

I MUA I TE AROARO O TE TARAIPUNARA O WAITANGI

WAI 2700

WAI 2872

I TE TAKE Ō

te Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975  
(te ture)

Ā

I TE TAKE Ō

te Mana Wāhine Kaupapa Inquiry  
(Wai 2700)

Ā

I TE TAKE O

tētahi tono a **Professor Leonie Pihama, Angeline Greensill, Hilda Halkyard-Harawira, Mereana Pitman** rātou ko Te Ringahuaia Hata (Wai 2872)

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**BRIEF OF EVIDENCE OF PROFESSOR LEONIE PIHAMA**Dated this 7th Day of September 2022

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RECEIVED

Waitangi Tribunal

**7 Sep 22**Ministry of Justice  
WELLINGTON

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ANNETTE  
SYKES & Co.  
barristers & solicitors8 – Unit 1 Marguerita Street  
Rotorua, 3010**Wāea o te tari:** 07-460-0433**Ngā Rōia:** Annette Sykes / Hinerau Rameka / Kalei Delamere-Ririnui**Imeera:** [asykes@annettesykes.com](mailto:asykes@annettesykes.com) / [hinerau@annettesykes.com](mailto:hinerau@annettesykes.com) / [kalei@annettesykes.com](mailto:kalei@annettesykes.com)

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## E TE TARAIPUNARA

### INTRODUCTION

1. Tēnā koe, e te rangatira. Tēnā koutou katoa, ngā rangatira o ngā hapū, me te Karauna hoki. Ko Leonie Pihama tōku ingoa, Ko Te Ātiawa, Waikato, Ngā Māhanga ā Tairi ngā iwi, ko Ngāti Rahiri, Ngāti Māhanga ngā hapū.
2. I have been working in areas related to Māori sexuality, gender and Mana Wahine since the mid-1980s and engaged in research and Kaupapa Māori. Mana Wahine theory and analysis related to Māori Sexuality, gender and the impact of colonisation on Mana Wahine for over 30 years.
3. This submission speaks to issues of sexuality, gender, Mana Wahine and colonisation and draws on some key conceptual frameworks to inform a Kaupapa Maori view on the questions of gender; gender fluidity, sexuality and sexual orientation.

### KUPU MĀORI FOR SEXUALITY/SEXUAL ORIENTATION

4. I set out below a number of key terms and conceptual understandings that are used in Te Ao Maori in relation to sexuality. The list is not an exhaustive one but focuses to common usage of Māori terms with reference to sexuality. I have particularly focussed on concepts I am familiar with ‘Hōkakatanga’; ‘Aronga Hōkaka’; ‘Taeratanga’; and ‘Aronga Taera’.

#### Hōkaka

5. **1. (verb)** to desire, want, wish for, yearn for, aspire to, fancy, hanker after.

*Ko te mea ia i tino hōkaka ai ia, ka haere ia ki a Te Whatuiāpiti, hei hoa mōna (TWM 25/6/1864:3). / What she earnestly desired was to go to Te Whatuiāpiti to be his wife.*

*(TeAka*

<https://maoridictionary.co.nz/search?idiom=&phrase=&proverb=&loan=&histLoa nWords=&keywords=h%C5%8Dkaka>)

6. Hōkaka = **okaka. 1.** v.t. *Desire*. Ko te mea ia i tino hokaka ai ia, ka haere ia ki a Te Whatuiapiti hei hoa mona (T. 165). (Williams Dictionary p.56 - <https://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-WillDict-t1-body-d1-d3.html>).
7. This underpins the development of terminology that informs how we as Māori have conceptualised these understandings.

### Aronga Hōkaka

8. **Aronga Hōkaka** – Sexual Orientation.

