

## VERSION ORIGINALE DES SOURCES ANGLOPHONES UTILISEES DANS :

*Vous avez dit « troisième » sexe ? Les transgenres polynésiens...* (Papeete, Au Vent des Iles, 2022)

A la fin de l'introduction de notre ouvrage *Vous avez dit « troisième » sexe ? Les transgenres polynésiens...* (Papeete, Au Vent des Iles, 2022), nous avons indiqué (page 32) que, pour les citations (publications, articles de presse, blogs en ligne) traduites par nous à partir d'un original en anglais, le lecteur pourra trouver le texte original sur le site [www.serge-tcherkezoff.fr/publications](http://www.serge-tcherkezoff.fr/publications), du moins quand l'original dont la référence est donnée en bibliographie est n'est pas aisément accessible ou n'existe plus sur le site web d'où nous l'avions copié. Ce retour à l'original est également utile pour des textes anciens du 18<sup>e</sup> siècle ou des blogs et discussions en ligne utilisant une langue propre à certains milieux, et dont notre traduction est nécessairement approximative. En outre, dans certains cas de textes de plusieurs pages, nous avons limité la traduction française imprimée à quelques passages. On trouvera ci-dessous ces textes, dans leur ordre d'apparition (à l'exception de quelques textes lu à l'époque depuis un site aujourd'hui fermé, notés directement en traduction française mais en ayant omis de copier l'original).

### Introduction :

[...] because, traditionally, sexuality was considered private and not central to identity, most Pacific Islanders who live gender-variant roles tend to resist terms that are centred on sexuality and sexual preference —terms such as transgender, gay, transsexual and homosexual. Instead, Pacific Islanders may rely on indigenous understandings, more centred on aspects of the person in relation to the family and to the community (Linda Ikeda 2011 :§14)

"You are Faafafine, not homosexuals [...]. I'm starting not to recognize you as I see you slowly melting into the western pot of Gayism which is the root of all misconceptions about you » (quoted by Dolgoy in the opening of his chap. 5 as from Iosefa, Iosefa L. 1997. "Fa'afafine." *Realities*, Apia, Samoa: Western Samoa Teachers College).

“We have responsibilities with our families, within the church, the village, and in return we [are] accepted well and part of the society [...] The LGBTI thing, we trash all that. We refer to LGBTI as medical terminologies, Western terminologies where you’ve been categorised. With us fa’afafine, the true definition is our chosen roles and that’s how we’ve gained respect [but] we have to earn that respect, as well. »

Quoted by Benedicte Brook in her paper « so fa’fa so good » in the Australian press *Starobserver* <https://www.starobserver.com.au/features/community-spotlight/so-fafa-so-good/141194>

## CHAPITRE 1 :

(Oliver:)

In the light of the foregoing one might expect that Maohi society, least of all, would harbor homosexuality. The fact that it did so greatly aroused the interest, and the distaste, of the early European visitors.

Bligh was the first to inquire into the matter [...]

HOMOSEXUALITY [...]

(Bligh:)

On my visit this morning to Tynah and his Wife, I found with her a person, who altho I was certain was a Man, had great marks of effeminacy about him and created in me certain notions which I wished to find out if there were any foundations for.

On asking Iddeeah who he was, she without any hesitation told me he was a friend of hers, and of a class of people common in Otaheite called Mahoo. That the Men had frequent connections with him and that he lived, observed the same ceremonies, and eat as the Women did. The Effeminacy of this persons speech induced me to think he had suffered castration, and that other unnatural and shocking things were done by him, and particularly as I had myself some Idea that it was common in this sea. I was however mistaken in all my conjectures except that things equally disgusting were committed. Determined as I was either to clear these people of such crimes being committed among them, or to prove that they were so, I requested Tynah to inform me, which as soon as I had requested it, a dozen people and even the Person himself answered all my questions without reserve, and gave me this Account of the Mahoos.

These people, says Tynah, are particularly selected when Boys and kept with the Women solely for the caresses of the men, here the Young Man took his Hahow or Mantle off which he had about him to show me the connection. He had the appearance of a Woman, his Yard & Testicles being so drawn in under him, having the Art from custom of keeping them in this position; those who are connected with him have their beastly pleasures gratified between his thighs, but are no farther Sodomites as they all positively deny the Crime. On examining his privacies I found them both very small and the Testicles remarkably so, being not larger than a boys of 5 or 6 Years old, and very soft as if in a State of decay or a total incapacity of being larger, so that in either case he appeared to me [as] effectually a Eunuch as if his stones were away. The Women treat him as one of their Sex, and he observed evry restriction that they do, and is equally respected and esteemed

It is strange that in so prolific country as this, Men should be led into such sensual and beastly acts of gratification... (Bligh 1789:11, 16-17)

(Mortimer:)

Now I am upon the subject of these kind of entertainments, I cannot help relating a very droll occurrence that happened in consequence of one of their nocturnal Heivas. Attracted by the sound of drums, and a great quantity of lights, I went on shore one night with two of our mates to one of these exhibitions. We seated ourselves among some of our friends, whom we found there; when one of the gentlemen who accompanied me on shore took it into his head to be very much smitten with a dancing girl, as he thought her; went up to her, made her a present of some beads and other trifles, and rather interrupted the performance by his attentions; but what was his surprize when the performance ended, and after he had been endeavouring to persuade her to go with him on board our ship, which she assented to, to find this supposed damsel, when stripped of her theatrical paraphernalia, a smart dapper lad. The Otaheiteans on their part enjoyed this mistake so much, that they followed us to the beach with shouts and repeated peals of laughter; and I dare say this event has served as a fine subject for one of their comedies. (Mortimer 1791:47)

(Morrison:)

Besides the different Classes & Societys already discribed they have a Set of Men Calld Mahoo. These Men are in some respects like the Eunuchs in India but are Not Casterated. They Never Cohabit with weomen but live as they do; they pick their Beards out & dress as weomen, dance and sing with them & and are as effeminate in their Voice; they are generally excellent hands at Making and painting of Cloth, Making Matts and evry other Womans employment. They are esteemed Valuable friends in that way and it is said, tho I never saw an instance of it, that they Converse with Men as familiar as weomen do—this however I do not aver as a fact as I never found any who did not detest the thought. (Morrison 1935: 238)

(Edwards and Hamilton:)

To this island . . . [Tetiara] they also send boys for the same reason [i.e., to “become fair by living on fish, and low diet”] whom they keep for abominable purposes.

