to, so I abstained. Everyone, and I mean everyone went and I coloured in, went into the hall and they were practicing Kapa Haka and they were doing all the things I wanted to do, and I could hear the girls screaming out those notes and I thought to myself "I can sing better than you, gurl." I just coloured in, and lived an alternative version of a childhood. I'm not saying that I felt cast out, but what I felt was unacceptance at a very young age, and I was six and that stuck with me.

But what I love is, nowadays, it is a safe space for young takatāpui. It embraces them and how they wish to or choose to express themselves authentically, and I really do feel it is a beautiful thing. Am I angry about those experiences? Absolutely not, because they were a catalyst for me to create my own way of expressing myself. Perhaps, had I been

engulfed in all things Māori, I wouldn't have gotten to express myself through clothing and makeup, and dove into music and did a lot of my own self-directed learning. It was quite fun, so I don't feel less than, or that I missed out. I just experienced something different. It was character building.

00:15:40 – Are you aware of any historical accounts of same sex attraction or gender fluidity among your own people, in waiata, pūrākai or oriori?
00:16:10 – It's really funny when we talk about identity, because my introduction to how others viewed those who might identify similarly to me, the conversations I was privy to growing up was, "Oh yes, that's so and so's hoa! [friend] They're like that." Like it was such a taboo subject. Rather than, "Oh that's such and such's associate. Their pronouns are they/them. They are non-binary." It was like we were all heaped together under the pseudonym that that is what we were like and no one really openly discussed it. It was like kōrero tapetape [gossip/whisper/slander]. No one was willing to serve it up hot and actually have these discussions.

In my family it wasn't used against me in a mocking undertone at all; I was embraced by my family. If anything my sexuality or how my whānau would address me or address the kōrero around it was very tongue in cheek, very playful, I will say. It was insults covered in kind. We teased each other. I teased you about your ugly, big, black feet, and you teased me because I was a limp wristed girl. We loved each other and just got on as a whānau. I appreciated that, because even though mocking would suggest that my family might have thought less of me, that was never the case. It was "If I love you, I insult you." I love that my family were able to at least give me the 'know how' to look at sexuality and gender in a very sarcastic and witty way. They acknowledged me, but it was backhanded acknowledgement at times, and it was something I would do to them as well. This is something we have always practiced in our family. It was not like, let's cover them with a cotton ball because they're so fragile and the only one in our family. It was like, "We all got shit going on." Everyone's got their quirks and their character traits and yours are no different.

00:19:45 – Do you think that wairua and mauri are gendered?
00:20:10 – Maybe, I used to. I've grown not to so much now. Things that we would consider to be more feminine traits like kindness and caring, men carry those spirits too; and the things that we associated with being a more masculine spirit, like bravery, women express those things as well. They are all human emotions and the spirit will tell us exactly what the spirit is. Gendered they should never be. You cannot contain a spirit, it just is. Who would want to make a point of categorising something that should be left to just be? I disagree with that whole heartedly.

We should not gender spirits. What happens between the sheets, what happens in your soul and what happens when you go for a number one are all different things, and they

don't play into one another at all and we should stop thinking that they who are brave and hard and loyal and defensive in spirit are masculine, and all that are caring and warm and compassionate and empathetic in spirit are feminine traits, because one thing cannot exist without the other. If we tip the scales too much there is so much of an imbalance there, and that's where a lot of the problems actually stem from. Like misogynists claiming that men or boys who are warm, and all things that I find attractive. I don't know why there are some who choose to use such things to demasculinise others for simply being.

00:23:55 – Given that takatāpui have always been with us, what do you think our purpose is in society?
00:24:10 – First of all, takatāpui or not, the human experience should first and foremost be to live and let live, to exist and let others exist, to love and let love, no matter what. The takatāpui experience is to be able to forge our own path as we see fit, without fear of ever being told otherwise; to be the architects of our own life, of our own design and not to be placed in these confinements just because it makes it easier for others to understand us. Because in doing so we lose ourselves.

That needs to stop, people think that trying to enforce their understanding of us, upon us, can actually make us lose touch with who the heck we actually are. A lot of opinions or conversations that are had about us aren't even from us, so how can they actually have any weight? It's all visceral. I think what we are seeing now is an openness to hearing from us and our own stories. Hopefully, in doing so we enable others to tell their stories as well.

Interview ended at 00:26:10

INTERVIEW 2B (Gigi Pikinga)
Interviewer: Tangaroa Paora
Location: Zoom
Date: June 31, 2022, 5:00pm
Time: 00:02:30 - 00:30:05
Recording device: Apple Computer
Transcribed by: Tangaroa Paora
Translation: Tangaroa Paora

00:02:30 - How did the kaitahi make you feel?
00:02:36 – If it was a temperature it would be warm, if it were a colour it would be bright orange. I came away feeling nourished, considered, honoured, and loved upon. Very cradled and held in a beautiful regard. By form of conversation, kai and presence in listening actively. FEED, just yum. It was beautiful book, it honestly was. With every single person there, energy was so outstretched and all around encompassing the respect towards you and your mahi and in doing so the respect shown to us was, maybe not overwhelming, but beautifully-whelming.

00:04:47 – How did you feel during the photoshoot?
00:05:17 – I've done a few of those, not in the way that we did it, definitely without the narrative in which we were working from. I have done shoots before, so it was not my first time. But for the first time, I felt that

I was being looked upon professionally by everyone there, wanting to see what I had to bring. I wasn't seeing myself through the lens of Marcos, but got to see myself as myself, for the very first time. Without any consideration of who the stake holder was, the corporate endorsement was, what the purpose of it was. Just to be part of a kaupapa that was sitting deep within me, that was the first time I've had a professional photographer photograph me in that way, and I loved it. Thank you. I had never occupied space like that, like that. I was in the space of my own authenticity, and someone was there to capture it. I felt spoilt, so spoilt, and yeah ... thank you.

00:12:50 – Looking at the first set of photographs, what do they tell us about you and why?
00:12:55 – There is an ease, very relaxed I suppose and casual which is just what I like. There is still a warmth about it, I am hoping people can feel, but still a quiet strength there.

00:16:30 – Looking at the second of set photographs, what do they tell us about you now and why?
00:18:43 – Wow, well out of all the frames, this [Image 3] would be the one that shows most at ease of that version, that expression, that natural state of me. I am happy, I am me. So much but so very little. Unafraid, if that's a word.

00:23:40 – Is there a reason for not adorning yourself with taonga Māori?
00:23:55 – Because I am one, aye? I wear those for protection's sake, in a very big way. They help cleanse space for me, they help protect me wherever I am, and they help project me wherever I go. I suppose I felt, in that space that the safety provided, I was able to strip myself bare of all those things and just be.

00:25:05 – Why did you choose to do your own makeup?
00:25:15 – Because it could have been otherwise, and have other people come and do it for me. What I didn't want was a mistranslation, if that makes sense; at the end of the day if someone is adorning someone with makeup or clothes you still receiving a projection of their thoughts. In that moment, I wanted to wear enough but not too much. I have done a lot with makeup, but this moment made me feel like I wanted to use it as an enhancement tool but not to overtake that moment.

What was most important to me was, I have never had a space created like that for me before, I have never collaborated with you like this before, I haven't done something that aligns with kaupapa like this does, and I didn't want something I love, like makeup, to jar that message. When I look at these photos, I feel like it is enough, we are enough.

00:27:45 – What is identity?
00:28:10 – The right to self-determine, knowing that we all own the right to self-determine, we have it and should exercise it. It is who we are. So, the better we get in touch with what that is, or tap into the life-force form which that flows, then we

will be able to present ourselves in the most authentic way then, aye. For those of us who are really entrenched in the development of being nurtured and cradled in te ao Māori, it's all those things we identify with, it's the natural environment, and our natural being is our mauri, is our identity. Being aware of what influences who we are, and who we influence as well.

Interview ended at 00:30:05

INTERVIEW 3A: Whatitiri Te Wake
Interviewer: Tangaroa Paora
Location: Ngā Wai o Horotiu Marae – Auckland University of Technology
Date: June 17, 2022, 5:30pm
Time: 00:00:50 - 00:30:20
Recording device: Iphone 12pro
Transcribed by: Tangaroa Paora
Translation: Tangaroa Paora

Wāhanga Tuatahi (Introductory questions)

00:00:45 – Can you tell me your preferred name, and iwi affiliation?
00:00:55 – Whati is my name. Ko Whatitiri Te Wake tōku ingoa. My tribes are Te Rarawa ki Hokianga, and I will leave it there.

00:01:03 – Where were you born?
00:01:07 – I was born in Hokianga, in Rawene hospital.

00:01:11 – Where did you grow up?
00:01:03 – I grew up in Panguru, which is a tiny settlement in North Hokianga, specifically a little kāinga called Waihau.

00:01:24 – Can you describe your personality in three words?
00:01:45 – Māori, oh that's a hard question, because I want more words than three, but definitely Māori because that is kind of everything I am. Northern and what? And beautiful.

Questions relating to Wāhanga Tuarua (Kapa Haka)

00:02:25 – What has/is your involvement been with Kapa Haka?
00:02:35 – Kapa Haka has been quite a prominent part of my life growing up. I went to kōhanga reo and probably that is the earliest experience I have had with Kapa Haka, marae baby, pā baby, so in terms of waiata tawhito [traditional laments], waiata whakangahau [tribal songs], I definitely grew up on the marae with those elements of te ao haka.

Right through kura, I went to an area school, which is a composite school which is Year One to Year Thirteen, and so Kapa Haka was quite prominent aspect of everyday schooling life. We were not a Kura Kaupapa Māori, we were a state school full of Māori, therefore the Māori culture was the prominent part in academia. My involvement in Kapa Haka came to fruition as early as I can remember. Eight! When I was eight years old my parents were in a senior Kapa Haka group that participated in the regional [Kapa Haka competition] and did go to what is now known as Te Matatini. My role in that was to support my mum, and that is quite an interesting story actually. My mum wasn't the best at poi but she had the heart and the commitment. So my role as a baby, as a child, was to go to the wānanga [training practices] and to learn everything, to learn the items and then I would become Mum's homework. We would go home and reteach her or go through the poi, because I would learn the poi before all my aunties, and then I would teach my mum and some of my aunties.

After that, I took a more leadership role in haka when I was about twelve or thirteen. Me and my friends would compose waiata, because it was something fun for us to do. A lot of the items that me and my friends would compose would often be items that would be used by the senior Kapa Haka group that would represent our kura at things like the Tai Tokerau Festival or in competition. So I had a passion for composition, but then at fifteen or sixteen, I took on more of a role in tutoring, and it was kind of odd because I am telling my older pakeke [adults], tuakana [peers] and tuahine [girlfriends] what to do when I was given that role. Everything from choreography, actions, lyrics, musical elements, and just a very heavy participation with Kapa Haka at school. In terms of performance, I was not a performer and I never performed with the exception of one performance, but it all ended at school. I still have a passion for it, still love it, still a fan, still can appreciate excellence and contemporary aspects, and admire the skills and what groups come up with. An avid follower.

00:04:40 – Do you see any practices or values that challenge conventions in Kapa Haka?
00:05:00 – From a traditional point of view and also understanding that Kapa Haka itself is still an evolutionary element to the Māori culture, it has only been a known thing in the last 40 years, truly in the form that we know it to be now. Conventionally, Kapa Haka has demarcated male and female gender roles, and those genders occupy particular elements of a Kapa Haka performance or ways of performing Kapa Haka. I would say in the last five years, properly seeing a change, or having mainly men and takatāpui men challenging those notions and conventions, and in the last two years we have had female or whakawahine/whakatāne challenge those conventions more openly within Kapa Haka and competition.

00:06:15 – Have you performed or seen roles in Kapa Haka that are not conventionally male or female?
00:06:40 – Growing up in Hokianga, very Catholic, the nucleus way in which people represented themselves was quite reserved and just having that strong Christian background, and so in terms of challenging the norm, I did not really see that much in the ranks or through groups, even in a wider Te Tai Tokerau context as well. It was not probably until I left Te Tai Tokerau and moved to Tāmaki Makaurau that I participated in groups that challenged the norms, I suppose, in terms of who could stand where in the kaihaka lines and who did what.

My early memories are watching the national competition which is now Te Matatini, watching videos and seeing some kaihaka specifically in women's lines whose gender was ambiguous, as like ... hmmm ... He wahine tērā? Pēnā he wahine I whānau mai ki te ao, wahine. They were all pātai [questionin)], and these were women who performed for groups such as Te Rautahi, one of the groups who fostered and nurtured that, and that was probably the earliest experience with challenging the norm. As an adult, I joined a group in Tāmaki, that

was the epitome of that as well. Ahakoa Te Aha was a Kapa Haka group mainly for takatāpui and allies in Tāmaki Makaurau. It was beautiful to see all the trans aunties in the earlier days of that Kapa Haka group, a lot of the trans aunties taking a leadership role in that, because they were the keepers of that knowledge and I am not just talking about how to perform poi, I am talking about ngā kōrero tuku iho [ancestral knowledge] a ngā tūpuna, te reo Māori, which to me felt normal. So if it is something that challenges the norm, then I did not feel that what the group stood for, or the people inside the group were challenging the norm, because it felt normal. That was one thing about that Kapa Haka group. He momo pahupahu tēnā [That was a bit of waffl)].

00:09:20 – Do you see gender roles in Kapa Haka as separate or can they be fluid?

00:09:25 – I would like to say that Kapa Haka has evolved immensely over the years, and being an avid follower from the early nineties to the Kapa Haka that we see now, e kitea ana i te momo hanumitanga o ngā ira [we see the mix of gender roles]. Do I like it? Sometimes I do, I have an example, I am not name calling or throwing shade but I loved Rangiwewehi growing up, because I felt like Rangiwewehi were the American beauty pageant of Kapa Haka, where they would wear red lipstick and pearl earrings, I would think, that is so pretty. In a Rangiwewehi context, they would perform for tourists and they were quite proud of that kind of world for haka. So throughout history, Rangiwewehi would be known for their style, and in modern times, that's probably because of changes in leadership or sticking to the themes or trends that haka groups tend to adopt. They become quite masculine and women were very fierce and displayed that real toa taua, fighting for my land against the red coat, with the shaking of the head that can be quite masculine.

