“You’re not coming out – you’ve been there all along and just no one’s looked”: Māori LGBT+ youth and identity exploration

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Tuhinga Whakarāpopoto[1]

This research is a Masters-level project on Māori LGBT-plus (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and other) youths' experience of exploring their gender and sexual identities, highlighting how whānau (loosely, 'extended family') can provide mana (authority, power) such that youth can exercise mana rangatiratanga (a Maniapoto description of 'autonomy, self-determination') regarding their identities. This is a novel, exploratory study.

Adapted elements from a Mana Wāhine (Māori feminist) perspective of Kaupapa Māori theory comprised the theoretical framework for this project. These elements were *Mana rangatiratanga* (adapted from *Tino rangatiratanga*)*, Te reo Māori me ōna tikanga* (Māori language and its culture), and *Whanaungatanga* (relationships). The three elements were adapted to fit a Ngāti Maniapoto worldview.

Qualitative research methods were used for this study. There were five participants aged between 17 and 24 years, who were Māori and had diverse gender or sexual identities. Semi-structured, face-to-face interviews were conducted with participants, which allowed them to share their experiences of exploring their gender and sexual identities and of whānau support. Interviews were analysed using a process of inductive thematic analysis, which identified and analysed patterns across the dataset.

Eight themes were derived from participants' experiences. These themes were *Ko Tūhura,* which described the process of discovery that participants have experienced; *Ko Matatapu*, which described participants' experience of authenticity and concealment of their gender and sexual identities; *Ko Tautoko*, which described how whānau have empowered participants to explore their identities, and how participants have been denied empowerment; *Ko Mata-ngaro*, which described participants' early lack of exposure to diverse identities, and their having their identities unseen by others; *Ko te Ahunga-ki-te-aunoa*, which described how diverse identities have been accepted within participants' whānau; *Ko Tauawhi*, which described how participants have been embraced for their diverse identities; *Ko Mata-pū-take*, which describes participants' experience of finding somewhere to belong; and *Ko Kiritau*, which describes participants' becoming settled in their expression of their gender and sexual identities.

The findings of the thesis describe roles that whānau play in participants' exploration of their gender and sexual identities and some of the effects that colonisation has had within

[1] Abstract.

participants' whānau regarding their gender and sexual identities. Nonetheless, participants actively resisted these aspects of colonisations and found ways to give voice to their gender and sexual identities.

Given that participants shared that there was a dearth of information regarding gender and sexual identities available to them within their whānau and school environments, organisations within psychology and related fields may work to proactively provide all young Māori people and their whānau with information regarding diverse gender and sexual identities. Moreover, to address the dearth of resources designed for Māori LGBT-plus youth, New Zealand-based researchers may collate information specifically regarding Māori LGBT-plus youth experience of identity exploration and Māori knowledges regarding gender and sexual identities. This information may be collated in community-based resources that are designed specifically for members of this group and their whānau, and professionals who work for them.

Ki te taha o tōku whaea

Ko Kakepuku te maunga

Ko Waipa te awa

Ko Tainui te waka

Ko Ngāti Maniapoto te iwi

Ko Ngāti Unu te hapū

Ko Hare Kupe tōku koroua

Ko Eliza Barrett tōku kuia

Ko Elizabeth Kupe tōku whaea

Ki te taha o tōku pāpā

He Pākehā ia

Ko Owen Laurence tōku koroua

Ko Valerie McCombe tōku kuia

Ko Robert Laurence tōku pāpā

For our tūpuna, who paved way for us
and our mokopuna, for whom we do the same

Ngā Mihi[2]

Ehara taku toa i te toa takitahi, engari, he toa takitini. My strength is not that of a single warrior, but that of many.

Conducting a Masters research project has been a uniquely challenging experience and I know with all of me that this treatise would not exist if not for the people who have helped me along the way.

The young Māori – Alexandra, Bella, Jynx, Onyx, and Sarah – who participated in this study are five of the most inspiring people I've ever met. Thank you for trusting me with your stories and for sharing my passion about this topic. I hope that our work together will contribute to changing the world so that our mokopuna can thrive and revel in being young Māori who are takatāpui.

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My work with Te Whāriki Takapou (Chief Executive, Dr Alison Green) has been integral to my learning to conduct and write Kaupapa Māori research. Thank you to Dr Jillian Tipene and Dr Kim Southey, especially, who have directly supervised work I've done for the Honour Project Aotearoa study and other projects.

I attended many library tutorials, run by the wonderful Library staff at the University of Waikato, to learn how to harness software to conduct this research project. I also had one-on-one help from librarians, which was invaluable to refining my skills with software and polishing the format of this thesis. Thank you, Dr Debby Dada, Jillene Bydder, and Alistair Lamb, especially, for your time and guidance.

I am fortunate to live in a technological age that allows me to have personal communication with LGBT-plus and takatāpui scholars and our scholarly allies, who shared

[2] Acknowledgements.

their experiences with me to inform my own research process. Conversing with each of you has been necessary for forming this thesis.

I am also privileged to be friends with some of the cleverest and most meticulous people I know. Thank you, my dear friends, Dr Janette Kelly-Ware, Aimee-Jane Anderson-O'Connor, and Rebecca Cupples for your expertise in editing chapters and the final thesis.

My tūpuna gave me two beautiful supervisors, Dr Carrie Barber and Dr Alison Green, whose academic strengths complement each other and who have worked to refine and clarify this project. Thank you, Carrie and Whaea Al, for believing in me, and for the direction and pastoral care you provided for the last two and a half years.

This research topic came from a 2000-word assignment I did for one of Dr Barber's Postgraduate classes. Carrie, thank you for your willingness to help me to turn a vision into a reality. Thank you for walking alongside me to ensure that this thesis was accessible to a wide range of people.

Whaea Al, thank you for teaching me to be a Kaupapa Māori scholar, for directing me towards my kaumātua and tūpuna, and for sharing and feeding my passion for Māori who are takatāpui.

My whānau (whakapapa and kaupapa) have been gracious in their love for me through this project. My Uncle Tom (Dr Tom Roa) has been my greatest teacher of te mātauranga o Maniapoto. Thank you, Uncle, for teaching me to be a Maniapoto scholar, and for naming the themes identified in this study. Thank you also, to my friends, Allie Knight, who transcribed one of the participant interviews; Anna Tashkoff, who proof-read chapters and translated my words into te reo Māori (which I can't do myself); and Taydia Heta-Morris, who continues to teach me our true history and who shares my passion for Māori resurgence. I extend my love and gratitude to the many loved ones who offered me grace at times when I needed to prioritise writing over connecting with others (while some of you had been Masters students and so understood, most of you just loved me), and those who continued to believe in me and offer me encouragement, especially through the writing process. Shout out to my tēina, Tash, Kat, and (the late) Pece – I love you.

I am eternally grateful for my dad and mum, Rob and Liz. Thank you for your unwavering love and support of my being who I am. My passion for this thesis topic is in part fuelled by the love that I receive from you both for my own sexual identity.

I am also grateful for the dads and mums I've collected along the way. Rangi and Robyn, Howard and Kathryn, Kevin and Eva, especially, who also love me for who I am – I am honoured to have been part of your whānau while completing this Masters project.

My partner, Jaimee, has been my most constant support through this project. Jaimee, you've joined me for adventures to interview participants, believed in me to write when I haven't believed in myself, listened to me geek out about stuff that probably didn't make sense (saying "wow" and "cool" in all the right places), reminded me to take breaks and eat and go to bed when I binge-wrote, and celebrated with me all the way. Thank you.

I come from a long and loving line of atua and tūpuna who have had tino rangatiratanga over this project. Thank you for opening doors and clearing restrictions so that I could do this. Thank you for putting the right people in my path at the right times. Thank you for showing me the way forward. Thank you for accompanying me as I tried to put your knowledges on paper to share with the world.

I was moved and comforted by the guidance of Tū, Hura, Mata, Tau, Toko, Ngaro, Te Ahu, Te Au, Noa, and Awhi, whose names were gifted to the themes for the findings of this study. I am so very blessed to work and study in a field about which I am so passionate under your grace and guidance.

With all my love and affection, thank you. Thank you. Thank you.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1

Kōrero Tīmatanga[3]

Purpose and Scope of the Study

This research project describes a process[4] through which Māori LGBT-plus (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and other) youth explore their gender and sexual identities, highlighting how whānau[5] can provide mana[6] to empower youth to exercise mana rangatiratanga[7] regarding their gender and sexual identities. This study was conducted to address the dearth of literature available regarding Māori LGBT-plus youth (or young Māori with diverse gender and sexual identities) and was the first empirical study specific to this group which utilised a kaupapa-a-iwi[8] approach.

While this topic and approach are novel and I[9] am ambitious, this was a Masters-level project and so the scope could only extend so far. In fact, the scope was reduced multiple times throughout the study. Initial research objectives intended to explore the role that whānau, Māori knowledges, and spirituality play in Māori LGBT-plus youths' exploration of their gender and sexual identities. While all three topic areas may play important roles in Māori LGBT-plus youths' identity exploration, the scope of the project meant that information regarding the roles of Māori knowledges or spirituality in participants' identity exploration was not addressed.

It is important to note here that, in congruence with the theoretical framework of the current thesis (and following the lead of other Kaupapa Māori[10] researchers), this thesis uses predominantly-English-language terms rather than terms in te reo Māori. When te reo Māori terms are positioned alongside English-language terms, Māori understandings of Māori terms are undermined (Green, 2018). The terms are then assumed to be equivalent across the two languages, which is incorrect. Māori worldviews cannot be adequately conveyed when te reo Māori terms are placed in English-language sentences (Green, 2018). To account for any

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[3] Introduction.
[4] While each participant has experienced a unique exploration process, the findings of this thesis present something of a compilation process of participants' experiences.
[5] Loosely, 'extended family.'
[6] Authority, power.
[7] Autonomy, self-determination.
[8] Iwi-based research methodology.
[9] The rationale for using first-person pronouns in this thesis is described in *Chapter 2*.
[10] An ancient collective of knowledges that is derived from Māori philosophies and epistemologies.

possible discrepancy, in this thesis the use of te reo Māori terms is limited[11] to terms which are either described in-text (for example, *rangatahi takatāpui*[12], *mana*, and *whānau*), represent key aspects of Māori society (for example, *whakapapa*[13] and *mōteatea*[14]), or are used in referenced documents (for example, *kāwanatanga*[15] and *tino rangatiratanga*[16]; Tiriti o Waitangi, 1840). Note that a Māori term can have various meanings, dependent on the context in which it is used; care must be taken to account for this when interpreting Māori terms (Green, 2018). There is a full compilation of all relevant interpretations of Māori terms used in the current thesis in *Glossary*.

Owning Subjectivity

As a paradigm, qualitative research asserts that the context in which research is conducted is important (Braun & Clarke, 2013). Qualitative research does not offer one objective, correct version of reality, but instead assumes that there are multiple versions of reality which are inextricably linked with the context in which the research occurs. Thus, as a researcher, the subjectivities I hold are inextricably linked with descriptions of literature and data presented in this thesis. The current section describes my own relevant subjectivities, some of which determine the limitations, or considerations, of the study discussed in *Chapter 7*.

The foremost subjectivity I hold is my tribal background, which greatly informs the theoretical lens with which this study was conducted. I am a descendant of Ngāti Maniapoto[17] and I was raised in Hauraki. The worldviews and philosophies of Ngāti Maniapoto are an explicit component of this study; I have worked closely with one of my kaumātua[18] from Ngāti Maniapoto, Dr Tom Roa, to ensure that this study has been conducted in keeping with Ngāti Maniapoto philosophies. In addition, the worldviews and philosophies of Pare Hauraki[19] are an implicit component of the study. Having spent my formative years with kaumātua from and on marae in Hauraki, much of my understanding of Kaupapa Māori (see *Chapter 2*) developed in a context where Hauraki epistemologies were dominant.

[11] Some chapter and section titles are in te reo Māori to assert the Kaupapa Māori theoretical framework.
[12] Māori LGBT-plus youth; young Māori with diverse gender and sexual identities.
[13] Genealogy.
[14] Chant poetry.
[15] Governorship.
[16] Sovereignty.
[17] Tribal group of the King Country area.
[18] Elders; within a whānau unit, an English description is *grandparents*.
[19] Tainui tribes of the Hauraki and Coromandel Peninsula area.

Other important subjectivities are my gender and sexual identities. I am not heterosexual; I have a diverse sexual identity. I intentionally refrain from sharing a term for my own sexual identity in this thesis as an act of rejecting colonial views of sexuality as described through this thesis. Realising my own sexual diversity at a young age, I have been vocal and deliberate in exploring what my sexual identity means for me. I am mindful that my level of experience and comfort with my sexual identity informs the theoretical lens of this study.

I am also cisgender. Kerekere (2017) reminds us that cisgender people – that is, people who identify as the gender they were assigned at birth – who have diverse sexual identities possess privilege which is not afforded to our trans[20] peers. My third subjectivity is that, first, I am mindful that my cisgender privilege does not eclipse the experiences of young Māori with diverse gender identity who are still victims of systemic oppression (which is largely out of the scope of this thesis; see Kerekere, 2017, and Veale et al., 2019). And second, I am mindful of my expectation that all cisgender people with diverse sexual identities are responsible for using our privilege to (re)claim space for our peers with diverse gender identities (Kerekere, 2017).

My fifth subjectivity is my passion for this thesis topic. Empowering young Māori to explore their gender and sexual identities is my vocation. I have devoted my entire tertiary education to train and work with young people. After starting postgraduate study, I learnt I was at liberty to combine my passion for young people with my enthusiasm for gender and sexual identity. Focusing on Māori youth with diverse gender and sexual identities was a natural progression when considering the dearth of information available to this group. As a member of the group in a privileged position of scholastic opportunity, I consider it my personal responsibility to research this thesis topic to empower other young people to explore their identities and also conduct research on this group.

As a young Māori, age is a determinant of what I know and do not know, especially with regard to te reo Māori and mātauranga Māori[21] (A. Green, personal communication, July 30, 2020). My sixth subjectivity, then, is my age. I complete this thesis as a 25-year-old woman who has been educated in predominantly-Pākehā (that is, non-Māori) settings. I am mindful that there is much of te reo Māori me ōna tikanga[22] that I do not know. Furthermore,

[20] Transgender; the rationale for using 'trans' is described in *Chapter 3*.
[21] Māori knowledges.
[22] Māori language and its culture.

I am mindful that the amount of Pākeha knowledge related to gender and sexual identities I have vastly outweighs the amount of mātauranga Māori related to these identities.

Chapter Outline

Chapter 1 is an introductory chapter that describes the scope for this research and the research objectives. It also describes the subjectivity involved in my role as researcher and outlines the following thesis chapters.

Chapter 2 describes the political and tribal contexts and outlines the theoretical framework of the current thesis. The chapter also describes key Māori terms for the thesis. The theoretical framework comprises elements adapted from Leonie Pihama's (2001) Mana Wāhine[23] perspective of Kaupapa Māori theory. The elements are as follows:

- *Mana rangatiratanga* (a Ngāti Maniapoto interpretation of *Tino rangatiratanga*), which warrants our right as Māori to claim space in mainstream academia for te ao Māori[24] and mātauranga Māori, and our right as rangatahi takatāpui to explore our gender and sexual identities in ways that are comfortable for us;
- *Te reo Māori me ōna tikanga,* which warrants our right as Māori to privilege Māori epistemologies and worldviews, and our responsibility to conduct research in accordance with our personal tribal philosophies; and
- *Whanaungatanga*[25], which honours the importance of whānau and relationships in Māori society, highlighting the obligations and accountabilities we have to each other within all of our relationships.

Chapter 3 reviews the extant literature related to Māori LGBT-plus youth using an adapted Mana Wāhine lens and extends the context of the study. As there is little information available specific to Māori LGBT-plus youth, most of what we know of their experience can only be inferred from other groups of people, such as older Māori with diverse gender and sexual identities, other Māori youth, and other LGBT-plus youth. Consequently, information regarding these groups is described in *Chapter 3*. The chapter describes recorded Māori knowledges related to whānau, and gender and sexual identities, and how colonial processes

[23] Māori feminist.
[24] The Māori world; intended to describe environments where Māori language and culture are dominant and taken for granted.
[25] Relationships.

have impaired whānau access to these knowledges; psychological literature related to Māori youth and LGBT-plus youth; LGBT-plus youths' and takatāpui[26] people's exploration of their gender and sexual identities; and LGBT-plus youths' and takatāpui people's experience of family support.

Chapter 4 describes the research methods for this study. The research procedures – recruitment of participants, protection of participants, data collection, and data analysis – are described in detail. Furthermore, external peer review and external expert review were sought for multiple components of this study, which ensured that the research process and findings nurture both participants' and my own mana. External expert review (Dr Tom Roa, Ngāti Maniapoto and Waikato) was especially important to ensure that data analysis was conducted in keeping with Ngāti Maniapoto worldviews and philosophies.

Chapter 5 describes participants' demographic information (including their ages, sexual, and gender identities) and the major findings for this study. The eight themes which comprise the findings for this study are *Ko Tūhura, Ko Matatapu, Ko Tautoko, Ko Mata-ngaro, Ko te Ahunga-ki-te-aunoa, Ko Tauawhi, Ko Mata-pū-take,* and *Ko Kiritau*. English interpretations of theme titles are listed in *Glossary*.

Chapter 6 discusses the study's major findings with regard to the reviewed literature. Specifically, the chapter describes the roles that kaupapa whānau[27] and whakapapa whānau[28] have in participants' identity exploration, effects that colonisation has had within participants' whānau regarding their gender and sexual identities, methods through which participants have actively resisted colonisation, and examples of how participants have given voice to their gender and sexual identities.

Chapter 7 offers the final words of the thesis. The chapter summarises the key findings of the study, describes strengths and limitations of the study's methodology and methods, outlines potential areas for future research, shares implications of the study, and explicitly relates the findings to the Kaupapa Māori and kaupapa-a-iwi theoretical framework to offer overall conclusions for the study.

[26] Māori people with diverse gender and sexual identities; the term is described in detail in *Chapter 2*.
[27] Whānau comprised of people to whom we are affiliated through common purpose.
[28] Whānau comprised of people to whom we are affiliated through genealogy.

Chapter 2

He Tikanga Rangahau[29]: Māori Resurgence

Kaupapa Māori theory is a dynamic and organic theoretical framework that is informed by Māori values, frameworks, and epistemologies (Jackson, 2015; Mahuika, 2008; Moewaka-Barnes, 2015; Murphy, 2011; Pihama, 2001; Tiakiwai, 2015). As a theory, Kaupapa Māori celebrates Māori language, traditions, and worldviews, and asserts that Māori are natural researchers who are able to and invested in theorising about ourselves and experiences (Murphy, 2011; Pihama, 2001). Kaupapa Māori theory offers a compendium of tools to achieve decolonisation—or Māori resurgence.

In accordance with diversity between whānau, hapū[30], and iwi[31], approaches to Kaupapa Māori theory are vast in number and correspond to the numbers of whānau, hapū, and iwi within Aotearoa[32], including that of Ngāti Maniapoto. There are many elements of Kaupapa Māori theory proposed by Māori scholars. For the purpose of this thesis, I use three elements of Leonie Pihama's (2001) Mana Wāhine perspective of Kaupapa Māori theory, which was written for her Doctoral thesis. This chapter outlines these elements.

Kerekere (2017) notes that Mana Wāhine theory is appropriate for research conducted on takatāpui people as it addresses gender discrimination (which trans people frequently experience) by restoring balance between Māori women and men. Mana Wāhine theory intrinsically challenges colonial heteronormative ideologies, which assume that women are subservient to men and that diverse gender and sexual identities are perverse or immoral (Kerekere, 2017; Pihama, 2001; Te Awekōtuku, 1991b, 2005). Its relevance to this thesis is then confirmed by the research topic: research conducted on young Māori with diverse gender and sexual identities that celebrates their diversity also challenges colonial heteronormative ideologies.

Etymological descriptions of the terms 'kaupapa Māori' and 'rangatahi takatāpui' are helpful at this point. 'Kaupapa' can be interpreted as 'topic,' 'purpose,' or 'agenda,' and is used with these meanings throughout this thesis. Pihama (2001) describes 'Māori' as "a political concept that identifies collectively the Indigenous[33] Peoples of this land" (p. 1).

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[29] A research methodology.
[30] Sub-tribe.
[31] Tribe.
[32] The Indigenous name for New Zealand.
[33] Following the example of Murphy (2011), Indigenous is intentionally capitalised "to support the assertion of the autonomy of Indigenous Peoples within colonised states" (p. 2).

Kaupapa Māori is an ancient collective of knowledges that is derived from Māori (that is, Indigenous to Aotearoa) philosophies and epistemologies. Kaupapa Māori *theory* is a relatively new term that describes Māori approaches to theory (Pihama, 2001).

'Rangatahi takatāpui' is an umbrella term that I use for the specific group I am studying. 'Rangatahi' can be interpreted as 'youth'; consequently, a 'rangatahi' is a young person. 'Takatāpui' is an ancient term has been interpreted as meaning 'intimate companion of the same gender' (Te Awekōtuku, 2005). In the 1980s, both Ngāhuia Te Awekōtuku and Lee Smith independently gifted the term 'takatāpui' to Māori who are non-heterosexual and non-cisgender (Kerekere, 2017). Today, it is used as both a distinct identity and an umbrella term. 'Takatāpui' can describe a person's transgender identity or non-heterosexual identity. 'Takatāpui' is also used by Māori who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, or other (Kerekere, 2017). Thus, for the purpose of this thesis, *rangatahi takatāpui* describes young Māori with diverse sexual and gender identities (but does not non-Māori LGBT-plus youth, who are described as 'other LGBT-plus youth'). It is important to note that not all of the participants in this study, and not all young Māori, identify with the term *takatāpui*. To account for this, when discussing specific participants, I use terms that they themselves have used to describe their identities.

Like other Kaupapa Māori researchers, I use first-person pronouns through this thesis (Kerekere, 2017; Murphy, 2011; Pihama, 2001). In doing so, I position myself as Tangata Whenua[34] and assert my personal investment in this research topic (Murphy, 2011). I am a rangatahi takatāpui—a young Māori from Ngāti Maniapoto who is takatāpui. This research project and its thesis are not neutral or objective (Murphy, 2011; Pihama, 2001; Te Awekōtuku, 1991a). Furthermore, where I am connected to a person through whakapapa, I refer to them by their title in my whakapapa, as did Ngāhuia Murphy (2011) in her Master's thesis. For example, Dr Tom Roa is an expert in the oral and written history of Waikato-Tainui, Ngāti Maniapoto, and the Kīngitanga[35] movement (Ministry of Justice, 2019), and is my Uncle through whakapapa. For this reason, I refer to him as Uncle Tom.

The theoretical framework outlined in this chapter informs both a comprehensive review of the literature (*Chapter 3*) and analysis of data collected from rangatahi takatāpui

[34] People of the land; Indigenous people.
[35] Māori King movement.

(*Chapters 5* and *6*). Before the theoretical framework is outlined, some political and tribal context is required.

The Personal is Political: Colonisation and Te Tiriti o Waitangi

Colonisation is a process by which a large political power – generally a country – infiltrates a smaller Indigenous people's land and appropriates their resources in order to increase its own wealth and power (Pool, 2015). The Indigenous people, who often comprise several small political powers (for example, tribes), are thought of as 'inferior.' Their language, practices, and philosophies are considered savage in comparison to those of the colonial power. Consequently, the Indigenous people are subjugated to adopt the language and culture of the 'superior' colonial power (Pool, 2015). Through this process, the Indigenous people lose sovereignty over their resources, are alienated from their homes, and are stripped of their language and culture—their primary means of engaging with the world (Pihama, 2001; Pool, 2015). These conditions of subjugation are perpetuated in order for the colonial force to maintain and increase their power. It is with this understanding that *colonisation* is discussed throughout this thesis.

The colonisation process began in Aotearoa in the late 1700s when representatives of the British Empire made first contact with Māori – the Indigenous people of Aotearoa – and was formalised in 1840, when representatives of both the British Crown and some Māori leaders signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Pool, 2015). Te Tiriti o Waitangi (1840) is a constitutional agreement between Māori and the British Crown (Pihama, 2001). Its primary purpose was to outline the parameters of power- and resource-sharing between Māori and Pākehā in Aotearoa. The political context for this thesis is described in this brief section; the context is extended in *Chapter 3.* In honour of the following Mana Wāhine elements, in this section I refer to the Māori version of the text: Te Tiriti o Waitangi. It is important to note, however, that the English version of the text, the Treaty of Waitangi, is different to the Māori version. Māori signatories agreed to different conditions than Crown signatories. I refrain from providing any critique of the English version of the text, or the differences between the two versions, as doing so is out of the scope of this thesis (Pihama, 2001).

The Māori version of the text outlines the Crown's right to govern (kāwanatanga) and Māori people's maintained sovereignty in Aotearoa (as outlined in section Ko te tuatahi); Māori people's right to sovereignty over "their lands, villages, and all their treasures" (as outlined in section Ko te tuarua; Pihama, 2001, p. 125); and Māori people's rights of

citizenship under the Crown's governance (as outlined in section Ko te tuatoru, Tiriti o Waitangi, 1840).

These terms of the agreement have been consistently violated since its signing, nearly 200 years ago (Murphy, 2011; Pihama, 2001; Smith, 2015). Te reo Māori me ōna tikanga and mātauranga Māori have been denied as valid and legitimate; at times, these have been outlawed (Murphy, 2011; Pihama, 2001; Smith, 2015). Māori people have been denied their expressions of tino rangatiratanga, and the Crown has failed to meet their obligations of kāwanatanga. We have been continually scorned and silenced, and, as a result, have been excluded from political, educational, and economical power in Aotearoa (Murphy, 2011; Pihama, 2001; Smith, 2015). The political marginalisation of Māori has been strengthened by research on Māori people using Western (Tarnas, 1991) research paradigms (Murphy, 2011).