(Edwards and Hamilton 1915:113)

(Jefferson ☺)

Something that was seen among the people today shews us these heathens, like the heathens of old, are given up to vile affections; the men leaving the natural use of the woman, burn in their lusts one towards another, men with men working that which is unseemly. Indeed it is said that Otoo [Tu] never cohabits with his wife but has a number of boys with whom he satiates his passion. (Jefferson, Journal, 8 June 1799, LMS Archives)

(Wilson☺)

In various districts of the island there are men who dress as women; work with them at the cloth; are confined to the same provisions and rule of eating and dressing; may not eat with the men, or of their food, but have separate plantations for their peculiar use. (Wilson 1799:156)

As I fixed my eyes upon the fellow [the mahu], he hid his face: this I at first construed into shame, but found it afterwards to be a womanish trick.

These mawhoos chuse this vile way of life when young: putting on the dress of a woman, they follow the same employments, are under the same prohibitions with respect to food, &c. and seek the courtship of men the same as women do, nay, are more jealous of the men who cohabit with them, and always refuse to sleep with women. We are obliged here to draw a veil over other practices too horrible to mention. These mawhoos, being only six or eight in number, are kept by the principal chiefs. So depraved are these poor heathens, that even their women do not despise those fellows, but form friendships with them. This one was tayo to Iddeeah. (Wilson 1799:198)

(Jefferson ☺)

Several women from Oriatteea arrived in the district. Some of them gained admittance into br. Henry’s apartment, to see it; among them Was a man, no otherwise to be distinguished from the women but by a little coarser features & rougher voice: this man keeps himself for the abominable sin of sodomy. We have lately learnt it is usual for some persons from their youth to set themselves apart for this base purpose. They go among the women, observe all their customs, eat & drink & sleep with them & do all the offices of females in making cloth &c. and prostitute their bodies to men for the above sin. They never cohabit with women, but only with men. They are not paid by men, but pay men for sinning with them. Some of them are

so effeminated as not to be distinguished by their countenances, voices or manners from the women. They are, when spoken to, called by the same name of endearment that men use to women, & women to women, Pattaa . . . as also for the sin of bestiality (which the Otahietans are guilty of with dogs), they seem surprised. Besides these sodomites, who are common in the land, the society of areeoies, have generally when they travel about in companies, one woman for the whole company. (Jefferson, entry 22 August 1800, LMS Archives)

The chief of Hapyano was detected committing an act of bestiality with another man, which perhaps had not existence even in Sodom and Gomorrha. While the brethren were engaged at an exercise of the language in one of br. Henry's apartments the chief and two or three others were present. For a little time the chief laid himself down in the room upon one of his attendant's cloth as if to sleep. After we had concluded our exercise we went out, and br. Henry unwilling to disturb Paeete [the chief of Hapyano] left him and his man in his room by themselves. Not long after having the occasion to go back for something and entering suddenly, he saw sufficient to assure him a most singular and horrible species of bestiality was committing; the chief having in his mouth the other's \_ . The most unnatural lusts are indulged by the Otaheiteans perhaps to as great an excess as in any nation under the sun. (Jefferson February 12, 1801)

(Oliver:) Additional information on fellatio is contained in a postscript commentary to Turnbull's account, in which he described mahu as “. . . a set of men . . . whose open profession is of such abomination, that the laudable delicacy of our language will not admit it to be mentioned” (1813:382). Subsequently Turnbull was prevailed upon to overcome his scruples, with the result that the “abomination” in question was briefly described in print: “They put the penis into the unfortunate's mouth, and go on to emit the semen, which the wretch eagerly swallows down as if (it) were the vigor and the force of the other; thinking no doubt thus to restore himself greater strength . . .”

(Crook ☺

The prominent chief Pomare II [...] his favorite having been an individual (perhaps a *mahu*) named Toetoe, with whom, according to the Reverend Crook, he once “lived in a horrid manner at Matavai” (Journal, 2 March 1821, LMS Archives) [...]:

At dinner . . . [Pomare's] detestable pander sat along side of him on a low seat. The King cut some meat put it in a plate & gave it him & he took it back & eat it. [Presumably, back to the eating place reserved for women.] Afterwards he came to the table again, the King poured him out spirits which he drank at the table. Br Nott reports that when he has gone to the King to translate the Scripture, this Vile fellow has lain asleep & when the King awoke him at one time he was offended and cried like a child. The King then coaxed him and made it up with him. Br Nott also informed the brethren Boume Darling & myself this day that he is very near to the Kings person who cannot bear him out of his sight for a minute and that when he is translating the Scriptures with the King, he (Br N) on one couch & the King on another this detestible wretch is frequently between them, and he is obliged to turn his head from them to his book to avoid seeing what passes and still gets his ears shocked with what he hears. The King as we may expect pays no attention to his wife & seems to have no concern at all about

his infant son, who was at our house most of the day, but the king made no inquiry after him. (Crook, Journal, 6 February 1821, LMS Archives).

## CHAPITRE 2

Compilation par Morris des textes du Capitaine Cook et de sa suite, lors de la visite à Hawaï :

We had no doubt of what an Takanee meant. Terreeoboo [Kalani'ōpu'u] has five of them, who are men of the first Consequence, indeed all the Chiefs had them. (King, en mars 1779 ; Morris *op. cit.*, p. 29)

Every Aree [ali'i] according to his rank keeps so many women and so many young men (l'car'nies as they call them) for the amusement of his leisure hours; they talk of this infernal practice with all the indifference in the world, nor do I suppose they imagine any degree of infamy in it. (Clerke, mars 1779 ; Morris *op. cit.*, p. 30).