I can be on the fence with it, because despite the early Rangiwewehi style of being like a pageant and stuff, I suppose with decolonising ourselves, acknowledging and accepting our truth which is recognising the land wars, the trauma that Māori experienced often did involve a more masculine-type style, when you are trying to protect your pā from invasion, and I can see why groups go down that path. Now to me that is binary, initially they were quite lady-like in pageants, and now they are more fierce and really exuding that [masculinity], I do not want to even say that taha tāne, or wairuatanga, because that is to deny a woman's masculinity, understanding that [she] possesses both.

00:12:15 – Are you aware of any historical accounts of same sex attraction or gender fluidity, either in Kapa Haka, pūrākau, oriori, or waiata?

00:12:25 – There is not an immediate example that comes to mind, and that is probably a biproduct of colonisation, and the whitening out of our stories and narrative, and the Christianisation of our whakapapa and kōrero tukuiho. In terms of gender fluidity and same sex narratives within Kapa Haka, there aren't any that come to mind.

But this comes back to my previous comment around us reclaiming our kōrero tukuiho, and in a modern context those stories are starting to come out again.

In my professional mahi, many people have their own stories around whakairo, such as Elizabeth Kerekere refering to a pou whakairo, in her wharekai on the East Coast, of a non-binary tupuna who, through the whakairo and depiction, you can see they possessed sexual characteristics that were ambiguous. Despite me not having immediate examples, I know throughout te ao Māori there are others. In Kapa Haka, not so much. I don't really see it, and think there is a lot of work to be done in that space to pull down those barriers and to not be shy around our kōrero tukuiho. If we think of the story from where the term takatāpui derived from, the story of Tutānekai and Tiki. Now that's a story [where] we don't see the iwi of Te Arawa coming to the fore and saying, these are our tūpuna. It is not to say that they deny that part of their history, I know of Te Ururoa Flavell, who was quite open and honest around that narrative of that tupuna of his. They are there, it is a journey in order for us to be free and to express that.

00:14:45 – Do you see wairua and mauri as gendered (considered male or female) or non-gendered?

00:14:50 – No, I don't see wairua as gendered, I feel like we are more than gender. I feel gender is just a tiny expression of who we are in our entire being. I feel that ira tangata, being on Papatūānuku, our human form, is not having the experience, it is our wairua that experiences life and our tinana is the waka kawe (vessel). Wairua, I feel, is infinite, and to put wairua down to gender? I can see the interconnectedness of it all but I feel like we are so much more. If we think of Hokianga, we think of the awa and it has wairua, and I connect to that body of water and to the whenua, which again is another aspect of who I am. Gender does come into that, but to sort of align gender with wairua isn't just situated in gender. Wairua is in the wind that blows and the trees that stand on my whenua and the sand that my tūpuna walked on is now the sand I walk on as well. Wairua is beautiful and so vast that we cannot quite get our heads around it.

Questions relating to Wāhanga Tuatoru (Takatāpuitanga)

00:17:05 – Are there any words or terms that you use to describe your sexual orientation and gender?

00:17:15 – Takatāpui was the umbrella term that I felt comfortable using in terms of my sexuality. In terms of my gender, he tāne ahau, he tāne Māori, nō Hokianga. I love the concept with pronouns, because I have friends who use their hapū as their pronouns and I love that. I can see that is a Māori term that describes who I am, hakoa [regardless] tāne mai, wahine mai, ira herekore mai. So if I was to choose words in terms of my gender identity, takatāpui, which to me is a spectrum. So today I could be wearing red bands gumboots, and tomorrow lipstick, and that is fine and I love it.

00:18:25 – Have you ever been involved in some kind of performance where you expressed your gayness or the state of fluidity?
00:18:28 – No! And this is probably one thing I feel, truthfully ripped off in a sense that, society ... hmmm that's the ruku aye. That's me wanting to freely express myself i tea o haka, I wasn't able to authentically express that because it wasn't accepted, and what I am trying to say, I don't feel at home being in the boys' rows of haka. There are times where I have done, and I have found home in those lines, but it will never be home. Home to me is probably doing exactly what you do, and that is why I feel so proud to be a part of a generational experience where that's been normalised. Where I am not being treated as something odd or different.

In terms of my performance, of course I grew up in kōhanga reo and primary wanting to perform with my girl cousins, wearing a pari (bodice). I mean, I was a better performer than all of them and I say that with absolute humility in my heart because I love them and the thing is they will all agree with me as well. Yet there was no opportunity to ever explore that, and because of that I feel like that was something taken away from me. For the takatāpui experience who is tāne, I am not a trans woman and I respect my trans sisters and aunties who paved that way, who pushed the boundary in order to be accepted to stand in the row that they felt most comfortable in, as a tāne I was never afforded that opportunity nor was that space cleared for me.

As I reflect, I am not victimising myself either, I am just simply a product of my environment and I would like to hope that the world is changing, not in terms of world we live in now, but the journey back to old ways of understanding in the time of being in your own mana, not mana tāne, not mana wahine, but mana Māori. I feel there is a shift and I am for it and all about it.

00:21:20 – Can you tell us about your life at the time this happened?
00:21:25 – I live in Wellington, Te Ūpoko o te Ika, and I am from Te Hiku o te Ika, so immediately I am feeling a bit disconnected from my kāinga, because distance is kind of the inhibitor. Living in Pōneke, I love my life. I am a political reporter in [the] Press Gallery for Whakaata Māori, and I feel honoured to be doing the mahi that I do, and to be involved with the most powerful people of the country every day and holding them to account on any issues, whether it be about land, te reo Māori, the rights of LGBTQI+ community, and a bit of a cog in the linked chain that fights for change. We are all out here for change, but mine looks a little bit different in the sense that my role, I feel, is to go through government policy and legislation and find the holes specifically for Māori and to challenge the powers that be about it. I am honoured that my intersectionality comes into play. I am not just Māori, I am takatāpui, from the North, and all those things come into my mahi.
I love living in Wellington; it is such a progressive city. You can walk down Courtney Place in a rubbish bag and your

flowers will be given to you, meaning people are here for it. That isn't to say there isn't homophobia and transphobia, racism ... it is everywhere. I feel like it is a freeing city, and I [am] not even conscious that I am a gay, takatāpui man in Pōneke, because my identity, even as a man who wears facial moko, I am not different; I am just one of the many colours of Pōneke. But my ngākau will always be Hokianga, with my whānau, I was however not one to conform to the normal way of living or what was expected of you as a kāinga kid. I am nosy like my tupuna Kupe. He was a great navigator who explored the great breath of the Pacific ocean and as one of humanity's greatest navigators, although the white man will never admit it, because they could never navigate their way through the biggest body of water in the world. I am in a good space in my life, with friends, whānau, mahi, and just loving it.

00:24:50 – Did being Māori influence how you perform?

00:24:56 – It is my refuge, my salvation and one thing I don't struggle with is I am so glad that I am Māori and I would be really sad if I had to be Pākehā in this life, because I feel like, when society ostracised, judged, and ridiculed the LGBTQI+ community—I think I am so lucky that I am Māori because I am more than just my sexuality and gender identity, and in a te ao Māori view that has reinforced, 'he uri koe, nā mea, nā mea,' 'ko koe te tamaiti a mea, a mea,' 'he raukura koe o taua kura,' 'he kaimanaki koe o taua marae.'[101] You are more than just who you sleep with, or how you express your gender, so te ao Māori was the key for me to be ok with who I was. I feel like my parents, my community, my village really instilled that in me. "Yesss that's our special baby, leave him alone don't anyone say otherwise too," "Hoooh look at that one swinging the poi," and those were conversations I remember hearing as a child from my nannies.

I feel like despite the intentions of colonisation, the reo survived, barely, and is still in a risky situation, our tikanga around tangihanga and tikanga on a marae, and so aspects of our culture still survived. Christianity had a lot to do with my story and even though many were committed to the teachings of the holy word, our people were still steadfast to our core values and tika, pono, and aroha. I'm thirty three and really grateful to be Māori because had I not been, my story may have been different.

00:28:10 – Do you think that takatāpui have always been with us? If so, what do you think is our purpose in society?

00:28:15 – Collectively as takatāpui, our role needs to be to live life to the fullest and the best way we can, so that we can be points of reference for future takatāpui, to be everywhere and occupying spaces from the top down. That's not to measure success in money or undertakings, because to me what our takatāpui do on the pā is on

101 These phrases describe a reference to an individual that is non-gender specific. Te reo Māori in its nature prefers genderless pronouns or terms of reference when describing or identifying someone.

another plethora of value and honour in what takatāpui do in those spaces. Being Māori we like to be about the collective, so for our takatāpui it is to be visible in all spaces so that our babies get to see themselves reflected in all aspects. There is always an opportunity to do more.

Mō te ao takatāpui, mō te ao Māori [for takatāpui, for Māori], that is something we have to do. To be unapologetic, kei reira pea te oranga [it is in this, that we find eternal peace].

INTERVIEW 3B: Whatitiri Te Wake
Interviewer: Tangaroa Paora
Location: Zoom
Date: June 31, 2022, 5:00pm
Time: 00:00:50 - 00:16:05
Recording device: Apple Computer
Transcribed by: Tangaroa Paora
Translation: Tangaroa Paora
00:00:50 - How did the kaitahi make you feel?
00:00:55 – I think the kaitahi was awesome, and important too, in the sense when we embark on sharing these sorts of kōrero and talking identity, it is key to come together in a bit of an informal and 'no stress' space for us, and kai does that. Culturally, kai is to whakanoa i te kaupapa [to lift the tapu] and so that we are settled, and I felt settled. Getting to meet the people who were involved in the project instead of being overwhelmed in meeting and getting to know people on the day of the said kaupapa. It is nice to just come together, share kai, chill, and get to know each other. It is the 101 of te ao Māori and I think it is important and in this kaupapa was really beneficial, in the sense that as participants we got a feel for each other and reconnecting and getting to know kaimahi at AUT. It was just a really nice way to come together. It was nice to start the kaupapa off in that way, i raro i ngā mataapono o te ao Māori me ngā tikanga. Ahakoa i noho ōpaki, i ōkawa te kawe [under the values and principles of te ao Māori, we were able to carry out customary practices in an informal space].

00:02:40 – How did you feel during the photoshoot?
00:02:46 – I felt great, settled and easy. It was brilliant kaupapa to be part of, a kaupapa ora. The opportunity to be expressive in terms of who I am. I enjoyed the two-part photoshoot, in the sense that there are many faces to us, and we represent so much, so the opportunity was interesting and fun. I felt safe, because that is really important. Overall, it was a great day just to be in a creative space, and I felt settled and safe. To be in this space was intimidating because our expression of self tends to be weaponised against us, but I think the photographer did really well and made it a priority to ensure that I felt comfortable and able to be free. That shows in these photos.

00:05:35 - Looking at the first set of photographs, what do they tell us about you and why?
00:05:55 – It looks fun. I look like I am comfortable in the way that I express myself. There are some instances that are still quite

reserved. One of them shows my barriers are up, and that I find interesting, although there are other images, I feel, that show the opposite. I like the expression on my face in this one [Image 3], it Is neither a smile nor a frown for me, but in the middle, this is my favourite. I look happy there. In terms of what I'm wearing, it is who I am, it's not that it's not normal; I like the composition of what I am wearing, I felt comfortable because it showed who I am.

00:09:30 – Looking at the second set of photographs, what do they tell us about you now and why?
00:10:25 – I would like people to think that these images show someone that is confident and is carefree, still expressive and fun. I really like these images. Some might say proud.

00:13:20 – Is there a reason for not adorning yourself with taonga Māori?
00:13:25 – Nope, there is no reason. If anything, I feel like I adorn my taonga Māori every day. There is no particular reason; when I feel compelled to, I will. Sometimes in my work I will remember to wear my heitiki [carved greenstone], and I love my heitiki. Then there are times when I think, 'No, I'm good.' If anything, I wear the most prominent taonga Māori on my face. Maybe there wasn't a need for me to wear it, but there is no real reason for me to not wear taonga.

00:14:40 – What is identity?
00:14:46 – It is the way in which one expresses themselves. Now, when I think of the word identity, I think of intersectionality. It is who you are and the many intersections that kind [of] make up who we are ... who I am. So, for me, identity is not layered, it is nuanced, it also is made up of many things, cultural identity, self-identity, and even environmental for me. Depending on who I am with, where I am, and it's just multi-faceted. It is made up of a whole lot of things.

Interview ended at 00:16:05

INTERVIEW 4A: Peter Tumata
Interviewer: Tangaroa Paora
Location: Ngā Wai o Horotiu Marae – Auckland University of Technology
Date: June 17, 2022, 6:30pm
Time: 00:00:50 - 00:26:40
Recording device: Iphone 12pro
Transcribed by: Tangaroa Paora
Translation: Tangaroa Paora

Wāhanga Tuatahi (Introductory questions)

00:00:45 – Can you tell me your preferred name and iwi affiliation?
00:00:55 – My full name is Peter Joseph Basil Tumata, and I descend from my tūpuna of Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Hine, Waikato, and Ngāti Whātua.

00:01:03 – Where were you born?
00:01:07 – I was born in the maternity ward in Bay of Islands hospital, which is located in Kawakawa.

00:01:11 – Where did you grow up?
00:01:03 – I grew up in Kaikohe but also in Tuakau, Port Waikato, and Kaitaia.

00:01:24 – Can you describe your personality in three words?
00:01:45 – Cultured, Direct and Compassionate.