Māori people conduct Kaupapa Māori research to ensure that the entire research process is Māori-centred, or in this instance, Ngāti Maniapoto-centred. This means that the process is informed by Māori values, frameworks, and epistemologies, and that outcomes serve the best interest of Māori people (Pihama, 2001). In conducting research that uses our own languages, customs, and knowledges, we assert that our ways of being are as valid and legitimate as any of those of the dominant Western culture, and that our research paradigms are of equal value to dominant research paradigms (Murphy, 2011; Pihama, 2001). Colonisation assumes that te reo Māori me ōna tikanga can be universalised into a singular entity, and is inferior to the dominant language and culture, that mātauranga Māori are insufficient to guide Māori people through their daily lives, and that Māori are incapable of telling their own stories (Murphy, 2011). In fact, Kaupapa Māori research paradigms are very appropriate for research conducted on Māori people, more so than are Western paradigms (Murphy, 2011; Pihama, 2001). This is expanded upon below, in the section entitled *Element 2: Te reo Māori me ōna tikanga*.

The current research topic – rangatahi takatāpui experience of exploring their gender and sexual identities – is intrinsically political. As is any research conducted on Māori people, its basis in Kaupapa Māori theory contests the notion that Western theory offers superior descriptions of Māori experiences than does our own theory. Moreover, that it specifically uses a Mana Wāhine perspective – designed by a Māori woman who is takatāpui – and is conducted by a rangatahi takatāpui, challenges extant Western theory related to rangatahi takatāpui (of which there is little, see *Chapter 3*) and older takatāpui people. Descriptions of rangatahi takatāpui experience provided in this thesis offer a perspective of

how we ourselves would describe our experience. This thesis is an assertion of our right as rangatahi takatāpui to tino rangatiratanga or sovereignty in defining and expressing our own identities, using our own language and experiences (Mahuika, 2008). Our right to tino rangatiratanga is an inherent right and a right guaranteed by the Crown in Article 2 of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Murphy, 2011; Pihama, 2001; Tiriti o Waitangi, 1840).

A Maniapoto Worldview

As a young woman of Maniapoto descent, I conduct this research project (including data collection and analysis) using Maniapoto worldviews. This knowledge is gained through personal communication with my kaumātua, who is an expert in the tikanga[36], whakapapa, and oral history of Ngāti Maniapoto. In talking with my kaumātua, I learn how to conduct myself as a Maniapoto scholar, which I am obligated to do through my whakapapa (T. Roa, personal communication, December 3, 2019). The tribal context for this thesis is described in this section; the rationale for providing the tribal context is described in the section entitled *Element 2: Te reo Māori me ōna tikanga*.

At this point, I must note that this chapter is a *description* of Kaupapa Māori theory, not a definition. My Uncle Tom asserts that it is "both wrong and dangerous for us to define Kaupapa Māori" (T. Roa, personal communication, December 3, 2019). In defining Kaupapa Māori, one puts a vastly dynamic theory into "a box of an individual's creation," and in turn dismisses the intricate differences in te reo Māori me ōna tikanga between whānau, hapū, and iwi (Pihama, 2001; T. Roa, personal communication, December 3, 2019). The meaning of 'Kaupapa Māori theory' is then determined by the personal and tribal histories of each Kaupapa Māori scholar and so changes with each piece of research conducted. Uncle Tom asserts that this recognition of tribal autonomy "is a prime tikanga of Maniapoto" (T. Roa, personal communication, December 3, 2019).

Tikanga are behaviours that an iwi agree to use to bring about a balance (T. Roa, personal communication, December 3, 2019). Such behaviours are dynamic, and change depending on the context. Tikanga that bring about a balance in one context may be inappropriate to bring about a balance in another. While tikanga are often amicable, conflicts are also necessary to bring balance, and are also tikanga (T. Roa, personal communication, December 3, 2019). The dynamics of tikanga – which require concord and conflict – are

[36] Culture, custom, method.

reflected in Maniapoto pūrākau[37], which are used to describe our perceptions of the universe, and in a Maniapoto perspective of *mana*, as described below.

Te Mana Whatu Āhuru.

Within all things tangible and intangible, living or otherwise, is an inherent authority or power. One description of this inherent force is that it is one's *mana*. As is widely acknowledged, by giving us autonomy, mana allows us to assert ourselves and what is ours. Just as important, and oftentimes missed, is the principle of reciprocity intrinsic to mana (T. Roa, personal communication, December 3, 2019). Mana is shared. Mana must be given to others (living and otherwise) through care and protection. Mana also allows us to honour another's right to independent autonomy. In looking after another's mana, they, in turn, look after our mana (T. Roa, personal communication, December 3, 2019). The reciprocity intrinsic to mana brings about a balance; where there is no reciprocity, there is no mana. Where there is no mana, a tikanga is required to bring it back (T. Roa, personal communication, December 3, 2019).

Ngāti Maniapoto describe mana in the context of *Te Mana Whatu Āhuru*. Te Mana Whatu Āhuru was given to Maniapoto, the man, from Io[38], through his whakapapa (T. Roa, personal communication, December 3, 2019). Maniapoto was the eponymous tupuna[39] for the iwi Ngāti Maniapoto. In possessing Te Mana Whatu Āhuru, Maniapoto possessed the attributes inherent in it. Te Mana Whatu Āhuru is best described by an explanation of all three terms.

Whatu has three descriptions. First, a whatu is an eye, and symbolises the vision that is required to realise mana. Second, a whatu is a stone that embodies obdurate or unyielding qualities, as a leader must be when working towards a purpose. Third, 'whatu' means 'to weave.' A leader must weave people, places, and things together in order to work towards a purpose. Our tūpuna believed that Maniapoto, the man, exemplified these three descriptions of *whatu* (T. Roa, personal communication, December 3, 2019).

Āhuru is a place of safety. In āhuru, there is balance. One might say that this balance is achieved through the concord and conflicts of tikanga (T. Roa, personal communication,

[37] Stories; pūrākau are a primary source of knowledge transference for Māori people (T. Roa, personal communication, December 3, 2019).
[38] The divine, from whom came all whetū, atua, and tāngata.
[39] Ancestor.

December 3, 2019). An example of this is displayed in the pūrākau of Tāwhaki[40], who, in Maniapoto tradition, ascended the heavens to fetch Ngā Kete o te Wānanga[41]. His ascent was dynamic: he circled the Aka Matua[42], sometimes backtracking to pick something up, at other times changing his course (T. Roa, personal communication, December 3, 2019). In reaching the highest heaven – an āhuru – Rehua (a whetū[43]) awarded Tāwhaki the baskets of knowledge he sought and Ngā Whatukura[44] (T. Roa, personal communication, December 3, 2019).

In this context, āhuru and whatu are inextricably linked with mana. Whatu (vision, tenacity, and integration) indicates what actions are required to bring about mana and gives us strength to take these actions. In realising mana, people have both the right to act upon their power and the responsibility to empower others to do the same. When we all observe this right and responsibility, a state of āhurutanga (balance) is attained. Mana described in this context, where whatu guides how we realise mana and attain a state of āhurutanga, outlines the rationale behind adapting an element of Pihama's (2001) Mana Wāhine theoretical framework. For the purpose of this thesis, Pihama's (2001) element of *Tino rangatiratanga* is adapted to *Mana rangatiratanga* (T. Roa, personal communication, December 3, 2019). Furthermore, mana is assumed to be inextricably linked with both whatu and āhuru throughout this thesis.

A Maniapoto perspective of *Tino rangatiratanga.*

Uncle Tom asserts that *tino rangatiratanga* is a relatively new term which did not seem to exist before colonialists arrived (T. Roa, personal communication, December 3, 2019). Prior to colonial relations, our tūpuna dealt with a person's *mana*. As discussed above, mana is reciprocal. Accordingly, we each have a responsibility to personally honour each other's mana. Colonialists were not interested in this reciprocity or responsibility; they were only interested in talking to "*the big boss, the tino rangatira*" (T. Roa, personal communication, December 3, 2019).

[40] A tupuna.
[41] The baskets of knowledge.
[42] The parent vine.
[43] Stars; the first descendants of Io.
[44] The two stones of the consolidation of knowledge (one stone is the consolidation of formal knowledge; the other is the consolidation of informal knowledge).

Tino rangatiratanga was a term that was first officially used in He Whakapūtanga o te Rangatiratanga o Niu Tīreni[45], which was written in 1835 and preceded Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Ministry for Culture & Heritage, 2017a; T. Roa, personal communication, December 3, 2019). Like Te Tiriti o Waitangi, He Whakapūtanga has a Māori version of the text and an English version. In each text, 'tino rangatiratanga' is translated as 'sovereignty.' The *tino rangatira* is the sovereign and has full ownership over "their lands, villages, and all their treasures" (Pihama, 2001, p. 125). As such, in signing the Māori version of the text, rangatira[46] who were entrusted with the mana of their iwi, were agreeing to maintain sovereignty in Aotearoa on behalf of each of their iwi. It was with this understanding that rangatira signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

The term *mana rangatira* emerged in the 1850s, with the formation of the Māori Kīngitanga (T. Roa, personal communication, December 3, 2019). Prior to this, there was an "unbelievable" loss of lands and lives, through inter-tribal fighting and the process of colonisation (T. Roa, personal communication, December 3, 2019). Our tūpuna, primarily from Tainui waka, recognised that radical collaboration between iwi was needed to confront colonial forces, preserve Māori lives, and hold onto mana Māori motuhake[47]. "They needed a person who had that independent authority – that mana – to be able to deal with the mana of England" (T. Roa, personal communication, December 3, 2019). The iwi united and voted for a *mana rangatira*: Te Wherowhero. In doing this, Te Wherowhero was explicitly entrusted with the mana to represent many iwi. In keeping with the reciprocity intrinsic to *mana*, iwi recognised that Te Wherowhero's title needed a mana that the Queen of England would accept. For this reason, iwi decided to give Te Wherowhero the title of 'King' (T. Roa, personal communication, December 3, 2019).

For many Māori, *tino rangatiratanga* expresses their assertion of self-determination and autonomy (Jackson, 2015; Mahuika, 2008; Pihama, 2015; T. Roa, personal communication, December 3, 2019). While Te Tiriti o Waitangi indeed warrants our right to self-determination and autonomy, when following the epistemology of the term, our right to self-determination stems from our right to sovereignty. Thus, in congruence with Maniapoto perspectives of *mana, tino rangatiratanga,* and *mana rangatira*, for the purpose of this thesis, the element of *Mana rangatiratanga* is a more appropriate fit to describe self-determination

[45] Declaration of Independence of the United Tribes of New Zealand.
[46] Chiefs; leaders.
[47] Māori separate identity.

and autonomy. Notwithstanding, a description of the element of *Tino rangatiratanga* in a research context is still required.

Element 1: Mana Rangatiratanga

Tino rangatiratanga is a key tenet for Kaupapa Māori theory (Pihama, 2001). Specifically, in a research context, tino rangatiratanga represents Māori people's right to maintain sovereignty over (that is, to control) every part of the research process and its outcomes. When practising tino rangatiratanga, Kaupapa Māori researchers have absolute power over the adaptable aspects of the research process: we select the values and methods that inform data collection and data analysis, and construct reported results in ways that serve Māori people, as opposed to a Western agenda (Moewaka-Barnes, 2015; Te Awekōtuku, 1991a).

Pihama (2001) posits that "Kaupapa Māori theory exists because we are Māori and our reo[48] and tikanga have their own fundamental right to exist and to be articulated within all parts of our lives" (p. 139). Tino rangatiratanga warrants our right to act upon this fact—to privilege our values, frameworks, and epistemologies when conducting research (Jackson, 2015; Mahuika, 2008; Murphy, 2011; Pihama, 2001). By extension, tino rangatiratanga warrants our right to claim space in mainstream academia for te ao Māori and mātauranga Māori.

Mana rangatiratanga comes from the term *mana rangatira*. A *rangatira* is a person who weaves a group together and leads them towards a common purpose (as do chiefs, and as did Kīngi Te Wherowhero; T. Roa, personal communication, December 3, 2019). Extending the above descriptions, the *mana rangatira* is a person who weaves and leads a group towards a common purpose, by using their own mana (that is, power) to acknowledge, nurture, and realise others' (individual and collective) mana. The mana rangatira is largely responsible for ensuring that everyone can practice autonomy and independence in ways that each person sees fit. Following from this, *mana rangatiratanga* can be described as a metaphorical space where we have resources (tangible and intangible) to make our own decisions about our lives and our futures – that is, where we can practice self-determination and autonomy – while living in balance with others. In practicing mana rangatiratanga, we must acknowledge and observe reciprocity not only with other people, but also with other places and things (T. Roa, personal communication, December 3, 2019). Where tino rangatiratanga warrants our right to sovereignty, mana rangatiratanga governs how we exercise our sovereignty in our daily lives.

[48] Language, voice, speech.

Specific to rangatahi takatāpui, mana rangatiratanga allows us to explore our gender and sexual identities in ways that are comfortable for us. It also allows us to define our identities on our own terms and identify our own needs and aspirations (Jackson, 2015; Mahuika, 2008; Tiakiwai, 2015). In fact, in practising mana rangatiratanga, *we have a responsibility to do so*: we who are rangatahi takatāpui are obligated to explore our gender and sexual identities, and to conduct research on ourselves. Through research we must identify our own needs and aspirations which may or may not reflect those identified by others through research. We can then construct our own solutions based on our values and histories (Jackson, 2015; Mahuika, 2008; Tiakiwai, 2015). In doing so, we liberate ourselves from the oppression and marginalisation we experience as a result of our being rangatahi takatāpui.

Element 2: Te Reo Māori me ōna Tikanga

Te reo Māori me ōna tikanga is another key tenet for Kaupapa Māori theory (Pihama, 2001). Its centrality to Kaupapa Māori theory is essential as te reo Māori me ōna tikanga are central to "the lived realities of many Māori people" (Pihama, 2001, p. 115). *Te reo Māori me ōna tikanga* necessitates that Kaupapa Māori theory is defined and controlled by Māori, and that Kaupapa Māori research is conducted "by Māori, for Māori, using Māori cultural perspectives" (S. Walker, Eketone, & Gibbs, 2006, p. 342; Pihama, 2001). As discussed above, in Kaupapa Māori theory, Māori language and culture are privileged and employed when conducting all stages of research. Sharing our stories using our own reo and tikanga (re)claims some power from the dominant culture, which has been denied to us since the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Murphy, 2011; Pihama, 2001).

It is important to note that Māori people did not *lose* our reo and tikanga; we did not misplace it. *I whānakohia tō mātou reo me ōna tikanga i a mātou. Our language and its culture were stolen from us*. In the deliberate theft of our reo, tikanga, and mātauranga through colonisation, Māori people were stripped of our sovereignty over our lands, lives, and futures. Consequently, we were robbed of our means to conduct research – that is, to gather knowledge – which helps us to find our way through both te ao Māori and the dominant Western culture (Pihama, 2001; Williams, 2019).

The development of Kaupapa Māori theory was a response to this theft of mana. In Māori people's claiming control over the research process, as discussed above, we privilege mātauranga Māori and contest the assumed superiority of the dominant Western culture. This

disrupts the status quo and restores mana to Māori (Moewaka-Barnes, 2015; Te Awekōtuku, 1991a). Kaupapa Māori theory contests Western notions of the 'norm,' and its pursuit of 'objective truth'; that is, a 'truth' that generalises experiences across cultures. The effects of the colonisation process on Māori people shows that Western 'norm' and 'truth' do not serve Māori autonomy or well-being (Moewaka-Barnes, 2015). In conducting Kaupapa Māori research, Māori are able to identify our needs and aspirations, and address these in accordance with our worldviews and knowledges (Mahuika, 2008).

Kaupapa Māori theory and research must be described and conducted by Māori people. Western theorists do not get to define Kaupapa Māori and conduct Kaupapa Māori research; they have voices in other arenas to share their perspectives (Pihama, 2001). Kaupapa Māori research conducted by Māori ensures that research is founded on the perspectives of whānau, hapū, and iwi, who are the foundation of Māori society (Pihama, 2015). Furthermore, Kaupapa Māori theory described by Māori increases the integrity with which mātauranga Māori are privileged; mātauranga are less likely (but not immune) to exploitation when described and used by Māori people (Mahuika, 2008; Murphy, 2011; Pihama, 2015). The exploitation of mātauranga Māori by Māori people is out of the scope of this thesis.

As Kaupapa Māori researchers, we must continually ask, "How is this research Māori-centred and committed to Māori autonomy?" and, "How is it informed by Māori philosophies and cultural values?" (Pihama, 2001). Very simply, we might ask, "Whose truth is being told, here?" (Moewaka-Barnes, 2015). We must verify with our whānau, hapū, and iwi that the answers to these questions are in the best interests of our people. The alternative – Western-constructed 'truths' about Māori – maintain inequalities and the continued oppression of Māori people (Jackson, 2015).

Though Kaupapa Māori theory is intrinsically linked with mana and empowerment, it has other objectives, as well. As Māori, we have worldviews that are different from the Western worldviews that have been imposed on us since colonialists arrived in Aotearoa and that are dominant in academia today. Our unique worldviews prompt us to ask different questions than do Western worldviews, and provide different answers (Jackson, 2015). The answers elicited by our questions and answers give better understandings of issues relevant to Māori than 'truths' elicited by Western research paradigms (Moewaka-Barnes, 2015). In employing Māori values and frameworks, when conducting Kaupapa Māori research we gain knowledges that are overlooked by Western research paradigms while also transforming how

research is conducted in Aotearoa. The practical implications of this change the lived realities for Māori people (Murphy, 2011; Pihama, 2001).

In addition to differences in worldviews, different iwi and hapū also have unique ways of viewing the world. Māori are not just different from Pākehā; we are also different from each other. Because of our diverse oral histories and whakapapa, our knowledges, which "date back to the beginning of time and the creation of the universe" (Mahuika, 2008, p. 2), vary across iwi. As Māori, we would dishonour our whakapapa if we did not centralise te reo Māori me ōna tikanga specific to our own whakapapa. Ergo, as a Maniapoto descendant, I would dishonour my whakapapa if I did not centralise te reo me ōna tikanga of Maniapoto (T. Roa, personal communication, December 3, 2019). This notion outlines the rationale for including a section describing a Maniapoto worldview.

Following on from the unique worldviews of iwi, different iwi and hapū have unique needs and aspirations. Conducting Kaupapa Māori research allows us to identify these and offer personalised solutions in accordance with personal tribal philosophies (Mahuika, 2008; Tiakiwai, 2015). A Kaupapa Māori research paradigm is more appropriate for this type of research than are Western paradigms (Murphy, 2011; Pihama, 2001). As discussed above, in using a paradigm that is constructed on iwi philosophies and values, research can share Māori people's 'truth' (Moewaka-Barnes, 2015) and nurture their right to autonomy and self-determination (Murphy, 2011). Moreover, in conducting Kaupapa Māori research that is congruent with my personal tribal philosophies, I partially meet obligations to observe the principles of autonomy and reciprocity inherent in mana.

Just as important as tikanga Māori[49] and mātauranga Māori is te reo Māori. Language and culture are inextricably linked; culture is primarily conveyed through language (Pihama, 2001). To reiterate, as a consequence of colonisation, te reo Māori has been subjugated. In doing so, colonialists undermine Māori sovereignty, self-determination, and autonomy by stealing our primary method of expression and infiltrating our spaces with their own ideologies (Pihama, 2001). Within a single generation, te reo Māori almost died and its future remains precarious (Ministry for Culture & Heritage, 2017b).

I attended a kōhanga reo[50] in Paeroa, my hometown, as a little person and so was fluent in te reo Māori before I started attending a mainstream primary school at aged 5 years. During 13 years of mainstream schooling when I had little access to te reo Māori in other

[49] Māori culture, custom.
[50] Māori language pre-school.

areas of my life, I lost fluency; like many adult Māori, today, I am not a fluent speaker of te reo Māori. This is not my fault, nor is it the fault of my whānau, many of whom are also not fluent speakers of te reo Māori (Pihama, 2001; Williams, 2019). *I whānakohia tō mātou reo i a mātou. Our language was stolen from us.*

Māori who cannot speak te reo Māori are often marginalised within the mainstream for being Māori, and are simultaneously at risk of being marginalised within Māori cultural contexts for not being able to speak te reo Māori (Mahuika, 2008; Pihama, 2001). This latter marginalisation is formed on a falsehood. "To be Māori cannot be measured on levels of fluency or knowledge of tikanga" (Pihama, 2001, p. 116). I am comforted by the fact that my level of fluency in te reo Māori or my knowledge of tikanga – or lack thereof – do not mean that I am *not Māori enough*. We are Māori because of our whakapapa. I, like Māori who are fluent in te reo Māori, am a descendant of te ao Māori and a comparable custodian for Kaupapa Māori theory.

Highlighting the importance of language for Māori who have a traditional oral culture, *reo* also refers to voice (Pihama, 2001). In this section, I have outlined the rationale for centralising te reo Māori me ōna tikanga. I extend this rationale to include *reo*—voice. In our endeavours to use and adapt English language to express Māori ideas (as I have done with this chapter thus far), we use our voice to express aspects of our identities that are embedded in our whakapapa. Because of this, for the purpose of this thesis, the crux of the element *Te reo Māori me ōna tikanga* is to express aspects of ourselves that are embedded in our whakapapa.

Element 3: Whanaungatanga

Whānau is a basic building block of Māori society (Mahuika, 2008; Pihama, 2001). 'Whānau' is often interpreted as 'family' but this is a misconception. 'Family' is often used to mean a nuclear family, comprised of a couple and their dependent children. Other familial forms are labelled, for example, as 'blended,' or 'extended' families (Pihama, 2001). In 'whānau,' we have obligations of care and protection for members beyond the nuclear model, period. A nuclear description of 'family' dismisses familial obligations beyond the nuclear model, unless otherwise specified. The terms 'whānau' and 'family' are not the same (Pihama, 2001).

Traditionally, *whānau* includes members to whom we are affiliated through whakapapa; that is, our grandparents, parents, aunties, uncles, siblings, and other people with

whom we share whakapapa. More recently, the term has evolved to include *kaupapa whānau*; that is, those with whom we share a common purpose and give and receive support, but not necessarily share whakapapa (Pihama, 2001). In this context, the purpose of *whānau* may be the same: our whānau are our primary support base both within Māori society and the dominant Western society, and so are our primary sources of mana. As discussed above, we each have reciprocal roles and obligations for members of our whānau (Mahuika, 2008; Pihama, 2001).

Extending this, *whanaungatanga* is a key component of Māori society that acknowledges the relationships we have with others, and the obligations and accountabilities we have within those relationships (Pihama, 2001). Pihama (2001) suggests that *whanaungatanga* are "the practices that provide the bond and strengthening of whānau" (p. 135). One might say that *whanaungatanga* are specific tikanga that we use to give and reciprocate mana with members of our whānau. Following this, tikanga or custom is our mandate for honouring the obligations and accountabilities we have for others.

The principle of whanaungatanga is not limited to people within our whānau: we have commitments and obligations to all our groups (Tiakiwai, 2015). Whanaungatanga can be described in our professional relationships where we are accountable to our colleagues, employers, and clients. Our obligations to our colleagues, for example, differ from those we have to our clients. The type of mana we share with each is reflective of the purpose of our relationship. A radical example of whanaungatanga is seen in the formation of the Kīngitanga, where iwi who had been fighting each other for many years united to resist the colonial invasion (Tiakiwai, 2015). In addition to the combined mana that was bestowed upon Te Wherowhero, members of each iwi extended their obligations of whanaungatanga to members of other iwi within the Kīngitanga—the most obvious being the cessation of internal bloodshed. More relevant to the current thesis, whanaungatanga is also described in research relationships, where researchers collaborate with participants to learn their stories and then with other Kaupapa Māori researchers where we construct findings in accordance with Kaupapa Māori theory (Pihama, 2001; Tiakiwai, 2015). As in our professional relationships, our obligations to others in our research relationships differ depending on the type of mana we share with them. It is pertinent to note that I am required by tikanga to nurture reciprocal research relationships with participants and with other researchers.

He Whakarāpopoto[51]

In summary, this chapter describes the theoretical framework for this thesis. The three elements, *Mana rangatiratanga*, *Te reo Māori me ōna tikanga*, and *Whanaungatanga*, have been adapted from a Mana Wāhine perspective (Pihama, 2001) of Kaupapa Māori theory to fit a Ngāti Maniapoto worldview. These elements provide a framework for the literature review and data analysis in the following chapters.

Mana rangatiratanga was adapted from the element, *Tino rangatiratanga*, in keeping with Maniapoto perspectives of *mana*, *tino rangatiratanga*, and *mana rangatira* (T. Roa, personal communication, December 3, 2019). Mana rangatiratanga warrants our right as rangatahi takatāpui to explore our gender and sexual identities in ways that are comfortable for us, and to find our own terms to describe our identities. Moreover, this element dictates our responsibility to do so, and also to conduct research on ourselves (Jackson, 2015; Mahuika, 2008; Tiakiwai, 2015).

Te reo Māori me ōna tikanga are central to Kaupapa Māori theory, as they are an important part of many Māori people's daily lives (Pihama, 2001). This element warrants our right as Māori to privilege Māori epistemologies and worldviews, and our responsibility to conduct research in accordance with our personal tribal philosophies. As a consequence of colonisation, Māori language and its culture were stolen from us (Pihama, 2001; Williams, 2019). Because of this, like many other Māori, I am not fluent in te reo Māori. Notwithstanding, I am not excluded from te ao Māori or Kaupapa Māori theory; we are Māori because of our whakapapa. No knowledge (or lack thereof) can separate that from us.

Whanaungatanga honours the importance of whānau and relationships in Māori society (Mahuika, 2008; Pihama, 2001). Whānau includes people with whom we are affiliated through both whakapapa and common kaupapa and are our primary support base. As a principle, whanaungatanga outlines the obligations and accountabilities we have to each other, not only in whānau relationships, but also, for example, in professional and research relationships (Tiakiwai, 2015).

[51] A summary.