The rest of Kariopoo's [Kalani'ōpu'u] Train were Chiefs of inferior Rank who hold offices about his Person and are entitled E-ra-we-ra-we [*he lawelawe* : a minister], of these we were informed he kept a great Number whose Duty it is to attend upon him and feed him. Another Sett of Servants of whom he has a great many are called Ikany and are of superior Rank to Erawe-rawe. Of this Class are Parea [Palea] and Cani-Coah [Kānekoa] and their business is to commit the Sin of Onan upon the old King. This, however strange it may appear, is fact, as we learnt from frequent Enquiries about this curious Custom, and it is an office that is esteemed honourable among them & they have frequently asked us on seeing a handsome young fellow if he was not an Ikany to some of us. The Queen Kaneecapoo-rei [Kāneikapōlei] was with him, who has had several Children by him notwithstanding the old Boy keeps such a number of Ikany's, and they say that he has many Concubines. (Samwell, janvier 1779 ; Morris *op. cit.*, p. 30-31).

[...] Chiefs of the first rank ; they live in great State, have servants to feed them, , have as many Concubines and Wives as they please, and a number of young fellows under the Title of Ikany whose office has been before explained, & we have great reason to think that that Unnatural Crime which ought never to be mentioned is not unknown amongst them. (Samwell février 1779, Morris p. 31)

He with many of his attendants took up his quarters on board the ship for the Night: among them is a Young Man of whom he seems very fond, which does not in the least surprise us as we have had opportunities before of being acquainted with a detestable part of his Character which he is not in the least anxious to conceal. (Samwell, février 1779 ; Morris *op. cit.*, p. 31).

The custom alluded to is that of sodomy, which is very prevalent if not universal among the chiefs, and we believe peculiar to them, as we never saw any appearance of it among the commonalty. As this was the first instance we had ever seen of it in our travels, we were cautious how we credited the first indications of it, and waited untill opportunity gave full proof of the circumstance. The cohabitation is between the chiefs and the most beautiful males they can procure about 17 years old, these they call Kikuana, which in their language signifies a relation. These youths follow them wherever they go, and are as narrowly looked after as the women in those countries where jealousy is so predominant a passion; they are extremely fond of them, and by a shocking inversion of the laws of nature, they bestow all those affections upon them that were intended for the other sex. (Ledyard, no date ; Morris *op. cit.*, p. 32)

Karana-toa [Kalanikoa], brother to Teeave [Keawe] by the father's side, being on board the Resolution to day and seeing a handsome young fellow whose appearance he liked much, offered six large Hogs to the Captain [now Clerke] if he would let him stand his Ikany [aikane] for a little while, such is the strange depravity of these Indians. (Samwell, mars 1779 ; Morris *op. cit.*, p. 33).

### CHAPITRE 3 :

#### Remarques de Levy sur les femmes « homosexuelles » (p 140-41) :

... no full agreement about the proper terminology for female homosexual behaviour. In Piri a female who is in some way like a man in terms of action or dress is a rare and mostly hearsay phenomenon in comparison with the highly visible male *māhū*. Women dressing and living somewhat as men and playing western-type lesbian roles have been known in the island of Tahiti for some generations at least, but there is no mention of this anywhere in the earliest historical descriptions of Tahiti. The Davies missionary dictionary has a word, *pa'i'a*, which is defined as “sodomy”. This word means the rubbing together of genitals without penetration and is now used to refer to one of the types of female homosexual behavior. *Māhū* is considered by many to be misused for describing female homosexuals, and the term given is *vahine pa'i'a*. The existence of this word in the Davies dictionary is a vague indication that the practice of female homosexual contact may have been named, although there is no evidence for a full female homosexual role corresponding to the *māhū*. There are no reports of female homosexual behavior in Piri. In Papeete, on the other hand, transient homosexual contacts between women are said to be frequent. These are said to involve mutual mouth-genital contact or mutual masturbation. These contacts are considered particularly abnormal or signs of altered sexuality. They involve women who also engage in ordinary heterosexual behavior.

According to the chief of the territorial gendarmerie there has, in the four of five years before 1964, been a marked increase in the number of mannish-looking female homosexuals in evidence in Papeete. He considers that this has been very rare before.

#### Les remarques de Elliston sur les “mahu au corps féminin” :

In contrast to the historically deep representations of *māhū*, accounts of the history of *raerae* that I’ve gathered from both *raerae* and *māhū* agree that both the term “*raerae*” and the persons it refers to did not emerge in the Islands until the 1960s. [...] The period to which the emergence of *raerae* is dated, the 1960s, was a period of rapid and dramatic social change [...] France’s relocating its nuclear testing program [...] France began pouring money into the territory [...] The story of this historical development, from the perspectives of older *raerae* and *māhū* today, is that it was *māhū* who first began to provide sexual services to French men in exchange for money (see also Bauer 2002, 95–100), and primarily to French sailors around Papeete’s port. [...] First, and as Bauer (2002, 95) rightly situates it, women’s prostitution was a rarity in Papeete [...] Thus does Bauer argue that, for sailors and other French men in the 1960s, *māhū* presented an alternative to the “demands” of having Polynesian girlfriends (Bauer 2002, 97). Second, as discussed previously and as supported by life stories I’ve gathered from *māhū* over the years, *māhū* sexual practices have substantively included a form of sexual servicing in which young men and teenage boys known to a specific *māhū* go to “visit the *māhū*” for sex. The shift from the practice of sexually servicing young Polynesian men to sexual soliciting foreign French men, and ultimately to the direct marketing and selling of sexual services to a substantially foreign clientele, [...] Yet from the perspective of the French men, sailors and otherwise, arriving at the Papeete ports in the 1960s, Polynesian *māhū* were not the obvious prospective sexual partners, nor were they obvious as sex workers. While local Polynesian understandings of *māhū* included their practices of same-sex sexuality and sexual servicing, the performance of *māhū* gender involved both masculine and feminine components (i.e., “half-man, halfwoman”). According to contemporary *māhū* and *raerae* narratives, *māhū* of the 1960s who sought boyfriends and clients among the newly arriving French men flush with francs found that the more they “feminized” themselves, the more successful they were [...] Within a few years, by the



latter 1960s, the term “raerae” is said to have emerged to identify and distinguish these more “feminized” māhū from other, regular, māhū.[...] It is a creation of the 1960s.

