

## **Title: Disrupting Racism – Young ethnic queers in white queer Aotearoa New Zealand**

### **Abstract**

Queer ethnic young people in Aotearoa New Zealand are a multi-marginalized group, many of whom are met with racism and exclusion from a predominantly white queer community. Very little is known about how young ethnic queers in Aotearoa navigate a community that inheres the ideals and structures of racism. This in-depth qualitative study of 43 queer ethnic young people living in two of the largest metropolitan cities in Aotearoa investigates their experiences and relationships with the white queer community through Persadie and Narain's mash-up analytical process. For these young ethnic queers, disrupting the racist behaviours and practices within queer spaces and of white queers were crucial in helping them challenge, resist, speak up to and reflect on their experiences with white saviourism, objectification, patronization, and rejection.

Keywords: ethnic, queer, racism, young people, Aotearoa New Zealand

## Introduction

This paper focuses on young ethnic<sup>1</sup> queers<sup>2</sup> and their racialized experiences with the wider queer community<sup>3</sup> in Aotearoa<sup>4</sup>. It is not the intention of this paper, and beyond its scope, to discuss racism in the context of the colonization of Aotearoa, or the differential histories and impacts of racism on Indigenous, Pacific, and ethnic peoples in Aotearoa. This paper highlights the largely unacknowledged and unaddressed racism that exists among the predominantly white queer community in Aotearoa towards the (young) ethnic queer community.

The study on which this paper is based arose from an evaluation of a family violence programme where it was observed that many ethnic communities' responses to queer family and community members, such as rejection, ostracization, gossiping, and gender surveilling were not perceived as harmful or abusive. In consultation with queer ethnic young people, community, and LGBTQI+<sup>5</sup> organizations, a research project was designed to investigate how queer ethnic young people in Aotearoa experienced relationships with family, community, and intimate partners. The study showed that racialized experiences and encounters were common occurrences and had a significant impact on young ethnic queers.

The theoretical focus of this paper is racism. Although the authors are cognizant of the intersectional spaces occupied by young ethnic queers from religious and cultural backgrounds and holding resident, migrant, or refugee background status, the emphasis of this paper is on young ethnic queers and the ways in which they experience and respond to racism from the white queer community. Although the participants felt affirmed by their intersectional spaces, they did not want those intersections to overshadow the spectre of racism. Instead, they chose to forefront the embodied racism of the queer community.

This paper begins by recalling the events surrounding the Auckland Pride Parade 2019 in Aotearoa. This is a significant incident in the racial history of the LGBTQI+ community but despite the many media reports, there are no academic accounts of the event.

---

<sup>1</sup> In Aotearoa New Zealand, the Ministry for Ethnic Communities' official definition (<https://www.ethniccommunities.govt.nz/community-directory/>) of ethnic refers to peoples of Asian, African, Middle Eastern, and Latin American heritage as well as those from Continental Europe, but excludes Māori, Pacific Island peoples, and those from the dominant European culture. The participants in this paper are those considered ethnic but excludes people from Continental Europe.

<sup>2</sup> Queer is used in this study except when authors' work reference other terminology (eg.lesbian, gay, trans persons). Most of the participants identified as queer.

<sup>3</sup> Community in its plurality is acknowledged.

<sup>4</sup> Aotearoa - Māori name for New Zealand and will be used throughout the paper as it is now common usage.

<sup>5</sup> LGBTQI+ is used when referring to organizations and communities as this acronym appears on several Aotearoa New Zealand websites in reference to LGBTQI+ communities and organizations.

In 2019, just prior to the Pride Parade in Tāmaki Makaurau (Auckland), there was considerable opposition from the mostly younger members of the queer community to the presence of the police in uniform at the Parade. The tensions that erupted highlighted the divisions in the LGBTQI+ community with predominantly older gay white males supporting the uniformed police presence, and a younger LGBTQI+ community including small but vocal and active Māori<sup>6</sup> and Pasifika<sup>7</sup> groups in opposition. Similar to global studies with Indigenous communities and communities of colour, Māori, Pasifika and ethnic peoples, particularly those from the trans community, are disproportionately harmed by police brutality and the justice system (Lamusse, 2016; Tauri, 2005; Nakhid, 2018, 2017).

The highly publicized quarrel was played out in the media and on social media platforms, and led to a call for a vote of no confidence in the new leadership of the Auckland Pride Board which supported the ban on uniformed police in the Parade. It was expected that the voice of the older, more established members would prevail as there had always been low membership of young people in Auckland Pride<sup>8</sup>. However, the rallying of a younger more politically active queer community led to an increased enrolment of young queers who subsequently cast their vote to retain both the new leadership and the ban.

The Parade, which had largely benefited a white wealthy gay area of Auckland was cancelled as many businesses and corporations withdrew, citing their disapproval with the police ban, but clearly aware that they would lose the income from their traditional white wealthy gay male patrons if they supported the Parade. The hospitality industry, including restaurants, bars, and paid accommodation in the vicinity of the Pride Parade was openly disappointed and, along with many in the white LGBTQI+ community, condemned the new leadership. The subsequent withdrawal of businesses and corporations from the Pride Parade was a clear indication that their support for the LGBTQI+ community was motivated by profit. With no financial support for the Parade, the new leadership organized a Pride March in keeping with the purpose and values of the marches organized by the LGBTQI+ community several years prior. There was no corporate presence at the Pride March but there was wide community support.

The public conflict within the LGBTQI+ community appeared to be of great concern to the queer community as they fought to protect their image as a unified and inclusive family. However, for many Māori, Pasifika and ethnic queers, they and their concerns had never been

---

<sup>6</sup> Māori - tangata whenua (indigenous people) of Aotearoa.

<sup>7</sup> Pasifika – term used to refer to peoples of Pacific Island heritage living in Aotearoa.

<sup>8</sup> Auckland Pride – an organization for the LGBTQI+ community in Auckland

acknowledged or addressed by the queer community due to the ongoing racism from white queers.

The banning of uniformed police in the 2019 Auckland Pride Parade has a longer history. Takatāpui<sup>9</sup> and young ethnic queers have long been involved in disrupting the systemic racism in institutions of colonial state power and in wider society including among white queer communities. In 2014, Queers Against Israeli Apartheid intervened with street theatre against the Israeli embassy's use of Auckland Pride as a platform for pinkwashing<sup>10</sup>. Several activists including Palestinian, Māori, Pasifika, Asian, and Jewish queers were physically assaulted and removed from the Pride Parade. The following year, the non-involvement of the Israeli embassy in the Parade was a result of the opposition to the racism inherent in the white, cis gay men-centred and controlled, corporatised Pride Parade. A year later, queer activists of colour disrupted Auckland Pride in response to the inclusion of corrections officers and police marching in uniform. At Auckland Pride 2016, a 'Fuck Pride' rally was organized against the ongoing inclusion of uniformed police. That year, the police marched not only in uniform but on horseback, kettling and assaulting several queer and trans youth.