### Hōkakatanga

9. **Hōkakatanga** – Sexuality

### Taera

10. **1. (noun)** sexual desire, sexual attraction.  
*Mā te taera ko te whānau tamariki hai kawē i te momo tangata (Ng 1993:423).* Sexual desire determines the procreation of the human species (Ng 1993:423).  
 (TeAka:  
<https://maoridictionary.co.nz/search?idiom=&phrase=&proverb=&loan=&histLoanWords=&keywords=taera>).
11. Taera, n. *Sexual desire*. (mod.) Ka kai te wahine o mua i te hua titoki, ka kia he taera. (Williams Dictionary, p.356 <https://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-WillDict-t1-body-d1-d12.html>).

### Aronga Taera

12. **1. (noun)** sexual orientation.  
*Mā te mārama ki ngā ariā matua e pā ana ki te ira ā-koiora, te aronga taera me te ira e āhei ai te tangata ki te tautoko i te hunga āniwaniwa. (F 2019: 9) / Understanding core concepts around biological sex, sexual orientation, and gender is central to*

supporting rainbow people.

(TeAka:

<https://maoridictionary.co.nz/search?idiom=&phrase=&proverb=&loan=&histLoanWords=&keywords=taera>)

## DEFINING TAKATĀPUI

13. Definitions of Takatāpui have nuanced meanings but there is common understanding as to usage traditionally and contemporarily.
14. The term ‘tāpui’ is defined as ‘to be reserved or set aside’ when placed alongside ‘hoa’ as in ‘hoa tāpui’ it is defined as a close friend. (<https://maoridictionary.co.nz/search?idiom=&phrase=&proverb=&loan=&histLoanWords=&keywords=tapui>)
15. The term ‘taka’ refers to a group of people (<https://maoridictionary.co.nz/search?idiom=&phrase=&proverb=&loan=&histLoanWords=&keywords=taka>; Williams p.366))
16. Takapui is defined in the Williams dictionary as “*Going about in company, familiar, intimate.*” (p. 369)
17. Takatāpui is defined in the Williams dictionary as “*Intimate companion of the same sex.*” (p.369)
18. Prominent academics have agreed this following explanation for the expression. The term Takatāpui as an intimate friend of the same sex (Te Awekotuku 1991; Kerekere 2015). is encompassing of all Takatāpui and Maori LGBTIQ+.

### **Tūtanekei and Tiki – Example of Reference to Takatāpui**

19. A well-known example of a reference to Takatāpui is within the story of Tūtanekei and his relationship with Tiki who is referred to as his takatāpui. As Te Awekotuku (1991) notes:

*For we do have one word, takatāpui. And ironically, this word is associated with one of the most romantic, glamourized [sic], man/woman love stories of the Māori world, the legend of Hinemoa and Tūtānekai. Tūtānekai, with his flute and his favourite intimate friend, his hoa takatāpui, Tiki, and Hinemoa, the determined, valorous, superbly athletic woman – my ancestress – who took the initiative herself, swam the midnight water of the lake to reach him, and interestingly, consciously and deliberately masqueraded as a man, as a warrior, to lure him to her arms. Isn't that another, intriguing way which we, our community and tradition, have been denied?" (p. 37).*

20. The term Takatāpui appears in the pūrākau about Tūtānekai and Tiki as highlighted in Green et.al. (2020)

*A well-known example of a reference to Takatāpui is within the story of Tūtānekai and his relationship with Tiki who is referred to as his takatāpui. Te Rangikaaheke speaks about the intimacy within the relationship between Tūtānekai and Tiki as follows: Ka moohio haere a Tuutaanekai ki te takataapui, araa, ki te whakahoa. Ka piri oo raaua wairua ko toona hoa takataapui ko Tiki, anoo he teina, he tuakana raaua. Ko taa raaua nei mahi taakaro he whakatangitangi puu toorino, puu koauau. Kei te ahiahi poo ka piki raaua ki runga i too raaua nei atamira whakatangitangi ai. (Biggs, Hohepa & Mead 1967, p.63)*

21. Te Awekotuku (1991) and Kerekere (2015, 2017) stress that such intimacy was considered to be an accepted way of relating within Māori society.
22. According to Kerekere (2017) the depth of love held between Tūtānekai, and Tiki is further highlighted, she notes:

