Api’ianga Tupuanga Kopapa: Sexuality Education in the Cook Islands

An exegesis and project submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Declaration

I certify that except where due acknowledgement has been made, the work is that of the author alone; the work has not been submitted previously, in whole or in part, to qualify for any other academic award, the content of the thesis is the result of work which has been carried out since the official commencement date of the approved research program; and ethics procedures and guidelines have been followed.

Signed

Debi Futter-Puati
5th February 2017

The research for this thesis received the approval of the RMIT CHEAN 1 June 2012 (Project number: 18/12).
Acknowledgements

This doctoral journey has been completed while living in three countries, moving to a new job in a different country, enduring the loss of my mother-in-law, watching my mother fight breast cancer, my husband and I taking on the care of my father-in-law, living away from the one I love, my daughter getting married, and becoming a grandmother. Whew! Throughout these significant life events my supervisors, Dr Jennifer Elsden-Clifton and Dr Emily Gray, have patiently mentored me with their on-going wisdom, guidance, friendship, and unfailing support. I am truly indebted to you both as mentors and also as friends. Meitaki maata Jen and Em, you have made the journey interesting, fun, pragmatic and doable – who could ask for more?

I would like to say meitaki maata to my Tivaevae ta’unga, Teremoana Maua-Hodges. Teremoana, your contribution to this thesis by way of your Tivaevae Model has been significant. I am very proud to be able to use the Tivaevae Model for this doctoral study and to build on the possibilities of its use. Your model prompted me to integrate the tivaevae concept throughout the study which has kept me challenged and excited. Meitaki maata for making the time to visit with me and to allow me to explore possibilities around the ideas I had about your model. Another meitaki maata for granting me permission to play with those ideas. I thank you for your generosity. It seems that our paths will continue to cross and I look forward to reading your Masters thesis on the Tivaevae Model.

My Tivaevae pange has been a group of similarly amazing people. Sewing a doctoral thesis that is a metaphorical tivaevae could not be done without a large support group. Other than Emily, Jennifer, and Teremoana I have been surrounded with an extended group of supportive generous academics, friends, and family.

Foremost I would like to thank all the aronga mapu, the 11 educators and the focus group participants who participated in this project. Thank you for your
honesty and for entrusting me with your ideas, and your words of wisdom about how sexuality and relationships education might be improved in the Cook Islands. The ongoing support of the Cook Islands Red Cross, Cook Islands Family Welfare Association, Te Tiare Association, the Cook Islands Ministry of Health and the Cook Islands Ministry of Education has been instrumental to this project being completed. To the members of the Cook Islands HIV, STI & TB Committee and the Cook Islands Research Committee who granted me permission and support to do this study I thank you very much. To the Cook Islands Ministry of Health, thank you for providing me with the space to work when I was home and for constantly providing support throughout the doctoral process.

Marg, thank you for your interest in this work, your on-going wise words. Your friendship and wisdom is cherished. Janette, elke and lisahunter are friends who are like family and have stayed the course, through thick and thin, providing emotional and physical sustenance while reminding me that I can do it when I doubted I could. I am so grateful to you all for this, meitaki maata. My colleagues at University of Waikato, thank you for your on-going support and being interested in what I was doing.

Heather Morrell, literature, referencing and formatting extraordinaire. Heather your wisdom and generosity in helping with finding literature, APA referencing and formatting went way beyond expectations. Your knowledge and willingness to help was extraordinary. Meitaki maata. Briar Sefton thank you for crafting my maps. Karen Corneille your work with Excel and SPSS in helping to analyse the questionnaire was incredibly useful. I would also like to say a big thank you for your friendship and support in Melbourne, when I knew nobody. You and your family welcomed me in and for that I am so grateful.

Towards the end, when the going gets tough the tough get going - Janette and Dad your knowledge and practical editing skills were tremendously
helpful. I know each time you read my work was time away from the things you needed to be doing. Meitaki maata. elke – you are something else. Your clear thinking, positively framed editing comments and overall wisdom, sensibilities, positive incantations, and generosity and their impact are too hard to be able articulate. The hours of editing you all did is hard to repay. I will endeavour to do so through swims in lagoons and holidays in paradise. Sincere, heartfelt, thanks.

Receiving RMIT Scholarships from the Australian Commonwealth helped immeasurably and I know that without these I would not have been able to afford to do a doctorate. Thank you to my employer, the University of Waikato for granting me leave for a year leave when I received the scholarship, and support with administration and marking release.

My family and other friends in Aotearoa and the Cook Islands still cared about me even though I was more of an absence than a presence in their lives. For this I am forever grateful. Helene Kay and Deborah Tamaiva thank you for sharing your tivaevae with me, taking photos and making them available for use as well as being ever ready to support. My immediate anau have been relentless in their support and the strange project of having a fledgling scholar as a mother and partner. The project has involved prolonged absences, with too many ka kites rather than kia oranas. The project has meant I have not been available many times and for that I apologise. You are my world Jordan and Samantha and I thank you both for being who you are, supporting me in so many different ways, and for being my reason for this work. Being your mother is my proudest achievement.

James, I can unequivocally say that this doctorate would not have transpired without your solid unerring support. Being able to talk through ideas, tap into your wisdom and knowledge about so many aspects of this thesis, and your conceptual understanding of what I was trying to do has been completely invaluable. Your unwavering support of me, and the crazy ideas I come up
with like doing a PhD, has never faltered in 34 years. You have been selfless in your support, accepting that I need to be in another country, accepting what was left after work and study took my energy. You are simply amazing. As I try to articulate my thoughts about the way you have supported me, I come up against the limit of my language, as you embody qualities and characteristics that are indescribable. I find it impossible to express in these moments, your profound influence, your worth, and your value to me. Thank you from the bottom of my heart.

It is because of all of these people that I am a person in debt as well as wondrous gratitude that such incredible people surround me.

Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my grandchildren in the hope that this resource supports them to receive sexuality and relationships education that is both useful and interesting but also to inspire them - that if Mama Deb can study at university, so can you.
# Table of Contents

Declaration.......................................................................................................................... ii
Acknowledgements............................................................................................................... iii
Dedication................................................................................................................................. vi
Table of Contents.................................................................................................................... vii
List of Tables............................................................................................................................ xii
List of Figures........................................................................................................................... xiii
List of Abbreviations............................................................................................................... xiv
Cook Islands Maori Translations........................................................................................... xvii
Glossary...................................................................................................................................... xix
Key Concepts............................................................................................................................ xxi
Maps......................................................................................................................................... xxii
Abstract.................................................................................................................................... xxv

## Square 1: Tuatua ‘Akamat’anga | Introducing the Research Project.................. 1
  1.1 Introduction......................................................................................................................... 1
  1.2 Situating the Research ....................................................................................................... 4
    1.2.1 ‘Akapapa | Conceptualising and Planning the Research .................. 5
    1.2.2 Akaruru | Data Collection Methods ......................................................... 7
    1.2.3 O’ora Te Tivaevae | The Tivaevae is Gifted ........................................ 7
  1.3 Significance of the Research ............................................................................................. 8
  1.4 Inangaro | Desire: Situating the Researcher ................................................................. 10
  1.5 Akakoroanga | Purpose and Overview of the Exegesis ...................................... 10
  1.6 Openga | Conclusion ..................................................................................................... 11

## Square 2: ‘Akatomo’anga | Setting the Context ............................................. 13
  2.1 Introduction......................................................................................................................... 13
  2.2 Pa Enua | The Cook Islands .............................................................................................. 13
    2.2.1 Pa Enua History and Postcolonialism ......................................................... 16
    2.2.2 Health Status of Pa Enua .................................................................................. 19
  2.3 The Education System in the Pa Enua ........................................................................... 23
    2.3.1 School Health Education in the Pa Enua ..................................................... 24
2.3.2 Pa Enua Health Education Curriculum Development.................... 26
2.4 Api‘ianga Tupuanga Kopapa | Sexuality Education.......................... 29
  2.4.1 Approaches to Api‘ianga Tupuanga Kopapa............................... 31
  2.4.2 Approaches in the Pacific ....................................................... 31
2.5 Curriculum Resource Considerations............................................. 33
  2.5.1 Considering Relationships with Government and NGOs ............... 33
  2.5.2 Considering Young Peoples Voices.......................................... 34
  2.5.3 Considering the Role of the Teacher / Educator........................ 35
  2.5.4 Considering the Pedagogies of Sexuality Education.................... 38
  2.5.5 Considering the Pedagogical Needs of Pacific Aronga Mapu........... 39
2.6 Openga | Conclusion..................................................................... 40

Square 3: Vaito | A Suitable Design: The Tivaevae Research Model ........... 42
  3.1 Introduction.................................................................................. 42
  3.2 Indigenous Research Methods...................................................... 42
    3.2.1 Tivaevae as Metaphor and Method.......................................... 44
  3.3 Threading Theory......................................................................... 50
    3.3.1 Postcolonial Theory................................................................ 51
    3.3.2 Why Feminist Postructural Theory?.......................................... 57
  3.4 Inangaro | Desire: The Designer and Sewer - Situating Self .......... 70
  3.5 Openga | Conclusion..................................................................... 74

Square 4: ‘Akaruru| Data Generation....................................................... 76
  4.1 Introduction.................................................................................. 76
  4.2 Taokotai | Collaboration.............................................................. 78
    4.2.1 Questionnaire Questions......................................................... 80
    4.2.2 Questionnaire Implementation................................................. 84
    4.2.3 Questionnaire Data Analysis................................................... 86
    4.2.4 Questionnaire Method Limitations.......................................... 87
  4.3 Tu Inangaro | Relationships.......................................................... 89
    4.3.1 Focus Group Questions............................................................ 90
    4.3.2 Focus Group Implementation.................................................... 92
    4.3.3 Focus Group Data Analysis...................................................... 94
    4.3.4 Focus Group Method Limitations.............................................. 96
Appendix F: Cook Islands Aronga Mapu Questionnaire..........................288
Appendix G: Topics For Card Activity in Focus Groups .........................311
Appendix H: Cook Islands News Story..................................................312
Appendix I: Letter of Support from the Cook Islands Minister of Health ...315
Appendix J: RMIT Ethics Approval.......................................................317
List of Tables

Table A. Sample Selection ........................................................................................................ 80
Table B. Final Sample Size ........................................................................................................ 111
Table C. Sexual Knowledge ....................................................................................................... 115
Table D. Perception of Sexual Knowledge .................................................................................... 117
Table E. Impact of Knowledge Level on Relationships .............................................................. 118
Table F. Most Useful Source of Sexuality Education ................................................................. 121
Table G. Sexually Active / Not Sexually Active by Age ............................................................... 130
Table H. Sexually Active / Not Sexually Active by Gender ......................................................... 132
Table I. Arguments about Sex ..................................................................................................... 136
Table J. Number of Sex Partners in Lifetime ............................................................................... 137
Table K. Number of Girlfriends or Boyfriends Ever Had ............................................................ 138
Table L. Concurrent Relationships ............................................................................................... 141
Table M. What Do you Feel You Have Control Over? ................................................................. 142
Table N. Control Over Sexual Activity ......................................................................................... 143
Table O. Control of Contraception ............................................................................................... 145
Table P. Control of When to Have Sex ......................................................................................... 146
Table Q. Sexual Desire ................................................................................................................ 155
Table R. Expression of Sexual Desires ........................................................................................ 156
Table S. Expression of Sexual Desire by Gender and Age ............................................................ 157
Table T. What Aronga Mapu want in Relationships ................................................................... 180
Table U. Overview of Lessons .................................................................................................... 231
List of Figures

Figure 1. The Cook Islands in Relation to NZ. ...........................................xxii
Figure 2. The Cook Islands. ........................................................................xxiii
Figure 3. Rarotonga..................................................................................xxiv
Figure 4. Example of Tivaevae Tataura. ..................................................3
Figure 5. Cook Islands Concept of Pito’ena. ...........................................28
Figure 6. Beginning a Tivaevae. .................................................................46
Figure 7. The Underside of a Blank Canvas. ............................................47
Figure 8. Example of Focus Group Content Topics. ...............................92
Figure 9. Eight Squares of the Sexuality Tivaevae .................................236
# List of Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AIDS</td>
<td>Acquired Immuno-deficiency Syndrome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ARH</td>
<td>Adolescent Reproductive Health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIFWA</td>
<td>Cook Islands Family Welfare Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIRC</td>
<td>Cook Islands Red Cross</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIs</td>
<td>Cook Islands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIHPWBC</td>
<td>Cook Islands Health and Physical Wellbeing Curriculum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIHSTC</td>
<td>Cook Islands Human Immuno-deficiency Virus (HIV), Sexuality Transmitted Infections (STI) and Tuberculosis (TB) Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIMoE</td>
<td>Cook Islands Ministry of Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIMoH</td>
<td>Cook Islands Ministry of Health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CISA</td>
<td>Cook Islands Sports Academy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSE</td>
<td>Comprehensive sexuality education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FPST</td>
<td>Feminist Poststructural Theory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIV</td>
<td>Human Immuno-deficiency Virus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LGBT</td>
<td>Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LMS</td>
<td>London Missionary Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSM</td>
<td>Men who have Sex with Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCDs</td>
<td>Non Communicable Diseases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Government Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NZ</td>
<td>New Zealand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NZAID</td>
<td>NZ Aid for International Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NZQF</td>
<td>NZ Qualifications Framework</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCT</td>
<td>Postcolonial Theory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SGS</td>
<td>Second Generation Study / Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STIs</td>
<td>Sexually Transmitted Infections</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPC</td>
<td>Secretariat of the Pacific Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SRE</td>
<td>Sexualities and Relationships Education</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 For the sake of word count Cook Islands will be CIs throughout the document. After marking and amendments I will change them all to the full words.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SRH</td>
<td>Sexual Reproductive Health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TB</td>
<td>Tuberculosis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TTA</td>
<td>Te Tiare Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNFPA</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WHO</td>
<td>World Health Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yrs</td>
<td>Years</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Cook Islands Maori Translations

Cook Islands Maori is the first language of the Cook Islands. Cook Islands words will not be italicised as I do not want to ‘other’ Cook Islands Maori language in relation to English. The first time a Cook Islands Maori word is used there will be an English translation, thereafter Maori or English words will be used. When writing both Cook Islands Maori and English words a ‘|’ will be used rather than a traditional ‘/’ so as not to favour one language over another.²

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cook Islands Maori</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Akaari kite</td>
<td>A shared vision</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akairianga</td>
<td>Evaluation and offering a gift</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Akangateitei</td>
<td>Respect and assertiveness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akarakara’anga</td>
<td>Observe / observation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akakoroanga</td>
<td>Purpose and overview of exegesis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Aka’araveianga</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Akapapa</td>
<td>Conceptualising and planning the research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akaruru</td>
<td>Data collection methods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akava’ine</td>
<td>Transgender people who do not identify with the biological gender assigned at birth (males who identify as female or other).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akatane</td>
<td>Transgender people who do not identify with the biological gender assigned at birth (females who identify as male or other)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akatomo’anga</td>
<td>Introduction / getting started; setting the context; findings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anau</td>
<td>Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Api’ianga tupuanga</td>
<td>Sexuality education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kopapa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apinga aroa</td>
<td>Something given with love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aronga mapu</td>
<td>Youth (as a group)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

² Maori translations have been provided by James Puati (personal communications 2011-2017), Teremoana Hodges’ (Maua-Hodges, 2016a, 2016b, 2016c), Aue Te Ava (Te Ava, 2011), or from the following dictionaries (Buse, Biggs, & Moeka’a, 1996; Cook Islands Ministry of Education, University of the South Pacific, Auckland University of Technology, & Te Iukarea Society, 2016; S. Savage, 1962: 1980).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ariki</td>
<td>Paramount chief or tribal leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aroa</td>
<td>Love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inangaro</td>
<td>Desire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kimi ravenga</td>
<td>Look for help and support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koikoi</td>
<td>Collect data / gathering of patterns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuki ‘Airani</td>
<td>Cook Islands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mataiapo</td>
<td>Chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moe totoro</td>
<td>Sleep crawling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O'ora</td>
<td>Tivaevae, mats, textiles and such displayed and presented at a wedding ceremony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Openga</td>
<td>Conclusion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pa Enua</td>
<td>Cook Islands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pange</td>
<td>To support or uplift; tivaevae group support members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papa’a</td>
<td>European</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paranianga</td>
<td>Plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pe’e</td>
<td>Chant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pito’enua</td>
<td>Cook Islands concept of wellbeing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puapinga takitini</td>
<td>Group findings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pure</td>
<td>Prayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takitumu</td>
<td>Tribal area of Rarotonga and village name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taokotai</td>
<td>Collaboration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta’unga Tivaevae</td>
<td>Expert as well as the leader of a pange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamoumou</td>
<td>Tacked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tatau</td>
<td>Tattoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Koutu Nui</td>
<td>Tribal leaders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te reo Maori Kuki</td>
<td>Cook Islands Maori language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Airani</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Tiare</td>
<td>Cook Islands support group for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tika’anga</td>
<td>Consent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tivaevae (can also be</td>
<td>A handmade bedspread-size quilt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tivaivai)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tivaivai taorei</td>
<td>A patchwork tivaevae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tivaivai tautara</td>
<td>An appliqued tivaevae with embroidery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tivaivai manu</td>
<td>An appliqued tivaevae without embroidery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tivaivai tuitui tautara</td>
<td>Embroidered squares of fabric joined together with crochet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu akangateitei</td>
<td>Respect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuatua 'akamat'anga</td>
<td>Introduction / inception</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu Inangaro</td>
<td>Relationships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uriuri kite</td>
<td>Reciprocity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaito</td>
<td>Sort and organise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wakawawine</td>
<td>Like a woman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Glossary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Afters</td>
<td>Cook Islands vernacular of the parties that happen ‘after’ the bars and nightclubs close in homes or on the beach.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bisexual</td>
<td>A person who is emotionally and romantically attracted to multiple genders.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cisgender</td>
<td>A term used to describe when a person’s gender identity matches social expectations given their sex assigned at birth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gay</td>
<td>Sexual desire or behaviour directed to a person or persons of one’s own sex. A term often used for males.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender diversity</td>
<td>Gender diversity includes people who identify as agender (having no gender), as bigender (both a woman and a man) or as non-binary (neither woman nor man). Some non-binary people identify as genderqueer or as having shifting or fluid genders. Gender diversity also refers to individuals whose gender expressions differ from what is socially expected and so a gender diverse person may be assigned female and identify as a woman but present their gender in ways that subvert normative notions of femininity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender identity</td>
<td>A person’s sense of being masculine or feminine, or both or neither. Gender identity does not necessarily relate to the sex a person is assigned at birth. Rather, a person’s gender expression is made up of the outward signs they present to the world around them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heterosexual</td>
<td>Sexual feeling or behaviour directed towards a person or persons of the opposite sex.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heteronormative</td>
<td>Relates to the systemic privileging of the social models of binary sex, binary gender, and binary sexuality that normalise heterosexuality.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heteroflexibility</td>
<td>The incorporation of same-sex desires and practices into the definition of heterosexuality.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homophobia</td>
<td>Refers to the discrimination, marginalisation, abuse, and harassment experienced by people in the LGBT communities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homosexual</td>
<td>Sexually attracted to members of one’s own sex. In the Cook Islands this term is often used only with men.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Definition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesbian</td>
<td>Female homosexual.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polyamory</td>
<td>A term used to describe the practice of honest, open, ethical multiple relationships. For example, multiple relationships where all parties are aware of and agree with the situation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Straight</td>
<td>Heterosexual.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tap and Gap</td>
<td>To have sex and leave. One night stand.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transgender</td>
<td>An umbrella term used to describe people whose gender identity is different from the sex assigned to them at birth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transphobia</td>
<td>Prejudice, discrimination, marginalisation, harassment and abuse based on a person being, or perceived as being, transgender or gender diverse.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Key Concepts

Sexuality:

Sexuality is a central aspect of being human throughout life and encompasses sex, gender identities and roles, sexual orientation, eroticism, pleasure, intimacy and reproduction. Sexuality is experienced and expressed in thoughts, fantasies, desires, beliefs, attitudes, values, behaviours, practices, roles and relationships. While sexuality can include all of these dimensions, not all of them are always experienced or expressed. Sexuality is influenced by the interaction of biological, psychological, social, economic, political, cultural, ethical, legal, historical, religious and spiritual factors.

Sexual health:

Sexual health is a state of physical, emotional, mental and social wellbeing in relation to sexuality; it is not merely the absence of disease, dysfunction or infirmity. Sexual health requires a positive and respectful approach to sexuality and sexual relationships, as well as the possibility of having pleasurable and safe sexual experiences, free of coercion, discrimination and violence. For sexual health to be attained and maintained, the sexual rights of all persons must be respected, protected and fulfilled.

Sexual Rights

Sexual rights embrace human rights that are already recognized in national laws, international human rights documents and other consensus statements. They include the right of all persons, free of coercion, discrimination and violence, to:

• the highest attainable standard of sexual health, including access to sexual and reproductive health care services
• seek, receive and impart information related to sexuality
• sexuality education
• respect for bodily integrity
• choose their partner
• decide to be sexually active or not
• consensual sexual relations
• consensual marriage
• decide whether or not, and when, to have children and
• pursue a satisfying, safe and pleasurable sexual life.

(World Health Organization, 2006, p. 5)
Figure 1. The Cook Islands in Relation to NZ.\textsuperscript{3}

\textsuperscript{3} Maps created by Briar Sefton.
Figure 2. The Cook Islands.
Figure 3. Rarotonga.
Abstract

The objective of this research was to investigate sex, sexuality and sexual relationships through the voices of young people in the Cook Islands (a small developing nation in the Pacific) to develop a contextually appropriate, needs-led, sexuality and relationships educational resource to be implemented by educators in the Cook Islands.

This research is underpinned by a Cook Islands research framework known as the Tivaevae Research Model (Maua-Hodges, 2001, 2016). The research unfolds as a metaphorical tivaevae (hand-made quilt) that represent young Cook Islanders’ views of gender, sex, sexuality, and relationships. The research sample consisted of 674 Cook Islanders who were aged between 15 and 24 years who answered 35 questions in the questionnaire, and 97 young people who participated in six focus groups. Participants were drawn from all population settlements throughout the Cook Islands and encompass more than 20% of the youth population.

Contribution is made to the literature on sexuality education by documenting young Cook Islanders’ sexual subjectivities and how these are shaped by dominant discourses that circulate within the Cook Islands. The research methods were designed to empower youth in the Cook Islands by using their knowledge and experiences of sex and sexuality education and to identify their perceived needs in these areas. The research project then utilises these findings to develop a needs-led Cook Islands sexuality and relationships education resource consisting of twenty lessons. Countries in the Pacific usually use educational resources developed on the ideas other countries perceive they have for such purposes; so development of such a resource has the potential to be useful for other Pacific nations. In an attempt to resist dominant medicalised approaches to sexuality education, the sex positive resource uses poststructural and cultural theoretical concepts to support young people in critiquing dominant discourses.
The research extends the understanding of the sexual subjectivity of young people in the Pacific as much literature related to sex and young Pacific people stems from a medical and / or sexual reproductive health lens. Therefore, the findings associated with young Cook Islanders’ conceptualisations of their sexual knowledge and sexual experiences are unique and reveal that non-monogamy, sexual violence and heteronormativity feature in young people’s sexual lives.

This research therefore has important implications for the health and wellbeing of young people in the Pacific and the ways that they enact gender, sex, sexuality and relationships in their lives.
1.1 Introduction
This research uses Cook Islands (CIs) aronga mapu† | youth voices, and a CIs research framework known as the Tivaevae Research Model (Maua-Hodges, 2001, 2016a, 2016c)‡ to construct a sexuality and relationships education (SRE) curriculum resource. The Tivaevae Research Model, developed by Cook Islander Teremoana Maua-Hodges, borrows from the traditions and processes of creating a traditional CIs Tivaevae | handmade quilt, and represents CIs epistemological and ontological worldviews. The Tivaevae Research Model was developed for use within an education context, making it fitting for application to this study. It is therefore culturally and

† Each chapter will be known as a ‘square’ that form sections of a metaphorical tivaevae | quilt. Seven squares will be ‘sewn’ together to illustrate a metaphorical tivaevae that represents the responses of young people in the CIs about sexuality. This will be explained further later in this square.
‡ CIs Maori is the first language of the CIs. CIs words will not be italicised, as I do not want to ‘other’ CIs Maori language in relation to English. The first time a Cook Islands Maori word is used there will be an English translation, thereafter Maori or English words will be used. See page 11 for translations of all Maori words used throughout the document. When writing both CIs Maori and English words a ‘|’ will be used rather than a traditional ‘/’ so as not to favour one language over another.
§ Although several researchers cite Maua-Hodges’ Tivaevae Model (Herman, 2013; Powell, 2013; Puna, 2013; Schuster, 2008; Te Ava, 2011; Tisam, 2015), the primary source has not been able to be sourced, despite going to great lengths (Maua-Hodges herself does not have a copy). Therefore, I use personal communications and unpublished works shared with me by Maua-Hodges, as well as some secondary citations to cite the model.
methodologically appropriate that I have deployed the Tivaevae model as a research tool within this exegesis.

A tivaevae is a handmade, bedspread-size quilt made by a group of people (the pange | support members), usually women (see Horan, 2012; Maua-Hodges, 2016a), who are led by a Ta’unga\(^7\) Tivaevae | expert, and collaboratively work together to produce the quilt over. Designs that evoke images of the CIs, such as leaves, flowers and traditional symbols are incorporated into each tivaevae, and each tivaevae tells a particular story. Vivid colours of the CIs sit alongside or on top of each other and are stitched or embroidered in a variety of ways. The stitching is an important part of the process, as different stiches represent the skills, expertise, and experience of each person who fashioned sections of the tivaevae. As one researcher notes, tivaevae are designed to vibrantly ‘represent the values of kinship and love’ (Horan, 2012, p. iii). Tivaevae are highly sought after, especially in contemporary society, where the skills of making these apinga aroa | something given with love, are being lost. Descendants treasure tivaevae passed down through families, and they are usually saved and only used on special occasions such as 21\(^{st}\) birthdays, weddings, a haircutting\(^8\) and funerals\(^9\) (Horan, 2012; Kuchler & Eimke, 2009). For example, below is a tivaevae illustrating the symmetrical design, colours, embroidery, balance and the distinct feel of the CIs. A variety of stitches have been used to embellish and provide intricacy and complexity.

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\(^7\) Ta’unga: An expert, skilled craftsman, one with special lore or skill (Cook Islands Ministry of Education et al., 2016). So, an expert in the craft of tivaevae would be called tivaevae ta’unga.

\(^8\) A male rite of passage.

\(^9\) To shroud the body.
The common understanding is that women of the CIs were introduced to quilting through the wives of missionaries in the 1800s, but over time CI women have sewn their uniqueness onto, and into, the technique (Herda, 2002; Horan, 2012). Just as tivaevae are unique to the CIs, this study facilitates a way to illustrate the sexuality education needs of aronga mapu by stitching respondent’s voice(s) into a metaphorical sexuality education tivaevae. Square one situates the research and provides an overview of the study that culminates in a ‘project’ that will be o’ora | gifted to the CIs community (Maua-Hodges, 2016c).

This exegesis outlines the research project that generated the empirical data that informed the development of a CIs SRE teaching and learning resource (explained in Square Seven). The SRE is designed on the findings generated
from CIs aronga mapu | youth voices. The exegesis implements and expands on a CIs research methodology and frames the research within CIs conceptual understandings. Using the traditions and processes used to create a traditional CIs Tivaevae | handmade quilt as a metaphor and as a guiding process, the research is ‘stitched together’ and ‘put between two covers’ to create a metaphorical tivaevae symbolising aronga mapu views of the sexuality landscape in the CIs.

1.2 Situating the Research

It is imperative that Pacific countries stand back and reflect on exactly what kind of children they would like their education systems to ‘produce’. They need to work backwards from the final result they wish for, as they work out the steps by which they hope to achieve that outcome; the risk that their vision will be swamped by the different reform agendas of their development partners is otherwise too great. They need to make sure they ‘own’ the reform process, are active participants and have a clear sense of what direction they want their country to pursue in the sphere of education. They need to ensure also that their educational systems are firmly grounded in their own epistemologies, cultural values and languages, while taking on the best of what the regional and global experiences have to offer.

(Puamau, 2006, p.59)

This study takes up Puamau’s challenge (2006) by implementing the Tivaevae Model as a methodology to design a CIs SRE resource founded on CIs epistemology and values. Inspired by the sentiments of Puamau (2006), my goal for this SRE resource is that it is driven and owned by Cook Islanders and not by the ‘reform agendas of development partners’ (Puamau, 2006, p. 59). To facilitate this process Maua-Hodges’ (2001, 2016a) tivaevae methodology is used not only as a metaphor but also as a guide to process.

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10 As such there may be some invisibilities or what could be seen as ‘erasures’ of groups in the community if these groups were not mentioned in the data or identified as a need by the community although every endeavour will be made to ensure all groups relevant to the context are represented in the exegesis and the project (Pallota-Chiarolli, 2014).
enabling a collaborative approach that is a central to research in the CIs. Maua-Hodges has been my tau’nga tivaevae, guiding me with her research model and giving me permission to build on its use in this research project. Within the process of designing and sewing a tivaevae, or research project, Maua-Hodges (2016c) employs four stages:

1. ‘akapapa: conceptualised and planned research activities
2. ‘akaruru: data collection methods
3. pakoti: to cut, analyse and interpret data
4. o’ora te tivaevae: presenting the report / findings

Within this exegesis, I will therefore create a metaphorical sexuality tivaevae.

1.2.1 ‘Akapapa / Conceptualising and Planning the Research
Conceptualising and planning a research project is similar to collecting materials, and deciding which patterns, fabrics and cottons will be needed before working with your pange to sew a tivaevae. Planning, knowledge of literature, methods and theories, and a clear understanding of what you want to find out from your project, are integral to research. In the CIs it is also important that research projects work in taokotai | collaboration with local people in defining a shared vision for the outcomes of the research that benefits Cook Islanders.

The following key research questions underpinned the creation of a tivaevae, which incorporates and responds to the voices of young people living in the CIs as they express their needs and concerns about sexuality and its place in education:

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11 Others who have used her model have applied the concepts of koikoi | gathering of patterns, tuitui | the sewing or stitching of patterns, and akairianga | offering the tivaevae to individuals or the community (Powell, 2013; Te Ava, 2011). However, I am using the terms shared with me by Maua-Hodges when I met with her in person to discuss her research process.
12 How this could be represented depends on the type of research conducted.
13 A metaphor is ‘a device of the poetic imagination’ that ‘is pervasive in everyday language’ (Haggis & Mulholland, 2014). A metaphor can be used to say something, without quite saying it. For example, Heidi Mirza used the metaphor of a quilt to represent the bringing together of seven stories relating to race, gender and education in her inaugural professorial lecture (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, pp. 453-454).
• What are the existing knowledges, understandings, and practices associated with sexuality that impact on the lived experiences of young people aged 15-24 in the Cook Islands?

• What do young people who are aged 15-24 and who live in the Cook Islands identify as important to learn in sexuality and relationships education and why?

• How can the needs for sexuality and relationships education, identified by young people aged 15-24 in the Cook Islands, be incorporated in a culturally relevant, strength-based sexuality and relationships educational resource?

To frame the questions and research approach for this tivaevae, Square Two examines the literature within several key themes or designs. To begin, a broad review explores CIs history pertaining to health (2.2), health education (2.3), and sexuality education (2.4). Curriculum resource considerations that explore the role of key interests, such as teachers, pedagogical appropriateness, and incorporating young people’s voice into practice, completes Square Two (2.5).

Square Three examines hegemonic influences in the CIs including colonisation, gender, non-heteronormativity and heteronormativity, and how these impact the designs commonly inherent within sexuality for aronga mapu. Two threads woven throughout this metaphorical sexuality tivaevae to examine these hegemonic influences are feminist poststructuralist theory (FPST) and postcolonial theory (PCT). These perspectives provide a productive way to research and interweave young people’s lived experiences into a curriculum resource, while also acknowledging the impact of my subjectivity. Importantly, this theoretical foundation encourages researchers to have doubts about ‘.. “scientific rationality”, “objective truth”, “neutrality” and “meta-narratives”, which provide seamless explanations of complex social phenomena’ such as sexuality and intimate relationships (Allen, 2005b p.16).

FPST has a long tradition of respecting and appreciating marginalised voices (Allen, 2005c; Braidotti, 1994; Butler, 1990: 2007; Davies, 1989, 1993, 2000a; Evans, Davies, & Wright, 2004; Fine, 1988; Fine & McClelland, 2006; Grosz,
such as the voices of young people about sexuality and offers a robust thread to the design of the tivaevae. FPST and PCT and their role in this project are discussed in Square Three.

1.2.2 Akaruru / Data Collection Methods

The actual making of a tivaevae requires special knowledge and skills, likewise, specialised knowledge and skill of research methods is essential.

Taokotai | collaboration is an important principle when considering data collection and using the Tivaevae model (Maua-Hodges, 2001, 2016a). Aronga mapu stories and voice were gathered through working in partnership with the CIs National Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV), Sexually Transmitted Infections (STI), and Tuberculosis (TB) Committee (CIHSTC) to implement six focus groups and a questionnaire (see Appendix C and F).

However, young people in the CIs are not encouraged to speak freely about sexuality with adults. Consequently, the methods required careful planning as it was important to facilitate spaces where aronga mapu would be able to share their ideas.

FPST and PCT influenced how methods were designed and responses interpreted. These theories encouraged me to consider how influences such as power, gender, colonialism, agency, religion and performativity might be playing out within aronga mapu responses (Butler, 1990: 2007; Davies, 1991; Kabeer, 1999; Said, 1979; L. T. Smith, 2012; St. Pierre, 2000; Weedon, 1987). The findings in Squares Five and Six offer an insight into a point in time where aronga mapu offered their interpretations about sexuality in the context of the CIs. It is not the whole picture, as my situated and partial perspective, evidenced by the methods chosen, the questions asked, and the way responses were interpreted, influenced the findings.