The diversity within LGBTQI+ communities give rise to many different perspectives on Pride parades and festivals. For some parade participants, Pride is a political protest while, for others, it is a celebration of self-expression (Formby, 2017). Many groups under the broader LGBTQI+ umbrella, however, feel and have been excluded from Pride events. In 2016, the sit-in by Black Lives Matter at the Toronto Pride Parade in support of Black queer and trans people (Furman et al., 2018; Greey, 2018) highlighted the prevalent racism in many of the Pride celebrations throughout the world (Smith, 2020; Squires, 2019). Trans and queer people of colour are more likely to experience police brutality, and the Black Lives Matter Toronto's demand for the elimination of the police presence at the Toronto Pride Parade was to acknowledge this. Pride events have an extensive history of excluding other marginalized groups, often prioritizing capitalism and white bodies (Keating, 2021). In contrast, Black, Indigenous and People of Colour queer and trans communities have worked to create anti-racist and police-free spaces in Pride events and parades (Coston et al., 2020).

The LGBTQI+ community in Aotearoa, like many LGBTQI+ communities internationally, have fought a long and difficult battle to be accepted by a predominantly heterosexual society.

---

<sup>9</sup> Takatāpui is a Māori term, historically meaning 'intimate companion of the same sex'.

<sup>10</sup> In this case, the word "pinkwashing" referred to Israel's dishonest abuse of its record on LGBT human rights to conceal or "whitewash" its conflict with the Palestinians (Blackmer, 2019).

Much of this earlier activism had been led or supported by LGBTQI+ Māori and Pasifika (Kenix & Bandopadhyaya, 2021). Māori identity has long been involved in advocating for the acceptance of gay rights with Māori urbanization greatly influencing the LGBTQ<sup>11</sup> movement (Jennings & Millward, 2016). The first lesbian clubs held a strong Māori presence (Carlyon & Morrow, 2013), and in the 1970s, with lesbian and Māori rights activist Ngahuia Te Awekotuku catalysing gay liberation in Aotearoa, several Māori LGBTQ activists were involved in organizations focused on lesbian feminism and gay liberation (Kerekere, 2016).

In March 1985, the Homosexual Law Reform Bill which was introduced to the House of Representatives had two parts - the first dealt with the decriminalisation of sexual offences between men and of consensual heterosexual anal intercourse; the second would make it illegal to discriminate on the grounds of sexual orientation in the areas of employment, accommodation, and the supply of goods and services. The bill was passed by 49 votes to 44 on 9 July 1986. It was only a partial victory as the second part of the bill, which would have removed discrimination based on sexuality, was rejected. Opponents argued that as homosexuality was not a human rights issue, discrimination was acceptable. In 1993, the Human Rights Act was passed which made it illegal in New Zealand to discriminate on the grounds of sexual orientation. In 2005, the Civil Unions Act allowed gay and lesbian couples to formalise their relationship, and in 2013, through the Marriage (Definition of Marriage) Amendment Act, New Zealand became the 13th country in the world – and the first in the Asia-Pacific region – to allow same-sex couples to marry.

While mainstream Aotearoa did eventually welcome the gay community through legal and societal interactions, it was predominantly a certain sector of the LGBTQI+ community to whom this welcome was directed - gay white males and, almost to the same degree, white lesbians (Morgan & Lamusse, 2016). Knowing that that they no longer held a legally marginalized status, white queers embraced their white privilege and ignored issues affecting Māori, Pasifika, and ethnic queers who remained precariously positioned as a result of a systemically racialized society. With the removal of their status as a discriminated and disenfranchised group, white queers had little incentive or interest in pursuing racial justice, equality, and equity.

Like many such incidents around the world involving queer activists of colour, the narratives around Auckland Pride 2019 have begun to change to reveal a diminishing of the work done

---

<sup>11</sup> Acronyms and words (eg LGBT, LGB, gay, lesbian) used in this paper are those employed by the authors in their work.

by those who challenged the presence of police in uniforms, a dismissal and negation of the impact of the white gay males' support of uniformed police at the Parade and of the voices of those in opposition, and an erasure of the level of conflict that existed during that time. This paper, while revealing the racism experienced and responded to by young ethnic queers in Aotearoa, also seeks to ensure that those voices are not erased, minimized, or written over.

## Literature

There is an absence of literature that speaks directly to the racism experienced by ethnic queer communities in Aotearoa. Although several studies have referred to racism as one of the forms of discrimination experienced by ethnic LGBTQI+ in contexts such as health, education, and housing, there is no literature focused on the racism experienced by ethnic queers in Aotearoa.

### Racism in the queer community

Racism within the LGBTQ+ movement is well documented (Bérubé, 2018; Furman et al., 2018; Hailey et al., 2020; Worthen, 2018). Most gay and lesbian organizations are controlled and dominated by middle-class, gay white men or women. 'Gay' has been infused with the standpoint and experiences of white gays and ignores the experiences of queers and trans people of colour who are repeatedly confronted with the ideal of queerness as whiteness (Peters, 2011). Race has been shown to be the most important determinant in shaping social interactions between LGBQ people of colour and white queer spaces (Logie & Rwigema 2021). LBQ women of colour have often found themselves in a position where they have had to prioritize race over sexual identity at the same time dealing with the lack of acknowledgement by white gay communities of the presence of racism (Logie & Rwigema, 2021).

Black and Latino gay young men in the US attributed race to the microaggressions they faced, such as sexual objectification, being seen as non-residents, and confronted with the negative stereotypes associated with Black and Latino people (Follins, 2014). Nadal et al.'s research (2015) with 80 LGBTQ+ people, 62 of whom were people of colour, showed that intersectional microaggressions included exoticization of women of colour, an assumption of inferior status, invisibility and the sexualization of Asian men, and assumptions of criminality for men of colour.

