

# TAKATĀPUI: A PLACE TO START



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INTERNSHIP REPORT  
NGĀ PAE O TE MĀRAMATANGA  
2016

This internship report was produced by the authors as part of a supported internship project under the supervision of the named supervisor and funded by Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga. The report is the work of the named intern and researchers and has been posted here as provided. It does not represent the views of Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga and any correspondence about the content should be addressed directly to the authors of the report. For more information on Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga and its research, visit the website on [www.maramatanga.ac.nz](http://www.maramatanga.ac.nz)

### **Takatāpui: A reflection on the literature and where to from here**

As a wahine takatāpui I was overwhelmed with gratitude and curiosity when offered an opportunity to undertake research on takatāpui with Nga Pae o te Maramatanga. Under the guidance of some of the most prominent and respected Māori takatāpui academics, writers, artists, thinkers and, doers, I embarked on a journey through literature, art and media that celebrated, analysed, situated and sometimes critiqued what it meant to be takatāpui.

I knew going into this work that there wasn't nearly enough accessible information about takatāpui. But I had no idea of just how marginal this type of knowledge was. Not only are Māori often viewed as a homogenous group and marginalised within dominant Western pākeha research, but we are also often lost within LGBTQ research. Our voices stifled by a Eurocentric approach that cross disciplines and platforms. In that light, as a body of representation, the literature that I have been able to find, on and by takatāpui, is monumental in its general resistance of patterns of homogenisation and oppressive positioning.

Admittedly, I am critical by nature and sometimes this stops me from focusing on strengths in any given light, especially concerning issues of 'race', gender and sexuality. Yet, my reality, my politics and my love for the diversity of Māori anchors me here. I have made my way to the end of the research process and I am hungry, hungry for more work to be done to elevate, celebrate and support takatāpui. Those people, like me, who stand at the intersection of many identities and often feel obligated to compartmentalise themselves in order to fit in. This confinement is why it is so important for takatāpui to be represented not only in LGBTQ studies but in Māori studies, Psychology, Sociology and especially Health. We need our voices to be heard, we need to speak for those of us whose voices are so disregarded they meet our ears at a whisper. Those whispers are usually what we must listen to the most, the quiet yet cumbersome wailing that rises from the depths of our puku, our wairua. When I tune into that sound, when I really listen, I find the answers there. This is why I ground myself in the position that I do, because I have heard that calling. The call for more diversity of knowledges and expression about what it means to be takatāpui about the issues that affect all of us and about how we can address them as Māori issues, human issues.

With my feet firmly grounded in the pathway toward the advocacy of more takatāpui stories I acknowledge the pioneering work that has already been done to make this vision possible. There are some amazing, radical and beautifully positioned works that colour the field of takatāpui literature. Without these, no grounding would be possible. And so I stand on these foundations, looking out to the horizon, honouring the groundwork which has been laid before me and for me.

So many brave authors bared their souls to reclaim, celebrate and situate takatāpui identity within class, race and gender paradigms. Takatāpui authors such as Elizabeth Kerekere, Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, Leonie Pihama and Clive Aspin are pillars. Resisting oppressive dominant discourses through their work repeatedly, gracefully and radically, not only to reshape and reclaim the rightful place of takatāpui within pakeha and/or LGBTQ spaces but within Māoridom. To them and many more like them I am grateful. When I read Michelle Erai's article *Exile, Māori and Lesbian*, I felt like I was reading my own story. I saw myself reflected back in the body of her writing and I felt such a sense of belonging, a warm embrace that I had always longed for, especially at the intersection of my Black, Māori and Queer identities.

The notion of belonging is that pull of a warm embrace and it steers this reflection. At the end of the research journey I thought to myself how important it was to belong, to be affirmed, accepted and acknowledged. To be loved by those whom you love.

The literature sees much work stunted in the legitimising of takatāpui identity within Māori society. Authors have rightfully argued for the acknowledgement of takatāpui as a natural part of wider Māori cultural orientation, one which has been tainted and misrepresented through the ongoing process of colonisation. I feel that we should no longer have to prove our existence because we are living breathing testaments to the past. It seems important now to move into the direction of what supports and hinders our wellbeing.

Across the literature, there is not nearly enough studies which centre on wahine takatāpui. There are numerous studies which seek to understand the experiences of our tane takatāpui brothers. These are concerned with their lives, wellbeing and health. Not that this is unfounded, not at all. In fact it makes sense. A significant trend that I found may explain this phenomenon. At first the literature proved (or disproved) that tane takatāpui specifically existed, then it situated this existence in culture and history and the next logical step appeared to be to look at what lives they lead and what impeded on and would improve their wellbeing. I want that for my brothers and I want that for my sisters too. I feel like because we were not totally incorporated into this progression that our voices were lost. I did not find one comprehensive study which was dedicated to understanding issues specific to the health and wellbeing of wahine takatāpui (besides those pertaining to our gendered role). However, there is some significant work that is available, mostly written by radical wahine toa who carved out a space for us unapologetically.

Along with the lack of research about wahine takatāpui and domination of tane takatāpui-specific research, the absence of understandings surrounding our transgender people is striking. Whakawahine and tangata ira tane and other gender non-conforming takatāpui, have almost entirely been left out of the narrative regarding takatāpui. If we don't acknowledge each other, the issues that plague each of us, the intersections within

the intersections that shape our realities, then how can we improve the quality of life for all Māori? A plight which whole-heartedly seems to form the basis of many of the resources detailed in my bibliography, which align with the ethos of whanaungatanga and manaakitanga, bringing to life the Māori world view.

Across pakeha LGBTQ literature, transgender identity and health and wellbeing are burgeoning topics of investigation. Takatāpui literature must follow suit if we are to avoid the marginalisation of our transgender and gender fluid kin, the same marginalisation that we have experienced at the hands of multiple levels of oppression since the onset of colonisation and which is reflected across the literature.

Another notable gap that I have identified within the literature is that of takatāpui who are homeless and/or working as sex workers. There is nothing fundamentally wrong with sex work in my opinion. However, it is important to understand the social determinants that lead a person to undertake such work. If it is by their own free will having other feasible options and if they have support from whanau and the communities which they belong to then there would be no problem. But more often than not, for our transgender rangatahi, these options are non-existent. We know this intuitively and research may help facilitate the development of initiatives which seek to remedy this. In the same way, LGBTQ literature has identified a link between being LGBTQ and youth homelessness this trend may be the same for takatāpui. If it isn't we should know about it. This could inform the development of strength-based approaches which draw from Māori cultural orientation and could benefit mainstream LGBTQ initiatives towards youth homelessness. I know that Māori make up a disproportionate number of homeless people in Auckland City and other major cities across Aotearoa. What percentage of these identify as takatāpui? Surely this will aid us in the identification of links between multiple levels of oppressions and social outcomes.

Finally, there is a lack of comprehensive research on takatāpui suicide and mental health. For obvious reasons this is detrimental. Clive Aspin does some work in this area however it is mostly concerned with gay men. Māori men do commit suicide at a disproportionately high rate compared to non-Māori, but more work needs to be done here. Further, suicide does not have to be the only focus of mental health research. Mental health is always holistically tied to whanau, physical health and spiritual health. In this light, we can look at the literature as a whole and acknowledge its broader relationship to mental wellness, as mental wellness is supported by strong identity, a sense of belonging, and affirming the value of ourselves and others. However, not everyone thinks big picture like me (and ignores details). Thus, it may be necessary to amalgamate the knowledge that is available and contribute more work in the field of takatāpui mental health, particularly youth mental health.

Again, the literature on takatāpui health and wellbeing repeats the plight of Māori gay men, arguing that they are the most vulnerable sub-group within takatāpui because

they may be at a higher-risk of contracting HIV/AIDS. The era of the HIV/AIDS epidemic situates much of the reports that made this argument. In hindsight, it is better to be more prepared than ill-prepared. However, it seems like this has steered the direction of future health and wellbeing research and initiatives for takatāpui. This may have positioned Māori gay men as high on the health and wellbeing priority list and thus, side-lined lesbian, bisexual, transgender and intersex Māori. In saying that, there should not be a cap on how much research can be done in one particular field. Though it is a sad reality that Māori focused research is often underfunded, limited, homogenising and mostly concerned with dire and urgent need.

I return to the way I began this writing to make salient the main message that I have drawn from this research. That is that, those of us who stand at the intersection of gender, ethnicity, sexuality, class, mental health status, and housing status, are our most vulnerable and in my opinion, our most inspiring too. The literature does not always reflect this. Most LGBTQ people recognise that at the heart of our communities are those who resist normativity the hardest, that those who do this forge spaces for us. Those people are often poor, transgender, Queens, sex-workers, and/or femme-identified people of colour.

The literature I have amalgamated has shown me an image of beauty, strength and resilience in the face of oppressive forces. With more inclusiveness, that image can only get more vivid, more meaningful and more powerful in its dismantling of systems that have us fighting for who we are, why we matter and what we need.

## **Takatāpui Literature an annotated Bibliography: A Place to Start**

***By Kara Beckford for the Summer Internship Programme with Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga***

The annotated bibliography below pertains to takatāpui literature and resources from a broad array of fields and platforms. The following has been categorised according to themes which I drew from my research. Those themes are; literature pertaining to health and wellbeing, literature pertaining to identity, literature pertaining to sociology which includes anthropology, psychology and history. Within the sub-field of 'sociology' I have further categorised literature that was published more than 25 years ago. The main purpose of doing this is to make salient the differing social context from which the literature was published, particularly those which were published when homosexuality was considered to be a mental illness and was illegal. Finally, the bibliography ends with resources in the field of media (not including news articles) and then with literature pertaining to family and reproductive issues concerning takatāpui. Many of the resources align with more than one category.

All literature is available digitally unless otherwise stated. All reflexive writing is my own interpretation of the literature as a whole and is not proposed as an objective truth.

This list is not exhaustive, there are many mentions of takatāpui across the literature which I have decided were not notable enough to consider in this bibliography or were fictional and written by takatāpui authors with takatāpui themes. Similarly, there will be resources, especially in the field of fine arts and health, which I have not come across simply because 'Māori' 'takatāpui' 'sexuality' or 'LGBTQ' and any derivatives thereof did not bring them up in any search field. Towards the end of this research I became aware of just how expansive a search for takatāpui resources was. Trawling the reference lists of notable publishers and articles made this reality more salient. However, with the timeframe and resources available this list, I believe, serves as a general basis from which more obsolete and less categorical literature about takatāpui can be built upon. In particular this bibliography acts as a research guide of which future directions, in the field of takatāpui research, can be directed.