1.2.3 O’ora Te Tivaevae / The Tivaevae is Gifted

… the evaluating and offering of the tivaevae to the community or to individuals as a gift. In the Cook Islands
culture, the tivaevae represents a symbolical token of two
Cook Islands values, aroa (love) and tu akangateitei
(respect).

(Te Ava, 2011, p. 58)

The tu inangaro | relationships established through connecting to share stories, gathering data, and developing designs and patterns for this project, created an end product to be shared and which will be available to benefit others. The gifting of the exegesis and SRE resource to the community is the final component of the tivaevae research model, embodying uriuri kite | reciprocity. The gifting of the resource to sexuality educators symbolises the respect and importance of the work they do while also acknowledging and respecting the aronga mapu who shared their wisdom, experiences and knowledge enabling this project to proceed.

When deciding to do this ‘doctorate by project’ I consciously chose a research method that ensured a gift to offer back to the community. This was a way I could demonstrate tu akangateitei | respect to the community that has endorsed me as one of their own. As noted, the aim of the study was to ensure that the curriculum resource reflected the epistemologies and cultural values of the CIs working towards shaping the education of future aronga mapu.

1.3 Significance of the Research
The use of medical and scientific models has customarily been the lens through which health has been researched in the CIs (an issue I return to in 2.4). This study is the first research implemented with young people in the CIs that explores sex, sexuality and relationships, rather than simply their sexual and reproductive health. The findings offer comprehensive and multiple understandings of the realities aronga mapu in the CIs face in terms of gender, sex and sexuality. The information gained from the questionnaire provides the most comprehensive dataset obtained to date from, and about, youth sexuality in the CIs. The information generated can support decision-making and intervention design and consideration of how to best support and
cater to the needs identified by aronga mapu as they navigate their intimate lives. The findings provide evidence that can be utilised to support educational best practice based on the needs of young people and to maximise the benefits to young people.

Writing the SRE based on the voices of aronga mapu is an innovative and original way to approach the development of a sexuality and relationships education resource in the Pacific, and this approach has recently been exemplified as an example of best practice (Secretariat of the Pacific Community, 2015; UNFPA, UNESCO, & WHO, 2015). Most sexuality research has had an adult centric focus rather than examining sexuality through a youth lens.

O’ora te tivaevae, gifting the SRE resource to the communities implementing sexuality education offers benefits in several ways. Firstly, young people will be more likely to be engaged and supported in the development of attitudes, beliefs, values and skills that support both positive platonic, as well as intimate, relationships if the SRE resource is taught in the way intended (Kirby, 2011; Thomas & Aggleton, 2016; UNFPA et al., 2015). These skills could enhance the positive relational choices made throughout their lifetime.

The research will be useful to both NGOs and Government organisations working in the fields of education and health in the CIs, and possibly those in other countries as well. Other researchers could value the approaches taken in the research and / or the findings. This approach and / or findings could inform organisations working with Pacific youth populations in New Zealand (NZ) and Australia.

Methodologically, this project develops and expands the use of the Tivaevae Model, using it in alternative ways to analyse and conceptualise findings. This provides a model for other researchers to consider when working within Indigenous communities or using Indigenous frameworks toinform the research process.
1.4 Inangaro | Desire: Situating the Researcher

Why is this research important to me – a Papa’a | European? While this will be explained in more depth in Square Three (3.4), some relevant context of my interest in this research is explained here. Shawn Wilson (2008) notes that within an Indigenous Research Paradigm ideas do not come in a linear form, and the ideas for this doctorate did not either. My experiences of growing up in NZ, working with NZ Maori and Pacific youth in educational settings, being married to a Cook Islander and the mother and grandmother of CIs children as well as living and working in the CIs, shaped my evolving ideas. Often, while working in the CIs, it troubled me that youth opinion was rarely heard when discussing sexuality and that adult voices often sang the songs of yesterday’s ideas: the words of the ingrained and hegemonic influences of colonialism. This worldview shaped how I think about this research and undoubtedly influenced my interpretation of the findings. As noted by Wilson (2008), ‘We cannot remove ourselves from our world in order to examine it’ (p. 14) therefore I do not claim that the writing within this exegesis is objective, because, in the process, I have attempted to examine my own beliefs and values.

Another experience that had a strong influence on this study was reading Sexual subjects: Young people, sexuality and education (Allen, 2005). Allen’s work sewed the seed of what doing a similar study based in the CIs would find and her research became an instrumental influence on how I implemented this study.

1.5 Akakoroanga | Purpose and Overview of the Exegesis

The document will be presented as seven Squares, (chapters) and each square represents one section of a CIs sexuality education tivaevae.

Square One provides an overview of the research project that informs the SRE resource.

Square Two provides context and background information about the CIs, the health status of young Cook Islanders, and an overview of the CIs education
system. The curriculum resource developed from the findings of this research will be situated within this CIs education system. Square Two also examines the literature relevant to this study and considers those scholars influential in the arena of sexuality, and sexuality education, together with Pacific education.

Square Three presents the Tivaevae research methodology that has been utilised in two ways. Firstly, as a CIs research framework that systematically informed the research processes, and two, as a tool to conceptualise and inform the analysis of the data whereby the metaphorical tivaevae is created. Square Three explores the theoretical perspectives sewn into and onto the data analysis in the study. It considers Indigenous research paradigms alongside postcolonial and feminist poststructural theories and how these impact on power, agency, gender, performativity and heteronormativity.

Square Four explains the methods chosen for the study and how these were undertaken and situates the researcher in more detail. Squares Five and Six present and explore some of the findings from the questionnaire and the focus groups. Square Seven takes key findings from the tivaevae and introduces how they inform the SRE resource. This square provides an overview of the aims of the SRE, a synopsis of the twenty lessons and how they connect to the findings and then concludes the exegesis. The SRE is presented in a second document.

1.6 Openga | Conclusion
This square has provided an overview of this research and explained how the data generated from the research informs the underpinnings and design of the project component of the doctorate. The rationale for the research, along with the significance of the study, to the researcher and the CIs has been explained. In particular, this square has briefly introduced the CIs theoretical and research framework – the Tivaevae Model - used in this project and explained how it was applied in conjunction with the research aims and questions. The square also provided a brief overview of the mixed-method

14 From this point forward the metaphorical tivaevae will be called simply tivaevae.
design used in the study. Research design and method will be further elaborated in Square Three. Square Two provides contextual understandings important in the consideration of, and that impact on, this study.
2.1 Introduction
This square provides an overview of the research context of the Cook Islands. The stiches of this square provide background information and detail on the social and cultural norms of the CIs by explaining CIs history, including the influence of colonialism. It offers a snapshot of both the health status of Cook Islanders and the educational system currently operating in the CIs as this project is located at the intersection of these contexts. CIs health education and the role of sexuality education within education curriculum are examined. The square considers current literature and discourses in sexuality education from a global context. Given the aim of producing a contextually responsive sexuality and relationships education resource, Square Two situates the research and provides an overview of the key considerations that would impact on the development of new curriculum.

2.2 Pa Enua | The Cook Islands
The Pa Enua | Cook Islands are in the South Pacific Ocean, north east of NZ, between French Polynesia and Fiji (Figure 1, p. xxi). This country, made up of 15 islands, is named after Captain James Cook who visited them in 1773. Although the CIs flag shows a circle of 15 stars, identical in size and in
circular harmony, in reality the CIs fall into two groups of islands spread over 2.2 million square kilometres of ocean (Figure 2, p. xxii). All of the islands lie in tropical latitudes, between 9 and 23 degrees south of the equator, with Rarotonga being the largest island (Figure 3, p. xxiii). Except for Pukapuka, the most northwest island, settlement is believed to have originated about 2000 years ago, with Rarotonga, according to oral history, the starting point for migration to NZ (Crocombe, 1964; Gilson, 1980; Lange, 1982; Sissons, 1999).

The resident population of the CIs in 2011 was 14,974 (Cook Islands Ministry of Finance and Economic Management, 2012). Currently the majority of the population lives on Rarotonga (74%) while 20% live in the other southern islands, and the rest in the northern group. Eighty eight percent of the population is of CIs Maori descent, with most of the other 12% being of NZ European or other descent (Cook Islands Ministry of Finance and Economic Management, 2012). The study reported surveyed more than 20% of the aronga mapu population who were aged between 15-24 years across the country.

Historically, Ariki | Paramount Chiefs, were the leaders of the CIs. In pre-Christian times, spiritual and physical dimensions of life were inseparable, involving many rituals, rites, ceremonies, and prayers within everyday experiences (Buck, 1939; Crocombe & Holmes, 2014a; Makirere, 2003). However, arriving in 1821, the London Missionary Society (LMS) missionaries from Tahiti and the Society Islands introduced Christianity to the CIs and within a short time Christianity had a strong influence. The church carefully cultivated relationships with Ariki to achieve goals of converting souls as well as conducting commercial enterprises (Holmes, 2014b; Lamont, 1867: 1994). By the mid 1830s a theological college was built on Rarotonga and it has continuously provided religious training to pastors who have sermonised

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15 The northern group comprises Pukapuka, Nassau, Suwarrow, Rakahanga, Manihiki, and Tongareva and are coral atolls or sunken volcanoes. The much larger southern group is made up of Palmerston, Manuae, and Takutea, which are coral atolls, and Mangaia, Atiu, Mauke, and Mitiaro, which are raised atolls. Aitutaki is part volcanic and part atoll and Rarotonga is a high volcanic island. Three islands are uninhabited.
across the Pacific. There are now many denominations in the country such as the CIs Christian Church\(^\text{16}\) (49% of the population), Catholic (next most popular). Seventh Day Adventist, Mormon, Latter Day Saints, Baha’i and other apostolic religions (Cook Islands Ministry of Finance and Economic Management, 2012). Given the very high proportion of the population who consider themselves members of a Christian-based religion, Christianity has become a central tenet of everyday living (Besnier & Alexeyeff, 2014; Makirere, 2003).

In 1888 the CIs was colonised by Britain and declared a protectorate of the British Crown. Later, in 1901, the country was annexed from the British Government to NZ. These processes overshadowed many of the powers previously held by Ariki although there are clear instances where Ariki colluded in the colonial process and were resistant participants by using the processes to their advantage (Crocombe & Holmes, 2014a). Until 1965, when the CIs became self-governing, the administration of the country was determined by successive expatriate Resident Commissioners responsible to the NZ Government (Crocombe & Crocombe, 2003; Gilson, 1980; Mason, 2003b; Scott, 1991). NZ had clear goals to have the CIs contribute to their economy, as had the missionaries before them (Gilson, 1980; Holmes, 2014a; Scott, 1991). NZ also inherited the management of the challenges facing the people of CIs. For example, being physically isolated from the rest of the world made export and economic self-sufficiency difficult and introduced infectious diseases compromised the health of Cook Islanders (Davis & Davis, 1955; Futter-Puati, 2010; Futter-Puati, Bryder, Park, Littleton, & Herda, 2014; Lambert, 1942; Lange, 1982). NZ has remained the key colonising influence due to the special political relationship it has with the CIs, although other influences have also made an impact on contemporary CIs ideology.

Anthropologists Ron and Marjorie Crocombe (2003) argue that there is no such thing as ‘a’ CIs culture, as it is too diverse and its variations are endless’ (p.10). CIs song, dance, weaving, tatau | tattoo, carvings and literature

\(^\text{16}\) Formerly the LMS and the predominant denomination.
represent some form of national identity. Like all cultures, the CIs culture is constantly evolving and swayed by a range of influences; it is dynamic, constantly developing, and subject to interpretation. Politically unsettled landscapes, changing populations (impacted by the 100,000+ tourists per annum, inter-racial marriages, and expatriate and immigrant workers) alongside social and other media, and the transnational nature of Cook Islanders, all influence the nations’ ‘cultures’ (Alexeyeff, 2009c). In recent years other countries including China, Canada, Australia and the European Union have begun to influence the CIs. However, the CIs long association with NZ remains a major source of Western discursive practices that influence the CIs in a variety of ways. It is evident that even after independence the impact of colonisation remains (L. T. Smith, 2012). This can be seen in relation to many matters, for example: land tenure, where a British legal process designed to legitimise land ownership has been problematic for locals (Crocombe, 1964; Crocombe & Holmes, 2014b); the education system is strongly influenced by NZ curriculum with senior qualifications based on NZ assessments (Cook Islands Ministry of Education, 2002, 2007, 2014; New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2012); the CIs Maori language is at risk of extinction and English has replaced CI Maori as the first language for many Cook Islanders (Pacific Guardians, 2014); and diet, imported Westernised food has seen a rise in illnesses such as cardiovascular illness and diabetes (Cook Islands Ministry of Health, 2012).\footnote{17 Government has recently implemented a sugar tax on high sugar items.} Concomitantly, sexuality in the CIs has been influenced by many global influences. To gain an understanding of how sexuality and education has been historically influenced, CIs history and postcolonialism will now be discussed.

\subsection*{2.2.1 Pa Enua History and Postcolonialism}

During its colonial history CIs education policy was paternalistic and centred on ‘civilising the natives’— a typical trait of Eurocentric colonial policies (Childs & Williams, 2013; Coppell, 1973; Ma’ia’i, 1957; L. T. Smith, 2012; Sullivan, 2011; Te Ava, 2011; Shawn Wilson, 2008). These policies were reinforced through racist ideologies of race and civilisation and the outcome was that schools were expected to ‘elevate’ CIs children to the level of Papa’a
European which would, in turn, according to this logic, establish the CIs as a productive colonial nation (Coppell, 1973; Crocombe & Crocombe, 2003). The NZ administration employed Papa’a teachers to model the ideals of civilisation through the use of NZ curriculum with English language mandatory as the language of instruction (Coppell, 1973; Goodwin, 2003). This policy ensured that CIs cultural knowledge, values, practices and language were displaced and unvalued within education for many years. Some skills have been eroded for example the language of the CIs, te reo Maori Kuki ‘Airani | CIs Maori language (Crocombe & Crocombe, 2003; Glasgow, 2010; Goodwin, 2003; Pacific Guardians, 2014). In 2001 only 18% of Cook Islanders in NZ could speak their language fluently (Statistics New Zealand, 2016).

Although several anthropological studies were completed in the Cook Islands in the 1900s there is little known about queer Cook Islands indigenous culture (Beaglehole & Beaglehole, 1938; Buck, 1939; Hiroa, 1932a, 1932b; D. Marshall, 1971). Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole (1938) are the only anthropologists to offer information related to anything outside of heteronormative understandings of gender and sex. They argue that ‘perversions, in the sense of sexual practices that take the place of sexual intercourse, are probably unknown in Pukapuka’ and that there was no Pukapukan word for homosexuality (p.286). They go on to write of a young man between 15 and 16 who was known as wakawawine | like a woman in the village they lived in (p. 286). They describe this young person as a male who is fully developed physically but has a rather effeminate high-pitched voice. He wears men’s clothing. He does not stroll about the village as do other young men … He keeps very much to his own house, where he is often in the company of women. He performs general women’s work, … and sews more than is usual for a male, and cooks. He occasionally wrestles with other men but does not participate in most sports. Peculiarities in his behaviour are noticed by fellow villages but not commented upon openly. He attends school and

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18 The policy is still to employ Papa’a teachers from NZ. English is the language of instruction from Grade 4 onwards.
19 More Cook Islanders live in NZ and Australia than do in the CIs.
is popular with his school mates. He showed the greatest possible reserve in our presence and we were unable to become friendly with him.

(Beaglehole & Beaglehole, 1938, p. 286)

The Beaglehole’s noted the strong missionary influence on the island stating that although the influence was there, there was a ‘wide breach between the moral theory on which the community [was] is supposed to operate and the actual code of conduct followed by the majority (Beaglehole & Beaglehole, 1938, p.6). This ‘wide breach’ could have enabled same sex relationships to continue to transpire if they had historically been part of Pukapukan society however there are no other observations or comments from anthropologists about homosexuality or gender variant individuals or anything other than heterosexual sex in the other ethnologies across multiple islands. Although if these people were present in communities when anthropologists were ‘observing’ they could have hidden themselves through fear to judgement, as per the Beaglehole’s experience above.

Whereas Indigenous people in other countries have withstood campaigns of genocide, removal from traditional lands, children taken from their families, and many other injustices in the name of colonial assimilation, Cook Islanders have not experienced these types of atrocities (Moreton-Robinson, 2006; Nandy, 1983; L. T. Smith, 2012; Sullivan, 2011; Weaver, 2001; Shawn Wilson, 2008). However, there have been other subtle policies that have marginalised traditional CIs culture, for example disallowing Maori language or cultural practices as part of school life, and these have had lasting impacts on culture, health and cultural identity (L. T. Smith, 2012). Puati (2015) likens it to a three-legged stool that represents cultural identity. One leg represents language, another land, and the third, people. The three legs work collaboratively and equally to offer a stable platform. If you take away one leg, for example language, as the British and NZ administration did, then the stool is no longer stable (J. Puati, personal communication, 2 January 2015). According to Smith (1999: 2012) taking away land, language (and therefore customs), or people (NZ recruited Cook Islanders to work in the ‘mother land’);
others were taken as slaves)\textsuperscript{20} generates instability within a culture making it immediately vulnerable to assimilation into hegemonic ideals. Given that language, culture and identity are inextricably linked, the colonial and postcolonial policies have continued ramifications on CIs culture.

The postcolonial period\textsuperscript{21} for the CIs began when the CIs became self-governing, but in free association with NZ in 1965 (Cook Islands Government, 2015). Being ‘in free association with NZ’ describes the unique arrangement between these two countries that allows Cook Islanders to maintain NZ citizenship while at the same time being free to make their own laws and control their own constitution (Cook Islands Government, 2015). However, it would be overly simplistic to think that the impact of colonisation ends when a colonising body withdraws (Childs & Williams, 2013). Operating as part of the Commonwealth, and in free association with NZ, affords an insight into how Britain and NZ, 51 years later, continue to influence the CIs. As the concept of neo-colonialism articulates, ‘western powers [were] still intent on exercising and maintaining maximum indirect control over erstwhile colonies via political, cultural and above all, economic channels’ (Childs & Williams, 2013, p. 5). Aid agencies are another neo-colonialistic influence, offering funding to the CIs in the name of their own definition of ‘development’ (Vai’imene, 2003).

This brief overview of colonialism within the CIs context illustrates some facets of how colonialism and postcolonialism have impacted on aspects of the wellbeing of Cook Islanders. A theoretical tool that allows for analysing the impact of colonialism is pivotal to further investigation into the health and wellbeing of Cook Islanders. Hence, postcolonial theory (PCT) is an essential tool that informs design, analysis and the development of the curriculum resource in this project. Use of PCT will be discussed in Square Three (3.3.1).

### 2.2.2 Health Status of Pa Enua

The CIs is a developing country that enjoys a relatively high standard of living when compared to other Pacific nations (Cook Islands Government &

\textsuperscript{20} Known as ‘blackbirding’ by people in the northern groups of the CIs who were taken by the Spanish.

\textsuperscript{21} The period coming after the end of colonialism (Childs & Williams, 2013).
Health status is gradually improving with the reduction of infectious diseases due to improved sanitation and water supply alongside high immunisation rates (World Health Organization & Cook Islands Ministry of Health, 2012). The Government, through the Ministry of Health (CIMoH), is responsible for most health services, although it shares some responsibilities with NGOs including for example mental health, rehabilitation, and some sexual reproductive health services. Providing a quality health service in the CIs presents several challenges. Notably a small population in geographically dispersed islands, a shortage of qualified health professionals and high transportation costs means that providing equitable health services requires careful planning to ensure provision within the 2.9% of the Gross Domestic Product the CIMoH receives.

The life expectancy of Cook Islanders has risen over recent years with current life expectancy for women at 73 years and men at 70 (Cook Islands Ministry of Health, 2012). Key health issues are similar to many other Pacific and Western counties and relate mainly to Non Communicable Diseases (NCDs) such as diabetes, cardiovascular disease, respiratory problems and cancers. Diseases associated with obesity and hypertension, and injuries are the leading causes of morbidity. The leading cause of mortality is diseases of the circulatory system causing 36% of reported deaths in 2009 (World Health Organization & Cook Islands Ministry of Health, 2012). There are also some communicable diseases of concern to the CIMoH as the CIs have a high rate of sexually transmitted infections (STIs). The Second Generation Study (SGS) conducted in 2005-2006 indicated a 22% incident rate of chlamydia with almost half the aronga mapu population (46%) between 15 and 29 years having an STI (Cook Islands Ministry of Health & Secretariat of the Pacific Community, 2007). The health and wellbeing issues that influence this present study are unplanned teenage pregnancies, stigmatisation and discrimination of the Lesbian Gay Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) community, increasing STIs, family as well as sexual violence and abuse, and

22 Heart, stroke and hypertension related illnesses.
substance abuse (mainly alcohol), all of which impact on sexuality, relationships, attempted suicide, and suicide (Cook Islands Ministry of Health, 2012; Cook Islands Ministry of Internal Affairs: Youth Suicide Prevention Steering Committee, 2015). Most calls to the suicide prevention hotline result from ‘relationship issues between peers and between youth and parents’, ‘sexual orientation’ or ‘pregnancy’ (Cook Islands Ministry of Internal Affairs: Youth Suicide Prevention Steering Committee, 2015, p. 44). The recent publication of a Pacific Youth Development Framework for the 22 countries and territories in the Pacific identifies that considerable work is required to address the marginalisation of youth who are discriminated against because of their sexual orientation or gender identity and expression (Secretariat of the Pacific Community, 2015).

The most recent data relating to the sexual health of aronga mapu in the CIs is from another SGS conducted in 2012 with 674 participants (Cook Islands Ministry of Health & Secretariat of the Pacific Community, 2012). The 2012 SGS revealed opportunities for improvement in both health and education and importantly highlighted that improved sexuality education in schools could efficiently provide the vehicle for these needs to be met (Cook Islands Ministry of Health & Secretariat of the Pacific Community, 2012). The report specified that it was important to ‘strengthen sex education at school’ (p. 34) specifically as a way to delay first sexual experiences. The data indicated there had been an increase from 31% in 2006, to 40% in 2012, of youth having their first sexual intercourse before the age of 15 (Cook Islands Ministry of Health & Secretariat of the Pacific Community, 2012, p. 6). The report also illustrated that condoms were underutilised with 42% of young people not using condoms for first sexual experiences. The 2009 SGS with Akava’ine and Men who have Sex with Men (MSM) survey provided some insight into the world of the gay and akava’ine community in the CIs for the first time. Akava’ine is a CIs term for people who, within Western contexts, are understood to be trans women, males who do not gender identify or live according to their sex at birth (Besnier & Alexeyeff, 2014). I do not wish to suggest here that Akava’ine and

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23 In the Pacific there are a variety of traditional descriptions for people who embody non-heteronormative gender identities. In the CIs the term for people with biological sex male living as
MSM have the same experiences, however the 2008 survey did conflate the two.

These SGS’s, conducted with youth, antenatal women, akava’ine and MSM revealed many areas for support and intervention. The findings exposed: early sexual debut (before 15) across all surveys; low condom or other contraceptive use; high STI rates; many participants had multiple consecutive as well as concurrent partners; normalised high alcohol consumption; two thirds of pregnancies were unplanned; half of the MSM participants used a condom the last time they had anal sex; 60% of the MSM community had sex with both men and women and were conceivably acting as a ‘bridge’ between sexual networks that could place partners at risk of STIs; high awareness of STI transmission however this did not transfer to behaviour; and finally, there was reluctance to seeking treatment or a STI test if people suspected an infection (Cook Islands Ministry of Health & Secretariat of the Pacific Community, 2007, 2009, 2012).

To begin to address some of these concerns from the 2007 SGS the CIs HIV, STI, TB Committee (CIHSTC), in their 2007 – 2013 National Strategic Plan to address HIV and STIs, created a goal to develop a CIs comprehensive sexuality education resource to be used in schools (Cook Islands Ministry of Health, 2007). This output was never achieved and was transferred into the 2014 - 2018 strategic plan as the SGS with Youth (2012) reported that sexuality education programmes were inadequate as had previous reports (Cook Islands Ministry of Health, 2014a; Cook Islands Ministry of Health & Secretariat of the Pacific Community, 2007, 2009, 2012). The research of this doctoral study therefore explores ways to advance sexuality education to produce a resource for the CIHSTC that is founded on aronga mapu | youth voice(s), alongside the various SGS data, to bridge the knowledge / behaviour

gender feminine is akava’ine, although this term is currently under debate (V. Wichman, personal communication, 15 February 2015). In other Pacific nations there are a range of words to describe transgender people in the community: leiti is used in Tonga, qauri in Fiji, fa’afafine in Samoa, māhū and raerae in Tahiti, and māhū in Hawaii (Besnier & Alexeyeff, 2014). However simply taking an indigenous term and giving it a western understanding eliminates the diverse understandings brought from the local context. Therefore the term akava’ine will be used until Te Tiare make a decision on terminology.

24 For example, more than 80% of youth participants drank more than five drinks the last time they consumed alcohol (Cook Islands Ministry of Health & Secretariat of the Pacific Community, 2012).
gap through educational approaches and contexts that aronga mapu deem important. Blake and Aggleton (2016) and others have noted that devising programmes that rigidly reflect public health priorities but do not address real concerns is not likely to impact behaviour (Haberland & Rogow, 2015; Haberland et al., 2009; UNFPA et al., 2015).

As this research investigates sexuality education in the CIs, it draws from the findings of the previous CIMoH studies and expands upon the results of the SGS. Findings from the methods used in this study have informed the development of a sexuality and relationships teaching and learning resource that addresses some of the factors already identified by the CIMoH, as well as others emphasised by aronga mapu. The development of the resource achieves the goal set by the CIMoH more than a decade ago and provides a culturally appropriate, evidenced based, programme for educators (Secretariat of the Pacific Community, 2014). As sexuality education often takes place in a school context the next section will provide an overview of contemporary education within the CIs context.

2.3 The Education System in the Pa Enua

Many educational programmes in the Pacific have been uncritically modelled on Western systems and reflect a traditional (Western) approach to teaching and learning (Bailey & Monroe, 2003; Coxon, Anae, Mara, Wendt-Samu, & Finau, 2002; Kawakami, 1999; Nabobo-Baba, 2006, 2012; Puamau, 2006; Schuster, 2008; Thaman, 1997). Education systems in Pacific nations have therefore resembled schools in United Kingdom, NZ, Australia or North America depending on the coloniser. As such, educational systems of the Pacific have rarely recognised Indigenous epistemologies, culture, or value systems, which in turn has commonly left children of the Pacific feeling that schools are foreign or unfriendly places to learn (Anae, 2010; Bailey & Monroe, 2003; Puamau, 2006).

As previously noted, influences on CIs education stemmed from the colonisation process. When the missionaries arrived in the 1820s one of their first priorities was to introduce formal (Westernised) schooling (Holmes,
Influenced by the missionaries, CIs leaders believed that children should have formal education in schools to prepare them for living in the (wider) world, rather than limiting education to the needs of island life (Vai‘imene, 2003). The first Public Schools Act was introduced in the CIs in 1895. The first school, funded through taxes, was Tereora College, the national high school. In 1901, when the CIs was annexed to NZ, the Resident Commissioner left education to the LMS as he believed education should mostly be based on Christianity. By 1914 the first primary schools were operational.

Education in the CIs is usually provided by Government institutions however there are eight independent (mostly church based) schools operating. In all, there are 32 schools including 1 stand alone early childhood education centre (ECEC), 11 primary schools (10 with an ECEC attached), four secondary schools, 15 area schools (preschool to mid-high school mainly in the outer islands) and one satellite outpost tertiary institute - the University of the South Pacific (Cook Islands Ministry of Education, 2014).

2.3.1 School Health Education in the Pa Enua

Historically health education in schools has been a vehicle for the government and the health sector to address the health issues displayed in the community (Gard & Pluim, 2014; J. D. Hirst, 1991; St Leger, 2004). As societies have struggled to contain health epidemics they have turned to schools to address a variety of health challenges (Fitzpatrick & Tinning, 2014; Gard & Pluim, 2014). In recent years public health organisations such as the World Health Organisation (WHO) have designed a model to promote wellness in schools through a Global School Health initiative known as the ‘Health Promoting Schools’ (HPS) model (World Health Organization, 2015). WHO expect HPS to take an all-encompassing view of health, for example,

Caring for oneself and others; Making healthy decisions and taking control over life’s circumstances; Creating conditions that are conducive to health; Building capacities for peace,

25 Also known as secondary school.
shelter, education, food, income, a stable ecosystem, equity, social justice, sustainable development; Preventing leading causes of death, disease and disability; and, Influencing health-related behaviours: knowledge, beliefs, skills, attitudes, values, support.

(World Health Organization, 2015)

Throughout the Pacific the HPS’s model is used in conjunction with an adapted model known as a ‘Health Promoting Island’s’ (HPI) model (Nutbeam, 1996). The goal of the HPI initiative is to create environments where: ‘children are nurtured in body and mind; environments invite learning and leisure; people work and age in dignity; and, ecological balance is a source of pride’ (World Health Organization, 1995; World Health Organization & Secretariat of the Pacific Community, 2015a, p. 3).26 The goals of both the HPS model and the HPI are extensive and, while perhaps ideal, may be difficult for countries in the Pacific to achieve due to limited resourcing (World Health Organization & Secretariat of the Pacific Community, 2015b). The HPS model assigns responsibility to schools in the attempt to reduce the leading causes of death and disease such as the rising obesity rate, dental caries, unplanned pregnancies, STIs, the (mis)use of tobacco and alcohol and suicide prevention (World Health Organization & Secretariat of the Pacific Community, 2015a). While some debate the effectiveness of schools as a point of intervention to address health concerns, the use of schools has resulted in the development of standardised health curriculum (Gard & Leahy, 2009; Gard & Pluim, 2014; Gard & Wright, 2014).27 Health education has therefore become mandatory for teachers to implement.

26 In 2015 the Ministers of Health and representatives of 19 Pacific island governments reconfirmed their commitment to the Healthy Islands vision of the 1995 Yanuca Declaration indicating the usefulness of the model to the Pacific context (World Health Organization & Secretariat of the Pacific Community, 2015a).

27 There are a variety of ways of considering ‘curriculum’. There is the ‘official curriculum’, which is the curriculum formalised in documents, the ‘enacted curriculum’ and then there is that which is unofficial, such as the experienced, or the ‘hidden’, curriculum (McGee, 1997; Trudell, 1993). Official curriculum documents usually focus on specific educational goals and subject content. The ‘official curriculum’ in the CIs is the Health and Physical Wellbeing curriculum, which informs the ‘planned curriculum’, which incorporates the programmes that outline what is intended in the classroom. The ‘enacted curriculum’ relates to that which actually happens in the classroom, which is usually determined by the teacher but can also be affected by the students, which then becomes the ‘experienced curriculum’. Finally the ‘hidden curriculum’ is the learning that occurs within the classroom and social setting within which the
In the CIs, health (and physical) education is one of seven curriculum areas all primary teachers are expected to teach. Once students attend secondary school they continue to have compulsory health education taught until the end of year 10 (age 14 years). Most teachers in the CIs have had no specialist health education training. In 2013 the first health and physical education graduate returned to the CIs after completing a four year degree in NZ (Woods, 2013). The lack of teacher education in health has major implications in how health education, and in particular sexuality education, has been, is, and will be operationalised in schools.

2.3.2 Pa Enua Health Education Curriculum Development

During 2003-4 NZ Aid funded the CIMoE to develop a CIs Oraanga e te Tupuanga Meitaki: Health and Physical Wellbeing Curriculum (CIHPWBC). I was the developer of that curriculum. Postcolonial critiques censure much development work as characterised by exclusionary and western-centric ideas (Nieuwenhuys, 2013; L. T. Smith, 2012). Therefore, my goal was to create a curriculum that reflected CIs understanding of health and wellbeing and which would reflect the needs identified by the community. This process involved engaging with people on almost all of the islands by creating participatory consultation gatherings where there could be a reciprocal exchanging of ideas.

In essence, as a privileged Papa’a woman working alongside and in partnership with Cook Islanders in the CIs, this consultation and collaboration allowed me to gain understandings of the ‘politics of location’ (Rich, 2003). Developing the contextual understanding took a year of consultation and collaboration with communities to determine a contemporary understanding of what Cook Islanders considered being healthy meant, and the barriers they perceived to maintaining wellness. Through this consultation a model was developed to underpin the CIHPWBC. This model is called Pito’enua. The classes happen and that which is learned although not usually planned for by the teacher (McGee, 1997; Trudell, 1993). If these views are taken into account relating to the CIHPWBC then it is understood that this ‘official’ curriculum is but one of the influences on what and how students learn in relation to sexuality education.

28 In 2016 there were two teachers in the country trained in health education, both graduates of the University of Auckland.

29 The two inhabited islands I did not consult were Palmerston (population 50, 2011) and Rakahanga (population 77, 2011).
concept of Pito’enua is metaphorically represented by a vaka | outrigger canoe (Figure 5), and is founded on a pe’e | saying, by the (then) Chief of Vaka Takitumu:30

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Takai koe ki te papa enua,} & \quad \text{You step onto solid land,} \\
\text{akamou i te pito’enua,} & \quad \text{affix the umbilical cord,} \\
\text{au i to’ou rangi} & \quad \text{and carve out your world} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(Puati Mataiapo, nd)

The CIHPWBC has a health promotion philosophy linked to CIs culture, traditions and values and also represents the dimensions of health in the Ottawa Charter as these were ascertained as pertinent through the consultation (Futter, 2003; World Health Organization, 1986). Pito’enua has since been used as a best practice model for an Indigenous understanding of health promotion (Futter, 2009; Whitman & Aldinger, 2009; World Health Organization, 1986).