*Tūtānekai may have loved Hinemoa, but his heart belonged to Tiki, whom he called 'taku hoa Takatāpui' - my intimate same sex friend - and spoke about at great length (Grey 1971:113). Tūtānekai missed Tiki so much*

*that he moaned to his adoptive father, Whakaue:*

*Ka mate ahau i te aroha ki tōku hoa, ki a Tiki'*

*I am dying for love for my friend, for my beloved, for Tiki. (Kerekere  
2017, p.64)*

23. Where the phrase “Ka mate ahau i te aroha ki tōku hoa, ki a Tiki” is translated here as “I am dying for love for my friend, for my beloved, for Tiki.” Grey (1922) gives a translation that was more palatable to the time in terms of colonial views of sexuality, that being “I am quite ill from grief for my friend Tiki” (p.180).
24. Broughton (1996) provides important evidence as to the diversity of sexuality in pre-contact times with his reference to a waiata tangi from Ngāti Tuwharetoa that laments the death of a warrior chief and alludes to him having sex with both women and men (p. 187). He also cites the writing of Te Rangikaheke of Te Arawa, which “recounts the intimate friendship and pledging of love between Tūtanekai and his hoa takatāpui, Tiki” (Broughton 1996, p.187). Such examples provide a powerful counterpoint to the tightly constrained definitions of sexuality that early Pakeha commentators have all too often burdened pre-contact Māori society with.

### **Contemporary Definition of Takatāpui**

25. Dr Elizabeth Kerekere with Tawhangawhanga Trust and the Mental Health Foundation provide the following contemporary definition: “**Takatāpui** is a traditional term meaning ‘intimate companion of the same sex.’ It has been reclaimed to embrace all Māori who identify with diverse genders, sexualities and sex characteristics such as whakawāhine, tangata ira tāne, lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, intersex and queer. All of these and more are included within Rainbow communities”. (<https://takatapui.nz/takatapui-part-of-the-whanau#part-of-the-whanau>)
26. Reference to Taka Tāpui is found in Ngā Mōteatea Part 1 In regard to ‘He Waiata Aroha – Nā Te Hiwi (Ngāti Pīkiao, Te Arawa) (Ngata 2004 pp 47- 48)
27. In reference to the line ‘Ka te tauaki ki te rāngai tapu’ footnotes state:

*Rāngai tapu – E kī ana a Hemana, ko ngā hoa taka tāpui o Te Hiwi (p.48)*  
*Company of Friends – Hemana explains ‘rāngai tapu’ as Te Hiwi’s boon*  
*companions, ‘tapu’ meaning ‘select’ and of ‘rank’ (p.49)*

28. Ngahuia Te Awekotuku (1991) notes, “we do have one word, takatāpui. And ironically, this word is associated with one of the most romantic, glamourized [sic], man/woman love stories of the Māori world, the legend of Hinemoa and Tūtānekai. Tūtānekai, with his flute and his favourite intimate friend, his hoa takatāpui, Tiki...” (p.37).)
29. The term ‘takatāpui’, is one that has been recovered and reclaimed from historical Māori narratives (Te Awekotuku, 1991); it encapsulates aspects of one’s sexuality, gender, and cultural identity.
30. Many Māori prefer to use the term takatāpui over ‘gay’ or ‘lesbian’ (Kerekere, 2017; Nopera, 2017), not only as an all-encompassing term to describe a diverse minority (Beyer, 2007), but also to assert that gender and sexuality-diverse Māori have cultural validity and a place in Aotearoa, as well as globally, as Indigenous people.
31. Re-claiming identity as takatāpui constitutes a deliberate act of agency, of tino rangatiratanga, which is an essential component of hauora Māori (Hutchings, 2007).
32. Takatāpui’ is derived from traditional Māori society, assists with retaining the essence of traditional collective values. As such, it provides a source of strength to deal with and overcome the negative impacts that Takatāpui may face in the contemporary world (Aspin, 2007).
33. Moreover, inherent in the concept Takatāpui is the central construct of whānau (Reynolds, 2007; Cooper, 2007; Rua’ine, 2007; Kerekere, 2007; 2017), within which connectedness and belonging are encompassed and affirmed.
34. It is also evident that the number of words and naming for Takatāpui is increasing