### ***Health and Wellbeing***

Appleby, G. A. (2001). Interviewing working-class gay men over the Internet . *Journal of Gay and Lesbian Social Services Volume 12 Issue 3-4* , 133-151.

In this internet-based study, nine Gay men were interviewed around their life experience in relation to violence, homophobia and health. One theme that emerged in the study was that the men appeared to now be happy and content with their lives, adapting effectively to

environments that are more accepting and supportive than previously assumed in other literature on gay men's wellbeing. Of the nine participants, two identified as Māori. There is some discussion surrounding cultural identity as a stand-alone topic but also where it intersects with class and sexuality. One interviewee in particular, who lived in Australia at the time of the study, discussed denying his Māori cultural identity so that he was not looked down on within his queer community. Although a small sample, the data is rich and provides an interesting insight into discrimination and intersectionality at a personable level. The study's analyses of class, including crossing class and the relationship between class and sexuality, are a point of difference from other literature in the field.

Aspin, C. (1996). Gay Community Development in New Zealand in the 1970s and Implications for the Health of Gay Māori Men in the 1990s. *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand Te Puna Whakaaro* (7), 42-51.

The paper describes discrimination against gay Māori men which is illustrated in historical research as well as discriminatory legislation. In particular, some historical accounts of Māori sexuality and gender expression exemplify the history of prejudice and colonisation experienced by Māori. This historical discriminatory discourse and framing along with anti-gay legislation situates the experiences of contemporary gay Māori men. The paper then goes on to identify its consequences. One such consequence is migration out of New Zealand. Taking a strength-based approach, the paper emphasises the key role that gay Māori men have played within LGBTQ community development which has been fundamental to the fight against HIV/AIDS. The paper concludes by outlining some initiatives that have been undertaken including the development of groups such as Te Roopu Tautoko Trust, Te Waka Awhina Takatāpui and He Manu Ano in the 1990's. Emphasising the role of the Treaty of Waitangi, the paper argues that Māori gay men are the most vulnerable group in the LGBT community and among Māori and may be at a greater risk of contracting HIV/AIDS than non-Māori. This argument seems to validate the directions of future research, social policy and health initiatives. Upon reflection, many of the issues linking colonisation and discrimination experienced by gay Māori men are valid and are ongoing issues which affect many Māori and especially those who have intersecting minority identities. Because of the era that the paper was written in, socio-historical explanations that inform the prevention and treatment of HIV/AIDS were necessary. However, the paper makes unfounded claims about Māori gay men being more susceptible to HIV/AIDS. This is an important criticism to draw as Aspin seems to repeat this argument across much of his contribution to takatāpui literature and this in turn may act to legitimise further research and initiatives for gay Māori men while side-lining other arenas within takatāpui health.

Aspin, C. (2000). *Trans-Tasman migration and Māori in the time of AIDS*. Wellington: Wellington School of Medicine, University of Otago (unpublished thesis).

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Otago, New Zealand. Thesis summary can be found in *Sexuality and the Stories of Indigenous People*. The thesis identifies migration as a crucial element in the HIV/AIDS epidemic and thus focuses on how migration fuels the epidemic. The study investigates the particular pattern of migration that exists between New Zealand and Australia and examines the effects of this phenomenon on Māori gay men and 'transexuals' during the time of the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Study areas include the effect of migration on identity and sexual practice and its implication on HIV prevention among the sample demographic. The study consisted of in-depth interviews with two groups of Māori gay men. Respondents were invited to openly discuss their cultural and sexual identity, their upbringing, sexual practice and reasons for migrating. The paper is an important foundational resource for two reasons. Firstly, it is a large-scale quantitative study which positions tane takatāpui at the centre of the research of which few studies had done in this area at the time. Secondly, it amalgamates and informs much of Aspin's work on gay Māori men and HIV/AIDS. Further, it is an important resource as it investigates the implications of identity and social positioning on health and wellbeing through the case study of takatāpui and the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Although the study focuses only on HIV/AIDS as the main negative consequence of oppressive social positioning, we can draw links, both indirect and direct, to other issues concerning the relationship between wellbeing and being takatāpui. (Hard-copy only).

Broughton, J. (1996). He Taru Tawhiti: Māori People and HIV/AIDS. In P. Davis, *Intimate Details and Vital Statistics. AIDS, Sexuality and the Social Order in New Zealand*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.

The paper offers a history of HIV/AIDS in New Zealand and presents important and interesting research into the virus and areas of social life that had previously been obscured by myth, taboo and legal prohibition. Contributors discuss the epidemic from the perspective of the groups involved, and outline the unique response of the New Zealand government and the public which it described as "a panic-free response" characterised by early mobilisation, a preventive approach, and substantial involvement of the gay community. The chapter refers to HIV/AIDS as an imported disease and thus the premise of the narrative is that it is a consequence of colonisation. The chapter outlines policy issues that have marred Māori accepting the risk and reality of HIV/AIDS in contemporary New Zealand society. Issues such as virus transmission, susceptibility and treatment are discussed and like similar papers in the field there is some discussion around the increased risk of Māori men contracting HIV compared to non-Māori. Interweaved through this chapter are the stories of three Māori gay men with HIV/AIDS. The chapter also provides insight into the social positioning of homosexuality in Māoridom. It discusses the contention between



those who believe that traditionally homosexual sex was forbidden because of tapu and those who say the opposite. Despite this contention, the paper reflects on the significance of acknowledging the role of Takatāpui in the community and whanau, of the history of takatāpui and the history of acceptance around the term. The chapter provides a nuanced and affirming take on Māori culture and its relationship to homosexuality. This I believe becomes the premise from which to encourage the inclusion of tane takatāpui into wider notions of whanau, hapu and iwi. In this light, the wellbeing of whanau members is promoted as holistically linked with the wellbeing of whanau as a whole and thus, the issue of HIV and AIDS becomes one that all Māori must seek to remedy. An underlying theme within the text is that lesbian/gay identity is as important as Māori identity.

Clark, T. C., Lucassen, M. F., Bullen, P., Denny, S. J., Fleming, T. M., Robinson, E. M., & Rosse, F. V. (2014). The Health and Well-Being of Transgender High School Students: Results from the New Zealand Adolescent Health Survey (Youth'12). *Journal of Adolescent Health Volume 51 Issue 1*, 93-99.

The report describes a study which was undertaken to gauge the prevalence of students according to four gender groups (i.e., those who reported being non-transgender, transgender, or not sure about their gender, and those who did not understand the transgender question), and to describe their health and well-being. The study was the first nationally representative survey to report the health and well-being of students who report being transgender. Transgender students are diverse and are represented across demographic variables, including their sexual attractions. Of the sample demography who identified as Māori, 19.4 % identified as transgender, 20.6 % were unsure how they identified. Culturally relevant terms to indicate transgender identity including whakawahine and Tangata ira tane were provided as an option. Of all trans-identified participants, these students experienced compromised mental health and personal safety, and they described more difficulty accessing health care. The first of its kind study did not go into any depth regarding transgender Māori students. However, it indicated that more studies of its kind were necessary, particularly, pertaining to Māori who may be at a greater risk of being homogenised with non-Māori transgender people. This is significant as initiatives to combat the negative life experiences of being transgender along with the compounding effects of being both Māori and transgender may differ greatly from those non-Māori transgender youth. In relation to the literature, this is an area of study which ought to be taken up to ensure that takatāpui health and wellbeing cannot be understood without acknowledging in-group intersections in order to aid future work which is better targeted and thus positively impacts the community as a whole.

Erai, M. (2004). Exile, Māori and lesbian. In L. Alice, & L. Star, *Queer in Aotearoa New Zealand* (pp. 35-46). Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.

The diverse contributions in this book discuss how the reframing of 'queer' as a proud, border-crossing identity challenges conventional views of gay, lesbian, transsexual and heterosexual identities. They bring together wide-ranging commentaries on the history, politics and culture of thirty years of sexual history in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Erai's chapter unravels the complex intersections of oppression which shape the experiences of Māori, lesbian/Queer, working class women. She begins her chapter describing a pivotal event in her life as a queer activist with a narrative style essay which draws on a traditional oratory style. This style is weaved throughout the text and breaks up the more theory-based writing that acts to politicise and theorise her experiences. Throughout the chapter Erai teases apart what it means to be Māori and admits honestly her struggles with 'racial' authenticity. That is the crux of the article, that she has often felt like an outsider or that society incorrectly views difference as a divisive practice. From this discussion she deconstructs homogenising and essential notions which prescribe what it is to be Māori and lesbian for that matter. Opening up a conversation which posits that through ownership and acknowledgement of the diversity of Māori and so on, it may be easier to reclaim and represent the myriad of identities that we are also able to embody as Māori. The article is well-written, sophisticated while remaining accessible. The way Erai positions herself in the narrative makes some of the more dense political information easier to situate and therefore understand. It focuses on Māori women in discussions of takatāpui identity and like other literature of the same nature, relates this to political discourse particularly feminism and activism. (Hard-copy only).

Fenaughty, J. (2006). *Sexual coercion among gay men, bisexual men and takatāpui tane in Aotearoa/New Zealand : a research report*. Auckland: University of Auckland.

The article presented the findings from a project that consisted of two separate, but related, studies: a broader project and a Kaupapa Māori project. The broader project was designed to explore the phenomenon of sexual coercion among gay and bisexual men in Aotearoa/New Zealand. It did not investigate the broader issue of sexual assault against gay and bisexual men by men who do not identify as gay or bisexual. Five gay Māori men were interviewed for the Kaupapa Māori project on Māori men's experiences of sexual coercion. The study addresses the lack of ethnicity-specific research around sexual coercion and assault among men who have sex with men. All takatāpui men had experienced sexual coercion of varying degrees. Significantly, the study urged that any quantitative research undertaken in Aotearoa/New Zealand incorporate questions specific to ethnicity and that Māori-specific research be undertaken in this area to address the current lack of relevant research. The article describes the emotional and spiritual impact that these incidents had on each man and where culturally specific models of healing as well as more mainstream methods may better benefit Takatāpui men. Although a small sample group was utilised it would have been possible to draw richer data if the study was qualitative.