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30 A tribal area on the island of Rarotonga.
Sexuality education is one of the five key areas in the CIHPWBC. Within this document ‘Api‘ianga Tupuanga Kopapa | Sexuality Education’ is referred to as a ‘lifelong process of acquiring information and forming attitudes, beliefs and values about identity, relationships and intimacy’ and the subject area aims to provide students with the ‘knowledge, understanding and skills to enhance their personal relationships, develop positive attitudes towards sexuality and, take care of their sexual health’ (Cook Islands Ministry of Education, 2006, p. 13). Teachers are expected to implement api‘ianga tupuanga kopapa from Grade 1 through to Year 10 thereafter the Health and Physical Education in the NZ Curriculum is used for Years 11-13 should a school offer senior health classes (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2007). The CIMoE expectations convey the belief that schools will comprehensively cover sexuality education throughout the time aronga mapu are in school.
A key barrier to implementing sexuality education has been that there have been no resources developed for teachers to use. Further, there has been little professional development offered to teachers. Some Rarotongan based primary school teachers received one day of professional development in 2005. Early education has been shown to impact on delaying initial sexual activity and developing attitudes, values and psychosocial skills important for positive relationships (Kirby, Coyle, Alton, Rolleri, & Robin, 2011; Kirby & Laris, 2009; Silva, 2002; UNESCO, 2009). Similarly there has only been one professional development opportunity offered to secondary teachers since the draft CIHPWBC became available in 2004 (prior to this research project).31
The CIMoH and NGOs, who occasionally implement mostly one-off lessons about condom use in secondary schools have at times used resources developed by international organisations (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 2009; International Planned Parenthood Federation, 2003). The lack of culturally and contextually appropriate resourcing impacts on the ability of educators to facilitate explicit learning experiences that develop the sexuality and relationship skills of young people. This research addresses this gap and in doing so supports the goals of the CIMoE and CIMoH to be met.

2.4 Api’ianga Tupuanga Kopapa | Sexuality Education

If we are to make an impact on children and young people before they become sexually active, comprehensive sexuality education must become part of the formal school curriculum, delivered by well-trained and supported teachers … As well, special efforts need to be made to reach children out of school – often the most vulnerable to misinformation and exploitation.

(UNESCO, 2009, p. iii)

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31 Funding was granted from UNESCO to fund a four-day workshop for two teachers and one parent from the Parent Teacher Association to attend from each school in the southern group islands. I facilitated this workshop attempting to create a support community that would go back to each island and then implement year 9 and 10 sexuality education. The teachers evaluated the professional development well but indicated they wanted more time to explore the areas presented as this had been the first time in their lives that they had had an opportunity to reflect on their attitudes and values related to sexuality and to explore possible teaching and learning activities. Each school received one follow up visit after the training to support the teaching programme.
In the West sexuality education and its place in schools has been extensively researched, critiqued, and debated.\textsuperscript{32} As can be seen from the wide-ranging selection of references footnoted, the topic has generated an extensive amount of literature. However, there is a gap in the literature related to the Pacific region. This could be due to a lack of resourcing as most countries in the Pacific are developing nations (UNFPA et al., 2015; Vanwesenbeeck, Westeneng, de Boer, Reinders, & van Zorge, 2016). The physical isolation of most countries in the Pacific probably also contributes. This project aims to add to the small Pacific presence in the broad literary field of sexuality education. The remainder of this square provides an overview of some of the literature that directly relates to this project. In particular, current approaches and key considerations related to best practice of sexuality education.

Sexuality education, sometimes referred to as sex education, or more recently sexualities and relationships education (SRE) aims to provide young people with the knowledge, skills, and confidence to be responsible, healthy and productive adults (UNESCO, 2009). However, the implementation of ‘sex’ education has often been contentious in communities as societies debate different approaches (Allen, 2011b; Kempner, 2003; Kirby, 2008; Naz, 2014; UNFPA et al., 2015). Most often abstinence versus comprehensive sexuality education (CSE) debates occur that encompass conversations about morality, religion and sexualities as well as debate about who should teach it - parents or schools (Allen et al., 2014; Cushman et al., 2014; Gard & Pluim, 2014; Kirby, 2008). The impact of both CSE and abstinence based programmes has

been well researched and there is now a large body of evidence on the characteristics that effective sexuality education programmes incorporate (Coyle et al., 2015; Haberland & Rogow, 2015; Kirby, 2011; Sex Information and Education Council of Canada, 2005; Sexuality Information and Education Council of the United States, 2004; UNESCO, 2009; UNFPA et al., 2015). Differing approaches to sexuality education will now be discussed.

### 2.4.1 Approaches to Apīianga Tupuanga Kopapa

There are a number of different approaches to SRE. One is the abstinence programmes which stress that any sexual activity, outside of a monogamous heterosexual marriage, is morally wrong and the only way to prevent pregnancy or STIs is to abstain from all sexual activities (Collins, Alagiri, Summers, & Morin, 2002; Gard & Pluim, 2014; Iyler & Aggleton, 2015; Milton & Hazel, 2008; Sexuality Information and Education Council of the United States, 2004). Abstinence programmes stem from medicalised and biological frameworks, and detail in developing the skills needed to negotiate sexual relationships positively is absent. There are also religious-based reasons for abstinence-based programmes and it is from within this framework that they are widely understood (Collins et al., 2002; Kirby, 1985, 2007a, 2008; Kohler, Manhart, & Lafferty, 2008; Ollis et al., 2012; Williams, Prior, & Wegner, 2013).

CSE programmes incorporate a wide range of topics including sexual development, biological and reproductive health, self-management and safety, interpersonal relationships, identity, communication and negotiation skills, body image, self-esteem, intimacy, resilience, decision making, gender roles, and moral / ethical values (S. Blake, 2008; Gard & Pluim, 2014; Goldman, 2010; Kirby, 2011; New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2015a, 2015b; Sex Information and Education Council of Canada, 2005; Sexuality Information and Education Council of the United States, 2004; UNESCO, 2009; UNFPA et al., 2015).

### 2.4.2 Approaches in the Pacific

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33 Padmini Iyler and Peter Aggleton (2015) in their recent review of seventy years of sex education deduce that there has been a move from trying to have young people ‘abstain’ from pre-marital sex to managing the outcomes of sex and limiting the harms.
Like the approaches taken in many western countries, the Pacific has historically taken a medicalised / public health approach to SRE education that emphasises reducing risk factors through addressing individual behaviours. This approach fails to address environmental or structural conditions that stigmatise aronga mapu who are sexually active (Cahill & Coffey, 2016; Naz, 2014; Peltzer & Pengpid, 2016; UNAIDS, 2009; UNFPA et al., 2015). Often the people implementing programmes in the Pacific do so within medical roles, as public health nurses or STI prevention officers, so the absence of consideration of environmental and structural conditions is not unsurprising. Inevitably the focus of medical models is disease prevention and reducing teenage pregnancy within a heterocentric context. For example, in Fiji a Family Life Education programme was started in 2010 to begin implementing sexuality education for youth (Naz, 2014; Secretariat of the Pacific Community, 2010; Varani-Norton, 2014). This programme was framed within a medicalised, disease reduction model and took a conservative and abstinence approach to sexuality education in the hope of reducing pregnancies and STIs (Varani-Norton, 2014).

Another focus of sexuality education has been to keep young people as productive and contributing members of society while also protecting the limited resources of Pacific nations from overpopulation (Secretariat of the Pacific Community, 2010). For instance, the NZ Parliamentarians’ Group on Population and Development recommendation:

… if the youth of the Pacific don’t get access to good sexual reproductive health services and education, that population’s going to explode in the next generation or two and the environment in their own country wouldn’t be able to sustain greater population. It’s actually urgent, it’s more than urgent.

(Radio New Zealand, 2012)

The above comment confirms that anxiety derives not only from a medical standpoint, but also an economic. Subsequently young people in the Pacific
have been the target of many health related interventions instigated by outside development organisations. Until recently the focus was mainly on HIV / STI prevention, with generic resources designed by many organisations for use throughout the Pacific (Kidd, 1991). Evidence has shown this kind of generic approach to programmes is ineffective as catering to context is vital to success (S. Blake, in conversation with, & Aggleton, 2016; Buchanan-Aruwafu, 2007; Buchanan-Aruwafu, Maebiru, & Arawafu, 2003; Cahill & Coffey, 2016; McMillan & Worth, 2011; Phongsavan et al., 2005; Secretariat of the Pacific Community, 2015; Thammaraksa, Powwattana, Lagampan, & Thaingtham, 2014).\textsuperscript{34} Insight into the context and health behaviours of young people requires ‘understanding the social position and status of youth as well as [the] religious and cultural expectations and norms around family and community’ (McMillan & Worth, 2011, pp. 314-315).

2.5 Curriculum Resource Considerations

Given the background literature discussed thus far, this section outlines some of the considerations of developing the teaching resource from this project. Developing a SRE programme necessitates careful consideration of the cultural context at all points of the research and resource development (McMillan & Worth, 2011; Vanwesenbeeck et al., 2016), especially so in a postcolonial developing nation. In the context of this project, this consideration entails

- Relationships with government and NGOs (2.5.1)
- Involvement of aronga mapu (2.5.2)
- Teacher training and the teacher’s role (2.5.3)
- Pedagogies of sexuality education (2.5.4), and,
- Specific pedagogical needs of Pacific young people (2.5.5)

Each of these will be discussed below.

2.5.1 Considering Relationships with Government and NGOs

\textsuperscript{34} HIV and AIDS prevention resources have been developed by the South Pacific Commission (in 1997 this organisation was renamed as the Secretariat of the Pacific Community (SPC)), the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), World Health Organisation (WHO), International Planned Parenting Federation (IPPF), International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA).
The CIHSTC is a key government policy maker in this context. This national committee directs all services to do with sexual reproductive health (SRH) in the country. Consultation, collaboration, and the development of a shared vision with the CIHSTC has been essential to this project and deemed essential in the Tivaevae model (Maua-Hodges, 2001, 2016a). The committee is comprised of representatives of every government and NGO involved in SRH, as well as a representative from the religious advisory council. The group provided information to this study related to the situation analysis of the CIIs and assessment of the needs of aronga mapu. The group, acting as partner and advisor throughout the study, fulfilled one of the ways for me to work with local people, as well as for local people as recommended by Indigenous scholars (Maua-Hodges, 2001, 2016a; L. T. Smith, 2012; Vanwesenbeeck et al., 2016; Shawn Wilson, 2008).

2.5.2 Considering Young Peoples Voices

Louisa Allen’s many publications (Allen, 2005a, 2005b, 2005c, 2008a, 2008b, 2009a, 2009b, 2011a, 2011b, 2012, 2015) argue that sexuality education needs ‘re-imagining’ and that the voices of young people are essential in the re-conceptualisation of both design and delivery. In this project, that ‘re-imagines’ sexuality education for the CIIs, there was an intentional move away from using medicalised constructs and to consider alternative possibilities. Seeking youth idea(l)s was central to the project given youth voice is largely unheard in the Pacific due to the societal power relationships that privilege adults over aronga mapu, or one group over another (Farran, 2016; UNICEF, 2011). Although there are few studies that have evaluated the effectiveness of utilising aronga mapu voice in the Pacific, major organisations that seek to improve the lives of young people such as SPC, UNFPA, UNESCO and WHO, alongside other researchers, argue that ensuring young people engage with, and participate in, resource (re)development can be essential to the programmes success (Cahill & Coffey, 2016; Cook-Sather, 2007; Farran, 2016; B. Johnson et al., 2016; Larson, 1999; Maibvisira, Conn, & Nayar, 35

35 The CIHSTC has been unable to secure a representative from CIMoE for some years. This indicates some (mis)understanding of the role of schools and the health prevention work of education by the CIMoE especially given students in schools are a key target for intervention for the Government.
Involving aronga mapu has facilitated the development of a contextually relevant and culturally appropriate resource that is learner-centred and needs-led (S. Blake, in conversation with, & Aggleton, 2016; Cahill & Coffey, 2016; Haberland & Rogow, 2015; B. Johnson et al., 2016; UNFPA et al., 2015; United Nations, 1989; Vanwesenbeeck et al., 2016). A research design that holds aronga mapu at the centre enables the data and resource to be developed from aronga mapu responses. These responses reflect multiple understandings and insights of the contextual landscapes of CIs sexualities culture. In the use of voice the study is attentive of scholars who note that ‘collecting’ and ‘hearing’ young peoples voices in research is complex and the importance of multiple voices to ensure that ‘the reproduction of the everyday’ is not all that is achieved (Brooker & Macdonald, 1999, p. 86; Cook-Sather, 2006, 2007; Fielding, 2004; Mitra, 2004; Orner, 1992; UNICEF, 2011).

### 2.5.3 Considering the Role of the Teacher / Educator

In ‘re-imagining’ sexuality education the role of educators cannot be underestimated as research has shown they are integral to the success of programmes (Fenton & Coates, 2007; Goldman, 2010; Mitchell et al., 2011; New Zealand Education Review Office, 2007; New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2015b; Thammaraksa et al., 2014). Teacher training and professional development in health and / or sexuality education in the Pacific is often limited (Secretariat of the Pacific Community, 2010; UNESCO, 2009; UNFPA et al., 2015). As has been noted, ‘teachers are the ‘gatekeepers’ to the Curriculum who make strategic choices about the selection of content’ (Cahill et al., 2014; B. Johnson, 2012, p. 45; Thammaraksa et al., 2014; UNFPA et al., 2015). Therefore, building the knowledge, skills and understandings of educators in content as well as pedagogy was an important part of this project (Cahill et al., 2014). Studies have shown that the teaching of SRE is often seen by educators as difficult and complex (B. Johnson, 2012; R. Johnson et al., 2014; Naz, 2014; Secretariat of the Pacific Community,
due to it being considered ‘sensitive’, ‘private’ and ‘dangerous’ (Allen, 2009b, p. 33). Developing the skills and confidence of teachers has been found to be imperative to the implementation of successful programmes (Cahill et al., 2014; B. Johnson et al., 2016; Ollis et al., 2012; Secretariat of the Pacific Community, 2010; Vanwesenbeeck et al., 2016).

Historically in schools, sexuality education has been taught by health and physical education teachers, school counsellors, school / public health nurses or external providers (Ollis et al., 2012; Secretariat of the Pacific Community, 2010). In Pacific community settings, SRE has been taught by various NGOs for example, International Planned Parenting Federation and Red Cross, as well as other groups such as church or youth organisations (UNFPA et al., 2015). In the literature, there has been discussion and debate about whom is best to teach sexuality education and whether it should be teacher, peer, or outside agency led (Allen, 2009b; Gard & Pluim, 2014; Gard & Wright, 2014; Leahy, Burrows, McCuaig, Wright, & Penney, 2016; Leahy & McCuaig, 2013; UNESCO, 2009; UNFPA et al., 2015). Allen, (2009b) argues that rather than who in a specific sense, it is the personal qualities of the person who teaches, that counts. Young people in her research defined the qualities of ‘being knowledgeable’, ‘able to relate to young people’ and demonstrating the characteristics relating to a sense of ‘professionalism’ were imperative whoever the educator was’ (Allen, 2009b, p. 46).

Teacher professionalism within sexuality education can be considered as having the following qualities

1. Teacher as protector (being able to control the class)
2. Teacher as friend (the teacher’s persona and / or the atmosphere of the class)
3. Trust between pupils (being comfortable that your contributions with not be ridiculed or spread around the school)
4. Sex education as fun (being able to be light hearted and have a laugh)

(Buston, Wight, Hart, & Scott, 2002)
Alongside these qualities, SRE educators also need to feel confident and comfortable with the content and pedagogical approaches that allow for critical thinking and analysis of societal norms (Cahill et al., 2014; Fenton & Coates, 2007; Fitzpatrick, 2014; UNESCO, 2009; Vanwesenbeeck et al., 2016). Yet, lack of teacher confidence and competence, most often due to limited (or non-existent) pre-service or professional development in SRE, is a common finding in the literature (Allen, 2011b; Goldman, 2010; Mitchell et al., 2011; Ollis et al., 2012; Thammaraksa et al., 2014; UNESCO, 2009; UNFPA et al., 2015).

Educators’ personal values may also be a barrier especially if they are in conflict with what they are expected to teach (Leahy et al., 2016; Trudell, 1993; UNESCO, 2009). This opposition could lead teachers to revert to ‘defensive teaching’ strategies where they seek safety and avoid controversy by ‘mystifying complex or controversial topics ... [or] omitting certain topics, or aspects of topics’ (Trudell, 1993 p.27). As teachers decide what will and will not be taught they cannot help but be influenced by their personal values and beliefs and also perhaps those they perceive of the parent community (Mitchell et al., 2011). This can lead teachers to avoid situations where parental complaints could arise, or which puts them in a personally vulnerable situation (UNFPA et al., 2015). Naz (2014) identifies this as ‘selective teaching’, which transpired in the Family Life Education programme in Fiji (p. 674).

Commitment and support from school leaders is important to the successful implementation of SRE programmes (Mitchell et al., 2011; New Zealand Education Review Office, 2007). Principal support could likely influence the amount of time afforded to programmes and this is important to effectiveness of programmes (Gard & Pluim, 2014). Other international literature has shown that the effectiveness of SRE is largely dependent on the ‘skills, preparedness, and comfort of teachers’ (Buston et al., 2002; R. Johnson et al., 2014; Mitchell et al., 2011, p. 18; UNFPA et al., 2015). In the CIs, it is known that most educators have had either no, or limited, training in SRE.
therefore a key component of this research is to train educators in how to use the resource once developed.\textsuperscript{36}

\subsection*{2.5.4 Considering the Pedagogies of Sexuality Education}

It is not only content knowledge that educators need, there are also pedagogical practices that are important when delivering a sociocultural and socio-critical approach to SRE if a physical/medical, or risk/blame approach is to be avoided (Browes, 2015; Cahill & Coffey, 2016; B. Johnson et al., 2016; Leahy et al., 2016; New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2015b; Ollis, Harris, & Maharaj, 2013; Ollis et al., 2012; Tinning, 2014; UNESCO, 2009; Vanwesenbeeck et al., 2016). As previously noted, in the past a moralistic approach to SRE has been the usual in the CIs as it has in other parts of the world (Kirby, 2007a). This approach fails to take into account the socio-ecological influences young people face within their increasingly ‘glocal’\textsuperscript{37} lives (Haggis & Mulholland, 2014, p. 57). It equally fails to provide a space which critically examines and critiques hegemonic practice, allows for discomfort, and can lead to resistance and challenging of hegemonic practices where ‘the normative is always a question mark’ (Boler; Burrows & Sinkinson, 2014; Cahill & Coffey, 2016; Fitzpatrick, 2014; Haggis & Mulholland, 2014, p. 56; Kelly, 2014).

Effective pedagogical approaches identified by research in health and SRE are approaches that are youth focussed, strengths based, participatory, and human rights directed (Cahill et al., 2014; Kirby & Laris, 2009; Leahy et al., 2016; McIntyre, Philpot, & Smith, 2016; New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2015a, 2015b; Ollis et al., 2012; Smyth, Down, & McInerney, 2014; Thomas & Aggleton, 2016; UNESCO, 2009; UNFPA et al., 2015; Vanwesenbeeck et al., 2016). These teaching and learning approaches utilise strategies that acknowledge the experience of the learners and build on these experiences; are taught in an environment that supports and appreciates contributions and

\textsuperscript{36} Aware that on-going professional development and resourcing would support educators, funding was applied for and awarded by UNESCO (July 2016). They have provided US$20,000 for the publication, mentoring and training in the use of the programme with educators in 2017. This funding also supports the training of four young people to become SRE mentors to those implementing the programme.

\textsuperscript{37} The ways in which aronga mapu manage media, cyber and identity cultures that are often as influential as conventional processes of socialisation (Haggis & Mulholland, 2014).
questions, and allows for everyone to express their views; they use structured activities to focus on building skills that are useful in intimate relationships, and include the opportunity to practice and experiment with responses and behaviours though the use of games, role-play, and discussion (Cahill et al., 2014; Haberland & Rogow, 2015; Ollis et al., 2012; Thomas & Aggleton, 2016; UNFPA et al., 2015). There is also evidence that programmes that address gender norms and power-based gender inequalities within relationships is important (Haberland & Rogow, 2015). These crucial, evidence based pedagogical approaches and practices, alongside those the young people in this research share during data collection, will shape the design of the resource.

2.5.5 Considering the Pedagogical Needs of Pacific Aronga Mapu

Pacific learners stem from a huge geographical area that is multi-ethnic and therefore there is no ‘one size fits all’ pedagogical approach for Pacific students (Samu, 2015). Having said that, researchers agree that educators need to understand the influences of culture, identity and traditions if SRE is to be effective in supporting young people in the Pacific (Browes, 2015; Buchanan-Aruwafu, 2007; Combleth, 1990; McMillan & Worth, 2011; Phongsavan et al., 2005; UNFPA et al., 2015; Vanwesenbeeck et al., 2016). Although literature related to teaching and learning in the Pacific is not broad, there have been a number of educational studies, outside the realm of SRE, that offer some insight into preferred pedagogical approaches of young Pacific people (Anae, 2010; Bailey & Monroe, 2003; Burnett, 2007; Kawakami, 1999; Keller & Wilkerson, 2004; Nabobo-Baba, 2006, 2012; Naz, 2014; Samu, 2015; Thaman, 1997).

Pedagogy promoted by researchers as appropriate for Pacific learners has classrooms that are participatory and contextualised to their cultural reality (Bailey & Monroe, 2003; Kawakami, 1999; Keller & Wilkerson, 2004; Nabobo-Baba, 2006, 2012; C. Savage et al., 2011; Taylor & Coll, 2002). Teaching ‘to and through [students’] personal and cultural strengths, their intellectual

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38 About a range of wide contexts such as: consent, decision-making, violence, relationships, sexual diversity.
capabilities, and their prior accomplishments’ is how culturally responsive pedagogy is enacted in classrooms (Gay, 2010, p. 26). Researchers investigating culturally diverse education, in subjects unrelated to SRE, propose that including students’ cultural background, setting high expectations, creating an international perspective, and connecting topics to the social issues of students’ lives are important for Pacific student engagement (Bailey & Monroe, 2003; Sleeter, 2001; UNESCO, 2009). These points are equally important to sexuality education (Epstein & Johnson, 1998; UNFPA et al., 2015; Vanwesenbeeck et al., 2016). Although it is not only the students’ cultural background that should be considered, McMillan and Worth (2011) argue that identity and traditions need to be considered and that approaches and resources should be designed not from a regional perspective but should be country specific. Kehily (2002) argues that there is ‘no formula for success’ and that we must consider that the qualities, characteristics and identities valued by students influences the success of pedagogic practice (p. 230).

The SRE developed from the data generated through this project is informed by the cultural context it was developed in. The context is somewhat different to that represented in current literature given that the educators implementing the SRE resource will be Cook Islanders as will the aronga mapu. Often in the literature the ‘culturally responsive pedagogy’ referred to is when there are minority cultures in mainstream classrooms. This is not the case in the CIs. The challenge is that educators have rarely had training in participatory pedagogical approaches and favour classrooms where the teacher is the authority figure and they direct students in their learning. The normative environment is where students sit quietly, don’t ask questions and look to teachers to provide the answers (Keller & Wilkerson, 2004; Taylor & Coll, 2002).

2.6 Openga | Conclusion
In this square some of the literature, which informs this research project, was discussed. The distinctive location of the CIs, with its colonial and postcolonial history, set in an isolated location in the middle of the Pacific Ocean, offers a
context in which to generate information relating to SRE. Moreover, this square has demonstrated the need and aims of the research project. It propositions the vision of the SRE resource in that it may provide a platform for improving the sexual lives and relationships of aronga mapu. The resource may also act as a catalyst for human rights and social justice agendas within the context of SRE through educating both young people and educators and sewing the possibilities of change (Plummer, 1995). The (re)imagination of SRE would allow a re-positioning of the dominant medicalised and heteronormative understandings that have historically been offered to aronga mapu through the sexuality education they experience. The next square of the tivaevae takes the context of this research a step further and explores how the use of an Indigenous CIs theoretical and research framework was used to stitch this work together and how the framework became an unintended part of the project after exploring Indigenous research paradigms in the literature.
Square 3: Vaito | A Suitable Design: The Tivaevae Research Model

3.1 Introduction
As indicated in Square One, this research project has been undertaken using the Tivaevae Research Model (Maua-Hodges, 2001, 2016a, 2016b). Square Three will elaborate on the function of the Tivaevae Model within this research setting. As was discussed in Square Two, consideration of the context is imperative to the success of SRE. This square continues with the examination of context by exploring the use of appropriate research methods in indigenous settings (3.2). The Tivaevae Research Model is explained alongside exploration of Indigenous research methods and postcolonial theory. Feminist poststructural theories are then interwoven with postcolonial theory into the development of the theoretical foundations of this metaphorical sexuality tivaevae (3.3). Finally, the use of these theories and how they facilitated the shape of data collection, as well as the SRE resource, will be explained (3.5).

3.2 Indigenous Research Methods
In his book based on research with Indigenous peoples from Canada and Australia, Shawn Wilson (2008) argues that researchers often fall short of the standards of relational accountability that are expected of them by Indigenous communities. He contends that, in many instances, Indigenous people are not consulted about research that is done about them; they are researched on,
rather than with, and are rarely included in analysis. Relational accountability, he asserts, requires the use of an Indigenous research paradigm, which in turn requires an ‘Indigenous epistemology [which] is all about ideas developing through the formation of relationships’ (p.8). Wilson describes Indigenous research where the researcher and the ‘teller’ (the participant) share ideas and make ‘sense of’ these ideas through the direct relationship between them. In keeping with his book title, Wilson argues that ‘Research by and for Indigenous peoples is a ceremony that brings relationships together’ (Shawn Wilson, 2008, p. 8). Central to his argument is the premise that Indigenous research should be completed by, or for, Indigenous people. This agenda is supported by other scholars in the field, such as Chilisa and Theko (2014), who recommend beginning research by addressing hierarchical structures that privilege dominant cultures and literatures and which develop structures for the community, and the researched to, participate; Smith (1999: 2012) who notes the need for research that has a focus on the agency and potential of Indigenous communities and which draws on their cultural strengths and understandings in order for the communities to transform themselves; or Moreton-Robinson who takes the argument further asking for the utilisation of robust decolonising research practices rather than the possibly more polite ‘Indigenous research methods’ (Chilisa & Tsheko, 2014; Gegeo, 2001; Mertens et al., 2013; Moreton-Robinson, 2004, 2013; L. T. Smith, 2004, 2012; Weber-Pillwax, 2004; Weedon, 2004).

To ensure an ‘honouring of Indigenous worldviews’ approach, Wilson (2008) argues that ‘A researcher must make sure that the ‘three R’s’, Respect, Reciprocity and Relationality are guiding the research’ (p. 58). This sentiment is similar to the sentiment represented within Maua-Hodges’ (2001, 2016a) Tivaevae Model. To achieve these ideals in this project it was imperative that, as a privileged Papa’a heterosexual woman, I respected the cultural, non-dominative worldviews of the participants in this study, and that I sought ways to increase and improve relationality and reciprocity. In keeping with Wilson’s (2008) argument that the research should honour and bring benefit to Indigenous people, I held the commitment that the information shared by young people would only be used in ethical and sensitive ways. In planning
the project, I also anticipated that the findings would be useful to advocate for change(s) to the way aronga mapu are supported in developing understandings of sexuality. In this way, the SRE resource embedded reciprocity in the relationship between the researcher and the participants.

The CIs have been the site for many ‘outsider’ research projects that have had a focus on negative aspects of life (as determined by others) such as illness, problems or issues (L. T. Smith, 2012). Inspired by Indigenous scholars such as Wilson (2008), Chilisa and Tsheko (2014) and Smith (1999: 2012), axiology and methodology firmly based in indigenous epistemology and ontology that maintains relational accountability are key foundations to the project reported here. These foundations value the relationships that I have in the CIs. My commitment to relational accountability drove my decision to complete my PhD by project – as such the SRE resource is my reciprocation to the community. This project moves beyond previous research that has often resulted in a focus on problems rather than solutions and identified issues that were already known to locals with little offer of solution about how to rectify the identified ‘problem/s’ (Futter-Puati, 2010; Herman, 2013; Wilson, 2008). Hence a CIs theoretical lens and methodological framework was employed for this study and an educational resource is being produced as the ‘product’ of the study.

3.2.1 Tivaevae as Metaphor and Method
Various Indigenous research models have been developed by scholars to address the argument that Pacific values should be integral to research in the region (Anae, Coxon, Mara, Wendt-Samu, & Finau, 2001; Health Research Council of New Zealand, 2014; Herman, 2013; Hudson, Milne, Reynolds, Russell, & Smith, 2010; Maua-Hodges, 2001; L. T. Smith, 2004; Suaalii-Sauni & Fulu-Aiolupotea, 2014; Thaman, 2003; Shawn Wilson, 2008). These models recognise that Indigenous knowledge is owned by Indigenous people, value the use of Indigenous research methods and ensure that Indigenous knowledge is retained by the Indigenous people (L. T. Smith, 2004; Weber-Pillwax, 2004; Shawn Wilson, 2008). However, it is important to note that Pacific nations cannot be grouped together as one, as each country is
culturally distinct and contextually different. Therefore, a CIs specific model informs this research.

In 2001 Cook Islander Teremoana Maua-Hodges developed a theoretical research model that represents CIs epistemological and ontological worldviews. Her research model, called the ‘Tivaevae Model’, was developed for use within education settings. A number of academics and specialists have since used the Tivaevae Model in a variety of research contexts (Horan, 2012; Nabobo-Baba, 2012; New Zealand Ministry of Justice, 2003; Powell, 2013; Te Ava, 2011; Thaman, 2003; Tisam, 2015). For example, Aue Te Ava (2011) used Maua-Hodges model for his doctoral thesis exploring the use of culturally relevant pedagogy in physical education as a way that ‘centres Cook Islands people’s understanding of values’ (p.70). Emma Powell (2013) used the model to create a metaphorical tivaevae in her masters’ thesis stitching literary works by Cook Islanders onto the page.

Maua-Hodges used the tivaevae as a metaphor for a collaborative approach to research. In the way it is made, a tivaevae quilt has an easily seen, revealed surface and also hidden elements. This project uses the tivaevae metaphor to both illustrate the easily seen surface and reveal the hidden, seemingly invisible, unspoken or hidden aspects of CIs life (Gray, Harris, & Jones, 2016; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). The Tivaevae Method is designed to ‘guide multiple components of ... research in culturally responsive ways’ (Te Ava, 2011, p. 56). Five key concepts that are significant in the CIs context are used in the Tivaevae Method, thus ensuring its cultural responsiveness. These are:

- taokotai | collaboration
- tu akangateitei | respect
- uriuri kite | reciprocity
- tu inangaro | relationships

What a tivaevae is, and how they are used, was explained in Square One.
These key concepts are integral to the design and implementation of this research project. The concepts will be explored more fully as the tivaevae is pieced together in Square Four. To assist in understanding these concepts and how they might be used within a metaphorical tivaevae, I applied myself to the making of a literal tivaevae (Figure 6). Engaging in the complex components of design, pinning, cutting, placing, and sewing, I transformed Maua-Hodges’ conceptual research model into a physical, embodied experience. This process helped me to consider how taokotai, tu akangateitei, uriuri kite, tu inangaro and akaari kite are inherent in the research process.

Figure 6. Beginning a Tivaevae.

Photo by Futter-Puati, D.

Two key insights that I gained from making this tivaevae related firstly to the complexity involved, and secondly to the many layers that contribute to the

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40 Whilst these concepts are important in the Cook Islands context, they also align closely with other Indigenous research paradigms (Mirza, 2006).
finished project. For instance, a tivaevae has a minimum of three layers (possibly more, depending on how the creator conceptualises the design):

- the *front*: the pale green leaves and the pink hibiscus flowers above (Figure 6);
- the *blank canvas*: the navy blue fabric underneath the *front* and onto which the design is sewn. Only the stitching can be seen on plain fabric on the underside of the *blank canvas* (Figure 7);
- and the *backing* (not seen in this photo as the tivaevae is not complete).^{41}

![Figure 7. The Underside of a Blank Canvas.](image)

Tivaevae sewn by Deborah Tamaiva, Photo by hk photography, used with permission.

The multi-layering of tivaevae creation helped me to conceptualise how this research was constructed. It was helpful to consider how the front, or top layer, of a tivaevae appears coherent, ordered and complete. However, this top layer disguises the complex layers beneath. Whilst the top layer mainly hides these layers, they are essential to its structure. Therefore my use of the tivaevae metaphor references an attempt to unpick the layers, looking

^{41} Not all tivaevae are backed.
beneath the ordered, coherent surface of CIs society, and revealing the ideas about sexuality that aronga mapu disclosed, so that they can be revealed for discussion. When this project is complete, the reader will be able to ‘stand back’ and view the (sexuality) tivaevae as a coherent whole, whilst understanding the complexities of young people’s lived experiences that are woven, or hidden, within and under the layers.

The front layer of the tivaevae is what is displayed to the world. The beauty of the design, the choices of fabric, the imagery, and the fancywork of each stitch is open to examination and judgment. The way a tivaevae is regarded depends on the eye of the beholder and what they consider beauty to be. In a metaphorical sense, the way people act, behave, and respond in, or to, the world can be seen as the ‘front’ surface of the tivaevae: the person they portray to the world around them. In this way aronga mapu adjust the ‘front’ surface of their sexuality tivaevae accordingly; learning quickly what is considered ‘beautiful’, valued and / or appropriate, in the CIs context.

Most tivaevae are created by sewing pieces of fabric onto a backing sheet or a ‘blank canvas’ (Rongokea, 2001). Underneath the blank canvas the reverse image of each stitch of the tivaevae is revealed on the plain coloured blank canvas fabric, without the intricacy of the colours, appliqué or embroidery present on the front (Figure 6). When a tivaevae is ‘assessed or evaluated it is turned to look at the back first as it tells a lot of things about consistency or inconsistency’ (Maua-Hodges, 2016a). The design in its starkness, in essence the ‘realness’ of the design, is visible. Tivaevae are usually sewn by a group of people, hence the stitches may vary in length, colour, type of material used, knots holding stitches in place, evenness, and type of stitch. The complexity and variety of skills of the sewer(s) are seen starkly, and quite differently to the front of the tivaevae. Maua-Hodges (2016a) points out that it is important to consider the backing of the tivaevae, as it is the underneath where the work of holding the design in place can be seen. Possibly, there is untidiness on the underside of the blank canvas that would never be seen on the front; loose threads, the almost invisible marks of stitches undone and reworked,
threads left uncut. It may be evident from looking closely at the stitches that some sewers were more accomplished than others.