Chapter 3
He Arotakenga o te Kete Aronui[52]

Me titiro whakamuri kia anga whakamua.[53]

The opening whakataukī[54] outlines the rationale for a review of Te Kete Aronui[55], the literature. We who are rangatahi takatāpui must review and critique what is already known about us in order to prepare ourselves to develop tools to increase our own mana and the mana of rangatahi takatāpui who come after us. As there has been little research conducted on rangatahi takatāpui to date, most of what is known of our experience is drawn from other groups of people. Consequently, literature discussed in the current chapter draws from three topic areas: mātauranga Māori, Māori youth, and LGBT-plus youth.

Following the example of Kerekere (2017), it is important to note that "'transgender,' or the more inclusive, 'trans,'" (p. 24) is not a sexuality, but an umbrella term used to describe people with diverse gender identities, both within the gender binary (that is, *man* or *woman*) and outside it. Gender identity is often conflated with sexual identity and while these identities are related, they are not the same (Kerekere, 2017). This thesis presents gender identity as independent of sexual identity. In doing this, I write in accordance with tikanga Māori, which warrants our freedom as Māori to choose our own identities so long as we honour our whānau and whakapapa (McBreen, 2012, 2012b).

The terms 'LGBT-plus,' 'gender minority youth,' 'sexual minority youth,' 'trans,' 'transgender,' and 'people with diverse gender and sexual identities' are used interchangeably throughout this chapter. Both 'whānau' and 'family' are also used throughout this chapter. Each use reflects the terminology used by authors of the corresponding literature.

Pre-colonial and contemporary Māori knowledges regarding *takatāpui*, gender identities, sexual identities, whānau, and health; the mental health of both rangatahi Māori, and local and international LGBT-plus youth; LGBT-plus youths' early exploration and disclosure of their gender and sexual identities; and takatāpui people[56] and LGBT-plus

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[52] A review of Te Kete Aronui.
[53] "You have to look back in order to forge forwards."
[54] Proverb.
[55] The basket of life knowledge (which Tāwhaki retrieved from his ascent to the heavens, described in *Chapter 2*); refers to the literature.
[56] That is, Māori people with diverse gender and sexual identities.

youths' experience of whānau support are described in this chapter. First, the political context described in *Chapter 2* is extended.

The Personal is Political: Gay Liberation in Aotearoa

In *Chapter 2*, colonisation was described as a process by which a large political power increases their wealth and power through the subjugation of an Indigenous people and the appropriation of their resources (Pool, 2015). Imperial British views on gender and sexual identities, as advanced through the process of colonisation, are largely responsible for the political oppression that people with diverse gender and sexual identities have experienced in Aotearoa. These heteronormative views assume that gender is limited to a binary of *man* or *woman* and that sexuality can only occur heterosexually—that is, a man can only be sexually attracted to or sexually active with a woman, and vice versa. Any variation of these conditions is considered pathological or wrong (Kerekere, 2017; Te Awekōtuku, 1991b, 2005).

The political liberation of people with diverse sexual identities is succinctly known as *gay liberation*. For the purpose of this thesis, this term also includes the liberation of people with diverse gender identities. I reiterate that gender identity and sexual identity are not the same and draw attention to political activism specific to gender identities (including some forms of feminism), which is out of the scope of this thesis (see, for example, Gender Minorities Aotearoa, n.d.). Gay liberation in New Zealand is described in this section.

The significance of providing political context for this thesis is implicit in the section's title, *The personal is political.* This slogan was formed during the second wave of feminism in the 1960s—70s and indicated that a woman's personal experiences of oppression were inextricably linked with her social context and socio-political status. Women's restriction of autonomy and any related distress is the result of their political context (Conlin, 2017; Hill & Ballou, 1998; Laurie, 2005). Comparably, Māori and LGBT-plus people alike have been restricted in exercising autonomy and right to self-determination over their resources and identities because their political contexts – legislation, policy, social convention, and philosophies – subjugate them to fit hegemonic, heteronormative narratives (Kerekere, 2017; Laurie, 2005; Pihama, 2001; Te Awekōtuku, 2005). When Māori and LGBT-plus people are stripped of our resources and identities, we are also stripped of our means to gather knowledge about ourselves (Pihama, 2001; Te Awekōtuku, 1991a). Moreover, we are robbed of our means to share our stories, and so our histories become

recorded under a hegemonic, heteronormative gaze; thus, we are remembered as *criminal* or *deviant* or *defective* (Fraser, 2019; Kerekere, 2017; Laurie, 2005; Wright, Duff, Emms, Edyvane, & Evans, 2005).

Historically, homosexuality – particularly for men – has been regulated through legislation. Male homosexuality has been criminalised in New Zealand to varying degrees since colonial settlers arrived (Laurie, 2005). Most severely, when male homosexuality was first outlawed in New Zealand, acts of sodomy between men were punishable by death (English Laws Act 1858; Laurie, 2005). Superseding legislation reduced the penalty from death to imprisonment but explicitly included all sexual relations between men, including consensual sex in private (Criminal Code Act 1893; Laurie, 2005; Offences against the Person Act 1867). Because of this legislation, there were legal grounds to discriminate against men who presented any non-heterosexual behaviours or characteristics. Other legislation – such as Crimes Act 1861, which permitted detainment of women for promiscuity – regulated sexual 'rebellion' in women. Because of this, New Zealand has not had specific legislation written to prohibit consensual sex between women (Laurie, 2005).

Homosexuality has also been regulated by psychiatry. 'Homosexuality' was categorised as a personality disorder in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM) until 1973 (Drescher, 2015; Laurie, 2003). Following the removal of homosexuality as a personality disorder, it was listed as 'sexual orientation disturbance' (see DSM-II), then, later, as 'ego-dystonic homosexuality' (see DSM-III). Homosexuality was removed from the DSM in 1987, when the DSM-III was revised (see DSM-III-R; Drescher, 2015; Laurie, 2003). As consensual sex between men was a criminal offence in New Zealand until 1986 (thus permitting criminal policing of homosexual men), regulation within psychiatry, particularly during the 1970s, was more common for homosexual women than for men (Crimes Act 1961; Homosexual Law Reform Act 1986; Laurie, 2003). Women who were suspected of being homosexual were committed to psychiatric facilities and involuntarily administered sexual conversion treatments – including surgery and early electroconvulsive therapy – to 'treat' their illness (Drescher, 2015; Fraser, 2019; Laurie, 2003). In reality, these 'treatments' sought to subjugate these women to refrain from homosexual behaviour and so fit hegemonic, heteronormative narratives.

The policing of gender identity has occurred primarily through social pressure as opposed to legislation. While New Zealand has had historical cases of legal prosecution for gender non-conformity (see for example Boy Bertha, who was court-ordered to 'correct' her

dressing; Glamuzina, 2005, pp. 33-34), historical occurrences of persecution are more frequent. For example, in the 1930s, a young Māori named Matene Ropiha Te Ahurangi, who was assigned male at birth, worked as a female impersonator in a circus. Prior to this profession, Matene had "passed for ten [*sic*] years as a woman" (Glamuzina, 2005, p. 34), which suggests that Matene was trans. In popular media at the time, Matene was described as a 'man-girl' and a 'bizarre freak personality,' which served to both deter other potential imitators (and perhaps trans people) and subjugate Matene to adopt 'correct' gender behaviours. In response to this subjugation – this damage to wairua[57], or damage to Matene's psychological self – at aged 25 years, Matene committed suicide, reportedly saying on their deathbed, "perhaps it is for the best" (Glamuzina, 2005, p. 35). This final word suggests that Matene felt more genuinely themself when presenting as a woman and so did not fit into the hegemonic culture of the time.

Formal organisations for homosexuals began appearing in Europe in the 1890s and by the 1940s, such groups had appeared in the United States of America (USA; Laurie, 2005). These early organisations aimed to provide safe meeting spaces and information for homosexual men. Formal organising began in New Zealand in the 1960s, and such groups sought law reform and acceptance—members wanted freedom from penalty for consensual sex and from persecution for their identities (Laurie, 2005; Wright et al., 2005). Following these early groups, in the 1970s, new-age Gay Liberation groups in New Zealand became interested in societal *transformation*; these groups followed other liberation groups' approaches. Law reform and acceptance were not enough. Instead, new-age groups called for equal socio-political status—freedom to exercise autonomy over their own lives (Laurie, 2005; Te Awekōtuku, 1991b; Wright et al., 2005). This desire for radical change was fuelled in New Zealand in 1972 when takatāpui scholar Ngāhuia Te Awekōtuku (1991b) was denied a visa to visit the USA because she was a 'sexual deviant.' In response, she called a protest with other students from the University of Auckland and a group formed that later became known as the Gay Liberation Front (Laurie, 2005; Te Awekōtuku, 1991b; Wright et al., 2005). At this time, other gay liberation groups also began to form around the country (Laurie, 2005; Te Awekōtuku, 1991b; Wright et al., 2005).

Political liberation of people with diverse gender and sexual identities has continuously progressed since those early days (Fraser, 2019; Kerekere, 2017; Te

[57] Spirit, essence.

Awekōtuku, 1991b; Wright et al., 2005). Legislation and policy have changed drastically – most recently, same-sex couples can now legally marry in New Zealand and other countries (Marriage [Definition of Marriage] Amendment Act 2013; Norrie, 2011) – and social persecution is less prevalent. Notwithstanding, the Gay Liberation movement is still necessary. As Te Awekōtuku (1991b) so eloquently stated nearly 30 years ago, "as long as it is unsafe for two men to dance together at a rugby function; as long as it is unsafe for two women to stroll arm-in-arm along a sunny, daylight beach; as long as there is loathing and fear and disgust and embarrassment, there will never be any freedom for any of us" (p. 41). In 2020, the examples Te Awekōtuku (1991b) provided are still part of the lived experiences of many LGBT-plus people. So long as there is any restriction on our right to autonomy over our gender and sexual identities, we will need to fight—to assert our autonomy in order to gain political power. I reiterate my personal investment in this research topic as a rangatahi takatāpui. In conducting this study, I assert and acknowledge my own autonomy (Jackson, 2015; Mahuika, 2008; Pihama, 2001; Tiakiwai, 2015). That is, I assert my right to explore my identities, needs, and aspirations (and those of other rangatahi takatāpui), and I acknowledge my intrinsic responsibility to do so in order to contribute to the mana of other rangatahi takatāpui.

Mātauranga Māori: Ancient and Contemporary Māori Knowledges

Takatāpui.

Takatāpui is an ancient term in te reo Māori without a direct English translation. Historically, the term was interpreted as 'an intimate companion of the same sex' (Aspin, 2019; Kerekere, 2017; Te Awekōtuku, 2005). As previously mentioned, during the 1980s, Ngāhuia Te Awekōtuku and Lee Smith discovered the term independently and, "unaware of each other's discovery, [they] consciously and vigorously put the word out there, … and our people took it up" (Te Awekōtuku, 2005, p. 8). Thus, the term was gifted to and accepted by Māori with diverse gender and sexual identities.

Elizabeth Kerekere (2017), a takatāpui scholar, conducted a Doctoral study – the first of its kind – on takatāpui identity and well-being. Twenty-seven participants, who were either takatāpui themselves or were whānau members of takatāpui people, were interviewed in three stages over four years. Participants' ages ranged from 17 to 68 years; all participants were named in that study in order to model visibility of takatāpui people. As the first of its kind, the study conducted by Kerekere (2017) provides some of the most comprehensive

information on takatāpui people and Māori knowledges related to gender and sexual identities. Hence, Kerekere's Doctoral thesis is significant and informed this study.

The term *takatāpui* acknowledges both our cultural identities, and our gender and sexual identities. Furthermore, it acknowledges that our whakapapa-based identities as Māori are important parts of our identities as are our gender and sexual identities (Kerekere, 2017). Participants in Kerekere's (2016) study noted that *takatāpui* unifies their identities: "I am Māori. I am queer. I am here to stay" (p. 8). 'Takatāpui' can be used by Māori to describe their trans identity or non-heterosexual sexual identity. 'Takatāpui' is also used by Māori who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, and other Western terms (Aspin, 2019; Kerekere, 2017). It is pertinent to note that 'takatāpui' explicitly includes Māori with diverse gender identities. Moreover, Kerekere (2017) iterates that cisgender takatāpui people must use their gender privilege to advocate for other takatāpui people with diverse gender identities and sex characteristics. People who are cisgender tend to be granted more autonomy than people with diverse gender identities; as such, we must use our autonomy to increase the mana of takatāpui people who are trans.

Takatāpui is also a political statement (Kerekere, 2017). As was accepted in pre-colonial Māori society, contemporary use of *takatāpui* allows for gender and sexual fluidity (Aspin & Hutchings, 2007; Kerekere, 2017). By identifying as takatāpui, Māori people assert that their gender and sexual identities can change over time. This freedom of fluidity contests strict, binary, and heteronormative views about gender and sexuality, where *men* and *women* have set roles, and people are exclusively either *heterosexual* or *homosexual*.

Gender identities.

Gender fluidity and diverse gender identities are not new to Māori society. In fact, in the pre-colonial world, gender fluidity was accepted (Aspin, 2019; Kerekere, 2017; Te Awekōtuku, 1991b). Te Awekōtuku (2005) has found evidence of gender-bending in her study of ancient mōteatea, which indicates that gender fluidity (and in turn diversity) was even celebrated, historically:

> Ehara koe i te tāne, he puhi koe nāku,
> Te ipo ki te mōenga…
> You are not a man, but a maiden who belongs to me
> Beloved in the bed. (Te Awekōtuku, 2005, p. 6)

According to Aspin (2019), trans Māori people hold and transmit ancestral knowledges that are not possessed by cisgender Māori people. Whānau members with restricted knowledges – such as kaumātua or tohunga[58], who are described below – can provide mana for the whānau that other members cannot, and so their contribution to the mana of the whānau is unique. Consequently, trans Māori people are valuable members of the whānau and were routinely recognised as such, both before colonialists arrived and for a short time thereafter (Aspin, 2019).

Following the arrival of colonialists, diverse gender identity practices were subjugated in order to assimilate whānau, hapū, and iwi to the heteronormative culture. Moreover, mōteatea and pūrākau were adjusted to fit more heteronormative and chaste (that is, non-sexual) narratives, and many whakairo[59] – a principal source of transmission of tribal histories – were mutilated and stolen by colonialists; thus, knowledge was lost (Aspin, 2019; Kerekere, 2017; Te Awekōtuku, 2005). Although some pre-colonial knowledges related to gender identities survived the colonial process (for example, mōteatea and papahou[60], described below), there is limited literature available on mātauranga Māori regarding this topic.

The process of colonisation has impaired whānau access to Māori knowledges and so some whānau struggle to accept diverse gender identities (Kerekere, 2017). As a result, whānau can expect their members with diverse gender identities to fit into binary gender roles – to change their gender expression to consistently fit the either *male* or *female* binary, preferably whichever they were assigned at birth (Kerekere, 2017). Such expectations prevent trans Māori from living as their preferred gender, which in turn strains their relationships and isolates them from vital whānau support (Kerekere, 2017). Moreover, this can be understood a form of whānau rejection and perpetuates negative health outcomes which are discussed in the following sections.

Sexual identities.

Like gender identity, sexuality is fluid and can change over time (Aspin & Hutchings, 2006; Clarke, Cover, & Aggleton, 2018). In pre-colonial Māori society, sexual diversity and fluid sexual and romantic practices were accepted and celebrated. There is historical evidence

[58] Skilled person, chosen expert.
[59] Carvings.
[60] Carved treasure box.

through whakairo, mōteatea, and pūrākau of our tūpuna having same-sex relationship and sexual practices (Aspin & Hutchings, 2006, 2007; Kerekere, 2017; Te Awekōtuku, 2005). Te Awekōtuku describes a piece of evidence which she found with privileged access to the closed storage section of the British Museum:

> My next example is a papahou, a carved treasure box. … Carved on the sides, the lid, and the base are seven males having sex with each other. On one side, three of them are engaged in oral sex; if you turn it over, you find more, so their bodies, their mouths, their limbs, their faces stretch around and above and beneath the three dimensionality of the box itself. (Te Awekōtuku, 2005, p. 8)

This vivid description of a pre-colonial tribal artefact indicates two things. First, and most evident, it confirms that there were same-sex practices in pre-colonial Aotearoa. Second, and perhaps more importantly, it conveys that such practices were celebrated. Tohunga are whānau members who are "chosen by the agent of an atua[61] and the tribe as a leader in a particular field" (Moorfield, n.d.-b). Tohunga whakairo[62], as such, have been chosen by atua and the tribe to specialise in whakairo. They have been entrusted with the mana to record the knowledges and histories of their iwi. Thus, the tohunga whakairo who created the aforementioned papahou recorded this knowledge of sexual practices with the mana of atua and the tribe.

During the colonisation process, sexual and gender fluidity were criminalised and pathologized to align with Christian beliefs and heterosexism, which assert that sex is restricted to men and women within the context of a monogamous marriage (Aspin & Hutchings, 2006; Kerekere, 2017). Though laws and policies have changed, whānau can still struggle to accept and celebrate their takatāpui members' identities (Aspin & Hutchings, 2006; Kerekere, 2017; McBreen, 2012). This study attempts to reclaim our knowledges in order to restore mana to rangatahi takatāpui and their whānau such that rangatahi may explore their gender and sexual identities with the support of whānau.

[61] Ancestor with continuing influence.
[62] Master carver.

Te Mana o te Whānau.[63]

Mana is reciprocal. To gain mana, we must give it. We are obligated by tikanga to engage with the tangible (people, places, things) and the intangible (things within te ao wairua[64]) using tikanga that contribute to the mana of each and in doing so, we receive mana ourselves (Pihama, 2001; T. Roa, personal communication, December 3, 2019). Mana (and consequently, well-being) cannot occur as an individual but only in the context of others. *He Korowai Oranga*, the Ministry of Health's Māori Health Strategy, acknowledges this—individual, whānau, and environmental health are all linked and necessary to sustain health in the future (Ministry of Health, 2002). When all have the appropriate mana, balance and in turn, well-being, is achieved (T. Roa, personal communication, December 3, 2019).

Rangatiratanga[65] is a key thread woven into He Korowai Oranga, which embodies three Treaty of Waitangi (English text) principles: *partnership*, *participation*, and *protection* (Ministry of Health, 2002). Very simply, this thread posits that Māori will maintain rangatiratanga over their own mana (and in turn, well-being), and that the Crown will protect Māori worldviews and practices within the health and disability sector. In practice, this means Māori will participate in partnership (that is, with equal mana) with the Crown to achieve and sustain balance for whānau, hapū, and iwi, which will, in turn, minimise health inequalities between Māori and non-Māori (Ministry of Health, 2002).

While the strategy's overarching vision is to restore mana to Māori as a people in relation to the Crown, the principle of rangatiratanga can be reflected within whānau, hapū, and iwi, as well. Specifically, when whānau are the rangatira (that is, leaders) of their own mana, they can delegate resources and labour within the whānau in accordance with each member's strengths. Whānau members participate in partnership with each other to contribute to the collective mana of the whānau, and whānau members with more mana (such as kaumātua, who may be knowledgeable than other members) work to protect the mana of other whānau members. This method of harnessing mana can contribute to balance most effectively, as each whānau and its members are unique and so have different strengths and needs.

In pre-colonial Māori society, a whānau unit included up to four generations living in the same dwelling, with other whānau units living in the same area. All units would share

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[63] The mana of the whānau.
[64] The spiritual world; the realm of the intangible.
[65] Chieftainship; that is, leadership.

social, educational, and economic activities with each other (Edwards, McCreanor, & Moewaka-Barnes, 2007; Le Grice, Braun, & Wetherell, 2017). Different whānau members had specific duties of care for the rest of the whānau, which highlighted each whānau member's strengths. Active participation was required from everyone to achieve balance and in turn, well-being. Kaumātua were teachers, and were responsible for ensuring that tamariki[66] were educated about tikanga and their responsibilities within the whānau, and also for mentoring mātua[67] (Edwards et al., 2007). Mātua were primarily responsible for providing physical and economic security for the whānau (Edwards et al., 2007). Siblings and cousins – particularly mokopuna[68] – had reciprocal responsibilities for each other. Tuākana[69] were responsible for counsel and protection, and tēina[70] "were required to serve and provide" (Edwards et al., 2007, p. 4). Each whānau member's role served to provide for the mana of the whānau and its members and so sustain balance.

In contemporary society, whānau roles have changed. The urban migration of the 1950s—60s, where the Crown pressured whānau to move from their papa kāinga[71] to urban centres in search of employment, fractured many whānau relationships (Edwards et al., 2007; Kerekere, 2017; Le Grice et al., 2017). Thus, today, whānau members are often without teachers to learn how their own strengths might contribute to the mana of the whānau. Notwithstanding, whānau members still have (and will always have) duties of responsibility for other whānau members. A whānau is responsible to support their rangatahi—to support them at sport events, to embrace them through emotional difficulties, and to ensure that they know they are loved and celebrated (Edwards et al., 2007; Kerekere, 2017; Simmonds, Harré, & Crengle, 2014). Consequently, whānau must find other outlets to learn these skills. One way to achieve this might be to maintain active relationships with whānau members with whom they do not live.

Relationships with whānau members with whom we do not live (for example, kaumātua, aunties, uncles, and cousins) are vital to build and maintain the mana of rangatahi. In fact, because whānau are our primary source of mana, relationships with other whānau members give us rich sources of mana. In Kerekere's (2017) study, one participant said, "[My family] gave me the courage and strength to be who I am. And to pursue who I believe

[66] Children.
[67] Parents; members of parents' generation.
[68] Grandchildren; child or grandchild of a son, daughter, nephew, niece, etc.
[69] Older sibling (of the same gender).
[70] Younger sibling (of the same gender).
[71] Home base, village.

I am and go out there in the world and not worry what people say [or] care what people think" (p. 149). This quote suggests that, for rangatahi takatāpui in particular, whānau are a prominent source of encouragement to revel in their diverse glory (Kerekere, 2017). Furthermore, whānau encouragement is a powerful protective factor against the impact of discrimination based on gender and sexual identities.

Rangatahi Māori and LGBT+ Youth

A psychological context.

Psychological literature pertaining to the mental health[72] of Māori youth and (other) LGBT-plus youth is described in the current section. The Adolescent Health Research Group (n.d.), University of Auckland, have conducted a series of national surveys on adolescent health in New Zealand: the Youth2000 series. These surveys have involved randomly-selected samples of participants between Years 9 and 13, from randomly-selected English-medium secondary schools in New Zealand. Over 27,000 secondary students were surveyed over three waves conducted in 2001 (Youth'01), 2007 (Youth'07), and 2012 (Youth'12). The samples included 5,747 Māori students (Clark et al., 2018) and 1,523 sexual minority youths (Lucassen et al., 2015). Statistics specific to gender minority youth were added to the survey in 2012. Four hundred and eight students[73] reported that they were transgender, not sure, or did not understand the question in Youth'12 (Clark et al., 2014). The Youth2000 surveys are the most comprehensive and robust data sets available on the New Zealand youth population, including both Māori youth and youth with diverse gender and sexual identities. A fourth survey was conducted in 2019; at the time of writing, no data were publicly available for this wave (The Adolescent Health Research Group, n.d.).

Most Māori youth who attend New Zealand secondary schools report that they fare well with regard to their health and well-being. In Youth'12, most Māori secondary students (89.4%) reported that their health was *good, very good,* or *excellent* (Crengle et al., 2013), though Māori students were less likely to report that their health was *good, very good,* or *excellent* than were New Zealand (NZ) European students (OR = 0.73, 95% CI [0.58—0.91]).

[72] Within a Māori worldview, one's mental health must be considered in the context of other components of health (Durie, 1985, 1999, 2006). While the current section is specific to psychological literature (and so has an emphasis on *mental* health), this study acknowledges that well-being encompasses all components of one's health, including one's physical, relational, and spiritual health.

[73] Clark et al. (2014) elected to include data for participants who reported that they were 'not sure' or 'did not understand the question,' as members of these groups had similar results as transgender participants.

There were no significant changes for Māori students between 2001 (90.7%), 2007 (91.9%), and 2012 (89.4%). Nearly half (45.6%) of Māori participants in Youth'12 reported that they were very happy/satisfied with their lives, and a further 45.3% reported that their lives were okay. Moreover, based on their responses to the World Health Organisation-Five Well-Being Index (WHO-5), three quarters (75.1%) of Māori students reported their emotional well-being as *good, very good,* or *excellent* (Crengle et al., 2013).

A study conducted by Chiang et al. (2017) analysed the mental health of New Zealand secondary students who were both sexual/gender diverse (SG; that is, LGBT-plus) and from an ethnic minority (that is, non-NZ European). The study used data collated from Youth'07 and '12. Ethnicities analysed in this study were NZ European, Chinese and East Asian, Indian and other Asian, Māori, Pacific, and 'other ethnicity.' For the purpose of analysis, all participants (including those who selected multiple ethnicities) were assigned to one ethnicity group based on their response to the question, "Which is your main ethnic group?" Students who were exclusively sexually attracted to the "opposite sex" were categorised as belonging to the sexual majority; students who were sexually attracted to people of the "same sex", "both sexes", and "not sure" were categorised as the sexual minority. Additionally, students who reported being transgender or "not sure" about their gender were assigned into the 'sexual and/or gender minority' (SG minority); and students who did not understand the question were excluded from the study.