Grierson, J., Pitts, M., Herewini, T. H., Rua'ine, G., Hughes, A. J., Saxton, P., . . . Thomas, M. (2004). Mate Araikore A Muri Ake Nei: Experiences of Māori New Zealanders Living with HIV. *Sexual Health (1)*, 175-180.

This paper is drawn from the first comprehensive New Zealand study on the health and social experiences of HIV positive people and specifically addresses the experiences of HIV positive Māori. A total of 226 HIV positive men and women completed an anonymous, self-administered *HIV Futures New Zealand* questionnaire. Twenty-five Māori completed the survey (17 male, 7 female, 1 transgendered). The majority identified as Takatāpui, five were heterosexual women, and four identified with other sexualities. The majority of participants acknowledged experiencing discrimination in relation to their HIV status although it was not clear whether this was also confounded by their ethnicity. Of the sample, eight reported experiencing discrimination concerning accommodation, nine in a medical setting and seven in relation to employment. The study emphasised the barriers to access to a comprehensive health care system and a concerning a number of respondents reported discrimination and unwanted disclosure of their HIV status within health care settings. The study really solidifies the notion of multifaceted oppression and its effect on the wellbeing of takatāpui. Māori are systematically oppressed and the health care system is one example of this which has obvious dire consequences for Māori health and wellbeing. The paper emphasises the significance of including takatāpui into the wider narrative of Māori health and wellbeing.

Health for Takatāpui (NZNO CONFERENCE)(Conference notes). (2011). *Kai Tiaki: Nursing New Zealand Volume 17 Issue 8*, 1173-2032.

Conference guest speaker Elizabeth Kerekere talks about the history of the word Takatāpui in Māori society. Kerekere emphasises the place of sexual/gender diversity in traditional times and also discusses the contemporary contentious issues surrounding the term today. She outlines the issues surrounding the richness of Takatāpui knowledge, particularly as it relates to the decolonisation process and reclaiming knowledge of the past. The speech was made to encourage New Zealand nurses to keep open minds in their work and not assume all patients were heterosexual. The article is a brief outline of the key note from the 2011 NZNO Conference and doesn't have much details about the issues mentioned in this text, however it does emphasise key areas which are thematise across the literature pertaining to Takatāpui including; health/well-being, culture, identity and colonisation.

Henrickson, M. (2006). Ko wai ratou? Managing multiple identities in lesbian, gay and bisexual New Zealand Māori. *New Zealand Sociology Volume 21 Issue 2*, 223-247.

The study 'Lavender Islands: Portrait of the Whole Family' was the first national strengths-based multidisciplinary study of lesbian, gay and bisexual (LGB) people in Aotearoa New Zealand. The article presents data from 169 Māori (8.3% of the sample) respondents to the survey. Results gauged information from education and income, the coming-out process, adjustment to identity, the management of sexual and cultural identities, social conformity, family support, spirituality and relationships. The article presents the differences between ways in which a "gay" "lesbian" and "bisexual" identity is different across Māori and tauīwi and samples. The article is a very good source to look at the general scope of takatāpui identity, especially as it compares to western understandings of identity. The strength-based approach is also a significant feature of the article. One example of identifying takatāpui strength is that for Māori, the study suggests that they fuse salient differences into an integrated whole during the life course. It seems then that even the use of language that reflects Western constructs of sexuality such as lesbian gay and bisexual are limiting and may not properly reflect Māori sexuality and gender identity. This criticism can be extended to the methodology of the study which utilised a positivist framework making it difficult to gauge the nuances of the data.

Herewini, T., & Sheridan, R. H. (1994). *A Report on the Health Needs of Māori Gay Men*.  
Wellington: Public Health Commission.

Could not obtain abstract or copy of report.

Human Rights Commission . (2007). *To Be Who I Am Ka Noho Au ki Toku Anō Ao: Report of the Inquiry into discrimination Experienced by Transgender People He Pūrongo mō Te Uiuītanga mō Aukatitanga o Pāngia ana e Ngā Tangata Whakawhitiira*. Auckland: Human Rights Commission.

The reported study was a world first by a Human Rights institution into discrimination experienced by transgender people. The focus was three-fold: looking into experiences of discrimination, access to health services and barriers to legal recognition of gender status. The inquiry concluded with various recommendations to ensure the health and wellbeing of transgender people at a policy level and that which would change legislative treatment of transgender people. Although the study is mostly concerned with transgender people as a group, though acknowledging the diversity of said people, it is transgender identity that is the main focus of the report. However, there are a few feature stories within the report of Māori transgender people, telling their stories and reflecting their individual experiences of being transgender. The story of Peri Te Wao is particularly poignant as he describes himself firstly as Māori. Again, a broad and largely homogenous first of its kind study which does not reflect the intersections of identity and its relationship to discrimination. However, in general, a very important study and a significant area of research that needs to be undertaken.

Kerekere, E. (2015). *Takatāpui: Part of the Whānau*. Auckland: Tīwhanawhana Trust and Mental Health Foundation.

This resource is based on Elizabeth Kerekere's wealth of knowledge about Takatāpui, including her art, activism and doctoral research. The resource was developed with contribution from other Takatāpui pioneers, activist and leaders representing diversity in gender, sexuality, age and Iwi-affiliation. These included Jennifer Edwards, Kevin Haunui, Morgan Cooke, Hinemoana Baker and Ahi Wi Hongi. The resource is a rich source of knowledge and pride detailing the history of Takatāpui, what Takatāpui means today and unique Māori cultural knowledge which situates all of these facets. The resource is organised by categories from Mana Tupuna, Mana Wahine, Mana Takatāpui and Mana Whanau. It is a practical resource which not only acts as an informative tool to enhance LGBTQ understandings of the intersections between culture, gender and sexuality but it appears targeted at Takatāpui themselves, offering further information about organisations and other resources which may solidify a sense of inclusion and community. The resource is an accessible and necessary tool which provides a general description of Takatāpui while describing the unique cultural orientation from which Takatāpui is embedded. The resource is holistic, incorporating notions of spirituality, history and extended family with gender and sexual diversity so that it is clear that no part stands alone.

Kerekere, E. (2017). *Takatāpui Rangatahi: Love is Not Enough (working title)*. Auckland: Tīwhanawhana Trust and Rainbow Youth .

Resource unavailable at the time of writing.

Nikora, L., & Te Awekotuku, N. (2016). Moehewa: Death, Lifestyle and Sexuality in the Māori World. *Journal of Indigenous Wellbeing: Te Mauri- Pimatisiwan Volume 1 Issue 2*.

The article acknowledges the significance of customary death ritual and traditional practice in contemporary Māori society and its survival despite colonial process and missionary incursion. In particular, the paper critically considers how these practices and rituals are interrupted if the deceased is Takatāpui. The paper presents three case studies which exemplify the tangihana of a Takatāpui person. The research method for the studies can be described as drawing from an ethnographic fieldwork yet it includes personal and collaborative insights of which the authors have drawn from a myriad of arenas from conversations and wānanga to reflective journals and debates within their own whanau. Likely because of this interweaving of the personal with the analytical, each case study is presented as a narrative, describing each person's story including their tangihana and how each is shaped by them being takatāpui. The paper is presented as an invitation to have an

open dialogue about one of the most sacred and affirming processes within Māori culture, tangi. As unique a reading as it is, the authors urge how integral it is to discuss such issues so that all communities which we belong can engage together in the task of caring for the bereaved physically and in spirit and that would be by honouring them as a whole. No other study that I could find discussed tangihana in relation to takatāpui which makes this work particularly significant and poignant, especially considering the essential place of tangihana in Māori culture.

Pega, F., & McEwan, I. (2010). *Takatāpui, lesbian, gay, and bisexual scoping exercise report to the Alcohol Advisory Council of New Zealand*. Wellington: Alcohol Advisory Council of New Zealand.

The Alcohol Advisory Council of New Zealand (ALAC) commissioned the study Takatāpui, Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Scoping (TLGB) Exercise which aimed to provide relevant information to; allow a preliminary assessment of the need for reducing alcohol-related harm amongst sexual minority populations, identify current gaps in service provision, identify key stakeholders, provide an analysis of the role that ALAC could play in reducing alcohol-related harm for sexual minority communities and, provide an analysis of future opportunities and strategies for ALAC to implement. A multi-method research study was developed which combined a literature review, policy analysis, and focus groups and key informant interviews with stakeholders. Stakeholders included ten members of LGBTQ community organisations, ten providers of alcohol prevention and treatment services, and four alcohol policy-makers participated in the focus groups and interviews. The study sought to maintain a diversity of perspectives, including Māori perspectives however there was no specific data relating to takatāpui. Including takatāpui into the discussion around general TLGBT related to alcoholism seemed to be the extent of the positioning of takatāpui. Although comprehensive in terms of its design, the study grouped all sexual minorities together, only being reflexive about how detrimental this was to transgender and intersex people. Future research focusing on takatāpui as a group in relation to alcohol and substance abuse is needed.

Rankine, J. (2001). The Great, Late Lesbian and Bisexual Women's Discrimination Survey. *Journal of Lesbian Studies*. Vol 5 (1-2), 133-142.

This 1992 New Zealand survey of discrimination against 261 lesbian and bisexual women found comparable rates of public abuse and workplace discrimination to those reported by surveys in other developed countries. Compared to a random sample of New Zealand women, respondents reported higher rates of assault in public places. Significantly, Māori women reported higher rates of assault, threats, verbal abuse, and workplace discrimination than the non-Māori women surveyed. Aggression against the women was shown to correlate to same-gender public expression of affection or the rejection of men's public sexual advances. The study provides insight into largely theorised notion of multi-layered

oppression. For Māori women, who were lesbian or bisexual, forms of oppression was often violent. Although the study itself is over twenty years old it highlights the significance of not homogenising the experiences of sexual minorities and instead considering the intersections which make a person more or less susceptible to violence, aggression, abuse and discrimination.

Rankine, J. (2008). *Lesbian, gay, bisexual, takatāpui, transgender community centre needs assessment*. Auckland: Auckland City Council.