For this research, the *blank canvas* is useful to consider in terms of how norms of sexuality are held in place. The stitches can be seen to represent the skills learned to create the tivaevae. In this way the metaphorical tivaevae symbolises the way that aronga mapu develop the knowledge and skills to represent and live out their sexuality and gender in the ways they desire. As they learn these life skills they slowly become more confident, finding that their desires are understood, interpreted correctly, or the results they are looking for are produced. They will make mistakes, and maybe have to backtrack, unpick a stitch or two, or even rethink their whole design. This will mean they will need to learn and practice new skills to achieve what they want in their relationships. The SRE resource will facilitate the learning and practicing of these skills.

The final layer, the *backing*, covers, hides, and tidies, the workings of the sewers. The backing fabric forms the base of the tivaevae, underpinning it, holding it together and providing strength. The *backing* of the tivaevae in this research project is the cultural and historical influences that underlie the findings, and the norms or expectations that influence the lived realities of aronga mapu within their intimate relationships. CIs colonial history sets the foundation on which the writer has sewn and stitched the pattern designed for the teaching and learning resource for educators. Therefore the *backing* of the tivaevae can represent the normative and hegemonic ideas and practices that hold the tivaevae together without anyone necessarily seeing or recognising that they are there. Without critical thinking, the backing of the tivaevae is unlikely to be viewed and therefore questioned. Hence hegemonic ideas will keep a stronghold on the way tivaevae are designed.

This project questions how the *backing* of the metaphorical tivaevae could be re-envisioned. If the choice of fabric used for the *backing* of the tivaevae is not consciously considered, the strength of the tivaevae may be compromised. Acknowledging and understanding the important work of the *backing* in the
SRE resource will be done through supporting the teaching of critical thinking and the use of critical questioning. These skills will be developed as core aspects of the SRE resource to support aronga mapu in constantly considering the way(s) they negotiate their sexuality identity / identities.

The concept of the layers of the tivaevae that are sewn as the squares progress can be used to ‘make visible the invisible’ – to stitch, and make sharper, the faint patterns of the less discussed’ (Powell, 2013, p. 19). Sex, gender and sexuality are rarely and obliquely discussed in CIs culture, leaving faint traces that are sometimes visible only to those who have insider knowledge. In the same way, a Ta’onga Tivaevae | expert tivaevae sewer will understand the layers and traces in a tivaevae. The concept of the layers will also be put to service in the analysis of the data gathered for this research. The front / surface / dominant designs and practices articulated in focus groups and the survey will be identified and explored. Additionally, I delve below dominant ideas to illustrate alternative commentaries that are concealed below the front surface of the tivaevae. In this way the tivaevae metaphor can be used to decentre the normative so that it can be questioned and challenged.

3.3 Threading Theory
As the metaphorical tivaevae is sewn in this exegesis, the needle is alternately threaded with two theories: feminist poststructural theory (FPST) and postcolonial theory (PCT). These theories work together in the project as neither was sufficient alone: PCT did not offer a gendered analysis of the data and FPST missed perspectives of race and indigeneity. Therefore FPST is predominantly used to explore how gender and / or sexuality are framed within this study. PCT is used to explore the impact that can be felt by aronga mapu living in postcolonial times and the varied ways that dominant discourses may still serve the interests of colonial cultures or organisations. The threading and interweaving of these two theories therefore offers

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42 I will use the unbroken term postcolonialism (rather than post-colonialism) as this semantic is sensitive to on-going and historical colonial consequences rather than signifying, through the separation of the words, that colonial experiences occur only after colonial occupation (L. T. Smith, 2004, 2012; Weber-Pillwax, 2004; Shawn Wilson, 2008).
opportunities to explore the impacts of imperial power and culture as well as exploring a gendered analysis of sexuality (hooks, 1989; Lather, 1992). This will facilitate a fuller representation of the complexities of aronga mapu sexuality in the CIs. The use of these theories guided data collection, analysis, and the development of the SRE resource. In the following sections an overview of the theories is offered and the ways these theories have been utilised will be discussed. Initially, constructs such as colonialism and postcolonialism are explored alongside culture and cultural identity. Then, feminist postructuralism is explored to show how agency, performativity, gender, heteronormativity and power are considered throughout this thesis.

### 3.3.1 Postcolonial Theory

Colonialism describes a point in history between the 1500s and the mid 20th century when European nations invaded and exerted political control over other countries. Concepts of colonisation were (and are) multifaceted; they interconnect with ideas of imperialism, and are used to explain the expansion of the economic, political and military interests of Europe, which led to complex links between colonising and colonised countries (MacKenzie, 1990; L. T. Smith, 2012; Weedon, 2004). Postcolonial is a contested term that relates to the end of colonial dominance. It is used to refer to ideas that challenge and contest colonial meanings and representations as well as to address the on-going effects and consequences of imperial domination after the historical end of colonisation (Said, 1979; Weedon, 2004).

The foundations of PCT lie with Edward Said who explained the relationship between Britain and Europe (the ‘West’), with countries and peoples of Asia and the Middle East using discourse that created a way of thinking about the ‘East’ as ‘Other’ (Said, 1979). Therefore, as a way of thinking, colonialism describes the ways the West has come to know and understand ‘other’ cultures, or the ways that the West attempts to cancel or negate the cultural differences and values of the ‘non-west’.

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43 Mainly Spain, France, Italy, Portugal, The Netherlands and Britain.
In her book *Decolonizing methodologies* Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) asserts the need to understand imperialism and colonisation from the perspective of the colonised. She refers to this perspective as ‘post-colonial discourse’ (p. 24). Many Indigenous scholars have used postcolonial perspectives to contest Eurocentric, colonial discourse that is often constructed around race and ethnicity. Smith (2012) explains that the meaning of colonialism is often taken for granted and argues that it can be viewed in a variety of ways: as a means of economic expansion, a form of exploitation and subjugation of Indigenous peoples, an ideology, or as a discursive field of knowledge (p. 22). Smith further argues that the impact of imperialism is still felt in countries that have gained independence, such as Pacific nations, and that there is a need to more fully understand the subtle and complex ways that imperial systems ‘got into the heads’ of Indigenous people (L. T. Smith, 2012). This type of analysis, part of PCT, is what Smith (2012) calls for; a ‘constant reworking of our understandings of the impact of imperialism and colonialism’ to discover, analyse and critique what colonisation means ‘in terms of our immediate past and what it means for our present and future’ (p.25). While Smith was clearly speaking to fellow Indigenous researchers here, her argument is relevant for this study and for anyone conducting research within Indigenous postcolonial communities.

As previously mentioned in Square Two (2.2) the CIs were colonised by the British in 1888 and became an independent nation in 1965. PCT can therefore be used to challenge the beliefs that once countries become politically independent they are no longer impacted by colonisation as the remnants of colonisation have been found to continue on the present, and also on the future of colonised people and countries (Gandhi, 1998; L. T. Smith, 2012). Hawai’ian academic Haunani Kay Trask describes how when British explorer James Cook ‘discovered’ the Pacific he brought with him ‘capitalism, Western political ideas (such as […] individualism) and Christianity’ (Trask, 1993, p. 7). These ideologies resonate with the impacts of colonialism on the CIs, particularly in the areas related to this study: education and sexuality. Colonialism has shaped education and concepts of sexuality in the CIs. Therefore PCT provides a tool with which to engage with the CIs history of
colonisation, present postcolonial status, and the resulting impacts on CIs traditional Indigenous knowledges, values and beliefs and, in the context of this study, what that means for the youth of today (Gandhi, 1998).

Said (1991) advocates crucial arguments for consideration when researching in postcolonial Indigenous settings:

The first set of problems is concerned with ...issues like who writes or studies [the Other], in what institutional or discursive setting, for what audience, and with what ends in mind, the second set of problems [focuses on]. how the production of knowledge best serves communal, as opposed to sectarian, ends, how knowledge that is nondominative and noncoercive can be produced in a setting that is deeply inscribed with the politics, the considerations, and the strategies of power.

(Said, 1991, p. 36)

Here, Said encapsulates issues that are pivotal in this study. Both postcolonial, and poststructuralist lenses were used to analyse the data in this study, and this project was undertaken alongside and in partnership with Indigenous participants, more usually positioned as ‘Other’ to Papa’a within colonial history. Adhering to the ideal that ‘the production of knowledge best serves communal ends’ this research project was deliberately designed so that potential outcomes of the research would benefit Cook Islanders and therefore, first and foremost, it was guided by the needs identified by Cook Islanders rather than those determined by me, the researcher. How this self-determination transpired will be discussed in Square Four (4.2, 4.3). However, before that, it is important to consider culture and cultural identity within PCT - these two concepts are now explored and their relevance to this study is discussed.

3.3.1.1 Culture

The ‘culture’ of a group or class is the peculiar and distinctive ‘way of life’ of the group or class, the meanings, values and ideas embodied in institutions, in social relations, in systems
of beliefs, in *mores* and customs, in the uses of objects and material life. Culture is the distinctive shapes in which this material and social organisation of life expresses itself. A culture includes the ‘maps of meaning’ which make things intelligible to its members. These ‘maps of meaning’ are not simply carried around in the head: they are objectivated in the patterns of social organisation and relationship through which the individual becomes a ‘social individual’. Culture is the way the social relations of a group are structured and shaped: but it is also the way those shapes are experienced, understood and interpreted.

(S Hall & Jefferson, 1993, p. 10)

Here, Hall & Jefferson (1993) argue that culture signifies, in general ways, the large social configurations at play at a given point in history. They explain that within every ‘culture’ there are dominant and subordinate ‘cultures’ existing side by side, sometimes co-existing, while at other times, in conflict (S Hall & Jefferson, 1993). This framing supports the way that the subculture(s) of youth can be explored as existing within, alongside, beside, under, and interwoven with dominant adult cultures.44

In this study the analysis of data will therefore include an exploration of relationships of domination and subordination between adult and aronga mapu CIs culture(s). It will also explore instances of resistance and agency when dominant parent / adult culture attempted to merge youth culture into its ways, and whether these mergings’ are associated with colonial expectations that are related and connected to, in the context of this research, gender and sexuality norms. Therefore this study examines and analyses how youth cultures share commonalities with ‘parent’ cultures but also how aronga mapu resist parent cultures and how this merging and resistance plays out in their cultural identity pertaining specifically to sexuality.

44 Called ‘parent’ cultures (Gandhi, 1998).
3.3.1.2 Cultural Identity

Our identity is fashioned by discourses such as race, class, education, religion and gender (S Hall & Jefferson, 1993; Weaver, 2001; Weedon, 2004). Depending on one’s influences and cultural experiences i.e. the way that life is lived around you, and in which you are immersed; identity is shaped uniquely for each individual but with social and cultural characteristics in common with others. As we grow through childhood, past adolescence and into adulthood our ‘identity is a ‘production’ which is never complete, always a process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation’ (Stuart Hall, 1990, p. 222). Hall’s, (1990) explanation of identity, alongside Weaver (2001) and Weedon (2004), allows us to understand that identity is not static; rather that it is constantly evolving.

Part of the evolutionary process for (cultural) identity/ies is the influence of the groups that individuals belong to through their interests, their social class, their race and their educational background. Therefore, while there is individual identity, there are also group identities as people seek out others with similar interests, ideas, values and beliefs (S Hall & Jefferson, 1993). Weaver (2001) also suggests that ‘indigenous [or cultural] identity is connected to a sense of peoplehood inseparably linked to sacred traditions, traditional homelands, and a shared history as indigenous people’ (p. 245). Cultural or group identity is acquired through repetition and immersion and impacts on how people perceive and understand themselves in their world. Incorporating theoretical tools to cultivate understandings of how CIs young people’s cultural identity/ies is and are shaped via colonial and postcolonial practices was important in this study and the use of both PCT and FPST supported my ability to theorise and analyse what aronga mapu experience.

3.3.1.3 Identity and the Postcolonial Lens

My use of the Tivaevae Model (2001, 2016a) as an Indigenous research paradigm and method, stitched and threaded with PCT, supports Said’s (1991), and others’, argument that researchers should honour Indigenous worldviews and benefit the people involved (Moreton-Robinson, 2004; Said, 1991; L. T. Smith, 2012; Weber-Pillwax, 2004; Shawn Wilson, 2008). PCT
enables an exploration of how aronga mapu subjectivities and identities are socially constituted to serve particular interests, for example, Eurocentric ideologies relating to: the church, and the church’s ways of ‘controlling’ youth (by adults / agencies / organisations / structural processes) that appear to be ‘obvious’, ‘natural’ and part of CI culture. This probing entailed exploring the language used in the data as ‘language pre-exists and produces subjectivity, identity and meaning’ and reveals ‘power relations of inclusion and exclusion, often based on visual signifiers of difference’ such as race, gender, religion or class (Weedon, 2004, p. 13). The ‘visual signifiers of difference’ in this study occur with youth / adult, Western / Cook Islander, and LGBT / heterosexual binaries. However, CI youth transcend national boundaries and aspire to be like youth of the Western world. They are not only influenced by the on-going hegemonic practices from the past, but also by contemporary and postcolonial ideas offered through tourism, social media, and transnationalism (Alexeyeff, 2009c; Haggis & Mulholland, 2014; Stuart Hall, 1990; S Hall & Jefferson, 1993; Evelyn Marsters, 2013).

The experience of being judged by others also impacts on identity as ‘Identity is always based on power and exclusion’ as identity is a combination of self identification and the perceptions of others’ (S Hall & Jefferson, 1993; Weaver, 2001, p. 243). Hall & Jefferson (1993) argue that defiance, which can sometimes also be viewed as deviance, is a social creation and a ‘result of the power of some to label others’ (p. 4). Consequently, much research and reporting about youth, invariably emanates from a concern about what some call ‘deviant’ youth behaviours such as participation in high-risk practices related to sex, drugs, driving, and alcohol. One might question the ‘delinquency’ that Hall and Jefferson (1993) discuss, especially in relation to the CIs as there is no evidence of any aronga mapu voicing any overt counter-cultural expressions in the literature examined throughout this project, in focus group discussions, or from my own experiences with aronga mapu.

Using PCT in the analysis of the data therefore countenances an opportunity to hear voices previously silenced in the way that adults and CIs ‘culture’ generally position aronga mapu. PCT also supported the voicing of aronga
mapu views in relation to what they wish for in their intimate relationships; these views could then be written in to the SRE resource. However, what became apparent as the study progressed was that a double threaded needle would enhance the sexuality tivaevae. Hence feminist poststructural theory (FPST) was threaded with PCT to contribute to, and advance, further understandings. The use of FPST and why it was a desirable companion thread for PCT will now be discussed.

3.3.2 Why Feminist Postructural Theory?
Feminist poststructuralism addresses a number of key issues relevant to this study including understanding: multiplicity and subjectivity, gender and society, bodies, identity differences, feminist narratives; pluralism and relativism; the feminine in Western thought; and gender as performance (Weedon, 1987, p. 40). It is beyond the scope of this exegesis to fully explore all the claims and limits of feminist poststructuralist theory or to explain each of these issues. Therefore, this section offers a rationale for why FPST, in conjunction with PCT, was beneficial to the study and also which areas of FPST were most utilised to elaborate the tivaevae.

Perhaps the key to FPST for this project is Weedon’s assertion that ‘feminist poststructuralism is able, … to explain the working of power on behalf of specific interests and to analyse the opportunities for resistance to it’ (Weedon, 1987, p. 40). FPST has a long tradition of respecting and appreciating marginalised voices (Davies, 1989, 1993, 2000a; Fine, 1988; Fine & McClelland, 2006; Holland, Ramazanoglu, & Sharpe, 1993; Holland, Ramazanoglu, Sharpe, & Thomson, 1994; Kehily, 2002a, 2002b, 2004; Lather, 1991, 1992; St. Pierre, 2000; Weedon, 1987). For example, Davies’ work has considered the way(s) in which power functions within gender development and how children are actively involved in the construction of their social world (Davies, 1989, 1990, 1993). Fine has been concerned to give voice to the impact of gender, race discrimination, and sexuality on those most marginalised in society (Fine, 1988, 2003; Fine & McClelland, 2006; Fine, Weis, Powell Pruitt, & Burns, 2004). FPST can describe a wide range of scholars working in diverse contests (for example, Boler, 1999a; Butler, 1990:
The scholars outlined above share similar principles of commitment to change through resistance and social justice. They also place value on acknowledging multiplicity, diversity, and difference. This study uses FPST to investigate the language used by participants to theorise how aronga mapu are shaped by social and hegemonic influences in CIs society and how that benefits some and not others. Hence, I use FPST to explore how power and authority play out in aronga mapu lives through the discourses that they shared in the data. FPST also provides a lens that facilitates examination of situations where aronga mapu resist and challenge power and helps me to theorise how they engage with power. This analysis will afford insight and also understandings that will be useful in the development of the SRE resource. Further, using FPST to determine how power, and moral superiority which is defined by power, is constructed within aronga mapu lives offers the possibility of examining opportunities for resistance. For example, when identifying power at work in analysis of the data, inspired by Davies, I adapted Davies’ question and asked ‘in what ways could we counterpose this discourse that would highlight this inequitable situation to empower aronga mapu who are oppressed by it?’ (adapted from Davies, 1991). Questions like this that expose the roots, workings and consequences of power can inform the development of teaching and learning opportunities that begin to disrupt normative CIs understandings which limit young people’s understandings of intimate relationships.

FPST not only deconstructs the female-male dualism but also resists and examines ways in which alternative gender expressions and sexualities are experienced. Use of this theoretical lens, alongside PCT, offers a way to examine social structures that allow some parts of society to subordinate the interests of others. FPST and PCT are operationalised at all moments of the research design: the development of research questions, the design of method and development of focus group and survey questions, and in the
analysis of data. For example, questions were asked which opened a space to explore conversation about youth interests in relation to adult’s interests, women’s interests in relation to men’s, LGBT interest in relation to normative heterosexual interests and / or CIs interests to Papa’a. Exploring how, when, and / or where, power was utilised to keep youth ‘in their place’, which subsequently disallows knowledge of adult lived realities, or alternative realities, is central to feminist deconstruction.

The use of medical and scientific models has customarily been the lens through which health, and aronga mapu, has been researched in the CIs (1.3). This approach offers limited understanding of the realities of young people’s lives as it frames issues as ‘medical problems’ and attempts to address them through medical interventions, for example, both teenage pregnancy or STIs are easily ‘fixed’ by contraceptives and condom use. While these medical and scientific lenses offer a ‘snapshot’ of the sexual and reproductive health of aronga mapu, they do not offer insight into the fundamentally sociological complexities and intricacies of intimate relationships. PCT and FPST recognises these complexities. PCT and FPST provide a lens and language to question and challenge normative (in this case, patriarchal) sexuality in the CIs. FPST also enables multiple interpretations of the experiences shared within data driven by who is viewing the data, their subjectivity, and with what lens. The FPST lens required me to continually ask why participants might articulate themselves in certain ways and how influences such as power, gender, colonialism, agency, religion and performativity were, possibly, being played out within those conversations (Kabeer, 1999; Weedon, 1987).

The voices of aronga mapu and the LGBT community have been, in the main, silenced in the CI context to date. Sexuality has been understood and taught in terms of normative heterosexuality as defined by ‘adults’ with the only alternative being ‘deviance’. The complementary theories of PCT and FPST enabled multiple ways of scrutinising the data in terms of who is advantaged and / or disadvantaged by teaching sexuality in the way/s it has traditionally been taught in the CIs (Christian driven normative heterosexuality). The two
complex theories offered opportunities to envisage innovative possibilities by amplifying the voices of aronga mapu and the LGBT community. However, while poststructuralism promotes a commitment to ‘examine any commonplace situation, any ordinary event or process, in order to think differently about that occurrence — to open up what seems ‘natural’ to other possibilities’ (St. Pierre, 2000, p. 479), so too, FPST demands that we do not silence our own position in relation to the research. My subjectivity in my desire to do this study will be discussed at the end of this square.

In this section I have focussed on the reasons for adopting FPST. I will now explain some key principles of FPST that have been commissioned within the study, articulating how each relates to the teaching resource: these are power, agency, gender, performativity, and heteronormativity.

### 3.3.2.1 Power

Scholars have described power in numerous ways. Kabeer (1999) defines power as the ability to make choices, although Davies (1991) would oppose this definition saying that power is ‘patterns of discourse’, and therefore choices are rendered usually ‘choices’ since a subject’s positioning within particular discourses makes the ‘chosen’ line of action the only possible action (p.46). St. Leger (2000) argues that power does not belong to any one individual, and that it should not necessarily be considered a negative (p.489). Foucault, on the other hand (1984/1997 as cited in St Leger, 2000) conceives that power exists in human relationships and that humans are made subjects through power. Foucault was interested in the relationship between power and knowledge; he noted, ‘the exercise of power perpetually creates knowledge, and conversely, knowledge constantly induces effects of power’ (Foucault, 2000, p. xvi). Historically within CIs culture, knowledge was also considered power(ful), and sacred knowledge was carefully protected in specific family lines in each tribal group, only passed onto designated people. In this way ancestral and traditional oral knowledge was retained within.

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45 As in to be used to dominate or concerned with social injustice.
certain family lines (Crocombe, 1964; Crocombe & Crocombe, 2003). Power, according to Foucault,

is not an institution, and not a structure; neither is it a certain strength we are all endowed with; it is the name that one attributes to a complex strategical situation in a particular society … [it can not be] acquired, seized, or shared, something that one holds on to or allows to slip away; power is exercised from innumerable points, in the interplay of nonegalitarian and mobile relations … [power] comes from below; that is there is no binary and all-encompassing opposition between rulers and ruled as the root of power relations … no such duality extending from the top down.

(Foucault, 1978/1990, pp. 93-94)

I use power in a Foucauldian sense as I understand that power is in every interaction, every relationship, and that power ebbs and flows and has effects in diverse ways and that in different moments power can impact in assorted ways. So, power is present everywhere and within this study I looked to understand how power is operationalised in the CIs and how power was evident in the way(s) in which culture and society impacts young people but also within young peoples’ relationships with one another, as well as their relationship to the broader culture of the CIs. Therefore, I use FPST to seek out, and develop alternative storylines from the data, around the way that power is put to work in CIs society. This analytical tool helps to draw attention to situations that could be susceptible to change and allows questions to be asked of how an alternative narrative could be envisioned to counteract discourses that create injustice.

As previously noted, aronga mapu are subject to normalising discourses that reinforce the community’s (hegemonic) values. In the CIs, these values mainly stem from CIs culture, Christianisation, and Western colonial ideas, layered,

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46 Such as knowledge pertaining to genealogy and tribal land allocations.
juxtaposed and sewn together over many years (Besnier & Alexeyeff, 2014; Crocombe & Holmes, 2014a; M. Diamond, 2004; L. T. Smith, 2004; Weedon, 2004). Within the arena of sexuality, the primary logic has been arguments of morality. Moral ‘rightness’ is defined by those in power and equated with the right to tell others what they should, and importantly should not, do (Davies, 1991, 2000a; Frye, 1990). In the CIs aronga mapu are positioned as unable to judge moral rightness, therefore white middle class values, through colonisation and Christianity, have become the default moral authority. This moral authority subjects young people to particular expectations according to conventional and powerful heteronormative norms of masculinity and femininity. In the CIs this applies to akava’ine and, to a lesser degree, akatane | female-to-male-transgender people. As such, a consideration of how the practices of power manoeuvre aronga mapu in relation to gender, sex and intimate relationships is integral in this study. Some powerful educational practices and sexual discourses embodied by aronga mapu in the CIs are explored through the analysis of the data. This analysis will help to illustrate how these practices and discourses are policed by aronga mapu themselves, as well as by parents, and other adults. The teaching and learning opportunities for young people in the resource will invite aronga mapu to consider how these discourses manage and position them, so that they ‘can use the terms of one discourse to counteract, modify, refuse, or go beyond the other’ (Davies, 1991, p. 46). In developing the skills to critically reflect on the way various discourses place, or ‘subject’ them, aronga mapu can develop agentic skills in the way they approach and address their own subjectivity as well explore and practice the skills to speak to the inequitable subjectivities of others, and perhaps advocate for change. In this way power will be deconstructed in the SRE by asking questions a range of questions of young people that will require them to consider how ‘truth’ and ‘norms’ are represented, and who represents these truths. Getting young people to consider what they might not be being told, what is being left out of conversations about sex / relationships; to consider who is advantaged or disadvantaged / pathologised when norms (with no exceptions) are expected of everyone; and to discover how did these expectations came about are all ways that power is addressed within this project.
3.3.2.2 Agency

Just as power has been described by scholars in multiple ways, so too has agency. Within humanist discourse, agency is synonymous with being a person, however within FPST, it is understood that people are shaped by the social practices they are surrounded by and part of (Davies, 2000a). However, people are not only shaped by, they also simultaneously shape, discourse. Agency can be thought of as having ‘presence (rather than absence)’, as a person who is ‘author of their own multiple meanings and desires’ and who has a ‘sense of oneself’ can imagine ‘what might be’ rather than just ‘what is’ if alternative stories have been made available to them (Davies, 1991, p. 51; 2000a, pp. 66-67). Davies (1991) reiterates that agency is the capacity to recognise dominant discourses and to ‘resist, subvert, and change the discourses … through which one is being constituted’ to enable more ‘multiple, flexible and inclusive’ points of view (p. 51). This view of agency allows for contradictions and multiplicity. However, some people are more able to be ‘heard’, or agentic, due to the way that power and positioning subject them. Davies suggests that those on the negative side of any dualism, such as aronga mapu in the adult / youth binary, are rarely heard and this negative positioning needs reconceptualising (Davies, 2000a).

To be an adult within the adult / youth dichotomy is the play of power(ful) positioning as the accepted dominant discourse is that adults know best; what adults say to, and expect of, aronga mapu will always be legitimised or indicate the expected way(s) that youth ‘should’ act / behave. Data presented in later squares offers clear examples where youth judged adult discourse and behaviour as in contradiction to this mantra that ‘adults know best’. Many aronga mapu shared stories that illustrated adults saying one thing to them and then doing the opposite such, as advising monogamy but having extra-marital affairs. Such contradictory words and actions meant aronga mapu received mixed messages about sexuality. However, ironically, these mixed messages also provided them with an alternative socially available repertoire or story line – one also ‘appropriate’ by CI standards - thereby offering them other choices (Davies, 1991). To be able to think and act as knowing subjects, to make appropriate choices, aronga mapu need the skills to be able to stand
back from their subjectivity / subjectivities and question assumptions, and analyse how subjectivities and identities are socially constituted (Weedon, 2004).

Davies notes that generally, the dualism of adult / youth in a sexuality context positions young people as ‘unable’ to make decisions for themselves (Davies, 2000a). This discourse is defended in the CIs context, with comments such as ‘their hormones are going crazy’ (therefore they cannot make rational decisions), or they need to ‘sew their wild oats’ so young men are encouraged to ‘play the field’ and have multiple sexual partners. Young women are frequently positioned within the social repertoire that they should be ‘saving themselves for marriage’ (and are therefore deemed a ‘good’ girl), or if they decide to be sexually active, as promiscuous, a slut, or coerced by males (as it is inconceivable that young women might choose to be sexually active). Young people in the CIs culture are positioned favourably and valued when they are obedient to adults, and when they conform to hegemonic discursive practices normalised by repetition. This positioning or these judgements make it more difficult for aronga mapu to act agentically as ‘one can only be what the various discourses make possible’ which ultimately means that subjectivity is ‘necessarily contradictory’ (Davies, 1991). However, in this study, aronga mapu revealed that within peer culture being sexually active was valued. Squares Five and Six explore this common conflict of discourses and give insight into aronga mapu desire for education around sexuality and intimate relationships. Their expressed desires demonstrated agency, as even though they felt that they could not voice these opinions to most adults, they still thought about, considered, and enacted other ways of being - indicating that they constitute themselves through multiple discourses (Davies, 1991).

Agency can also be detrimental, or dangerous, to wellbeing. Hence, ensuring that aronga mapu have opportunities to consider critically when and where they enact their agency is important (Davies, 1991; Kabeer, 1999; Sen, 1985). Davies (2000a) discusses the difficulty of developing agency, arguing that it can be awkward when one is used to operating within normalised discursive settings:
If one's body has learned to interact with the world in certain ways, then these ways may need more than access to a new discursive practice to change them. Or the means of translating an idea into everyday practice may not easily be achieved, one’s life-practice-as-usual … always coming more readily to hand.

(p. 65)

Change is difficult, as is challenging normative understandings. Hence young people need support to explore alternative story lines and to practice different ways of being. The SRE resource contains opportunities for such exploration and practice in safe teaching spaces.

Another important tenet of poststructural feminism is the idea that we are all responsible or complicit in the maintenance of social justice (Davies, 2000a; St. Pierre, 2000). Responsibility to ourselves, as well as others, is an integral component of most sexuality education programmes and a key theme woven through the CIHPWBC document across a range of health contexts (Cook Islands Ministry of Education, 2006). Agency, or our ability to act, impacts on how we enact our ‘responsibility’. Understanding agency and responsibility and how important these are in developing the ability to cultivate alternative storylines for young people to ‘undo from within’, an important part of the SRE will be involving participants in processing stories and activities that allow critical examination of opportunities for change (Davies, 1991, p. 46).

Contexts of change are, for example, discrimination of people in the LGBT community, non-consensual sex, multiple and concurrent sexual partners without being open to all involved, and young women being judged for being sexually active. By exploring various discourses around scenarios that propose alternatives, these ‘stories are the means by which events are interpreted, made tellable, or even liveable’ (Davies, 2000b, p. 57). Such alternative stories support resistance and activate skills of agency for exploration practice as aronga mapu realise they can ‘move within and between discourses’ if they desire (Davies, 1991, p. 46).
3.3.2.3 Gender

To make sense of the world children need to be able to work out where and how they fit (Davies, 1993). Through child raising experiences, parents, and other caregivers such as teachers or extended family, reinforce existing and often gendered and heteronormative, customs and behaviours (Renold, 2005). Akin to other societies, CIs families including the extended family, are highly influential on aronga mapu, as they are authoritative discursive social processes (Crocombe, 1964). The close-knit nature of village life ensures that children are fully socialised as individuals in relation to others and into CIs ways of living. During these experiences ‘category maintenance work’ moulds children in how to behave, act, and think in accordance with the society they are growing up in (Davies, 1989, pp. 1-2). Davies (1989) discusses category / gender maintenance work as the way that children must learn the way maleness and femaleness is enacted, and to know how to ‘get it right’. She argues, as do others, that an important part of growing up is learning what is obvious and known to everybody – for example, that people are either male or female (Besnier & Alexeyeff, 2014; Butler, 2004; Davies, 1989). Therefore within Western societies, and those colonised by ‘the West’, it is customary to classify children within the binary construct of sex male / female and to raise children within the socially determined ways attributed to one or the other assigned gender masculine / feminine. However, many argue that this binary is cultural rather than biological (Butler, 1990: 2007; Davies, 1989; Fausto-Sterling, 1993; Pallotta-Chiarolli, 1999; Renold, 2000). Anne Fausto-Sterling (1993) describes how ‘Western culture is deeply committed to the idea that there are only two sexes and that even language refuses other possibilities’ (p. 20). She describes having to make up conventions - s/he and his / her- to describe someone who is intersex (Fausto-Sterling, 1993). As previously noted in the discussion of power (3.3.2.1) and agency (3.3.2.2) binary notions disadvantage and marginalise people in society (Davies, 1991; Fausto-Sterling, 1993; St. Pierre, 2000). In learning the discursive practices of their society, in the main, children learn that they must be socially identifiable as a

47 When I asked the Chief of Obstetrics and Gynaecology whether any intersex babies had been born in her 30 years in the CIs she informed me there had only been one intersex child born (M. Ung, personal communication, March 2, 2016).
boy or a girl and that their sex should be obvious to others through normative
gender markers of masculinity and femininity, and that, if it is not, there are
2007) describes this process of learning how to be male or female as
‘performativity’, that is:

What we take to be an internal essence of gender is
manufactured through a sustained [and repeated] set of acts,
posited through the gendered stylization of the body.

(p. xv)

Analysis using FPST in this study sought to expose practices where gender
norms disadvantaged some aronga mapu and expose possibilities for change
and / or resistance. However FPST also recognises that people are
‘constituted through multiple discourses at any one point in time’ and that
sometimes young people will not be able to challenge outmoded discourses in
particular situations (Davies, 1991, p. 47). Using the tool of FPST therefore
allows exploration of the ways that femininity and masculinity are demarcated
in the CIs and how these norms advantage and / or disadvantage young
people. How the theory of performativity is put to work in this study forms the
next section of this square.

3.3.2.4 Performativity
In her theory of gender performativity, Butler (1990: 2007) explains that there
is no essential, internal gender and that gender is performative, or a copy,
with no original blueprint. As Kelly-Ware puts it, ‘gender and how [people] …
do gender’ is a performance that is socially and culturally constructed and
[constantly] mediated by others’ (Kelly-Ware, 2016, p. 149). Butler (1990:
2007) proposes that contemporary social conditions allow gender to be
enacted and embodied and that this therefore has social and political effects,
an expectation that boys and men will behave in particular ways (masculinity)
and that girls and women behave in certain, but different, ways (femininity).
People in the CIs present themselves in ways that are shaped by CIs culture
and these ways of being are accordingly comprehended as ‘natural’. Butler’s
theoretical tool of performativity helps to undo or trouble normative understandings that regulate how people 'should' present their gender. Jackson and Mazzei (2012) further explain that performativity, 

... explores (and exposes) how gender identities get done (and undone) as reiterative and citational practices within discourse, power relations, historical experiences, cultural practices, and material conditions.