## Chapitre 4

Remarque de Alexeyeff (vocabulaire à Rarotonga)

There is one organization, launched in 2008, to represent ‘akava‘ine (traditional transgender persons): *Te Tiare Association*. The term ‘akava‘ine is a term that has gained popularity only recently in the mid 2000s. Before this time the term *laelae* was the most common term (or *donut*). To my knowledge - ‘akava‘ine was not used to describe transgender people (*tutuvaine* did however). *Laelae* is now seen as a highly derogatory term (and one imposed by anthropologists). Choosing ‘akava‘ine suggests the term was calqued on the Samoan term *fa‘afafine* to which they had been exposed through diasporic networks. At the same time, the new term constitutes a local reclamation: Before this time, ‘akava‘ine referred negatively to young women who were “above themselves,” “did not know their place,” and displayed overtly individualistic and immodest behaviors this volume). Transgender Cook Islanders appropriated the term to indicate that they are indeed “in the spotlight” through their glamour and sophistication. (2013: 5-6)

## CHAPITRE 9

Les filles masculines : « h\*\*\*sexuality-tomboys » :

**la discussion en ligne sur les « tomboy » entre Samoans émigrés**

tirée de pages accessibles à l’époque sur la toile (<http://village.1samoana.com/>) et utiles au lecteur qui voudrait voir de plus près les nuances, le style et les tournures employées dans cette discussion. [Quelques cas d’orthographe bizzare peuvent provenir de ma copie digitale à l’époque et je n’ai pu vérifier par la suite puisque l’original a disparu].

Posted by [Samoan Dingo](#) (« female, Australia ») on October 6, 2008 at 2:58am in [Evaevaga ile Taulaga](#) :

H\*\*\*SEXUALITY : FaFafines are Accepted, but how about samoan Girls that are h\*\*\*sexuals?

I know it does exist but is it accepted? our Samoan community accepts fafafines but how about samoan female lesbians if there is any? As a heterosexual I know fafafines have it easy parading as a girl ; and fafafines are usually h\*\*\*sexual and Bi~sexual but the Word tomboy for a samoan girl that is h\*\*\*sexual is frowned upon

—KAilo —ae ouke iloa toafe na talia i tagata matutua le na mea, lol.

Reply by [Samoan Dingo](#) on October 6, 2008 at 3:03am :

A palagi friend at uni asked me about h\*\*\*sexuals in our culture and I replied that yes there is guys that are gay or transgenders called fafafines but he asked me if there were girls that were lesbians~and my response was NO WAAAAAAAAAAAAAY!!! but I have to ask is there ???.....I know in Savaii where my mom’s from there it isn’t lol no such thing as that tasi a le upu le tina o le TOMBOY e LEAGA – despite if there could be but I bring it to you to add your Seleni to the discussion :

Reply by [High Matai](#) (« female, Australia ») on October 6, 2008 at 8:02am :

there are actually quite a few out there loud & proud samoan lesbians... if they're accepted or not? Well as far as I can see the ones I know pretty much are by family & friends dont know if they'd go screaming it in the local shopping centre but they're comfortable with who they are & they are also with other Samoan girls accepted for who they are... maybe not approved by everyone but accepted by the people that count to them YES they are... they have that emotional support present!

Reply by [Samoan Dingo](#) on October 7, 2008 at 12:01am :

Wow !!! thanks uso matai ; well in my exp I had a relative who was "EXPERIMENTING" with another girl and when this was found out she received the following disciplines:

- \*FASI of course

- \*no more Communication

- \*and monitored wherever she went.

2 yrs later secretly involved to with this other girl against family rules she was caught again.

\*she was sent to Samoa to serve time and is bak now in a heterosexual r'lship it was shame on the family & everyone found out in the community Like they always do (kala fou NEWS) —so it's great to see that there is acceptance to a degree —that i thought never existed thnks uso —anyways alofa

Reply by [Hazel](#) [New Zealand, apparently a girl] on October 7, 2008 at 12:06am :

Olllllllaaaa...damn I dont know it depends I guess, I guess the Tomboys who are girly girls now for example me who love men oh men hahahaha its a yay yayy... but for the girls who are like realllll tomboys and prefer the girls oh girls, then I dont know aye! I kinda wondered about that question too! So people speakos up, cos me and Taupou Juju aka filipo-peterson would like to know... damn I want to know too :) Awesome topic there Taupou!

Reply by [Heartless](#) (« female, California ») on October 7, 2008 at 7:13am :

hhhhmmmm...I have lots of gay friends and love 'em to death but I dont have any lesbian samoan friends and they do exist here but anyways, I had an experience this weekend ...we had to play at the club this past weekend and on break one of the ladies walked over and was highly upset because she went 2 use the bathroom and came storming outta there...when we asked what happend, she jus started cursing in Samoan and talking about how stupid Samoan girls were and how they will neva get to heaven because women were made for men and not for other women.....APPARENTLY, she walked in the bathroom and found a samoan girl going down on another girl on the counter.....and I knew who she was, jus didnt know she was lesbian. Anyways, back to the subject, there are alot of Samoan lesbians and I think that its really hard for our people to accept women as lesbians, and if they want 2 be accepted it shouldnt be done this way like this past weekend, our people I believe are more use to the fafages and they have no problems with it, therefore I think they should give the same respect to the women who wanna live as lesbians

Reply by [CherryK](#) (« female, New Zeland ») on October 7, 2008 at 9:12am :

Nice topic Cuz!!! So true!!! we accept Fafa's but when it comes to Samoan Lezzies... its a different story... I dont have a problem with it, since a couple mates are lezzies.... Its funny, cos Im boyish too... but EVERYONE knows I love da MENS... but yeah, its just a bit rude rude when people assume that we're less just cos of the way we dress, n act... lol But.... just bcos Im ok with them... doesnt mean I wanna see that shy.... !!!! Its one of those ones... "yeah.. Im ok with it... but dont ever do that shy in front of me..."