The study looked into lesbian, gay, bisexual, takatāpui and transgender (LGBT) community centre needs and involved a research review, interviews with 20 LGBT community informants, and analysis of 134 survey responses received at the Big Gay Out and through email networks. The survey sample on takatāpui specifically, was small however it generated rich qualitative data. Pertaining to takatāpui, the study included information on kaupapa Māori based organisation Te Aronga Hou Inaianei: Takatāpui-a-iwi tautoko whanau (TAHI) and Hauora Takatāpui which orient toward transgender and gay Māori men respectively. Significantly, survey respondents identified a gap in service provision for takatāpui wahine and discussed the importance of having a support group or network for takatāpui wahine specifically. In general, issues surrounding access to culturally appropriate organisations/networks were raised with a key theme in this area identified in that governance bodies ought to better represent the diversity of LGBT populations, ensuring that programmes are developed and led by the most marginalised LGBT communities. Some survey informants expressed the need for LGBT organisations to consider the specific cultural needs of takatāpui. To discuss this finding further the authors used the Lavender Islands study to describe the ways in which Māori takatāpui/LGBT and non-Māori LGBT identities are constructed differently and suggested that these differences are integrated by Māori during their life course. The paper provided a good first-hand account of the needs of takatāpui in terms of culturally appropriate support services within the LGBTQI community. It did well to situate this requirement in information and further studies on takatāpui identity.

Reid, A., Worth, H., Saxton, P., Hughes, T., Robinson, E., & Segedin, R. (1998). *Male Call: Waea Mai Tāne Mā. Report Three: Māori Men Who Have Sex with Men/Tāne Māori Moea Tāne*. Auckland: New Zealand AIDS Foundation.

The report details findings from the first nationwide survey of men who have sex with men. The study was undertaken for the main purpose of understanding the sexual habits of men who have sex with men in order to address the issue of HIV/AIDS and to understand its impact on the particular demographic. Report three describes the particular social milieu characteristics of 170 Māori men who have sex with men. The report is mainly descriptive with some statistical analysis. The authors argue that symptoms of colonisation may leave Māori men who have sex with men at a greater risk of contracting the virus and/or in such

instances they may be more likely to be underreported. The main praxis of the report is to inform the development of initiatives and programmes which target the demography and may minimise risk of contraction. Again, the issue of gay Māori men and HIV/AIDS is at the centre of large-scale studies which focus on takatāpui health. Information in this study mirrors work by Aspin and other NZAF research which promotes the notion that Māori gay men are more susceptible to HIV/AIDS. The resource is significant as it seeks to inform the development of policy and further research which monopolises gay Māori men's health among takatāpui health initiatives. It also provides historical insight into the issues that were taken up at the time by researchers especially when it is situated among other research on HIV/AIDS and Māori in the late 1990's.

Te Puni Kokiri. (1994). *Mate Ketoketo/Arai Kore. A report about HIV/AIDS and Māori.*  
Wellington: Te Puni Kokiri.

In 1992 the National Council on AIDS released its Medium Term Plan for HIV/AIDS in New Zealand. Te Puni Kokiri developed this report in order to comment on recommendations from the Plan pertaining to Māori. The report summarises the limited information available on HIV/AIDS and implications for Māori from the 1992 report and is drawn from a review of disease related data, a literature review, advice from Te Roopu Tautoko Trust, and from a survey of area health boards and other HIV/AIDS service providers. The report identifies the epistemology of HIV/AIDS in Māori and then goes on to make recommendations about how to combat the phenomenon. The report revealed a lack of data required to accurately assess risk, predict trends and identify gaps in services and access for Māori in relation to HIV/AIDS. It argues that Māori may be at greater risk from HIV/AIDS than non-Māori and forewarns of other trends that have since not come to fruition. Many of the issues surrounding the social determinants of health and wellbeing are still relevant today for Māori and highlights how detrimental it is to have a lack of research in the area of takatāpui health. If anything this report emphasises the requirement to bring Māori to the forefront of research, particularly takatāpui who are often homogenised within an already homogenised group.

Tu Mai Media. (2002, September). Education needed in the area of sexual health for Māori males. *Tu mai Magazine*, pp. 28-29.

Refers to the Māori support programme Kaitiaki o te Tinana - 'you are the best protector of your body' for takatāpui tane or gay Māori men. The article touches on the isolation and issues of being Māori and gay. Resource was unavailable at the time of writing.

### **Identity**

Aspin, C. (1998). Finding a Place in the World. In W. Ihimaera, *Growing Up Māori* (pp. 231-235). Auckland: Tandem Press.



The book weaves together the narratives of notable Māori figures who tell the stories of their own unique experiences of growing up Māori. In Aspin's chapter he makes salient the connection between his Māori identity and his queer identity. Growing up he received messages from his whanau and society that both aspects were aberrant and should be denied. From this Aspin describes his own struggle with affirming his identities and finding a place of belonging in the worlds that he occupied. He provides a personal and touching account of his life and his family, much of which is written around the figure of his nana. Aspin's placing of his Māori grandmother is a key pillar within the narrative. She illustrates the complexities of being Māori, both in terms of the impacts of colonisation and the beauty of an untouchable connection to the ancestors and culture. Aspin discusses his sexuality and migration out of New Zealand including his work on HIV/AIDS. This chapter is an enjoyable read, it personalises notions of takatāpui and emphasises that for many, being Māori is at the core of their identity.(Hard-copy only).

Aspin, C. (2002). 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 . In H. Worth, A. Paris, & L. Allen, *The life of Brian: masculinities, sexualities and health in New Zealand* (pp. 91-104). Dunedin: University of Otago Press.

The essay is part of a collection which derived from the 'Masculinities' conference held at the University of Auckland. The collection is a contribution to the interesting and timely study of contemporary masculinities, sexualities and health. Aspin's essay describes some key elements of Māori gay masculinity within contemporary society. His observations are drawn from two key studies; a 1996 Nationwide survey of New Zealand men and a series of interviews in which Aspin himself conducted with a number of Māori men in 1997/98. Aspin considers the ways in which historical concepts have influenced how Māori gay men are both perceived and describe their sexual and cultural identities. Aspin discusses the ways in which Māori gay men express their sexuality culturally as well as how Western notions of sexuality influence that. Again, Aspin includes his work on migration and the impact of HIV/AIDS on Māori gay men. Aspin presents a rich piece of writing which situates the reader in the past in order to connect and ground notions of takatāpui in contemporary settings. His discussion of multiple identities is particularly salient; however he does not go in to depth. It describes the multiple levels of oppression and argues for the ability for gay Māori men to acknowledge and celebrate all aspects of their identity and its link here to sexual health promotion. The chapter outlines important features of takatāpui identity both in terms of the past and today. The chapter is angled around the argument that contemporary understandings and expression of takatāpui embrace both the Western and traditional in an understanding of the complexities of sexuality and culture.(Hard-copy only).

Aspin, C., & Hutchings, J. (2007). *Sexuality and the stories of indigenous people*. Wellington: Huia Publishers.

This book showcases a collection of first person accounts of the lives and experiences of 17 Takatāpui authors. Takatāpui men and women narrate the stories that make this book up utilising a diverse range of styles including poetry, prose and deeply personal narratives. The stories detail issues of identity, diversity, culture, tradition, sex and love to name a few. Many of the authors are prominent figures in New Zealand, Māoridom and the LGBTQ communities. Authors include Elizabeth Kerekere, Louisa Wall and Georgina Beyer. The stories in the book are a testament to the diversity of Māori and indigenous sexuality and gender identity today. The authors provide inspiration, many of whom provide deeply moving and personal accounts of the challenges which they have faced relating to being Takatāpui. Much of the undertone in this book is the uplifting of sexuality and gender identity as a key role in the lives of many Māori and indigenous people. Further, that this is something that should and can be self-determining, contemporary in its expression and experience in many ways however it is inextricably linked to the past. The book provides a rich and nuanced collection which represents the diversity of takatāpui identity and experience and yet links these all together in to one resource. The book is one of few that is entirely dedicated to takatāpui what is most important, I believe, is that it is written from the perspective of takatāpui themselves.

Aspin, C. (2011). Exploring Takatāpui identity within the Māori community : implications for health and well-being. In Q.-L. Driskill, *Queer indigenous studies : critical interventions in theory, politics, and literature* (pp. 113-122). Tuscon: University of Arizona Press.

The book is based on the notion that multi-layered levels of oppression shape the experience of queer indigenous peoples. It discusses decolonising queer indigenous research and theory with its praxis based on collective resistance towards positive change. Aspin's chapter focuses on takatāpui identity and its place within both traditional and contemporary Māori society. Linking New Zealand's socio-historical climate including colonisation and discrimination toward same-gender attracted people, the chapter identifies and elaborates on the effect that this has on takatāpui wellbeing. Aspin is particularly concerned with gay Māori men, this is his focus and he validates this positioning by arguing that gay Māori men have the highest rates of suicide and mental unwellness. Aspin asserts that reclaiming takatāpui identity, within Māori society, is a key practice which could help overcome the challenges that takatāpui men experience. As well as knowledge of the past, Aspin urges the need for culturally appropriate descriptors of identity such as *takatāpui* which celebrate and acknowledge Māori diversity and may positively impact on the wellbeing of non-heterosexual and/or gender conforming Māori. The chapter highlights many general areas of concern which takatāpui are faced with including the direct link

between wellbeing and social positioning. This is an important argument that can expand to all takatāpui however, Māori men are at the centre of this rhetoric excluding Māori women and the nuanced discrimination that they experience and transgender Māori, who are almost entirely left out of the literature as a whole.(Hard-copy only).

Harris, J. (2016). *Takatāpui : a place of standing*. Auckland: Oratia Media : New Zealand AIDS Foundation / Te Tūāpapa Mate Āraikore o Aotearoa.

The book, launched during the 2017 annual Hui Takatāpui, tells the stories, first-hand, of Lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender Māori. It reflects on each of their journeys from exclusion and prejudice to taking their rightful place in Aotearoa. The book outlines the struggles and triumphs that Takatāpui have faced and continue to face in Aotearoa. The people who feature in this book come from many different walks of life and their stories are infused with bold images that show the faces of contemporary Takatāpui living in New Zealand today. The book features a foreword by Witi Ihimaera, with introductions by Ngahuia Te Awekotuku and the late Henare Te Ua. Before its planned release the book was recalled because of contention surrounding author permission to publish. Yet, despite the recalled some copies remain available and unchanged. Despite the controversy surrounding these discrepancies, the book remains a long overdue and important contribution to takatāpui literature as one of only a few resources which is totally dedicated to takatāpui and in their own voices. The book itself is well-written and the imagery is powerful. It takes a strength-based approach to elevate the position of takatāpui in society and celebrate their victories as well as mourning their pain.