(A. Y. Jackson & Mazzei, 2012, p. 67)

Performativity does not suggest that gender is ‘performed’, as in acted or deliberately ‘put on’, but that normative gender constructions are (re)produced through the ways that particular (heterosexist) gender presentations are repeated and the social value that is ascribed to them (Butler, 1990: 2007; Rodd, 2011). In this study, conceptualising gender as performative enabled a move beyond binary understandings of gender and sex when analysing the data and opened possibilities for exploring the process(es) of repetition that (re)produce gendered subjectivities.

The use of the theoretical tool of performativity identifies the moments that normative identity categories are at work, revealing them through analysis. The key normative identity categories I identified in this project were: young people (non adult or child), Cook Islander, woman / man, school pupil, churchgoer and heterosexual. Embedded in these categories are discourses and power relations that regulate the identity formations of young people in the CIs (Butler, 1990: 2007; A. Y. Jackson & Mazzei, 2012). Davies (1993) notes too, that discourses shift in meaning according to context. As participants share aspects of their lives they reveal what is performatively expected of them in the various identities they inhabit. Therefore, understanding that ‘people become subjects through repetition’ (Butler, 1990: 2007; A. Y. Jackson & Mazzei, 2012, p. 73) the question that guided data analysis was: what are the performative acts that (re)produce aronga mapu subjectivities as CIs young people? This questioning was designed to reveal
how ‘identity is performatively constituted by the very “expressions” that are said to be its results’ (Butler, 1990: 2007, p. 34).

If performativity is the ‘repeated assumption of identities in the course of daily life’, then culture is developed through the influence of everyday living (Weedon, 2004, p. 6). Accordingly, CIs aronga mapu are immersed within specific CIs discourses that are repeatedly performed until they are ‘normal’ and ‘second nature’. Where these practices are ‘internalized, they become part of lived subjectivity’, and if not internalised, (Weedon, 2004, p. 7) they have the potential to be a site where rejection of hegemonic customs or practices develops. One of the key effects of gender performativity is ‘the regulation of sexuality within the obligatory frame of reproductive heterosexuality’ (Butler, 1990: 2007, p. 186). Hence, the theoretical tool of performativity also facilitated ways to consider how heteronormativity ‘others’ non-normative gender to signify homosexuality through political, cultural and discursive means.

3.3.2.5 Heteronormativity

Heteronormativity is a set of discursive practices that upholds and normalises hegemonic beliefs about sexual relationships. In this study, heteronormativity is understood as the way ‘institutions, structures of understanding, and practical orientations … make heterosexuality seem not only coherent … but also privileged’ in society (Berlant & Warner, 1998, p. 548). In this way heteronormativity is an expected set of social and cultural practices and “normal” and “heterosexual” are seen as synonymous. This means that all social relations and all forms of thinking that exist with these relations are heteronormative’ (Sumara & Davis, 1999, p. 202). Heteronormativity’s hegemonic influence(s) dominate CIs social, cultural, legal and political institutions with Christian doctrines and patriarchy acting as allies. These allies work together through CIs community structures, ensuring the authority of heteronormativity is a constant and continuous influence on the lives of aronga mapu. The lens of heteronormativity correspondingly creates binaries similar to those previously discussed such as men / women, heterosexual / homosexual, adult / child, and in the CIs, legal / illegal, and these binaries are
policed through homophobia and transphobia. FPST therefore provided another tool with which to explore how, when, and where heteronormativity in the CIs is privileged over other sexualities and how it is ‘performed’ in young people’s lives to create and maintain the notion of ‘others’ (Berlant & Warner, 1998; Butler, 1990: 2007; Rødthing, 2008).

This study challenges heteronormativity by ‘troubling’ or disrupting hegemonic understandings of heterosexuality. To trouble meant employing an analytical lens when designing the questionnaire that placed heterosexual as the last choice when asking participants to identify their sexual identity. Also, deliberately scrutinising data for examples of heteronormative assumptions and providing examples of acceptance of diversity and homophobia. When designing teaching and learning activities for the SRE, a ‘heteronormativity awareness’ was implemented to (re)consider findings and was put to work to challenge, renarrate, and ‘interrupt commonsense understandings of what constitutes sex, sexuality, pleasure, desire and the relationships among these and … for learning about and enacting their differences’ (Sumara & Davis, 1999, p. 192). In this way, using the tool of ‘heteronormativity awareness’ within FPST supported a method that would enable young people to reflect on the way some people in the CIs community are disadvantaged, discriminated against, and stigmatised and consider whether these are social injustices and how to address such social injustices.

3.4 Inangaro | Desire: The Designer and Sewer - Situating Self
The final benefit of using FPST was that it provided a productive way to research young peoples lived experiences whilst also acknowledging the impact of my subjectivity/ies. Cora Weber-Pillwax (2004) maintains that there are mutual benefits when working and researching with Indigenous communities. She also identifies that connection to the group complicates the research. The most serious consideration for her as a researcher within Indigenous communities is:
… the assurance that I will be able to uphold the personal responsibility that goes along with carrying out a research project in the community I have decided to work within

(Weber-Pillwax, 2004, p. 79)

I embrace these considerations as I have considerable personal and professional connections to the CIs communities who worked beside me on this project and I hold myself accountable to these communities. Given this standpoint, I feel it is important to situate myself in the research.

The beginning of a tivaevae starts with inangaro or having a desire to make a tivaevae (Maua-Hodges, 2001, 2016a). Desiring a tivaevae sews the seed to explore the variety of possible designs. As the sewer you decide what type of tivaevae you want based on your own preferences, opinions and views about what will work well for you. You then seek other sewers who can help with the process. Similarly, it is with the beginning of the research process. As well as understanding a designer’s influence in the process of sewing a tivaevae, an important feature of this research, and the use of FPST, is situating my own subjectivity and acknowledging its influence in and on my research. I do this now as my subjectivity, in all its specificities, influences the ways in which I view and analyse the various narratives and texts of my research and the ultimate design of the metaphorical tivaevae (Grosz, 1994). This study explores sexuality education and sexual practices within a CIs context, which is a context in which I am partial and involved.

While I am ‘outside’ this indigenous setting of the CIs as a Papa’a | European New Zealander, there are also number of ways that I have an ‘insider’s’ perception (L. T. Smith, 2012). This research evolved through various connections I have with the CIs. I am a white, heterosexual, married, middle class woman who is also a mother / partner / feminist who moved to the CIs with my CI family in 2003. While heterosexual, I recognise the fluidity and diversity of sexual identities. Having family members who move between and along the sexual identity continuum has influenced my strong sense of social
justice in the need to decentralise heterosexuality and ensure marginalised members of the community are supported and celebrated.

Over the last fourteen years I have worked in various roles in the CIs. Two of these jobs particularly connect with this project: I was the Health and Physical Well-being advisor to the CIMoE 2003-2006 and then the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) and STI coordinator for the CIMoH 2007-2010. In this employment, I gained understanding of the complexities of sexuality education in the CIs and saw where programmes were strong and where they could be strengthened. However, I am very aware that as a Papa’a I am not a Cook Islander; therefore it was very important to understand the issues not just through my own lens but also through those of aronga mapu and others working in this arena in the CIs.

When I began to work for the CIMoE my position was funded through a NZAID initiative. During those four years, I applied learning gained in NZ to the CIs context. I sought funding from various multinational aid agencies to support a variety of health-related interventions for aronga mapu - all of which had their specific agenda’s that ultimately influenced the projects. I am aware that my Papa’a influences, also in all likelihood, impacted on my practice, as did the funding requirements and agendas of the agencies funding my role and the interventions in the CIs.

Another way that I believe is important and appropriate to introduce and outline my subjectivity, is by discussing my role as the Health and Physical Well-being curriculum developer for the CIMoE. In this role, I consulted extensively with multiple groups on ten of the 12 inhabited CIs to develop the CIs Health and Physical Wellbeing curriculum (CIHPWBC) and a model that represents a CIs concept of wellbeing called Pito’enua | Wellbeing (2.3.2, Figure 5) (Cook Islands Ministry of Education, 2006; Futter, 2009). This involved analysing the statistics and anecdotal reports on the health status of young people in the CIs as well as consulting and collaborating with CIs community members (including young people) to ascertain what the major concerns related to health were. As discussed in Square Two, there were,
and still are, challenges with drug use, teenage pregnancy, STIs, obesity, diabetes, suicide, depression and lack of physical activity (Cook Islands Ministry of Health, 1995a, 1995b, 2003, 2007; Cook Islands Ministry of Health & Secretariat of the Pacific Community, 2007, 2009; Cook Islands Ministry of Health & World Health Organization, 2011; House, 2000; Tutai-van Eijik, 2007). In being involved with this work my interests were piqued in a number of areas, one of them being sexuality education.

I am also a mother, grandmother, and aunt of CIs children and I wanted to know would best support their learning and how to make a difference for future generations. As a teacher and health educator working in the CIs I wanted to know what works best to enable CIs aronga mapu to learn life-long, health-enhancing behaviours. As a curriculum developer and implementer, I wanted to ensure that what I shared with teachers and other health educators as effective teaching and learning strategies, was accurate and meets the needs of what aronga mapu consider is important.

My challenge has been to keep an open mind to the data collected and attempting to interpret it without bias: ‘we must formulate self corrective techniques that will check the credibility of our data and minimise the distorting effect of personal bias on the logic of evidence’ (Lather, 1991, p.5). To display accurately the research and to be able to validate the research to readers I will rely on the insights of the participants and accessing multiple perspectives through the various data collected. To help me with validation I have had a small consultation group with whom I have conferred to discuss and interpret findings.

Although I have worked alongside some of the people involved in this study in my previous roles, I have had to maintain an awareness of being a non-indigenous researcher, working within an Indigenous setting. Even though I

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48 This consultation group was the CIHSTC group who represented the CIs Government and NGOs involved with sexual and reproductive health in the country. This group supported my doing this research from the beginning as the project would enable them to meet a key goal in their strategic plan. I also had more informal and regular meetings with the HIV coordinator and members of the CIs Family Welfare Association.
live in the CIs, am a permanent resident, and have been part of the community for fourteen years I could still misinterpret situations. This was especially important when participating in the focus group interviews as I knew many of the aronga mapu involved in these groups, or they knew me via my children. However, I hoped this meant that they therefore knew of my ongoing advocacy, campaigning, and support for aronga mapu issues, and so was therefore trustworthy. Of course, I also needed to be open and honest in all my dealings about the information gathered and the interpretations I made of them (Weber-Pillwax, 2004).

In this project therefore, I combine the knowledge gained from being involved in health education for thirty years with the contextual knowledge involved with working, living, being the mother of, and raising two young Cook Islanders in the CIs, with the data gained through this research project.

Through collection and analysis, the data accordingly informs what cut of the fabric and ultimately the design the tivaevae takes. The choice of data, or fabric, and which theories, or stitches, I use with my metaphorical needle, is important to the blank canvas. It will only be possible to stitch and sew these patterns through the ‘making of connections’ with aronga mapu, and, through consulting and uriuri kite, or sharing the findings (the completed tivaevae / SRE), with key participants. In doing so, the continuation of the connections and tu inangaro relationships is preserved.

3.5 Openga | Conclusion
This square has drawn on a number of theoretical underpinnings including the Tivaevae Model, PCT and FPST. This study’s pervading influence is the Tivaevae Model sewn with a double threaded / theorised needle. Postcolonial and feminist poststructural theories looped carefully through the needle offer understandings of CIs sexuality through aronga mapu discourse and create a unique opportunity to construct, or design, a metaphorical sexuality tivaevae. The findings offered through analysing the data will be the metaphorical embroidery, embellishing the design of the tivaevae and will provide insights into a particular point in time where aronga mapu offered their views and
understandings about sexuality. By examining the data for the way these young people discursively constituted sexuality in the CIs, and employing the multiple lenses of culture, identity, power, agency, gender, performativity and heteronormativity, a critical understanding of how sexuality education can be (re)imagined is possible. However, it will not be the whole picture, as my situated and partial perspective that is evidenced by the methods I chose, the questions I asked, and the way that I interpreted answers, influences the findings. As part of the FPST underpinnings of this square it has reflected on the lived reality of doing the research and revealed how my own, and young people’s subject positionings have shaped our experience and the findings produced. Square Four will identify which methods were used and how.
Square 4: ‘Akaruru | Data Generation

4.1 Introduction
Research about sexuality is often considered ‘risky’ or ‘controversial’ and can be fraught with sensitivities related to what, and who, is asked, and how data is gathered (Allen, 2009a). This square describes the aronga mapu-centred, multi-method research design inspired by the Tivaevae Model, the methods, their design, implementation, and evaluation. It explains the methodological considerations of the Tivaevae Model whilst also explaining how postcolonial theory (PCT) and feminist poststructural theory (FPST) were additionally cross-stitched into the design process. The square is divided into five sections that sew the chosen methods and their implementation into the framework of the Tivaevae Model (Maua-Hodges, 2016a). The methods are frames with the qualities Maua-Hodges (2001, 2016a) identified as crucial to CI’s research (as discussed in Square Three): the methods are discussed through the principles of taokotai | collaboration; tu inangaro | relationships; tu akangateitei | respect; uriuri kite | reciprocity; and, akaari kite | shared vision.

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49 Reiterating the statement made in footnote 3: Although several researchers cite Maua-Hodges’ Tivaevae Model (Herman, 2013; Powell, 2013; Puna, 2013; Schuster, 2008; Te Ava, 2011; Tisam, 2015), the primary source has not been able to be sourced, despite going to great lengths. Even Maua-Hodges herself does not have a copy. Therefore, I use personal communications and unpublished works shared with me by Maua-Hodges, as well as some secondary citations to cite the model.
In order to appreciate the complexity and contradictions of aronga mapu lives, the research employed both qualitative and quantitative methods. Specifically, this study involved investigating and analysing sexuality and sexuality education in the CIs through the mixed methods of:

- An anonymous self-completed electronic questionnaire
- Focus group discussions
- Educator interviews

By exercising multiple methods to generate data from different sources, I was able to gather a broad understanding of aronga mapu views of sexuality and sexuality education. A self-completed anonymous questionnaire was chosen to encourage personal and private ideas about the participants’ lived realities of sexuality and their sexuality education experiences. The questionnaire pursued questions about the relationships aronga mapu have, or would like to have. Additionally, the questionnaire offered an opportunity to ask questions not previously asked of CIs aronga mapu.

Questionnaires have limitations. One being ‘honesty’ of response, but there is no way to guarantee that, and another being ‘deep’ understanding. Focus groups were utilised to address these limitations: to enable a rapport to develop and encourage truthfulness, and to explore issues at more depth than a questionnaire allows (Creswell, 2009; Denscombe, 2003; Silverman, 2014). Focus groups were designed to elicit comprehensive stories that could be used to analyse peer, and therefore community, perspectives of sexuality, sexuality education and relationships.

Section 4.2 of this Square explains the design and implementation of the questionnaire and how this was undertaken collaboratively with the Cook Islands Ministry of Health (CIMoH). Section 4.3, sewn within the principle of tu inangaro | relationships, describes the design and implementation of the focus group discussions. Section 4.4 then explains the importance of tu akangateitei

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50 Although educator interviews were undertaken with all sexuality educators in the country the data has not been incorporated into this doctorate. After much deliberation, I decided that the adult voice versus aronga mapu voice on this subject matter would create a binary in terms of which voice was ‘listened’ to. As this project was about sharing and listening to aronga mapu voice it is for this reason the data from the interviews will be reported in another format.

51 The questionnaire is reproduced in full in Appendix F.
| respect, in the process of working in an Indigenous setting and the
importance of respectful methodological practices being adhered to. An
important consideration when designing this project using the Tivaevae Model
was designing a research process that would ensure uriuri kite | reciprocity,
within the methodological design and this reciprocity is discussed further in
4.5. Section 4.6 reflects on akaari kite | a shared vision. This concluding
section considers the way that this project utilised and expanded Maua-
Hodges’ (2001, 2016a) Tivaevae Model and the ways that it could be applied
further to promote research that ensures a shared vision and beneficial
outcomes for all involved.

4.2 Taokotai | Collaboration
Working collaboratively with Cook Islanders was a fundamental component in
the design process for every aspect of this research project. As discussed in
Square Three, when working with Indigenous communities, a partnership
model and collaborative processes must be engaged and working in this way
is a critical component of research employing the Tivaevae Model (Maua-
Hodges, 2001, 2016a; Moreton-Robinson, 2006; L. T. Smith, 2012; Weber-
Pillwax, 2004; Shawn Wilson, 2008). Collaboration about how data was
generated in this project was undertaken by working with organisations and
people that I had existing relationships with in the CIs.

In 2012, as this project was beginning, the Cook Islands HIV, STI and
Tuberculosis Committee (CIHSTC), was about to conduct a Second
Generation Surveillance (SGS) study. The SGS was to be conducted through
a self-completed and anonymous questionnaire answered by aronga mapu
aged between 15 and 24 years of age. The 2012 SGS would provide data to
evaluate and strengthen the CIs HIV and STI surveillance systems, behaviour
change interventions, and collect data on the current sexual and reproductive
health (SRH) status of aronga mapu. As one purpose of this doctoral study
was to meet a strategic output for the CIs the CIHSTC were keen to support
the data collection for this doctorate. The CIHSTC therefore agreed to allow me to incorporate 35 questions into their SGS questionnaire (Appendix F).52

In 2009, when I was the CIs HIV coordinator, we trialled the use of portable handheld personal digital assistants (PDAs) in a study with akava’ine and men who have sex with men (MSM) (Cook Islands Ministry of Health & Secretariat of the Pacific Community, 2009). The participants in this study positively evaluated the use of PDAs as an effective and confidential way to collect intimate information. For this reason the use of a tablet device for the questionnaire was investigated with the CIHSTC. The use of such a device was deemed especially important bearing in mind cultural considerations such as Cook Islanders not being comfortable discussing sex or sexuality in face-to-face situations. Consequently, the questionnaire for this study was self-administered on a pre-programmed Galaxy tablet. We appreciated that the use of such technology would help generate strong data about the sensitive and complex understandings that surround sexualities (Gates, 2011; Magnani, Sabin, Saidel, & Heckathorn, 2005).

To develop and then implement the questionnaire I worked in partnership with the HIV coordinator. Although we hoped that 20% of the total aronga mapu population (501 participants) would complete the questionnaire (Table A), 674 participants completed the questionnaire, more than 20%. This participation rate offers a robust data set to advance existing understandings of youth realities about sexuality for those working with aronga mapu.

The 2006 census report was used to ascertain information relating to the aronga mapu population, and how these were demographically spread, throughout the CIs (Cook Islands Ministry of Finance and Economic Management, 2007). Table A displays how youth were proportionally sampled from all islands across the country.

52 Appendix F is the full questionnaire. The questions used in this study are Q14, 15, then 17-52 and are based on Allen’s (2000) study.
Table A. Sample Selection

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Island Group</th>
<th>Number of youth 15-24 years (2006)</th>
<th>Desired sample (20%)</th>
<th>Assuming 15% decline (total number approached)</th>
<th>Final sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rarotonga</td>
<td>1,669</td>
<td>334</td>
<td>393</td>
<td>451</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern group</td>
<td>602</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern group</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cook Islands total</td>
<td>2,506</td>
<td>501</td>
<td>590</td>
<td>674</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.1 Questionnaire Questions

A previous SGS (2006) survey had collated data about initial sexual activity and some other sexual behaviour. However, previous studies by the CIMoH or CIHSTC did not explore broader concepts of sexuality such as the complexities of sexual / intimate relationships, and desire which pertain to this research. This project was concerned with relationships more broadly, for example, by asking questions about the kinds of knowledge(s) aronga mapu had about how to negotiate relationships; how they defined the relationships they wanted to have; their perceived level of confidence to ask for, or expect, pleasure; the ways they might communicate their desires; and their ability to negotiate their needs in relationships. Therefore, the questionnaire generated data about aronga mapu knowledge about sex, and sexuality, as well as their impressions about topics such as sexual relationships.

Allen’s research (2000) with young people in NZ informed all of the questions enabling a comparison of the CIs aronga mapu answers with the NZ cohort. Allen’s (2000) rationale for implementing sexualities research with young people resonated with this research and I saw synergies between NZ
contextual issues and those of young people in the CIs, for example: aronga mapu voice being marginalised in relation to sexuality.

The lenses of PCT and FPST supported the development of questions that were expected to obtain information about sexuality and relationships while also disrupting normative understandings about sexuality. The questions were designed to provide data about young Cook Islanders’ corporeal experiences of relationships, desire, and pleasure. These knowledges are often overlooked in traditional sex education classes but are known to be an important part of comprehensive sexuality and relationships education (Allen et al., 2013; Fine, 1988; J. Hirst, 2013; Ingham, 2005; Kirby, 2007b; Rasmussen, 2004). Putting FPST to work when framing the questions meant some questions were chosen to unsettle common assumptions about sexual knowledge, young people’s subjectivities, and their sexual practices. Some questions were closed while other open-ended responses could elicit information not necessarily captured in a questionnaire (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2000). The justification of the framing of questions is now discussed.

Are you: homosexual, lesbian, bisexual, heterosexual, akava’ine, not sure, no answer / refused? By ordering possible sexualities in this way I hoped to disrupt the heteronormativity of questionnaires customarily implemented in the CIs (and elsewhere) by privileging ‘other’ sexualities and placing them before the usually normative (and only choice of) heterosexual. Asking participants to define their sexual orientation had never been asked of aronga mapu in the CIs previously and only one study had been implemented with men who have sex with men prior to this study.

How many sexual partners have you had? In the past, whilst data had been obtained by the CIMoH about the number of sexual partners young people had, the length of time these partnerships lasted was not known. The dominant discourse surrounding aronga mapu is that one-night-stands are generally associated with young men’s sexual activity and that few aronga
mapu maintain long-term relationships, this question offered the opportunity to analyse the veracity of this discourse.

*How do they perceive themselves as sexual subjects?* I wanted to know if youth perceive themselves as sexual subjects as there is an expectation among adults in the CIs that aronga mapu will be sexually inactive. Questions to elicit responses about their sexual subjectivities could give insight into whether there was any truth in the argument that ‘if sexuality education is taught it will encourage young people to be sexually active’. I wondered if aronga mapu were already sexually active and whether they needed support in negotiating their intimate lives. By asking questions such as Q.35: ‘how often do you want to have sex?’ or Q.30: ‘which statement mostly describes your attitude towards sexual activity?’, understandings were gained about aronga mapu sexual subjectivities.

*How many were sexually active and at what age they began to be sexually active.* While the CIMoH had previously asked questions such as these, I was interested in gathering evidence of the level of youth sexual activity that could possibly clarify the necessity and the potential of sexuality education. Research has shown that it is important to begin teaching about sexuality before a person’s sexual debut (Kirby, 2007a). Evidence relating to the level of sexual activity that aronga mapu partake in could be used to support the case for (more) sexuality education. This evidence would be especially relevant if youth expressed that they needed and / or valued sexuality education.

*What kind of sexual knowledge do aronga mapu perceive they have?* Gaining an understanding of the range of sexual knowledge that aronga mapu have would help in the development of the CIs SRE resource. Discovering what areas young people felt knowledgeable about, and how, and from whom, they get knowledge from, could possibly support a strength-based approach to acknowledging and supporting the avenues that youth turn to for sexual knowledge. Such an understanding could also illuminate possible areas that require strengthening as well as possible gaps in their knowledge base.
Do aronga mapu know how to ask for what they want in their sexual relationships? A question that supported exploration of how aronga mapu communicate their desires within relationships was included to ascertain how power and agency operate in young people’s relationships. Hegemonic discourses habitually paint young women as passive and young men as assertive and / or aggressive in having their sexual desires met.

Do aronga mapu know how to avoid unwanted sex? Knowing how to achieve what you want in a sexual relationship is as important as the skill(s) of knowing how to avoid or refuse unwanted sex. During my previous work, many young people in the CIs shared experiences of forced sex that either happened to them or to someone they knew. Through this question, I hoped to identify whether young people considered they had the skill sets to avoid or refuse unwanted sex. Responses would determine how this issue could be addressed in sexuality education.

What their ideas and experiences of relationships were. A range of questions was included to shed light on the complexity of aronga mapu sexual relationships and how they might best be supported. For example, questions 20, 21, 35, 41 and 51. Understanding young people’s aspirations for their relationships and then considering the kinds of skills required to facilitate these could offer important information for the development of the SRE.

What do aronga mapu find pleasurable about sexual activity or what parts of their body do they get the most pleasure from? Placing questions about pleasure in the questionnaire was contentious as some people in the community consider if pleasure is discussed with aronga mapu this will encourage them to become sexually active. Including these questions was a deliberate attempt to disrupt and trouble the types of questions usually asked of youth. This question treats young people as sexual agents who have sexual desires (Allen, 2005b, 2005c; Tolman, 2012).
Do aronga mapu dislike anything about sexual activity? Can you control the level and kinds of sexual activities that occur with a partner? Questions 39, 43, 49 and 52 were aimed at discovering if there were any problems aronga mapu had in their sexual relationships - situations that aronga mapu disliked or felt incapable of changing – so that the SRE resource could include teaching and learning activities to support the development of skills to negotiate problematic situations. These questions potentially offered an insight into power dynamics in relationships.

Using these kinds of questions to disrupt hegemonic understandings was sometimes difficult to negotiate when collaborating with CIMoH or CIHSTC staff. Typically they had expectations of how a questionnaire 'should' be presented, and that traditional questions related to sexual health and behaviour should be posed (Allen, 2011a, 2011b; Boler, 1999b).

**4.2.2 Questionnaire Implementation**

The questionnaire was based on Allen’s (2000) doctoral research as previously mentioned. As Allen’s questions matched the research concerns, they were adapted for contextual appropriateness and then piloted with six young people in a group who could become known as surveyors (Cohen et al., 2000). An example of a question which was changed is the question about how aronga mapu learned about sex. Allen’s (2000) original question offered ten categories from which to choose from: the internet, romantic novels, school sexuality education, educational books about sex, pornographic magazines, parents, other family members, magazines for women, television and friends. After piloting, several categories were adapted for contextual reasons and three categories were added: ‘lovers’, ‘youth peer educators’ and ‘parties’. These changes were made on the recommendations from the pilot group. A limitation of the term ‘lovers’ may have been that if they were experiencing unwanted sex they would not term their sexual partner a lover. In hindsight I should have discussed this further with the pilot group and HIV coordinator and offered alternatives such as sexual partner / experiences as perhaps the data would have told a different story. This piloting process was important to check how the researcher’s (my) Papa’a middle-class ideas were
interpreted and understood by CIs aronga mapu. The surveyors then conducted the questionnaire.

The surveyors chosen to pilot and conduct the questionnaire were selected by the HIV Coordinator and myself on the basis of their ability to connect with a diverse range of young people, their communication skills, and their commitment to, and interest in, aronga mapu sexuality education. The ability to speak CIs Maori was also a consideration. The group was comprised of two young single mothers, a high-profile sports person, a university student, and youth peer educators. Homosexual and heterosexual sexualities as well as transgender were also in the group. The surveyors completed a three-day education and preparation session delivered by the HIV coordinator and myself. Their preparation included teaching and learning activities related to the questions to ensure that they had the confidence to answer queries, and to use the tablets effectively. The CIMoH funded the training and the purchase of the Samsung Galaxy tablets with funds accessed from The Global Fund (Global Fund to Fight Aids Tuberculosis and Malaria, 2015).

Convenience sampling methodology was utilised as it enabled the six surveyors to approach young people who were within their spheres of association (Cohen et al., 2000; Creswell, 2009; Forman, Creswell, Damschroder, Kowalski, & Krein, 2008). An advantage of convenience sampling methodology is the efficiency with which the data can be generated from a hard to reach population. Meanwhile a disadvantage of this type of sampling is the possibility that the sample of young people approached was not representative of all CIs youth (Cohen et al., 2000; Magnani et al., 2005). It was hoped that having aronga mapu approach aronga mapu would support high levels of participation. It seems this was the case as there was a high participation rate (4.2, Table A).

During August to November 2012, the questionnaire was used to survey 674 young people aged between 15-24 living in the CIs. Completion of the

53 All had previously been involved with the Cook Islands Family Welfare Association aronga mapu peer educator programme.
questionnaire took approximately 30-40 minutes and the surveyor was available to clarify any questions. Consent was obtained verbally and taken as agreed if aronga mapu answered the questionnaire. Aronga mapu were interviewed in locations where young people gather in Rarotonga, and on the southern islands of Aitutaki, Atiu, Mangaia and Mauke (Figure 2, p. xxii). Aronga mapu from the northern group islands were interviewed when they visited Rarotonga for the National Constitution Day cultural celebrations.

The surveyors were paid $NZ10 for each questionnaire completed with a participant. Participants also received an incentive to answer the questionnaire. When the questionnaire was completed, the participants could choose from a range of $NZ10 incentives, such as a cell phone top up, movie voucher, petrol voucher or a telephone calling card. Incentives were appropriate to the context and approved by the ethics committees at the CIMoH and the CIs Prime Ministers Office.

On approaching participants to fill out the questionnaire, the surveyor would explain the survey, the rationale behind it, and what the data would be used for. If the participant agreed, they would move to a private place to complete the questionnaire. However, privacy was not always achievable due to variances such as the number of young people around or the location in which participants were approached. On completion, all participants were offered health information, condoms and referral forms if they wished to seek support for counselling for sexual violence, or contraceptive advice, for example. As fifteen to twenty questionnaires were completed each of the surveyors would take their tablet to the HIV Coordinator for the questionnaire data to be downloaded. The data was then stored in a secure encrypted electronic folder. The 35-question data set was merged, exported and analysed using Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) and Excel.

4.2.3 Questionnaire Data Analysis

54 When designing the questionnaire the HIV Coordinator and I felt strongly that if we were going to ask questions about sexual violence / forced sex we had to ensure we offered support should the participant want it. As questionnaire responses were anonymous, all participants were given this generic information.
Using a questionnaire enabled processing of a large amount of data in an efficient way. The 23,590+ responses generated from the 35 questions answered by 674 aronga mapu meant that the use of a statistical data analysis tool was required. SPSS was used to convert the large volume of data into manageable data to facilitate descriptive rather than statistical analysis, although, Chi-squares and T-Tests were used selectively to establish if there were gender differences in responses to some questions. A T-test alpha level was set at 0.05 that would indicate that the findings were not likely to be by chance.

The information gained from the questionnaire responses has provided the CIs with the most comprehensive dataset obtained to date from, and about, aronga mapu sex, sexual health, sexuality and relationships. The findings of the SGS (2012), within which this survey was embedded, have been used to support decision-making for intervention/s to support the needs of aronga mapu. The findings of the 35 specific questions will initially contribute to the writing of a CIs sexuality and relationships education (SRE) resource that is the ‘product’ of this doctorate by project.

4.2.4 Questionnaire Method Limitations
All methods have limitations (Cohen et al., 2000; Creswell, 2009; Denscombe, 2003; Kitzinger, 1995; Silverman, 2014). A limitation of the use of a questionnaire used in this study is my reflection that the CIs is predominantly an oral culture, therefore the use of the tablets may have been foreign for some aronga mapu, particularly those living in outer islands. While the use of hand-held computers had been evaluated positively after the MSM research in 2009, in that study the participants were aged between 15 and 60 and based in Rarotonga. The consensus from the 2009 review had been that if young people could text, they would easily be able to answer the questionnaire using the tablet. However, there could have been a few participants who were not confident with this technology, although to speak face-to-face about some of the aspects of sexuality in this study may have also been difficult.
The questionnaire could have been difficult for some outer islands aronga mapu who could have misinterpreted questions given that each outer island has their own dialect, Maori is their first language and the island of Pukapuka has a language entirely different from the rest of the CIs that is more closely aligned to the Samoan language (Crocombe & Crocombe, 2003). When interviewing young people from Pukapuka, an incident of misinterpretation occurred. When approached to see if aronga mapu wanted to take part in the sexuality questionnaire, a couple of aronga mapu misinterpreted the surveyor’s invitation, thinking that they were being asked if they wanted to have sex. This miscommunication offers an example of contextual challenges.

As previously discussed, the location of questionnaire implementation was, at times, a limitation. The surveyors deliberately sought out venues where young people would congregate, such as the outer island hostels when people come to Rarotonga to celebrate the national day of celebration known as ‘Constitution Day’. In a couple of instances this meant that two or three young people might support the person answering the questionnaire, or pairs would stand together with one completing the questionnaire followed by the other. While this situation was unintended, it illustrated peer support for respondents, including clarifying what a question meant or discussing their answer. The surveyors commented that they witnessed giggling among the pair or group as their responses progressed. Where this occurred, the responses may have been influenced by peer presence.

Another limitation of the questionnaire was that it did not allow for extended explanations in the answers, which may have allowed for deeper responses. Additionally, the use of some closed questions in the questionnaire elicited narrow responses rather than a diverse range of responses. These limitations illustrate the importance of other data generation methods that enable deeper reflection. This limitation was addressed in this project by facilitating focus group discussions with aronga mapu.

55 Each outer island has a hostel that provides accommodation on the main island of Rarotonga. When the annual Independence Day celebrations are being held, boat loads of people from the outer islands come to Rarotonga and stay in their island hostel.
The questionnaire and focus groups were planned together in the expectation that responses to both could inform each other. As a way of triangulating data, the survey responses provided a mechanism with which to compare and contrast ideas and themes that would emerge from the focus group discussions.

4.3 Tu Inangaro | Relationships
The ways that tu inangaro is incorporated into this thesis is multifaceted. The implementation of this research was facilitated through established tu inangaro that I had with people involved in health and education in the CIs. This study would not have been possible without these enduring relationships and the connections that have supported me throughout the process. In this context a complete ‘outsider’ would simply not gain access for research. For this on-going support I am perpetually grateful. Relationships are also an integral component of sexuality as a research topic, and in recent years, what were called ‘sexuality education programmes’ have become ‘sexuality and relationships programmes’ (B. Johnson, 2012; R. Johnson et al., 2014; Leahy & McCuaig, 2013; New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2015a, 2015b; Thomas & Aggleton, 2016).