Findings from Chiang et al.'s (2017) study show that overall, Māori SG minority (that is, non-heterosexual or trans) youth tend to fare as well as Māori SG majority (that is, heterosexual and cisgender) youth with regard to their mental health, across male (OR = 0.83, 95% CI [0.38—1.80]) and female sexes (OR = 1.02, 95% CI [0.59—1.77]). Moreover, students identified as Māori SG minority reported higher rates of psychological well-being than their NZ European SG minority counterparts, across male (OR = 2.11, 95% CI [0.98—4.55]) and female sexes (OR = 2.35, 95% CI [1.35—4.10]). Chiang et al. (2017) suggest that it is likely that Māori SG minority youth have a cultural buffer against mental health threats in New Zealand. The acceptance of diverse gender and sexual identities in pre-colonial Māori culture has possibly influenced more acceptance of diversity in contemporary Māori culture than in Western culture (Aspin, 2019; Kerekere, 2017). Therefore, it is possible that Māori youth have more whānau support specifically for their gender and sexual identities than NZ European LGBT-plus youth, contributing to their increased well-being. The effect of specific

support for gender and sexual identities is discussed below in the section entitled *Whānau and family support.*

Contrasting the well-being described above, findings from the Youth2000 survey series also report that, between 2001 (27.0%) and 2012 (41.3%), there was a dramatic increase in clinically-significant depressive symptoms for sexual minority youth. The statistics remained fairly constant for opposite-sex attracted youth between 2001 (11.4%), 2007 (9.5%), and 2012 (1.4%; Lucassen et al., 2015; Lucassen, Clark, Moselen, Robinson, & The Adolescent Health Research Group, 2014). It is possible that the increase of clinically-significant depressive symptoms for sexual minority youth is due to New Zealand secondary students becoming aware of their diverse identities earlier than previous generations: a greater proportion of participants in Youth'12 were aware of their diverse sexual identities than in Youth'01 and '07 (described below; Lucassen et al., 2015). Furthermore, over a third (35.7%) of sexual minority youth could not access help for their emotional concerns.

Studies conducted overseas suggest that LGBT-plus youth abroad are also at increased risk of mental distress compared to other youth. Russell and Fish (2016) conducted a systematic review of international literature on mental health in LGBT-plus youth and found that sexual minority youth (18%) were more likely to have experienced a major depressive episode in the last 12 months than were other youth (8.2%). Longitudinal data from New Zealand suggest that, compared to opposite-sex-attracted peers, sexual minority youth are likely to experience an increased risk of depressive symptoms, other psychiatric disorders, and suicidality over a lifetime (Lucassen et al., 2015).

Youth2000 findings also corroborate previous research, that Māori youth are more likely than non-Māori youth to have higher levels of health-related risk behaviours and negative health outcomes (Edwards et al., 2007; Gillies, Boden, Friesen, MacFarlane, & Fergusson, 2017; Plessas, McCormack, & Kafantaris, 2019). Notably, these differences between Māori youth and non-Māori youth are still evident after controlling for age and sex (Clark et al., 2018). Māori youth are more likely than non-Māori youth to have attempted suicide in the past 12 months (OR = 1.97, 95% CI [1.40—2.76]; Crengle et al., 2013), and are at even higher risk to complete suicide (OR = 2.82, 95% CI [1.62—4.91]; Clark et al., 2018). The risks for Māori youth attempting and completing suicide grow in direct proportion to socioeconomic deprivation and poor access to healthcare (Clark et al., 2018; Crengle et al., 2013). Hence, when young Māori are exposed to socioeconomic deprivation, or are unable to access healthcare services, they are at increased risk of attempting and completing suicide.

That young Māori are at higher risk of exposure to socioeconomic deprivation and denial of healthcare likely contributes to their higher rates of attempted and completed suicide (Clark et al., 2018; Gillies et al., 2017).

Using data from Youth'12, Clark et al. (2014) and Lucassen et al. (2014), respectively, found that gender minority youth (20%) and sexual minority youth (18.3%) were significantly more likely to have attempted suicide in the last 12 months than other participants (3.8%). These higher rates of attempted suicide in New Zealand reflect international trends. Russell and Fish (2016) report that 31% of LGBT-plus youth had ever attempted suicide, compared to 4.1% of the general youth population. Some international studies suggest that between 26% and 33% of LGBT-plus youth attempt suicide at least once before adulthood (Capous-Desyllas & Barron, 2017; Eisenberg et al., 2017; Grossman & D'Augelli, 2007). In one American study, a transgender participant reported attempting suicide 20 times in their short life (Grossman & D'Augelli, 2007). At the time of writing, there appeared to be no local or international data on the rates of completed suicide for LGBT-plus youth.

Because suicide is often described as a mental health problem, particularly when discussed in conjunction with suicidal ideation (Bouris & Hill, 2017; Capous-Desyllas & Barron, 2017; Statistics New Zealand, 2017), statistics regarding attempted and completed suicide by Māori and LGBT-plus youth are included in this section entitled *A psychological context*. It is important to note than from a Māori perspective, suicidality could perhaps be described as an illness of the wairua rather than a mental health problem. Suicidality is the result of despair; when we are left without hope in this life, suicide can seem like our best option (Kerekere, 2017; Turia, 2000). When our wairua is well, we are aware of an interconnectedness between all things (tangible and intangible). We are connected with our tūpuna in the spiritual realm and our whānau – our primary source of mana – in the physical realm, and consequently, we are free of despair and have other options to suicide (Durie, 1985, 2006; Kerekere, 2016, 2017; Rata, 2012). Our connections with our tūpuna and whānau give us mana to discover and realise our identities. As our mana grows, we are able to give more mana to others. As we increase the mana of others, we receive more mana to realise our own identities.

Baby, I was born this way[74]: Becoming authentic.

Components of a process[75] through which LGBT-plus youth explore their gender and sexual identities are described in this section. Research suggests that aspects of our identities – such as our gender and sexual identities – are part of our nature (Berk, 2013; Capous-Desyllas & Barron, 2017; Ehrensaft, 2011). Kerekere (2017) asserts that "Māori inherit their gender and sexuality from our tūpuna [that is, our whakapapa] – it is part of our wairua" (p. 34). In exploring different and various roles, young people evoke aspects of their nature and work towards integrating their experiences into a "unified adult [identity]" such that they have a strong sense of self (Harper, Serrano, Bruce, & Bauermeister, 2016, p. 360). Young people who are afforded freedom to explore different aspects of their identities and unify their adult identity (or sense of self) are more likely to grow into adults with lower levels of health-related risk behaviours and higher levels of positive mental health outcomes (Feinstein et al., 2017; Harper et al., 2016; Mayer, Makadon, & Garofalo, 2014).

Using data from Youth'12, Lucassen et al. (2014) found that 6.7% of all participants were not exclusively attracted to the opposite sex. Including all participants, there were similar rates of not sure/neither sex attractions between male (3.9%) and female (4.7%) students. By contrast, there were higher rates of same/both sex attractions for female (4.5%) than for male students (2.9%). Overall, the rates of not sure/neither sex attractions decreased with age: students aged 13 years or younger (7.5%) were more likely to report being not sure/neither sex-attracted than were students aged 17 years or older (2.9%). Moreover, the rates of same/both sex attractions for all students increased with age: students aged 13 years or younger (2.0%) were less likely to report having same/both sex attractions than were students aged 17 years or older (5.2%). These findings suggest that students become increasingly more aware of and perhaps more comfortable with their sexual attractions as they age. It is possible that young people who have safe environments in which to explore their identities are more likely to have increased awareness of and comfort in their sexual identities (Harper et al., 2016; Mayer et al., 2014; Stettler & Katz, 2017).

Some other studies have been conducted using data from the Youth2000 series. In Chiang et al.'s (2017) study, the researchers found that, in 2012, 1.2% of New Zealand high school students identified as transgender and 2.5% of students were "not sure" of their

[74] This title is taken from the song entitled *Born this way* by Lady Gaga (2011).
[75] The current section presents something of a compilation process of data from the retrieved literature.

gender. These findings corroborate previous population-based research in the USA, which found that 1.4% of adolescents identify as transgender (Almeida, Johnson, Corliss, Molnar, & Azrael, 2009). Additionally, using Youth'12 data, Clark et al. (2014) found that transgender students (41.1%) were more likely to be not exclusively attracted to the opposite sex than were non-transgender students (6.7%). This latter finding suggests that people who identify as transgender are more likely to also identify as not exclusively attracted to the opposite sex. It is possible that this is because young people who identify as transgender, who have explicitly explored their gender identities, simultaneously explore their sexual identities. It is important to note that this suggestion implies no causal relationship between gender and sexual identities.

International literature suggests that young people become aware of their sexual attractions during middle and late childhood (Berk, 2013; Mayer et al., 2014; Roe, 2017). Lucassen et al. (2014) found that approximately a third of students in the Youth'12 survey became aware of their sexual attractions before they were 11 years old, and approximately half of the students became aware of their attractions during their high school years. Another New Zealand-based study found that participants between 16 and 19 years "first felt different" at a mean age of 11.2 years (Henrickson, 2007).

Generally, people also tend to become aware of their diverse gender identities during middle and late childhood (Clark et al., 2014; Grossman, D'Augelli, & Frank, 2011; Lucassen et al., 2014) Transgender participants in a study conducted by Grossman et al. (2011) reported that they "first felt different" at a mean age of 7.5 years and on average, participants were 7 years older (trans men = 15 years; trans women = 14 years) than this when they first self-identified as transgender. Using data from Youth'12, Clark et al. (2014) found that half of the participants who identified as transgender first wondered if they were transgender at about 12 years.

Some research suggests that Māori people become aware of their diverse gender and sexual identities at younger ages than participants in the above studies. Contrasting the above data, in her Doctoral study, Kerekere (2017) found that all participants were aware of their gender from their earliest memories (that is, during toddlerhood), and became aware of their diverse gender and sexual identities in childhood or adolescence. The oldest participant to realise their diverse sexual identity was age 14 years (Kerekere, 2017). Moreover, another study found that female Māori, on average, "first felt different" about their sexual identities at 11.7 years, and that male Māori felt so, on average, at 10.2 years (Henrickson, 2006).

Kerekere (2017) suggests that these findings support the notion that our identities may be embedded in our whakapapa. Our whakapapa connects us to our tūpuna, with whom we engage in te ao wairua (Durie, 1985). As Māori, engaging with te ao wairua is accepted as a necessary part of attaining well-being (Durie, 1985; Ministry of Health, 2002). Future research may be able to discern an association between connection to tūpuna and age at which awareness of gender and sexual identities is experienced.

Internationally, people are becoming aware of and disclosing (that is, sharing with others) their diverse gender and sexual identities younger than in previous generations.(Grafsky, Hickey, Nguyen, & Wall, 2018; Harper et al., 2016; Henrickson, 2007) Research suggests that people who disclose their gender and sexual identities at a young age are more likely to be comfortable with their identity than are their LGBT-plus peers who disclose at a later age (Roe, 2017). Participants in Roe's (2017) study noted that after disclosing their sexual identities, they experienced an increase in self-esteem, and a decrease in anxiety, anger, and depression. In fact, participants noted that disclosing their sexual identities to others was necessary for their achieving and maintaining well-being.

In one qualitative study conducted in the USA, some of the transgender participants were transitioning to live as their affirmed gender as young as 3 years old. All participants had begun their transition before they were 10 years old (Capous-Desyllas & Barron, 2017). In New Zealand, Lucassen et al. (2015) found that a significantly higher proportion of students who reported being attracted to the same or both sexes had already 'come out' in 2012 (53.1%) than in 2007 (39.8%) and 2001 (31.3%). Likewise, in Henrickson's (2007) study, participants aged 16—19 years had first disclosed their sexual identities at a mean age of 14.7 years, while participants aged 50—59 had done so at a mean age of 26.3 years.

While there is evidence that young people have resources available to them to safely disclose and live as their preferred gender and sexual identities, there is also evidence that disclosure at younger ages also brings difficulties. There is local and international evidence that disclosure of gender and sexual identities at a younger age is also associated with increased suicidality (Lucassen et al., 2011; Russell & Fish, 2016). The literature indicates that, in response to disclosing their diverse identities, young people are at risk of verbal and physical violence from peers and adults, of being kicked out of home, and of the loss of close friendships (Fiddian-Green, Gubrium, & Peterson, 2017; Henrickson, 2007; Lucassen et al., 2013; Lucassen et al., 2011). An associated increase in suicidality is primarily due to the decrease in social support available to young people during the disclosure period (Lucassen et

al., 2011). When young people have a difficult time during the early disclosure period, they also tend to have "lower lifelong satisfaction" with their gender and sexual identities (Henrickson, 2007, p. 80). These findings iterate the importance of social support for young people with diverse gender and sexual identities. Members of this group are likely to experience at least some level of victimisation during the disclosure period (both within and outside their families). Any social support available to them is imperative to their coming to terms "with their status of other" (DiFulvio, 2011, p. 1613), and gaining and sustaining a state of balance through a tumultuous process (Harper et al., 2016; McBreen, 2012b; Roe, 2017).

Whānau and family support.

In this section, literature pertaining to takatāpui people's experience of whānau support and other LGBT-plus youths' experience of family support is described. Some international literature suggests that support from family was the main reason why LGBT-plus youth chose to disclose their gender and sexual identities to their family members (Fiddian-Green et al., 2017; Roe, 2017). Participants in American studies by Fiddian-Green et al. (2017) and Roe (2017) reported that support from family members was more important than from friends, as family relationships tend to be more important than friendships. Moreover, young people specifically seek explicit support from their families, particularly their parents, and will continue to seek support, even after receiving rejection (Fiddian-Green et al., 2017; Roe, 2017).

For LGBT-plus youth (both Māori and non-Māori), rejection from family can be devastating, especially after being told their entire lives that they are unconditionally loved (Roe, 2017). Many LGBT-plus youth describe their family's negative reactions – that is, rejection – as their most prominent difficulty related to their gender and sexual identities (Kuper, Coleman, & Mustanski, 2014). Rejection might present as physical abuse, getting called derogatory terms, receiving pressure to engage in heteronormative behaviours (such as dating someone of the opposite sex), or even getting kicked out of home (Aspin & Hutchings, 2007; Kerekere, 2017; Lucassen et al., 2013; Veale et al., 2019). Rejection from our whānau is a denial of mana. Consequently, without our primary source of mana (that is, our whānau), it is increasingly difficult for us to gain and sustain mana and, in turn, well-being.

The devastation that results from rejection from people within our families can exacerbate negative effects of discrimination from outside the family structure – such as

harassment on the street or not having access to affirming healthcare – and further increases LGBT-plus youths' risk of mental distress, substance abuse, and suicidality (Capous-Desyllas & Barron, 2017; Lucassen et al., 2013; Veale et al., 2019). Findings from Grossman and D'Augelli's (2007) study found that parental verbal and physical abuse both contributed to transgender youth attempting suicide. Kerekere (2017) also notes that rejection from whānau for young people's sexual diverse identities can damage wairua; thus, it also likely contributes to sexual minority youth attempting suicide. As discussed above, suicide can be described as an illness of the wairua. When wairua is damaged such that one is full of despair, suicide can seem like our best option (Kerekere, 2017; Turia, 2000).

General support from whānau and family is insufficient to counterbalance gender- and sexuality-related discrimination that LGBT-plus youth experience (Kerekere, 2017; McBreen, 2012b; Stettler & Katz, 2017). Where there is no mana, a tikanga befitting the specific scenario is required to bring it back (T. Roa, personal communication, December 3, 2019). Because of this, where mana has been lost to gender- and sexuality-related discrimination, tikanga (in the form of support) specific to gender and sexual identities is required to restore mana.

Research suggests that whānau and family support significantly reduces LGBT-plus youths' increased risk of health-related risk behaviours and poor health outcomes when the support is explicitly for their gender and sexual identities. Parental support, especially, is an important predictor of positive youth outcomes. It is possible that parental support is a strong predictor because parents – who are youths' primary caregivers – tend to facilitate what sources of mana (including information, resources, and other support) youth have (Capous-Desyllas & Barron, 2017; Fiddian-Green et al., 2017; Watson & Veale, 2018). LGBT-plus youth who receive explicit support for their gender and sexual identities are, over a lifetime, more likely to have increased self-esteem, academic achievement, and general health, and decreased mental distress, suicidality, and harmful substance use (Fenaughty, Lucassen, Clark, & Denny, 2019; Parker, Hirsch, Philbin, & Parker, 2018; Roe, 2017).

He Whakarāpopoto

In summary, Te Kete Aronui related to rangatahi takatāpui has been reviewed in this chapter. As there is little known about rangatahi takatāpui, most of what we know of their experience is drawn from other groups of people. These groups include older takatāpui people, other Māori youth, and other LGBT-plus youth.

Mātauranga Māori: Ancient and contemporary knowledges outlined Māori understandings of takatāpui, gender identities, sexual identities, and whānau. There are only remnants of knowledge of gender and sexual identities left from pre-colonial Aotearoa. The process of colonisation (the assimilation of whānau to imperialist heteronormative culture, the mutilation and theft of our art, and the criminalising and pathologising of gender and sexual fluidity) subjugated the acceptance and celebration of diverse identities and practices in Māori society (Aspin, 2019; Kerekere, 2017; Te Awekōtuku, 2005). Consequently, whānau today can still struggle to accept and celebrate their members with diverse gender and sexual identities (Kerekere, 2017). This is not their fault—*i whānakohia tō mātou mātauranga i a mātou. Our knowledges were stolen from us.*

The Ministry of Health's (2002) Māori Health Strategy, *He Korowai Oranga*, posits that Māori will maintain rangatiratanga – a key thread of the strategy – over their own mana (and in turn, well-being), and that the Crown will protect Māori worldviews and practices within the health and disability sector. Specific to this thesis, when whānau are the rangatira (that is, leaders) of their own mana, they can delegate resources and labour within the whānau in accordance with each member's strengths (Ministry of Health, 2002). Whānau members participate in partnership with each other to contribute to the collective mana of the whānau, and whānau members with more mana work to protect the mana of other whānau members.

The roles within whānau have changed since urbanisation in the 1950s—60s, when whānau were pressured to leave their papa kāinga and move into urban centres (Edwards et al., 2007; Le Grice et al., 2017). This process fractured many whānau relationships, and as a result, whānau members are ofttimes left without direction as to how to use their strengths to contribute to the mana of the whānau (Edwards et al., 2007; Le Grice et al., 2017). Because of this, whānau may find it helpful to proactively maintain relationships with members with whom they do not live, to uphold the mana of one another and that of the whānau.

Overall, most Māori youth who attend New Zealand secondary schools report that they fare well with regard to their health and well-being (Crengle et al., 2013). Most Māori students who participated in Youth'12 reported that their health was *good, very good,* or *excellent.* Moreover, based on their responses to the WHO-5, three-quarters of Māori students reported *good, very good*, or *excellent* emotional well-being (Crengle et al., 2013). In saying that, Māori youth are nearly twice as likely as non-Māori youth to attempt suicide (Crengle et al., 2013), and nearly three times as likely to complete suicide (Clark et al., 2018). Suicidality in Māori youth has been linked with socioeconomic deprivation and inaccessibility to

healthcare. Māori are at higher risk of exposure to these early risk factors, which likely contributes to their increased risk of attempting and completing suicide (Clark et al., 2018; Gillies et al., 2017).

LGBT-plus youth are also at higher risk of psychopathology than are the general youth population, both in New Zealand and abroad. As a direct result of discrimination and rejection based on gender and sexuality, LGBT-plus youth are more likely to have depressive symptoms and to have attempted suicide (both in the last 12 months, and ever; Clark et al., 2014; Lucassen et al., 2014; Russell & Fish, 2016). It is important to note that suicide is often described as a mental health problem, whereas from a Māori perspective, can be described as an illness of the wairua. When our wairua is well, we are connected with our tūpuna in the spiritual realm and our whānau in the physical realm and so are free of the despair that leads to suicide (Durie, 1985, 2006; Kerekere, 2016, 2017; Rata, 2012).

Exploration of identities is a necessary process for young people. LGBT-plus youth, in particular, need exploratory environments that are explicitly supportive of their gender and sexual identities. Such support is a major protective factor against psychopathology, as it restores mana lost to gender- and sexuality-related discrimination (Fenaughty et al., 2019; Parker et al., 2018; Roe, 2017). As young people are realising and disclosing their diverse identities younger today than in previous generations (Henrickson, 2007; Lucassen et al., 2015), explicit support may be even more necessary than it was historically. There is evidence that people who disclose their diverse gender and sexual identities at a younger age are more likely to be more comfortable with their identity than their peers who disclose at later ages (Roe, 2017). It appears, however, that increased comfort in their diverse identities later in life is only the case for LGBT-plus youth who receive adequate and explicit family support during their early disclosure period. For LGBT-plus youth who are met with rejection, disclosure at a young age is associated with lower satisfaction with their diverse identity (Henrickson, 2007) and poor health outcomes later in life (Capous-Desyllas & Barron, 2017; Lucassen et al., 2013; Veale et al., 2019).

The primary research objective for this study is to describe a process through which rangatahi takatāpui explore their gender and sexual identities, highlighting how whānau can provide mana to empower rangatahi to exercise mana rangatiratanga regarding their identities. Our takatāpui identities are part of our whakapapa (Kerekere, 2017). No knowledge (or lack thereof) can separate us from our whakapapa (Pihama, 2001). In gaining mana to explore our identities, we simply gain mana to discover who we already are. The

remnants of mātauranga from pre-colonial Māori society, extended by contemporary Māori experiences, are beacons that guide us in expressing our identities. The experiences of other LGBT-plus youth, who have been previously researched, also guide our discovery process.

Chapter 4

He Tukanga Rangahau[76]

Purpose of the Study

The current study describes a process through which rangatahi takatāpui explore their gender and sexual identities, highlighting how whānau can provide mana to empower rangatahi to exercise mana rangatiratanga regarding their gender and sexual identities. In describing this process, the study contributes information to develop tools that may empower other rangatahi takatāpui to realise their gender and sexual identities and, in turn, attain and sustain well-being.

Ethical Considerations and Expert Review

The materials and procedures used in this study were reviewed and approved by the School of Psychology Human Research Ethics Committee at the University of Waikato (reference #18_33). Some ethical considerations which directly impacted participants are described below in the section entitled *Protection of participants*.

Kaupapa Māori theory is an intrinsic and explicit component of this study. The project was designed by a rangatahi takatāpui under close supervision from an experienced Kaupapa Māori researcher, who is also takatāpui. Accordingly, the process of data collection was likely to nurture the mana of both me and participants. Moreover, interpretation of research findings were developed by the same rangatahi takatāpui and under close Kaupapa Māori supervision to ensure that outcomes were likely to be in the best interest of takatāpui Māori in particular, and wider Māori communities.

The current research project was supervised by a clinical psychologist (Dr Carrie Barber) and an experienced Māori researcher in the field of Māori sexuality and gender (Dr Alison Green, Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Ranginui). Because of this, all stages of the research process – ethics application, data collection, interview transcription, data analysis, and thesis chapters – were closely reviewed by experts in their respective fields. In addition to this, expert advice was sought from my Uncle Tom when developing the theoretical framework and identifying findings for this study. Expert review ensured that the research process nurtured the mana of research participants and myself.

[76] A research process.

Literature review

Two reviews of the literature were conducted for this study. The first, a preliminary review, was conducted to develop research objectives, methods for data collection, and consequently, an ethics application. The second, a comprehensive literature review, was conducted to develop a theoretical framework and identify Māori knowledges related to gender and sexual identities, and knowledges related to Māori youth and LGBT-plus youth.

Personal communication was also an important tool for gathering knowledges for this study. Through both the preliminary and comprehensive literature review stages, I had personal communication with scholars who were experts in LGBT-plus youth, family support for such youth, Māori society, and Māori knowledges regarding gender and sexual identities. Some of these personal communications are included in chapters of this thesis; the remainder of personal communications provided indication of where to retrieve literature relevant to the study.

Research Participants

Participants were recruited by way of a recruitment poster (attached in *Appendix A*), which was displayed on notice boards at the University of Waikato Hamilton campus, social media, email, and word-of-mouth snowball recruitment. A recruitment poster was shared on Facebook by UniQ Waikato and UniQ Victoria, and with students via email by School of Psychology, University of Waikato, and Te Aka Matua Mentoring Unit, University of Waikato. As recruitment occurred online, participants all over Aotearoa were invited to participate. Recruitment was completed between December 2018 and April 2019.

Participants who were between 16 and 25 years old, and self-identified as Māori and as having diverse gender or sexual identities (that is, LGBT-plus) were invited to take part in this study. The lower age limit (16 years) was selected to allow people who had not yet disclosed their identities to whānau to participate, as people who are younger than 16 years must have parental consent to participate in research.

The original plan for the study was to interview between eight and 12 young Māori who identified as having diverse gender or sexual identities. In April 2019, after a period of weeks with no inquiries from potential participants, agreement was researched with research supervisors that this was an exploratory study which intended to provide indicative findings. Interviews were in-depth and rich with content. Thus, in order to provide presentations of the

stories that honoured participants, data collection was limited to the five participants who had already been interviewed by April 2019.

The five rangatahi takatāpui who were interviewed for this study had various gender and sexual identities and were from different centres across the North Island of New Zealand. The youngest participant was 17 years at the time of their interview; another participant was 19 years at the time of theirs; two participants were 23 years; and the final participant was 24 years. Participants' individual demographic information is described in *Chapter 5*.

Protection of participants.

Where people contacted me to express interest in participating in this study, I sent them copies of the participant information sheet (attached in *Appendix B*), consent form (*Appendix C*), and resources sheet (*Appendix D*), and sought to organise a meeting for whakawhanaungatanga[77]. These meetings intended to allow space and time for both me and the participant to review the information provided and to share our respective whakapapa. As Māori, we are accountable to our whānau, hapū, and iwi. In sharing our respective iwi and hapū memberships, the participant and I told each other about the collectives to whom we are accountable in terms of protecting our own respective cultural and intellectual property rights. In hindsight, I would have recorded this information to inform the data analysis. At these initial meetings, participants and I agreed upon a date and time to conduct an interview.

In honour of the principle of reciprocity intrinsic to whakawhanaungatanga, participants received a koha[78] of food at the start of the meeting for the interview. This koha acknowledged the time and contribution in the form of information that each participant made to this study. At the interview stage for each participant, I verbally described the research process (including audio recording) and reviewed the participant information sheet and consent forms to clarify participants' understanding of the process. I explicitly verbalised participants' right to amend the transcription of their interview, and that they were free to withdraw from the study for up to one week after having received their interview transcript. No participant withdrew from the study.

Participants each gave verbal and written consent to be interviewed and to have the interview audio-recorded. Interview transcripts, consent forms, and associated documentation were stored in a secure repository. Participants' anonymity was maintained throughout (and

[77] Process of establishing relationships.
[78] Contribution.

following) the research project. Confidentiality was guaranteed for participants and they, in turn, said that they felt comfortable to share their uncensored experience with me. Participants chose their own pseudonyms at the conclusion of their interview, and where participants were discussed either with research supervisors or in the dissemination of findings, only their pseudonyms were used.