Johnston, P., & Pihama, L. (1995). What Counts as Difference and What Differences Count: Gender, Race and the Politics of Difference. In I. K, & I. Ramsden, *Toi Wāhine: The Worlds of Māori Women*. Auckland: Penguin Books.

The resource is not specifically about takatāpui although it situates many issues surrounding takatāpui in theory.

Kerekere, E. (2009). *Honoa Te Pito Ora ki Te Pito Mate: Takatāpui Past and Present*. in Te Kāhui Kura Māori. Vol 0 Issue 2.

The article reflects a journey of confusion, growth, affirmation, discovery and hope which eventuates at a cross-road in the author's research process. A purakau narrative, the article describes a woman in the crux of her research who returns home after hearing news of her kuia taking sick. This propels the narrative into a discussion about Takatāpui, the meaning of voice and the limits of western academia. The ending of the purakau provides the reader with hope that the stories of Māori can and should be told within Western Pakeha institutions but that they are not needed to legitimise them. Furthermore, that Māori knowledges are rich and diverse and often do not await rediscovery but new eyes and ears,

language and expression from which to understand them and place them in a contemporary world. This article represents a personable story which makes salient and accessible the issues surrounding research, legitimising knowledge, culture and, identity. It would provide a great resource for researchers who struggle with questioning their own work and a tool which can be mirrored where people can write their own stories as a mechanism of creative release. As well as written by a wahine Takatāpui and being about Takatāpui research, the piece is a significant piece of work in terms of its creativity.

Kerekere, E. (2017). *Part of the Whanau: The Emergence of Takaāapui Identity – He Whāriki Takatāpui. Thesis in fulfilment of Te Kawa a Māui*. Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington.

Thesis unpublished by Elizabeth Kerekere, in the process of marking at the time of writing.

McBreen, K. (2012). It's About Whānau – Oppression, Sexuality and Mana. In A. Mikaere, & J. Hutchings, *Kei Tua o Te Pae Hui Proceedings Te Wānanga o Raukawa Ōtaki* (pp. 55-64). Wellington and Otaki: New Zealand Council for Educational Research, Te Wananga o Raukawa.

The author presents an experiential narrative of her journey of realising her Māori whakapapa and navigating her sexuality within it. Her experience of being Queer is reflected from both the perspectives of the Māori and Pakeha worlds. Yet, in particular the narrative focuses on the author's central dilemma of navigating identity, queerness and belonging and acceptance within Māoridom. Using her own personal experiences as a springboard for many of the topics covered, the author deconstructs homophobia, tikanga, heteropatriarchy and colonisation as it relates to sexual diversity and provides some historical facts about the dynamics that marry these together. The article presents many valid arguments for the inclusion of takatāpui into mainstream Māori society. It deconstructs deep-seated notions of tika and pono where they are related to western constructs of normality. It reasons with the reader about how to think critically about complex notions such as heteropatriarchy but does so in a personable way, always urging for the better treatment of and inclusion of takatāpui within Māoridom.

Murray, A. B. (2003). Who Is Takatāpui? Māori Language, Sexuality and Identity in Aotearoa/New Zealand. *Anthropologica*, Vol. 45, No. 2, 233-244.

This paper is an introductory investigation into the complex relationship between sexuality, language and Māori indigenous identity in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Through an examination of the development and proliferation of a Māori language term takatāpui over the past 20 years, the paper analyses the socio-political implications of language use in identity discourses and the multiple interpretative possibilities that may be generated when a minority language is utilised in relation to a minority identification located within the

context of what Murray describes as an 'Anglo-postcolonial society'. The paper is primarily concerned with the nuances of identity and how language, identity and sexuality relate to each other in Aotearoa. In particular, the socio-political implications and linguistic practices of identity discourse surrounding Takatāpui. Interestingly, the author reflects upon the nuances of the term Takatāpui, that for some the term is empowering and ought to replace English language terms for gender and sexual diversity and for others they may not agree with utilising the term. What the author tends to reiterate is that the society in which the term Takatāpui is used is one which was created through the process of colonisation and thus creates a myriad of complex issues in terms of language, identity, history and culture. Murray's body of work on takatāpui has received some criticism in regards to Murray's anthropological lens and the fact that he is not Māori.

Murray, D. A. (2004). Takatāpui, Gay or Just HO-MO-SEXUAL Darling? Māori Language, Sexual Terminology and Identity in Aotearoa/New Zealand. In W. Leap, & T. Boellstorff, *Speaking in Queer Tongues: Globalization and Gay Language. Urbana and Chicago* (pp. 163-180). Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

The paper investigates the complex relationship between sexuality, language and Māori identity in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Examining the development and use of the term Takatāpui over the past 20 years the paper analyses the socio-political implications of language use in identity discourses and the multiple ways that it can be interpreted and explored within 'Anglo-postcolonial society'. The paper seems to be more targeted at informing non-Māori about the socio-political and cultural landscape of Aotearoa and the relationship of Takatāpui as a term to that. This I think takes on an anthropological tone where the author's interpretation of the term and thus traditional Māori society is authoritative in its presentation. In particular, that Takatāpui, traditionally, described a close relationship between members of the same gender, from this assumption the paper forms an argument based on the notion that Takatāpui has been reformed to suit modern Māori sexual/gender diversity without any acknowledgment of the opinion among many Māori scholars in the field, who would argue quite the opposite. Nonetheless, the paper, along with Murray's other on Takatāpui and linguistics adds diversity to the field of takatāpui resources. Murrays works are contentious in the field in that he is a non-Māori researcher representing Māori knowledge.

Tear Away: The Voice of New Zealand Youth. (2016, September 19). *TAKATĀPUI 101: MĀORI IN THE RAINBOW COMMUNITY*. Retrieved from Tear Away: The Voice of New Zealand Youth: <http://tearaway.co.nz/takatāpui-101-Māori-rainbow-community/>

The article utilise Elizabeth Kerekere's resource 'Takatāpui, Part of the Whanau' to present an accessible online source for people to understand the term Takatāpui and the nuance therein. It provides a basic description of Takatāpui and associated terms as well as information about Māori cultural orientation. The article also acknowledges the role of

colonisation in diminishing the acceptance and knowledge of and about Takatāpui as well as providing a brief history of what colonisation is for its readers. Attached to the article is a video featuring Takatāpui who talk about their experiences being Takatāpui from coming out to finding how to navigate in the world as both Māori and Queer. The resource is accessible to youth, it provides a general insight into the concept of Takatāpui seemingly catered for people who have limited to no understanding of it. It is significant in its directing towards a general, young LGBTQ demography.

Te Awekotuku, N. (2001). *Hinemoa: Retelling a Famous Romance*. *Journal of Lesbian Studies* Vol 5 (1), 1-11.

Part fiction, part non-fiction and a wholly personally narrated, Te Awekotuku presents a retelling of the famous Te Arawa legend of the romance between Hinemoa and Tutanekai. The introduction begins with a personal and emotive piece of writing which describes her relationship with the famous love story which began in her childhood growing up in Rotorua where the legend is set. It then goes on to express Te Awekotuku's response to the way the story had been historically shaped depending on who was telling it, from an emphasis on the heterosexual romantic themes of forbidden love to the revelations of same-sex relationships and their place in traditional Māori society. Te Awekotuku recounts reading the original manuscripts of Te Rangikaheke where she discovered the word Takatāpui and its relationship to the famous story. This propels the narrative of the retelling of the legend where Te Awekotuku challenges the Victorian record, and subverts the contemporary story producing a story of love, lust and fluidity. A significant piece of work within the field, Te Awekotuku's discussion of the term and its history creates a multiplicity of possibilities on how to claim and reclaim sexual and gender diversity. This reimagining has influenced the research landscape.

Te Ua, Henare.(2005). *Reflections on being gay and Māori*. *Outlines Conference: Lesbian and Gay History in Aotearoa*. Wellington: Lesbian & Gay Archives of New Zealand.

Te Ua presented this paper at the 2003 Outlines Conference: Lesbian and Gay History in Aotearoa about his experience as a gay Māori man. Te Ua's story begins from recollections of his childhood, including his sexual discovery and subsequent denial of it. Te Ua outlines his years being in the closet and the rising pressure that he felt from his whanau to have children and get married, of which he did both. He describes his sexual awakening in detail, describing his first sexual experiences with men after his marriage broke down and how this propelled his life into the gay community including work with the NZAF. Throughout his life Te Ua has been involved in many pivotal initiatives for gay men in general but in particular for gay Māori men, many of which are detailed in the paper. His story weaves worlds together, the Māori world, the Pakeha world and the gay world, all of which the narrative

ties together in unison through the first person account of his life. This is a wonderfully written piece of work that showcases the life of one particular man but in doing so the lives of many. It also provides a sociology and timeline of what it has meant to be a tane takatāpui in New Zealand over the decades. (Hard-copy only).

Tu Mai. (2010, October/November). Poofers, pansies and power: coming out ... an act of empowerment : Takatāpui Awards; Takatāpui in Aotearoa. *Tu Mai Magazine* , pp. 56-59.

### **Sociology**

Aspin, C. (2005). *The Place of Takatāpui Identity with Māori Society: Reinterpreting Māori Sexuality within a Contemporary Context* . Mexico City: Paper presented at Competing Diversities: Traditional Sexualities and Modern Western Sexual Identity Constructions Conference.

Unpublished material. Abstract was unavailable at the time of writing.