with the advent of terms such as ‘Māori LGBTQI-plus’, are we ‘cis-gendered’, are we ‘takatāpui’, ‘wahine takatāpui’, ‘tane takatāpui’, ‘tane moe tane’, ‘wahine moe wahine’, ‘tāhine’ being included in the vernacular of contemporary understandings.

35. In ‘Honour Project Aotearoa’ there was discussion around the connection to other terms and names used within wider LGBTQI-plus communities, such as whether we consider ourselves to be a part of Rainbow communities, and for example, whether the rainbow flag is also our flag, even though the history of that flag is not our history, and we have our own flags. This again indicates that it is necessary for us as Māori to draw upon te reo Māori when seeking ways of talking about sexuality and sexual orientation.
36. As indicated previously and notwithstanding the fact that using a term to identify one’s sexual and gender identity may indicate the presence of colonialism (Mika, 2018), there is a strong support for using Māori terms, such as takatāpui, to locate ourselves fully and to highlight the interconnectedness of how we see our sexual identity, gender identity and cultural identity.
37. This raises the point that within te ao Māori the acceptance of sexuality and sexual orientation meant that we did not need specific terms within te reo Māori. This is further highlighted by the fact there is no specific kupu Māori for heterosexuality just as there was no term for homosexuality or the range of sexual expressions within te ao Māori. The contemporary use of kupu such as takatāpui are needed to ensure diversity and inclusion is acknowledge within a context of colonial exclusionary practices.
38. In the ‘Honour Project Aotearoa’ participants were invited to share their reflections on the term ‘takatāpui’ and how they saw the place of the term within their lives. The vast majority of those who were a part of ‘Honour Aotearoa’ spoke positively of the term ‘takatāpui’ considering it as a way through which to see themselves through a Māori cultural lens.
39. Some comments from Takatāpui in regard to identification are noted as follows and

are helpful descriptors of the importance of recognition and affirmation of the term:

*For me it actually reinforces that we've always been here because it's our language embedded in our culture, it is and does reinforce whakapapa. Takatāpui, like a lot of our words in the Pacific so fa'afafine, fakaleiti, mahu, for me what they do is place us within a cultural context that's undeniable ... way pre-colonization, so that's what it reinforces for me is that we've existed forever. We are not a construct, which is cool, so it's a powerful word, but I like our word because we are all the same, LGBTQI-plus there are so many different, so it's all of us, it is our diversity encapsulated in one word where we all fit and there is no difference, which is different between the LGBTQI-plus community to be honest because they do all see themselves as segments whereas we don't, we are a whole, we are a collective. (Green et.al 2020, p.24-25)*

*I identified myself as wahine takatāpui. I've never said I'm a woman, no, no, I've always said I'm, well it wasn't transgender – takatāpui was the word... I think for us, the gay community, it's special because it gives us our own identity in Māori, you know the takatāpui is separate from the norm and we've got that understanding in our Māori community. Takatāpui have been around for centuries in the Māori community, goodness gracious, but I feel really comfortable that we have been given that kupu, that title as Māori to have our own stance as takatāpui nē. (Green et.al 2020, p.25)*

## **THE IMPACT OF COLONISATION**

40. The colonial-washing of Māori sexuality and sexual expression has been well documented (Pihama 2001; Aspin & Hutchings 2006; Aspin & Hutchings 2007; Mikaere 2017).
41. Aspin (2000) regards the denial of the existence of homosexuality as part of the ongoing suppression of non-heterosexual forms of sexuality. Unsurprisingly, views such as those held by Gluckman (1976) as “homosexuality in both male and female

was unknown in early New Zealand” (p.164) has been rejected by Maori scholars as completely unfounded (Royal Commission 1988; Te Awekotuku 1991; Pihama 1998; Aspin & Hutchings 2006).