All participants were given copies of their interview transcripts, to review and amend as they saw fit. Only one participant amended their transcript; all others confirmed that they were satisfied with their transcript.

Data Collection

Semi-structured, face-to-face interviews were used for data collection. The approach allowed participants to share their own experiences of exploring their gender and sexual identities and of whānau support. Participants received a physical copy of the interview guidelines (attached in *Appendix E*) at the start of the interview. These guidelines were intended as flexible prompts during the interviews. Interviews lasted between 53 and 87 minutes.

The interview guidelines for this study were adapted from two previous studies, both of which had ethics approval from New Zealand tertiary institutions. Kerekere (2017) studied takatāpui people at different stages of life, and their whānau, in Aotearoa (approved by Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee). Te Kotahi Research Institute and Te Whāriki Takapou (n.d.) studied Takatāpui and Māori LGBTQI-plus[79] people's experiences in health (approved by Te Manu Taiko, Human Research Ethics Committee at the University of Waikato). Importantly, the guidelines were refined under close Kaupapa Māori supervision, and were peer-reviewed by a rangatahi takatāpui who did not participate in the study.

Interviews were conducted in private rooms at libraries and universities, and, as mentioned above, started with a conversation to confirm that participants' consent was fully informed, as well participants receiving a koha. While the interview was in progress, I took notes of potential follow-up questions to ask later in the interview. Each interview was audio-recorded using a generic voice recording app on my personal smart phone, and full verbatim transcripts were created. Verbatim interviews minimised researcher bias and ensured that data analysis would honour participants' stories, as they shared them. As mentioned above,

[79] Lesbian, gay, sexual, transgender, queer, intersex, and other; this was the acronym used in the technical report for the *Honour Project Aotearoa* study (A. Green, personal communication, December 31, 2019).

participants were given copies of their interview transcripts, to make amendments as they saw fit. Transcripts which had been finalised by participants were used for data analysis.

It is important to note that *Question 1* in the interview guidelines (*Appendix E*) was intended to facilitate whakawhanaungatanga and was discussed with the participant in the initial meeting, not at the start of the audio-recorded interview. To open the audio-recorded interview, participants were asked to share who was in their whānau (*Question 2, Appendix E*). To close the audio-recorded interview, participants were asked what advice they would give to their younger self regarding their gender and sexuality, and if there was anything they'd like to add to the interview (*Questions 17 & 18, Appendix E*). Other questions were asked in an order that flowed with the conversation; while some questions were not asked using the exact terminology of the interview guidelines, all proposed topics were covered in each interview. Moreover, each participant was asked follow-up questions that were unique to their interview but remained within the scope of the questions approved by the Ethics Committee.

Each interviews' audio file was transcribed using NVivo software (to stream and control the audio file) and Microsoft Word (to write the transcription). I transcribed four of the five interviews myself, following each interview. One interview was transcribed by my friend and colleague, Allie Knight. Allie received an audio file of the interview, named only with the participant's pseudonym. The participant had not shared any explicit information in their interview that would identify them, and so their anonymity was maintained through this process. Moreover, Allie agreed not to share the interview audio or transcript with another party, in order to protect the participants' confidentiality. Allie received the same koha as participants for her contribution, which acknowledged the principle of reciprocity intrinsic to whakawhanaungatanga in all relationships.

Before sending verbatim transcripts to participants, I thoroughly read through each transcript using Microsoft Word, both to familiarise myself with the data and to make comments where clarification was needed. After each interview transcript had been finalised by participants, I again thoroughly read each transcript and made comments to highlight potential codes. Following this, each transcript was uploaded to NVivo software.

Data Analysis

The interviews were analysed using a process of thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is a method for identifying and analysing patterns across a dataset and is especially useful for

reporting themes within a small number of interviews, as was the case in the current study (Braun & Clarke, 2013). Specifically, inductive thematic analysis was used for this research, where content within the interview transcripts guided the coding process and development of themes (Braun & Clarke, 2013).

Except for the transcription process, data (that is, participant interview transcripts) were analysed using NVivo version 12 software. This software was useful in both collating and organising the data. Braun and Clarke (2013) outline six stages of thematic analysis. The first and second stages include transcription of interviews and familiarisation with transcripts, described above. The third stage is to create codes, where excerpts across transcripts which are assumed to have similar meaning are collated together. The fourth stage is to collate similar codes into proposed *themes*. After identifying nine proposed themes, I wrote a brief rationale for each proposed theme and sought review from research supervisors, who confirmed that these themes were appropriate (Braun & Clarke, 2013). While writing the findings of this thesis, it became apparent that one theme was auxiliary to the others and better-suited to another piece of literature and so it was excluded. Eight themes comprise the findings for this project.

Translation of theme titles from English to te reo Māori.

After receiving confirmation from research supervisors that the proposed themes were appropriate, I sought assistance from my Uncle Tom to interpret the theme titles from English to te reo Māori, using the brief rationale I had written for each. Uncle Tom was a fitting choice for interpreter as he is both an expert in translation between English and te reo Māori and the history of my own iwi, Ngāti Maniapoto (Ministry of Justice, 2019). Because of this, Uncle Tom was able to provide titles that were consistent with both the essence of each theme and my personal whakapapa. Each title, discussed in the remainder of this thesis, is derived from the names of my tūpuna, who are also named in *Ngā mihi*.

Chapter 5

Ngā Kitenga[80]

The major findings of this study are described in this chapter. Participants' interviews were in-depth and presented rich data. All participants shared stories that were relevant to all themes; thus, the eight identified themes were derived from participants' experiences as shared in their interviews.

Each participant has experienced a unique process to become comfortable with their gender and sexual identities. Their unique processes appear to have some commonalities; thus, the eight identified themes are something of a compilation process. Each theme offers a checkpoint of their journey from starting to question their identities to becoming comfortable with their identities. While the themes are presented in a something of a chronological fashion, it is pertinent to note that the process has not always been linear. Like Tāwhaki, who ascended the heavens to fetch the baskets of knowledge, participants have sometimes backtracked their steps to pick up a tool, and at other times, changed their course. Moreover, this non-linear process is not complete; as rangatahi, participants still have much to learn and much of their identities to discover. The checkpoints of participants' journeys thus far, as shared in their interviews, are *Ko Tūhura*[81], which described the process of discovery which participants have experienced; *Ko Matatapu*, which described participants' experience of authenticity and concealment of their identities; *Ko Tautoko,* which described how whānau have empowered participants to explore their identities, and how participants have been denied empowerment; *Ko Mata-ngaro,* which described participants' early lack of exposure to diverse identities, and their having their identities unseen by others; *Ko te Ahunga-ki-te-aunoa*, which described how diverse identities have been accepted within participants' whānau; *Ko Tauawhi*, which described how participants and their kaupapa whānau have been embraced for their diverse identities; *Ko Mata-pū-take,* which describes participants' experience of finding somewhere to belong; and *Ko Kiritau,* which describes participants' becoming settled in their expression of their gender and sexual identities.

[80] The findings.
[81] English descriptions of theme titles are provided as footnotes when describing each theme below; see also *Glossary.*

Participants

As stated in *Chapter 4*, there were five participants in this study. Following their interview, each participant chose their own pseudonym, which were used when discussing participants with research supervisors, and in the dissemination of findings. Similarly, participants chose pseudonyms for other people who were mentioned in their interviews. Thus, all names used in this and subsequent chapters are pseudonyms. A brief description of each participant's identities is provided in this section using participants' own words. Descriptions are discussed below, where appropriate.

Alexandra

Alexandra is a trans woman who identifies as "mostly straight", but whose sexual attraction is fluid. At the time of her interview, Alexandra was 17 years old.

Bella

Bella is a cis woman who, at the time of her interview, was 19 years old. When Bella talks with other people about her sexual identity, "I identify just as gay, because I feel like other people understand that term better than queer." Her preference is to identify as queer or lesbian.

Jynx

Jynx describes himself as a cis male and gay. At the time of his interview, Jynx was 23 years old.

Onyx

At the time of her interview, Onyx was 24 years old. Onyx describes her gender as, "I believe, at this moment, that I am a cis female." Like Bella, when Onyx is asked about her sexual identity, she says that she is queer, but "my preference is to not identify with a certain sexuality."

Sarah

Sarah identifies as cisgender female and bisexual, and at the time of her interview, was "on the fence about using the word takatāpui." At the time of her interview, Sarah was 23 years old.

Themes

Ko Tūhura[82]

As participants learned new information and had new experiences about their gender and sexual identities, their understandings of their identities changed. Participants started questioning and exploring their gender and sexual identities at different ages. For example, Alexandra and Jynx began questioning their gender and sexual identities, respectively, as children, while Onyx and Sarah both began questioning their sexual identities closer to 20 years old. Alexandra and Jynx shared that they began to suspect that they were diverse in their respective identities when they reflected on some of their behaviours. As Stephen (Alexandra's assigned name at birth), 5-year-old Alexandra would put on shows, wearing her grandmother's dresses and heels, and noticed that this contradicted gender behaviours she had seen. At about 10 years old, Jynx also noticed that his enthusiasm for acting as Ginger Spice (of the Spice Girls) also contradicted gender behaviours he had seen. Interestingly, for both participants, these diverse behaviours indicated separate parts of their identities. For Alexandra, they indicated that she had a diverse gender identity; for Jynx, they indicated that he had a diverse sexual identity.

Conversely, Sarah began to question her sexual identity later in her life while she was at university. Before this, she assumed that she was straight. About this, Sarah said:

> I spent ages thinking maybe I'm just – like, I always just thought that I was just straight and had a better imagination than other straight people – straight females – because I had quite a few good guy friends in high school, and they would be like, "That chick's hot," or whatever, and I would be like, oh yeah she's hot but like – I've got eyes, you know? [laughs] I just thought I was a human with eyes. I just thought you could just tell if someone was attractive.

When Sarah began critically questioning her sexual identity during a university summer break, she began reading about and discussing sexual identities with others and dating people of different genders. In her discussion with others, she learnt that her straight friends were never interested in people of the same sex, and that they would "find dating the same sex weird." Moreover, she also learnt that her gay friends were never interested in people of the opposite sex, and that they would (conversely to her straight friends) "find dating the

[82] To discover, explore, investigate.

opposite sex weird." She reflected that, "Well, it feels all the same to me," and so concluded that she was bisexual.

Onyx has always been aware that she's attracted to people of different genders. Having grown up in a small town, where there weren't many people with diverse gender and sexual identities, she said that she "never really had the words to describe" her sexuality. Similar to Sarah, this changed for Onyx during her university years, when she started attending gay pride events, spending time with people with diverse gender and sexual identities, and sexually experimenting with other women. She said that these experiences gave voice to her sexual attractions, which she learnt were not a universal experience. Onyx shared:

> I think it was when I – coz when I got to my 20s, I had experiences with other girls – at first, it was just like this fun thing that was going on – and then I started realising that I really like this. And then I started realising that not everybody – girl crushes are actually crushes – not everybody experiences these things. Like you wonna be more than just *really* good friends with these people. [laughs]

Some participants experienced discrimination from others for their diverse identities. Through high school, Jynx was bullied for his feminine behaviours, and consequently spent most of his school years trying to conceal his sexual identity – that is, "being in the closet" (Jynx) – to keep himself safe in a dangerous environment. The discrimination that Jynx experienced from others severely limited his freedom to discover what his sexual identity meant for him. Consequently, Jynx was hesitant in exploring his sexual identity in his early 20s, and at the time of his interview, was still uncomfortable with telling people his sexual identity. When asked when he became aware of his sexual identity, Jynx replied:

> It wasn't til, I'd say intermediate school, which was when I, myself, saw it. And then I went to an all-boys' high school, which was fucking not a good choice for me. It was hard. It was like – I would say like a constant fear. Yeah. I was – I feel like I overworked to compensate for – just to keep everyone at bay.

Some participants' sexual identities have changed over time. Both Onyx and Sarah have identified as bisexual. Sarah shared that her early understanding of 'bisexuality' was that a

person was “50 percent attracted to men, and 50 percent attracted to women”; this has since changed. Similarly, Onyx also reflected that her understanding of ‘bisexuality’ was that her attraction was even across binary genders (that is, male and female); this has also changed. Both have concluded that their sexual attraction is not determined by a person’s gender. Sarah spoke to this, sharing that her current understanding of ‘bisexuality’ accounts for the fact that gender is irrelevant for her sexual attraction.

> I don’t feel like gender is relevant to who I would end up loving or who I’m attracted to. To me, bi is not the binary between male and female; it’s between same and other. And so, to me, that’s still two things, because it’s same and other. (Sarah)

Ko Matatapu[83]

All participants have concealed their gender and sexual identities to some extent and shared that realising their identities was important for their achieving well-being. Jynx and Alexandra both shared some of their experiences with concealing their identities from others and reflected that doing so was harmful for them. Adding to his dialogue, Jynx found the effort required to conceal his sexual identity challenging. This was particularly evident in group settings, which Jynx found so distressing that he would sometimes disconnect from his experience.

> I’ve had this thing growing up where – because I was in the closet for most of the years, I had to watch how I spoke, watch how I breathed, watch how I walked, and everything. So, whenever I was in a group situation, I would just be like, phasing out, kind of – just like checking everything I do and stuff. (Jynx)

Jynx shared that he still experiences remnants of “being in the closet” for so long and in response to being bullied at school. In addition to being hesitant to explore his identity, he noted that sometimes he’s self-conscious of his behaviours. He shared that this is involuntary: he is so well-practiced at monitoring his behaviours that he is not able to stop watching himself in social situations. When Jynx monitors his behaviours, it appears he is unable to be visible with his identity.

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[83] Loosely, ‘authenticity’; literally, ‘sacred face.’

> Being in the closet for so many years, I can't switch out of having to watch myself and catch myself out on stuff all the time. So, in any conversation – especially with straight men – I can't like not stop thinking about my actions and everything like that. That's probably my main struggle. (Jynx)

Like Jynx, Alexandra also spent a long time concealing her gender identity from others. She reflected that when she was younger, she felt it was necessary to conform to society's gender expectations and present as a boy so she could fit in with her whānau and other groups. Alexandra shared that she was most uncomfortable when using boys' changing rooms and bathrooms because this practice conflicted with her own experience of her gender identity. She chose to use the boys' bathroom – when a girls' bathroom was more fitting for her experience – to keep herself safe from hostility.

Some participants shared that they have concealed their identities from themselves more so than they have from others. When Sarah first became interested in her sexual identity at high school, she consulted a friend of hers who had recently come out as gay. His reply was discouraging and so she stopped exploring her sexual identity. In hindsight, she reflected that she would have been better off to trust her own experience and continue exploring her identity.

> I had a dream about two of my female friends, and they were making out. So, I talked to my gay friend about it and was like, "Oh, this is weird, this is interesting," kind of thing. And he was just like, "It's not a thing, don't worry about it." I think he thought I was just trying to get in on the bandwagon, I suppose? Because he'd come out not long before that. I think that probably if he had not just like written it off – and he didn't do it in a malicious way – I think I would have probably questioned that I was bisexual way sooner. (Sarah)

Jynx noted that other gay men's expression of their sexuality gives him and others courage to explore their own identities. Jynx's viewpoint suggests that when rangatahi are visible with our gender and sexual identities, we empower others to be visible with their identities, as well – especially those who struggle with being so. When asked what about being gay brings him joy, Jynx replied:

> The men. The culture. I love it. Gay men are a lot – just having that freedom of sexuality. I see it as one of the most freeing things you can do. Being so over-sexual allows for the people like back here to have the breathing room, if that makes sense. It opens up that breathing room for other people to open up about their own sexual identity or sexual experiences or stuff like that. Which is just beneficial.

Alexandra shared an experience she's had that corroborates Jynx's reflection. Soon before her interview, she attended a large LGBT-plus event where there were many people with diverse gender and sexual identities. Others' being visible with their identities provided Alexandra with "breathing room" to be visible with her gender identity. She shared that, at this event, she was comfortable with using the girls' bathroom—a liberty she had not often been afforded.

Sarah shared that she gets joy from seeing other queer people being visible with their gender and sexual identities. Her joy reflects other participants' experience with visibility. Rangatahi takatāpui can gain mana to be visible with our identities from others' example of being visible with their identities. In turn, when we share our identities with others, we find that they have had similar experiences and can share in celebration of each other's identities. This interactive process supports both our and others' attaining well-being.

Ko Tautoko[84]

Participants concurred that learning information that celebrated diverse gender and sexual identities was integral to their gaining mana to realise their identities. Some participants reflected that the early stages of discovering their identities would have been bolstered if whānau had had the language to describe and discuss diverse gender and sexual identities. Useful language could have provided them with what they needed to make sense of their own experiences. Alexandra and Bella both shared that their gender and sexual identities, respectively, were "big, terrible [things]" (Alexandra) when they were in the early stages of discovery. Since gaining language to make sense of their experiences, they have both become comfortable with their identities.

[84] In this context, 'empowerment'; to support, to prop up, to advocate.

> I think whānau should talk more about stuff like that, in a more positive way, to make rangatahi feel like it's okay and it's not this very big, bad, terrible thing. And being more open-minded to everything. Educate yourself, so that you can better help them. (Alexandra)

Most participants shared that they did not have any role models with diverse gender and sexual identities in their early lives. Contrasting these experiences, Jynx mentioned one role model he had in his earlier years—a friend of his older sister's, Tash, who was openly trans. He shared that Tash's example, in his earlier years, was instrumental in empowering him to explore and realise his sexual identity. He also shared that Tash remains a role model whose visibility gives him mana to become increasingly more visible with regards to his own identity. About Tash, Jynx shared:

> She was like my first role model. She was just one of us. She taught me about just being visible. Just having that – just seeing that just made me feel more warm, or wanted, or belonging [*sic*]. Yeah. And then even like now, after coming out and stuff, I still see her as a role model for where I want to get to, for just being who she is.

Jynx's comment highlights that having a role model – even just one in his early life – validated his sexual identity and demonstrated that there was a place for him to belong. This would have been especially meaningful for him during his high school years when he often experienced discrimination from others in his school environment for his sexual identity.

Like Jynx, Bella also experienced discrimination from others because of her sexual identity. Specifically, while she was sexually experimenting with a girl but was unsure of her sexual identity, a school friend blackmailed her into disclosing her identity to her whānau. At this point, Bella wasn't ready to share this part of herself with her whānau. This blackmail indicated that her school friend did not support or empower her sexual behaviours or possible identity, and in turn undermined her autonomy to make her own decisions about her sexual identity. Notwithstanding, Bella used this situation as a catalyst to become comfortable with identifying as lesbian: though she was robbed of her autonomy about this decision, she used it as an opportunity to become visible and comfortable with her identity.

Bella and Jynx were both granted what they called 'fresh starts.' After the discrimination she experienced from her school friend, Bella started attending a course in lieu of completing Year 13 at school. She shared that at this time she was fully accepting of her

sexuality and so saw the new course, where no one knew her, as an opportunity to openly identify as lesbian. After the compounded hurt he experienced from years of bullying at high school, Jynx shared that attending university was an opportunity to "be [himself]." These new settings provided Bella and Jynx with blank canvases to paint their identities. Because no one knew them in these settings, no one had preconceived ideas about their sexual identities. Moreover, people in these settings were predominantly in late adolescence or early adulthood and so were likely to be more open to diverse sexual identities than were people at high school (Huebner, Rebchook, & Kegeles, 2004; Kljakovic, Hunt, & Jose, 2015). Thus, both Bella and Jynx were free to exercise autonomy about their sexual identities and become visible and comfortable with their identities.

> So, once I finished high school, I – that was – coz I was still kind of depressed then. And I just wanted a change – I wanted to just be myself. And I saw uni as that way. But it wasn't until like later on in uni, when I actually had the confidence to do that as well. But it was just meeting new people, and just tryna not have that wall in the way. (Jynx)

Ko Mata-ngaro[85]

Most participants shared that when they were growing up, there was a dearth of role models and information about diverse gender and sexual identities. Consequently, while participants were not explicitly told that same-sex relationships or gender diversity were possible or permissible, a lack of role-modelling and information about diverse identities meant that some participants missed out on vital information and were unaware that diverse identities were an option for them. Bella shared that seeing only heteronormative relationships within her whānau and on television resulted in her misinterpreting her attraction towards girls as strongly platonic as opposed to sexual or romantic. Bella experienced a lack of vital information with regard to her sexual identity.

> I didn't know that being queer was a possibility. I didn't know I could date girls. There's your mum and your dad. No one ever told me there was mum and mum, or dad and dad. They never told me that's not possible. But if you're kept from it, you're never gonna know about it. (Bella)

[85] Literally, 'missing, unseen, lost face.'

Both Bella and Jynx also shared that a similar lack of information happened for them at high school where sex education classes were aimed at cisgender, heterosexual students, and centred around preventing unplanned pregnancy. Though there is no risk of unplanned pregnancy for partners of the same sex, there are other risks, including the risk of transmitting or acquiring the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) and other sexually transmitted infections (STIs). Bella and Jynx noted that the absence of information about safe non-heterosexual sex leaves rangatahi takatāpui poorly equipped to make informed choices about taking precautions to prevent and treat HIV and other STIs. Consequently, sexuality education in schools that excludes information about safe non-heterosexual sex undermines rangatahi takatāpui's autonomy to explore their sexual identities.

Participants have also experienced mata-ngaro (that is, 'to be unseen') in other ways. Sarah chose to explicitly tell her whānau that she was bisexual. She shared that if she had a female partner, she would have simply introduced her partner to her whānau, but she could not see this happening in the foreseeable future. She had a cousin who had "come out as gay" about the same time she started exploring her sexual identity. Her parents were inquisitive with her cousin about his sexual identity, which indicated that they were interested in his sexual identity and consequently invested in his sense of self and well-being. Sarah expected her parents to respond similarly to her disclosure and was disheartened when both were unresponsive and apparently indifferent to her disclosure. She shared that while their indifference was preferable to overt rejection, which some of her LGBT-plus friends had experienced with their own whānau, she had hoped that they would explicitly support her for her sexual identity. This would, in turn, indicate that they were invested in her sense of self and well-being.

> I wanted to tell them because I felt like it was going to be too long a time for them to not know this part of me. I think they could have responded better, like having more questions would have been a better response because I found it really weird that I just said it and there was just like nothing. I guess a lack of them talking about it is kind of like, "are you ok with it? What are you thinking?" (Sarah)

Furthermore, some participants have felt unseen when using their chosen terms to describe their identities. Bella prefers to identify as 'queer' or 'lesbian,' but says that she is gay when talking to others. In her experience, people have mistaken 'queer' to be indicative of her

gender identity, not her sexual identity, and have overreacted when she's identified as 'lesbian.' Because of this, she's found that identifying as 'gay' conveys her sexual identity while minimising her risk of being misunderstood and unseen.

> When I am talking to others, I identify just as gay, because I feel like other people understand that term better than queer. Whenever I say, "Oh, I'm queer," everyone just thinks, "What the hell? What's queer? Oh my gosh, do you dress up in you know those guys' clothes or something?" And then if I say, "Oh, I'm lesbian," I feel like that would have a bigger impact on people. For me, it's the same exact meaning as 'gay.' But if you say you're gay, I think it just softens it a little bit more for them. (Bella)

Ko te Ahunga-ki-te-aunoa[86]

All participants shared that they wanted diverse gender and sexual identities to be accepted within their whānau and wider communities. In environments where identities are accepted, people do not need to "come out" with their gender and sexual identities; they are simply free to "be who they are" (Human Rights Commission, 2008). Sarah commented that this is already the case for people who are cisgender and heterosexual. The process of Te Ahunga-ki-te-aunoa then seeks to build contexts where whānau corroborate that rangatahi takatāpui are free to be who they are. Jynx shared a thought that captured the essence of this:

> I like to think it more of just like who I am – you're not coming out – you've been there all along and just no one's looked.

Jynx's quote highlights that our gender and sexual identities are already part of us. We do not need to announce their arrival, for they have always been here. Instead, when we introduce our same-sex partner to our whānau (as Sarah hoped to) or start hormone replacement therapy (HRT; as Alexandra did), we invite others to look at us and bear witness to our identities.

Some participants noted that being visible in one's diverse identities is brave. Onyx shared that someone was 'out' as a lesbian at her high school and was treated poorly for it. Her thought illuminates – as has been echoed elsewhere – that ofttimes, when someone chooses to live as their authentic self, they do so in the face of rejection. Because of this,

[86] Literally, 'moving towards the normal.'

choosing to be 'seen,' where doing so might invoke such rejection, is a deliberate and radical act. Participating in the process of Te Ahunga-ki-te-aunoa requires courage.

> Oh, people used to always just say the nastiest things. Not to their face, but when they weren't around. Which makes me – like I was – people that come out in high school and primary school and stuff – I always think they're really brave. (Onyx)

Some participants shared that their whānau suspected that they had a diverse identity before participants told them. Alexandra shared that her whānau were likely waiting for her to tell them that she was trans, which suggests that her whānau accepted her diversity before she explicitly told them. Her whānau warned her that she might experience discrimination from others because of her gender identity. Their caution offers a contrast, that within their whānau, diverse gender identities are more accepted than some spaces outside of it.

> I think my whānau were waiting for me to tell them. I think they were just scared of – coz there's a lot of nasty people in the world. They were fine with it – they were like, "Yeah, just, you know, not everyone's like us – there's lots of terrible people. So just be careful." (Alexandra)

Jynx added to this discourse, sharing that he is worried for the safety of his young nephew, who his whānau suspect is gay. After having been bullied for his sexual identity through high school, Jynx is concerned that others (including his nephew) will be subjected to similar discrimination for their diverse identities. This offers a contrast – as discussed above – that Jynx's whānau accept diverse identities more readily than do people in some other spaces. Moreover, Jynx's experience also highlights that whānau can be rightly concerned for the safety of their rangatahi in spaces where diverse identities are not accepted.