Reply by [Samoan Dingo](#) on October 7, 2008 at 3:44pm :



sa'o lava kuz —ua fai sina sau a nisi ae pule a lakou ma lakou amio, ae a sau le fia Vaai no ways — ALLL FOR DA MEN despite DA headache's....Da DRAMAS — GOTTA love DA MENS not BECAUSE We HAVE to but because can't live without them... Thnks Tiger....Chohooo loo loo

Reply by [TEINE O LE SEGAULA](#) (« female, Hawaii ») on October 7, 2008 at 9:44am :

i have some in my family. to me if they wants to leave their life like that. eh let them be. its their decision not ours. like what DA said Im ok with that as long as they dont do it in front of me.

Reply by [Kiri](#) (« male, Samoa ») on October 7, 2008 at 10:57am :

yeah I dont know many, but I know that there are out there, I have friend who has been married to her girlfriend for nearly 10 years now, they have kids and everything, but eh... its not even a big deal.. but ur right, i think most Samoan lesbians are undercover or something..

Reply by [Tiger eyes](#) (« female, Australia ») on October 7, 2008 at 4:53pm :

yeah its no big deal but they do exist. lol Myfamily thought I was one, but my cuz is and shes proud.

Reply by [Samoan Dingo](#) on October 7, 2008 at 10:45pm :

RIGHT ON, that is THE question WHY the Fafas are but not Samoan Lesbians ..... Great response: D —oute masalosalo ina o Tatou o Keine ma o tatou foi e tatau na oo i kama because it's Right ....Time will tell whether Samoa will accept it or not.

Reply by [Melissa](#) [female, California] on September 18, 2012 at 1:34pm :

I am so late to this topic but I was doing research on my paper for anthropology and my topic is how fa'afafine's are accepted in our everyday lives and culture but talk about a girl being h\*\*\*sexual and its a whole different story. I thank all of you for your post on the topic. Its definitely help to see the different views of what people think on this topic.

Reply by [adaryann<3](#) (« female, American Samoa ») on September 18, 2012 at 2:23pm :

sadly yes there are! alot of them i must say, some of which I know are very good people! do we accept them???? I do ! they have rights and feelings! and because of that we should give them respect no matter what! o\_O

Reply by [JJW](#) (« male, Apia [Samoa] ») on September 19, 2012 at 5:43pm :

hmmm I just read your disc and what you said about tomboy as h\*\*\*sexual... I think I just read on the other blog Make up, and Hood claiming not to be wearing make up cause she is a tomboy... hahahahaha.....hmmm I wonder what this mean...hmmm...hahahahahahahahaa

\* \* \*

## Chapitre 9 suite :

(La prise de conscience d'une communauté faafatama) :

Texte original du discours (et/ou interview) de So'oalo, présidente de la S.F.A. à propos de la réunion-discussion d'octobre 2017 avec les fa'afatama :

## Fa'afatama gathering first of its kind in Samoa

*JL By Joyetter Luamanu, 31/10/2017*

Bringing together the circle of fa'afatama (transmen) in Samoa was the goal of the Talanoa session spearheaded by the Samoa Fa'afafine Association.

Held at the Palolo Deep earlier this month, S.F.A. President, So'oalo Tootooalii Stanley welcomed the participants and applauded their courage to turn up.

"This gathering is the first of its kind and a historical milestone in the advocacy work of S.F.A. to be inclusive of all gender minorities as stipulated in its mandated functions and Strategic Plan 2016 – 2020," So'oalo said.

"More importantly is the fact that this is a long overdue process to gauge the perspective and participation of the fa'afatama, a key population under the U.N.D.P. Global Fund Multi-country project."

So'oalo also acknowledged the commitment by Ice Heather, a fa'afatama who mobilized the gathering and has been the only active fa'afatama in S.F.A.

"His involvement in S.F.A. has exposed him to national and regional gatherings which has enhanced his know how of issues affecting the L.G.B.T. (Lesbian Gay Bisexual and Transgender) community and the importance of being visible and being heard."

So'oalo said [that] the Talanoa session touched on issues mobilizing of fa'afatama community is a challenge.

He said the culture of fa'afatama was not like the fa'afafine where it was natural to greet each other and build relations in public or when they crossed paths on a daily basis.

"It is the norm that they (fa'afatama) generally ignore each other and avoid any interactions."

"For instance, they were approached by us individually to participate but it is the first time most of them have met each other or in this case forced to meet each other."

"They tend to stick to their clicks and the fa'afatama they know with very limited efforts to expand."

"Most associate with other men through sports, friends and bands but rarely with other faafatama/transmen," said So'oalo.

"Despite this isolation culture and norm, the talanoa session demonstrated their issues and concerns are more similar than diverse."

"There is no safe space for fa'afatama to share their problems or get support."

"Most find comfort in their close friends and family members who understand or relate to their situation."

"The challenges of growing up fa'afatama are generally suppressed putting first family culture and religion," said So'oalo.

He also pointed out that as biological women, the associated cultural significance of the Samoa "woman" was a designation that was difficult to escape, particularly the expectations and demands by society of what was normal.

"They are faced with discrimination on a daily basis through verbal and physical abuse generally from close family members and the public."

"Although there is no recorded account of abuse, the participants shared stories of surviving abuse and if it weren't for their 'tough' nature and presence, for most suicide was a feasible option."

"Support varied with some saying it's their mothers or grandmothers who demonstrated the most support, where others confirmed it's the opposite and their fathers were their main supporters," stated So'oalo.

The S.F.A. said the Fa'afatama participants' admitted the discrete and invisible nature of their existence was not helpful.