Aspin, C. (2016, October 8). *Hōkakatanga – Māori sexualities - Sexual diversity in contemporary Māori society*. Retrieved from Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/interactive/31710/hui-takatāpui-2010>

This online resource describes the history and sociology of Takatāpui. It details the increasing popularity of this self-identification term as well as its historical roots as exemplified by the relationship between Tutanekai and Tiki. Takatāpui, as a term, is contextualised in its present day use and the webpage also describes the proliferation of the term in art, media and culture in New Zealand. It goes on to discuss the relationship between Takatāpui and sexual health and its promotion via reinstating Māori cultural frameworks of conceptualising sexuality and gender diversity. The source also mentions the Māori Sexuality Project undertaken at the University of Auckland. The source has links to other resources related to Takatāpui including an interview with the presenters of Takatāpui (TV series), the artwork of Richard Kereopa, the annual Hui Takatāpui, the Toa Takatāpui poster and, a short biography on former transgender politician Georgina Beyer and entertainer Carmen, all of which can be found under the same link. This is a multi-faceted resource which is accessible and dynamic. Although not thorough in its discussion and presentation of takatāpui , it provides an overview which outlines some basic arguments which are explored across the literature. There is some contention surrounding this resource around referencing and proper acknowledgement of researchers whose work has been utilised to develop the page and has not been properly cited.

Aspin, C., & Hutchings, J. (2006). Māori Sexuality. In M. Mulholland, *State of the Māori Nation: Twenty-First Century Issues in Aotearoa* (pp. 227-235). Auckland: Reed Publishing.

The book includes twenty five commentators, historians, teachers and industry leaders from within New Zealand who each contribute a short essay on the current status of Māori within contemporary society. Aspin and Hutchings' chapter draws predominantly from the Māori Sexuality Project (a major project based on kaupapa Māori in which Māori from across the Country provided information about historical and contemporary expressions of sexuality/this study in unavailable). The chapter argues that traditional Māori society accepted a diverse range of sexualities and gender expression. It draws this historical account namely through the relationship between Tutanekai and Tiki (which has been widely discussed throughout the literature). Focusing on Takatāpui, the chapter describes not only the historical basis of the term but how it has been reclaimed by contemporary Māori. The HIV/AIDS epidemic and how to address it through decolonisation is a theme within the text. Wahine Takatāpui and mana wahine identity(s) are discussed in terms of the meeting place between radical resistance to heteropatriarchy and identity. The chapter also touches on contemporary issues within which takatāpui are positioned; including discourses around same-sex unions in particular the chapter ends with a discussion about Destiny's Church which situates the chapter in the political climate of its publishing. The chapter is a broad and inclusive text which outlines the socio cultural landscape of the time of publishing along with the historical context of being Takatāpui both in the wider New Zealand context and within Māoridom. The inclusion of wahine takatāpui and the discussion about mana wahine is particularly interesting, especially as this is juxtapositioned next to the experience of tane takatāpui. We see here an emergence of discussion, within takatāpui literature, that includes women into the wider narrative. This is especially important in a book as all-encompassing, in terms of the current political/cultural landscape, as *State of the Māori Nation*.(Hard-copy only).

Aspin, C., & Hutchings, J. (2007). Reclaiming the past to inform the future: Contemporary views of Māori sexuality. *Culture, Health & Sexuality Vol.9 (4)*, 415-427.

The paper is presented as a resistance to the imposition of Western, colonial views of sexuality. Though it is rooted in the history of Māori and indigenous sexualities it speaks to contemporary contentions regarding sexuality and the imposition of normative heterosexuality and sexual expression which it describes as being derived from fundamental interpretations of religious scripture. The paper presents a history of Māori resistance to these forms of imposition and argues that they act to limit, inscribe and punish gender and



sexual diversity today which amalgamate in the social positioning of takatāpui and LGBTQ peoples within contemporary society. Drawing on historical accounts which include oral histories, depictions of sexuality in art, as well as archival materials, it describes Māori sexuality as it was experienced and expressed before and at the onset colonisation. As well as these historical records, information from the Māori Sexuality Project is used to inform this narrative. The paper presents the view of traditional Māori sexuality as fluid and diverse both of which were accepted and celebrated. The paper describes this normalising of diversity as, by in large, a deviation from the philosophy disseminated in religious discourses. Thus, the authors promote the rhetoric that Māori were traditionally accepting of sexual diversity and embraced many elements of sexuality including same-sex attraction. The paper goes on to discuss the implications of this finding in terms of sexual health for Takatāpui as well as the ongoing development of Māori communities. Again, Aspin reiterates many themes that permeate his body of work including the benefits for Māori that derive from the promotion of knowledge of an accepting and diverse traditional society and provides sociological explanations for the social positioning of takatāpui today.

Ballantyne, A. J. (1999). *The Reform of the Heathen Body - CMS Missionaries, Māori and Sexuality*. In M. Reilly, & J. Thomson, *When the Waves Rolled In Upon Us – Essays in Nineteenth Century Māori History*. Dunedin: University of Otago Press.

Discusses Māori sexuality as a whole, does not specifically mention takatāpui.

Binney, J. (2004). Whatever happened to poor Mr. Yate? An exercise in voyeurism. (William Yate). *The New Zealand Journal of History Volume 38 Issue 2*, 154-168.

The chapter discusses the reasons behind the dismissal of missionary William Yate in 1837 from the Church Missionary Society. The letters from Māori students to Yate illustrated the intimate proximity of Yate and pupils and revealed the dilemma faced by the missionaries who were vulnerable to any naturalising of sensuality. The letters, which are detailed within the article, expressed the affection felt by the young men towards Yate. Some of the men testified at his trial that they had engaged in sexual acts with him. The backdrop of lustful sin and the awakening of the boys to the Christian concepts of immorality and sin created an interesting sociology of sexuality at the time. Particularly, as illustrated in Binney's other text; this highlighting of the contrast between Māori views of naturalised sexual diversity and European frigidity to sexuality, reaffirms literature in the field which describes diverse and fluid sexuality among traditional Māori.

Brickell, C. (2011, May 5). *Gay men's lives - History*. Retrieved from Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand:  
<http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/artwork/27636/reverend-william-yate>

The article provides an accessible outline and timeline of the history of gay men's lives in New Zealand. In relation to gay men, it mostly describes the socio-political context of New Zealand from the onset of colonisation including outlines of law and reforms, activism, social life and the HIV/Aids epidemic. The article begins with a short paragraph specifically addressing Māori-same gender relationships pre-contact, of which it concludes that there is very little information about. However, the paragraph stipulates that some scholars argue that early Māori carvings depicting homosexuality suggest that same-sex relationships may have been accepted. This article speaks to the general New Zealand cultural landscape and its relationship with being a Gay man and does not engage in depth with the nuances that provide a proper analyses of being Gay and Māori.

Hutchings, J. (2012). *The Hetero-Patriarchy and the Corruption of Tikanga*. In A. Mikaere, Kei Tua o Te Pae Hui Proceedings changing worlds, changing tikanga - educating history and the future Te Wānanga o Raukawa Ōtaki (pp. 31-35). Wellington and Otaki: New Zealand Council for Educational Research; Te Wāhanga; Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa; Ako Aotearoa National Centre for Tertiary Teaching Excellence.

The article provides a political and personal analysis of the role of the heteropatriarchy on Tikanga Māori. Weaving in and out of the intersections of maleness, power and dominance the article looks at the effect of this notion of hegemony on sexuality and gender, particularly as it affects wahine Māori and Takatāpui. It looks toward the decolonisation of tikanga and how this process may better incorporate wahine Māori and Takatāpui alike into practices and discourse. The article stands out as a crucial resource of critique which centres not only on Takatāpui but wahine Takatāpui and Wahine Māori in general within colonial projects. That is that the negotiation of tikanga should be one that does not reflect the oppressive and essentialist hegemonic model. Instead, it advocates for tikanga that opens Māori development pathways that are holistic and that uphold the ethos of traditional philosophy to include and reflect the diversity of Māori.

Kerekere, E. (2016). LGBT Activism Among Māori. *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Gender and Sexuality Studies* 1-5.

The article details the history of Takatāpui and activism in New Zealand. Illustrating that Māori who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex, and queer (LGBTIQ) began forming networks from the 1950s and since then have featured prominently in LGBTIQ and other activism. The development of feminism, lesbian feminism, and gay liberation in parallel with the renaissance of Māori language and culture and assertion of Māori land rights since the 1970s ensured that issues of indigeneity remain topical within LGBTIQ organisations. The first Māori-specific LGBTIQ organization, Te Roopu Tautoko, was established in 1988 to provide sexual health services. The article explicitly describes the term Takatāpui providing a timeline for its use and history and a socio cultural and political explanation for its use among LGBTQ Māori. The article promotes the work that Māori

LGBTQI peoples have done for various liberation movements. This history makes sense as Takatāpui are people who often occupy dual and often multiple oppressed identities. The significance of the article is that it acknowledges the role of Takatāpui in changing the social landscape for both Pakeha and Māori across movements as well as illustrating the intersections of these movements that are oftentimes viewed as representing clear and exclusive social wedges.

Laurie, A. J. (2005). 'Filthiness' became a theory: an overview of homosexual and lesbian organising from nineteenth century Europe to seventies New Zealand. In A. J. Laurie, & L. Evans, *Outlines: Lesbian and Gay Histories of Aotearoa* (pp. 10-18). Wellington: Lesbian and Gay Archives of New Zealand.

The article contextualises the establishment of gay and lesbian groups in the 1970s in New Zealand in history and the socio-political timeline leading up to the gay liberation movement. The article mentions Ngahaia Te Awakotū in relation to being refused entry into the United States and provides only two sentences which describe the imposition of culture and law marginalising homosexuality which was not present in traditional Māori society. The book is a very good outline of the history of the gay liberation movement in New Zealand. Yet, in terms of takatāpui literature it has very little depth about Māori, specifically, within LGBTQ political identity and history.

McBreen, K. (2013). *Ahunga Tikanga and Sexual Diversity*. Retrieved from ResearchGate: [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/235664484\\_AHUNGA\\_TIKANGA\\_AND\\_SEXUAL\\_DIVERSITY](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/235664484_AHUNGA_TIKANGA_AND_SEXUAL_DIVERSITY)

The article analyses the notion of tikanga as it pertains to sexual diversity. Providing a historical analysis of tikanga, sexual diversity and arguments for and against its acceptance within Māoridom, the article argues for the reshaping of tikanga so that it better includes the diversity of Māori today. Thus, the argument is presented that tikanga ought to serve Māori and ought to be flexible and relevant. Looking to the past is then argued as only one way of informing decisions based around tikanga. The article emphasises the importance of using kaupapa to develop tikanga which serves Māori, Takatāpui included. The article reflects an inclusionary and evolving view of Māori epistemology, one that is flexible and changing to suit the shape and nature of contemporary Māori. That is not to say that we are essentially different from our Tupuna but that we ultimately live in different times. The article makes salient the need to reform new tikanga based on kaupapa which better serves all Māori in acknowledgment of the western and Eurocentric tarnishing of much of the knowledge we have about sexuality, specifically. For this I think the article is an important source in the development of radical inclusion of Takatāpui into the wider Māori framework.