Tu inangaro is a double-edged sword. Without the skills to develop and maintain positive and respectful relationships, the health of young people can be compromised (Cook Islands Ministry of Internal Affairs: Youth Suicide Prevention Steering Committee, 2015; Secretariat of the Pacific Community, 2015; Weedon, 2004; World Health Organization & Secretariat of the Pacific Community, 2015a). The Rangi Marie: Youth Suicide Report to Government (2015) identified tu inangaro as the main reason aronga mapu consider engaging in risky and / or harmful behaviour(s). The use of the questionnaire and focus groups as methods enabled ways to explicitly describe young people’s experiences of tu inangaro. The methods explored both positive and difficult relationships. The findings informed the SRE resource to teach young people the psychosocial skills useful in facilitating positive relationships as well as how to manage difficult relationships.
4.3.1 Focus Group Questions

The CIs is a signatory to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) (United Nations, 1989). Article 12 of the UNCRC (1989) states that young people have the right to participate in matters that affect them; a philosophy this project upholds. Therefore, the design of this project ensured that aronga mapu voice about their realities would be heard; an approach supported as a best practice approach in the Pacific (Secretariat of the Pacific Community, 2015; UNFPA et al., 2015). Focus groups offered a methodological tool to consider the way participants respond to each other when discussing sexuality in CIs aronga mapu culture (Cohen et al., 2000; McKee et al., 2014). The discussions enabled deep exploration of aronga mapu understandings about intimate relationships as well as consideration of their views of current and future sexuality education. Focus groups offered the potential to gain multiple views of sexuality in a timely way (Cohen et al., 2000).

Six focus groups were conducted. Each facilitated by one researcher (me). Focus groups were audio-recorded with participants’ permission and transcribed for analysis. The focus groups were designed into two parts. The first part involved facilitating discussion through the use of ten semi-structured and open-ended questions about young people’s relationships and sexuality education. These questions were asked to stimulate discussion:

1. "Why do you think people get involved in relationships?"56
2. "What qualities do you think are important in relationships?"
3. "How would you describe the types of relationships young people get into?"
4. "What do you think young people want out of relationships?"
5. "What are some of the best things about being in a relationship?"
6. "What are some of the hardest things about being in a relationship?"
7. "What kinds of problems do you think young people experience in relationships?"

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56 Those questions with a * are questions directly, or adapted, from Allen (2000). A ** indicates questions adapted from Allen (2011). No asterisk indicates new questions.
8. Has the sex education you had at school helped you in the relationships you might have had since then?

9. At school were you ever taught the kinds of things that help to make a relationship work?

10. **What were the most useful things you learned at school about relationships?**

These questions were designed to encourage the participants to consider what was important to them about relationships and some of the contextual circumstances that contribute to relationships in the CIs. The questions also explored SRE education to obtain a sense of whether aronga mapu felt they had been prepared for intimate relationships. This would be a foundation for the second part of the focus group discussion, which focussed on possible topics to include in SRE.

Part two of the focus group used an activity to explore how aronga mapu viewed SRE content that might be of value. The activity involved the use of cards to stimulate discussion and ascertain aronga mapu thoughts on potential content in a comprehensive SRE resource suitable for aronga mapu at school in the CIs. Thirty topics for debate and discussion were adapted from Allen’s (2011) study completed in NZ. The topics on the cards were piloted with the same group of aronga mapu who piloted the questionnaire. Additional blank cards were supplied ensuring that if aronga mapu wanted to add further topics these could be added into the discussion with the group. Some topics were those that are commonly often found in standard resources, such as puberty and STIs. Other cards were designed to ‘trouble’ the understandings of the group by creating possible discomfort within discussion and allowing for exploration of values and beliefs and possible debate, for example, how to make sexual activity pleasurable (Allen, 2011b; Boler, 1999a). Some topics were unusual in the Pacific, for example the idea of exploring sexuality and disability (Aldridge et al., 1998). Cards were drawn one at a time and discussed about their relevancy to aronga mapu. The group discussed whether that topic should be included in a CIs SRE programme. If

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57 See Appendix G for the full 30 topics.
consensus could not be reached the cards were put into the ‘unsure’ category. An example the layout of topics from one group’s decisions about what they considered important is offered in Figure 8.

![Figure 8. Example of Focus Group Content Topics.](image)

**4.3.2 Focus Group Implementation**

The focus group discussions took place predominantly on the island of Rarotonga although one took place on an outer island, one hour’s flight from Rarotonga. Recruitment of aronga mapu for the focus groups occurred through relationships I had with past colleagues. In my previous roles while working in the CIs I regularly worked in partnership with NGOs who

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58 The group added the white card indicating that knowing ‘where to go for help’ should also be incorporated into SRE. Further discussion with the group clarified that knowing ‘where to go for help’ was important if there were [relationship] ‘breakups and for STIs’.
implemented programmes with young people in the community. These NGOs were members of the CIHSTC who endorsed this research project in a consultation meeting in May 2011.

Initially I made contact with NGOs (by telephone, email, and face-to-face) who could potentially connect me with participants for the focus groups. I supplied both written and verbal information about the research project to the 'parent' organisation,\(^{59}\) and the youth group leaders. I asked them to discuss the project at their next meeting to ascertain if there any members would be willing to take part. Participants would be accepted if they were:

- Willing to participate
- Aged between 15 and 24
- Available

Six organisations were willing to take part:

- Cls Family Welfare Association (CIFWA)\(^{60}\)
- Cls Te Tiare Association (TTA)\(^{61}\)
- Cls Rotoract
- Cls Red Cross (CIRC)
- Cls Sports Association (CISA)\(^{62}\)
- One outer island school group (OISG)\(^{63}\)

The participation of these six diverse groups\(^{64}\) allowed exploration of multiple perspectives on the ways aronga mapu understand relationships and SRE. The diversity of these groups allowed perceptions to be gathered from aronga mapu who originate from different islands, gay men, akava’ine, young women and men, people who had not yet had sex, others who had, those who did their schooling in the Cls, and some who had been educated in NZ or Australia but now lived in the Cls. No participants disclosed identity as akatane | trans men, lesbian or bisexual. All aronga mapu who participated in

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\(^{59}\) If there was one.

\(^{60}\) CIFWA is funded by the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF).

\(^{61}\) NGO supporting lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people.

\(^{62}\) A rugby / rugby league school funded through NZAID.

\(^{63}\) Comprised of all the senior school students on the island.

\(^{64}\) There were 96 participants across the six groups.
the focus group discussions were Cook Islanders with the exception of one Fijian Indian participant and two Pakeha | European New Zealanders.

The discussions took place in a variety of settings depending on availability and where the group decided they would be most comfortable. Focus groups, if participants were part of a NGO, were conducted in their usual meeting space / office. The CISA and the OISG discussions were held in classrooms. The Rotoract discussion was held in an outdoor forum at the Fishing Club. An initial meeting of each group discussed the research project, and gave members the chance to withdraw if they wished. If they were willing to proceed, I asked them to sign an agreement to participate (permission slip) (Appendix B). I explained that this agreement also included agreeing to the discussion being recorded. My phone, placed in a central and visual space, was used to record the discussion. Most discussions took approximately one hour. My role was to develop an environment that would keep participants safe, initiate discussion, encourage them to participate, prompt for clarity or deeper answers and guide the discussion in line with the research goals (Cohen et al., 2000). It was also important to discuss being able to keep information totally confidential, as on a small island it is almost impossible, especially if there was a breach of confidentiality from fellow focus group participants. Included in this discussion was information about how information gathered from the study would be protected and kept anonymous.

4.3.3 Focus Group Data Analysis
As each focus group discussion was completed I transcribed the recording, listening at least four times to each, as I was transcribing, themes recurred across the focus groups, and across each question. I cut and pasted each focus group transcript into ten documents by collating each of the six focus group responses to the same question. For example, question one responses from each of the six focus groups were put into one document and so forth.

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65 CIFWA, CIRC, CITTA.
66 Transcripts were not presented back to each focus group as by the time the transcripts were fully transcribed (due to part time study this was 18 – 24 months later) many of the participants had dispersed or left the island or country. Some groups such as CISA and CIRC YPE group had ceased to exist. When seeking permission from participants there was not an expectation that their transcripts would be provided.
This process allowed me to focus on the responses of each group of participants to single questions to identify recurring themes. Next, using Educreations, the themes were established by creating a spidergram from the collated document. To do a spidergram I wrote the question number on the whiteboard and then the key ideas identified from each group were then written around the outside. Next, I recorded my thoughts and ideas over the top of the spidergram.

What became apparent while delineating the themes identified in the transcripts using spidergrams was that there were recurrent themes between groups and also across questions. The themes centred on the discursive ways participants drew upon dominant discourses. Using FPST concepts as tools helped to identify how hegemony was constituted through the discourse. I came to see that the participant identities were ‘not fixed but constantly in process, being constituted and reconstituted through the discursive practices they have access to in their daily lives’ (Davies, 1993, p. 11). What became obvious through the responses was the way multiple environments influenced young people, for example social structures, such as church, school, villages, who ‘condone, support, approve or make viable certain patterns … and outlaw or marginalise others’ (Davies, 1993, p. 12).

As the data was analysed, findings that appeared ‘normal’, or ‘common sense’ were troubled or problematised through critically reading for how power and powerlessness, gender, or the effects of colonisation, played out through the participant responses (Boler, 1999b; Rasmussen, 2010; Røthing & Svendsen, 2010; L. T. Smith, 2012). The findings that emerged illustrated aronga mapu understandings of their world(s). PCT and FPST analysis offered tools to consider how some people in the community were privileged while others oppressed. The lenses of PCT and FPST revealed binaries in the data that could be deconstructed to confront power relations. Deconstruction offered

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67 Educreations is an application that allows your iPad to become a smart board, which can record voice while simultaneously writing on the surface. For more see: http://www.appsinclass.com/educreations.html

68 See https://www.educreations.com/lesson/view/q5-what-are-the-best-things-about-being-in-a-relat/17404691/?s=X3DwZz&ref=appemail for an example of how I used this app when beginning data analysis for question 5.
emancipatory possibilities to facilitate agency and justice of aronga mapu desire(s) concerning their sexual subjectivities and how these could be enacted (McClelland & Fine, 2013).

4.3.4 Focus Group Method Limitations
A difficulty of focus group discussions is that they can generate a large amount of data which becomes cumbersome to analyse (Kitzinger, 1995). Issuing an open invitation to young people through aronga mapu organisations was how participants for the focus groups were recruited. In several cases what eventuated were much higher numbers of participants in groups than was anticipated. Generally it is recommended focus groups consist of approximately five speakers (Creswell, 2009). While it was fortunate that aronga mapu felt confident and able to participate, various difficulties arose because of the large groups. It was not possible to turn participants away once they had gathered for the focus group. This would have been very inappropriate culturally and would have undermined trust and rapport. One difficulty was the large amount of data generated for analysis. Another difficulty was space to speak. With the larger groups people sometimes spoke over each other or some participants were seated too far away from the recording device. An extra limitation of one focus group discussion was the site the group identified as their meeting place. The outdoor site chosen had additional noise of waves hitting the reef. As the conversation progressed, hearing the contributions of all participants and getting an accurate recording of everything said was problematic due to the number in the group, as well as the sound of the ocean.

Having only one young woman in a large group of young men complicated another focus group. Previously I had been informed that the CISA group was all male therefore I was not aware of this young woman participant before I arrived. It was not until the discussion had already begun that I realised one participant was female as she had tucked herself in behind two large young men. In hindsight, I should have checked and spoken to her when I realised, to ascertain if she was comfortable to be part of the discussion. During the

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69 The group size varied from six to 22.
discussion, this young woman was very quiet and I am fairly sure felt unable to contribute. Ten minutes into the focus group discussion, when asking a question to clarify a previous response, I noticed her body language and what I thought was her indication that she might like to respond. I looked directly at her and asked:

DFP: would you like to share something?

Mere: [she looked at me for a moment and hesitated but she didn't say anything] shook her head sideways indicating ‘no’.

DFP: It is probably hard for you to say something in front of all these boys yeah? [Boys laugh although my impression was that they laughed in a way that agreed with what I was saying not laughing at her for not participating] I think it would be good for the boys to hear what you have to say as well, if you feel like you can share.

Mere: shaking her head to indicate ‘no’ [chooses not to share her view] The focus group continues when another participant starts talking.

Mere did not contribute to the discussion at all. This could have been due to feelings of vulnerability, and the fault lies with me. I could have placed her in a much safer position, stopping the discussion and asking her, privately and one to one, if she was willing to continue in the group. Although she had signed the form to say she was willing to participate, the added complexity was that the CISA manager, a person held in high esteem in the community, had organised this group for me. She may have felt, as others in the group could have, that she could not decline since her manager and coach, a person in a powerful position in relation to her, had arranged the session (Youdell, 2011). She protected herself by not contributing.

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70 The question I was asking the group was: ‘so, when you think about what you want from a relationship do you want something that lasts a wee while, or do you just want something quick?’ (CISA, 2012).
Participants in the OISG, held during school time and arranged by a teacher, could have also experienced similar complications. Given my previous experience with CISA at the beginning of the OISG group we had a long conversation about participating. However, no one chose to leave. This may have been due to their genuine desire to be part of the conversation, or their inability to challenge my ‘authority’ as an adult, or the ‘collective voice’ of the aronga mapu who wanted to participate (Smithson, 2000). The young men in this OISG had strong hegemonic understandings of gender that the young women sought to challenge. Although this offered interesting insights, I wonder if it would have been beneficial to separate the group by (performative) gender: for two reasons. First, so each gender did not have to conform to the gender conventional ideas held by the group as it can be more difficult to transverse hegemonic gender subjectivities and explore alternatives in mixed gendered groups. I also wondered if, particularly the young women, but possibly the young men, would have offered diverse insights into CIs aronga mapu sexuality and relationships if they had been by themselves as often the boys were the ‘dominant voices’ of the group and therefore I had to deliberately seek alternative views rather than merely hear the culturally and hegemonic ‘socially acceptable opinion to emerge’ (Smithson, 2000, p. 116).

It was possible, that in focus group discussions, some young people could be influenced by their peers to conform to the group (hegemonic) ideas about topics discussed rather than feel able to present opposing ideas. Therefore, a conformity mentality, or peer pressure / having to conform to the group consensus, could be present in focus groups. The questionnaire therefore would offer a way to examine relationships from a personal viewpoint, as the answers given by individuals were anonymous. This anonymity would be in direct contrast to the focus groups where if someone wanted to disagree with the discussion it could be difficult for them to articulate due to peer pressure to conform. However, the use of focus groups would offer the benefit of gaining opinions and answers to questions in multiple ways.

The challenges presented in this section are familiar in the literature on focus groups (Creswell, 2009; Silverman, 2014).
4.4 Tu Akangateitei | Respect

Being able to guide the discussion in a way that valued aronga mapu responses, while also unpicking or challenging them to generate alternative possibilities, had to be done in a sensitive and respectful way that ensured that the relationships of all participants stayed intact. Maua-Hodges (2016a) expects that the values of ‘akangateitei | respect and assertiveness always be shown between the researcher and her participants. Therefore ‘akangateitei was a very important component in the way that focus group discussions were facilitated. Respectful practice has always been something integral to the way(s) I live my life. However, respectful and reciprocal practice(s) have not always underpinned the ways that research has been undertaken in the CIs. Historically, research in the Pacific, as with many or most other indigenous communities, has been undertaken with a view of ‘watching' then ‘commenting’ without necessarily sharing the findings with the research participants. In other words, studies have been done on people, rather than with them (see for example D. Marshall, 1971). Dr Tom Davis,71 lamenting the number of people doing research in the CIs without asking Cook Islanders what was important, evidences these concerns.72 Davis was often frustrated by the often impractical suggestions for intervention, replying to the findings of one report: ‘in the future, could any recommendations made be suitable for implementation and be realistically achievable in the Cook Islands’ (Futter-Puati, 2010, pp. 70-71).73 Often recommendations made in research reports verified what was already known or named practices already in place. For these reasons it is important to reiterate and practice the values of taokotai | collaboration, tu akangateitei | respect, uriuri kite | reciprocity, tu inangaro | relationships, and akaari kite | a shared vision, inherent in the Tivaevae Model (Maua-Hodges, 2001, 2016a, 2016b). This is especially important if the researcher is not a Cook Islander.

71 Davis was the first Cler to do medical training in NZ and the first Cler to be in charge of CIs medical services. He wrote extensively about his experiences as Medical Officer (see Davis (1992) Island Boy: An Autobiography; Davis and Davis (1955) Doctor to the Islands.)
72 During 1963 and 1964 two other studies were completed in the CIs providing some evidence of the level of research being undertaken by ‘outsiders’ in the CIs: The WHO Maternal and Child Health study (1963), and the NZ Research Council CIs Child Health Survey (1964) (Futter-Puati, 2010).
73 Letter to University of Otago researchers’ Sir Charles Hercus and Dr Faine, who instigated a health survey in the CIs during the summer of 1949 and 1950 (Futter-Puati, 2010).
In more recent times overseas researchers have continued with surveillance of particularly health related research in the CIs. Due to the on-going concerns of the sort identified long ago by Davis, the government of the CIs set up a research office in 1998. The purpose of this office is to safeguard CIs’ intellectual property and to maintain ownership of the data generated from the research being undertaken. It is an expectation that researchers will get permission to carry out research in the CIs and that the data and findings will be shared. Specifically, the aims of the research committee are to:

- Safeguard the interest of the Cook Islands people and their unique resources
- Improve the management of cross-sectoral research activities in the Cook Islands
- Ensure that research outcomes enhance the cultural, social and spiritual wellbeing of Cook Islands people
- Encourage the uptake of research findings to further enhance environmental management, social and economic development
- Engage Cook Islanders in research activities and processes to increase research capacity and capability.

(Cook Islands Office of the Prime Minister, 2015)

These aims sit comfortably with the five aspects important in the Tivaevae Model and indicate the committee’s desire to ensure research undertaken in the CIs represents CIs values’ and benefits Cook Islanders. However, health research is often instigated through agencies including the Secretariat of the Pacific Community (SPC), World Health Organisation (WHO), or the United Nations (UN). These agencies involved in the Asia Pacific region often implement research projects in generic ways to facilitate data analysis across
all countries participating, and for the purposes of comparison. At times, research implemented in this way can be seen to be akin to what Davis had concerns about in the 1950s; that the aims of the (outsiders) research are not concerns in the CIs, or recommendations are not suitable, or are already in place. Examples are: implementation of research about HIV when the country has no HIV, or the full-time funding for a Tuberculosis (TB) officer to develop a TB strategic plan when the country had no TB. The CIMoH has now developed their own research committee to work in tandem with the CIs Research Committee to have more say about the research being undertaken and to more closely consider ethical obligations, contextual particularities and cultural sensitivities and implications.

4.4.1 Tu Akangateitei | Respect and Ethics
Ethically, there were many aspects to consider in this study. Commencing this research proved to be problematic when dealing with the requirements of the university ethics committee. Even though the National CIHSTC, the Prime Minister’s Office (Research Committee), and the CIs Minister of Health (see letter of support, Appendix I) had all requested that this research be undertaken and granted permission for it, the RMIT University Ethics Committee withheld ethics approval for the study. The university ethics committee acted as a barrier to this research being undertaken with young people, because of issues that they had with the proposed methods; methods which had been identified as appropriate by SPC, and the highest government officials (Cook Islands Government, 1998; Cook Islands Ministry of Health & Secretariat of the Pacific Community, 2007). On hearing of the difficulties I was having with the ethics committee a high official in the CIMoH stated ‘it sounds like colonisation all over again’ (Anonymous, personal correspondence, 2011). My interpretation of this comment was that even though all the key players from a small independent nation wanted this research undertaken, a (Western) university ethics committee had overall veto rights. This scenario was reminiscent of the days when the CIs were administered by Britain or NZ. Researchers in other developing nations have also experienced Western ethics committees who can cause ‘obfuscation, discourag(e)[ing] some research from taking place at all, and may indeed be
counterproductive’ (Wall & Overton, 2006, p. 62). These blocks can deny the people of these nations the benefits of the research.

The key issue the ethics committee raised related to parental permission for aronga mapu (15–24 years) to be involved in the study. Others attempting research in the area of sexuality have also had difficulty with ethics review boards, especially if participants are under the age of 16 (Allen, 2009a). Akin to other research projects, the ethics committee saw this project as “risky’, and the young people as ‘irresponsible” simply because they were young and therefore deemed vulnerable (Allen, 2009a, p. 395). While understanding these concerns, and respecting the ethics committee’s purview to consider the safety of the participants, the researcher and the University, those of us designing the study comprehended that young people, who were not ‘out’ to their parents as sexually active, should not have to risk the consequences of disclosure to parents. We thought they should be able to participate in this study should they wish to. Gaining parental permission from every young person we hoped to recruit for this study would have severely limited the research scope. There were also two CIs precedents for research with aronga mapu that went ahead without the need for parental permission: the SGS of Youth (2006) interviewed aronga mapu between the age of 15 and 20 without parental permission as did the SGS of MSM (2009). The rationale of involving young people without parental permission was appropriate due to the religious and cultural context of the CIs. We knew that if parental permission were required participation would be limited. From the data they had previously collected the CIMoH knew that there were many aronga mapu under the age of 16 involved in sexual activities and they wanted to gather data from this cohort.

The Australian National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research, states:

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74 Some participants in the MSM (2009) study were aged between 15 and 24.
The child or young person’s particular level of maturity has implications for whether his or her consent is necessary and/or sufficient to authorise participation. Different levels of maturity and of the corresponding capacity to be involved in the decision include:

... 

(d) young people who are mature enough to understand and consent, and are not vulnerable through immaturity in ways that warrant additional consent from a parent or guardian.

(Australian Government, 2007, p.55)

On the fifth resubmission to the RMIT Ethics Committee these clauses were shared and subsequently permission was finally granted for the research to go ahead without the need for parental permission (Appendix J).

The initial research design included observation of the pedagogical approaches taken by teachers when they were teaching sexuality education lessons. This aspect of the study was removed, as the ethics committee would not amend their requirement that I get permission from the parents of every child in all classes I intended observing.

As the ethics committee responses indicate the very nature of the topic of this research (sexuality) is a sensitive area for many people. Hence, the safety of all aronga mapu in the study was always my focus. I was mindful of the three key ideologies that Tolich and Davidson (1999) maintain should be kept in mind when undertaking research: do no harm, exercise informed consent, and ensure confidentiality and anonymity. The insights and perspectives of the people who shared their views with me were the most important part of the

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Sections 4.2.4, 4.2.8, 4.2.9 (c) and 4.2.9 (d, ii) of this document also support the decision that youth aged 15 and above do not require parental permission to take part in this research.

Even when it was specified that I would not speak to students but only observe the pedagogical approaches taken in the classroom and observe the student responses this requirement stayed in place. I considered just talking over lesson plans with the teacher but chose not to as plans and reports can vary considerably from practice and pedagogy was not the ultimate focus of this research.
research project. Consequently, I worked hard to ensure their safety and wellbeing throughout the process. As a researcher, I spent a considerable amount of time thinking through the issues, considering how best to eliminate any identified risks or mitigate any potential threats to participant safety.\textsuperscript{77}

While discussing tu akangateitei | respect, it is worth noting that the CIs Government requires a human rights approach to be taken by all those working with aronga mapu. CIs government departments have strategic goals to eliminate the stigma and discrimination of people marginalised in the community because of their sexuality (Cook Islands Ministry of Education, 2006; Cook Islands Ministry of Health, 2014a; Cook Islands Ministry of Internal Affairs, 2015; Cook Islands Ministry of Internal Affairs: Youth Suicide Prevention Steering Committee, 2015). Therefore, developing respect and acknowledgement of all people and all sexualities (Gray & Leahy, 2013) is an important component of this research project and the ensuing resource. Despite this link to the CIs human rights agenda, some people in the CIs may have difficulty accepting this philosophical standpoint. However the aronga mapu consulted during this doctoral study overwhelmingly believed that respect and acceptance of diversity should be incorporated into the teaching of sexuality and relationships education in the CIs. Participants were concerned with how often LGBT people were openly discriminated against in the community (see Square Six for full discussion).

4.5 Uriuri Kite | Reciprocity

My view of how to undertake this doctoral study was greatly influenced by my understanding that reciprocity is culturally important. It was imperative for me

\textsuperscript{77} My efforts to sensitively address the identified ethical issues are outlined below:
• Writing about and reporting findings I have used pseudonyms to ensure participants are unidentifiable.
• The use of tablets to implement the questionnaire would ensure participant confidentiality as each questionnaire answered was given only a number ensuring responses remained anonymous.
• Only the research team (supervisors and myself) saw the raw data generated through focus group discussions, interviews, and questionnaire responses therefore there is no link to individuals and particular responses in the reporting of findings. This will also be the case in future dissemination of the research.
• All participants were informed about the study in writing, and verbally. They were given opportunities to withdraw from the study should they decide to.
• Before initiating focus group discussions confidentiality was discussed to ensure there was an understanding of the concept. Discussion was related to principles of understanding that even though we agree to confidentiality in the focus group it might not be kept (by other participants), therefore participants needed to be aware of this when deciding what to share. Also participants need to make every endeavour not to contravene confidentiality however it could not be guaranteed.
to have an approach that declared uriuri kite. Undertaking a doctorate ‘by project’ was a way to declare that reciprocity is a key characteristic to employ when working in an Indigenous population (Maua-Hodges, 2016a; L. T. Smith, 2004, 2012; Weber-Pillwax, 2004; Shawn Wilson, 2008). Uriuri kite ensures an ‘after flow’ effect that benefits the whole community. Uriuri kite is also a fundamental consideration for the project component of this study, as understanding how actions and behaviours impact on others is integral to living in small communities.

If the ‘project’ component of this study successfully contributes to young people learning skills to enact positive relationships, whilst experiencing less marginalisation, discrimination, violation, and / or victimisation related to gender and sexuality, then the value of this urirui kite could be recognised in different ways. Individuals may experience more positivity, acceptance, and recognition in the platonic as well as intimate relationships they have. There could also potentially be more acceptance, or celebration of diversity and difference, in the communities they are involved with as more young people experience SRE. This kind of social change has been shown to be successful in other developing nations when young people are involved in participatory approaches to sexuality (Cahill & Coffey, 2016). The reciprocity of the research will be in supporting and enabling young people to ‘perform themselves differently within different situations according to the conditions of possibility constructed within those locations’ (Cahill & Coffey, 2016, p. 547). This vision was shared with me by aronga mapu as well as the CIHSTC.

4.6 Akaari Kite | Shared Vision

Young people having identified their needs and then being taught skills that help them to enact positive relationships achieves the shared vision of a sexuality tivaevae imagined at the start of this project. It also caters to the needs identified by aronga mapu for aronga mapu something rarely done in the Pacific (Farran, 2016).

Utilising the Tivaevae Model opened and then extended the possibilities of the ways this research unfolded. I have stretched the tivaevae and then koi koi |
gathered in other patterns to extend it. Rather than using only the Tivaevae Model to consider the research processes of this study, I have threaded the metaphor of the tivaevae with extra designs, embroidered it with theoretical perspectives, and unpicked layers of the tivaevae to illustrate the possibilities offered in the analysis of the data and in interpreting the findings. The metaphorical tivaevae will also be utilised in the SRE resource as a tool for critically thinking about the socio-cultural influences on their understandings of sexuality and relationships.

As there was so much data produced, only that which could be directly used to design the initial SRE resource is shared in the next squares. The data / voices / idea(l)ls shared by aronga mapu identified aspects of relationships that young people do well, as well as areas they desired help with. Aronga mapu analysed topics commonly taught in SRE and identified other topics they would like incorporated into future programmes. Some of the areas identified for improvement related to equity and justice. These will be explained in Squares Five and Six. Aronga mapu voices have shaped the design and embellishment of a CIs sexuality tivaevae – presented in Squares Five, Six and the SRE. Aronga mapu voices have shaped the development of a needs-led and rights-based SRE resource that encapsulates the akaari kite | shared vision of the many Cook Islanders who contributed to this study (S. Blake, , in conversation with, & Aggleton, 2016).

4.7 Openga | Conclusion

This research has employed a multi-method approach using both qualitative and quantitative methods to gain different insights from aronga mapu about their sexual knowledge, subjectivities, and practices. Stitching FPST and PCT into the Tivaevae Model, while also embracing the values important to CIs research in the methods design process, helped to explore and capture the multiple, complex, and contradictory experiences of aronga mapu in culturally appropriate ways. Collaborating with CIs partners to do the focus groups and the questionnaires provided the tools to generate the data to explore this

78 It is hoped that through continued work with CIFWA, that UNESCO will fund a second SRE programme that will include other concerns identified by aronga mapu in this research.
multiplicity and complexity. Squares Five and Six share some of the data collected from the completion of the research articulated in this square.
Square 5: ‘Akatomo’anga | Findings that Shape the Metaphorical Tivaevae

‘The good thing is that in a few years we will be the Mamas and we will change everything.’

(Tere, CIFWA)

5.1 Koi Koi | The Sorting and Gathering of Patterns

The creator of a tivaevae decides how to arrange and gather patterns to illustrate the design she imagines as the final product. The tivaevae is determined by what she considers important to be seen, her eye for design, and, just as importantly, what she decides to keep from view, hidden underneath other designs, or appliqued over. The tivaevae ta’unga, and her pange, collaboratively make decisions related to layout and detail. A tivaevae, beginning as a number of large colourful bolts of fabric, has innumerable possibilities. The tivaevae ta’unga chooses which cloth is most suitable, just as the researcher identifies and makes sense of the responses through analysis.
As with a tivaevae when there is an abundance of fabric, some cloth / data was cut, and saved for future creations. Square Five draws upon the textiles of literature, theory, methods, and responses to data questionnaires and focus group discussion to examine the research questions:

- What are the existing knowledge, understandings, and practices associated with sexuality that impact on the lived experiences of young people aged 15-24 in the Cook Islands?
- What do young people who are aged 15-24 and who live in the Cook Islands identify as important to learn in sexuality and relationships education and why?
- How can the needs about sexuality and relationships, identified by young people aged 15-24 in the Cook Islands, be incorporated in a culturally relevant, strength-based sexuality and relationships educational programme?

The analysis of the responses is tamoumou | tacked and tui | sewn together to provide an overview of the sexual knowledge(s) and sexual behaviours of aronga mapu, as well as the aspirations they have about intimate relationships. As this research draws on FPST, I acknowledge that the analysis of the data presented in Squares Five and Six are ‘partial, incomplete, and always in a process of re-telling and re-membering’ (A. Y. Jackson & Mazzei, 2012, p. ix). The ‘style’ of the tivaevae presented in this exegesis is my interpretation(s) of the data and but one-way the fabric could have been cut. Presenting an opportunity for aronga mapu to share their views on such topics created the possibility to disrupt the traditional practices that silence aronga mapu voice regarding their (sexual) needs. Identifying and sharing aronga mapu responses about sex, sexuality and relationships in this exegesis, and basing the writing of the SRE on their idea(l)s, created an avenue to hear and respond to the voice / needs of aronga mapu.

The purpose of the analysis was to utilise the participants’ responses to guide the design of the SRE resource. By comprehensively teaching SRE aronga
mapu will not have to wait until they are adults or ‘Mamas’ (as the participants are referring to in the introductory quote of this square) for change to happen.

5.2 Analysis

The use of Excel and the statistical software package, SPSS, made handling the large amount of data generated from the questionnaire manageable. SPSS was used for the purposes of providing general background patterns about young peoples’ knowledge, practices and subjectivities as well as gaining descriptive statistics. Data from the questionnaire was most often segregated by gender and age. Chi-squares and T-tests were used to establish if there were significant gender differences to some questions. To ascertain if there were differences in responses from older participants, analysis was by two four-year age groups: 15-19 years, and 20-24 years. The questionnaire findings were then read in relation to the qualitative material from the focus groups to help explain, support, or contrast the findings in each, as well as to offer possible theoretical explanations of the data.

The focus group discussions were held to gain an understanding of the relationships young people desire and to ascertain what they learned or would like to learn in SRE. The participants of the focus groups were informed that the rationale for the discussions was to enhance the design of a Cls specific SRE programme appropriate for aronga mapu and that I considered their input and ideas fundamental to the process. Ascertaining aronga mapu voice is a strategy supported by organisations who work in the Pacific (Secretariat of the Pacific Community, 2015; UNFPA et al., 2015). To foreground the voice and responses of youth, use of theoretical analysis will, at times, be minimal to uphold the central focus of hearing youth ideas ‘in the raw’. Analysis of the responses to the questionnaire and focus groups consequently offers one view of young people’s corporeal experiences of desire, pleasure, and relationships - which are topics that are typically overlooked in sexuality

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79 Significance was set at 5% which means that all figures under p<0.05 are significant.
Due to the questionnaire being similar in design to Allen’s (2000.) analysis of data is primarily compared to her findings with NZ youth and then with other studies that have asked comparable questions.

5.3 Demographic Information

The general demographic information below provides background and contextual understanding of the participants who completed the questionnaire:

- There were more female participants (56%) than male (44%)
- Most participants were of Polynesian descent (85%) and around half born on the main island of Rarotonga (49%)
- 70% of participants were between 15 and 20 years of age
- Almost everyone had completed primary school (96%) and of those over 18, 60% had completed secondary school
- The median age of those interviewed was 18 across all genders
- A small majority of participants were still students (53%)
- 84% of the participants lived at home, either with their parents (59%), or relatives (25%)
- Youth were proportionally sampled from all population settlements throughout the CIs (Table B).