Questions relating to Wāhanga Tuarua (Kapa Haka)

00:02:25 – What has/is your involvement been with Kapa Haka?
00:02:35 – My passion for Kapa Haka started at primary school, we did not have bilingual units back then but our teachers, I will use this analogy of a rakuraku (guitar), they were very Pākehā strummers and taught songs that were of that level, meaning primary school. My passion grew from that, because I was denied the part of soloist because I was a boy, and I wanted to hit the soprano note. So my passion for Kapa Haka grew from that, and I had to prove a point. Then I went to intermediate and joined the Kapa Haka roopu there, and I had two Waikato uncles of mine who were tutoring the kapa. You could imagine I was a bit of a flower in the thorn bush of the Kapa Haka roopu. That roopu took me to Tūrangawaewae Marae for Kapa Haka on my Waikato side, and from there my cup just kept getting filled bit by bit. I then got to college and did not join Northland College Kapa Haka at that time because Uncle Johnny was the tutor at that time and just thought, NOPE! So I did not do any haka while there, it was not until I moved from there and went back to my dad's side in Tuakau and we had this beautiful wahine Māori as our Māori teacher and she taught us waiata from Waikato, and that peaked my passion for Kapa Haka again, but we did not perform anywhere while at Tuakau College, but we did practice Kapa Haka and enjoyed a song or two. Then I moved to Kaitaia, and there my passion for Kapa Haka truly flourished kia puawai [to flourish and grow]. I was fortunate to be living with the tutor for Kaitaia College but also being more immersed in te ao Māori because of that. I became a co-tutor of the college and became

the guitarist on the national stage, and it was the first time in years since Kaitaia College qualified for nationals, and I never forget the regional performance that I actually performed and we came third at Tai Tokerau regionals and then followed on to perform in Te Arawa for Nationals. That feeling of being connected to my people was just something you cannot describe to someone who has never felt that. After I left college, I tutored Te Kura Tuatahi o Kaitaia, our little pēpī [infant child] of our primary school, and that was interesting as well, because that was a different type of challenge as a tutor, because you are teaching children who have never been exposed to Kapa Haka and that is where my journey started to finish. I then moved to Pōneke and started to get involved with my Aunty Gillian and her haka roopu, which is Ngā Tāonga Mai Tawhiti, and I realised actually I need this, I need to reconnect somehow and at that time I was working in the funeral industry, and that is really disconnected to te ao Kapa Haka. That is me, ha ha.

00:06:40 – Have you yourself performed or seen roles in Kapa Haka that are not conventionally male or female?

00:07:05 – I have seen and been part of a Kapa Haka roopu that was not at all competitive, but we did travel around and perform ngahau (entertain) and things like that, but if you know the North and you know we have quite a few trans in the north, and they are tūturu ki te ao Māori [committed to the nature of being Māori] and have that passion for te ao Māori. We have one of our sisters, Matiu Weri, who was very much involved with Kapa Haka and with our college. Weri's passion was so much so that they would challenge the males in haka as a man and then challenge the women in haka as wahine, and that was very unique to see and it made the environment of that kapa to be so safe and open for me, because the tāne had respect for Weri and so did the wāhine, and for me to see that as a takatāpui not being out, it was inspiring, it made me see I did not have to conform to the gender normalities of everyone else, and could freely express my takatāpuitanga in those settings. So yes, I have seen it. Is it common? No. But the beautiful thing about tikanga, and it does stem from that, today we see that tikanga is malleable and that it can change with time. Those are the discussions that are taking place and need to take place. With that analogy of looking to the past to guide the future, if we look back far enough we would find that we existed.

00:09:50 – Do you see gender roles in Kapa Haka as separate or can they be fluid?

00:10:00 – In Kapa Haka, it is a new thing, it was formed from colonisation and that is something our people forget. The art of performance is not a new concept for our people. Placing it in the category of performance or Kapa Haka, there is another tikanga associated to that, so I would imagine as I don't have evidence, only stories, but if you were whakawahine or trans you would be able to stand in a row of wahine, or if hakatāne then you could stand in the row of tāne, kāore e kore [there is no doubting

it], most of our tupuna wahine were butch wahine, and fought in wars, Ko Hine-a-maru tērā, a woman who led her people and that time would have been seen as the role of a man.

00:11:35 – Are you aware of any historical accounts of same sex attraction or gender fluidity, either in Kapa Haka, pūrākau, oriori, or waiata?

00:12:25 – In same sex attraction, kāore [no]. My first interaction with stories of same sex attraction was the Tutānekai and Tiki kōrero, and we all know that that is because of colonisation. I have heard of whispers from the nannies and koros, having little cups of tea and me probing to see if that it is all right to be gay, all right to be takatāpui. "Did you know any of our tūpuna who might have been?" and they would say "Oh, yeah there might have been stories..." but no! it was always sort of pushed to the back, so unfortunately those stories were lost.

00:12:58 – Do you see wairua and mauri as gendered (male or female) or non-gendered?

00:13:05 – That made me have a deep haerenga [journey], that pātai [question]. Because the answer is no, but the explanation of the answer, I need to get to. I guess with kupu Māori, or āhuatanga Māori [way of being] you can never translate that kupu [term] into a Pākehā language, because with the Pākehā language you cannot have feeling attached to the kupu. So if I say wairua to Whati, then he would know that wairua has a feel inside that is brought out when you hear that word, and the sense of a deeper connection to that kupu or āhuatanga [aspect]. So yes, wairuatanga is not gendered, although in the past, using it in a context of someone embodying the characteristics of a wahine or of a tāne. When we think of it, our tūpuna were very much the embodiment of our atua Māori and never the embodiment of the sexes. If I use my aunty in her haka, you can sense the anger and ferocity in her, but I would reference it as "E whakatinanahia ana e ia i te āhuatanga o Tumatauenga" [she embodies the nature and being of Tumatauenga, god of war] not he āhuatanga tāne, wairua tāne tāna. We all embody different characteristics of our atua and that is well known with our people in te ao Māori. Again, Christianity has made us see only two sides of the story and certain characteristics are only embodied by a certain sex.

Questions relating to Wāhanga Tuatoru (Takatāpuitanga)

00:15:45 – Are there any words or terms that you use to describe your sexual orientation and gender?

00:15:50 – I will be honest, I never used to identify as takatāpui. Because to me I was normal in my own head, I felt like if I said I was gay or takatāpui, I would be pushed to the side or put in a box. The beautiful thing was my mum allowed me to be me, and said "You are you and no one else." No one can define you. So when people ask or say the words, "Are you gay or what is your sexual orientation?" I say, I like the aspects of tāne. It is hard for me to say gay, so I prefer takatāpui, because it does embody what I feel, it does

explain the characteristics that I embody. However I am yet to find what I identify with in terms of my sexuality, but first and foremost I am Māori. I do not mean it as to identify my ethnicity as Māori, but referring to identify as māori, meaning natural, the natural state of being.

00:18:50 – Have you ever been involved in some kind of performance where you expressed being Māori, being you?
00:18:30 – Everyday, ha ha. I hold myself in a certain way in public, it is not to say it is not me, but [I] choose to hold myself in a particular way because I want to show that you do not have to be this way all the time. You can change and move as you feel because that is your safety. If I was to go into a hui, I would not be the Peter happy and smiley you see every day back home, or the nurturing Peter who naturally feels the need to take care of the person or people he is talking to. The hui is for a purpose, and I have to fulfil that purpose, so therefore I will change my personality, and that is a beauty of takatāpui, is we can shift and change as we feel right. That is something that is recorded, is the use of our takatāpui to navigate spaces with whānau, hapū, and being peace makers.

00:20:40 – Can you tell us about your life at the time this happened?
00:20:50 – I am currently doing a lot of voluntary work but my main mahi is working for Te Runanga o Ngāti Whātua, in the health branch, which is Te Hā Oranga, and my role is currently the Senior Advisor for the Department of Corrections as well as the Māori Cultural Advisor for Puawaitahi, the child abuse agency; and we have involvement with the Police Force and Oranga Tamariki. In my voluntary mahi for the iwi, I am a part time Cultural Advisor for Waitematā Police, and also an Advisor to Green As Starship, which is focused on building Starship Hospital to becoming sustainable. I also hold wānanga with whānau around te ao Māori, our whānau and community.

00:23:25 – Do you think that takatāpui have always been with us? If so, what do you think is our purpose in society?
00:28:15 – Oh that is a hard one. Our purpose in society, I think I touched on before, our ability to traverse across different spaces and our ability to embody many atua characteristics allows us to fulfil roles within society to its fullest potential. I believe that as it sits with me right now, and we have many roles we can fulfil and I hope our people (te ao Māori) can see and allow us to do. They understand that we can fulfil many roles but to actually decide which it is. It is funny, because I hold a role within iwi, political spaces that I would never imagine, being a young takatāpui who grew up in Kaikohe, that I would be able to reach those heights. It wasn't until I was comfortable being who I am, and was able to bloom and realised I was amazing, and say to myself 'I am good at this.'

Interview ended at 00:26:40

INTERVIEW 4B: Peter Tumata
Interviewer: Tangaroa Paora
Location: Zoom
Date: 31st June 2022, 4:00pm
Time: 00:00:45 - 00:19:05
Recording device: Apple Computer
Transcribed by: Tangaroa Paora
Translation: Tangaroa Paora

00:00:45 - How did the kaitahi make you feel?

00:00:50 – Important. I felt important, which was beautiful to feel, in such a space with such greatness in the same room, and felt very included. Just beautiful.

00:01:55 – How did you feel during the photoshoot?

00:01:59 – I felt awkward at first, because I had never done a photoshoot ever before in my life and so that was a 'me' thing. But what was great was having reassurance from you and Marcos. He was really awesome because he was throwing positive affirmations my way. Two weeks later, I realised I could have done 'this', or tried 'that'. I loved that we had our own space to chill. My brain was thinking we had to be all in one space at one time, but it was great to have a break room to be able to be ourselves and it flowed really well and felt comfortable. Oh and the kai [feast] was beautiful. Team was great, no raru [issue] from me ... just my Uber dropping me off at the wrong place and my phone going flat, but that was a 'me' problem.

00:08:25 - Looking at the first set of photographs, what do these tell us about you and why?

00:08:35 – I am many things, and you cannot tell what I am unless you get to know me. It is very much, don't judge a book by its cover, but then you get to know me and see the beautiful side of me with the ngākau [heart] that dwells within. I am, at first glance, got my walls up, and it is your job as the person who wants to know me to bring them down.

00:15:05 – Looking at the second set of photographs, what do these tell us about you now and why?

00:15:10 – I had to dig deep to do that one. It would be surprising because others would have this preconceived whakaaro [idea] that Peter is a confident person, because I am in my mahi, or in conversation. But with the spotlight on me, I can become very frozen in time. The continuous reassurance but also the affirmations around what the kaupapa was, was important. I was encouraged to ask myself, 'Well who are you, and what you stand for, what is it you want people to know?'

00:17:45 - What is identity?

00:17:55 – Identity is a concept that nobody else can grasp but yourself, because it is yours. I can identify as a peach, no one can tell me I cannot, it is my right. It reminds of a conversation around being asked why I identify as Māori and not New Zealand European, because I don't judge based on percentage, I judge things on feeling, and I feel Māori on the inside because of DNA,

but also my upbringing; I feel closer to my ao Māori then I do in my Pākehā side. Identity is something only I can place, my identity.

Interview ended at 00:19:05

INTERVIEW 5A: Aniwa Koloamatangi
Interviewer: Tangaroa Paora
Location: Ngā Wai o Horotiu Marae – Auckland University of Technology
Date: June 18, 2022, 11:00am
Time: 00:00:05 - 00:12:23
Recording device: Iphone 12pro
Transcribed by: Tangaroa Paora
Translation: Tangaroa Paora.

Wāhanga Tuatahi (Introductory questions)

00:00:05 – Can you tell me your preferred name and iwi affiliation?
00:00:20 – I am Aniwa Laumalie Whaiapu Koloamatangi, he uri tēnei nō Te Rarawa, Te Aupouri, nō Waikato Tainui anō hoki, and on my dad's side I am from Tonga.

00:00:25 – Where were you born?
00:00:27 – I was born in Tāmaki Makaurau in Manurewa, South side, the hood ya know. Actually in my house in Manurewa, on a Tongan whāriki on the floor.

00:00:38 – Where did you grow up?
00:00:40 – I grew up in Manurewa as well, actually all of my family are pretty much in Manurewa and that was my kāingatahi [homestead] for my start of life.

00:00:55 – Can you describe your personality in three words?
00:01:05 – Oh ok, I reckon, LOUD, I like this question, there are so many words coming to me and thinking what one do I use. Loud, Liked, and Powerful.

Questions relating to Wāhanga Tuarua (Kapa Haka)

00:01:55 – What has/is your involvement been with Kapa Haka?
00:02:00 – When I was at primary school, that was my proper introduction to Kapa Haka, apart from watching my nannies on the marae, doing the waiata tautoko and that. My whānau was not heavily involved in Kapa Haka, it was more just marae based momo mea [type of thing]. So primary was my introduction and to be honest I did not really like it and thought, 'Nah, that is not for me'. I used to see how my sisters would train at kura and thought, 'Naaaah, that is not for me, I don't want that.' Then, when I got to intermediate and went to Te Kura Takawaenga o Kōwhai, and there the environment for Kapa Haka was just more supportive and nurturing and I really liked it. So tipu ake te kaingākau mō te Kapa Haka i reira [so my love and passion for Kapa Haka grew from that point onwards]. Once I got to high school, I really started to ruku hohonu ki ngā mahi haka [delve into Māori performing arts] which was with Ngā Puna o Waiorea [Western Springs College] and it was just a huge mihi to Tuhoe Tamaiparea and Pere Wihongi, because that was a safe space there, it was amazing. Then started tutoring straight after high school for Waiorea, and then joined Angitū.

00:03:45 – Have you yourself performed, or seen roles in Kapa Haka that are not conventionally male or female?

00:03:40 – Yes I have, I have had the pleasure of performing poi on stage in 2015 in my Year 10, living my absolute best life on that stage, and that was the first time I really felt like there was a boundary being pushed like this, and thinking I have never seen this sort of stuff before, that is so cool that as a kura allowing us to be little gay boys on stage. Other than that, you might go back to the marae and see the cuzzy who is a whakawahine or whakatāne and they are just living their life, and in the lines they went with their cousins, and you just say 'Yeeeeees Get It!'

00:04:50 – Do you see gender roles in Kapa Haka as separate or can they be fluid?
00:05:00 – I absolutely think they can be fluid, to be honest. I think there are many pakiwaitara [narratives] in our hītori [histories] about gender fluid roles.