The prevalent media representations of LGBTQ+ persons as white contribute to the invisibility of LGBTQ+ women of colour in queer communities and their exclusion from white LGBTQ+

spaces and broader society (Earle, 2016). LGBTQI+ women of colour are further marginalized when they are portrayed as aggressive, emotional, and hyper-sexualized in contrast to white women who are constructed as passive and feminine. The women are also confronted with structural inequities such as homophobia, racism, classism, sexism, and ableism (Earle, 2016). The experiences of racial discrimination among South Asian queer women in Toronto, Canada were found to impact their identity formation and connection to queer spaces (Patel, 2019). The women experienced racially charged microaggressions, were expected to assimilate to Western normative performances of queer identity when amongst the white LGBTQ+ community, and were alienated if they did not fit into the majority white LGBTQ+ community's conceptualization of a queer South Asian woman.

The liberation of the LGBTQI+ community is seen by queer people of colour as a predominantly white phenomenon that does not capture their experiences. The persistent racism perpetuated by white LGBTQI+ communities has contributed to queers of colour feeling invisible, marginalized, and excluded. Mainstream LGBTQ spaces have failed to “fully and meaningfully include LGBTQ people” or to challenge racism and transphobia (Pattisapu, 2019, p.34). Those who advocate for intentionally closed spaces for LGBTQ youth of colour are often criticized as being opposed to diversity and inclusiveness (Pattisapu, 2019). Parmenter et al (2021) found that transgender or gender non-conforming people of colour were even more likely to be excluded from and to lack representation within the LGBTQ+ community or within LGBTQ+ organizations. Globally, racism has had a profound impact on the formation of gay urban spaces which continue to exclude LGBTQ people of colour (Rosenberg, 2017). Rosenberg (2017) highlighted the role of queer non-profit organizations in Chicago in the community policing and targeting of queer and trans young people of colour. Organizations that were set up to provide safe and caring spaces for LGBTQ youth were instead focused on a defense of whiteness and of reinforcing structural and social violence against LGBTQ youth of colour. In addition, Western LGBT/Q activism have utilized a narrative around sexual exceptionalism to depict non-Western countries as violent and homophobic (Frey, 2016). The ““liberated” white, gay Westerner’ has assumed the burden of rescuing ethnic queers from the supposed oppression of their cultural traditions and homophobic societies (Bracke, 2012, Morgensen, 2010; Frey, 2016).

[Ethnic queers in Aotearoa](#)

The ethnic community in Aotearoa is one of the fastest growing in the country. Young people with heritage from the official ethnic groups (Asian, Middle Eastern, Latin American, and African) represent some of the largest increases in the country's youth population. Migration from these regions of origin as well as natural growth account for the increase in young ethnic people (Ministry for Ethnic Communities, n.d.). Consequently, it is expected that there will be a corresponding increase in the young queer ethnic population. Statistics provided by the Ministry for Ethnic Communities<sup>12</sup> estimate that there are around 17,500 queer ethnic youth between the ages of 12-24 (World Health Organization, n.d.)<sup>13</sup>. In 2018, the New Zealand population<sup>14</sup> included 70.2% European (3,297,860 people); 16.5% Māori (775,840 people); 15.1% Asian (707,600 people); 8.1% Pacific peoples (381,640 people); and 1.5% Middle Eastern, Latin American and African (MELAA) (70,330 people) (Environmental Health Intelligence New Zealand Massey University, n.d.).

The Household Economic Survey (HES) 2020 (Stats NZ, n.d.) is a survey of about 16,000 responding households (including more than 31,000 people aged 18 and over) in Aotearoa. The LGBT+ indicator created for the HES showed that, of the total population aged 18+ years, 4.2 percent (approximately 160,600 people) of people were part of Aotearoa's LGBT+ population. This number was made up predominantly of transgender and cisgender women (53.5 percent), followed by 38.8 percent transgender and cisgender men, and 7.6 percent non-binary people<sup>15</sup>. Of the adult population, 0.8 percent were transgender or non-binary, 3.7 percent identified with a sexual minority comprising 1.2 percent gay or lesbian people, 1.7 percent bisexual people, and 0.8 percent of people who reported another sexual identity.

The Counting Ourselves Survey (2018) is a "comprehensive national survey of the health, and factors related to health, of trans and non-binary people aged 14 and older living in Aotearoa New Zealand". As the Counting Ourselves report states, of the 1,178 survey participants, "the survey had a higher proportion of European participants and a lower proportion of Asian participants than the general population". There is no mention of the other major ethnic groups categorized in Statistics NZ (Middle Eastern, African, Latin American) that reside in Aotearoa. While the report mentioned several factors impacting the well-being of trans and non-binary people, not surprisingly, there was no mention of racism. This might have been due to the

---

<sup>12</sup> Communication from Ministry for Ethnic Communities, October 2021.

<sup>13</sup> The World Health Organisation (WHO) defines young people as those aged between 12–24 years. This definition is used in the New Zealand's Child and Youth Wellbeing Strategy.

<sup>14</sup> Total response ethnic groups have been used (where everyone is included in every ethnic group they identify with) so percentages will add to more than 100%.

<sup>15</sup> People who reported another gender that was not male or female.

majority of the participants being European. It should be noted that almost all research studies on the LGBTQI+ communities in Aotearoa involving ethnic peoples have been dominated by Asian male participants.

Fraser's (2021) qualitative study of takatāpui /LGBTIQ+ (Māori, Pākehā <sup>16</sup>, and African) participants in Aotearoa revealed that the intersections of racism and transphobia resulted in trans people being pushed into precarious living situations. LGBTQI+ ethnic women were failed by systems intended to support them and structural failings such as racism, transphobia, and homophobia further exposed these women to adverse experiences (Fraser, 2021). Although the stigma against Pacific Rainbow Communities within a Pacific context has been documented, Pacific voices have often been shut out by cisgendered, gay European men within Rainbow/Queer communities in Aotearoa (Thomsen et al., 2021). The Adhikaar Report highlighted the racism faced by LGBT+ South Asians in Aotearoa. This comprehensive study by Bal and Divakalala (2022) was based on semi-structured and narrative-based interviews with 43 participants aged between 17 and 51, with a predominance of younger people. The participants in the study believed that racism was prevalent in Aotearoa and most of them had experienced varied forms of racism from the mainstream<sup>17</sup> LGBT+ community. Bal and Divakalala argued that racism from this community carried greater culpability than the racism of the wider society due to the acceptance and inclusivity espoused by the mainstream LGBT+ community.