Millet, T. (2013, March). Retrieved from Tony Millett's Website Bibliography on  
Homosexuality in New Zealand, 1770-2012:  
<http://tonymillett.tripod.com/bibhom.html#S6>

This tool is an excellent resource which provides a broad array of information and some details of resources pertaining to LGBTQ people in New Zealand. The website is organised by titles though it is not organised by pages the link at the top will take you straight to the topic that you are interested in when clicking the link. Millet has two categories concerning takatāpui one which he titles “Takatapuhi Māori” and the other is titled “Māori, Pre-colonial”. These provide information about literature on the topic at hand, some of which I had not come across at all. This is not a comprehensive list of resources however; it does well to consolidate a fair amount of the literature.

Kirkman, A., & Maloney, P. (2005). *Sexuality Down Under: Social and Historical Perspectives*.  
Dunedin: Otago University Press.

Parkinson, P. (2005). 'A Most Depraved Young Man': Henry Miles Pilley, the New Zealand  
Missionary. In A. J. Laurie, & L. Evans, *Outlines: Lesbian and Gay Histories of  
Aotearoa*. . . (pp. 19-23). Wellington: Lesbian and Gay Archives of New Zealand.

Does not offer enough discussion on takatāpui.

Smith, L., & Te Awekotuku, N. (1998). *Te Huinga Takatāpui Course Reader: Te Kawa a Māui*.  
Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington .

Not broadly available.

Te Awekotuku, N. (2005). He Reka Ano: Same Sex Lust and Loving in Ancient Māori World.  
*Outlines Conference: Lesbian and Gay History in Aotearoa*. Wellington: Lesbian & Gay  
Archives of New Zealand.

The paper provides a historic account of Māori sexual and gender diversity exemplified from a diverse range of sources. Te Awekotuku analyses historic manuscripts from both Pakeha (Joseph Banks) and Māori (Te Rangikaheke) to paint a first-hand account of traditional Māori society's acceptance of gender and sexual diversity. Other historical accounts of this normalisation of sexual and gender diversity is provided in the case of Reverend William Yate. Beyond, oral and written accounts Te Awekotuku analyses knowledge which can be drawn from traditional wood carvings (Tutanekai and Tiki figures and Papahou depicting homosexual sex) as well as laments and songs that describe same-gender love and sex. A key story which propels Te Awekotuku's writing is that of the story of Tutanekai and Hinemoa within that the story of Tutanekai's hoa takatāpui Tiki. The piece subverts dominant notions both within and outside of Māoridom which have perpetuated the notion of

heteronormativity among traditional Māori and is a pivotal resource which amalgamates evidence to prove quite the opposite. In particular, Te Awekotuku's research has been cited widely across the literature especially as it pertains to the story of Tutanekai and Tiki. This source is particularly significant in its drawing together of both Māori and Pakeha accounts of takatāpui in Māori society and in its incorporation of non-written illustrations therein. (Hard-copy only).

The British Museum. (2016, January 1). *Same-sex desire*. Retrieved from The British Museum: [http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/themes/same-sex\\_desire\\_and\\_gender/same-sex\\_desire.aspx#3](http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/themes/same-sex_desire_and_gender/same-sex_desire.aspx#3)

The online resource showcases the British Museum's collection of a large number of objects that provide evidence regarding the desire between members of the same gender across human civilisation. This viewable collection showcases that this has always been an aspect of human existence and experience. Featured in this collection is a carved Māori treasure box dated in the late eighteenth Century. The piece depicts sexual practices between men and links these in with other Pacific region cultures. The resource also provides an overview of the colonial and missionary forces and its effect on sexual diversity. The resource offers a short synopsis of the socio-cultural significance of Māori art. It provides insight into Māori sexuality and in turn society before colonisation. Further, the piece showcased has been discussed in several articles across the literature on takatāpui.

### **Historic**

Arboleda, G., & Murray, S. (1985). The Dangers of Lexical Inference with Special Reference to Māori Homosexuality . *Journal of Homosexuality*. Vol 12:1, 129-134.

The article discusses the relationship between language and sexuality in traditional Māori society. It argues that although the authors believed there to be no words relating to homosexuality in Māori society, pre-contact, that this alone did not mean that homosexual practices did not take place. The article does acknowledge that the lack of language surrounding Māori sexual diversity may relate to the imposition of European values (Christian/Victorian) on the perception, reporting and framing of Māori cultural orientation and society, in particular, the translation of Te reo Māori to English. It concludes by emphasising that the fact that no mention of Takatāpui was available at the time merely proves that no mention was available rather than that there was no homosexual practice in traditional society. The article is limited by its anthropological lens, when discussing the absence of language surrounding sexual diversity it appear to be solely focused on written word. Furthermore, it describes 'Māori' as a homogenous group who are in denial of any deviation from heterosexual practices and expression and who believe homosexuality to be

an imposed notion. Thus, losing all nuances that exists in beliefs held by Māori and reaffirming the concept of a homogenous Māori worldview. Yet, what the reading does infer is that the socio-historic reasons surrounding the absence of terms for sexual and gender diversity may inform a more nuanced understanding of why such diversity is not widely accepted and discussed. This notion is mostly drawn from literature that has come after the article which links the exclusion of takatāpui from Māori society to the impact of colonisation.

Beaglehole, J. (1962). *The Endeavour Journals of Joseph Banks 1768-1771*. Sydney: Trustees of the Public Library of New South Wales in association with Angus and Robertson.

This text was prepared from the manuscript of "The Endeavour Journal of Sir Joseph Banks, 1768—1771". Banks accompanied Captain James Cook on his exploration of the South Pacific. The manuscript outlines Banks' observation of Māori upon contact, from custom, to dress, social structure, language and social structure. In his journals, Banks made some observations about Māori sexuality and gender diversity. In one particular encounter he describes either cross-dressing or transgenderism. This particular observation of early Māori sexuality/gender diversity was cited in Ngahuia Te Awekotu's *He Reka Ano – same-sex lust and loving in the ancient Māori world* as well as among other sources which seek to provide insight into the place of sexuality and gender diversity in traditional Māori society. From a Pakeha view point, it appears to be one of the most important pieces of evidence that suggest traditional Māori society accepted sexual and gender diversity.

Binney, J. (1968). *The Legacy of Guilt: A Life of Thomas Kendall*. Christchurch: Oxford University Press.

This work, by leading New Zealand historian Judith Binney, details the evangelical mission in New Zealand through the life of missionary Thomas Kendall. Kendall Posted to New Zealand in 1814 and helped produce the first Māori Grammar, but was hindered by rumours of an affair with a Māori chief's daughter. Dismissed from his duties in 1823, he continued studying Māori culture until his death nearly a decade later. This work tells an absorbing story of the difficulties and dangers of the evangelical mission. As well as outlining the more sexually free traditional society of Māori, in the chapter titled 'Sin', the book discusses the case of Reverend William Yate, who himself suffered a fall from grace in the eyes of the church for his relationship with young Māori men. The significance of this commentary for Takatāpui resources is that it paints a picture of a Māori society that was seemingly accepting of same-gender relationships in contrast to an early settler society which viewed sexuality in line with Christian moral values, that is that anything outside of sex between a man and his wife for the purpose of producing children, was hedonistic or at least had the potential to be. The resource transcends the bounds of time and reaffirms arguments made by Māori scholars throughout the literature which came after *The Legacy of Guilt*. That is

that the social positioning of takatāpui in contemporary Māori society is a consequence of colonisation.

Eldred-Grigg, S. (1984). *Pleasures of the Flesh: Sex & Drugs in Colonial New Zealand 1840-1915*. Wellington: Reed Publishing.

In chapter four entitled “Furtive Sex” under Homosexuality and other “unnatural vices” Eldred-Grigg discusses traditional Māori society and its acceptance of sex and unions between people of the same gender. He also describes the naturalisation of such practices as confusing missionaries and some historians into thinking that homosexuality did not exist, a notion which is discussed in other literature of its kind. There is mention of a missionary Richard Davis who observed homosexuality as a familiar and normal part of Māori life, situating same-gender relationships, between men in particular, as fluid and affectionate. Davis observed that mutual masturbation was normalised among boys and young men and that as they grew older their same-gender relationships were an important part of their lives and not rarely accompanied by further homosexual practices. There is also mention of homosexual marriages between men which I have not come across in other text. The chapter discusses Pakeha sexuality at the time, using William Yate as an example of the conflict between abhorring homosexuality and repressing such leanings and then embracing them in secret. The chapter affirms information that we see within the Māori literature, carvings and art and is important in its affirming of non-written knowledge about takatāpui. Although short, the section on Māori is rich and the information about same-gender marriage is particularly interesting.(Hard-copy only).

Gluckman L. K. (1967). Lesbianism in the Māori. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry*, 1: 98.

The paper argues that lesbianism was unknown to the pre-European Māori, or the older present generation of Māori women yet, is not rare in the present generation of younger Māori women. It is postulated that Māori lesbianism is determined by social, cultural and environmental pressures. This paper incorporates three studies; That of a Māori woman it describes as ‘frigid’ except with European women exemplifying a condition described as ‘Heterochromophobia’ (sexual stimulation as the result of skin colour of different ethnic origin), the evolution of lesbianism in environments impossible in earlier Māori society and the differing incidence of lesbianism in European and Māori prostitutes. All studies support the premise that lesbianism among Māori women is culturally determined. Again, Gluckman’s studies support her position on homosexuality and Māori reflecting the attitude of the mainstream field of psychiatry at the time of publishing. Homosexuality was considered a perversion and was outlawed. Her argument that Māori have no natural tendency toward homosexual expression on their own until the influence of Europeans is ill-founded and archaic.