00:05:15 – Are you aware of any historical accounts of same sex attraction or gender fluidity, either in Kapa Haka, pūrākau, oriori, or waiata?
00:05:20 – I think there has been hītori that was forgotten, not erased but forgotten, that talks about the fluidity of our gender. I have heard of Irarere who tap into te ao tāne and te ao wahine, and there is a lot of history that we can tap into that allows us to be like that on stage.

00:06:00 – Do you see wairua and mauri as gendered, or considered male or female or non-gendered?00:06:10 – I personally don't see it as gendered, just because, that is the ia o te tangata [the being of a person], like, despite the gender, it is the core of who you are. It does not matter what gender or sexuality you are, it is your mauri and wairua.

Questions relating to Wāhanga Tuatoru (Takatāpuitanga)

00:06:45 – Are there any words or terms that you use to describe your sexual orientation and gender?
00:06:57 – I think I really affiliate with takatāpui, but I am also like, I don't even care girl. Call me what you want, as long you are calling me.

00:07:15 – Have you ever been involved in some kind of performance where you expressed your takatāpuitanga, being Aniwa?
00:07:25 – Yes, in my mahi I got to do these scenes, for the last season of the show I got to be in full geesh, in full drag and that was really cool. Ahakoa [although] I was playing a character, I felt like that was who I am as Aniwa, so felt very grounded in that and those scenes, and it was very cool.

00:07:55 – Can you tell us about your life at the time this happened?
00:08:05 – I am just currently working at the moment, and just moved into our new flat, so being a big girl, first time moving away from my parents. But yes just working, and really into drag and makeup at the moment and quite passionate about wanting to hone in on that, skill wise. Other than that, just being a little fag around these streets.

00:08:40 – Did being Māori influence how you perform?
00:08:55 – Definitely, it is my grounding, that is who I am, I am Māori before anything else. It influences in the sense that it always keeps me grounded, and wherever I go in the world I always carry that Māori perspective and thinking with me. Every day when you wake up.

00:10:10 – Do you think that takatāpui have always been with us? If so, what do you think is our purpose in society?
00:10:15 – I love that, I think our purpose is to teach and to love. At the core, ko te mea nui ko te aroha i ngā wā katoa [the most important thing is aroha at all times]. There's so much to teach, there is so much knowledge that we hold and the many experiences that we go through where we are able to educate a whole lot of people. It is just us being us, that right there is an akoranga [lesson] for the world about broadening their minds, and thinking in a different perspective, walking in a different world that does not need to be the way it is right now.

00:11:20 – Do you have any words to add to this?
00:12:00 – Just keeping do you, and take your time girl. No need to rush or figure it out right now, it will come to you eventually, and let it flow and do you.

Interview ended at 00:12:23
INTERVIEW 5B: Aniwa Koloamatangi
Interviewer: Tangaroa Paora
Location: Ngā Wai o Horotiu Marae – Auckland University of Technology
Date: 18th June 2022, 11:00am
Time: 00:00:05 - 00:12:23
Recording device: Iphone 12pro
Transcribed by: Tangaroa Paora
Translation: Tangaroa Paora.
00:01:40 - How did you feel during the shoot?
00:01:45 – It was cool, and quite comfortable. If I am being honest, the first set of photos, for myself more than anything, I felt more awkward and trying to find my footing and stuff with having my photos taken. The preparation felt really cool, felt so chill and homely if that makes sense. Being able to get ready together and felt like we were going out to the clubs after it.

00:04:50 - Looking at the first set of photographs of you, what does it tell us about you and why?
00:05:00 – It is quite something to see this, and you can definitely see like a lot of different aspects of my personality in every photo. Yeah, a little crazy, a little bit out the gate, and a little all over the place. I like the whetero (protruding tongue) one, because I guess there is a side to me where I am quite comfortable in my masculinity as well as my femininity sometimes like that. So it wasn't too much of a thing for me, although I do crack up at myself when I'm trying to butch things up, I'm just like "Ayyyy girl?" and that was cool to show those parts of my personality.

00:07:30 – Looking at the second set of photographs, what do these images tell us about you now and why?
00:07:46 – I, hmmm, I always like, I enjoy taking photos when I'm geeshed up and stuff like that. I don't know, I feel very empowered when dressed like this. This process felt more comfortable and more free flowing and natural. I just feel like, when I am dressed up like this or touching base or lining myself up to be a level up from my everyday. I do not know if it has to do with me dressed as a female, or more so allowing myself to just be, and be in that space and feel as I feel in that moment. It was a lot of fun being able to take these photos. Even the photographer was great, and cute, he was living for it and was great and giving instructions and I'm like "Alright matua, take it away, let's go!" It was cool, it shows who I am and the sense of not giving a fuck and just the peak of being me.

00:13:34 - How did you feel when you were being photographed?
00:13:40 – I think it was more so being comfortable in showing or portraying the essence of me in taking photos, which is where me being uncomfortable comes from. It was more internal and trying to let down the walls to show who I was, and probably why I was more comfortable being in full geesh. Also, it is scary being in front of the camera, even as someone who is constantly in front of cameras, I always get to so awkward, and it takes a while for me to warm up.

00:15:45 – What is your identity?
00:15:57 – I feel identity is just whatever makes you feel grounded, feel happy and keeps you connected to the ones you love, the things you love and whatever makes you feel like you.

00:16:05 – Why did you choose to apply your own makeup?
00:16:17 – I just know who I want to portray and how I like my geesh to look like, when I'm her. I have a particular way of doing my brows, my lips, my hair, etcetera. I also think most queens like to do their own face because it is part of a skill and craft with painting a face, that no one else can truly replicate.

Interview ended at 00:16:45

INTERVIEW 6A: Piripi Gordon
Interviewer: Tangaroa Paora
Location: Ngā Wai o Horotiu Marae – Auckland University of Technology
Date: June 18, 2022, 11:30am
Time: 00:00:05 - 00:14:55
Recording device: Iphone 12pro
Transcribed by: Tangaroa Paora
Translation: Tangaroa Paora

Wāhanga Tuatahi (Introductory questions)

00:00:05 – Can you tell me your preferred name and iwi affiliation?
00:00:07 – My preferred name is Piripi Gordon, and I am from Te Kawerau a Maki, Te Whare Tapu o Ngāpuhi, Te Whakatōhea.

00:00:20 – Where were you born?
00:00:25 – I was born up north, in Kawakawa hospital ... and yes we did have a hospital up there.

00:00:27 – Where did you grow up?
00:00:29 – I grew up in a small town up north called Kaikohe. When I was born I lived in Horeke, but I moved to Kaikohe when I was five and stayed until I was twelve. I then moved to Auckland and did half of Year Eight and then high school.

00:00:55 – Can you describe your personality in three words?
00:01:00 – That's a hard one, if I was to choose I would go with, Open-minded, Authentic and Outrageous.

Questions relating to Wāhanga Tuarua (Kapa Haka)

00:01:25 – What has/is your involvement been with Kapa Haka?
00:01:30 – Kapa Haka has been my life to be honest, ever since I was in kōhanga reo,[102] I did Kapa Haka. My mum's got these photos of me at kōhanga in my tāne (male) clothes doing the haka. I love Kapa Haka and did it all through school and probably did not get really into the competitive side of hakas until high school with Waiorea, and then Kapa Haka was 'full on' there. In my time there it was a total of thirteen campaigns we had done by the time we had finished school, which is heaps. So it was really cool. I love Kapa Haka. It is a really big part of my life. I haven't done it in my adult life, but I hope to, and I want to stand at my first regionals or Matatini—but I haven't done that yet, but that is the next step ideally in my Kapa Haka journey.

00:02:40 – Have you yourself performed, or seen roles in Kapa Haka that are not conventionally male or female?
00:02:45 – Absolutely, without a doubt. Yes, with the idea of Kapa Haka that tāne mau rākau [wield weaponry], tāne do the haka, wahine do the poi, wahine do the karanga.[103] Which is the norm, which is what they thought [was] all you can do. For me personally, I just resonate better with the

102 The kōhanga reo movement established a Māori approach to early-childhood education.

103 A sacred practice performed by wahine Māori to call and connect the physical realm to the metaphysical.

female aspects of Kapa Haka, like poi and karanga and everything to do with it.

One year though, at school, Aniwa and I were lucky enough to be able to do the poi at Ahurea, which was cool as, and we were lucky and it was so relevant, because the kaupapa of the poi was he kāpo te aroha [love is blind] and we were just talking about that: love has no gender, no colour, love has no requirements or boundaries. It was the perfect time to show boys with poi, we wanted to challenge that stereotype or social standard of, only wahine can do that, and tāne do rākau [weaponry]. So it was really cool to have that opportunity to kind of go against the status quo and be ourselves on stage, and because we had never been able to do that before. We still love Kapa Haka and perform as boys because we have to I guess, I don't quite have the oomph to change that yet. That is one of the biggest things in my Kapa Haka experience in particular, how that might have felt controversial for the public and what not.

00:05:10 – Do you see gender roles in Kapa Haka as separate or can they be fluid?
00:05:15 – I think it can be both, it is fluid. There are however tāne who just focus on the tāne aspects, and there are wahine who prefer to focus on the wahine aspects and that's fine, but it should not be the standard or the boundary, but a norm. Another norm would be a wahine tutoring the tāne, or a tāne tutoring the wahine aspects of Kapa Haka. It is so funny because it is a bit taboo or not the norm, for tāne to do poi and wahine to do rākau. It is known in many roopu, where tāne are carrying the female aspects and wahine carryring the tāne aspects. It is happening and it happens in so many places. I sometimes think, really? Are we still talking about this? This is still a thing? It is just preference, and everyone likes different things.

00:06:35 – Are you aware of any historical accounts of same sex attraction or gender fluidity, either in Kapa Haka, pūrākau, oriori, or waiata?
00:05:20 – To be honest, not really. There is one, but I don't deeply know. Just the hononga (connection) between Tutānekai and Tiki. I only just found out about that in high school in my Year Eleven or Twelve and then remember hearing about it, and wondering why the hell are my teachers or elders not telling me about this and keeping it all hush hush. When I found that out, I thought wow that is so cool, so buzzy. I already knew that this idea of gay and straight is a whakaaro Pākehā [non-Māori], because gender is fluid and so is sexuality before the Western culture brought in their standards. That was the only pūrākau [narrative] from te ao Māori that like, highlighted takatāpuitanga.

00:08:05 – Do you see wairua and mauri as gendered (male or female) or non-gendered?
00:08:20 – Initially my first answer was absolutely not, no way. What is there to gender about it? I mean what even is gender really. You know, everyone has wairua and everything has wairua, everyone has mauri and so do all living things. It would be hard or pointless to gender those two terms or

whakaaro. I do believe it is fluid and for everyone, with no bounds. Wairua is wairua and mauri is mauri.

Questions relating to Wāhanga Tuatoru (Takatāpuitanga)

00:09:25 – Are there any words or terms that you use to describe your sexual orientation and gender?
00:09:35 – The one I probably use the most is takatāpui or gay. That is how I identify.

00:09:45 – Have you ever been involved in some kind of performance where you expressed your takatāpuitanga?
00:10:00 – Besides Kapa Haka, we got do to it twice at Ahurea and at Polyfest. Oh wait, actually there was this one time in our school play, and it wasn't my main role, my main role was the Mayor who was this straight man, but my side role was this gay fella from Gisborne and that was funny because I only had one line and it was something about my boyfriend being well endowed, and the crowd just loved it.

00:10:55 – Can you tell us about your life at the time this happened?
00:11:05 – Currently I am at Waipapa Taumata Rau—Auckland University, studying towards a Bachelor of Arts and Bachelors of Commerce and approaching the end, slowly but surely. Lucky enough to be one of the tūmuaki of Ngā Tauira Māori, the students association there, and it is full on and I love all of it. My friends and I just moved in together, we all moved out of our parents' whare, and are trying to create a home of our own now together, and it is an awesome experience. Life is full on all the time, we've got Kapa Haka, tutoring Waiorea which is awesome. Kaupapa after kaupapa.

00:12:13 – Did being Māori influence how you perform?
00:12:20 – Absolutely, I would say being Māori is at the crux of everything I do really, it is so a part of my day to day things. My life is Māori, I am Māori and I love my people and everything I do is working towards being amazing, so I can help our people be amazing type of thing. I am just passionate about Māori and want our people to strive for anything and everything.

00:13:35 – Do you think that takatāpui have always been with us? If so, what do you think is our purpose in society?
00:13:40 – Our purpose is to just be, be ourselves, challenge the status quo, the social norms and help people to recognise their own insecurities, that you feel the need to be homophobic or hate toward people that have nothing to do with you. I think we are here to be ourselves and conquer the world. I feel sorry for them because it is so clear that you are either insecure or a horrible person and both are your problem. And so our role is to live and exist.

Interview ended at 00:14:55

INTERVIEW 6B: Piripi Gordon
Interviewer: Tangaroa Paora
Location: Zoom
Date: July 31, 2022, 3:00pm
Time: 00:00:45 - 00:13:10
Recording device: Apple Computer
Transcribed by: Tangaroa Paora
Translation: Tangaroa Paora

00:00:45 - How did you feel during the shoot?
00:00:50 – I honestly thought it was amazing. I thought the environment in which the shoot happened could not have been more comfortable for us, especially for me. I was a little sceptical going in to it, just because it was something new and out of the box and you do get a little nervous about those things. But coming there, and seeing you and your kaiāwhina (helpers), and even Marcos was just a comfortable and inviting environment for us to do that mahi, so that was just awesome. It made the process easier and such a joy to be a part of. Really good, just great.

00:03:30 - Looking at the first set of photographs of you, what does it tell us about you and why?
00:03: 37 – I feel like they demonstrate that I'm not one way. I guess it demonstrates the ambiguity that is Piripi. I feel like it is an accurate representation of who I am as a person. Sometimes I'm a girl pūkana [dilating of the eyes] and sometimes I'm a whētero [protruding tongue]. You never know what you're going to get, and I like that. There is a question mark there when you see me. Me dressing butch and then wearing makeup, it is all of that, it is me. I just think that shows my comfortability in being who I am, there is not just one way, and this shows that.