Bella shared that she's noticed that kaumātua and mokopuna within her own whānau more often accept diversity than do members of the mātua generation. She finds it easier to talk with her nan about diverse sexual identities than with her parents, aunties, and uncles. Her nan treats such conversation as acceptable. This demonstrates that even within whānau, some whānau members accept diverse identities more readily than other members. Bella shared a story about this in the context of introducing her girlfriend to her whānau:

> My nan will talk to me about sex – she will openly talk about it. Like, she was like, "Oh, you're gonna go home now, my moko? Got any sex toys at

> home? You got some time before your nan gets home!" She'll ask about my sex life with my girlfriend. And she'll be like, "I've got some lip-reader[87] friends, they've got some videos!" [laughs] I'm like, "Oh my god! Can you not!?"

Bella's nan's comfort with discussing Bella's sex life suggests that, for whānau who accept diverse identities, sexual practices can also be accepted.

Sarah complemented this notion, sharing that she believes that promoting discussion about sex and sexual health is imperative for promoting the acceptance of diverse identities. She shared that reflecting on and discussing our sexual experiences (including experiences that are uncomfortable to reflect upon or share) allows space for diverse experiences and identities to be discussed. Moreover, doing so can also give others language to make sense of their own experiences.

> I think people should talk about sex and sex education and sexual health way more. Like we had a workshop on it run by people from Grindr and it was called 'Mapping your sexual desire.' With my group of friends, I'm the one trying to get people to talk about this kind of stuff and so it was weird being in a situation where I was being pushed to share more than what I usually would with myself and others. I think people should talk about that more and I feel like if we talked about that more like, sexual orientation and all that kind of stuff would get into it more. (Sarah)

Ko Tauawhi[88]

Participants have been embraced in support of their gender and sexual identities and have also watched other rangatahi takatāpui be embraced in support of their own identities. Tash (Jynx's first role model for diverse identities) was embraced as part of Jynx's whānau while he was growing up. Jynx described her as "one of us." That his whānau embraced Tash for her gender identity gave Jynx hope that he, too, would be embraced for his sexual identity. He shared that this has indeed been the case. After spending many years striving to conceal his identity from his whānau and others, Jynx has found that sharing his sexual identity with his whānau has brought them, as a whānau, "together more," and has enriched his

[87] This is the term Bella's nan uses to describe 'lesbian.'
[88] Loosely, 'an embracing in support.'

relationships with other whānau members. This reflects other comments that Jynx shared: sharing his sexual identity with others enriches all of his relationships.

> I've probably never been as close with my mum as I have since. I'm more comfortable to just reach out as well. It's like – it's literally like coming out of a closet – you don't have that door in the way. (Jynx)

Bella chose not to explicitly disclose her sexual identity to most of her whānau members. Instead, she chose to share her identity by introducing her girlfriend to her whānau. She was nervous that in doing so, she or her girlfriend would be met with rejection and that she, in turn, would need to choose between either her partner or her whānau. As Tash was embraced as part of Jynx's whānau, Bella's whānau embraced her girlfriend as one of their own. This gave Bella mana to be visible and present in her relationships with her partner and her whānau members.

> It was perfect. It was heaven, coz I got to show someone that I love, but not in a whānau way – that I love, to my whānau, that loves me. And they were open arms, accepting; they were welcoming. They loved her, and that's what I was glad about. (Bella)

Bella also shared that her mother now embraces her sexual identity; she did not always do so. Bella's mother used to point out attractive men to her in conversation, which Bella felt disregarded that Bella is attracted to women and would probably date another woman if her current relationship were to end. Bella thought her mother did this in hope that Bella would build a whānau with a man and have mokopuna for them. While this dream might still be the case for Bella's mother, Bella shared that her mother has accepted Bella's attraction to women and her behaviour no longer implies that Bella should have a male partner.

> Before, she'd be like, "Oh look, there's a cute guy over there." She still jokes about it. But if – for example – there are sometimes that I have – you know, it's hot – so I've dressed in a way that's eye-catching for males – there have been times when my mum's been like, "She's got a girlfriend! Leave her alone!" Or it's, "Not a chance, mate." I still think she does have hope, but she's let go a lot, and she's accepted a lot. (Bella)

Some whānau are earlier in the process of accepting diverse identities than are others, and so have been less forthcoming with embracing their rangatahi takatāpui. For example, Sarah's parents were indifferent to her sharing that she was bisexual. Sarah shared that she attended a large LGBT-plus event aimed at people who identified as lesbian or gay. She was excited about attending the event, and so shared it with her parents:

> I was telling them I was really excited about it, and Mum was like, "so are you a lesbian" and I was like, "no Mum, we've been through this before, I'm bisexual," and they dropped it again.

Sarah's mum's response, asking if Sarah was lesbian, suggests that she thinks that sexuality exists as a binary – that people are either gay or straight – and that her mum was trying to make sense of Sarah's experience of attraction within that binary. When Sarah reiterated that she was bisexual, her parents disengaged from the conversation. If Sarah's parents did not understand 'bisexuality,' asking Sarah about it would have been an act of tauawhi, as it would indicate that they were interested in her sexual identity and so invested in her sense of self. That her parents disengaged from the conversation could have compounded Sarah's experience of being 'unseen' in her sexual identity. When whānau embrace rangatahi takatāpui for their gender and sexual identities by acknowledging them, rangatahi receive mana and in turn autonomy to be visible and comfortable in these identities.

While Sarah's whānau disengaged from conversation about her sexual identity, Onyx shared that when she first "came out," some of her whānau used incorrect identity terms for her identity.

> When I came out, they didn't really have the vocabulary to talk to me about it. Like they didn't really know the right words to use. So that was a process of just being like, "No, I'm not gay, call me this instead." So that was definitely a process of just like trying not to be mean because they were trying, but to also be like, "ugh, I'm so over it, say the correct words, why can't you understand it." I was lucky that the people I did come out to in – both families [whakapapa and kaupapa] were really supportive.

While this cyclic process of correcting her whānau – which suggests that they were relatively early in the process of understanding her identity – was frustrating for Onyx, their willingness to accurately recognise Onyx's sexual identity demonstrated tauawhi for her identity. This

suggests that the spirit with which whānau meet the identities of their rangatahi takatāpui is far more important than the terms used. Whānau can still embrace their rangatahi in support of their gender and sexual identities, even when they do not understand their identities. One way to do this is by working towards using correct terminology.

Ko Mata-pū-take[89]

All participants shared that a sense of belongingness has been necessary for them to become comfortable with their gender and sexual identities. Whānau (both whakapapa and kaupapa) were identified as the most prominent source of belongingness. Bella and Onyx both shared that they describe members of their whānau as people who demonstrate that they are invested in their sense of self and well-being by showing interest in their daily lives and many identities (not only their gender and sexual identities), and by providing support when they seek it. Onyx noted that these whānau members, who she calls her "found family", have become increasingly more important for her as she's grown distant with her whakapapa whānau.

> I have my biological family, but as I've gotten older, I've kinda just, faded away from them. So, I consider my family more my close-knit friends, my best friends, coz they're the people I turn to when I'm upset or feeling lost, or different emotions. They're the people I can rely on. (Onyx)

In addition to this, Sarah shared that her kaupapa whānau, who are her friends from her university cohort, give her a sense of belongingness. Like Onyx, Sarah talks to these whānau members when processing events of the day, or thoughts that are important to her. Within this whānau, she has a friend who is gay who provides support specific to her sexual identity. She is also able to seek support from other members who have had other relevant experiences to her. As with Bella and Onyx, these whānau members are interested in Sarah's daily life and her identities, which suggests that they are invested in her sense of self and well-being. Bella, Onyx, and Sarah's thoughts and comments suggest that whānau validate their sense of self such that they gain mana to realise their sexual identities.

Some participants shared that the LGBT-plus community is also a source of a sense of belongingness for them. Bella and Onyx shared that they have an affinity with other people

[89] Loosely, 'belongingness'; mata (face) is empowered in the sense of having a base (pū), a reason (take) for being (T. Roa, personal communication, April 6, 2020).

who are LGBT-plus, because they've had similar experiences with exploring their diverse identities while navigating their relationships with whānau and others. This affinity allows them to exchange meaningful personal information with them, which counteracts feeling unseen and misunderstood, and offers an embrace in support for both parties.

> It's easy to talk to them. I don't have to explain myself. There's not just one queer community in this country – it's everywhere. I felt like I'd be alone. But no, there's a lot of people out there that are the same as me, going through the same thing, which is why I find joy in being queer. Because, you start telling a story to like one person, and they'll be like, "Oh my gosh, same!" (Bella)

Additionally, Sarah has found a sense of belongingness in online LGBT-plus communities, where she has read others' stories that resonate with her own experiences with her sexual identity. Such communities – some of which are anonymous – have provided Sarah with language to make sense of her experiences in addition to providing her with a sense of belongingness. While anonymous communities are, by nature, less personal than other forms of LGBT-plus community, the support and sense of belongingness they offer Sarah have been as helpful to Sarah as those offered by her whānau. Particularly in the early stages of her identity discovery, they would have been instrumental in her gaining mana to share this part of herself with her whānau. Furthermore, others within these communities can empower her as she goes through experiences that people in her kaupapa whānau have not had, like Sarah's being 'unseen' by her parents.

Contrasting these experiences, Jynx has not yet found a sense of belongingness in Māori or Pākehā LGBT-plus communities. He attributes this to being in the early stages of his identity discovery and having only recently gained confidence to start sharing his identity with others. He has used virtual, anonymous LGBT-plus communities to further his confidence with sharing his sexual identities with others. Like Sarah, these communities were likely instrumental in his gaining mana to share his sexual identity with his whānau. Anonymous communities, in particular, were likely helpful for Jynx, who has experienced distress for his sexual identity as having anonymity allowed him to explore his identity with others without having others reject him. This, in turn, likely decreased his experience of distress and gave him mana to continue to become comfortable with his identity. It is possible

that Jynx may experience a sense of belongingness in the LGBT-plus community when his sexual identity fits more comfortably in his sense of self.

> Coz I came out so late and more recent, I still feel disconnected from even the LGBT community. When I first started acting gay, or acting as me, it was through online – coz you've got the anonymous kind of – yeah. So, I met a group of people on there, and I ended up telling them I was gay. (Jynx)

Ko Kiritau[90]

All participants have experienced an integration process, where their gender or sexual identities have become part of their sense of self, to become settled within their skin. Sarah has thought of using 'takatāpui' as an identity term. 'Takatāpui,' as Sarah understands it, acknowledges that she is both Māori and bisexual, with precedence given to her Māori identity. Sarah shared that, because she feels like she doesn't know enough about te ao Māori, she has felt "not Māori enough" to identify as takatāpui. This has been conflicting for Sarah. Sarah believes that Māori people are all "Māori enough," but has been unable to extend this to herself.

> When I found out the word 'takatāpui' and what it was, I was like, "Oh, that must be me because I'm Māori and bisexual, so I must be takatāpui." And I was using it for probably a couple of months and then I – when I was writing a paper and had to define takatāpui, I saw something like, it's an expression that Māori is first and bisexual is second. Which I think is a lovely idea, but I don't really feel like I know enough about te ao Māori or Māoridom or Māori to be put first, like, with me? Which I find very conflicting because there is no such thing as not Māori enough and logically, I know that, but I don't think I really believe that for myself. (Sarah)

One could argue that we are also born with our sexual identities, and so these are not acquirable (Kerekere, 2017). Gaining information related to sexual identities has been a critical component of Sarah's gaining mana to discover her sexual identity. In discovering her sexual identity, Sarah has not *acquired* 'bisexuality.' She has instead become increasingly more aware of her experience and how being bisexual fits into her sense of self. Sarah noted

[90] Literally, 'settled skin.'

that sexuality is fluid; as she continues to discover her sexual identity, Sarah may find that other identity terms are a better fit for her experience and identity than is 'bisexual.'

Alexandra was the only trans participant in this study. Consequently, her experience with becoming settled in her gender identity offers a unique perspective on becoming settled in her skin. At the time of her interview, Alexandra had been on HRT (to help her physically transition to her preferred gender) for about four months. Alexandra shared that while she was pleased for the physical changes that were happening in her body, she was impatient that the changes were not immediate. By having started both HRT and attending an all-girls' school, Alexandra had started living as her preferred gender identity. Conversely, because she was early in the process of both major changes, she was not as free in her identity as is likely her goal. This place of limbo, where change is occurring but at a slower pace than is desired, was frustrating. Moreover, Alexandra shared that she didn't fully understand her experience at the time; that these major changes were happening concurrently were likely disorientating for her.

> It's an everyday struggle. School's probably the hardest, mostly because – I just wish that I could present more female. And I wish it was easier – I know that the HRT takes time to kick in, but I wish I was there right now. I don't even fully understand what I'm going through. I can't wait to be like – I can't want to just be able to walk past people on the street and them be like, "Hmm, look how pretty she is." (Alexandra)

Onyx prefers not to identify with sexual identity terms. Accordingly, her becoming comfortable with her sexual identity differs slightly from other participants who identify with terms. Onyx shared that, early in her discovery of her sexual identity, she found that sexual identity terms were restrictive. When coming to terms with her sexual identity, she felt pressured to adopt an identity term in order to be part of the LGBT-plus community. During this time, Onyx had a friend whose example of being settled in her own sexual identity (for which she did not use an identity term) empowered her to embrace her own identity without using an identity term. In being settled in her sexual identity, Onyx became comfortable within the LGBT-plus community.

> Sexuality has been a rough process for me to figure out. The way I kinda resolved it is that an old friend and I were driving and then – she doesn't identify her sexuality and the way she described it, and how comfortable she

felt about it, I was like, “Oh, I want that, that makes so much sense, why should we define ourselves if it’s making us really unhappy.” Definitely the biggest part was tryna find like what sort of mould that I fit into. Yeah. That was really hard. And it’s nice to embrace who I am and that it was ok to be part of the community and not fully identify with something. That was a nice realisation. (Onyx)

Chapter 6

He Matapakinga[91]

The primary research objective for this study is to describe a process through which rangatahi takatāpui explore their gender and sexual identities, highlighting how whānau can provide mana to empower such that rangatahi takatāpui can exercise mana rangatiratanga regarding their identities. The findings of this study comprised eight themes; each theme has played a role in participants' attaining comfort with regard to their gender and sexual identities. As stated earlier, these themes are *Ko Tūhura,* which described the process of discovery which participants have experienced; *Ko Matatapu*, which described participants' experience of authenticity and concealment of their identities; *Ko Tautoko*, which described how whānau have empowered participants to explore their identities, and how participants have been denied empowerment; *Ko Mata-ngaro,* which described participants' early lack of exposure to diverse identities, and their having their identities unseen by others; *Ko te Ahunga-ki-te-aunoa,* which described how diverse identities have been accepted within participants' whānau; *Ko Tauawhi*, which described how participants and their kaupapa whānau have been embraced for their diverse identities; *Ko Mata-pū-take*, which describes participants' experience of finding somewhere to belong; and *Ko Kiritau,* which describes participants' becoming settled in their expression of their gender and sexual identities.

This chapter discusses some of the findings with regard to the literature outlined in *Chapter 3*. Specifically, the chapter describes specific roles that kaupapa and whakapapa whānau can play in participants' identity exploration, some of the effects that colonisation has had within participants' whānau, how participants have actively resisted colonisation, and how participants have practiced being visible with their gender and sexual identities.

Whānau: Our Primary Source of Mana

Whānau includes people to whom we are affiliated through whakapapa, and those to whom we are affiliated through common kaupapa (Pihama, 2001). No matter our affiliation, for many Māori our whānau are our primary support base and therefore, are our primary source of mana. We each have reciprocal roles and obligations for all members of our whānau, many of which centre around providing support and empowerment for whānau members (Pihama, 2001). Specific to the current study, tikanga Māori obligates us to empower members of our

[91] A discussion.

whānau such that they have sufficient mana to explore and realise their gender and sexual identities, and so attain and sustain well-being. In this section, the methods through which whānau have supported and empowered participants to explore their gender and sexual identities are discussed.

Some of the participants in this study emphasised the importance of their connection with their respective kaupapa whānau. Participants shared that their kaupapa whānau were comprised of people (mainly friends) who were present in their daily lives and who validated their sense of self. Some American studies suggest that support from family (that is, whakapapa whānau) is more important to LGBT-plus youth than is support from friends (Fiddian-Green et al., 2017; Roe, 2017); however, this does not seem to apply to Māori participants of this small New Zealand study. Within a Māori worldview, people to whom we are connected through common kaupapa are a valid form of whānau (Pihama, 2001). This validity is confirmed by our obligations we have to support these members (Pihama, 2001). Consequently, in the context of gender and sexual identities, support from friends (people who comprise one's kaupapa whānau) has been as necessary and meaningful for participants of this study as was support from their whakapapa whānau.

The difference in findings between the above American studies (Fiddian-Green et al., 2017; Roe, 2017) and the current study is likely due to differences in the theoretical frameworks used. In the current study, friends are assumed to be members of one's whānau as they comprise one's kaupapa whānau (Pihama, 2001). Participants in this study explicitly shared that they consider friends as members of their whānau. Conversely, the methodologies of the studies conducted by Fiddian-Green et al. (2017) and Roe (2017) assumed that one's family was comprised of one's kin. When talking about support from his friends, a participant in Roe's (2017) study said "they're [friends] not like, they won't always be there; so where like family, family will always be there, so I think, like a stronger foundation of family support would've been like amazing" (p. 58). Because kaupapa whānau are a valid form of whānau within Māori culture (Pihama, 2001), participants in the current study may have grown up in environments where they have been encouraged to build a strong support base with kaupapa whānau.

Like other studies (Fiddian-Green et al., 2017; Roe, 2017), participants in this study wanted explicit support from their whānau for their gender and sexual identities. In fact, Roe (2017) found that explicit support from family is a vital component for LGBT-plus youth to have positive health outcomes both during their adolescence and over their lifetime. Roe

(2017) conducted a qualitative study on seven LGBTQ[92] youths' experience of parental and family support. Roe (2017) found that participants did not want to have to "figure out" if their family were supportive of their gender and sexual identities; they would prefer their family to explicitly say so. Where participants in Roe's (2017) study received explicit verbal support from their families, they felt valued within their familial relationships. Moreover, explicit support was also effective in helping participants to navigate hurtful discrimination from people outside their family. Where participants in Roe's (2017) study did not receive explicit support from their families, they would persevere in seeking support from them.

When Sarah, a participant in this study, disclosed to her parents that she was bisexual, her parents were unresponsive and indifferent to her disclosure. Like participants in studies conducted by Roe (2017) and Fiddian-Green et al. (2017), Sarah's parents' indifference (that is, their lack of explicit support) left Sarah feeling discouraged about having disclosed her sexual identity. Moreover, their lack of response suggested that they did not value Sarah's sexual identity and by extension, her sense of self. While her parents' response was not overt rejection (as would have been the case had they verbally or physically abused her), it was a withholding of support. When whānau do not support their rangatahi for their gender and sexual identities, they potentially deny their rangatahi mana. Since her disclosure, Sarah has again shared her sexual identity with her parents, a further attempt to seek explicit support (that is, to gain mana) from her parents. Sarah's persistence in seeking support from her parents reflects findings from Roe's (2017) study.

Some participants' kaupapa whānau have been able to provide support and empowerment for them when their whakapapa whānau have not. For example, Sarah shared that members of her kaupapa whānau have been able to provide support specific to her sexual identity because some have had similar experiences concerning their own sexual identities. Sarah said that the kaupapa whānau members who had similar experiences were able to share with her what they had found to be helpful in terms of their gaining mana, as well as what had been unhelpful or even harmful. As a consequence of their experience, these whānau members had discovered what specific tikanga was required restore mana for sexual identities, and so could provide Sarah with tailored support (Kerekere, 2017; McBreen, 2012b). Research suggests that when LGBT-plus youth receive family support specific to their gender and sexual identities, their families help to increase self-esteem, academic

[92] Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and questioning; this was the acronym used in Roe's (2017) study.

achievement, and general health, and decrease mental distress, suicidality, and harmful substance use (Fenaughty et al., 2019; Parker et al., 2018; Stettler & Katz, 2017). Following this, when Sarah receives support specific to her sexual identity, her kaupapa whānau increase her mana and empower her to attain comfort with her sexual identity and well-being which generalises to other areas of her life.

While most participants emphasised the importance of connection with their respective kaupapa whānau, the importance of whakapapa whānau was reflected in Bella's interview. In pre-colonial Māori society, a whānau unit included kaumātua (who were teachers and mentors), mātua (who were providers), and tamariki or mokopuna (who were students; Edwards et al., 2007). As a teacher and mentor, Bella's nan teaches other whānau members how each can best contribute to the mana of the whānau. Bella's nan models accepting sex and sexuality by candidly discussing sex, even when doing so is uncomfortable for some whānau members (as it was for Bella).

Moreover, Bella's nan suggested that Bella could talk to one of her nan's "lip-reader friends" to learn about having sex with her girlfriend. This comment was likely said in jest, as humour is an important teaching tool for Māori (Le Grice et al., 2017), and accompanies many references to sex (Kerekere, 2017). Notwithstanding, the comment reflects the notion that whānau members who are not part of our daily lives also contribute to the mana of the whānau. Bella's nan might not have experienced having sex with a woman and so cannot support Bella with information about, for example, the mechanics of sexual behaviour and practicing safe sex. She can, however, direct Bella to other whānau members who can provide this specific support. Consequently, Bella's nan's role as kaumātua (teacher and mentor) also includes directing younger whānau members to seek support from other whānau members. This suggests that kaumātua can be key facilitators in our building relationships with other whānau members. Edwards et al. (2007) support this: participants in their study reported that, as kaumātua in their whānau died, their relationships with wider family (that is, aunties, uncles, and cousins with whom participants did not live) decreased, which indicates that kaumātua played pivotal roles in relationship-building with wider family.

Kerekere (2017) asserts that acceptance of rangatahi takatāpui is not limited to accepting the individual rangatahi but includes accepting partners and kaupapa whānau of rangatahi takatāpui. This assertion was reflected in the current study. When Bella introduced her girlfriend to her whānau, Bella's whānau embraced her girlfriend as one of their own. In

doing so, they validated Bella's sexual identity and gave her (and her girlfriend) mana so that Bella could continue to explore her identity, and courage to be visible with it.

The current study extends upon Kerekere's (2017) assertion. Tash (Jynx's first role model for diverse identities and a friend of his older sister) was accepted as part of Jynx's whānau. During this time, there were no 'out' rangatahi takatāpui in his whānau; his siblings were cisgender and heterosexual, and Jynx was "in the closet." The embrace with which Tash was met demonstrated to Jynx that his whānau would embrace him for his own sexual identity when he was ready to share it with them. Following this, *all* whānau have a responsibility to embrace *all* rangatahi takatāpui for their diverse gender and sexual identities. This is an obligation derived from the inherent right to autonomy which requires that whānau support and enable their rangatahi to pursue their own identities, whatever these may be (McBreen, 2012b). In embracing all rangatahi takatāpui with support, whānau Māori demonstrate for the next generation that we will do the same for them should they disclose diverse gender and sexual identities sometime in the future.

The Personal is Always Political: Colonialism Today

Heteronormativity in our whānau.

Previous chapters have outlined how colonial heteronormative views have impacted mātauranga Māori related to whānau, and gender and sexual identities. In subjugating these knowledges, colonialism robbed Māori of the means of providing mana for rangatahi takatāpui within their whānau. Participants' experience regarding the effect that colonisation has had on their gender and sexual identities and disclosure within their whānau is discussed in this section.

Bella, a participant in this study, shared that her mother used to imply that she should have a male partner. Bella thought that this was in the hope that Bella would build a whānau with a man and have mokopuna for them. Colonial views of 'family' posit that a family unit consists of a couple and their dependent (generally biological) children (Pihama, 2001). The colonising process required whānau to adopt colonial 'family' units, which included outlawing the customary practice of whāngai[93] (Native Land Act 1909). According to Māori customary practice, couples (or individuals, or bigger whānau) whāngai a child who is generally born to one of their whānau members; the child is raised as the couple's own child,

[93] Loosely, 'fostered, adoptive'; to feed, nourish, nurture.

and also simultaneously learns and honours their birth identity (which is embedded in their whakapapa; McRae & Nikora, 2006). By outlawing the practice of whāngai (except by application to the Native Land Court; Native Land Act 1909, Part IX, s 163), colonialists subjugated the practice such that whāngai was no longer seen as a cultural norm (McRae & Nikora, 2006). As a consequence, Bella's mother has likely not been exposed to takatāpui people practicing whāngai or engaging in the more recent practice of assisted reproduction (Glover, McKree, & Dyall, 2009). For these reasons Bella's mother may have thought that it was necessary for Bella to build a whānau with a man. Within whāngai, it would be considered acceptable for Bella to whāngai a child with her same-sex partner (instead of having biological children with a male partner), in which case her whānau would have mokopuna just the same as if she were with a man.

Like colonial views of 'family,' legislation and policy were also pivotal components of promoting colonial views of gender and sexuality to Māori communities. Colonial heteronormative views assume that gender is limited to a binary of *man* or *woman* and that sexual attraction is limited to heterosexuality—though it *might* (perversely) occur homosexually (Brickell, 2005; Kerekere, 2017; Te Awekōtuku, 1991b, 2005). Following the establishment of the Native Schools Act (1867), Māori communities donated their land to the formation of schools so that their children could attend European schools (known as 'native schools') to learn the English language (though Māori landowners were legally required to donate land for schools from 1867 to 1871; Calman, 2012). In 1880, teaching conditions were standardised such that Māori children attended native schools for a fixed number of hours each day and were assimilated to assume colonial gender roles (Native Schools Code 1880). Māori boys were streamlined to learn manual skills and Māori girls were streamlined to learn domestic skills (Calman, 2012; Native Schools Code 1880). Furthermore, in 1894, attendance at native schools was made compulsory for Māori children—whānau were then legally required to send their children to institutions designed to indoctrinate them in colonial views (Calman, 2012).

The use of language within schools was instrumental for indoctrinating Māori children in colonial views of gender and sexuality. In 1905, native schools were required to use the English language as the medium of instruction (Green, 2018). This requirement was effective in suppressing te reo Māori. "In 1900 over 90 percent [*sic*] of new entrants at primary school spoke Māori as their first language. By 1960 white dominance and the policy of suppression had taken their toll; only 26 percent [*sic*] of young children spoke Māori" (R.