"It is common knowledge that most of the fa'afatama community are unemployed, living with family and heavily dependent on family members for support."

"In a way it is also one of the main reasons for being oppressed because of their obligation to the hands that feed them and the fear of being ostracized from this support system."

"They also agree the S.F.A. initiative to bring them together is a welcomed intervention and long overdue."

"They also confirmed that if S.F.A. did not call this session, they will not initiate a similar process and it takes their faafafine sisters to make this happen and in this regard participants request the continuous guidance of S.F.A. in moving forward."

So'oalo said participants had agreed to take baby steps forward. He added terminology was a highlighted issue.

"Fa'afatama/Transmen, the correct pronoun is he and it is incorrect and rude to call a fa'afatama/transmen she, suga or sis."

"Tomboy is a term that is loosely used and there seems to be a natural and accepted association to the term among their community only."

Fa'afatama/Transmen, these women identify as straight, some have children so in sometime in their lifetime they have been sexually involved with men.

"Regardless of the terminology, they are commonly known as the wife; la'u teine or partner and in reverse to the women the fa'afatama are their husbands and it is that simple," said Soalo.

So'oalo also said one of the key issues raised in the Talanoa Session was the limited access to counseling or support services to discuss their problems without being judged or frowned upon.

"Majority of the participants are in steady relationships with many more than three years of living together as normal couples."

"Two of the participants have been legally married overseas."

"However, family problems, co-existence in the family context, pressure of culture and religion are a daily battle. "

"For most, this emotional and physical abuse is harbored internally."

"There is a need for counseling services as a means of escape and support without having to resort to drastic measures such as violence, neglect, depression, or suicide."

"How can we realize these key outcomes?"

"Mapping a way forward to address these outcomes meant commitment by the group."

"It was clear the participants have no issues with being visible or taking the stand for their community under the guidance and support of S.F.A.," he said.

By Joyetter Luamanu 31 October 2017, 12:00AM

## **Chapitre 9 suite :**

Un 'tit gars efféminé pansexuel hétéroromantique  
au genre fluide dans un corps féminin »

Cette déclaration fut accessible en avril 2017. En plus de pouvoir apprécier les nuances et le style, le lecteur a ainsi accès au texte complet (ma traduction française avait omis certains passages).

My name is Amber Luka Leleiga Ruth 林 (Lim / Lin) Schweitzer Anapu Bernard Cowley Tuilaepa Bunnin, but for this, Luka 林-Cowley will do just fine.

I am the daughter of Maria Louise Bernard and Francis Oliver Lim Bunnin, and I have two younger brothers and a stepmother. My ancestors are Samoan (Safotu, Savai'i ma Vaigaga, Upolu), French, Manx, Chinese (汉族 Hànzú), Jewish (Ashkenazi), German, Latvian, and maybe Swiss. I was born in London (U.K.), which is where I lived for about thirteen years, before moving to Aotearoa New Zealand with my mum and brother.

I am afakasi, queer, trans, autistic, and fa'atama.

So, I have a confession to make: I only started using the term fa'atama to describe myself two years ago – for various reasons, but one of the big ones was: in the Samoan community, it's usually made known that fa'afafine exist, but us? \*crickets\* XD Well, that and the odd gecko.

There were LOTS of signs before then, 'though.

What I now find rather amusing and, upon occasion a tad disturbing, is that the boys I liked when I was little often had traits that matched up with what the 'ideal' of femininity is purported to be in our society: gentle, quiet, petite features, straight blond hair, blue eyes. And yes, this 'ideal' version of femininity is raced white.

Also, the extent to which neuroatypicality ((usually) autistic, or similarly having a 'non-normative' brain type & associated functioning) affects gender is interesting: gender non-conformity in autistic females is markedly higher than in non-autistic females ([http://www.huffingtonpost.com/kyle-simon/is-there-a-link-between-autism-and-gender-dysphoria\\_b\\_3896317.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/kyle-simon/is-there-a-link-between-autism-and-gender-dysphoria_b_3896317.html)), and something similar seems to be going on with autistic males; my guess is that no one's asked autistic intersex people because there is a long history of brushing intersex people under the carpet, amongst other things.

The continuing question from people seems to be 'what does it mean to be fa'atama???' – this is, perhaps, something that should be answered given the GAPING HOLES in knowledge about us. (Seriously: 5 hours on Google and I get, like, one study? (talking of which, there might be more on that later...) – and several 'honourable mentions' #thestruggleisreal XD )

So, perhaps I'll attempt to shed some light on that!

And I'd like to start off by disagreeing with my former self:

I can't give you an answer. I'm not sure anyone can. But I reckon we'll all have a better idea when several fa'atama (more, if possible) have talked about what it means to be fa'atama to us. And continue to.

For me, it means this:

First off, it means I'm Samoan. There are... lots of questions about what is and isn't Samoan, and how much; indeed, I've had "but you don't sound Samoan", or some variation thereupon, so many times I can no longer count them because of my accent (non-conservative received pronunciation, in the vernacular, just in case you were wondering).

It also means that my gender-sex-orientation identity is... complicated; I think the best way of describing it in queer terminology is: 'effeminate pansexual heteroromantic genderfluid boi in a female body'. So there. \*cue-wrist-flick\* ; I have been known, on many occasions, to perform a certain kind of limp-wristedness, and with a particular tone of voice, that screams camp – not for comic effect, as is too often done in some places, but because it's what fits with my gender identity. Because of this, and my body, I often get read as 'binary female'. So, on the very rare occasions when someone gets my gender identity right, I'm like ^u^ x 1000.

Personally, identifying as fa'atama is both, in some ways, a stipulation of masculinity, AND an invitation to critique masculinity. (And everything else. Anyone for religion?) In particular, misogyny, (cis)male superiority and the repression of emotions frequently embedded in it, and chivalry.

Developing a fa'atama aesthetic is *\*very\** important to me: wearing (bow)ties and sei simultaneously has become my mainstay and it looks awesome, even if I do say so myself.