Young ethnic queers in Aotearoa who did not wish to lose cultural, familial, and communal connections often chose how they lived their lives, with many young ethnic queers sacrificing intimate partner relationships in order to maintain family relationships (Nakhid et al, 2023). For many young ethnic queers, disclosure of their queerness led to rejection or ostracization as the shame and stigma associated with being queer compromised the standing and status of their families in the typically close and connected communities (Nakhid et al, 2022<sup>b</sup>). Queer ethnic young people in Aotearoa are thus confronted with homelessness and alienation from their family, community, and culture, and/or racism and rejection from the queer community (Nakhid et al, 2022<sup>a</sup>).

---

<sup>16</sup> Māori word for European New Zealander.

<sup>17</sup> "Mainstream queer community" refers to Aotearoa New Zealand's predominantly white dominant LGBTQI+ community.

## Methodology

The aim of this paper is to highlight the racism experienced and responded to by ethnic queers in Aotearoa. The data are drawn from a larger study of young ethnic queers' experiences of relationships with family, community, and intimate partners. Consultation took place with ethnic members of the LGBTQI+ community and LGBTQI+ organizations prior to commencing the study to ensure that the approaches and language used were respectful and appropriate. Researchers engaged with RainbowYouth<sup>18</sup>, Human Rights Commission, Shakti Youth<sup>19</sup>, the NZ Aids Foundation, and the Ministry of Social Development (Settling In division). The three researchers involved in the initial study are ethnic, with two of the researchers identifying as queer. The authors of this paper are ethnic people of colour, with one also identifying with Māori and Pacific Island heritage. Most of the authors identify as queer. Ethics approval for the study was granted by an institutional ethics committee.

The research focused on queer ethnic young people between 18 and 35 years of age living in Aotearoa<sup>20</sup> with the majority of the participants between 18 and 25 years. The participants identified with one or more of the official ethnic groups in Aotearoa (Asian, Middle Eastern, Latin American, and African). The small, close-knit community of openly queer ethnic young people does not allow for disclosing the ethnicity/ ethnic heritage of the participants without breaching confidentiality. The study was carried out with 43 members of the queer community who identified as ethnic and queer/ rainbow/ lesbian/ gay/ trans/ non-binary/ gender fluid. Participants were recruited mainly through purposive and network/relationship sampling. Information about the research was placed in online noticeboards in tertiary institutions, community organizations, and on social media. Thirty-six of the participants lived in Tāmaki Makaurau (Auckland) and seven resided in Pōneke (Wellington). Knowledge was shared in confidential, qualitative, face to face, in depth, semi-structured conversations. Only one participant opted to obtain a copy of the transcript prior to data analysis but made no changes to the transcript. Pseudonyms are used for the participants.

We have drawn on Persadie and Narain's (2023) work on mash-up for an analytical approach to the data, a process more aligned with the diasporic backgrounds and lived realities of the

---

<sup>18</sup> RainbowYouth is a charitable organization for the advancement of queer and gender diverse youth and their friends, families, and whānau.

<sup>19</sup> Shakti Youth is a group of young people from Asian, African and Middle Eastern backgrounds passionate about social justice and building towards a violence-free future.

<sup>20</sup> In Aotearoa, 12 to 24 years is the generally accepted age range for defining "youth" or "young people". This is the age range adopted by the Ministry of Youth Development and within the Youth Development Strategy Aotearoa <https://www.myd.govt.nz/documents/policy-and-research/policy-document-final.pdf>

participants. The mash-up is positioned as a (queer) disruption of the normalization of respectability and social order and provides a critical methodological intervention through embodied theory. Embodied theory privileges the local forms of knowledge emerging from the lives of marginalized peoples (Nixon & King, 2021). The mash-up as a method of analysis allows us to understand the nuances and textures of queer lives in a contemporary landscape, while building a new life in the diaspora and encapsulating the complexities of racialized experiences.

Although mash up as a methodology is a novel approach to analyzing and understanding ethnic queers' responses to racism, mash up as a concept is not unique when framing the multiplicities of ethnicities in regions such as the Caribbean. The use of mash up in this sense, however, is not limited to the Caribbean, as many diasporic and ethnic communities find themselves amid a cultural hybridity that characterizes a mash up. This syncretization has been utilized by Persadie and Narain to develop a research methodology that does not seek to co-exist with or depend on frames of whiteness, or to inhere its colonial reification. Mash up as an affirming methodological approach (Nakhid, 2022) seeks to affirm the experiences and the responses of ethnic queers to the racism of the white queer community in Aotearoa in order to transform and disrupt the prevailing and normative racialized landscape. As people of colour, cognizant of the varieties and complexities of their racialized lives and experiences, young ethnic queers were uniquely able to understand and speak to the racism that confronted them in their daily lives (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017).

Persadie and Narain's framework of mash up is informed by Charles' (2021) feminist action research that posits marginalized communities as conscious of the power systems in which they reside and are not dependent on dominant voices to speak for them. In analyzing the data, the researchers considered the racial microaggressions and everyday racialized experiences faced by queer ethnic young people as expressed in their interviews. These microaggressions and experiences included offensive behaviours towards ethnic families, sexually objectifying ethnic persons, racially minimizing and negating ethnic partners, and patronizing ethnic queers' encounters with racism.

A reflexive analysis of ethnic queers' responses to these racialized experiences allowed the researchers to use mash up's challenge to neocolonial regimes of white hegemony to identify the ways in which ethnic queers sought to disrupt the privilege and embodied racism of the white queer community. We listened to and looked for participants' experiences that showed

their disruption of marginalizing and racist behaviours, and their responses that challenged existing beliefs and approaches intended to maintain the social order of whiteness as the norm in queer spaces. This enabled an affirming and positively transformative approach to understanding and portraying the lives and positionalities of queer ethnic young people in Aotearoa.

## Findings

The findings present the racialized experiences and responses of young ethnic queers in Aotearoa to their relationships with white queers, and to the systemic and institutional racism of the white queer community and within queer organizations. Participants challenged the tokenism towards and patronization of their non-Western cultures, the expectation to fragment their racial and queer identities in order to be accepted, and the marginalization and objectification of their bodies by the white queer community. The findings are represented in the following sections:

- i. Racism in the role of white saviours
- ii. Racism disguised as sexual preference
- iii. Racism as erasure

### Racism in the role of white saviours

At the time that this study was carried out, young ethnic queers in Aotearoa had begun to confront the homophobia that existed in their communities and organizations, and among their queer friends. Yet, as several participants noted, white queers had chosen to take on the role of liberating ethnic queers from what they perceived to be the homophobia of families and cultures. White queers believed that they had the power and knowledge to enable ethnic communities to rid themselves of their homonegativity and be more accepting of different genders and sexualities. They were often found warning the participants that they were not safe in their country of origin.