Gluckman, L. K. (1973). Transcultural Consideration of Homosexuality with Special Reference to the New Zealand Māori. *Australia New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry*, June 1974, Vol. 8. No. 2, 121-125 .

The paper argues that the notion of Homosexuality was unknown in pre-European New Zealand arguing that Māori sanctioned heterosexuality by positioning homosexual intercourse as punishable by a “supernatural disease” as prescribed by a “pantheist value system”. This argument is exemplified by various observations and assumptions. The position of the paper is that homosexuality is socially and culturally determined. Thus, only appears given the right factors. Homosexuality in contemporary Māori society is described as being relatively common with increasing European contact. Thus, the new environment in which Māori found themselves is argued to be fundamentally responsible for the emergence of homosexual patterns. The paper further critiques the impacts of colonisation as destroying/modifying traditional value system that equated non-biological sexual expression with inevitable death or disaster has now been replaced with a value systems based on Western theology and morality. The position of the paper is that homosexual expression cannot be considered a biological norm because if it were universally followed the result would rapidly terminate the human race. The paper praises pre-contact Māori for the development of heterosexual attitudes in the child to ensure child rearing for future generations. The paper appears archaic in its blatant contempt for homosexuality. It then, chooses which facets of history, whether true or not, to corroborate its argument. However, it provides an insight into the socio-political landscape in which it was written (including the dominant view of homosexuality in psychiatry) and differs from the usual anthropological framing of as it describes a ‘stone-age people’ as hedonistic and perverted, instead taking a more patronising position.

### **Television Film/Art**

Christine, P. (Director). (1995). *Peach* [Motion Picture].

A short film about a small town Māori woman named Sal who is gifted a peach which acts to symbolise her burgeoning sexual awakening. Sal is drawn to a mysterious woman, a tow truck driver, they exchange smiles and the woman is instantly drawn to the stranger. Sal’s life is colourless other than her love for her toddler. She is in an increasingly frustrating relationship with a man and is longing to come to life, on the verge of blossoming. Her boyfriend Mog, organises a party at Sal's house with work friends and the mystery woman she had seen earlier has been invited. The two women exchange a moment of provocation. For Sal this stirs up the desire that had been brewing since the beginning of the film. The woman urges Sal to take her life into her own hands just as you should eat a peach “Watch it rot, or taste it when it’s ripe.” The film does not go into any in-depth discussion about Takatāpui, however it is relevant in its placing of a young Māori mother at the centre of a film about desire both for the same-gender and a better life.



Elleray, M. (2004). *Weaving the Wāhine Takatāpui: Mirimiri and Tahuri* in Alice, L. and L. Starr (eds) (2004) *Queer in New Zealand*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press. 175-186.

The article provides a reading of the short stories "Mirimiri" and "Tahuri" by Ngahua Te Awekotuku and discussion of the representation of lesbianism through a Māori cultural framework. Analysing Te Awekotuku's work, Elleray describes it as the politicisation of the disruptive intersection between identities, in this case being Māori and being a lesbian. In this reading of Mirimiri and Tahuri, Elleray argues that Te Awekotuku counters this collision by outing the voices of Māori women's same-gender desires. The chapter discusses how same-gender desire can be figured from a Māori cultural perspective, that as both Māori and now westerners, Māori are often faced with the task of translating themselves between those two destinations. The chapter discusses issues around language and Māori homosexuality in the reclaiming of Māori sexual diversity. The chapter is an excited and passionate look into not only Te Awekotuku's work but also at her stance on takatāpui within Māoridom and what she represents to Māori sexuality as not only a researcher and author but as a figure. A lively and personal narrative, the article puts wahine takatāpui at the centre of the narrative and provides an interesting analysis of the intersections of identity.

Faith, Deb., Hauiti, Claudette., Anaru, Jude., Te Wake, Ramon., Mete, Taane., & Simon, Tania. (Directors). (2006). *To the core: the making of Ramon Te Wake*.

This documentary explores the life of takatāpui personality Ramon Te Wake who is a singer, songwriter, television presenter and director. The documentary is unavailable to view.

Front of Box Production. (Producer).(2004). *Takatāpui*. [Television series]. Auckland: Māori Television

Takatāpui was the world's first indigenous gay, lesbian and transgender television series. Produced by Front of the Box Productions and screening on Māori Television for six series, the show was magazine-styled with a Māori queer focus (it was replaced by the Wero series). It was light entertainment but not afraid to delve into some hard-hitting issues affecting the takatāpui communities all over New Zealand. Presenters included transgender singer Ramon Te Wake, Taurewa Biddle and Tania Simon. The series featured personal stories about the lives of Takatāpui in Aotearoa as well as vox pop styled interviews with people about Takatāpui and LGBTQ issues. Information about safe sex practices were also weaved into the series. Some of the episodes of the series are available on NZonscreen as well as online at the University of Auckland library catalogue. However, not all are available here.

Kerekere, E. (1992). Preparing the Art World for Māori Dykes in . In H. McPherson, J. King, M. Evans, & P. Gerrish Nunn, *Spiral 7: A Collection of Lesbian Art and Writing from Aotearoa/New Zealand*. Wellington: Spiral in association with Daphne B.

The book was published to mark the seventeenth anniversary of the Spiral Collective, the seventh issue of Spiral magazine and the thirteenth anniversary of the Women's Gallery Inc. This resource is unavailable.

Te Awekotuku, N. (1991). *Mana Wahine Māori: Selected Writings in Māori Women's Art, Culture and Politics*. Auckland: New Women's Press.

Subjects which are covered in Te Awekotuku's book include: He Wahine, He Whenua: The Role of Māori Women in Traditional Society (1974) The Ohinemutu Streets Crisis (1974) Māori Women in Tourism (1981) Te Kakano a Parearohi: Dance Traditions of Māori Women (1984) Te Hu o Tarawera: Remembering the Eruption 1886-1986 Dykes & Queens: Fairytales, Facts and Fictions (1989). The book honours the significance of Māori women and is essential reading in the field of gender studies, Māori studies and takatāpui literature. The chapter pertaining to takatāpui is the transcript from a speech Te Awekotuku presented at the 1989 National Gay and Lesbian Conference in Auckland. Te Awekotuku discusses the significance of reclaiming takatāpui identity and history. She situates the sexual and gender experience of Māori within Polynesian traditions of mahu, fa'afine and fakaleiti. She describes the absence of a record about takatāpui and admits that there is less of a record for wahine takatāpui. Despite this and the reasons she provides as to why this is, she speaks on the significance of loving ones gender and sexuality and each other from the obvious position of loving herself at these intersections. The chapter also provides some insight into historical events pertaining to the gay liberation movement and emphasises the important role that queer people play in bringing love, creativity and strength to the world. The chapter is an emotive glimpse into takatāpui and from a strength-based position affirms the history and continuing place of takatāpui in society. The book is however rare and hard to find. Short pieces like this are rich in contribution to this field of literature and may be better accessible if amalgamated into one resource. (Hard-copy only/special collections).

Te Hiku TV. (2016, November 28). *Conversations from te Hui Takatāpui*. Retrieved from Haukainga: <https://www.tehiku.nz/te-hiku-tv/haukainga/4637/conversations-from-te-hui-takatāpui>.

'Conversations' is a series of news clips interviewing people who attended 2016's Hui Takatāpui. The content of series speaks on issues of identity, discrimination, wellbeing and belonging. Although short, the interviews address many issues considered across the literature with the focus on contemporary views of takatāpui. Interviewees included Lousia Wall and Elizabeth Kerekere who discuss takatāpui related issues such as the Marriage Reform Bill, Health and Wellbeing and

traditional Māori concepts that give weight to the normality of gender sexual diversity.

### **Family and Reproductive Options**

Glover, M. P., McKree, A., & Dyllal, L. (2009). Assisted Human Reproduction: Issues for Takatāpui (New Zealand Indigenous Non-Heterosexuals). *Journal of GLBT Family Studies Volume 5 Issue 4*, 295-311.

The article explores the attitudes and experiences of Māori towards assisted human reproduction (AHR) technologies. The target population is takatāpui and the article presents a first of its kind qualitative study in order to understand AHR in regards to takatāpui. The views of takatāpui were gauged using key informant interviews and focus groups with a diverse range of Māori participants. The paper covers issues around the significance of children, family, and genealogy in Māori culture of which many takatāpui subscribe to. Yet, issues of homophobia and heterosexism obstruct some more legitimised pathways to takatāpui becoming parents. Current pathways that takatāpui utilise to start their own families raised concerns about health risks and uncertain legal status. A major theme derived from the data was that takatāpui ought to be better informed about the various pathways to parenthood when they are young so that they have a better selection of fertility choices if they decide to have biological children. The paper presents a significant sub-field within takatāpui literature and research that ought to be studied more. It is especially interesting to consider the differing notions of legality between Māori and western viewpoints and how pakeha law impacts on pathways that takatāpui choose to utilise to reproduce. Possible future study in this area would be important.

Pihama, L. (1998). Reconstructing meanings of family: Lesbian/gay whānau and families in Aotearoa. *The Family in Aotearoa New Zealand*, 179-207.

Pihama teases a part the nuances that relate to Māori lesbians and whanau. She discusses the notion of difference between Māori and Pakeha lesbians through the highlighting of Māori cultural orientation and history. This notion of difference affirms the specific and diverse experience of wahine takatāpui in acknowledging that they are often either homogenised as a group or their voices muffled within dominant LGBT discourses. The chapter provides an in-depth analyses of the relationship between whakapapa, colonisation, resistance, whangai and reproductive agency and its relationship to wahine takatāpui. At the end of the chapter Pihama provides a broader critique which dismantles commonly held assumptions and myths about lesbian women and notions of family. The chapter highlights the significance of bring Māori voices to the center of discussion and research. Further, that Māori including wahine takatāpui are unique in the cultural ways that family is constituted.

A Place to Start an annotated bibliography by Kara Beckford  
Summer Internship Programme  
Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga

In general, the chapter challenges dominant discourses about family and marriage which it argues have worked to oppress Māori, including takatāpui and reinstates a new discourse in which heteronormativity and eurocentrism is deconstructed. As a source, the chapter is a significant one, highlighting the need to reconstitute understandings of family and including takatāpui in to that reconstitution. It is also significant due to the lack of research which brings wahine takatāpui and discussions around family to the forefront of the work. (Hard-copy only).