As mentioned previously, I tend to be more attracted to people who are feminine-presenting-and-identifying. For me, this is part of being fa'atama. But I'm not sure that this should be considered an essential part of 'the fa'atama identity', whatever that means. I have no doubt that there are fa'atama and others similar to us out there who are primarily attracted to masculine-identified people. The general pattern seems to be for fa'afafine to be attracted to masculine-identified people and fa'atama to be attracted to feminine-identified people, but as shown in so many other cases, the pattern should not necessarily be the rule.

Question: does anyone know where the term fa'afatama came from? Does anyone know anyone who refers to themselves as fa'afatama? Or fa'atane? Why is it fa'atama and not fa'atane? Are there any fa'ateine out there?

One of the points I would like to raise, amongst others, is that fa'afatama seems to imply we are a subcategory of fa'afafine, or some sort of afterthought, which is just a little bit problematic, to put it lightly. But I could be wrong: so, anyone who knows something about where the term came from, who uses it, and where and when it's used, speak up!

Pronouns! My preferred ones are ze, hir & they, them. Please use the ones we have chosen, not the ones you think we should be using. It is an act of extreme arrogance to assume that you know us better than we know ourselves, especially if you've just met us. People who aren't sure which pronouns we use: please ask. People being asked: please be nice to the people who are asking.

Due to the intersectionality of our identities, we are often the recipients of multiple prejudices. That does not, however, give us a pass to start playing oppression olympics (example: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w8EcxlFyvZQ>) : "My struggle is worst!" "No, mine is!" Aiyaaa... (which is a Chinese expression of dismay) – our positionalities, I believe, are tools we can and should use to become more compassionate, not less. The point is not who has more pain: it is that there is pain at all: as Audre Lorde said, "There is no hierarchy of oppression." ([https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J5\\_qjn-R5V4&feature=youtu.be](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J5_qjn-R5V4&feature=youtu.be)) (There are, of course, further intricacies to this, but: perhaps another time?)

I will not call what happened in Orlando 'senseless': I believe doing this, in some ways, removes our responsibility to understand why these things happen, and hence, our responsibility to actively prevent them. Now, in saying that, I realise that could come across as 'let's go attack the prejudiced people!' – that's not what I'm saying. Besides, if we were to do that, we'd just end up attacking ourselves: it's not like we don't have prejudices too, after all.

If the framework upon which prejudice lies is made of ignorance and fear, then perhaps the best way in which to combat this is to educate people, with gentleness, with kindness. I mean, there is always scaring people into submission, but that just breeds more hatred, and it's not sustainable.

Everything is interconnected. Some of us might find ourselves in, or work our ways into places where we are accepted. But what about everyone who's left behind? As Fannie Lou Hamer said, "Nobody's free until everybody's free."

[Content & trigger warning[c&tw]: *swearing, suicide, mental illness, self-harm*] In terms of advice, I want to thank the wonderful people who've written before me for their brilliant words I would like to add this:

1) Anyone else here been depressed, anxious, suicidal? So have I! Indeed, during the few months it's taken me to finish this, I had a couple of mini-episodes. We're not going to solve these problems by not talking about them. Because I come from a family where it's quite common to have depression and we're pretty open about it, which I'm constantly grateful for, I won't lie and say that I know how difficult it is to be upfront in families and environments where mental illness is looked down upon and hushed up. I can only offer sympathy, and assure you that it feels so much better once you talk about it with someone you trust. If you don't trust any of your family or friends, there are numbers to call – I've done it a couple of times, and it works well.

Also: you know those downward-spiral-swirling-panic-hopeless-world-closing-in-on-you-feeling things? Whatever you do, do not self-harm.



And I know it's a good way of grounding yourself – that's why people use it, after all – but it's like a gateway drug: the more you use it, the more you'll need to do it the next time round. If you're near something that you could use to self-harm, walk, run, crawl, something, until you're a safe distance away from it.

Focusing on your breathing, counting, waiting until it slows down can work very well, but sometimes, something more intense is necessary: in these instances, tasting something very spicy, bitter or sour, or feeling something very cold – note the 'very' – can give you enough of a sensory shock to do a bit of a reboot, and from there on, you're a bit more centred.

2) Our stories are valuable and powerful: there is a great deal that can be learned from our lives. Our stories are deeply needed to fill the void in collective consciousness about us, and the lives of people who are like us, who are us. So, whatever your medium of choice is, be it spoken word, writing, music, dance, film, sculpture: !!! And, those of us on the academic track: we could do with more research, not for 'intellectual purposes', but to actually benefit our communities – who's with me?

I would like to end on a memory of a conversation I had with my brother.

We were in the middle of disagreeing about something, and then he said: "Why can't you just be normal?"

And, instead of getting annoyed, which is what usually happens, something else happened: I felt sorry for him. I felt sorry for him because I know it's difficult to have someone like me as a sister. It is difficult for people who are not us to imagine what it is like to be us. It seems to be the opinion of many that the world would be simpler, and therefore better, if we did not exist as ourselves.

But we must become who God (They, Them pronouns, I believe ? ) intends us to be.

Without us, the world would be diminished, less vibrant, less vital. We, as a species, and as living beings, rely on variance for survival, and we are all blessed with so many talents because of the varieties of our circumstances of birth. It is my hope, even if not everyone agrees on whether we can marry who we love, or which political party to vote for, or which faith to follow, that everyone is able to know and understand this.