*AJ: There are lots of queer (white) people who stop me to go back to (country). They say "they were torturing you. They will lock you up. They will do such bad things. You can't go back". I was like, this is my home. Why can't I go back?*

The participants often refrained from sharing the experiences they had with their ethnic communities around queerness as it contributed to mainstream queer society reinforcing their beliefs about the homophobia in these communities.

*Uyo: I think it can make people self-police in those spaces, to not be able to share a lot of the issues they struggle with coz you can just feed into their narrative of “ethnic communities are homophobic”.*

The white partners of participants had, at times, been overtly racist towards the participants' families. Earl's partner had thought it was comical to make offensive comments about their parents because they had not yet come to terms with their queerness. Earl said these behaviours showed not only a lack of respect for other cultures but the ease with which white people could resort to racism.

*Earl: What I didn't like was that whatever frustration they had with my mum, they took up on something that was border line racist - making impressions of my mum in a very poor, poor impression with very unreal, inaccurate accent. Saying things like “oh Olivia, you would make a good husband” ...in a really light, soft voice. My mum has a soft voice but it's almost like feeding into this stereotype that (ethnicity) women are very submissive, and soft spoken, and very strict. And I just thought it crossed the line. I'm just like, that's actually pretty rude.*

Participants expressed their frustration about white queers who thought that they were more knowledgeable about racism than those who had dealt with it for most of their lives. This attitude of white queers illustrated their erasure of the experiences of Indigenous, Black and People of colour with police brutality and helps to explain the uncritical support of white queers for uniformed police at the Pride festival.

*Ollar: People in that (white) rainbow community who think they can speak on my behalf, who think they're doing the right thing. I had people that are white that say you cannot be racist to us because you black and I'm white, and you can say anything you want to me. And they talk about what's offensive to black people and Arab but it's like their opinion matters more than mine. But they think they know better, and they think they're doing good but then it's not really. It's so annoying.*

According to the participants, white queers believed that their marginalized status as queers meant that they understood the racism experienced by others and thought they could not be racist. This lack of self-awareness and understanding of racism made it difficult for them to recognize their oppressive and entitled behaviours.

*Noni: I experienced recently white queer people telling me about racism. Some argued that being queer, you are more likely to understand oppression like racism. But then that can actually end up the other side of that, they (white queers) can feel entitled about their understanding of racism...and then try to educate, but not actually understand that their role as a white person in a conversation with a person of colour is to just listen.*

Participants sought to move away from the racism of the white queer community and the unsafety that many felt in the presence of white queers. They acknowledged the emotional work of constantly re-educating white queers about racism.

*Sina: "Wherever there is white people, there is racism. I have a lot of queer white friends and they're not explicitly racist but it comes out in how they see the world, and it comes out bit by bit. They usually great when you tell them like "this is why that's not okay for you to think that or say that". When they think about it, they're like "okay, that's fair enough". But you do have to have that relationship of educating them which is a lot of emotional labour.*

These conversations were unavoidable in intimate partner relationships. However, attempts to address their partners' racism had resulted in partners becoming defensive and emotional, and made ethnic queers reluctant to engage in these conversations.

*Uyo: I feel like even in the intimate partner relationships I have had with white women, that's been an area that's felt unsafe for me - when talking about race or racism. The white fragility that they respond with, you don't really feel in a position of having to then confront them about their racism.*

Racism disguised as sexual preference

In sexual spaces, young ethnic queers were constantly being assessed and evaluated according to the stereotypes and sexual gratification of others, particularly white queers. Participants observed that they were either hypersexualized by white queers due to certain physical characteristics or rejected because of racial stereotypes or prejudices.

*Codi: The reaction from the white queer community is different. You get fetishized... Like highly sexualized...it's my perception of how we are perceived. It's like fetishization of (nationality) community compared to these other ethnic groups where it's less fetishization and just outright rejection, which is a different barrier when entering those white queer spaces.*

Entrenched hierarchies of attraction have been shown to influence the sexual and non-sexual lives of gay and bisexual men from white and nonwhite racial backgrounds (Caluya, 2006; Han, 2007). People of Colour and especially Black men have historically been dehumanized and shown to be hypersexual (Collins, 2004). These cultural assumptions were said to work in conjunction with other stereotypes to influence a person's interpersonal desires.

There appeared to be a tolerance of online sexual racism by gay, bisexual, and same-sex attracted men who may not publicly claim a preference (or lack of) for particular ethnic groups but felt more comfortable doing so online (Callander et al., 2016). White queers' perpetuation and acceptance of online sexual preference is seen as the gains won in a battle for acceptance within mainstream society. It has been debated whether sexual racism, defined as discrimination between potential sexual or romantic partners based on perceived racial identity, is an appropriate label when it comes to understanding personal desires (Callander et al., 2016; Callander et al, 2015). However, Robinson (2015) argues that the personal preference discourse associated with online dating websites is used to disguise cultural prejudices in relation to interpersonal desires and is ultimately a form of racism.

The dismissal of racism was observed in the many encounters that the participants had on online dating websites. Statements such as "no blacks, no browns, no rice" were common and participants were either rejected because of their ethnicity or indulged because of it. The white queers had justified these behaviours as sexual preference.

*Eli: Just being blocked on Grindr whenever I say hi, when they see my photo. I guess I'm more of a fetish kind of thing. You know, like, some white guys exclusively like*

(ethnicity) guys? The extent of the racism was pretty much just being rejected, but I guess that's for people's preferences, you know? Or at least that's how they explain it.

*Earl: There's a lot of (ethnicity) fetishization. Even outside the queer family, it's still very apparent today. In Wellington, I had a friend who uses Grinder. He has seen white people saying like "no blacks, no browns, no rice". My other friend who is also gay, basically he and this other guy matched, and this guy happens to be white saying like, "I love your skin you know. I've always loved you and your people skin".*

Participants had also noticed that their ethnic peers made judgments about other ethnic queers based on their internalization of the racist images and values perpetuated by white society. The participants said that favouring whiteness and white ideals undermined ethnic queers' self-image.

*Earl: We basically dislike anyone who didn't chose us because of our skin yet here we are choosing people who are lighter skin. It's very hypocritical and also kind of sad to think about because in a way this is how we see ourselves internally. The people who we want to surround ourselves with tells us more about ourselves. It's kind of sad because we have this internalized prejudice within ourselves, you know? The colour of our skin, or queer identity - it's not fun time.*

Several of the participants knew of ethnic queers who avoided dating people from their own ethnic background because of their racialized self-loathing.