Table B. Final Sample Size

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rarotonga</td>
<td>451</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern group</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern group</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>674</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

80 The questions asked in the focus groups, and the questionnaire, are available in Appendix C and F respectively.
81 A common criticism of research in the CIs is that outer islanders are not regularly included in data.
82 The Northern group were slightly underrepresented. The ideal number for 20% of the youth resident in the northern group would have been 47.
5.3.1 Sexual Orientation

When participants were asked to identify their sexual orientation\(^{83}\), 9.1\% of the participants identified as lesbian, gay, bisexual or akava’ine | transgender (LGBT). Almost 23\% (92 females, 53 males) ‘refused’, or were ‘unsure’, about which category to put as their sexuality. Of those who did answer:

- 3\% identified as bisexual
- 2\% akava’ine | transgender
- 3.6\% homosexual
- 0.3\% as lesbian
- 68\% as heterosexual

While it is known that young people who are same sex or both sex attracted may be reluctant to identify, or not necessarily categorise themselves as LGB (Pallotta-Chiarolli, 2006, 2014; Russell, Clarke, & Clary, 2009), there was a particularly small number of participants who identified as lesbian (n=2). This low number of lesbian women is interesting given the higher number of women participating (54\%) in the survey, as well as the considerably higher number of men who identified as either akava’ine or homosexual. CIs society seemingly accepts transgenderism as many people born male live as women, (Besnier & Alexeyeff, 2014) however it appears to be inconceivable that women may be involved with other women, or that they may be aka’tane | female who identify as male. The CIMoH made the decision not to use the criteria of aka’tane in the questionnaire as it is a term rarely used in everyday language, unlike akava’ine. In hindsight, this criterion should also have been included as excluding it may have contributed to the invisibility of aka’tane and an opportunity was missed to create some visibility for these people in CIs society. This suggests further research to examine how lesbian and aka’tane people are considered, supported, identified and accepted within CIs.

\(^{83}\) Question 40 asked: Are you? (Please tick one only):

- homosexual (a man who is sexually attracted to other men)
- lesbian (a woman who is sexually attracted to other women)
- bisexual (a person who is sexually attracted to both sexes)
- heterosexual (a person who is sexually attracted to the opposite sex)
- akava’ine (a man who identifies as a woman who is sexually attracted to men)
- not sure
- no answer / refused.
communities, as are the needs of the bisexual community, which until this study, was unidentified. Unfortunately, another oversight of this study was that I did not ask these specific questions in either the focus groups or questionnaire. The invisibility of lesbian women and aka’tane is especially noteworthy in light of how akava’ine have, historically, been accepted by the community (Alexeyeff, 2009b; Te Tiare Focus Group, 2012). Alongside this, that 23 men identified as homosexual, rather than akava’ine, was surprising. Homosexual men are rarely ‘out’ as part of the community. That men felt safe to identify themselves in this way in the questionnaire, and that women did not warrants further research. Discussion in 5.4.1 relates to knowledge of homosexuality and suggests that a limitation of these categories was that some respondents did not understand the terms homosexuality or lesbian (Table C).84

Participants who were either ‘unsure’ or ‘refused’ to identify their sexuality may have done so for a number of reasons:

- questioning their sexuality
- not fully understanding the question
- unwilling to divulge because of stigma and discrimination
- unfamiliar with the terms
- the way they identify was not offered
- not confident of confidentiality
- short coming in the design of the question

Scholars have argued that sexuality is fluid and people can identify differently at different times of their lives (Britzman, 1995; Carrera, DePalma, & Lameiras, 2012; L. M. Diamond, 2015; Valentine, 2007), or they can have multiple identities (Kuper, Nussbaum, & Mustanski, 2012; Russell et al., 2009). Unwillingness to identify could be linked with concern about potential victimisation or discrimination that happens to some members of the LGBT community in the CIs (Besnier & Alexeyeff, 2014; Gerber, 2014; Webb, 2015). The negative perception of the LGBT community in the CIs can be illustrated

84 It was decided that these terms and their descriptions were appropriate by the CIoMh and the young people who took part in the piloting of the questionnaire.
through the high number of calls to the suicide prevention helpline regarding sexual orientation (Cook Islands Ministry of Internal Affairs: Youth Suicide Prevention Steering Committee, 2015). Sexual orientation will be discussed in Square Six, (6.6) where the experiences of akava’ine will be analysed. Implications for how same sex, both sex attracted and gender fluid people can be accepted and supported in CIs society will be addressed in the SRE programme by designing strategies to challenge heteronormativity (Activities 3, 5 - 9). 

5.4 Sexual Knowledge and Learning about Sex
In this section I offer descriptive data drawn from the questionnaire concerning the sexual knowledge of aronga mapu in the research, how aronga mapu perceive their level of sexual knowledge and how that knowledge impacts on the intimate relationships they have. Section 5.4.1 describes how and where aronga mapu get information about sex and which sources of information they find most valuable.

5.4.1 Sexual Knowledge
A question was designed to ask young people about their sexual knowledge. Twelve topics / themes were provided, for example: ‘how to put on a condom’, ‘what turns a partner on’ and ‘getting what you want out of a sexual relationship’. To analyse the responses the 12 topics were separated (1-12) and if a respondent selected a topic, a value of one was given. Most participants chose three (n=233) or four (n=329) answers out of the 12 options. Table C offers an overview of the way aronga mapu self-perceived their knowledge.

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85 Find an overview of all activities in the SRE in Square Seven (7.5).
Table C. Sexual Knowledge

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Which things do you feel you know about in relation to sex?</th>
<th>How often participants selected a response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How to put on a condom</td>
<td>663</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What turns a partner on</td>
<td>489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Getting what you want out of a sexual relationship</td>
<td>562</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual positions and techniques</td>
<td>515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What lesbianism is</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What homosexuality is</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How to get pregnant</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What sexually transmitted infections are and how you get them</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How to avoid unwanted sexual activity</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How to prevent getting a sexually transmitted infection</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How to say no to someone wanting sexual contact</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How to deal with the consequences of saying no</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most participants felt knowledgeable about ‘how to put a condom on’, ‘getting what they want out of a sexual relationship’, ‘sexual positions and techniques’, and also ‘what turns a partner on’ and least confident about sexually transmitted infections. This was an interesting contrast to Allen’s (2000) study with NZ youth. Allen (2000) found that participants had ‘traditional’ knowledge’s, which included disease or pregnancy prevention. While 98% of the participants in this study knew how to put a condom on; a ‘traditional sexual knowledge’ area, the others areas aronga mapu declared they were knowledgeable about were non-traditional in relation to what is generally taught in sexuality education. This data sits in contrast with Allen’s (2000) findings where young New Zealanders felt they were least knowledgeable about ‘sexual positions and techniques’ or ‘getting what they want out of a

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86 Three statements were adapted from Allen (2000) after piloting. One question was added after discussion with pilot group: How to deal with the consequences of saying no. One question withdrawn: What prostitution is, as this was deemed not important by the pilot and the CMoH as the 2012 Youth survey asked other questions related to sex for goods and services.

87 Three participants did not respond to this question.
sexual relationship’ (p.98). There were areas that aronga mapu in this study felt confident about.

These findings provide an indication of where aronga mapu need more support and this has been used to inform the programme. In particular, the comments they least responded to were ‘what STIs are and how you get them’ and ‘how you prevent getting a STI’, even though this is the focus of lessons traditionally taught in schools and the community. These results suggest that the current and historical practice of teaching about STIs is not being implemented in a way that youth can access, retain, or practise what they have learned. Without wanting to take a fear approach to teaching of STIs, the SRE programme educates about STIs and their prevention in a novel way that may improve retention and understanding (Activities 13, 14). Participants also considered they were least knowledgeable about: ‘how to avoid unwanted sexual activity’, ‘how to say no to sex’, and ‘how to deal with the consequences of saying no’. Such contexts as these can be incorporated into lessons about communication and assertiveness skills including how to respond to someone saying no to you, understand consent and how to manage and negotiate safety, so that aronga mapu learn the skills that can be applied within healthy relationships. These will be key features of the SRE programme (Activities 10–14, 16). The next question asked participants how they felt about their sexual knowledge. They could choose only one response from four: ‘confident and experienced’; ‘confident but not experienced’; ‘not confident but experienced’; ‘not confident and not experienced’. Table D describes the responses.
Table D. Perception of Sexual Knowledge

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How do you feel about your sexual knowledge?</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15-19 years</td>
<td>20-24 years</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N %</td>
<td>N %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not answered</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confident and experienced</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confident but not experienced</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not confident and not experienced</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not confident but experienced</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>374</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Analysis of the responses by gender shows that females and males feel fairly confident about their level of sexual knowledge, whether they are experienced or not. Three quarters (75%) of the females were confident about their sexual knowledge whether they were experienced or inexperienced and slightly more than three quarters of males (79%) felt similarly. When deliberating on these findings it could be expected that confidence would be gained with age, which may also implicate experience. Confidence with age can be seen with females with 66% of 15-19 year olds, compared to 90% of 20-24 year olds, feeling confident about their level of sexual knowledge. Similar findings were discovered for the males. More 15-19 year old males (76%), however, felt confident about their knowledge than their female counterparts (66%), which would be supported by gendered and hegemonic understandings of who would / should ‘know’ and be more confident about sex. What the findings in Table D offer is a correlation between age and confidence levels and / or experience.

When asked whether their level of sexual knowledge had an impact on their
relationships or their ability to have relationships\textsuperscript{88} (Table E) most 15-19 year olds considered that the level of knowledge they had did not have an impact on their relationships. The high levels of confidence this cohort had in their knowledge, shown in Table D, could account for this response. In Table E, 30\% of the 15-19 group felt that the level of sexual knowledge they had did impact on their ability to have relationships and this number corresponds to the 25\% who felt less confident about their sexual knowledge in Table D. These responses indicate that knowledge levels do have some impact on confidence and reinforces the argument for the teaching of sexuality education from an early age (Kirby, 2007b, 2011).

Table E. Impact of Knowledge Level on Relationships

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Do you think your level of sexual knowledge has affected your relationships or your ability to have relationships?</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Total Female</th>
<th>Total Male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15-19 years</td>
<td>20-24 years</td>
<td>15-19 years</td>
<td>20-24 years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No it doesn’t effect relationships</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes it does effect relationships</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Females in the 20-24 year-old age group (who responded they were ‘very’ (90\%) confident about their sexual knowledge in Table D) responded quite differently to this question. Thirty four percent of females felt that their level of sexual knowledge did impact on their relationships and 64\% said it did not. It appears that, most of these women perceive that the level of knowledge they have does not impact their relationships and / or their ability to have relationships. These results could correlate to Table F, where the responses

\textsuperscript{88} The question did not ask aronga mapu to specify what their level of knowledge was, so determining if they perceived a ‘low’ or ‘high’ level of sexual knowledge to produce the effect they responded with was not possible.
show that both sexual knowledge and confidence could be gained through experience(s) with lovers. Table E also shows that 36% of the males aged 20-24 perceived that the level of knowledge they had (which identified as confident in Table D) impacted on their relationships whereas 65% felt it did not. These results ask us to consider whether there is a correlation between sexual knowledge and confidence and if this impacts on sexual relationships. Consequently, as most participants felt confident about their sexual knowledge it is probable that this confidence might impact positively on their ability to have sexual relationships. However, the data shows that this is not necessarily always the case – having, or not having, sexual knowledge - did not deter aronga mapu from initiating relationships. Most participants (64% females, 68% males) reported they did not feel their level of sexual knowledge affected their relationships or their ability to engage in them.

The young people who felt confident about their sexual knowledge (Table E), more often than not, thought that the level of knowledge they had did not impact on their relationships. Only 33% of all participants considered that their level of sexual knowledge impacted on their relationships. These findings correlate to Allen’s (2000) research. Both studies found that ‘possessing or not possessing sexual knowledge was seen as irrelevant to their [young peoples’] ability to forge or conduct relationships’ (Allen, 2000, p. 116). It seems that aronga mapu are going to take part in sexual relationships irrespective of their knowledge base. However, a lack of knowledge could place them at physical, mental and / or emotional risk.

5.4.2 Learning About Sex
Most of the participants (n=491, 74%) in this study learned about sex by the time they were 14 years of age. Most of these, (n=392, 80%), recollected that they learned about intercourse between the ages of 7 and 13. An explanation for this could be that many Cook Islanders live in extended family situations where several adults and extended family units live together in the same home (Ama, 2003; Frisbie, 1937; Vini, 2003). This can mean that there could be several people sleeping in the same room that could expose young people to the sexual activities of adults. Such learning about sexual intimacies at
young ages may not be seen in societies where children sleep separately from adults. However, in Allen’s NZ (2000) study, most participants claimed to have learned about sex by the time they were between eight and ten years old.

Aronga mapu indicated that there were a variety of places from which they learned about sex. Participants were asked to consider where they got the best information about sex. This question had not been asked of youth in the CIs previously and consequently there was no knowledge of the types of knowledge sources aronga mapu might find valuable. Developing an understanding of the knowledge sources aronga mapu find valuable could inform the avenues with which to focus SRE programmes and materials.

Table F shows that the ‘useful’, or ‘most useful’, sources of information about sex, were resoundingly ‘friends’ and ‘lovers’. These categories were followed by: ‘school sex education’, ‘family members’ (other than parents), ‘parties’ and ‘TV’ all of which were represented fairly evenly. However, educational books about sex, as well as pornographic materials, followed closely as valuable sources of information although it is not evident how and where these are accessed. The question asked participants to give a value to sources of information they found useful, or not, about sex.

89 Allen’s (2000) study did not include lovers (see 4.2.2).
Table F. Most Useful Source of Sexuality Education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Write the number suitable to how you learned the most about sex</th>
<th>Number who found this source ‘useful’ or ‘Very useful’</th>
<th>Percentage %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Never</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Not useful</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Useful</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Very useful</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romantic novels</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magazines</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Internet</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pornographic magazines, movies or DVD’s*</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational books about sex</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth peer educators*</td>
<td>341</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV, movies, music videos*</td>
<td>378</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parties*</td>
<td>378</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other family members e.g. cousins, auntsies ...*</td>
<td>381</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School sex education</td>
<td>385</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lovers*</td>
<td>471</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>512</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Denotes adapted or added criteria from Allen (2000)

5.4.2.1 Friends

The participants in Allen’s (2000) study responded that ‘friends’ were the most valued source of information when she asked the same question of 402 youth in NZ the late 1990s. Asking the same question of an entirely different cohort of young people, more than a decade later, in a completely different context, found similar responses. However, CIs youth value ‘friends’ at almost double the rate of the NZ group (CI 76%, NZ 41%). Allen’s (2000) study found a significant gender difference to this question with more young women reporting friends useful than young men. In the CIs there were no significant differences; both males and females value friends for information. This finding highlights the significance of peer relationships and presents the possibility that peer education could be a useful tool to enhance and support SRE.
programmes if peer educators were well trained and mentored (UNFPA et al., 2015).

5.4.2.2 Lovers
‘Lovers’ were the second ‘most useful’ or ‘useful’ source of information. Seventy percent of participants indicated they valued this source of knowledge, which could signify that learning through experience is important to CIs youth. Allen’s (2000) survey found that youth ranked knowledge gained from experience more highly than knowledge gained from other categories. Even though she did not include lovers as a category in her study, Allen (2000) found that knowledge was not a pre-requisite for practice and that, ‘knowledge gained through practice’ had greater status and was more useful than other forms of knowledge acquisition (p.105). It would seem that aronga mapu also value knowledge through practice with lovers and value the acquisition of knowledge through practice.

Results in Table F show there were no significant gender differences on the top three sources of information: ‘friends’ (females 78%, males 74%) or ‘lovers’ (females 70%, males 69%) as ‘useful’ or ‘very useful’ sources of information. T-test revealed that males were not significantly different from females on rating ‘friends’ (p = 0.177), or ‘lovers’ (p = 0.67), as the best sources of information about sex. The rating of ‘friends’ as similarly important for males as females in this study sits in contrast to Allen (2000) who found that in NZ significantly more young women than young men found friends a ‘very useful’ source (p.95). Hegemonic performance of masculinity is usually associated with being knowledgeable, and boasting, about (heterosexual) sexual activity (Mac An Ghaill, 1994; Sexton, 2015; Town, 1999). Seeking information from friends does not usually conform to dominant masculine ideals as it could be perceived as being vulnerable or needing help, something more aligned with hegemonic femininity. However, this finding shows that young men in the CIs report that they are able to negotiate competing forms of masculinity by being able to reject this narrative while maintaining their status as ‘acceptable’ men (Mac An Ghaill, 1994; Sexton,
2015). There was a slight gender difference in ‘school sex education’ with 62% of females rating it ‘useful’ or ‘very useful’ compared to 51% of males.

5.4.2.3 Teachers and School Based Sexuality Education

Also indicated in Table F is that young people value sexuality education through school despite the many criticisms articulated in the focus groups. There was a slight gender difference in the responses to ‘school sex education’ with 62% of females rating it ‘useful’ or ‘very useful’ compared to 51% of males. Criticisms of school sex education in the focus groups included:

- Cook Island Family Welfare Association (CIFWA): the Ministry [of Health] gave us out expired condoms
- Rotoract: I remember we only had one ever session – it’s not enough
- Te Tiare (TTA): the sessions we had never related to me or my sexuality
- CIFWA: they tried to scare us not to have sex

The comments are a sample of aronga mapu dissatisfaction with school based sexuality education. Only one focus group had some members that had experienced a comprehensive SRE programme. The programme was six weeks in duration and facilitated by an expatriate teacher on a short-term contract. When I explored what they found useful in this programme they offered:

- John: So, at year 10, with Miss M, we had sex ed
- DFP: Was the programme she took really good?
- Group: Yeah

Comprehensive refers to covering a broad range of issues beyond reproductive sex, including desire, relationships, sexual health and negotiation (Allen, 2000).
John: It was for 6 weeks

DFP: What made her cool? … What did she do that made it work?

Ana: She wasn’t a Cook Islander

Rangi: Maybe ‘cause she wasn’t young …

Laughter from the group

DFP: So - is not being a Cook Islander important?

Group: Yeah

Rangi: I have never seen her angry, she was always kind

DFP: Does that mean you could ask her anything?

Ake: Yeah

Ana: She didn’t laugh at you, she laughed with you

(CIRC)

Rather than the focus being what was useful knowledge in the programme it seemed that the qualities the teacher presented in the classroom was what the participants considered important. Miss M was ‘askable’\(^91\) and established a safe learning environment where she was ‘kind’, ‘never angry’, and didn’t humiliate students. Ms M was an older woman and not from the CIs, nonetheless, these young people valued the qualities she brought to the teaching environment. The group chorused in agreement with my query ‘So -

\(^91\) A term I use when doing sexuality education professional development with educators. If teachers do not present themselves, as ‘askable’ to students then they will still find an answer to their question, however it might not be accurate. Therefore I would prefer teachers to ensure that they provide an environment that encourages the safe asking of questions and to acknowledge that if they do not know the answer to then convey to students that they will find the answer for them, which in turn, models that adults do not always know all the answers.
is not being a Cook Islander important?’. Unfortunately the moment passed and this was not explored further. Speculatively though, as the CIs is a small community, aronga mapu might have preferred this more anonymous outsider as their teacher of this topic. Other researchers who have investigated who the ‘right’ or ‘best’ people to teach sexuality education are support the argument that the qualities teachers bring to SRE and the teaching environment make a difference (Allen, 2009b, 2011b; Kirby & Laris, 2009; Measor, 2004; Measor, Tiffin, & Miller, 2000; Ollis et al., 2013; G. Tasker, 2001; Thammaraksa et al., 2014; UNESCO, 2009). Notably, this conflicts with other research that suggests the ‘best’ people to teach sexuality education are those that are similar in age or status, for example, peers (Forrest, Strange, & Oakley, 2004; International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 2009). Who the ‘right’ teachers of sexuality education are, is complex. Allen (2011b) suggests that young people want educators who are ‘knowledgeable’, ‘able to relate to young people’, and who demonstrate ‘characteristics relating to a sense of ‘professionalism' whether these are schoolteachers, community organisations, or peer educators (p.131). Ms M’s attributes are illustrative of all the qualities identified by Allen’s (2011b) study and confirms that aronga mapu appreciate similar qualities in their teachers.

5.4.2.4 Least Useful Sources of Knowledge
The least consulted sources of information where participants gained information about sex were magazines (females 39%, males 34%), romantic novels (females 54%, males 17%), and parents (females 37%, males 30%). Of the three identified ‘least useful’ sources, romantic novels, and magazines are quite difficult to access in the CIs. There is one bookshop in the country and two small public libraries and both charge fees to join. Schools have very basic libraries. Students are not often allowed to have books issued to them for fear they will not be returned. Homes rarely have books other than the Bible, as storytelling in the CIs is predominantly oral (Goodwin, 2003). This contextual knowledge of the limited access to books and magazines creates an understanding of why romantic novels and magazines would not be rated highly as useful tools to learn about sex.
5.4.2.5 Parents

In Allen’s (2000) study ‘parents’ were rated the third highest source of knowledge. In contrast, participants in this study regarded parents as the second to last most valuable source of information (34%). The literature in international studies confirms that school is only one component of sexuality education and that parents play a crucial component (Kirby, 1985; Lewis & Knijn, 2002). That so few participants viewed parents as a valuable source of knowledge indicates an opening for the CIs sexuality education community to consider how they could best support parents to become more involved. The SRE will have advice for educators in how they might consider including parents / caregivers in the programme (8.4).

Kirby (2007b) suggests that there is increasing evidence that ‘programs for parents of adolescents can lead to greater parent-teen communication about sexual behavior and to actual changes in adolescent sexual behavior’ (p. 6). The complex role that parents play in sexuality education was also articulated within the focus group discussions. Most participants in the focus groups said that they had not received any explicit information about sex from parents or caregivers although cousins often featured as informants as evidenced in Table F.

5.4.2.6 Internet, Pornographic Magazines, Movies, or DVD’s

Studies have shown that in countries such as Australia, the USA, and the UK, where accessibility is cheap, as well as freely available, the Internet is a highly influential source of knowledge about sex and sexuality for young people (Evers, Albury, Byron, & Crawford, 2013; Ringrose, Gill, Livingstone, & Harvey, 2012). In contrast, this study revealed that only 41% of aronga mapu identified the Internet as a useful source of information. A T-Test revealed that males significantly rated the Internet more useful than females (p = .017). That only 41% of aronga mapu rate the Internet as useful is likely attributable to the limited level of Internet access in the CIs at the time of the study. Also, the Internet is expensive in the CIs with a monopoly provider and many families cannot afford an Internet service in their homes.
A sizeable difference in who found pornography ‘useful’ or ‘very useful’ was revealed when responses were analysed by gender. Thirty three percent of females and 60% of males responded that they found pornography useful to get information about sex. There was a highly significant gender difference (p = 0.001) between females and males for this source of information. So although just under half (45%) of the participants found pornographic material useful to gain knowledge about sex, there was a significantly higher usefulness factor identified by young men, which warrants further research. It also suggests that a considerable number of young people had access to pornography via DVDs before it was more easily accessed via the Internet.

The pervasion of pornography into popular youth culture has been somewhat curbed by CIs’ remote location. However, with the influence of transnational cultures through the Internet / social media, travel, and tourism, aronga mapu in the CIs are becoming more exposed to the sexualised world. Scholars argue that pornography has become the new sexuality education through a lack of other ways for young people to get knowledge, and therefore has become one of the main influences in the way young people think about, and experience, sex (Crabbe & Corlett, 2011). The way sexism, violence, gender roles, and misogyny are represented in mainstream heterosexual pornography has been critiqued as detrimental to societal values (Gavey, 2013). Crabbe & Corlett (2011) argue that young people need to be taught how to critically think about how sex is portrayed in pornography as well as who benefits. The SRE will introduce some of these skills through participants beginning to learn how to critique and analyse the music they enjoy and the messages they get from other sectors of society (Activities 2, 3, copy sheet A).

5.4.2.7 Sources of Knowledge: Summary
The sources of knowledge that aronga mapu found most useful are complex. In some situations, school sexuality education was seen as valuable while at other times not. Young people identified the qualities of the teacher undertaking the education as fundamental to the way they received the programme. Friends, lovers and family (but not parents), who may know a lot,
or very little, have been identified as highly considered knowledge sources. Since the CIs is traditionally an oral society, these face-to-face ways of accessing information about sex and sexuality would seem logical. The provision of parent sexuality education is outside the scope of this research, however it can be identified as a place to direct the next phase of sexuality education when reporting back to the CIHSTC and the community. Peer education, identified by aronga mapu as potentially useful, has been shown by scholars to be an effective pedagogical approach with Pacific students in classrooms, as it has a kinaesthetic approach to learning (Bailey & Monroe, 2003; Keller & Wilkerson, 2004; Nabobo-Baba, 2012; Secretariat of the Pacific Community, 2007; Te Ava, 2014; Thaman, 1997).

Aronga mapu have shown that they are sexual subjects in answering ‘lovers’ as their second most useful knowledge source. Taking a risk aversive approach to SRE fails to recognise that aronga mapu are knowledgeable and authentic sexual subjects especially given that most of the participants had either learned about sex, or participated in sex, before they would typically have had any sexuality education at school. These findings indicate considerations for the SRE to undertake within future programmes including:

- It would be beneficial to design a youth peer education curriculum (YPE) that could work to support the SRE programme in schools. The SRE could suggest that a YPE programme be implemented in schools to support the school. Another way YPE could be involved is to invite community YPE groups to run educational sessions in the school, or the setting up of a YPE programme could be incorporated into the critical action lesson (Activity 19).

- The importance of offering parents the opportunity to learn about sexuality so that they have the skills and confidence to talk to their children about sex or sexuality was suggested in the data. Teachers or NGOs could offer this parental training by running this same programme for adults. These two additional programmes, parents and peers, could be the focus of a second phase of training and resource development to follow and support the SRE programme this research
seeks to support. The SRE programme will incorporate information on how to support and include parents while their adolescents undertake the SRE programme (8.4).

- Supporting educators to develop the sorts of qualities identified by aronga mapu in this study will be fundamental to the professional development that will be activated alongside the SRE programme. Recognising that ongoing professional development is necessary rather than one-off experiences (Haberland & Rogow, 2015), educators will need support to develop the sorts of qualities identified by aronga mapu. For those educators unable to attend the professional development, background information in the SRE will provide some information on what kind of environment most supports the successful implementation of the programme (8.1-8.6).

- Lovers, with whom you *practice* sex, were identified as a valuable way of gaining knowledge. To be able to work with this finding, the SRE programme and professional development will develop sex-positive understandings and lessons so that educators can reconfigure how they, typically, view young people as non-sexual or, if they are interested in sex, needing restraint and control (Dailey, 1997; Harden, 2014; Williams et al., 2013) (Activities 4, 10, 12, 18).

### 5.5 Sexual Activity

This section examines the questions related to the sexual experiences of aronga mapu, in particular, whether they had been sexually active, if they had been, to what level and how many sexual partners they had had. These questions would be contextually important for targeting teaching and learning activities in the SRE programme related to the common experiences of aronga mapu.

The questionnaire asked participants if they had been sexually active. The responses in Table G illustrate that most participants (77% n=518) in this...
study had been sexually active. Comparing the responses in Table G with NZ, the CIs closest neighbour, indicates that the CIs percentages are markedly higher than those in NZ. In the Youth’12: Health and wellbeing of New Zealand secondary school students study, 25% of male students and 24% of female high school students reported ever having had sex, while 18% of male students and 19% of female students reported being currently sexually active (Clark et al., 2013). The difference could be explained in the understanding of what ‘ever having had sex’ meant to the participants. The NZ cohort may have interpreted the question as only intercourse / penetrative sex, whereas the CIs participants were given a broader understanding of what ‘being sexually active’ might constitute.

5.5.1 Sexual Activity by Age and Gender

Table G offers an age and gender breakdown of those who had been sexually active with a partner at the time of the questionnaire. Almost all of the 20-24 year olds had been sexually active, as had almost 80% of the 15-19 year old males. In comparison, only 65% of the 15-19 year old females had been sexually active with a partner. This suggests that the older females could be active with younger, as well as the same aged men. Only 8.5% of the 20-24 year old females had not engaged in sexual activity, while for males of the same age it was slightly higher at 13%. Within the 15-19 year old cohort, 36% of females had not had sex while it was correspondingly lower for males at 22%.

Table G. Sexually Active / Not Sexually Active by Age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Please tick the statement that applies to you</th>
<th>Female 15-19</th>
<th>Male 15-19</th>
<th>Female 20-24</th>
<th>Male 20-24</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I have been sexually active with a partner</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>91.5%</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have not been sexually active with a partner</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>8.5%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This rate of sexual activity sits at odds with what might be believed of the sexual activity of aronga mapu given the influential roles of dominant
knowledge systems such as Christianity, conservative education, and Western patriarchal attitudes that prohibit young people from being sexual beings and which have traditionally discouraged sexual activity before marriage, particularly for women (Allen et al., 2014; Ama, 2003; Fields et al., 2015; Garcia, Seibold-Simpson, Massey, & Merriwether, 2015; Holmes, 2014b; Linneman, 2004; Renold, 2005; Wallis & VanEvery, 2000). These responses offer an insight into the complexity of the interconnecting influences and differing roles young people juggle and negotiate. Such influences are varied and on occasion, conflicting, becoming forces, that constrain, as well as potentially emancipate, aronga mapu.

Some of consequences of the level of sexual activity of aronga mapu identified in Table G can be seen through the statistics of teenage pregnancy. Ten to fifteen percent of all babies born in the CIs are to mothers under the age of 19 (Cook Islands Ministry of Health, 2012). Comparing NZ’s teenage pregnancy rate to other Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries, they rank as the second highest of the thirty four countries in the OECD, with 28 births per 1000 in 2013 (Families Commission, 2011; Pawar, Jackson, & McPherson, 2014; Social Policy Evaluation and Research Unit, 2015). In comparison the CIs rate of teenage pregnancy, not listed in the OECD figures, was more than double that of NZ’s at 70 births per 1000 women aged 15-19 years in 2005, hitting a peak in 2009 of 86 per 1000. In recent years the numbers have stayed constant around 70 per 1000$^{93}$ (Cook Islands Ministry of Health, 2015; Tutai-van Eijik, 2007).$^{94}$ In comparison, if the CIs were part of the OECD, their aronga mapu pregnancy rate would be more than double the highest ranked OECD country, the United States, who have 30 births per 1000 women aged 15-19 (Social Policy Evaluation and Research Unit, 2015). The data exemplifies the need to incorporate teaching and learning activities that address the underlying causes of young pregnancies (be it ignorance, forced sex, or something else) in the SRE programme (Activities 10, 12, 13, 16). This will include activities

$^{93}$ 2012 was 69, 2013 was 67. In 2014 teenage pregnancy dropped to 52 per 1000.
$^{94}$ Any babies born in the CIs to young women under the age of 15 are added into the 15-19 age group, making it difficult to know exact figures, as well as numbers of those younger than 15 years of age having babies (Cook Islands Government & UNICEF, 2004).
that help understand planning for sexual activity and the range of possible outcomes of sexual activities, whilst also considering that some young people choose to be parents at a young age (Hindin-Millar & Hibbert, 2015).

Table H further examines the data in Table G by analysing sexual activity by gender as it offers a distinctive view of the data. Table H indicates that of all those that answered they had not been sexually active with a partner, females outnumber males (female 63% cf 37% males) and that the younger participants were less likely to have been sexually active. Of all the females who answered they had not been sexually active with a partner, 88% were 15-19 and 12% 20-24. Of all the males who responded they had not been sexually active with a partner, 77% were 15-19, and 23% were 20-24.

Table H. Sexually Active / Not Sexually Active by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sexually active / not sexually active</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Female Total</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Male Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15-19 years</td>
<td>20-24 years</td>
<td>15-19 years</td>
<td>20-24 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have been sexually active with a partner</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have not been sexually active with a partner</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In contrast, of all those that answered that they had been sexually active, the gender analysis was fairly even, 53% female cf 47% male. Of the total number of females who responded they had been sexually active, 54% were 15-19 and 46% were 20-24, while for the males there was a significant difference with the younger males: 64% 15-19 and 36% the 20-14 year olds.

Within the focus group discussions both male and female participants shared their stories related to being sexually active. They also discussed the challenges they experienced from their peer group if they were not. Aronga mapu often reported that they felt fear of revealing their sexually active status to their parents / caregivers and that they typically only shared that they were
sexually active when something went wrong and they needed help. When families realised that aronga mapu were sexually active or pregnant a range of responses occurred. Some were rejected by their families, or were forced to participate in ‘normalising’ activities such as being forced into marriage, being made to live with a partner when they did not want to, sent away from their home to live with family overseas (to save family embarrassment) or some were beaten. Ripeka shares an example that typified a ‘coming out’ situation in the focus groups:

Ripeka: I wasn’t allowed to go out with boys and it wasn’t until I got pregnant that they found out I was ... [that] is when the family stepped in and said we both had to stay home, but he [the boyfriend] didn’t feel like he should listen. They wanted us both at home – soon after that he was going out, we had this newborn family and he was going out and my family had to step in... but he didn't listen to my parents and do something ... he knows when he goes out, knowing he does all that he wants [have sex with others], and he knows at the back of his mind: whatever I do tonight I will still have my baby and my girlfriend.

(CIFWA)

Table H provides evidence that young women are participating in sexual activity and therefore are resisting the dominant discourses associated with being a young woman in the CIs. This is interesting considering that CIs femininity is strongly associated with being demure and virtuous, through the patriarchal colonial and postcolonial influences of education and Christianity (Alexeyeff & Besnier, 2014).

Tables G and H also identify the number of young people not sexually active and clarify the gendered difference of those not participating in sex. Younger females (15-19) were twice as likely as their male counterparts to be sexually inactive. The focus group discussions offered some insights into the
repercussions for young people if they are not sexually active. Participants shared that there was considerable peer pressure to be sexually active or risk being socially isolated. In response to a question where the group was asked why people get into relationships, the group below discussed the pressures and expectations placed on them by their peers to be sexual:

DFP: So, tell me why do young people get into relationships?

Tata: To have sex..

Tangata: You have to … (laughter from the whole group)

DFP: So, you feel you have too?