00:05:08 – Looking at the second set of photographs, what do these images tell us about you now and why?
00:07:00 – I feel like she is a business girl. In a way, I feel similar to how I felt with the first set. This to me, is another version of Piripi, although I am this young Māori who loves his family, who loves everything there is to be rangatahi Māori (Māori youth), I also have these dreams and aspirations to be this corporate king or whatever, that will pave the way for Māori in those areas, because you can be this and do that. Being a corporate baddie and a kaupapa driven person, one doesn't take away from the other; they are both easily interwoven. These depict that, I may not know what I'm up to, but I know I am on the right track, because it's something great. These photos can in a way give that 'fake it til ya make it' attitude, that although I have these big ambitions and goals, I also have no idea how I am going to do it. I am confident in knowing that I am tau (settled) in my abilities and in who I am, in what I am meant to do. I'm sure in that I am unsure.

00:10:05 - How did you feel when you were being photographed?
00:10:15 – I felt important to be honest, it made me feel like I was a model or just made me feel validated in a sense, that we are unique and have value. I already knew these things, but it was nice to be celebrated for our differences and that's what makes us unique.

It was just cool to be with mates, dressing up and taking cool photos. I mean I had never done something like this before, so it was great to experience it and even going into it a little bit nervous and then realising how comfortable it was and how easygoing the vibe was and just a great experience.

00:12:05 - What is your identity?
00:12:12 – I would identify as takatāpui, but I don't feel the need to use that. If anything, I am who I am, kind of thing. But I get that for society we must label things, because people are dumb and it's worth less energy to just say the word 'gay' than to try explaining who I am in my ideal world. I don't have any nawe [objection] with the word gay or being takatāpui because that is me, 100 percent, but it isn't just black or white.

Interview ended at 00:13:10

INTERVIEW 7A: Awatea Kake
Interviewer: Tangaroa Paora
Location: Zoom
Date: September 30, 2022, 12:00pm
Time: 00:03:15 - 00:27:10
Recording device: Apple Computer
Transcribed by: Tangaroa Paora
Translation: Tangaroa Paora

Wāhanga Tuatahi (Introductory questions)

00:03:18 – Can you tell me your preferred name and iwi affiliation?
00:03:25 – Awatea Mani Kake. Iwi affiliations: Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Whātua, Waikato, a bit of Te Arawa, a bit of Taranaki, oh and a bit of bloody Coast (East Coast), Te Whānau-a-Apanui, Te Whakatōhea. But Ngāpuhi tūturu.

00:04:25 – Where were you born?
00:04:32 – I was born in Whangārei Hospital.

00:04:35 – Where did you grow up?
00:04:45 – The majority of my childhood, I grew in Whangārei, then nearing the end of primary, my family and I moved to Whangaroa, so grew up there for a few years, then moved again to Ōpua. Whangarei is where I grew up for the majority of my childhood.

00:05:35 – Can you describe your personality in three words?
00:05:40 – Reserved, Māori, and Spontaneous, I feel.

Questions relating to Wāhanga Tuarua (Kapa Haka)

00:06:30 – What has/is your involvement been with Kapa Haka?
00:06:40 – Starting off as a performer, ever since kōhanga reo, then primary, intermediate, then high school and then eventually moving on to seniors with Hātea. Also having the opportunity to judge a couple of competitions, in 2020 judging Maranga Mai E Te Iwi, which is Te Tai Tokerau's primary and intermediate Kapa Haka competitions. Then 2021, being a matatoki for Tōkihi ki Tua, for Te Tai Tokerau's secondary Kapa Haka competitions. Oh, I also tutored and helped here and there when I was at Te Rawhitiroa [school], helping the babies and high school as well with regionals and national competitions.

00:08:01 – Do you see nay practices or values in Kapa Haka that challenge conventions in contemporary society?
00:08:36 – Yeah, there is a little bit with, not so much restrictions but rules around wahine wanting to perform as tāne and tāne performing as wahine. I think it's becoming more accepted for tāne to perform as wahine but not so much with wahine performing as tāne. Which I think needs to change or [be] looked at a bit more in depth.

00:09:25 – Have you yourself performed, or seen roles in Kapa Haka that are not conventionally male or female?
00:09:50 – Yes, like poi. In the 60s or 70s it was only seen that women were the only

ones to perform poi in competition, but now, coming into the early 2000s, it was seen being more common for men or even teens performing poi. Also whaikōrero, and now seeing it's a discipline judged up north in our competitions. We saw a female do the whaikōrero and she was marked down, but I think it should be allowed. If we were to look back at particular ancestors who did that type of mahi. For example, this school tried to embody Hineāmaru. I felt it was sad to mark them down for trying to carry out what they believe in, as mana wahine and Hineāmaru being who she was. I thought it was right for them to do that.

00:12:10 – Do you see gender roles in Kapa Haka as separate or can they be fluid?
00:12:22 – I think it can be fluid. Definitely, there is space for that in Kapa Haka. The way I see it, is to be whakangahau (entertainment) and not treated as tapu, for instance. It is to be entertained and perform and is the perfect space for things to be fluid and to change.

00:13:33 – Are you aware of any historical accounts of same sex attraction or gender fluidity, either in Kapa Haka, pūrākau, oriori, or waiata?
00:13:50 – I have only heard of one story, of Tutānekai and Tiki, I think that's their name. Only because all I ever heard of Tutānekai and Hinemoa. But this story gives that proof or evidence that same sex relationships were accepted in our old world with our ancestors.

00:14:35 – Do you see wairua and mauri as gendered (male or female) or non-gendered?
00:14:55 – No I don't. I feel, if we say a male that identifies as male has a mauri and a wairua, and I feel within that mauri and wairua there is also a bit of femininity due to their mother, grandmother, it is part of their ira tangata [DNA]. Same for women, who identify as a woman, but their mauri and wairua will carry aspects of a tāne from their father, grandfathers and so on. But I don't think wairua and mauri have a gender, it has both or all genders.

Questions relating to Wāhanga Tuatoru (Takatāpuitanga)

00:17:13 – Are there any words or terms that you use to describe your sexual orientation and gender?
00:17:20 – Yes, I identify as a male firstly, but I don't really put a name to it. If someone was to ask me if I am into guys or girls, I say, "actually, I'm into both." I never use to be as open as that, it's only within the last year that I have opened up to others outside of my close circle around what my sexual orientation is. Sometimes will use bisexual, but not that into using labels.

00:18:55 – Have you ever been involved in some kind of performance where you expressed your takatāpuitanga?
00:19:00 – Yes, only once, one performance. I love to do the poi, and one of my tutors at kura let me do the quads (quadruple poi) because none of the girls could pull it off, and that for a cultural exchange in Hawai'i. We went over there and performed at the PCC (Polynesian Cultural Centre) and yes,

performing the quads, I really felt like I was in my element and it was a beautiful thing.

00:20:03 – Can you tell us about your life at the time this happened?
00:20:07 – Currently I am a full time student at Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato, studying Bachelor of Laws and a double major in Māori and Indigenous Studies. Whānau commitments, always going home and now leading up to Te Matatini. That's me right now.

00:21:00 – Did being Māori influence how you perform?
00:21:15 – Absolutely, for example before walking on stage, your nerves kick in so you have a karakia to yourself, calling to your tūpuna to connect yourself to te ao wairua, in te ao Māori [it] is a very special thing. Also, growing up in te ao Māori also helped me gain my style of haka. For example, growing up in Te Tai Tokerau and [I] have drawn from my grandparents' and parents' style of Kapa Haka, by going with them to their training. Always holding a taiaha, poi, or something that influenced practice and retention of a style of haka. It has had a significant impact the way I perform in te ao haka today.

00:23:40 – Do you think that takatāpui have always been with us? If so, what do you think is our purpose in society?
00:23:57 – I feel our purpose is to be ourselves. Don't change for anyone, keep being you. What I have noticed is that people like us are very talented. Takatāpui have amazing talents and it is up to us to share that with the world, in any space really, especially if you love it.

00:25:15- Is there anything you want to add to this kōrero?
00:25:28 – I would like to thank you firstly, my mate, for allowing me to be part of this huge journey of yours, and if I was to talk to younger Māori or Polynesian takatāpui out there, I just have to say, be yourself and don't change for anyone. I never used to accept being takatāpui until recently, but embrace it and believe you will be ok and you will be fine. All you need is your friends and whānau who trust you and you feel safe with them, and you will always be loved.

Interview ended at 00:27:10

INTERVIEW 7B: Awatea Kake
Interviewer: Tangaroa Paora
Location: Zoom
Date: May 11, 2023, 10:00am
Time: 00:00:00 - 00:11:45
Recording device: Apple Computer
Transcribed by: Tangaroa Paora
Translation: Tangaroa Paora

00:02:41 - How did you feel during the shoot?
00:02:48 – I felt quite radiant, once I got chucked into light makeup I felt like a whole other person really. Looking into the mirror I thought, "I could do this often, for big occasions and even just standing in front of the camera and lights." Then seeing the photo

produced was just amazing, the lighting, makeup, and the contrast made me feel great.

00:05:27 - Looking at the first set of photographs, what does it tell us about you and why?
00:05:42 – I think a word to describe it would be, I look cheeky and happy. Why? I like being the cheeky one in the family and I think, as I said before, when I got my makeup done, it made me feel more confident in front of the camera as well.

00:06:36– Looking at the second set what does it tell us about you now and why?
00:07:00 – I feel like my whole āhua [manner] has changed, and I am more serious with the pūkana and showing in [the] te ao Māori way of my ihi, my wehi and my wana, as well as wearing a traditional pake karure, which was used to adorn chiefs and chieftesses back in the rā, and wearing piupiu which is a traditional garment of te ao Māori. So, acknowledging my cultures as well as the kahoa with acknowledging my Niuean side. With the half mataora and half kauae, acknowledging both my ira tāne and ira wahine, because I feel they both coincide in my ao, my world. All in all, I feel great that I am carrying both my te ao Māori and tee ao Niue, alongside my ira in this depiction of myself.

00:09:17 - How did you feel when you were being photographed?
00:09:25 – At first I was quite nervous, and then the photographer showed the first photo and I was blown away at the result and thought I actually looked good and was thriving out here. I think seeing the first photo made me realise not to be scared or shy anymore, and not to keep what I feel kept hidden in anymore and just to be myself really.

00:10:16 - What is identity?
00:10:23 – Identity, tuakiritanga. To me, identity can mean a whole lot of things, but personally I think that is all that one is, being brought up in certain values can add to one's identity. Like growing up in te ao Māori, in my cultures and as well as Te Hāhi Rātana, it all plays a big part in my life and how I portray myself in any mahi that I do. I think identity is all about being the you that you want to be.

Interview ended at 00:11:45

INTERVIEW 8A: Varron Armstrong
Interviewer: Tangaroa Paora
Location: Zoom
Date: September 30, 2022, 2:00pm
Time: 00:00:05 - 00:14:55
Recording device: Apple Computer
Transcribed by: Tangaroa Paora
Translation: Tangaroa Paora

Wāhanga Tuatahi (Introductory questions)

00:02:20 – Can you tell me your preferred name and iwi affiliation?
00:02:38 – Ko Ngāti Porou, ko Ngāpuhi, ko Ngāti Hine, simple as, Varron Armstrong.

00:02:59 – Where were you born?
00:03:02 – I was born in Kawakawa Hospital.

00:03:06 – Where did you grow up?
00:03:18 – I was fortunate enough in Moerewa, but grew up in my marae, my tūrangawaewae Otīria Marae, on a farm, in a community that was looked at by other people as a bad place to grow up in, but it was my home.

00:03:45 – Can you describe your personality in three words?
00:03:50 – Big, Bold, and Intuitive.

Questions relating to Wāhanga Tuarua (Kapa Haka)

00:04:15 – What has/is your involvement been with Kapa Haka?

00:04:21 – I think my earliest memory of haka is seeing my mum rock the stage up north at Waitangi, in the Whare Rūnanga. That's probably my earliest memories of seeing my mum and the opportunity to sing. It probably is the biggest thing with haka, as singing always has been a thing in my family, and particularly we were always encouraged to use our voices whether that's through conversation or through waiata tautoko. To always ensure that we communicate everything properly and using our voices probably was a huge thing, so I think that's where Kapa Haka comes in for me as another vehicle to use my voice, not only by singing but to tell my story and the stories of my home.

Te ao haka has always been drawn to and I have loved it and being in awe of the simplicity and complexity of what haka is and what it can be. Kapa Haka is my place to be creative and feel free to be tau and safe. Whether holding poi or taiaha, I have always felt a sense of belonging when in that space. Proud to be Māori, proud to be Ngāti Hine. I am loving haka now and how it evolves, especially from its simple stages to the complex styles of modern day Kapa Haka. There is more creativity and area to widen it. The ability to tell a story, to have an item sound and look good and [be] worth telling.

Kapa Haka gives you the space to help prepare you to navigate your world and how you walk in this world. For those of us who are fortunate to grow up [at] home, it helps us to maintain that connection to our home

and that can be done through haka and to return home to learn about home, sing about home, haka about home. There are many ways to interpret haka for your people, especially when it comes to competitions. Kapa Haka is not stagnant, and it can be an extension of your people and its environment. It is growing, it is expanding, and I love and enjoy the styles, dialects, and unique ways of performing haka. East Coast have the big sway takahe [stomp], Ngāpuhi have the pipi swivel, and Mataatua have women who look like men. For me now, I really enjoy the aspects and moments that happen behind the stage, off stage and the lead up to the stage component. The behind the scenes of haka, is to help appreciate the months put in prior to that stage performance, and to understand the processes to getting to that point. It is a challenge for kaihaka (performer) on the stage and kaimahi (worker) off the stage, but once you have it down you can do anything.

00:11:50 – Have you yourself performed, or seen roles in Kapa Haka that are not conventionally male or female?

00:12:20 – Yeah, I mean I [am] talking to one now. If it's done right, then pai, if it is done in a way that not only they feel safe but the group feels safe as well to allow that. If I was to do it, I would consider the safety of the roopu and what every other kaihaka looks like and how it affects them. I wouldn't expect them to change just because I want to perform as a wahine. You have to consider the team and its members, but if done properly and [it] is mana enhancing and they can stand in their own right then great. We have Waioeka, with Aunty in the rows ... we can't deny there are some who can perform better than women, as women, if I am being honest. There are some women who are better kaihaka than men.