*Uyo: I think that also exists - more privileged (ethnicity) people who internalise that racism and so you know would also have preference of not dating other (ethnicity).*

### Racism as erasure

Young ethnic queers had not felt welcomed or accepted in mainstream queer spaces or in LGBTQI+ organizations. The Pride Festival, a largely profit driven white queer operation has consistently failed to include LGBTQI+ Māori, Pasifika and ethnic communities in the design, production, and entrepreneurial benefit of the event. The participants have called for spaces where queer people of colour could meet, share stories and experiences, and connect with one

another. Even participants with supportive families wanted a community where the relationships could feel familial, and the queer experiences were recognizable and relatable.

*Iman: I think it's important for people to be able to meet people with shared experiences and gather around. Even with the support of family and friends, I think often people still want to be in a whole family of queer ethnic persons. I think it's important for people to be able to connect those things with others. I don't say that every queer person needs to find a queer group. But I think it's important to have the option. When you look at any aspect of your character or who you are as a person, I think it's always an enriched experience when you can share things that you're interested in, things that you experience. I think it's important to be able to have the option of relating to people over those.*

Participants agreed that there was a lack of venues where young ethnic queers could engage with each other. The support places that were available were considered to be white-centric, and the racism that existed there had the potential to further marginalize a potentially vulnerable group. Participants said that work was needed to provide places where ethnic queer communities could go to find support and acceptance.

*Noni: I have heard from queer people of colour going to seek support from queer networks that are white-centric. I think it's unsafe. They found unsafe experiences because particularly when you are looking for them, you are needing a support network. So then either you think you have found that or you are seeking it out and then have to deal with racism. It's really isolating. I think those networks just need to work harder. Like it's not acceptable to be claiming that you are providing support for a community and then members of those community would still feel unsafe.*

The racism within white-centric queer spaces was a barrier to the congregating of ethnic queers, and the hostility that they had experienced made them question their presence and belongingness in those spaces. This 'otherization' is similar to Jaspal's findings where gay men felt excluded from the gay scene (Jaspal, 2017).

*Codi: I think the racism within the queer community makes you far more reluctant to enter spaces that are queer because it's like we just don't feel like we belong there.*

*When I was new to New Zealand, there were gay bars that I could go to - I never felt at ease going to these gay bars. It's like way too hard to find members of the queer community because they look so alien to me and to my own experiences.*

*Ellie: Navigating the (queer) space, like everything, in every step of the way, is against you... You're just blindly trying to navigate a space that has never felt like it was for you.*

Creating queer ethnic spaces was more than just having a place to gather and to feel community. For young queers in the developmental stages of their lives, these spaces offered support and acceptance.

*Sam: For queer ethnic young people - that's the more formative years of someone's life. So if you don't have a sense of community or a sense of acceptance when you're young, when you get older you're gonna feel the same way which can be a huge strain on someone.*

Being unable to feel a part of the community scene was isolating for the participants. The lack of representation or exhibition of their work, talent, and contribution was demoralizing especially as young ethnic queers saw that very little effort was being made to address the inequity. Ethnic queers wanted a place to gather that was available whenever they needed it, and where their confidentiality was assured.

*Artis: Working in the arts communities especially, there is a huge lack of representation for POC queer stories. And I think slowly that's changing. But Wellington, for example, very white, very white in the arts space, very white in the queer arts space. They seem to have a really hard time getting any people of colour to speak up, tell their stories. I'm like, where are they, you know? Do they just not exist down there or are people not making a good enough effort to include them?*

*Este: Having a place where they can go, similar to RainbowYouth within the (ethnicity) community would be good. But having a phone where they can also ring without having to be there, place where they can talk without having to be identified who they are, somebody who they can talk to without having to reveal their identity, I think that would be a good thing. People may use it or may not use it, as long as it's there.*

However, participants believed that even if they were to create these spaces for themselves, white queers' sense of entitlement to be everywhere and in every space limited their understanding of needing to be excluded from these spaces.

*Ellie: I can just hear what (white) people would say if they were asked, "This is queer PoC space, why are you here?". There'd be so much defensiveness and they would just be like "where am I supposed to go?"*

## Discussion

This study showed that the predominant racial experiences of young ethnic queers were the habitual saviourism of white queers due to their perceived homophobia of ethnic families and communities, the fetishization and marginalization of ethnic queers, and the white-centric policies and practices of LGBTQI+ spaces that did not reflect the backgrounds and realities of ethnic queer young people. Persadie and Narain's (2023) mash-up analytical approach was used to understand how young ethnic queers disrupted the racialized attitudes and behaviours of white queers and white-centric queer spaces.

Young ethnic queers confronted racial microaggressions by calling out the behaviours of white queers and ultimately, even if reluctantly, educating them. Participants did not want the saviourism offered by white queers as it disrespected their cultures and ignored the agency of ethnic queers in how they chose to address any homophobia among their communities. As Haritaworn (2010) noted, white queers had taken on the role of 'gay-friendly' teacher to 'uneducated' migrants. Queer ethnic young people did not accept that white queers' marginalization was equivalent to theirs or that their perceived marginalized status predicated them with an understanding of racism or made them immune to being racists. By refusing to own up to their racism, white queers have created an anti-racist identity that centers and protects their feelings (Petzen, 2012). The dominance of mainstream queer organizations by white queers led to young ethnic queers calling for their own spaces in which to interact and find community. Queer ethnic young people recognized that a sense of belonging as members of a marginalized LGBTQ+ community contributed to their well-being (McCormick & Barthelemy, 2021).

The sexual racism of white queers resulted in the objectification or rejection of young ethnic queers who responded by unequivocally framing these personal preferences as racism though acknowledging their own complicity in the perpetuation of racial stereotypes. The participants

objected to being desired for their exoticism or rejected for their sexual undesirability by white queers, and disapproved of dating apps that allowed racist comments. Adams and Neville's study (2020) with Chinese and South Asian gay and bisexual men living in Auckland showed that social media and gay apps were identified as forums for the expression of discriminatory views. Though white queers might argue that their sexual preferences were not racist, young ethnic queers believed that ruling out entire ethnicities based on sexual preference was racial exclusion and not personal preference. Silvestrini (2020) argues that acting on an unconscious belief regarding racial hierarchy or stereotypes does not negate the unjustness of the act.

In a country where ethnic queer communities have yet to become more visible, young ethnic queers in Aotearoa are more likely to form interracial relationships in which one partner is white. Despite this, none of the participants expressed a preference for whites or said that they did not prefer people from their own ethnic background or from other ethnic backgrounds. This may have been because the participants were a younger group who were more aware of racism and discrimination or because relationships with white queers were less likely to expose their queerness to families and communities.