Walker, 2004, p. 147). Language, culture, and knowledges are inextricably linked (Pihama, 2001). By subjugating te reo Māori through schooling, colonialists prevented Māori children from accessing Māori knowledges and culture (Green, 2018; Waitangi Tribunal, 2011). As a consequence, generations of Māori people have been alienated from Māori understandings of fluid, non-binary gender and sexual identities, and have assimilated the hegemonic, heteronormative views.

The alienation from Māori knowledges related to gender and sexual identities appears to have directly impacted how whānau have responded to participants' diverse identities in the current study. When Sarah (who identifies as bisexual) told her parents that she was attending an event aimed at people who identified as lesbian or gay, her mum responded by asking if she was lesbian. Sarah's mum's response suggests that she might think that sexuality exists as a binary—that people are either gay or straight. Without explicit information that contradicts these views (such as Māori knowledges related to the fluid and non-binary nature of gender and sexual identities), whānau are likely to accept and internalise them and possibly disregard any information to the contrary (as Sarah's parents did by dropping the conversation when Sarah clarified that she was bisexual).

Resisting colonisation.

Kerekere (2017) and Taitimu (2007) both describe *silence* as an effective tool to maintain mana in the face of colonial oppression—participants in the current study have experienced these forms of silence. Kerekere (2017) noted that, after colonialists arrived in Aotearoa, whānau kept silent about their takatāpui members' identities. Kerekere (2017) posits that this silence may have been deliberate. According to Kerekere (2017), homophobia and transphobia were rampant in Aotearoa and so whānau may have adopted a 'cone of silence'[94] to protect takatāpui members from the hurt that comes from discrimination.

Furthermore, Taitimu (2007) asserts that remaining silent about one's own experiences is not passive conformity, but rather, active resistance. In her (2007) Doctoral study, 57 participants – including tāngata whaiora[95], tohunga, kaumātua, and Pākehā and Māori clinicians – were interviewed to "investigate Māori ways of understanding experiences commonly labelled 'schizophrenic'" (p. i). Taitimu (2007) found that, within psychiatric

[94] This is a fictional device from the 1960s television show *Get Smart* (Sandrich, 1965), which was used with the intention to keep information shared within the cone private.
[95] Service users.

settings, tāngata whaiora would not share their personal, cultural, or spiritual beliefs about their experiences, but would rather "start talking [the shrink's] talk" (p. 193) in order "to get out of there" (p. 193). An example of this is seen in 'auditory hallucinations': from a Western psychiatric perspective, hearing voices (or auditory hallucinations) are often interpreted as a symptom of psychopathology (Taitimu, 2007). Conversely, from a Māori perspective, hearing voices is oftentimes a spiritual gift which connects us to our tūpuna (Taitimu, 2007). In this scenario, by keeping silent about hearing voices in psychiatric settings, participants were able to maintain their sense of self and avoid exposing themselves to Pākehā treatments which did not fit their beliefs or experiences, and so would be unhelpful for them (Taitimu, 2007).

Both Alexandra and Jynx practiced silence with their respective gender and sexual identities in order to protect themselves. In keeping silent about her trans identity and engaging in 'male' behaviours (for example, by using the boys' bathroom), Alexandra was protected from discrimination as the result of transphobia. Likewise, in monitoring himself to prevent feminine behaviours and suppressing his attraction to men, Jynx was equally protected from discrimination as the result of homophobia. Homophobia and transphobia can act to silence rangatahi takatāpui by preventing them from being able to discuss their experiences of their gender and sexual identities (Aspin & Hutchings, 2007; Beyer, 2007).

Similar to tāngata whaiora in Taitimu's (2007) Doctoral study, who chose to keep their experiences to themselves, Bella and Onyx use identity terms other than their preferred terms when describing their sexual identities because they find these terms are more well-received. Bella tends to call herself 'gay' when talking to others but prefers 'queer' or 'lesbian.' Similarly, Onyx tends to call herself 'queer,' but prefers not to have an identity term.

Formal organising of homosexuals (predominantly men) began in New Zealand in the 1960s (Laurie, 2005). Early groups primarily sought law reform to legalise consensual sex between men and acceptance of gay men (Crimes Act 1961; Homosexual Law Reform Act 1986; Laurie, 2003). This early emphasis on liberation for gay men likely accounts for the adoption of the title, 'gay liberation movement,' and the popularisation (both locally and abroad) of 'gay' to describe homosexual identity.

Prior to reclamation of the term from the 1970s, 'lesbian' carried negative connotations. Homosexual women – lesbians – were considered *deviants* at best, and *criminals* at worst (Laurie, 2003, 2005). These views likely persisted outside of lesbian

circles long after lesbians had reclaimed the term. In fact, for some people, 'lesbian' may still, today, carry negative connotations. This is likely the case for whānau who have not received information to the contrary (for example, by having whānau members who identify as lesbian). Bella shared that she feels like saying she was lesbian "would have a bigger impact on people" compared to saying she was gay. Given the political histories of the terms 'gay' and 'lesbian,' where 'gay' has been further detached from its negative connotations in popular culture than has 'lesbian,' it is likely that she is correct—'lesbian' does have a bigger impact on people and may elicit discrimination from them. Thus, Bella's adoption of silence – by "talking the talk" (Taitimu, 2007) and calling herself 'gay' – is an act of resistance to reject negative views of 'lesbian,' protect herself from discrimination, and maintain her sense of self.

The Ascent[96]: Becoming Ourselves

Kerekere (2017) asserts that "Māori inherit their gender and sexuality from our tūpuna – it is part of our wairua" (p. 34). Therefore, rangatahi takatāpui cannot acquire being gay, queer, bisexual, or trans; these identities are already part of us. In exploring our gender and sexual identities, we *discover* aspects of our identities some of which may be embedded in our whakapapa. Colonisation has subjugated Māori knowledges related to gender and sexual identities and has, in turn, denied whānau Māori of mana to empower rangatahi takatāpui exploration of our identities. Consequently, rangatahi takatāpui and whānau must make deliberate effort to seek these knowledges and provide mana for gender- and sexual-identity exploration such that rangatahi can unify our sense of self. Participants' process of giving voice to their gender and sexual identities is described in this section.

Matatapu describes both concealing and revealing gender and sexual identities for well-being While silence (that is, privacy) about gender and sexual identities can be a helpful tool to protect us within potentially-hostile environments (Kerekere, 2017; Taitimu, 2007), giving voice to our identities may be necessary for our attaining well-being (Roe, 2017). Jynx shared that "being in the closet" for so long was harmful for him: his relationships with members of his whānau were strained, and he became depressed. Similarly, Alexandra (who, at the time of her interview, was physically and socially transitioning to her preferred gender) reflected that the transition process was "an everyday struggle." During the transition process,

[96] This title is inspired by Tāwhaki's ascending the heavens to fetch the baskets of knowledge (T. Roa, personal communication, December 3, 2019).

Alexandra is in a liminal space (which is distressing) between the safety that she was afforded with silence and the level of freedom she will likely have when she has fully transitioned.

Conversely, both Alexandra and Jynx shared that giving voice to their respective gender and sexual identities has been imperative to their attaining comfort with their identities. When asked what about being trans brings her joy, Alexandra replied, "Not having to pretend to be happy." Alexandra's response suggests that she did not have the level of comfort which she now has, when she was silent about her gender identity. Moreover, Jynx shared that giving voice to his sexual identity has greatly improved his relationships with his whānau and has also allowed him to develop relationships with new people, who are potential kaupapa whānau. Participants in Roe's (2017) study corroborate their experience: Roe (2017) found that 'coming out' (that is, giving voice) was necessary for participants' mental well-being. One participant shared that it was "like really, really, really, really messing me up just … putting effort into hiding it," and that even in the face of negative reactions to coming out, "it felt much better just to be myself" (Roe, 2017, p. 57).

In being visible with (that is, giving voice to) our gender and sexual identities, rangatahi takatāpui contests colonial heteronormativity and the subjugation of mātauranga Māori, and reject notions that non-heterosexual and non-cisgender identities are pathological or wrong. Many early groups in the gay liberation movement aimed to "raise visibility" (Wright et al., 2005, p. 87) of gay men and lesbians. In raising visibility, these groups first sought law reform and acceptance, and later sought societal transformation (Laurie, 2005; Wright et al., 2005).

Ofttimes, when someone chooses to give voice to their gender and sexual identities, they do so in the face of rejection (Aspin & Hutchings, 2007; Kerekere, 2017; Lucassen et al., 2013; Veale et al., 2019). Ngāhuia Te Awekōtuku (1991b), a pioneer of the gay liberation movement in Aotearoa, stated that, after being denied a visa to visit the USA in 1972, she went to a weekly University of Auckland event "… and I picked up the mike and I said, 'Who out there is crazy enough to come and do this with me?" (p. 39). And people responded. Thus, the Gay Liberation Front began to form. In the early years, some members used pseudonyms to protect their involvement in the group as group membership risked exposure that they were "committing criminal acts" by being gay (Te Awekōtuku, 1991b, p. 39). Participating in societal transformation had very real repercussions in these people's personal and professional lives. Other pioneers of the movement have described how these

risks felt: Robin Duff, who was part of early gay liberation in Christchurch, shared on a conference panel that being part of the early movement "was really scary" (Wright et al., 2005, p. 84). Similarly, another pioneer, Judith Emms, shared on the same panel that "the fear was indescribable" when she attended her first Gay Pride march in Wellington (Wright et al., 2005, p. 87). However, their acts of bravery – their being "crazy enough" (Te Awekōtuku, 1991b, p. 39) – were necessary in order to facilitate societal transformation to accept diverse identities.

Onyx reflected that being visible with one's identity is "really brave." Someone was 'out' at Onyx's high school as a lesbian and was treated poorly for it. Onyx's schoolmate was continually rejected and denied mana by her peers in response to her being visible with her sexual identity. Like early gay liberation activists, however, Onyx's schoolmate's bravery was necessary. In giving voice to her sexual identity, Onyx's schoolmate overtly challenged colonial views of heteronormativity and so provided other students (and staff) with information that contradicted these views. While her example alone may not have been enough to transform others' internalised heteronormative beliefs, it was pivotal in transforming internalised beliefs for at least some of her peers (as exemplified by Onyx's interview).

Jynx noted that other gay men's expression of their sexuality gives him and others courage to be visible with their own identities. Furthermore, Jynx also described Tash as "a role model … for just being who she is." This comment suggests that we gain mana to be "really brave" through others—most likely from our whakapapa and kaupapa whānau, but also members of our wider communities. It is possible that other members of the gay liberation movement gave Duff, Emms, Te Awekōtuku, and other early members the strength needed to confront their fear and give voice to their identities in public, potentially-hostile environments (Te Awekōtuku, 1991b; Wright et al., 2005). A participant in Kerekere's (2017) study shared that they receive the mana to give voice to their identities from their whānau. Receiving mana and in turn courage from whānau and wider communities serves two purposes: first, it allows us to give voice to our identities not only in public environments, but also with ourselves (as we explore what our identities mean for us) and in our personal relationships (as we share our identities with our whānau). Second, in this study, the mana received from whānau appears to be a protective factor against discrimination on the basis of gender and sexual identities (Kerekere, 2017).

Onyx uses metaphorical silence when describing her sexual identity so as to protect herself from discrimination (as the result of others' misunderstanding) and maintain her sense of self (Taitimu, 2007). When talking to others, she says that she is 'queer,' because "queer cannot be defined under one thing and is a spectrum in itself" (Onyx). By saying she is 'queer,' Onyx can succinctly convey that she does not identify as heterosexual, homosexual, or even bisexual (though she has identified as 'bisexual' before). However, Onyx finds sexual identity terms (such as 'bisexual' or 'queer') restrictive and has found more freedom in not using an identity term.

Onyx's friend, who is a member of her kaupapa whānau and who does not use a sexual identity term, gave her the empowerment she needed to become settled with not using an identity term. Her friend's example of self-determination regarding an identity term (or rather, a lack thereof) demonstrated to Onyx that she, too, could claim self-determination and describe her sexual identity as she pleased. In demonstrating this, Onyx's friend adopted the role of tuakana.

Tuākana are responsible for the counsel and protection of their tēina (Edwards et al., 2007). Through counsel, tuākana guide their tēina through the mechanics of increasing their own mana (and mutually increasing the mana of others). In gaining mana, the teina can become comfortable in their identities, and (both individual and collective) well-being is attained. Through protection, tuākana help to ensure that their tēina have the resources and information available to them to increase their mana. By sharing her own experience related to sexual identity and describing the process through which she went to adopt no sexual identity term, Onyx's friend gave Onyx (her teina) information and guidance (that is, mana) that allowed Onyx to assert her right to self-determination of her own sexual identity.

In the introductory chapter of her Doctoral thesis, Kerekere (2017) shared that she has an expectation that "all older Rainbow [that is, LGBT-plus] members are responsible for nurturing our young people in their diverse glory" (p. 31). This responsibility can be described as an obligation to adopt the role of tuakana for young people. Because some older Rainbow people do not feel responsibility for or connection to rangatahi (and so are not available to adopt the role of tuakana for them), young people (that is, rangatahi takatāpui and other LGBT-plus youth) must then be available to other young people to provide this type of support. Those who are further along in their exploration (as was Onyx's friend) can adopt the role of tuakana to young people who are earlier in their exploration (as was Onyx). Young people comprise many friendship circles or potential kaupapa whānau of rangatahi takatāpui,

and so are widely available to empower them to gain mana and assert autonomy regarding their gender and sexual identities.

In developing tuakana/teina relationships with other young people, rangatahi takatāpui can receive guidance and protection that they might otherwise not, in the absence of relationships with older takatāpui people. Because of this, rangatahi takatāpui (that is, Māori LGBT-plus youth) and other LGBT-plus youth are a necessary source of mana for rangatahi takatāpui. Māori people are required by tikanga to meet our obligations of care and protection to members of our whakapapa and kaupapa whānau, in accordance with our relationships with them (Mahuika, 2008; Pihama, 2001; Tiakiwai, 2015). Because of this, as members of kaupapa whānau, rangatahi takatāpui (especially those who are further along in their exploration) are required by tikanga to guide and protect other rangatahi (as would a tuakana) as they explore their own gender and sexual identities.

He Whakarāpopoto

In summary, specific roles that kaupapa and whakapapa whānau play in participants' exploration, some of the effects that colonisation has had within participants' whānau regarding their gender and sexual identities, how participants have actively resisted these aspects of colonisation, and how participants have given voice to their gender and sexual identities were discussed in this chapter.

In assuming traditional whānau-unit roles (which can also be reflected in kaupapa whānau), whakapapa whānau can guide rangatahi takatāpui to gain mana for their gender and sexual identities. Kaumātua can play a pivotal role in facilitating relationship-building between rangatahi takatāpui and other whānau members. For example, Bella's nan – who might not have experienced sex with a woman, and so cannot provide relevant support – can guide Bella to seek support from other whānau members who can provide her with information (that is, mana) about, for example, the mechanics of sexual behaviour and practicing safe sex.

The importance of whakapapa whānau does not diminish the importance of kaupapa whānau. Kaupapa whānau are an important source of mana for participants of the current study. Contrasting findings from overseas (Roe, 2017), which suggested that support from family (that is, whakapapa whānau) is more important to LGBT-plus youth than from friends, participants of the current study noted that their friends (people who comprise their kaupapa whānau) are able to provide them with support that their whakapapa whānau sometimes

cannot provide for them. Consequently, support from kaupapa whānau has been as necessary and meaningful for participants of the current study as support from their whakapapa whānau.

Within kaupapa whānau, experienced rangatahi takatāpui can adopt the role of tuakana to less-experienced rangatahi and provide these other rangatahi with counsel and protection to gain mana for their gender and sexual identities. In adopting the role of tuakana to Onyx, Onyx's friend was able to counsel Onyx through becoming settled in not using an identity term to describe her sexual identity. As members of kaupapa whānau, experienced rangatahi takatāpui have a responsibility to guide and protect less-experienced rangatahi as they explore their own gender and sexual identities.

Kerekere (2017) asserts that, to demonstrate acceptance, whānau must extend acceptance beyond their own (individual) rangatahi takatāpui to also include their partners and kaupapa whānau. Jynx's whānau embraced Tash (Jynx's first role model for diverse identities) for her gender identity. Because there were no 'out' rangatahi takatāpui in Jynx's whānau at the time, the embrace with which Tash was met demonstrated to Jynx that his whānau would embrace him for his own sexual identity when he was ready to share it with them. Following this, *all* whānau have a responsibility to embrace *all* rangatahi takatāpui. In doing so, whānau demonstrate to their own rangatahi that we will do the same for them should they disclose diverse gender and sexual identities sometime in the future (McBreen, 2012b).

Legislation and policy related to customary adoption (Native Land Act 1909) and schooling (Native Schools Act 1867; Native Schools Code 1880) largely contributed to the enforcement of colonial views about family and heteronormativity within Māori communities. In assimilating colonial views, whānau were alienated from the customary practice of whāngai with takatāpui people and knowledges related to diverse gender and sexual identities. As a consequence, whānau of participants in the current study have at times been unable to support participants for their diverse identities.

Some participants in this study have used silence not as passive conformity to the dominant culture, but active resistance to it (Taitimu, 2007). In keeping silent about their sexual identities by using terms with which they do not identify, Bella and Onyx have been able to protect themselves from possible discrimination and maintain their senses of self. Moreover, in keeping silent about their respective gender and sexual identities by staying "in the closet," Alexandra and Jynx were protected from discrimination when in potentially-hostile environments (Aspin & Hutchings, 2006; Beyer, 2007).

As helpful as silence has been for participants at different stages, giving voice to their gender and sexual identities has been necessary to attain comfort with their identities. Being visible with (that is, giving voice to) their gender and sexual identities have also been acts of resistance from colonisation. When rangatahi takatāpui give voice to our gender and sexual identities, we contest colonial heteronormativity and reject notions that non-heterosexual and non-cisgender identities are pathological or wrong. Rangatahi takatāpui must be visible with our identities to participate in societal transformation. Participants noted that being visible with one's gender and sexual identity is brave; when rangatahi takatāpui are brave with our identities, we give mana to others to be brave with theirs, as well.

Chapter 7

Kōrero Whakamutunga[97]

The current study described a process through which rangatahi takatāpui explore their gender and sexual identities, highlighting how whānau can provide mana such that rangatahi can exercise mana rangatiratanga regarding their identities. This final chapter describes strengths, considerations, and implications of the current study; areas for future research; and the study's overall conclusions.

Key Findings

Participants in this study shared that support and empowerment from both whakapapa whānau and kaupapa whānau were necessary and meaningful in providing mana to explore their gender and sexual identities. Traditional whānau-unit roles (within both whakapapa whānau and kaupapa whānau) are useful in providing rangatahi takatāpui with mana. Specifically, kaumātua may facilitate relationship-building with wider whānau members, and tuākana (that is, rangatahi takatāpui with more experience in exploring their gender and sexual identities) can share their own experience to help guide less-experienced rangatahi.

Some participants shared that within their whānau, members have struggled to accept their diverse gender and sexual identities. Specifically, some whānau members have expected participants to have opposite-sex partners such that they could have biological mokopuna for the whānau, and so disregarded their same-sex attractions. Moreover, some whānau members have assumed that sexuality exists as a binary (that is, people are either gay or straight) and so have disregarded participants' non-binary sexual identity (for example, bisexuality). Whānau members who have these expectations or assumptions illustrate that the domination of colonial heteronormative views on whānau, sexuality, and gender have severely impaired Māori people's access to Māori perspectives of whānau, and gender and sexual identity.

As a consequence of hegemonic, heteronormative views, participants have used silence as a tool of active resistance to the dominant culture. Some participants have "been in the closet" to conceal their identities from others; others have used identity terms with which they do not identify when talking to others. In concealing their identities from others when in potentially-hostile environments, participants have been protected from hurt as the result of discrimination.

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[97] Final words.

As helpful as silence has been for participants at different stages, giving voice to their gender and sexual identities has been necessary to attain well-being. Participants noted that being visible with one's gender and sexual identities is brave; when rangatahi takatāpui are brave with their identities, their give mana to others to be brave with theirs as well.

Strengths of the Study

The theoretical framework of this study was comprised of components of Kaupapa Māori theory (specifically, a Mana Wāhine perspective), which allows researchers to privilege Māori values, frameworks, and epistemologies through the research and writing process (Jackson, 2015; Mahuika, 2008; Murphy, 2011; Pihama, 2001). That the use of Kaupapa Māori theory (and the principles intrinsic to it) allowed for the privileging of Māori worldviews was a major strength of the current study. Furthermore, as a young woman of Maniapoto descent, I conducted this research using Maniapoto worldviews. My whakapapa obligates me to honour my iwi and employ the epistemologies and knowledges of Ngāti Maniapoto when conducting research (T. Roa, personal communication, December 3, 2019). A related strength of this study was that I could work with my Uncle Tom, who is an expert in the oral and written history of Ngāti Maniapoto (Ministry of Justice, 2019). In doing so, I gained knowledge specific to my personal whakapapa to guide the research process (particularly during data analysis) and so honoured my iwi obligations.

This small study is the first specific to young Māori with diverse gender and sexual identities. Moreover, the young people who participated in this study were diverse in terms of their genders, sexualities, ages, and stages of identity exploration. Consequently, a strength of this study is that it provides a range of novel insights into how people in this group explore their gender and sexual identities, and how their whānau are able (or unable) to provide them with mana such that they can exercise mana rangatiratanga regarding their identities.

Limitations

The current study employs worldviews specific to Ngāti Maniapoto and elements specific to a Mana Wāhine perspective of Kaupapa Māori theory (Pihama, 2001). While the information provided in this thesis may be helpful for rangatahi takatāpui and whānau who belong to other iwi and scholars who use other perspectives of Kaupapa Māori theory, it is important to note that the knowledges do not reflect those of other iwi or perspectives of Kaupapa Māori theory. That the knowledges do not reflect those of other iwi (that is, not Ngāti Maniapoto) or

perspectives of Kaupapa Māori theory (which comprises as many perspectives as there are whānau, hapū, and iwi) is a limitation or important consideration of the current thesis.

Another consideration or limitation of this study is that I am unable to share participants' iwi or hapū memberships because I did not record this information when participants shared it with me at our initial meeting. Participants' understandings of gender and sexual identities may be influenced by their tribal affiliations. If I were to conduct this study again, I would certainly record this information and list participants' memberships in a general sense in order to give a sense of the spread of iwi and hapū to which participants belong. By presenting the information in a general sense (as opposed to specifying which participant belonged to which iwi or hapū), there would be information to explore possible differences between iwi knowledges while maintaining participants' confidentiality.

As part of a Kaupapa Māori approach, this thesis locates itself within the political context of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (and the Crown's transgressions of their contractual obligations) and the political oppression and liberation of people with diverse gender and sexual identities within New Zealand. A further consideration of this thesis is that it does not explore the political context of being a young person. Furthermore, it also did not explicitly explore intersectional oppression experienced by Māori with diverse gender and sexual identities (see Kerekere, 2017).

While I described gender identity as independent of sexual identity through this thesis, another consideration of the current study is the conflation of experiences of young Māori with diverse *gender* identities and those with diverse *sexual* identities. This conflation does not account for the intricate differences between young Māori with diverse gender identities and those with diverse sexual identities, nor does it account for the differences in experience of racism between these two groups.

It is important to reiterate that I am cisgender; my lived understanding of diverse gender identities is limited compared to the lived understandings of rangatahi takatāpui who are trans. Further, as I do not belong to this group of people, any research that I conduct cannot embody the worldviews of people with diverse gender identities. Thus, a fifth consideration of the current study is that the information presented – especially about gender identity – do not adequately represent the experiences of young Māori with diverse gender identities.

The current study was specific to Māori LGBT-plus youth. Adjacent population groups (specifically, older Māori with diverse gender and sexual identities, and other LGBT-

plus youth) may have some similar experiences and needs to the current population group, but each group also has experiences and needs unique to their own population group. Furthermore, the number of participants in the current study was small and so a small range of perspectives were described in this thesis. Because of this, while the information provided in this thesis may be helpful for rangatahi takatāpui and whānau, a sixth consideration of the current study is that the findings do not represent the experience of all (particularly older) Māori with diverse gender and sexual identities (see Kerekere, 2017), or other LGBT-plus youth (within a New Zealand context, see Clark et al., 2014, and Lucassen et al., 2014).

Areas for Future Research

Some potential areas of future research relate to the limitations of the methodology of the current study. To account for the considerations of the use of Ngāti Maniapoto and Mana Wāhine perspectives, future research on Māori LGBT-plus youths' experience of identity exploration should be conducted by Kaupapa Māori scholars from other iwi using their own tribal epistemologies and philosophies. This will work to ensure that the growing knowledge base available to rangatahi takatāpui and whānau contains information derived from worldviews that may be personally meaningful to them.

To account for the consideration of my being cisgender, future research on Māori LGBT-plus youth should be conducted by Māori with diverse gender identities (for a New Zealand-based study on trans and non-binary health [conducted by trans and non-binary researchers], see Veale et al., 2019). Trans and non-binary Māori researchers have insight into the unique experiences of young Māori with diverse gender identities which I (and other cisgender Māori) simply do not and so can provide new knowledges specific to providing mana for young Māori with diverse gender identities.

Tā[98] Mason Durie (1999, 2006) asserts that a secure cultural identity – knowledge of personal whakapapa, participation within whānau, connection to te ao Māori – is pivotal for Māori people to attain and sustain well-being. In the early stages of this research project, I hoped to investigate any possible interaction between participants' Māori identities and gender and sexual identities and its impact on well-being. Future research on rangatahi takatāpui might also consider the interaction between their Māori identities and gender and sexual identities, and whether their knowledge of their whakapapa and connection to te ao

[98] Sir.

Māori are related to the roles which their whānau play in terms of their gender and sexual identities.