Alofas X

*Brief notes:*

1) *This can be thought of as a continuation of this: (content & trigger warning[c&tw]: swearing, suicide. <http://salient.org.nz/2016/07/faa/> )*

2) *You might've seen MVPFAFF+ around – I think it should be MVPPRTWTFAAAAF+, or something similar:*

*Mahu – Hawaii*

*Vakasalewalewa – Fiji (also known as fairies)*

*Pinapinaaine – Tuvalu & Kiribati*

*Palopa – Papua New Guinea*

*Rae Rae – Tahiti*

*Takatāpui – Aotearoa*

*Whakawahine – Aotearoa*

*Tangata Ira Tane – Aotearoa*

*Fiafifine – Niue*

*'Akava'ine – Rarotonga*

*Fakaleiti – Tonga (also known as leiti)*

*Fa'afafine – Samoa (also known as fafa(s))*

*Fa'atama – Samoa (also known as tomboys or fa'afatama)*

*Fa'aafa – Samoa*

*+: expansion needed!*

*Do indigenous Filipinx and Taiwanese people include themselves in the Pacific?*

3) *Definitions!*

*(biological) sex: classifications based on a number of things, including genitalia, sex organs, chromosomes, hormones, and so forth. Intersex, female, and male are the main categories, but there are approximately 40 'official' ways in which to be intersex ([https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J\\_ihS5q\\_kp8](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J_ihS5q_kp8), other sources), so perhaps there are more like 50 sexes. Anyhow, it's spectral, like everything here:*

*gender identity: how someone feels, sees themselves – you could be, for example, whakawahine, (gender)queer, hijra, transsexual, transgender, two spirit, demiboy, agender, mahu, maverique, yīnyáng rén... (I literally just found this last one now – yay!) – the list goes on.*

*gender expression: how someone expresses themselves – clothing, mannerisms, voice, spaces inhabited, ways of moving, and so forth.*

*orientation: who and what you're attracted to – platonically, sexually, romantically, aesthetically.*

*These definitions, complicated as they are, are still rather inept. For example, it might be easy to simply think of sex as physical, and gender as mental. But there are flaws in that: there was a Swedish study, I believe, that found the brains of MtF transsexuals had hippocampi (hippocampus: particular part of the brain that associated with memory, and emotional & hormonal regulation, amongst other things) more similar to what one would find in a cisgender brain with the same gender identity (also: <https://www.newscientist.com/article/dn20032-transsexual-differences-caught-on-brain-scan/>).*

*Likewise, whether you're assigned a particular sex depends upon the background of whoever's doing the assigning.*

*I hope that we will develop much more capacious, kind language and ways in which to discuss the above in the years to come.*

## ANNEXES

### Annexe 2 : Les associations officielles samoanes des efféminées *Faafafine*

Propos que j'avais relevés en 2011 à partir du site alors actif :

<<http://www.samoafaafafine.org/sfa/welcome.html>>. Voici le texte original :

*Texte original :*

Copyright Samoa Faafafine Association Inc. 2008-2011 All rights reserved.

Talofa lava, Welcome to the official website of the Samoa Fa'afafine Association (SFA) Incorporated. SFA is a community-based organization in Apia, Samoa and is set up to address issues relating to sexual and gender minorities in Samoa. We hope this medium will allow us to present our viewpoints, our stories, and our goals as an Association so that we can become better active citizens and participants in the determination of issues that affect us individually and as a community.

#### STATEMENT

As children of Samoa, it is our common stance to raise :

- our fundamental pride and esteem as fa'afafine ;
- conscious that social and legal discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, gender identity and expression is invasive thus for effective work against such oppression we call for national, regional and international solidarity ;
- conscious with respect to the vulnerability of our community in a Society that continues to practice so many forms of discrimination, the need for our protection from abuse and the goal of ensuring that we experience both freedom and support as we develop our own sexualities and identities ;
- conscious of the impact of discrimination on the basis of sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, age and disability and the way in which such discrimination can end in violence ;
- acknowledgement of the say and the work of previous generations in our community who have struggled for equality and liberation of human rights for sexual and gender minority groups.

SOFIAS:

Le texte original : « Description of the Organization's Seal : *As its motif a figurehead of a female with a tiara symbolizing success, celebrating achievement and promoting diversity. A full bun-hairstyle and a large red hibiscus flower serve as a symbol of an island girl sophistication, with a neckline adorned with siapo-tapa design that represents the Samoan fa'afafine (way of a woman). The name of the organization in Samoan runs across the top – with the motto across the bottom – “la Ola Malamalama I Lou Fa'asinomaga” - pointing out that all humans should be proud of their identity. In addition - For fa'afafine Samoa to be proud of who they are and the aiga-families they come from.* »

#### UTOPIA:

« It's the bomb, honey! The United Territories of Polynesian Islanders Alliance (U.TO.P.I.A.) was started in San Francisco in 1998 to support the Polynesian gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender community. Their goal was to bring us Pacific Islanders together in a more formal social setting in order to ease the isolation that many of us faced in accepting our sexuality, yet remaining really close to our culture and families. It wasn't until late 1999 that we began our own chapter here on O'ahu with the help of Life Foundation and the G.L.C.C. for the same purpose. With the help of the Life Foundation, we are trying to address the current trend of rising HIV infections in our Pacific Islander community, as well as supporting those who have already been affected by the disease (there are over 200 of our Asian / Pacific Islander HIV+ brothers and sisters at L.F.). »

#### Annexe 3: notes citant des articles de loi :

« Section 58D criminalizes 'indecent assaults' and 'indecent acts' committed by or permitted by one male in respect of another male, regardless of consent. Boys under the age of 16 cannot be charged with either committing or permitting or inducing indecent acts unless the other male is under the age of 21. This section therefore effectively criminalizes any physical contact of a sexual nature between males. It appears to have been adopted directly from section 141 of New Zealand's *Crimes Act 1961*. Section 58N makes it an offence for a male person to have 'on or about his person any article intended by him to represent that he is a female or in any other way is impersonating or representing himself to be a female'. The offence must be committed in a public place and with the intent to deceive any other person as to his 'true sex'. There is no equivalent section to be found in the New Zealand *Crimes Act 1961*, which suggests that this offence may have been specifically created for Samoa. »

« 1 May 2013: The Samoan Government updated its criminal law in the Crimes Act 2013, including sexual offences, making some positive steps with respect to LGBT. In particular, under section 50 'sexual connections' was defined to include oral and anal sex, and by inference allowing sexual contact between males if it is consented to. However, section 67 of the Crimes Act continues to criminalise sodomy. »

**FIN**