42. Keri Opai in his evidence to the Tribunal highlighted the gender-neutral status of Te Reo Māori. This is also noted by Ngata (1986) who emphasised that English translations “are not substitute for the original Māori” (p.xiii). He also highlighted the problematic associated with those mōteatea that were originally recorded by Pākehā. More recently it has been noted that translations and versions of our history and stories have been impacted upon by Christianity and western Eurocentric colonial belief systems and in essence made more “acceptable” within that context (Mikaere 1995; 2017). Mika (forthcoming) highlights that *‘for Māori, to separate the orienting human self away from his or her material ground of existence is a dangerous and colonising undertaking’*. (n.p) This refers to our need to ensure that our understandings both philosophical and conceptual must be contextualised within a Māori world view.
43. Ngāhuia Te Awekotuku further highlights *“graphic descriptions of "sexual joy" exist in waiata koroua and mōteatea which are still performed today, including explicit references to non-heterosexual sexual relations. In one lament a young man called Papaka Te Naeroa is described as "Ko te tama it aitia e tērā wahine e tērā tangata" (A youth who was sexual with that woman, with that man). Crucially, the word "aitia" was later replaced with 'awhitia', meaning 'hugged' or 'embraced' in an effort to 'clean up' the lament by translators in the late 1800s”*. ( <https://www.stuff.co.nz/life-style/love-sex/105284489/early-mori-view-on-sexual-fluidity-far-more-liberal-than-previously-believed> )
44. This example is also discussed by Dr Clive Aspin. Dr Aspin highlights that sexual and gender diversity has always been present within Te Ao Māori:

*Sex between men and women was celebrated in traditional haka, waiata and chants. Some also referred to homosexual love. An example is a lament composed for a young man named Papaka Te Naeroa, who died in battle. It describes him as ‘Ko te tama i aitia e tērā wahine e tērā*

*tangata.*’ (A youth who was sexual with that woman, with that man). The original term ‘aitia’ was later replaced with the term ‘awhitia’, meaning ‘hugged’ or ‘embraced.’ when it was incorporated into Ngā mōteatea – a significant collection of traditional songs. (<https://teara.govt.nz/en/hokakatanga-maori-sexualities/print>)

45. In reference to this example Tangaroa Paora (2019) notes:

*The original term “aitia” was later replaced with the term “awhitia,” meaning “hugged” or “embraced.” (Aspin, 2011) and of course “ai” refers to sex, this is an example of colonial meddling. (p.10)*

## CONCLUSION

46. It is argued that western conceptions and terminology, such as ‘sex’ ‘gender’ ‘gay’ or ‘lesbian’, have been partly responsible for the shift away from viewing sexuality as an integral part of traditional cultures to seeing it from the perspective of individuals (Green et.al 2020).
47. When discussing takatāpui in the context of the Mana Wahine claim it is important for the Tribunal to consider intersectionality when understanding the complexities of oppression and the marginalisation of wahine Māori. Takatāpui experience the intersection of gender, racism, classism, transphobia and homophobia.
48. Each of these oppressive systems has been imported to Aotearoa through the processes, ideologies, structures and systems of colonisation and have been reproduced through colonial institutions and systems.
49. We submit the Honour Project Aotearoa Report (2020) to provide further insights into the position and experiences of takatāpui in Aotearoa.
50. To assist the Tribunal, I attach herewith the following exhibits referenced and in support of my Brief of Evidence:

- a. **Exhibit A – Honour Project Aotearoa Final Report 2020;**
- b. **Exhibit B – Mana Wahine Volume 1; and**
- c. **Exhibit C – Mana Wahine Volume 2.**



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Professor Leonie Pihama