Future research might include the political context of being a young person in colonial New Zealand and the tripartite intersectional oppression of gender, sexuality, and ethnic discrimination experienced by Māori LGBT-plus youth (though it is important to note that members of this group may experience other personal forms of oppression; see Kerekere, 2017). In doing so, researchers may indicate novel areas where rangatahi takatāpui are lacking mana and in turn provide new knowledges to restore mana to them.

The traditional whānau roles of kaumātua and tuākana were discussed with regard to the findings of this study. It is likely that mātua and tēina roles also contribute to young people's gaining mana to explore their gender and sexual identities. The roles that mātua and tēina may have in rangatahi takatāpui identity exploration then requires further exploration. Future research may also explore how these roles can be reflected within kaupapa whānau and identify novel roles that are unique to kaupapa whānau.

Kaupapa whānau (which may include the LGBT-plus community) as a primary source of mana for rangatahi takatāpui may be especially important for those who have experienced rejection for their diverse identities within their whakapapa whānau. Consequently, future research may focus on the roles that kaupapa whānau have in providing support for rangatahi takatāpui, and how their support guides rangatahi through feeling the hurt experienced from rejection from whakapapa whānau.

Implications

Te Tiriti o Waitangi requires the Crown (which, today, acts through Crown entities) to ensure that Māori collectives, including whānau Māori, have the means available to them to be rangatira of their own mana (as outlined in Tiriti o Waitangi, 1840, sections Ko te tuarua and Ko te tuatoru; Ministry of Health, 2002). Therefore, Crown entities who work with rangatahi takatāpui and their whānau must honour our right to access Māori knowledges and worldviews regarding gender and sexual identities. Organisations within relevant sectors – for example, school boards of trustees within education, district health boards within health, and youth support services within social development – might then work with their local Māori trust boards or rūnanga[99] (who are the governing bodies for iwi) to develop documents

[99] Tribal council.

or wānanga[100] that reflect tribal knowledges regarding gender and sexual identities with local rangatahi takatāpui and whānau. It is important to note that such partnerships between Crown entities and iwi, hapū, and Māori governing bodies must be led by those latter entities, as the knowledges, strengths, and requirements belong to them and they are best able to foster and maintain well-being for themselves (Ministry of Health, 2002; Te Awekōtuku, 1991a).

Māori knowledges regarding gender and sexual identities are in the process of revitalisation after being subjugated by past and present colonial practices. While initiatives which work towards disseminating iwi, hapū, and whānau knowledges will contribute to their revitalisation and availability to rangatahi takatāpui and whānau, the Crown, through its constituent entities, might consider how it can meet its contractual obligations to Māori people today with extant resources from non-Māori sources. For example, organisations within psychology and related fields might work proactively to provide young Māori people and their whānau with information that celebrates diverse gender and sexual identities.

The Internet provides an abundance of information celebrating diverse identities which may be helpful for young Māori people and their whānau. Harper et al. (2016) found that the Internet has played a pivotal role in facilitating young men's exploration of their sexual identity by providing them with information related to sexual identities. New Zealand-based organisations might consider conducting research to identify websites that provide comprehensive and sound information regarding diverse gender and sexual identities to pass on to young Māori people and their whānau (some New Zealand-based websites are attached in *Appendix D*). By collating such websites (especially regarding safe sex; not included in *Appendix D*) to pass on to rangatahi, organisations could help to minimise the risk of young Māori people finding unhelpful or dangerous information online and support them to make informed choices about their gender and sexual identities. Moreover, such organisations could work to contest racist, colonial heteronormative views which impede rangatahi takatāpui exploring their identities.

At the time of writing, there is a dearth of resources designed specifically for young Māori with diverse gender and sexual identities (for a community-based resource designed for all Māori with diverse identities, see Kerekere, 2016). Kaupapa Māori researchers within psychology and related fields could address this by creating community-based resources designed specifically for rangatahi takatāpui and their whānau, and the professionals who

[100] Forum, educational seminar.

work for them (for a resource designed for mental health professionals who work with rainbow people in Aotearoa, see Fraser, 2019). These resources might collate information regarding this groups' experience of exploring their gender and sexual identities, and Māori knowledges regarding diverse identities.

Ngā Otinga[101]

The theoretical framework of this thesis comprised elements from a Mana Wāhine perspective (Pihama, 2001) of Kaupapa Māori theory, which were interpreted using the worldviews of my own iwi, Ngāti Maniapoto. The framework informed the literature review and data analysis of this study.

Mana rangatiratanga, a Ngāti Maniapoto element, was adapted from Pihama's (2001) element, *Tino rangatiratanga*. *Mana rangatiratanga* denotes that rangatahi takatāpui have an inherent right to practice autonomy over their gender and sexual identities. Moreover, in addition to our inherent right, we have a Tiriti o Waitangi right guaranteed by Article 2 of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, which grants us sovereignty (and in turn autonomy) over "all [our] treasures" (Pihama, 2001, p. 125; Murphy, 2011; Tiriti o Waitangi, 1840). Our right to autonomy over all our treasures explicitly includes our gender and sexual identities. Moreover, our right to autonomy comes with responsibility (T. Roa, personal communication, December 3, 2019). Because we have the right to autonomy over our gender and sexual identities, we also have an intrinsic responsibility to explore our identities and empower others to do the same.

This study asserts that we are Māori because of our whakapapa. No amount of knowledge (or lack thereof) of te reo Māori me ōna tikanga can separate us from being Māori (Pihama, 2001). Our takatāpui identities are also part of our whakapapa (Kerekere, 2017). Because colonial processes have robbed Māori people of our language and culture, many rangatahi takatāpui (including myself) are not fluent in te reo Māori. While fluent speakers of te reo Māori can express aspects of their whakapapa using te reo Māori, we who are not fluent must endeavour to use and adapt the English language to express our own whakapapa until such a time as we are fluent in te reo Māori.

For the purpose of this thesis, the crux of the element *Te reo Māori me ōna tikanga* (Pihama, 2001) was to use our voice (in any language available to us) to express our gender and sexual identities. *Te reo Māori me ōna tikanga* also warrants our right to privilege Māori

[101] The results, solutions, answers.

epistemologies, worldviews, and knowledges when exploring our identities, and in turns calls rangatahi takatāpui to reject colonial heteronormative views of whānau, gender, and sexuality. In fact, *mana rangatiratanga* argues that we have a responsibility to do so—to reject heteronormative notions regarding gender and sexual identities and explore our identities using our own personal tribal philosophies. Because many whānau, hapū, and iwi have been alienated from their knowledges regarding gender and sexual identities, these knowledges are not readily available to many Māori people. Consequently, rangatahi takatāpui should be encouraged to use decolonised Western, English-language knowledge which celebrates diverse identities to foster their identities and attain and sustain well-being.

Whānau is a basic building block of Māori society (Mahuika, 2008; Pihama, 2001). Our whānau includes people to whom we are affiliated through whakapapa and those to whom we are affiliated through common kaupapa (Pihama, 2001). The third element of the theoretical framework, *Whanaungatanga*, highlights the obligations of care and protection we have to members of our whakapapa whānau and kaupapa whānau (Pihama, 2001). In keeping with the obligations that whānau have to support and enable their rangatahi to pursue their identities (Kerekere, 2017; McBreen, 2012b), *all* whānau have a responsibility to embrace *all* rangatahi takatāpui for their diverse gender and sexual identities. In embracing all rangatahi takatāpui with support, whānau Māori demonstrate for the next generation that we will do the same for them should they disclose diverse gender and sexual identities sometime in the future.

Furthermore, within Māori society, the principle of whanaungatanga is extended beyond our whānau to include the commitments and obligations we have within our professional, educational, and political relationships (Tiakiwai, 2015). Māori people who work within health, education, and social development sectors then have obligations which are twofold: our mandate as Māori is tikanga or custom, and our mandate as employees of the Crown is Te Tiriti o Waitangi. As a result, professionals who are Māori are doubly obligated to proactively provide Māori youth and whānau with information regarding diverse gender and sexual identities to support them in making sense of their experiences. In doing so, Māori professionals can support whānau to empower their rangatahi to explore their identities and attain and sustain well-being.

Glossary

Note that plural nouns are often the same as their singular noun, though the first or second vowel may have a macron for the plural. Moreover, care must be taken when interpreting Māori terms as a Māori term can have multiple meanings, dependent on the context within which it is used (Green, 2018). Please refer to the online Māori Dictionary (Moorfield, n.d.-a) at https://maoridictionary.co.nz/ for more information. Note that interpretations provided by my Uncle Tom have been preferred over other sources as they represent a Maniapoto description of Māori terms.

Themes

Ko Tūhura – to discover, explore, investigate

Ko Matatapu –loosely, 'authenticity'; literally, 'sacred face'

Ko Tautoko – in this context, 'empowerment'; to support, prop up, advocate

Ko Mata-ngaro – literally, 'missing, unseen, lost face'

Ko te Ahunga-ki-te-aunoa – literally, 'moving towards the normal'

Ko Tauawhi – loosely, 'an embracing in support'

Ko Mata-pū-take – loosely, belongingness; mata (face) is empowered in the sense of having a base (pū), a reason (take) for being

Ko Kiritau – literally, 'settled skin'

Terms

Māori	**English**	**Reference**
Āhuru, āhurutanga	safe place, refuge; used to describe the balance that is achieved with mana	T. Roa (personal communication, December 3, 2019)
Aka Matua	parent vine (in the pūrākau of Tāwhaki ascending the heavens)	T. Roa (personal communication, December 3, 2019)
Aotearoa	the Indigenous name for New Zealand	Moorfield (n.d.-a)
Atua	ancestor with continuing influence	Moorfield (n.d.-a)
Hapū	sub-tribe	Moorfield (n.d.-a)

He	a (determiner)	Moorfield (n.d.-a)
He Whakapūtanga o te Rangatiratanga o Niu Tīreni	Declaration of Independence of the United Tribes of New Zealand	T. Roa (personal communication, December 3, 2019)
Io	the divine, from whom came all whetū, atua, and tāngata	T. Roa (personal communication, December 3, 2019)
Iwi	tribe	Moorfield (n.d.-a)
Kaumātua	elders; within a whānau unit, and English description is 'grandparents'	Edwards et al. (2007)
Kaupapa	topic, purpose, agenda, theme	Moorfield (n.d.-a)
Kaupapa-a-iwi	iwi-based research methodology	A. Tashkoff (personal communication, August 7, 2020)
Kaupapa Māori	an ancient collective of knowledges that is derived from Māori philosophies and epistemologies	Pihama (2001)
Kaupapa whānau	people to whom we are affiliated through common purpose	Pihama (2001)
Kāwanatanga	governorship	Moorfield (n.d.-a)
Kīngitanga	Māori King movement	T. Roa (personal communication, December 3, 2019)
Kitenga	finding	T. Roa (personal communication, April 6, 2020)
Koha	contribution	Moorfield (n.d.-a)
Kōhanga reo	Māori language pre-school	Moorfield (n.d.-a)
Kōrero tīmatanga	introduction	A. Tashkoff (personal communication, June 26, 2020)
Kōrero whakamutunga	final words	A. Tashkoff (personal communication, June 26, 2020)

Mana	authority, power	T. Roa (personal communication, December 3, 2019)
Mana Māori motuhake	Māori separate identity	Moorfield (n.d.-a); T. Roa (personal communication, December 3, 2019)
Mana rangatiratanga	autonomy, self-determination	T. Roa (personal communication, December 3, 2019)
Mana Wāhine	Māori feminist	Kerekere (2017)
Mata-ngaro	literally, ‘missing, unseen, lost face’	T. Roa (personal communication, April 6, 2020)
Matapakinga	discussion	A. Tashkoff (personal communication, June 26, 2020)
Matatapu	loosely, ‘authenticity’; literally, ‘sacred face’	T. Roa (personal communication, April 6, 2020)
Mātauranga	knowledge, wisdom, understanding	Moorfield (n.d.-a)
Mātauranga Māori	Māori knowledges	Moorfield (n.d.-a)
Matua	parent, father, uncle; members of parent’s generation	Moorfield (n.d.-a)
Me	and (particle) when used to join noun phrases	Moorfield (n.d.-a)
Mokopuna	grandchildren; child or grandchild or a son, daughter, nephew, niece, etc.	Moorfield (n.d.-a)
Mōteatea	chant poetry	Te Awekōtuku (2005)
Ngā	the (determiner) plural	Moorfield (n.d.-a)
Ngā Kete o te Wānanga	the baskets of knowledge; includes Te Kete Aronui (in the pūrākau of Tāwhaki ascending the heavens)	T. Roa (personal communication, December 3, 2019)
Ngā mihi	acknowledgements	Moorfield (n.d.-a)

Ngā Whatukura	the two stones of the consolidation of knowledge (in the pūrākau of Tāwhaki ascending the heavens)	T. Roa (personal communication, December 3, 2019)
Ngāti Maniapoto	tribal group of the King Country area	Moorfield (n.d.-a)
Otinga	result, solution, answer	Moorfield (n.d.-a)
Pākehā	English, European; non-Māori	Moorfield (n.d.-a)
Papahou	carved treasure box	Te Awekōtuku (2005)
Papa kāinga	home base, village	Moorfield (n.d.-a)
Pare Hauraki	Tainui tribes of the Hauraki and Coromandel Peninsula area	Moorfield (n.d.-a)
Pepeha	tribal saying, tribal motto	Moorfield (n.d.-a)
Pūrākau	story; a primary source of knowledge transference for Māori people	T. Roa (personal communication, December 3, 2019)
Rangatira	chief, leader	T. Roa (personal communication, December 3, 2019)
Rangatiratanga	chieftainship, leadership	T. Roa (personal communication, December 3, 2019)
Rangatahi	loosely, 'youth, young person'	Moorfield (n.d.-a)
Rangatahi takatāpui	Māori LGBT-plus youth; young Māori with diverse gender and sexual identities	Kerekere (2017); Moorfield (n.d.-a); Te Awekōtuku (2005)
Reo	language, voice	Moorfield (n.d.-a)
Rūnanga	tribal council	Moorfield (n.d.-a)
Tā	Sir	Moorfield (n.d.-a)
Takatāpui	used as an umbrella term for Māori people with diverse gender/sexual identities; used to describe a gender and/or sexual identity (specific to	Kerekere (2017); Te Awekōtuku (2005)

	Māori people) that is not heterosexual and/or cisgender; historically, 'intimate companion of the same gender'	
Tamariki	Children	Moorfield (n.d.-a)
Tangata	person	Moorfield (n.d.-a)
Tangata whaiora	service user	Taitimu (2007)
Tangata Whenua	people of the land; Indigenous people	Moorfield (n.d.-a)
Tauawhi	loosely, 'an embracing in support'	T. Roa (personal communication, April 6, 2020)
Tāwhaki	a tupuna of the tribe Ngāti Maniapoto	T. Roa (personal communication, December 3, 2019)
Te	the (determiner) singular	Moorfield (n.d.-a)
Te ao Māori	the Māori world; intended to describe environments where Māori language and culture are dominant and taken for granted	Durie (1999, 2006)
Te ao wairua	the spiritual world; the realm of the intangible	Valentine (2009)
Teina	younger sibling (of the same gender)	Moorfield (n.d.-a)
Te Kete Aronui	the basket of life's knowledge (in the pūrākau of Tāwhaki ascending the heavens)	A. Tashkoff (personal communication, February 23, 2020)
Te reo Māori	Māori language	Durie (2006)
Te reo Māori me ōna tikanga	Māori language and its culture	Pihama (2001)
Tikanga	culture, custom, method; behaviours an iwi agree to use to bring about a balance	Moorfield (n.d.-a); T. Roa (personal communication, December 3, 2019)
Tikanga Māori	Māori culture, custom	Valentine (2009)

Tikanga rangahau	research methodology	A. Tashkoff (personal communication, June 26, 2020)
Tino rangatiratanga	sovereignty	T. Roa (personal communication, December 3, 2019)
Tiriti o Waitangi	Treaty of Waitangi (Māori text)	Tiriti o Waitangi (1840)
Tohunga	skilled person, chosen expert	Moorfield (n.d.-a)
Tohunga whakairo	master carver	Moorfield (n.d.-a)
Tuakana	older sibling (of the same gender)	Moorfield (n.d.-a)
Tuhinga whakarāpopoto	abstract	A. Tashkoff (personal communication, June 26, 2020)
Tukanga rangahau	research process	A. Tashkoff (personal communication, June 26, 2020)
Tupuna	ancestor	T. Roa (personal communication, December 3, 2019)
Wairua	spirit, essence	Moorfield (n.d.-a)
Wānanga	forum, educational seminar	Moorfield (n.d.-a)
Whakairo	carving; a primary source of knowledge transference for Māori people	Moorfield (n.d.-a)
Whakapapa	genealogy	Moorfield (n.d.-a)
Whakapapa whānau	people to whom we are affiliated through genealogy	Moorfield (n.d.-a); Pihama (2001)
Whakarāpopoto	summary	Moorfield (n.d.-a)
Whakataukī	proverb	Moorfield (n.d.-a)
Whakawhanaungatanga	process of establishing relationships	Moorfield (n.d.-a)
Whānau	loosely, ‘extended family’; includes whakapapa and kaupapa whānau	Moorfield (n.d.-a)

Whanaungatanga	relationship	Moorfield (n.d.-a)
Whāngai	loosely, ‘fostered, adoptive’; to feed, nourish, nurture	McRae and Nikora (2006)
Whatu	eye (symbolises vision); stone (symbolises tenacity); to weave (symbolises integration)	T. Roa (personal communication, December 3, 2019)
Whetū	stars; the first descendants of Io	Moorfield (n.d.-a); T. Roa (personal communication, December 3, 2019)

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Appendices

Appendix A: Participant Recruitment Poster

Māori LGBT+ youth and whānau support

My name is Rebekah Laurence, and for my Master's thesis I am looking at Māori LGBT+ youth (rangatahi takatāpui) experience of whānau support while exploring their sexual and gender identities.

People who self-identify as Māori **AND** as gender or sexually diverse and are between 16 and 25 years old are invited to take part in my research. Participants will be interviewed individually, which will take about 60—90 mins.

If you have any questions or would like to participate, please contact me:

Rebekah Laurence
rwl5@students.waikato.ac.nz

This project is being supervised by Dr Carrie Barber and Dr Alison Green, and is supported by a grant from the University of Waikato Māori and Psychology Research Unit. This research has been approved by the School of Psychology Research and Ethics Committee. If you have any ethical concerns about this research, please contact ethics@waikato.ac.nz

Appendix B: Participant Information Sheet

PUKA WHAKAMĀRAMA

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET:
Kanohi-ki-te-kanohi interviews

Project title: **'Māori LGBT+ youth and whānau support'**

Researcher: Rebekah Laurence
rwl5@students.waikato.ac.nz

Supervisors: Dr Carrie Barber
carrie.barber@waikato.ac.nz
Dr Alison Green
alison@tewhariki.org.nz

Tēnā koe – Ngā mihi mahana ki a koe i raro i te kaupapa o 'Māori LGBT+ youth and whānau support.'

The research
The aim of this project is to investigate Māori LGBT+ youth (rangatahi takatāpui) experiences of whānau support while they are exploring their gender and sexual identities. I am interested to identify the roles that whānau and mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledges) play for such rangatahi while they are exploring their identities.

Your participation
I would like to interview young Maori aged 16-25 years who self-identify as LGBT-plus, are exploring their gender or sexual identities, and are happy to share their experiences of whānau support, or lack of support, during that period of their lives.

This project will honour participants' privacy and confidentiality. All identifiable personal information (such as names, towns, etc.) will be changed during the interview transcription so as to protect participants' privacy (and that of their whānau). Interview transcripts will be coded, that participants' names will not be linked to their interview.

Research methods
If you are keen to participate in this research, I will interview you at a location of your choice. Individual interviews will take between 60—90 minutes. You will need to sign the Consent Form which gives me permission to interview you and to make an audio-recording of your interview.

At any time during the recording you can ask to have the recorder turned off. Your interview will be transcribed, and you will have the opportunity to review your transcript. I will send you your transcript and you can have a week to read over the document and let me know if you want to add or remove any information. If required, you can request a longer period over which to review your transcript. You are welcome to ask me questions during the interview

and you can decline to answer any question during the interview. Last, you are free to withdraw from the research at any time up to one week after having received your interview transcript. I will send you a final copy of your transcript, and after the research is finished you are also welcome to have a summary of the research findings and related research reports if you wish.

What will happen to the information collected?
The transcripts will be kept in a digital repository on a secure Google Drive, and will only be accessible by me, and my supervisors, Dr Carrie Barber and Dr Alison Green (Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Ranginui) for the purposes of assisting me with my research. No-one else will have access to participant transcripts. As per University of Waikato regulations, the transcripts will be held for at least five years.

Outcomes of the research
The findings of this project will primarily contribute towards a Master of Social Sciences in Psychology. A secondary aim of this project is to share the research findings by way of publications and presentations. Preliminary results of this project will be presented at the University of Waikato Māori & Psychology Research Unit Symposium in November 2018. Final results will be presented at professional symposia and conferences.

Ethics
This project has been supported by a grant from the Māori & Psychology Research Unit, University of Waikato, and has been approved by the School of Psychology Research and Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Waikato. Any questions about the ethical conduct of this research may be sent to the convenor of the Research and Ethics Committee (email ethics@waikato.ac.nz).

Appendix C: Participant Consent Form

Ψ **School of Psychology**

THE UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

PUKA WHAKAAE: CONSENT FORM

Research Project: Māori LGBT+ youth and whānau support
Researcher: Rebekah Laurence

Tēnā koe – Ngā mihi mahana ki a koe i raro i te kaupapa o 'Māori LGBT+ youth and whānau support.'

Please complete the following checklist. Tick (✓) the appropriate box for each point.	**YES**	**NO**
I have read the Participant Information Sheet (or it has been read to me) and I understand it.		
I have been given sufficient time to consider whether or not to participate in this study.		
I am satisfied with the answers I have been given regarding the study and I have a copy of this consent form and information sheet.		
I understand that taking part in this study is voluntary (my choice) and that I may withdraw from the study up to one week after having received my interview transcript without penalty.		
I understand that I have the right to decline to answer any interview question.		
I know who to contact if I have any questions about the study in general.		
I understand that the information supplied by me could be used in future academic publications.		
I give consent for my interview to be audio-recorded.		
I understand that my participation in this study is confidential and that no material that could identify me personally will be used in any reports on this study.		
I understand that I will receive a copy of my interview transcript and can change any information on it for up to one week after having received it.		
I wish to receive summaries and reports from the project.		

Declaration by participant:

I agree to participate in this research project and I understand that I may withdraw at any time. If I have any concerns about this project, I may contact the convenor of the Psychology Research and Ethics Committee (email ethics@waikato.ac.nz).

Participant's name (Please print): _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Email address: _____

Declaration by member of research team:

I have given a verbal explanation of the research project to the participant and have answered the participant's questions about it. I believe that the participant understands the study and has given informed consent to participate.

Researcher's name (Please print): _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Appendix D: Participant Resource Sheet

Here's a list of resources that might be helpful for you and your whānau:

Agender Central (specific to transgender people)
Email or call Tracey at tntinhamilton@xtra.co.nz or 027 280 6466 for info on the Waikato branch
http://www.agender.org.nz/waikato.php

Hamilton Pride (specific to LGBT+ in Hamilton)
http://hamiltonpride.co.nz/
https://www.facebook.com/HamiltonPrideNZ/

InsideOUT (specific to LGBT+ youth)
http://insideout.org.nz/
http://insideout.org.nz/resources/

OUTLine (LGBT+ counselling service)
Call FREE **0800 OUTLINE (688 5463)** (6pm to 9pm every evening)
http://www.outline.org.nz/
http://www.outline.org.nz/other-services/

Rainbow Alliance (specific to LGBT+ at Waikato University)
https://www.facebook.com/uowrainbowalliance/

RainbowYOUTH (specific to LGBT+ youth)
https://www.ry.org.nz/

Takatāpui (specific to Takatāpui and their whānau)
https://takatapui.nz/

UniQ Waikato (specific to LGBT+ at Waikato University)
https://www.facebook.com/UniQWaikato/

Waikato Queer Youth (specific to LGBT+ youth in Hamilton)
https://www.facebook.com/waikatoqueeryouth/

For general help:

Lifeline
Call FREE **0800 543 354** or text FREE **HELP (4357)** anytime
https://www.lifeline.org.nz/

Youthline (specific to youth)
Call FREE **0800 376 633** or text FREE **234**
https://www.youthline.co.nz/

Appendix E: Interview Guidelines

1. Whakawhanaungatanga – tell them about me (where I'm from, my pepeha, my whānau, my culture and ethnicity, my gender and sexuality)
2. Tell me about yourself – where you're from, your whakapapa, your whānau…
    a. Who's in your whānau?
    b. How do you describe your ethnicity and culture?
3. How has Māori culture been a part of your life?
4. What is it about being Māori that brings you joy?
5. How do you identify yourself in terms of your gender and sexuality? **(note specific terms participants use; adjust further questions to use self-identified terms)**
6. When did you know?
    a. When did your whānau know?
    b. If they don't know, what's the biggest reason they don't know yet? Where have you gotten support instead?
7. What was it like with your whānau while you were exploring your diversity?
    a. What was the best thing that happened within your whānau?
    b. What was the worst? Where did you get support to heal from that?
8. What do you think Māori (rural, urban, kaumātua, youth) generally think about _____?
9. What is it about being _____ that brings you joy?
10. Have you had any struggles about being _____? Share them with me.
11. How have your whānau reactions changed over time?
12. Outside of your whānau, has anyone ever reacted badly to your gender/sexuality?
13. Where did you get support to heal from that?
    a. How did your whānau support you?
14. When you were young, did you have anyone in your whānau who didn't fit gender/sexual stereotypes? Any who identified as LGBTQI+?
    a. How did the whānau treat them or talk about them?
    b. How did that affect you? (Ask if they had no LGBTQI+ role models, too)
15. How do you feel you fit into te ao Māori as a _____ person?
16. What do you think whānau could do to create a positive environment for young people exploring their sexuality or gender?
17. What's one piece of advice you would give to your younger self, regarding gender/sexuality?
18. Is there anything else you'd like to add?