I think it is decolonising our minds and the methodologies that we have come to know. There is evidence where roles were for those who didn't identify as men or women. Tā Himi Henare speaks of it as well. It came out of an interview he had where he spoke about a person who had an ure who wasn't associated to being a man. Their job was to serve the tohunga, they were not known as male or female and their role was to only serve and look after the tohunga. There is no bias on sides of being tāne or wahine, and it is fitting for them because it is not mana tāne, or mana wahine, but rather mana tangata, ira tangata. So I see we still have this sense of being uncomfortable when seeing women performing as men, I think it has happened before but we need to open ourselves up to those old ways of being.

00:16:10 – Do you see gender roles in Kapa Haka as separate or can they be fluid?

00:16:20 – There is probably areas where they have to stay separate, like karanga, we have it in Kapa Haka and that must be left to wahine. Whaikōrero however, nah bro, that is for anyone. I grew up on a marae where both men and women could speak. The mana of a wahine was showcased in full, we were encouraged to acknowledge that. We have Ahuaiti and Whakaruru, who are female ancestors who are carved figures as

the poutokomanawa (carved poles in the wharenui), in fact without our women our house will fall. In terms of Kapa Haka, it may not be as open and practiced but it is believed to be a value. Kapa Haka is essentially a performance and we do that to entertain our guests and people. There is a need for more exposure in Kapa Haka, with atypical gender roles. Poi is not just for women, trust me. I have seen those who can't determine the difference between a left swing and a right swing. Give them a rākau and they will probably [be] better off there.

00:20:05 – Are you aware of any historical accounts of same sex attraction or gender fluidity, either in Kapa Haka, pūrākau, oriori, or waiata?
00:20:20 – Yes, manaakitanga is a great point to start. Manaaki manuhiri, whāngai, the best accommodation and down to sexual pleasures. If it tickled your fancy then they would give it to you. A Rangatira would come into a pā, and their duty was to care and provide the utmost respect and manaaki for this Rangatira and if he wanted a particular person for pleasure your pā would willingly give them. It was your role to be of service to your people, for your people.

00:23:05 – Do you see wairua and mauri as gendered (male or female) or non-gendered?
00:23:20 – Yes I do, it doesn't mean it is a spirit of a female or male. It is a spirit in itself. Physically, yes we are male or female, and I believe if you have a penis you are a man, if you have a vagina you are a woman. I still respect you if you identify as anything else, but to me your spirituality can be fluid to the physical gender you are born with. Because your wairua and mauri can influence your way of being in this world. I think we can sometimes be distracted because we are getting caught up with "I am he, she, they and them." If you understand who you are, then there would be no need to seek validation from anyone else. Wairua and mauri is not male or female but can be both of masculine and feminine energies, it feeds the soul and mind. Māori are a true example of the blend of both energies to create our unique authentic selves.

Questions relating to Wāhanga Tuatoru (Takatāpuitanga)

00:27:45 – Are there any words or terms that you use to describe your sexual orientation and gender?
00:27:50 – I, me personally, I don't care how people identify me. If you see me as a that, then you see me as that. Thank you for seeing me like that, and if it's hey girl, then it is hey girl back, if it's hey bro, then it's hey bro back. I start getting angry when people use dimensioning words or discriminatory terms like faggot, even if they don't mean to use it the way it was coined to be. It does provide the opportunity to educate and have a conversation with straight people on how their words are used and to be use them correctly.

00:30:25 – Have you ever been involved in some kind of performance where you expressed your takatāpuitanga?

00:30:35 – I think every performance I have had, is me having the opportunity to be gay, or me. Honestly to be me, I am gay, I cannot surpass that. I cannot separate being gay in a performance, or being me in a performance. It is me, entirely, and has been like that since coming out my mother's nono, and I have always been that way. I have struggled with how I express being me in Kapa Haka, and I still struggle to do a haka. Now I am trying to work it, with flamboyancy, with making a masculine concept my own performing style. It is my tanga, my Varron-tanga. It is no difference with the Māori me, or the takatāpui me, they go together.

00:32:30 – Can you tell us about your life at the time this happened?
00:32:39 – Taku āo, he hectic. Uni is the biggest thing on my plate right now and its great. Year 11 Varron at school always dreamt of this Varron now. Second year of uni, applied for his final year, has funding to do his Masters. My success is not mine alone, I bring with me my mother, father, sisters, and my kura. That of my people, my whānau, my marae, it is for all of us. Tutor and ambassador of te reo, in the process of living my dream. I am making myself proud by doing the things I always wanted to do. One of the biggest achievements for me now is being involved with the diploma of language at Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato and to be able to stand as who I am, teach in that sense and in te reo. I am proud to be Māori, and teach those who are hungry for the reo. So right now, I am living my dream, evolving my dreams as I go, and not wanting to be stagnant.

00:36:08 – Do you think that takatāpui have always been with us? If so, what do you think is our purpose in society?
00:36:25 – Today, it is to live. I don't think it needs to be stated, but to live. To embody our desires, where we want to be in life. As individuals to identify who we are and what we want to be. Our purpose is up to ourselves and how we carry it out in life.

00:37:55 – Anything to add to the kōrero?
00:38:05 – Firstly, I have to pay homage to my whānau, they nurtured and looked after me as I am. I can say I am privileged to have a mother who loved me as I am, encouraged me to stand in my potential, she seen it, she grew it, she loved it. Let me be who I was without judgement or any questioning of how I came to be. Aroha is the biggest thing in my whānau.

Interview ended at 00:38:55

INTERVIEW 8B Varron Armstrong
Interviewer: Tangaroa Paora
Location: Zoom
Date: May 11, 2022, 10:30am
Time: 00:00:45 - 00:13:10
Recording device: Apple Computer
Transcribed by: Tangaroa Paora
Translation: Tangaroa Paora

00:01:35 - How did you feel during the shoot?
00:01:42 – E mihi ana, firstly I think one word would be tau, you were there from the

start to the end. From the morning to evening it was an uplifting of wairua. For myself I just came to fill in my role where I could, and my cup was filled. It replenished my wairua and I felt tau. The people and vibe were right and just great, all in our own space but very much a united purpose.

00:04:47 - Looking at the first set of photographs, what does it tell us about you and why?
00:04:57 – I think firstly, Māori. Why? Why not, it symbolises my tūpuna, especially with the pounamu me te tāmoko. Looking at the images, they are Māori. Is he Indian, is he Fijian, kao, e te whānau, he Māori. It is up to each individual how they choose to see me, how they know me. It is all a different perspective of who I am and how I want them to know of me. I have many different ways of presenting myself.

00:06:50 – Looking at the second set, what does it tell us about you now and why?
00:07:00 – Very much more tau (settled), but can I put words to this really? This is a hard one, if I look at these images, ultimately it is me saying kua tutuki ngā moemoea. It is no longer a dream, we can tick that off with my heart. I know what I look like, and it is ok. I do not know how to look at it, just not sure where to from there, if that was always the goal then what is the next step forward from that. I am a little blinding because its real now. I feel complete looking at these images.

00:11:15 - How did you feel when you were being photographed?
00:11:25 – During the black shoot, a little akiwara, a little hūiki (awkward), just finding my ground, chemistry with the photographer. The better part in the second shoot though was just me genuinely and had no problem with just doing it. I understood and just did it, I was a bit āwangawanga (apprehensive) but that was the best part of it was just giving it a go and being me. It was even good for my heart and having my whānau validate that for me meant so much. Taku hāpai o e hāpai nei i ahau, ko tāku he hāpai i a rātou hoki.

00:12:40 - What is identity?
00:13:05 – To me, ko te tuakiri, it is aroha, ko te aroha ki a koe anō. I don't think one should have to explain what their identity is, but it is something we all just know and believe in. It's a spiritual connection that connects us to our higher being. Ko mātau e ngana ana te whakatinana i ngā wawata, mā te aroha. We always continue to live our life with aroha and everything we do should always come from aroha.

Interview ended at 00:14:10

INTERVIEW 9A: Rawiri Keelan
Interviewer: Tangaroa Paora
Location: 84 Wharf Road, Te Atatu Peninsula, Auckland, NZ.
Date: April 10, 2023, 1:30pm
Time: 00:00:05 - 00:14:55
Recording device: Iphone 12pro
Transcribed by: Tangaroa Paora
Translation: Tangaroa Paora

Wāhanga Tuatahi (Introductory questions)

00:10:10 – Can you tell me your preferred name and iwi affiliation?
00:10:17 – Ra, or Rawiri Keelan. Ngāti Porou, Te Whānau-a-Apanui, Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti, Te Aitanga-a-Mate.

00:10:30 – Where were you born?
00:10:35 – Unlike my other siblings, who were born at either the public hospital in Gisborne or Te Puia public hospital, I am known in my whānau to have been born at the Edward Murphy private hospital. That is because the taxi was running out of petrol and that was the closest hospital, and I was already on my way out, so they had to do an emergency dash and that is why I became a private delivery. Just for the record, I needed no assistance on delivery, I apparently "came out like an eel" and I didn't want to go anywhere near that thing again.

00:11:32 – Where did you grow up?
00:11:37 – I whakatipu au i te tūtahi i Hiruharama, i runga i te rori o...oh I forgot the name. We used to call it Whakaparangi road, but I cannot remember what they changed it to. It is just before Ruatoria, between Hiruharama and Ruatoria township. There is a road that branches off to the left: Whakapaurangi road—and that's where we spent the first few years. I muri i tēnā, i neke mātou ki Anaura and it was there where I spent the majority of my youth. Not with my family though, I was taken off by Nanny Erana (Illen) and raised by her as a whāngai child. I was thirteen going on fourteen when she passed and then I had to return to the family. Nanny Illen was not the only nanny there, in the whole bay there were twenty five people and in the middle of Anaura Bay are five houses. There were five nannies, one to each house and I was raised by all of them. To say that the matriarchal or mana wahine had an influence on me would be an understatement of how I view the world and how I deal with things. Needless to say, when they passed and I returned to the family, having a male leading our whānau did not go down well with me. Our first communication with me living back in the house was, he said, "Boy, go put the kettle on," I said "You're fat, you need the exercise not me, you do it," and that was my first hiding, by the way. So even at that stage, some of my identity, not as Māori, not as takatāpui but simply as Rawiri, was already well grounded. I had already a strong sense of who I was and what I was about. It did not necessarily include males at the time, I was not accustomed to males.

00:14:52 – Can you describe your personality in three words?

00:14:56 – Eclectic, River and Ah. Eclectic because I am on the spectrum, I have ADHD, and I find as a coping mechanism to different stimuli, environments, and peoples, I have to change some degree of my personality as a coping mechanism. I do find that if I can't change fast enough, I fall apart, that is why it is eclectic. A river, because when I go through that change, that mental process, it can get muddled. Sometimes it comes through clearly like a clear river and other times it's like paru in the river, it just confuses me even more. Over the years, I've gone with that, saying, 'He tai timu, he tai pari,' so it really is my personality is like a river, it adapts, it changes, the flow varies depending on where I am, who I'm with and everything. Ah is, ahhhh, you never know who you'll get. If I am with a group of people, this is the personality I need to bring out more, it doesn't mean that is the personality they will get though, the 'ah' is the randomness. I could manifest into someone completely different. So 'ah'!

Questions relating to Wāhanga Tuarua (Kapa Haka)

00:17:09 – What has/is your involvement been with Kapa Haka?

00:17:15 – I grew up right in the middle of Kapa Haka on the East Coast, with the Takurua whānau being first cousins to my father, so I spent a lot of time with Aunty Tangiwai and her brother Anaru. Aunty Ngoi [Pewhairangi], we would be dropped off to her place because again, cousins to our father. So I got Kapa Haka from my father's side constantly, now my mother's side was a whole different level of Kapa Haka. The Kapa Haka I got from my father's side was more the competitive nature. There was a seriousness to that type of performance, and an understanding that "Mehemea ka tū mai koe, tū māro, tū i raro i te mana o te whānau, hapu, iwi." So we knew that when we stood there we were representing the others, everyone, there was strictness to how we stood with them.

When we went back to Ruatoria, that Kapa Haka was completely different. With Aunty Kuini Moehau, Sah Nini and all those aunties from Ruatoria side, the Hiruharama side, Pele's mum, the Kupenga side, they were the exponents in Te Aitanga-a-Mate. So when we went back to that side, the strictness was quite different. On our fathers side it was "Tū tika, takahia tō waewae"—there was always a growl to it, but our mother's side was more like "Tū mai koe"—lift your chin up, you are representing you, but remember you are backed by many others. They had a different spin on things, which meant instead of feeling regimented in our Kapa Haka, I always felt— and I remember because my siblings and I have talked about this over the years—we chose to do the performance and on our mothers side, we did it with a lot more vigour and zest, and our wairua always came away from it feeling more enriched. We always found [it] uplifting because we got to sing songs that suited the context, that suited who our manuhiri was and suited the message we wanted to pass on. We learnt how to kōrero through our performance and choice of waiata. With our father's side, there was always a 29th Māori Battalion agenda to

the songs that we performed, that was a lot of influence from Aunty Ngoi and Nanny Tuini, and that whole Kīngitanga following was still very staunch then. It was always political. Even today, when we hear our mokopuna singing waiata with the same sort of kaupapa to their waiata.

Is this going ok? Yeah, I was fifteen in Tolaga Bay when I decided I wasn't a child anymore, and so there were certain indiscretions where my sexual identity manifested with a student teacher on field practice. Needless to say, I was then shipped off to Ngata College as punishment, and it was punishment because they were all brown boys and they were all cousins, but then I discovered on Friday and Saturday nights in Ruatoria, white farmer boys come into town [seductively wipes the rim of his lips]....and I got to reaffirm my identity there too.

00:23:15 – Do you see any practices or values in Kapa Haka challenging conventions in contemporary society?