Although familial rejection may not be an experience common to all queers, it is important to note that when a queer person of colour is isolated from or rejected by their family, they lose a significant part of their cultural identity (Guamero, 2007; Nakhid et al, 2022<sup>b</sup>). Queer ethnic young people seeking refuge from homophobic families and communities are aware that there is systemic racism in the mainstream queer community and in queer spaces. The participants wanted queer ethnic spaces that held safety, comfort, community, acceptance, and away from the white gaze. Such spaces have been shown to assist LGBTQI+ persons in coming to terms with and appreciating their queerness (Pattisapu, 2019). Ethnic queer communities, like Persadie and Narain's yard space (2023), have formed communal bonds through their disruption, creating a sense of belonging and unity to resist the tyranny of white queer racism. Although the ethnic queer community in Aotearoa is small, their advocacy, affiliation, and the sharing of stories and experiences will aid their continued disruption of the racialized behaviours of the white queer community and of the wider society.

## References

- Adams, J., & Neville, S. (2020). Exploring talk about sexuality and living gay social lives among Chinese and South Asian gay and bisexual men in Auckland, New Zealand. *Ethnicity & Health*, 25(4), 508-524.
- Bérubé, A. (2018). *How gay stays white and what kind of white it stays*. In *Privilege* (pp. 180-208). Routledge.
- Callander, D., Holt, M., & Newman, C. E. (2016). 'Not everyone's gonna like me': Accounting for race and racism in sex and dating web services for gay and bisexual men. *Ethnicities*, 16(1), 3-21.
- Callander, D., Newman, C. E., & Holt, M. (2015). Is sexual racism really racism? Distinguishing attitudes toward sexual racism and generic racism among gay and bisexual men. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 44(7), 1991-2000.
- Caluya, G. (2006). The (gay) scene of racism: Face, shame and gay Asian males. *Australian Critical Race and Whiteness Studies Association*, e-Journal, 2, online.  
[http://www.acrawsa.org.au/files/ejournalfiles/80 GilbertCaluya.pdf](http://www.acrawsa.org.au/files/ejournalfiles/80%20GilbertCaluya.pdf)
- Collins, P. H. (2004). *Black Sexual Politics: African Americans, Gender, and the New Racism*. Routledge.
- Coston, B. M., Calin, C., & Jordan, M. (2020). Queering pride to center the voices of people of color. In K. Strunk & R. Feiszli (Eds.), *Queering public health and public policy in the deep South* (pp. 213–235). Information Age Publishing.
- Bal, V., & Divakalala, C. (2022). *Community is Where the Knowledge is: the Adhikaar Report*. Adhikaar Aotearoa.
- Blackmer, C. E. (2019). Pinkwashing. *Israel Studies*, 24(2), 171-181.
- Bracke, S. (2012). From 'saving women' to 'saving gays': Rescue narratives and their dis/continuities. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 19(2), 237-252.
- Carlyon, J., & Morrow, D. (2013). *Changing times: New Zealand since 1945*. Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press.
- Charles, C. (2021). "Feminist Action and Research in Haiti." In *Methodologies in Caribbean Research on Gender and Sexuality*, edited by Kamala Kempadoo and Halimah A. F. DeShong, 87–96. Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers.
- Counting Ourselves (2018). <https://countingourselves.nz/2018-survey-report/>
- Earle, M. (2016). *Misdirection: representations of queer women of colour in contemporary fiction and graphic narratives* (Doctoral dissertation, Birkbeck, University of London).

Environmental Health Intelligence New Zealand, Massey University (n.d.).

<https://www.ehinz.ac.nz/indicators/population-vulnerability/ethnic-profile/#new-zealand-has-a-diverse-ethnic-mix>

Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2017). *Critical race theory (third edition) : An introduction*. New York University Press.

Follins, L. D. (2014). Young Black and Latino gay men's experiences with racial microaggressions. In S. C. Howard (Ed.), *Critical articulations of race, gender, and sexual orientation* (pp. 47–63). Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Formby, E. (2017). *Exploring LGBT spaces and communities*. Routledge.

Fraser, B. (2021). "We can't find a safe or secure environment to be ourselves": *Takatāpui/LGBTIQ+ homelessness in Aotearoa New Zealand* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Otago).

Frey, C. J. (2016). The white savior in the mirror. *Annual review of comparative and international education 2016*, 30, 185-198.

Furman, E., Singh, A. K., Darko, N. A., & Wilson, C. L. (2018). Activism, intersectionality, and community psychology: The way in which Black Lives Matter Toronto helps us the examine white supremacy in Canada's LGBTQ community. *Community Psychology in Global Perspective*, 4(2), 34-54.

Greedy, A. (2018). Queer inclusion precludes (Black) queer disruption: Media analysis of the Black lives matter Toronto sit-in during Toronto Pride 2016. *Leisure Studies*, 37(6), 662-676.

Guarnero, P. A. (2007). Family and community influences on the social and sexual lives of Latino gay men. *Journal of Transcultural Nursing*, 18(1), 12-18.

Hailey, J., Burton, W., & Arscott, J. (2020). We are family: Chosen and created families as a protective factor against racialized trauma and anti-LGBTQ oppression among African American sexual and gender minority youth. *Journal of GLBT Family Studies*, 16(2), 176-191.

Han, C. (2007). They don't want to cruise your type: Gay men of color and the racial politics of exclusion. *Social Identities*, 13, 51–67.

Haritaworn, J. (2010). Queer injuries: the racial politics of " homophobic hate crime" in Germany. *Social Justice*, 37(1)119, 69-89.