00:23:32 – Yes, constantly, within modernity, within the contemporary world, the notion of sexuality or even talking about sex, talking about genders, talking about private parts is very much frowned upon. You would never have that conversation with professionals unless it was medical people. Within Kapa Haka, we sing about it, it was never something that is considered dirty or frowned upon but simply a natural part of life. Some of our waiata and stuff is just beautiful. There are some that will talk about it literally and others will talk through metaphors, "He pūru taitama," the artistry that comes through that gives us multiple mediums where if someone is offended, it is for us to read the room, do we talk literally or do I flip over to a metaphorical example, when talking about gender.

I think that is one thing that Kapa Haka and te ao Māori has gifted to contemporary world, [that] is the art of subtle choice. There is nothing in te ao Pākehā [that] is that subtle, and that lack of subtlety can cause harm and a lot of damage. Pākehā are fortunate to have te ao Māori living amongst them; we give them a different perspective though Kapa Haka, if they are open, we teach them the art of humour and adding that humour dimension to sexual identity, personal, cultural and ethnic identity, you must open yourself to humour or else you will never learn. Our people have gifted humour to those hard and difficult topics.

00:26:10 – Have you yourself performed or seen roles in Kapa Haka that are not conventionally male or female?

00:26:20 – Yes I have seen those types of variances. I come from that borderline dinosaur era, where our perspectives in the seventies and eighties were very much influenced with the World War thing, and a lot of that legacy came through with that maleness, and so growing up and doing Kapa Haka for most of my early life, I was always taught tāne mā ki muri, haka mai, wahine tū ki mua, tū ātaahua, tū kaha. So even those choice words had a gender bias I suppose.

More recently, when I go back to Tūranga wahine, Tūranga tāne rehearsals to watch our nieces and nephews and now our mokopuna, I don't hear those type of kupu being used. Just that foundational language, not only the stuff happening on stage, and off stage behind the scenes has changed as well, in my view, and it has allowed for more of an authentic cultural expression to come through on that atāmira. As a result, I just recently saw one of my nephews doing the poi on the Tamararo stage and all I thought was "Oh man, why wasn't that available to me, I would have done better." He and three of his mates were in front of the kōtiro doing the poi, and I was both astounded, thrilled, and excited for what this allowed for our people. The reason why I highlighted it, it hasn't opened the door, its allowed it to come back, because we know the act of Christianity and the gender bias that influenced our culture over the years. What is happening on stage now isn't something new, but something that's coming back to where it used to be in not recognising you are a boy, you are a girl, but recognising the mana of the performer and that mana is what is coming through in the performance regardless of gender, and I think that is a beautiful thing.

00:30:50– Do you see gender roles in Kapa Haka as separate or can they be fluid?
00:30:55 – I see them as fluid, part of the reason is I saw women doing haka, Aunty Sanini had been taught by Apirana Ngata to be the kaea for Rūaumoko for the Ngāti Porou group. She travelled around the motu with the Ngāti Porou Kapa Haka group, she led the guys in Rūaumoko for so many times. Her daughter Hinetū now steps in from time to time to lead the men back home for Rūaumoko and other haka. I've seen guys over the years who have taken on the role of starting and leading the poi and waiata-ā-ringa and all sorts. So this notion of gender fluidity has always been present, not necessarily always recognised or spoken about, in some way our own whakamā as Māori has resulted in those types of performers are being treated like the dirty little secret. Everyone knows it happens, we don't have to talk about it.

00:32:35 – Are you aware of any historical accounts of same sex attraction or gender fluidity, either in Kapa Haka, pūrākau, oriori, or waiata?
00:32:45 – Yeah. Yes, I remember sitting in the marae at Te Aowera and hearing the nannies especially doing pao, many of those recognise same sex couples, many of those recognise a happy couple who had children who had their own side things, they also had a lot of kōrero of various Rangatira of the past, who would maintain the blue bloodlines by having a person of same gender to relieve some of those stresses. A lot of the waiata were primarily pao that spoke of that. There are waiata, there are haka out there that acknowledge same sex, some don't even refer to same sex, but the ingoa of the people, you can pick out if they were male or female but the notion of gender is something we learn once we enter the world, but the mana of the tangata is something we come into the world with, and those waiata acknowledge the

mana of those tangata first and foremost and celebrate that.

00:36:20 – Do you see wairua and mauri as gendered (male or female) or non-gendered?
00:36:35 – No, I see the vessel that they are contained in being gendered, but once that vessel is gone there is no gender attached to them, they return to their true selves.

00:39:30 – Is there anything you want to add about Kapa Haka and performance?
00:39:35 – I still thrill at the journey Kapa Haka has been on over the years. When I was young Kapa Haka was for Māori to establish and reclaim our sense of self in the seventies and eighties. It was our way of celebrating our small part of Aotearoa and that we are still here. Over the years I have seen how it has evolved and developed to the point that it is meaningful to other Indigenous [peoples]. They come and feel inspired by the presence on stage, where non-Māori can attend Kapa Haka festivals because it gives them a sense of belonging to their culture and communities. I love how it has made our young people still passionate about being Māori. Having a platform where Māori can be proud of who they are is a great thing.

Questions relating to Wāhanga Tuatoru (Takatāpuitanga)

00:43:35 – Are there any words or terms that you use to describe your sexual orientation and gender?
00:43:45 – To be very honest, no. When I am thinking of my own sexual identity and gender stuff, it never comes down to those type of names. It just sticks with Ra and what I like and you know what I like. The only time gender and stuff come into it, if there is someone else or a group of people are with me and they need some sort of clarification. I think gender identity is something we can choose or we have to wear, to help others understand. I don't need that. I know what I am about for about for five minutes and you must keep in mind I am a river and I'll change it in five minutes time. That is where I'd love to see everyone at, where they don't need those types of labels projected onto them but they feel in the moment who they are. Through my own mahi I have tried to project into my teaching of children and of teachers for our tamariki. When I was introduced at a conference in Washington D.C, the person who introduced me said "We have a visitor here and in our lives we know that one person may stand and draw a circle around him and he will bring his family into that circle and that is his circle of influence. We have other people in our community who draw bigger circles who bring the neighbours and other people of their community and that is their circle of influence, our guest speaker today has drawn a circle around the world and his influence is global". I was absolutely thrilled with that introduction, but at the same time I was like "Shit, what have you set me up for bitch!" That introduction was real because he happened to be present when I did a presentation about gender in early childhood, but it wasn't me who did the presentation, it was Gemini. His jaw dropped when I walked out in a sequined dress, and looked very much

like a sparkly librarian and presented like that for half the session. At a certain point I pushed the recorder to play music and the morbid woman song came on and it turned out that my sparkly outfit was velcroid, and I had a Wonder Woman outfit underneath. The whole journey there was about when we are working with our tamariki and we present ourselves in a certain way but do we present our authentic selves? Those superheroes that are underneath the clothes we wear on the outside. And do our children have a right to see who we really are and who they could choose to actually be? It wasn't about teaching our children, this is how you dress, but giving our children licence to present who they want.

00:48:25 – Have you ever been involved in some kind of performance where you expressed your Rawiri or Gemini?

00:48:50 – I have done multiple sessions as Gemini and as Ra as a lecturer. I have only done two conferences and a symposium in that dual role. I have done performance that have had monologue attached at night clubs and that. Back in the day when Legends was open and G.A.Y was down Albert Street in the city, we did do performances on stage and microphone work in the clubs, and it was a great way and opportunity for me to 'edumacate' people. We had a very strong cohort of Māori back then, Māori drag queens, who were very strong not only in their drag but also their Māoritanga. Like Miss Cola Gin—as camp and citified as she's been— she was the voice for Tommy Taurima and the Kapa Haka group who travelled all over the motu and overseas. Her vocal range is ridiculous, but even today she celebrates her Māoritanga and still sings those songs from Tommy Taurima, and so she should. He is her uncle. We had some amazing Māori people, who came from very well-known whanau. Māori from across the motu, and even though we had fences put up by our own whānau or we put up ourselves, we brought those elements to the city. We wove it into our drag performances, we never actually became disconnected because we found ways to infuse them.

00:51:36 – Can you tell us about your life at the time this happened?

00:51:45 – My life at this time is tiring. It is tiring because I am at this point, because I know I have given enough to non-Māori. I have served my purpose working in te ao Pākehā, to build up enough of a profile, that will give me options beyond what I am doing. Right now I am in the middle of transitioning back to Tūranga nui a Kiwa. My plan is to move back to Tūranga nui a mua, and I want to move into that area because it is still farmlands and a bit of section so that my boy can have grass to run around and come summer times, I want my boy to be able to set up a tent for him and his mates and piss off, out of the house. Just everything he doesn't have here in Auckland. Can't put up a tent in the backyard because it covers the entire backyard basically. I want him to have space. I also know that when I go back, I'm ready to take on a role as lecturer with Te Rito Maioha—Early Childhood Education where I will working and serving our own people

back on the Coast, which will mean I will not have to explain the kōrero, the names, and the pakiwaitara of our people. I can present them without having to deconstruct them for brains that have no clue how to interpret that. To get back to where I am comfortable, back in the kitchen with the nannies, gossiping about who's pregnant, who slept with whose husband, and just feeding our manuhiri and making sure they are all ok. Once I am back in the kitchen, my Kapa Haka returns truthfully, when we can do the whakangahau to everyone while they sit and eat. I cannot wait for that.

00:56:45– Did being Māori influence how you perform?

00:56:50 – Yes, always. One, I always needed to feel the music, to feel the kupu, I needed to understand the storyline so that my performance and my identity could complement the intent of that waiata. 'I am what I am, and what I am needs no excuses.' Once I fully grasped that and understood there is no need for apology, it changed the way I performed that waiata. When I first did that song I felt it was performed in a pushy manner, pushing it upon people, when I finally fully understood the true intent of it, I found, I performed it to myself. It was reaffirming. I do not need to apologise for who I am. It changed that external gratification and actually looked at my own internal fulfilment and that's how it influenced my performance, it was a merging of all my identities.

00:59:30 – Do you think that takatāpui have always been with us? If so, what do you think is our purpose in society?

00:59:45 – In our world, I would suggest our role was to retain that mātauranga that no single gender could hold onto and it was to maintain certain knowledges and practices that had such tapu and such noa, that it had to be maintained with a person who had different mana, we had a vital role. I tēnei wā, kei te haere tonu, I think our role today it may have changed from that type of thing, but it's a harder role in the sense that our role is to break down [barriers] that others have put up, to confront and generate those conversations and thoughts that are needed. At the end of the day I think we always have been some form of advocate, the advocacy today may be different but important, because we are at a point where our world needs to move to a different point. Our people are not at that mindset yet. Our role is to facilitate the shift in thinking, the shift in being and knowing so that it is ready for that change. Change agents, that is what we do, change is coming and not just on a national level but a global level as well. Bring it.

Interview ended at 01:02:00

INTERVIEW 9B: Rawiri Keelan
Interviewer: Tangaroa Paora
Location: Zoom
Date: May 10, 2022, 4:30pm
Time: 00:00:00 - 00:13:05
Recording device: Apple Iphone
Transcribed by: Tangaroa Paora
Translation: Tangaroa Paora

00:00:42 - How did you feel during the shoot?
00:00:53 – I really enjoyed the day as a kaupapa. There was definitely an energy, it was very ngāwari [gentle], there was no pressure, no stress to it, everything just seemed to flow, and I love the flexibility and adaptability of not only the processes and steps we went through, but the wairua of everyone involved was just on point, and I was just happy to adapt to the situations and timeframes and everything. It was just a lovely day. Normally after those sorts of things I come home and have a nap. Well organised, and you kept it transparent for all of us, and the lovely ladies who worked in the background as well, they were just awesome and the manaakitanga was just beautiful.

00:03:36 - Looking at the first set of photographs of you, what does it tell us about you and why?
00:03:45 – I think not only the hands but the body posture and the look on my face, it really is about service, what I endeavour to do is to retain my multiple identities but still serve our tamariki and whānau in early childhood. Each image also reflects an aspect of my life, I think the first, one that kuare with the blank look with my head tilted would almost be where I was still looking and figuring out who I am, the second one is my camouflage stance where I had to be like Wonder Woman and put on my shields, for me, my shield was not only the fact that I am a male, Māori, I am gay but also I camouflaged it all, those identities and the conflict that comes with it through humour. That one [Image 2] shows my humour as my shield to protect my inner self. The third one, with me reaching up, I think that whole notion of trying to pursue the kaupapa that I want and to leave a legacy that I would hope for, to learn one thing and teach one thing.

00:06:20 – Looking at the second set of photographs, what do these images tell us about you now and why?
00:06:30 – The last two I really like. I am not worried which one, but the last one I do like because that's "E ai tō ure ki te tamāhine." The last one or last two are my favourites. It really is me, it's filthy and I love it. I mean even me taking off my shirt is one thing, but it shows a sense of my wana, the wehi, and those aspects of haka, and I don't always like doing haka but when I do have to do a haka, I try to feel it fully and recall the way I was taught and those tīpuna and tūpuna who came before me, to just share that time and space with me. I think that is such a key part of my identity that I am really proud of, that haka component but just to be able to have a little bit of sparkle in makeup and eyeshadow, for me made it even more fierce and not necessarily the fierce Māori warrior, but a fierce Māori warrior of today. I think that is

the difference; why those photos really speak to me and would share a part of that story.

00:11:05 - How did you feel when you were being photographed?
00:11:15 – I was ok with the photoshoot and the environment it was in, with Marcos and his wife and stuff. I have done a lot of photoshoots in that sort of setting, so I was like "Ok, no big deal."

00:12:03 - What is your identity?
00:12:05 – Identity to me is the fluidity of a river. It is constantly changing within the context of the people in that environment. Some people might call it like a hat, you put on a hat for different environments and settings and that's what I feel my identity is. It changes to suit where I am at and who I am with. Each identity I take on becomes a mantle of who I am as a person, as a Māori, as a takatāpui, as Ra, as Aunty or Uncle, as Felecia or Marry, it is just an ever-changing river. That's how I see my identity. It is almost like our pepeha, [in] different settings our pepeha change, my identity is exactly like that.