Jaspal, R. (2017). Coping with perceived ethnic prejudice on the gay scene. *Journal of LGBT Youth*, 14(2), 172-190, DOI: [10.1080/19361653.2016.1264907](https://doi.org/10.1080/19361653.2016.1264907)

- Jennings, R., & Millward, L. (2016). A fully formed blast from abroad?: Australasian lesbian circuits of mobility and the transnational exchange of ideas in the 1960s and 1970s. *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 25(3), 463–488.
- Keating, A. (2021). Pride Festivals and Parades. In *Encyclopedia of Queer Studies in Education* (Ch. 90, pp. 456-460). Brill.
- Kenix, L. J., & Bandopadhyaya, S. (2021). Co-Constructing a Print Media Narrative: Interviews with LGBTQ Activists from the 1960s and 1970s in New Zealand. *International Journal of Communication*, 15, 18.
- Kerekere, E. (2016). LGBT Activism among Māori. *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Gender and Sexuality Studies*, 1–5. doi:10.1002/9781118663219.wbegss666
- Lamuse, T. (2016). Politics at pride? *New Zealand Sociology*, 31(6), 49-70.
- Logie, C. H., & Rwigema, M. J. (2021). “The normative idea of queer is a white person”: Understanding perceptions of white privilege among lesbian, bisexual, and queer women of color in Toronto, Canada. In *Lesbians and White Privilege* (pp. 73-90). Routledge.
- McCormick, M., & Barthelemy, R. S. (2021). Excluded from “inclusive” communities: LGBTQ youths’ perception of “their” community. *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Social Services*, 33(1), 103-122
- Ministry for Ethnic Communities (n.d.). <https://www.ethniccommunities.govt.nz/community-directory/>
- Morgan, S., & Lamuse, T. (2016, February 22). *There was only one Auckland pride 2016 and it started on Karangahape road*. Retrieved February 22, 2016 from: <http://noprideinprisons.org.nz/post/139768619390/there-was-only-one-aucklandpride-2016-and-it>.
- Morgensen, S. L. (2010). Settler homonationalism: Theorizing settler colonialism within queer modernities. *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, 16(1-2), 105-131.
- Nadal, Kevin L., Davidoff, Kristin C., Davis, Lindsey S., Wong, Y., Marshall, D., & McKenzie, V. (2015). Intersectional identities and microaggressions: Influences of race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, and religion. *Qualitative Psychology*, 2, 147–163. doi:10.1037/qup0000026
- Nakhid, C., Vano, L., Tuwe, M., & Ali, Z. A. (2023). Love, sex, and other dangers—intimate partner relationships of young ethnic queers in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Sexualities*, 13634607231159850

- Nakhid, C. (2022). Introduction: Defining Affirming Methodologies and Articulating a Caribbean Space. In Nakhid, C., Nakhid-Chatoor, M., Santana, A. F., & Wilson-Scott, S. (Eds.). *Affirming Methodologies: Research and Education in the Caribbean*. Taylor & Francis.
- Nakhid, C., Yachinta, C., & Fu, M. (2022<sup>a</sup>). Letting In/ “Coming Out”—Agency and Relationship for Young Ethnic Queers in Aotearoa New Zealand on Disclosing Queerness. *LGBTQ+ Family: An Interdisciplinary Journal*.
- Nakhid, C., Tuwe, M., Abu Ali, Z., Subramanian, P., & Vano, L. (2022<sup>b</sup>). Silencing Queerness—Community and Family Relationships with Young Ethnic Queers in Aotearoa New Zealand. *LGBTQ+ Family: An Interdisciplinary Journal*.
- Nakhid, C. (2018) The coping strategies and responses of African youth in New Zealand to their encounters with the police. *Journal of Ethnicity in Criminal Justice*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15377938.2017.1413609>
- Nakhid, C. (2017) Police encounters with African youth in New Zealand – the impact on the youth, family, and community. *Safer Communities Journal*, 16(2) 64-76, doi: 10.1108/SC-01-2017-0001.
- Nixon, A. V. & King, R. S. (2021). Embodied Theories: Local Knowledge(s), Community Organizing, and Feminist Methodologies in Caribbean Sexuality Studies. In *Methodologies in Caribbean Research on Gender and Sexuality*, 269–288. Ian Randle Publishers.
- Parmenter, J. G., Galliher, R. V., & Maughan, A. D. (2021). LGBTQ+ emerging adults perceptions of discrimination and exclusion within the LGBTQ+ community. *Psychology & Sexuality*, 12(4), 289-304.
- Patel, S. (2019). “Brown girls can’t be gay”: Racism experienced by queer South Asian women in the Toronto LGBTQ community. *Journal of Lesbian Studies*, 23(3), 410-423.
- Pattisapu, K. (2019). The Necessity of Intentionally Closed Spaces for LGBTQ Youth of Color. *The Assembly*, 2(1), 33-37.
- Persadie, R., & Narain, S. (2023). Mash-Up as Method: Building Community-Based Approaches to Caribbean Feminist Research. In *Affirming Methodologies – Research and Education in the Caribbean* (pp. 58-74). Routledge.

- Peters, W. (2011). Pink dollars, white collars: Queer as Folk, valuable viewers, and the price of gay TV. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 28(3), 193-212.
- Petzen, J. (2012) Queer Trouble: Centring Race in Queer and Feminist Politics. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 33(3), 289-302.
- Robinson, B. A. (2015). "Personal preference" as the new racism: Gay desire and racial cleansing in cyberspace. *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*, 1(2), 317-330.
- Rosenberg, R. (2017): The whiteness of gay urban belonging: criminalizing LGBTQ youth of color in queer spaces of care, *Urban Geography*, DOI: 10.1080/02723638.2016.1239498
- Smith, C. G. (2020). *Apprehending black queer diasporas: A study of black pride festivals and their emplacements*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Toronto, Canada.
- Silvestrini, M. (2020). "It's not something I can shake": The effect of racial stereotypes, beauty standards, and sexual racism on interracial attraction. *Sexuality & Culture*, 24(1), 305-325.
- Squires, K. K. (2019). Rethinking the homonormative? Lesbian and Hispanic pride events and the uneven geographies of commoditized identities. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 20(3), 367–386, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2017.1362584>
- Stats NZ (n.d). <https://www.stats.govt.nz/reports/lgbt-plus-population-of-aotearoa-year-ended-june-2020>
- Tauri, J., Walters, R., & Bradley, T. (2005). Indigenous perspectives and experience: Māori and the criminal justice system. *Introduction to Criminological Thought. New Zealand: Pearson*, 129-145.
- Thomsen, P., Mclean-Osborn, S., Ainea, H., & Verner-Pula, A. (2021). Examining the State of Health Research on Pacific Rainbow Communities in New Zealand; Literature Review.
- World Health Organization (n.d.). [https://www.health.govt.nz/our-work/life-stages/youth-health#:~:text=The%20World%20Health%20Organisation%20\(WHO,young%20people%20in%20New%20Zealand](https://www.health.govt.nz/our-work/life-stages/youth-health#:~:text=The%20World%20Health%20Organisation%20(WHO,young%20people%20in%20New%20Zealand).
- Worthen, M. G. (2018). "Gay equals White"? Racial, ethnic, and sexual identities and attitudes toward LGBT individuals among college students at a Bible Belt university. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 55(8), 995-1011.