Interview ended at 00:13:05

INTERVIEW 1 (Self interview)
Interviewer: Dr Welby Ings [Questions prepared by the researcher, Tangaroa Paora]
Location: Wharf Road, Te Atatu Peninsula, Tāmaki Makaurau, NZ
Date: August 26, 2021, 10:40am
Time: 00:00:25 - 00:54:45
Recording device: Iphone 12pro
Transcribed by: Tangaroa Paora
Translation: Tangaroa Paora

Wāhanga Tuatahi (Introductory questions)

00:00:25 – Can you tell me your preferred name and iwi affiliation?
00:00:35 – Kia ora, my name is Tangaroa Paul (Paora) and I hail from Muriwhenua, which some refer to [as] Te rohe pōtae o Muriwhenua, which is the boundary line for the Far North.

00:00:55 – Where were you born?
00:00:57 – I was born on May 14th, 1995, in North Shore hospital.

00:01:03 – Where did you grow up?
00:01:07 – Well I was born on the North Shore in Tāmaki Makaurau, but the upbringing element was a little different. Although my home life was on the [North] Shore, I grew up mainly out in Waitākere, mainly at Hoani Waititi Marae.

00:01:30 – Can you describe your personality in three words?
00:01:45 – I would think I am Introverted, I feel normal in most cases, but I also definitely feel Lost.

Questions relating to Wāhanga Tuarua (Kapa Haka)

00:03:40 – What has/is your involvement been with Kapa Haka?
00:03:45 – I was pretty much born into it, my parents and grandparents (on my mother's side) at that time were some of the first members of Te Roopu Manutaki, based at Hoani Waititi Marae, which was I guess the first Kapa Haka group from West Auckland since its inception in the late 60s. Just growing up at the marae, at Kura Kaupapa, Kapa Haka was just another day-to-day activity, it became so much part of our lives, it was our breakfast, lunch and dinner, all day, every day.

00:04:40 – Do you see any practices or values that challenge conventions in Kapa Haka?
00:05:00 – From a traditional point of view and also understanding that Kapa Haka itself is still an evolutionary element to the Māori culture, it has only been a known thing in the last 40 years, truly in the form that we know it to be now. Conventionally, Kapa Haka has demarcated male and female gender roles, and how those genders occupy particular elements of a Kapa Haka performance or ways of performing Kapa Haka. I would say in the last five years, properly seeing a change or having mainly men and takatāpui men challenging those notions and conventions, and in the last two years we have had female or whakawahine/whakatāne challenge those conventions more openly within Kapa Haka and competition.

00:06:05 – Can you think of any specific instances where you've seen that?
00:06:15 – Yes, in the 2020 Tāmaki Makarau Regional Competition, there was a roopu Kapa Haka from out South Auckland where they had transman or whakatāne kaihaka [performers]; for the first time ever in history having a trans man perform Kapa Haka ... a bare-chested trans man as well. What was also amazing to see was there was no difference in the way of being or performing, what we saw on camera and in reality was a male. It was quite beautiful to witness. In that same competition, there was another group who had a trans man or whakatāne who was still challenging gender within Kapa Haka, but again it was wonderful seeing how talented these types of people, or beings of te ao Māori, perform Kapa Haka.

00:07:35 – Have you yourself performed or seen roles in Kapa Haka that are conventionally male or female?
00:07:50 – There are a couple of examples I can think of for myself [...] I'm pretty sure I'm the first non-binary or gender fluid person to perform Kapa Haka, identifying as a gay male, but my gender is fluid. So I was given the opportunity to perform in the wahine lines in a Kapa Haka group. However, I do believe in the late 80s and early 90s, wahine, whakawahine were at the forefront of challenging those notions in Kapa Haka, specifically again within another roopu, the Kapa Haka from Hoani Waititi Marae.

00:09:10 – Do you see gender roles in Kapa Haka as separate or can they be fluid?
00:09:17 – It can be hard to discuss this, because my understanding of tikanga does conflict with [a] way of being and expressions of the self within Kapa Haka. Even though Kapa Haka does stem from tikanga or cultural practices (like being on the marae and what that entails), I still see Kapa Haka as performance, as entertainment, and I feel like our people from our traditional or old world, they understood what was appropriate and what was needed for their environment at the time. Ultimately, it should not be about breaking tikanga, but moulding it, applying tikanga that fits that people in that time, so I think performance can be fluid in certain areas, but this needs more discussion with male, female and both non-binary or gender fluid kaihaka [performers/experts] as well.

00:10:55 – Are you aware of any historical accounts of same sex attraction or gender fluidity, either in Kapa Haka, pūrākau, oriori, or waiata?
00:11:15 – If I use waiata as an example, there is an old lament where it talks of a person expressing his desire to sleep 'with this woman, with that man.' There is a more contemporary poi item entitled 'Pākete Whero,' that talks of two people meeting up in secret to embrace each other. What it refers to is the pākete whero (red scarf) and in particular the lyrics illustrate instructions to meet on a certain street and wearing your red scarf. What this indicates is the fluidity in sexuality, because only women from this area wear the red scarf. The way in which we illustrated those types of relationships through contemporary waiata is quite clever,

because they used waiata to tell those stories. Another story I read about once was of this takatāpui wahine and her first experience meeting or recognising another takatāpui wahine performing Kapa Haka, and her way of performing wasn't so much feminine or female-like, but more masculine, and she associated that with being fluid in gender.

00:14:10 – Do you see wairua and mauri as gendered, or considered male or female or non-gendered?
00:14:20 – I think because wairua and mauri isn't something that is seen but something that is felt, its energy or frequency that resonates with our people in te ao Māori. It is fluid, and I think it also tends to characterise more what they represent, … how they are felt or sensed, but I don't think they are gendered, if anything they are an example of what it means to be fluid or non-binary.

00:15:40 – Is there anything else you would like to add, around your experience with takatāpui tāne, or takatāpui in general in relation to Kapa Haka?
00:15:55 – Yeah, I really do believe Kapa Haka is the vessel or medium where we challenge, it's a space for discussion not only around LGBTQI+ inclusivity. Kapa Haka is known for being the space for our people to lay out our issues, experiences that are facing our people at that current time and normally some are political issues, negative statistics against Māori and so on. I just think it should and can be another space for takatāpui people, and our Māori people to be open to finding out how to be more inclusive and not separate things based on two genders and allowing space for a coming of the new.

Questions relating to Wāhanga Tuatoru (Takatāpuitanga)

00:26:40 – Are there any words or terms that you use to describe your sexual orientation and gender?
00:26:55 – For myself (I mean me and my people), sexuality wise I am gay, and [my] gender identity is Irarere. This is a term that I read only a year or so ago. I know it is a new term because I've never heard it being used. Understanding the foundation behind the term, with reference to ira meaning gene or life principle, even consciousness, and rere being flight or fluid—even to describe flow. For me, that's how I saw my gender, or the way I expressed it, with having a tendency to be feminine but also having some tendencies to be what is considered masculine or male attributes in both personality and behaviour, but not situating myself as one or the other; I do feel like I'm both.

00:28:45 – Have you ever been involved in some kind of performance where you expressed your gayness or the state of fluidity?
00:29:00 – Yes, in a way I feel like every time I've performed I haven't expressed gayness or even fluidity in gender. My being the way that I am, was the expression of fluidity. But recently, in the last five or so years, opportunities to express that on a bigger scale have come my way, in terms of experience. One, being able to perform as a female kaihaka in an adult group, even among my

Māori students' association at university, had given me the safe space to express my love for Kapa Haka and in particular my love for performing poi, and allowing that space for me to [be] whatever I wanted it to be ... to experiment and not worry about judgement. That was truly the space where I could explore my gender and fluidity. If anything, I owe it all to that space, because we didn't even describe it as fluidity it was just understood as being Tangaroa.

00:30:45 – Apart from poi, has that ever transferred to anything else, like waiata, haka, drag, or any other field that is not poi?
00:30:55 – Within Kapa Haka, I think I have expressed my fluidity in haka itself. Back in 2014, I was trialling to gain a position in a roopu Kapa Haka, and one of the elements was to perform (in groups of five), the haka item for that competition, and it was the first time I really tried to give my all, in terms of performing haka and trying to exude a masculine way of performing that item. And I think it did freak some of my friends, whānau members, other people too, just because up to that point I never performed like that, and normally I would perform elements of Kapa Haka quite femininely, and I feel like that is where my male peers really got to see a different side of me. In some ways, straight after that performance, the accolades and words of affirmation were overwhelming because no one saw that side of me, not even in my own family. It made me glad to see that form of acceptance because I was able to be part of the boys' group within the group and that I could hold my own, but at the same time, internally, it made me question if it meant having to be constantly, mostly masculine in my way of performing, to be part of the group ... or to even be accepted by my peers and whānau. It probably was only my internal issues in the way I processed that experience, over the years I have put it down to fluidity being my point of difference within performing Kapa Haka.

00:33:35 – Can you tell us about your life at the time this happened?
00:33:45 – I was in the fresh part of my university journey, and from 2013 onwards is where I really started to open myself up and be vulnerable in spaces around my way of being and expression. I used university as my 'new chapter in life,' and I was going to create the image and identity that I felt was me; the new me stage. I was very naive and ignorant to the way I thought I was going to mould that part of my life, and it was hard trying to navigate who I was, and identify my place within this world (both te ao Māori and in the real world as well), and all the challenges this came with. Kapa Haka, however, was that safe space where I could evoke conversation around fluidity and gender expression, without it being the focus, but rather Kapa Haka itself, and how we brought those conversations about gender out of it.

00:36:05 – Did being Māori influence how you perform?
00:36:10 =Yes, but not within Kapa Haka. My understanding of te ao Māori actually influenced the way I performed in other fields, like fashion installations required

me to perform a way that was authentically me, and Kapa Haka was that point of difference for me.

00:37:30 – How does being Māori influence the way you perform fashion in the world?
00:37:55 – If I can use my friend as an example, who is the designer and creator of the fashion installation. The primary focus for her fashion label is creating or designing fashion for fat bodies, and decolonising our understanding of what it means to be fat, including challenging the stigma and attitudes towards who should or shouldn't wear high end fashion. Part of that, the influence which guided her creating fashion pieces, came from her cultural upbringing, knowledge, life experiences, and inclusivity of all. In terms of my own experience with this particular fashion show, I was encouraged to have fun and just go with the flow and feel how you can move with the gown you wear. This is where I think wairua and mauri come into play. It's something we don't see but feel, and that's something that our way of being Māori is that type of frequency, that is felt not seen.

00:40:30 – Are you aware of any historical accounts of same sex attraction or gender fluidity among your own people, in waiata, pūrākai or oriori?
00:41:00 – I only really know of one, and that is the narrative of where the term takatāpui comes from. There is a famous love story that talks about Tutānekai and Hinemoa (of Te Arawa), and this story is known throughout the Māori world. However in my own journey of discovery, I had found that other takatāpui researchers had actually researched archival material where a reference to the term takatāpui was first used, and it was to do with Tutānekai and his discussion with his father Whakaue, and how he expressed his dying love for his takatāpui friend Tiki. That term was coined to describe the intimate relationship two men can have, and although it wasn't illustrating or depicting anything sexual between the two men, it described the type of love that one male can have for another. Today some would identify it as a 'bromance,' and that element of undying love for another male was very real and very common back in the old world. I also believe it was very normal and accepted to be fluid and expressive with anyone regardless of gender. In terms of sexual interactions, I only recently read about research that's already being discussed around missionaries and the observations of Māori they recorded in their journals. One recording was of mutual masturbation amongst young Māori men, and in time for some grew into more sexual practices, and another account noted a male to male marriage. Even though the observation was made by non-Māori, it still gives lens on a space in our old world where fluidity, and in particular sexual fluidity, was not only practiced but accepted within our people.

00:43:50 – Being a gay male and identifying as Irarere, do you think that takatāpui have always been with us? If so, what do you think is our purpose in society?

00:44:15 – When I first came out to my father's close friend from university, he was my first real example of an openly gay and expressive takatāpui man who seemed to function quite fluidly within te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā. He is also a life-long family friend. I asked him, what is the purpose of our people? He said, in the most simple way, we were there to create balance, balance between men and women in whatever shape or form it was. He didn't go into much after that. I'm assuming he wanted me to interpret that for myself. So for me, in terms of creating balance, it is common for takatāpui tāne, wahine or whakawahine/tāne to actually mould or shape themselves in the way they act, behave or speak, to be fluid in that space. Takatāpui know how to interact with any gender because they themselves are fluid in gender or way of being. It's not an act but another expression of who they are. From a historical point, with reference to our Polynesian cultures, there is commonality where those who identified as being neither one gender or the other, but both were recognised as ariki or tohunga (knowledge keepers), specifically in relation to elements of spirituality and the metaphysical world—and around waiata, dance, performance. We express fluidity through these mediums. So I think the purpose was to teach and give knowledge and understanding about the realms where gender doesn't reside, and our way of being comes from having a more fluid and holistic understanding of spirituality, because we can express that in a physical state or manner.

00:47:20 – Do you think that wairua and mauri are gendered?

00:47:30 – I don't think there is one particular gender associated to it, only because of what I've come to know and understand around wairua and mauri being a consciousness that can only really be felt. In some ways, we as Māori use gender in our god narratives to make sense of our environment or space. For example if we use Ranginui and Papatūānuku, we have assigned gender to them to make sense of that particular element to our universe, but really we characterise what we experience in association to behaviour to illustrate who they are and how they are (even as gods). Ranginui is identified as male and Papatūānuku as female, but their characteristics fall opposite to what is normally associated to that gender. Ranginui although male, is normally described or illustrated as crying or yearning for Papatūānuku, being gentle, and wanting nothing but to be with his other half. Papatūānuku, although female, is often described as strong, resilient and a fighter, which shows the fluidity of not the gods themselves, but the way in which being is fluid is not associated to gender itself.

00:50:10 – Is there anything you would like to add or mention with regards to fluidity in being?

00:50:30 – Even though I'm still trying to navigate who I am and where I belong in this world, and I might always feel like this, I'm looking forward to discovering, in the hope that I can reaffirm my place within the world, which is the hardest thing. But we must

always remember that trying to reclaim your own authentic way of being is the journey itself for everyone, not just takatāpui, trying to find your place, your role or purpose. For takatāpui, in order for us to live our purpose and have a reason for being in this world, we have to be authentic in 'self,' so that fluidity can be seen and felt for all Māori people.

Interview ended at 00:54:45