Unanimous: Yeah …

DFP: I'm interested in that comment because some people feel like they have to but they don't want to… do you think that happens?

In unison from the whole group: Yes

DFP: So there is a lot of peer pressure on you to have sex and to be in a relationship with someone?

Group: Yeah (unanimous).

(CISA)

To be seen to be doing what everyone else is doing, or what is perceived other people are doing, is something that they felt they could not resist. This was indicated when they agreed with me that people get into relationships even when they do not want to.

The questionnaire revealed that many aronga mapu are sexually active and the focus groups revealed complexity in the reasons aronga mapu might be active. This complexity will be recognised in the SRE, for example, the conflicting pressures young people experience from their families to not be
sexually active, and from their peers, to be sexually active can be examined in developing responses to scenarios that ask young people to problem solve ways that they could respond, speak to, and act in different situations (Activities 3, 5, 10, 12, 15, 16, 16) (Haberland & Rogow, 2015; Vanwesenbeeck et al., 2016). The skills to respond strongly to scenarios around decision making to be, or not to be, sexually active will be similar skills to those needed if there are disagreements in sexual relationships.

5.5.2 Sexual Activity and Relationships
Young people often cited sexual activity and control issues as the basis of arguments in their relationships. In the questionnaire most of the respondents who said they had arguments were female (62% cf 38%). Both males and females most commonly reported arguments that were concerned with the physical aspects of sex, for example:

‘when they are so rough’ (female 15-19)
‘them forcing it’ (male 15-19)
‘go easy, go slowly’ (female 15-19)
‘who is going on top’ (female 15-19, male 15-19, female 20-24)
‘how to make it enjoyable for both partners’ (male, 20-24)
‘ejaculation ([sex] too short)’ (female 20-24)
‘how big my cock is’ (male 20-24)

While some of the responses above indicate alternative constructions of male and female sexualities such as, a male desiring enjoyment for both partners, or a female stating her preferred position for sex, others support conventional understandings of sexualities (Martino & Pallotta-Chiarolli, 2007). Some other responses were linked to arguing about condoms, such as: wanting a partner to use them, not having them, not wanting to use them, or not wanting to get [N=161.]

Allen (2005) suggests that young men’s interest in mutual pleasure is not always positive as it could be determining their sexual prowess and therefore linked to ideal Western masculinity discourse.
While every person who answered this question responded differently, to get a sense of the key ideas presented, a thematic analysis of the responses was completed. Six themes were then identified from the responses and are represented by gender in Table I. The responses show that both genders fairly evenly identified some level of discontent about: when and where to have sex, using contraception, and desire for sex. The themes that related to: feeling pressured about sex, relationship issues, or a physical aspect of sex (such as those mentioned above), revealed gender divergence with females identifying displeasure more than double the rate of males.

Table I. Arguments about Sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>If you have any arguments about sex, what do you argue about?</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Males</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Timing (when and where)</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contraception (condoms / pregnancy)</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incompatible libido (not enough sex / too often)</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feeling pressure to have sex</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationship issues (such as cheating or one night stands)</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical aspects of sex</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What cannot be known by the data in Table I is whether or not the issues identified related to the respondent themselves, or to a partner, for example when a person mentioned that they argue over how often to have sex, was it that they wanted sex more often, or was it their partner who wanted sex more often? What can be seen however is that both genders mentioned these areas as situations where there was discontent in their intimate relationships.

Therefore, the responses offer an insight into some of the disputes young people have in their sexual encounters, and an avenue for supporting them by

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97 Nobody mentioned STI’s directly, although, not wanting to get a STI could have been the reason for wanting to use a condom. Increasing condom use in the Pacific has been the focus of many interventions however research has shown that until cultural understandings are incorporated into interventions change is unlikely (McMillan & Worth, 2011; Secretariat of the Pacific Community, 2010; UNFPA et al., 2015).
teaching them relationship skills to manage negotiation and conflict generally and also specifically with regard to these issues (Haberland & Rogow, 2015; Haberland et al., 2009; Ollis et al., 2013; Sanjakdar et al., 2015) (Activities 4, 12, 15, 17).

5.5.3 Sexual Partners

Another question specifically asked participants when they first had either vaginal or anal sex. Almost all of the participants (93%) had experienced at least one penetrative sexual experience. Forty percent of these experiences happened before participants were 14 years old. Although the median age of initial sex for females was 15, the median age of sexual debut for males was 14. Participants were also asked to identify how many sexual partners they had in their lifetime and to give their best estimate if they could not remember. Table J represents the average number of sex partners participants had by age and gender and the standard deviation within each age range.

Table J. Number of Sex Partners in Lifetime

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of sex partners in lifetime</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female Total</th>
<th>Male Total</th>
<th>Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average number of sex partners</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard Deviation of number of partners in lifetime</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Complicating these figures were the number of sexual partners among respondents that they had which ranged between zero and 100. Nineteen people said they had between 30 and 90 partners (five females and 14 males); one female and one male said they had been with 100 partners while 30 females and eight males left the answer blank and five females and one male answered that they had never had a partner. While the average number of sex partner's was 7.7, when analysed by gender males averaged 9.6 partners and females 6.1 partners. These figures sit differently to the
responses given to Q18, which asked how many girlfriends or boyfriends participants had ever had. The responses are outlined in Table K.

Table K. Number of Girlfriends or Boyfriends Ever Had

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How many girlfriends / boyfriends have you ever had?</th>
<th>15-19 years</th>
<th>20-24 years</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 boyfriend / girlfriend</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>19.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 or more boyfriend / girlfriend</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>542</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blank</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&lt;1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>431</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>674</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Aronga mapu distinguish between a sexual partner and a boy/girlfriend. By comparing tables, J and K more participants have had sexual partners (93%) than have had boyfriends or girlfriends (80%). The design of this question was meant to ascertain how sexual relationships were undertaken, in ‘relationships,’ or in some other format. In asking this question it was thought that having a girlfriend or boyfriend would give an indication of the number of intimate, but not necessarily sexual, relationships young people have had. It was anticipated that young people would have more girl/boyfriends than sexual partners. This hypothesis was based on knowledge of the conservative CIs context and that young people may have relationships, or partners that they were not sexual with, before they entered into sexual partnerships. Tables J and K suggest that this is not the case. The responses indicate that aronga mapu partake in sexual activity outside of ‘relationships’ which could be situations known as one-night-stands, hook ups, or casual sex. Other scholars have identified casual sex as part of young people’s culture in the CIs (Alexeyeff, 2009a; Beaglehole & Beaglehole, 1938; Vini, 2003) as well as other cultures (Harris & Bartlow, 2015; Paul, McManus, & Hayes, 2000). These figures could also indicate some of the forced sex that aronga mapu reported in this study (6.4). This early sexual behaviour may be influenced in part by CIs culture where in pre-missionary times polygamy was the norm rather than the monogamy that is expected today (Ama, 2003). Nevertheless,
that aronga mapu have multiple partners' sits at odds with dominant discourses persuasive in current CIs culture. Consequently, young people customarily have secret liaisons, a notion called moe totoro / sleep crawling. Moe totoro occurred historically but could be continuing into contemporary times, although it has perhaps evolved as other venues are available as possible meeting points that were not previously available, such as nightclubs, clubhouses and bars (Alexeyeff, 2009a; Aratangi, 1998; Beaglehole & Beaglehole, 1938; Robati-Mani & Percival, 2010; Vini, 2003). Alexeyeff (2009a) discusses this concept indicating that there are gendered aspects to this behaviour:

Many young people are visited by their boyfriend or girlfriend (or someone they just met) in the night; the practice is called tomo are (literally, breaking into the house). Usually (but not exclusively) it is men who visit women, who in turn may accept or reject the men's advances. ..... To a certain extent, visiting is expected of men; it is a sign of their sexual prowess. Women engaging in the same behavior are subject to far more intense gossip and negative evaluations of their character.

(Alexeyeff, 2009a, pp. 86-87)

It could also be that the data in Tables J and K offers an insight into a situation called 'tap and gap' that featured in focus group discussions. 'Tap and gap' is where sex is a casual, or one off, encounter and is a CIs colloquial term for a one-night stand - where you have sex and then 'gap it' (a NZ term used when meaning 'to leave'). These 'tap and gap' experiences will be discussed further in Square Six. This finding indicates that the SRE programme needs to consider, and address, multiple types of sexual encounters that do not necessarily occur within established relationships (Activities 4, 5, 18).

That young people in the CIs participate in sex without being in relationships is an important finding from this study for educators to understand. Many SRE programmes encourage young people to wait for sex until they are in a
(serious / stable) relationship. It is important that educators are aware that aronga mapu do not necessarily wait to be in relationships to have sex. Most participants had a number of sexual partners while they were still of school age and before the age of 14 years. As illustrated in the literature review (2.4), many traditional sexuality education programmes take a conservative view around sexual intimacy (Gard & Pluim, 2014; Iyler & Aggleton, 2015; Kirby, Obasi, & Laris, 2006; Naz, 2014). When comparing the number of aronga mapu that have had no boy/girlfriends (19%), with those that have never had penetrative sex, of which only 1% (or 6.5% if the blank / unanswered responses are also taken as no sexual partners), it is then apparent that focusing the education of young people on sexual encounters that occur only within romantic or on-going relationships is in conflict with the reality of the sexual scene for young people in the CIs. Allen (2000) argues that youth value knowledge gained from experience. This study verified that aronga mapu in the CIs also value knowledge gained from experience, therefore tap and gapping, could be one of the ways that aronga mapu gain knowledge about sex. It could be that casual sex may also be part of the way(s) in which aronga mapu form relationships. Garcia et. al (2015) argue that ‘casual sex is sometimes a courting practice in and of itself’ (p. 205). They suggest that ‘the majority of both men and women are motivated to engage in hook ups … and often desire (and sometimes develop) a longer-term romantic relationship’ (p. 217). Subsequently casual sex could be both a way to gain knowledge, as well as a way of deciding if someone is worthy of becoming a partner. To design a SRE programme that approached sexual activity only through abstinence or within a stable relationship is therefore not appropriate within this context. The SRE programme needs to depart from this traditional approach and incorporate a range of different scenarios about sexual activities into the lessons.

The Cook Islands Health and Physical Wellbeing Curriculum (CIHPWBC) does not indicate a year level that education around sexual activity should begin. It does, however, expect that teachers will base their programmes on the needs of students; an expectation of best practice programmes (Cook Islands Ministry of Education, 2006; UNESCO, 2009; UNFPA et al., 2015).
The high number of aronga mapu sexually active by the time they are 14 in the CIs supports the argument for beginning sexuality education early. The literature suggests that young people need this information before they become sexually active (Haberland & Rogow, 2015; Kirby, 2007b; Kirby et al., 2011; Kirby & Laris, 2009; UNESCO, 2009; UNFPA et al., 2015).

5.5.3.1 Concurrent Relationships
In addition to the high number of sexually active aronga mapu is the finding that one in five respondents had more than one sexual partner at a time in the previous 12 months.

Table L. Concurrent Relationships

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In the last 12 months have you had <strong>more than ONE sexual relationship at the same time</strong>, that is, overlapping relationships?</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>133</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Twenty percent of the participants were involved in more than two sexual relationships at the same time. Concurrent relationships were also confirmed as a major theme of emotional discord within relationships in the focus group conversations. In the focus groups aronga mapu identified the skills to navigate this complex terrain as important for the SRE (also confirmed in Table I). Table L suggests the need to incorporate lessons where young people consider, as well as learn to negotiate, multiple relationships as another important aspect to the SRE programme (Activities 5, 18). Debating and considering the ideas related to concurrent relationships will be addressed in the SRE programme using a scenario that was shared in the focus groups (Activity 18). If concurrent relationships are not openly discussed, or honestly entered into, they can incur emotional risks and physical risks, especially as, of those that indicated that they had multiple partners, only 15% used a condom every time they had sex (Sheff, 2005; UNAIDS, 2011).
The data in this section stitches into the sexuality tivaevae the need to begin sexuality education at primary school. Customarily, within the patriarchal heteronormative social context of the CIs, aronga mapu are expected to wait until an ‘appropriate’ age (known as ‘age and stage’ theory), and to be in a long term relationship, if not married, before having sex (Gunn & Smith, 2015a, p. 9; Hindin-Millar & Hibbert, 2015). While most participants were sexually active, only eleven of the 674 participants were married — six females and five males. While not much social commentary occurs about young men being sexually active, as this is expected and therefore normative, sexual activity is not condoned for young women. However, as can be seen from the data, young women successfully negotiate their way around these dominant and gendered constructs. Young people are also negotiating their way around the hegemonic discourse of heterosexual monogamous relationships.

5.5.4 Sex Activity and Control

In an attempt to discover the skills young people felt they did or did not have in their relationships, a set of questions was asked about ‘control’. The first question asked young people what control they felt they had over three aspects of their sexual lives: ‘kinds of sexual activity’, ‘contraception’, and ‘when to have sex’.

Table M. What Do you Feel You Have Control Over?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What do you feel you have control over?</th>
<th>None N</th>
<th>Some N</th>
<th>Lots N</th>
<th>Total N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kinds of sexual activity</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>47</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>447</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contraception</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>72</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>447</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When to have sex</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>447</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

98 Also known as elementary.
The responses show that more than 60% of participants felt they had ‘lots’ of control about the amount, and the type(s), of sexual activity they took part in, as well as their use of contraception. Each of these three categories: sexual activity, contraception and, when to have sex, are analysed using age and gender in Tables N-O. The results reported in these tables suggest teaching and learning activities for the SRE programme.

Although Table M revealed that most aronga mapu responded that they had ‘lots’ of control over they types of sexual activity they had, Table N shows that more than half (females 56%, males 59%) of the 15-19 year olds felt that they had ‘no’, or only ‘some’, control over the kinds of sexual activity they had. By the time participants are older the figures reduce (males 36%, females 37%) indicating they have more control. When checking for significance, there were no significant differences between males and females and control over sexual activity (p = 0.898).  

Table N. Control Over Sexual Activity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kinds of sexual activity</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15-19 years N</td>
<td>20-24 years N</td>
<td>Female Total N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No control</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some control</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lots of control</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>374</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This data shows that aronga mapu, in the 15-19 age group particularly, need the opportunity to explore and understand the role(s) of power in

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99 The question of control over sexual activity violated the assumption of equal variances and as such a Mann-Whitney U test was conducted. Mann-Whitney U test shows no significant differences between males and females on control of sexual activity. Males were not different from females.
relationships. Exploring power and control within the SRE programme involves developing relationship skills such as, critical thinking, decision-making, negotiation, and communication skills (Activities 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 11, 15, 16, 17).

Other than sexual activity, contraception was another area where most participants felt they didn’t have control. Table O signposts that just under half (45%) of the younger females, and just over half of the younger males (61%), had ‘no’, or only ‘some’, control over contraception use, although a T-Test showed that females have significantly more control of contraception use than males (p = 0.001). The responses of the older females reflected that they felt they had more control over contraception although only just over half (64%) of the participants in this age group answered that they had ‘lots’ of control. These findings correspond with a 2006 study implemented with antenatal women in the CIs. The study found that two thirds of pregnancies were unplanned, and that less than half of women (46%) that were not trying to get pregnant, used any form of contraception prior to getting pregnant, and that almost half (46%) of the 15-24 year olds in the study had a STI100 (Cook Islands Ministry of Health & Secretariat of the Pacific Community, 2007). With strikingly different numbers, only 38% of the males in the older 20-24 groups said they had ‘lots’ of control over contraception use. These findings correspond to the responses to the sexual knowledge questions (Tables C-E). Although almost all participants responded in Table C that they had knowledge of how to use a condom, the data in Table N indicates that although they have this knowledge, it doesn’t necessarily transfer into practice. Most participants indicated in Table C that they had little knowledge of how you get pregnant, or how to avoid a STI, and what can be verified through the responses to these ‘control’ questions, is the limited level of control participants feel they have in using contraception. This finding provides some insight into why the pregnancy and STI rates are high, and that how to negotiate the use of contraception is a key area to be addressed in the

100 Indicating no condom usage.
SRE programme (Activities, 13, 14).\textsuperscript{101}

Table O. Control of Contraception

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contraception</th>
<th>Female N</th>
<th>Male N</th>
<th>Grand Total N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15-19 years</td>
<td>20-24 years</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No control</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some control</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lots of control</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>374</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Having little control over contraception is connected to the findings of another question which asked participants if they used contraception and to give one answer from a possible three responses: ‘yes’, ‘no’, or ‘don’t know’. Less than half (46%) of the participants responded that they used contraception, 42% do not, and 11% were unsure.\textsuperscript{102} Again, these responses are in contrast to the responses in Table C, where participants considered they were most knowledgeable about ‘how to put on a condom’. These two findings, shared alongside each other, indicate that there is a knowledge / behaviour gap between ‘knowing’ and ‘doing’ which has been identified as common by other researchers working in other contexts (Allen, 2000, 2011b; Cook Islands Ministry of Health & Secretariat of the Pacific Community, 2007; Iyler & Aggleton, 2015; Kempner, 2003; Kirby, 1985, 2007a; Marston & King, 2004; McKee et al., 2014; UNESCO, 2009; Varani-Norton, 2014).

\textsuperscript{101} Most common contraception’s used in the CIs are condoms and the contraceptive pill (Cook Islands Family Welfare Association, 2015).

\textsuperscript{102} A potential misunderstanding of this question could have been that participants thought the question was asking not necessarily if they themselves, used contraception. The question could possibly have been interpreted, as whether their sexual encounter(s) used contraception in which they may have been unsure if their partner(s) wore condoms or were using another form of contraception, and therefore answered accordingly.
In further exploring sexual activity, participants were asked to decide how much control they felt they had about ‘when to have sex’ (Table P). The responses in Table P support a theme that emerged from the focus groups and demonstrates that young women in the CIs appear to have as much control over when to have sex as the males in the study. When interpreting the data by age, 58% of the 15-19 females responded that they had ‘lots of control’ over when to have sex, and 45% of the males the same age felt the same way. Females in the older 20-24 group also responded that they had more control with 65% saying they had ‘lots of control’ and it was lower at 53% for men.

Table P. Control of When to Have Sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>When to have sex</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th></th>
<th>Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15-19 years</td>
<td>20-24 years</td>
<td>Female Total</td>
<td>15-19 years</td>
<td>20-24 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No control</td>
<td>51 (22%)</td>
<td>2 (1%)</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>33 (17%)</td>
<td>10 (10%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some control</td>
<td>47 (20%)</td>
<td>45 (32%)</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>75 (38%)</td>
<td>37 (36.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lots of control</td>
<td>135 (58%)</td>
<td>91 (65%)</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>90 (45%)</td>
<td>54 (53.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fifty five percent of the younger male group and 42% of the younger female group reported 'no', or 'only some' control over when to have sex. The older female group had developed more control of when to have sex as the percentage dropped to 33% of the respondents that had ‘no’, or ‘only some’ control. Whereas for the older males almost half (46%) still felt they had ‘no’ or only ‘some’ control over when to have sex. It appears then, that women, in both age groups, control when to have sex in the CIs which challenges ideas about CIs masculinity and femininity where men are considered sexually assertive and females submissive (Alexeyeff, 2009a). This finding could signal that CIs women have somehow retained (pre-missionary) cultural values
where ‘libertarian sexual freedom’ was afforded to youth of both sexes (Frisbie, 1937; Mason, 2003a, p. 233; Vini, 2003). Agency therefore enables young women to resist common hegemonic expectations that they should not be interested in sex and should resist sexual advances (at least until they are married at which time they should become compliant). Such resistance affords them the kind of sexual agency Lamont talked about when living on the island of Tongareva in the early 1850s. In his book, *Wildlife among the Pacific Islanders*, Lamont speaks of women being able to signal their sexual desires and availability by going to the beach at night, where others were congregated, and holding a piece of coconut husk in their hand (Lamont, 1867: 1994). The findings in Table P indicate performances of gender that do not conform to contemporary CIs hegemonic understandings of masculinities or femininities (Alexeyeff, 2009a). The responses provide examples of resistant and alternative sexual subjectivities and endorse the complexities inherent in young people’s sexual identities (Allen, 2005c).

### 5.5.5 If, When, How: Summary

The findings in this section clearly show that aronga mapu in the CIs conceptualise themselves as sexual subjects. The level of sexual activity, number of partners, and the level of concurrent partners, alongside the responses about the level of control participants had about ‘when’ and ‘how’ to have sex, as well as their use of ‘contraception’, reveal a complex picture of CIs aronga mapu sexuality. In both the questionnaire responses and the focus groups (explored further in Square Six), there are examples of young Cook Islanders (re)negotiating conventional gender subjectivities and reworking hegemonic discourses about sex and relationships as well as examples of where these traditional understandings go unchallenged. Section five has shown some of the complexities that aronga mapu navigate in the CIs sexual activity landscape. While the overt designs on the sexuality tivaevae, such as the finding that most aronga mapu are sexually active, are easily seen by the eye, the subtle work of the stitching is much like the invisible work that aronga mapu are achieving as they (re)negotiate the way traditional sexual encounters occur, while also keeping hegemonic facades in place.
The findings indicate that aronga mapu require multiple opportunities to consider, learn and practice, the complex skills associated with decision-making, problem solving, negotiation, and communication, in sexual liaisons if SRE is going to be meaningful (Allen, 2005c; Ollis, 2015) (Activities 3–7, 10–13, 15-18). However such an approach, that assumes aronga mapu are sexually active and which teach the intricate skills involved with sexual activity, is often highly contentious – as it challenges heteronormative, cultural, and patriarchal discourses (Alexeyeff, 2009a; Allen, 2008b; Carrera et al., 2012; Curran, Chiarolli, & Pallotta-Chiarolli, 2009; Dailey, 1997; L. Smith & Gunn, 2015). Such an approach is known as a sex positive approach and teaches SRE that is non-judgemental as well as teaching about ‘pleasurable, rewarding and nonprocreative aspects of sex’ (Harden, 2014; Williams et al., 2013, p. 273). The findings so far encourage incorporating activities into the SRE that stimulate discussion about whether or not youth think ‘taking risks’ might be ‘worth it’ (Gilbert, 2014) (Activity 12).

When discussing the difficulties they experience in relationships, members of every focus group described the normalcy of (adult and) aronga mapu multiple, as well as concurrent, relationships. Most often a discussion around fidelity ensued and discussion of the emotional, and sometimes physical, altercations that arose from finding out your partner was ‘cheating’. The term polyamory was never discussed by aronga mapu, however, given the frequency of simultaneous relationships in the CIs, it will be useful to include a polyamory scenario in the SRE programme (Activity 18). Polyamorous people openly engage in romantic / sexual relationships with multiple people concurrently and the emphasis is on long-term, emotionally intimate relationships with a focus on honesty (Sheff, 2005).103 The use of such a scenario could stimulate critical thinking about alternative possibilities in concurrent relationships. They could debate and consider why concurrent relationships occur as well as who is advantaged or disadvantaged when they are entered into without open communication. A learning opportunity such as this may allow youth the tools to analyse critically the perceived hegemonic

103 Both men and women have access to additional partners in polyamorous relationships, distinguishing them from polygamy.
heterosexual monogamous marriage expectation with another CIs normalised practice of multiple concurrent albeit, 'secretive' relationships. Completing activities such as these will help aronga mapu consider about what type(s) of relationships they may (or may not) want to partake in.

5.6 Sexual and Relationship Desires
The final section in Square Five explores aronga mapu responses to questions related to their attitudes about sex, sexual desire, and how they express their desires within sexual encounters.

5.6.1 Attitudes to Sex and Relationships
To examine young people’s attitudes about sex participants were given a list of fifteen possible attitudes about sexual activity. Participants could agree or disagree with each of the statements about sex on the list. Participants were encouraged to choose as many from the list as they wanted to. To analyse this data, each comment was separated and if chosen by a participant it was given a ‘1’. In this way, the most common attitudes to sex were determined and these were then analysed by gender.

Males most commonly picked ‘[sex] is something which is fun’. The most common response for females was that sexual activity ‘[sex] is a loving experience’. These two responses offer a glimpse of the gender divide and gendered expectations and behaviours amongst the participants. In common CIs discourse, females are expected to attach emotion to sex, or wait until they are with someone who will love them and males are afforded far more freedom and can be more relaxed about their sexual encounters, so that sex can be ‘fun’. These common discourses play out in the responses to this question. When the responses were sorted by age the 15-19 aronga mapu most often picked ‘[sex] is something which is fun’ and the older group consensus was ‘[sex] is pleasurable’ - which could also be regarded as a form of fun.

104 ('It' refers to sex). They could agree or disagree with comments such as: It [sex] is something which is fun, It is to be taken seriously by both partners, It is risky, It is over rated, It increases your status amongst your friends, It is pleasurable, It indicates your commitment to someone, It should be reserved for marriage, It is a loving experience, I do it to please my partner, I do it purely for my own satisfaction, I do it because my friends are doing it, It is disgusting and animal like, It is private and intimate, It is embarrassing.
Having sex for pleasure was also confirmed in the focus group discussions. All groups agreed that being able to have sex was the main reason people got into relationships. Discourse around how sex is normalised in CIs culture was shared in all groups:

CISA: [we want sex because] we are human

Rotoract: because it [sex] is necessary

TTA: [we want relationships] for sex on tap

CIRC: it’s [sex] a natural instinct

CIFWA: everyone likes to be kissed and cuddled

The still at school groups also stated that sex was the reason most got into relationships. In the OISG the girls said that sex was especially important for boys. When I asked the boys if this was true they all laughed hysterically while clapping and looking at each other and in unison said ‘yes’.

Other traditional ideas about emotional attachments in relationships came through in the focus groups with comments such as: ‘they like each other’, ‘its about feelings’, ‘to feel’, or ‘to be loved’ being mentioned in relation to sex by all groups. All groups mentioned the concept, or emotion, ‘love’; and although this was never defined, it appeared that people in the groups understood the concept. When speaking about love nobody queried what love was and the conversation flowed with body language supporting the idea that people got into relationships as they were ‘in love’.

Other emotions, besides love, were also discussed. Having a ‘sense of belonging’ to someone, or ‘feeling valued’, was articulated as a reason young people wanted to be in relationships. These responses indicate that aronga

105 In the CIs this was a highly unusual situation - where young people can say to an adult that they are interested in sex.
mapu identified being in relationships as supportive to their self-esteem and self worth. Responses to the question of why young people want to be in relationships that were typical were:

CISA: [relationships] Can make you feel good about yourself

TTA: [to] Make you feel beautiful

Rotoract: You feel accepted

Rotoract: I just need someone to be with me, to talk to, company, to be accepted

CIRC: Parents broke up [I clarified: ‘so you seek support somewhere else?] ‘yeah’

CIFWA: You want to have someone in your life that is yours

OISG: Feeling wanted

TTA: Someone to talk to

CIFWA: Honesty, loyalty, respect

As well as having sex, the notions of love, feeling desired, connection and attraction were perceptions that aronga mapu identified as the benefits of being in relationships. The questionnaire identified most participants see sex as something ‘that is fun’ and ‘pleasurable’. These ideas of love, desire and attraction, and sex for pleasure, are rarely incorporated into SRE programmes (Allen, 2007, 2012; Fine, 1988, 2003; Fine & McClelland, 2006; J. Hirst, 2013; Rasmussen, 2013; Rasmussen, Rofes, & Talburt, 2004). These findings inform the SRE programme sections that facilitate an exploration of concepts such of love, desire, pleasure and attraction (Activity 5). SRE activities allow aronga mapu to explore these concepts from a physiological, as well as psychological standpoint and to investigate the way that society portrays sex, love, desire and attraction and what this might mean in terms of their own ideas and feelings.
Responses to questions about relationships highlighted the idea that aronga mapu associated relationships as bringing comfort, or adding something to their lives. Often mentioned was that a partner, or relationship, provided support, especially when something went wrong. Adding to these responses about relationships the questionnaire asked participants to rate themselves as a sexual partner. Participants were asked to choose three words from a list of fifteen to describe themselves as a sexual partner. They were asked to choose from: ‘fun loving’, ‘lustful’, ‘lazy’, ‘raunchy’, ‘dominant’, ‘affectionate’, ‘spontaneous’, ‘loving’, ‘gentle’, ‘impatient’, ‘humorous’, ‘kinky’, ‘romantic’, ‘caring’ or ‘assertive’. In analysing the responses, the first word chosen by a participant was taken as their first preference, the second word their second preference, and so on.

‘Fun loving’, ‘loving’, and ‘caring’ were the most frequently chosen descriptors participants chose to describe themselves in their sexual relationships. There were almost no gender differences in the way participants responded. Only the third preference differed, in which males were divided between seeing themselves as ‘romantic’, and ‘caring’, with equal numbers for both. The descriptions afforded here by the participants of themselves as sexual partners provide evidence that counteract the way young people are often seen as too immature for ‘real’ relationships or that they are just in relationships for sex and nothing more. Young men who identify themselves as ‘loving’, ‘caring’, and ‘romantic’ encourage alternative narratives about aronga mapu sexual subjectivities and destabilises hegemonic understandings of masculinity in the CIs. Young men identifying themselves as such signifies a resistance to hegemonic masculinities where men are expected to be uninterested in the emotional aspects of relationships and perpetually ready (and able) for sex (Sexton, 2015; Town, 1999) This decentering of sexual activity reveals the complexity and fluidity operating within hegemonic masculinity and offers insights into how young CIs men may be misrepresented in the way they are often perceived. The findings from this question will transfer into the SRE programme by providing learning experiences that explore gender roles and stereotypes (Activity 3).
5.6.2 Relationship Desire
The literature argues that it is important to develop skills and strategies for young people to stay emotionally, mentally, and physically safe through comprehensive and ongoing SRE programmes (Haberland et al., 2009; Iyler & Aggleton, 2015; Kirby, 1985; Secretariat of the Pacific Community, 2015; Sexuality Information and Education Council of the United States, 2004; UNESCO, 2009). Drawing upon these findings, and a desire to add to aronga mapu knowledge, skills, confidence and safety, SRE programmes should incorporate opportunities for exploring morals, ethics, and the wide range of beliefs and values that stem from parents, culture, religion and the wider community, as well as other aronga mapu, even if the cultural context may be unsettled by some aspects of this kind of comprehensive approach (Lamb, 2013; Rasmussen, 2010, 2013). Considering alternative viewpoints on a variety of different contexts in the SRE programme will be done using a ‘Critically Thinking About Sexuality Tivaevae’ template (Copy sheet 1). The tivaevae template will be divided and each section will represent a variety of different possible views. Young people, at the end of multiple lessons, will be asked to reflect and consider alternative viewpoints depending on the context of the lesson. For example, after taking part in a lesson about young people’s decision making on whether to be sexually active they might consider the messages they get from different viewpoints about young people being sexually active, such as what would their friends / peers, parents, church, school, social media, young people in other countries, say about this, and then what do they think. In this way socio-critical and socio-ecological perspectives will be incorporated into the programme.

5.6.3 Sexual Desire
The questionnaire asked young people how often they wanted to have sex in order to gather data that allowed an examination of how participants perceived their sexual subjectivity and how desire was embodied and enacted in the lives of aronga mapu. The response rate for this question was 99.5%. Only four participants\(^{106}\) declined to answer this question, which indicates the willingness of participants to see themselves as sexual subjects. They were

\(^{106}\) Three 20-24 year old women and one 15-19 year old male.
given four choices to respond to: ‘very often’, ‘sometimes’, ‘not often’ or ‘never’. The responses in Table Q provide an overview of the responses. Across the whole cohort, the most common response to how often they wanted sex was ‘sometimes’ (46%). Males and females in the 15-19 age group most commonly chose ‘sometimes’ as did the older group of females. However, males significantly differed from females on ratings of how often they wanted to have sex ($p = 0.000$). Most common for older males was ‘very often’.107 These responses suggest that an increased desire for sex appears to be correlated to age. These findings suggest that knowing about sex (74% of the participants learned about sex before the age of 14) does not necessarily link to increased desire for sex and that it is possibly maturity that has more impact. This finding could be used to counteract the argument against sexuality education that is sometimes voiced by the community in the CIs, such as if young people experience SRE that is not abstinence based then the programme is tantamount to encouraging aronga mapu to have sex. Arguments such as this, although stemming from adults who feel that they are safeguarding young people, illustrate how ‘desire and cultural anxiety are mapped onto adolescent bodies’ (McClelland & Fine, 2013, p. 12) often to the detriment of young people.

107 When analysing the combination of ‘sometimes’ and ‘very often’ by gender difference considerable differences were shown. Eighty two percent of the younger men ‘sometimes’ or ‘very often’ wanted sex compared to 50% for the same aged females. Gender differences in the older group were more parallel. Ninety two percent of men, and 81% of women, in the 20-24 age group ‘sometimes’, or ‘very often’, wanted sex. Thirty six percent of the older females ‘very often’ wanted sex. By comparison only 15% of the 15-19 year olds wanted sex ‘very often’. The responses for males was similar: 25% of 15-19 year old males ‘very often’ wanted sex and it was more than double with the older males at 53%.
Table Q. Sexual Desire

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How often do you want to have sex?</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15-19 years</td>
<td>20-24 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unspecified</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Often</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Often</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There was a gender difference in the number of those ‘never’ or ‘not often’ wanting sex. Women were more likely to ‘never’ or ‘not often’ want sex (37%) than men (14%). However, analysing responses by the age, 50% of the 15-19 females said they ‘never’ or ‘not often’ wanted to have sex compared to only 17% of younger aged men. In the older group 16% of women ‘never’ or ‘not often’ wanted sex compared to 8% in the 20-24 male age group. McClelland and Fine (2013) argue that there are cultural and individual assumptions made about how much desire is considered sufficient (or excessive). The next question attempts to investigate desire further.

As previously discussed (3.3.2.3, 3.3.2.4) there are sexual double standards associated with gender and sexual desire. Females in many countries are often socialised to be passive in their sexual relationships for fear of being interpreted as experienced and / or promiscuous, while men ‘should’ be all knowing about sex, experienced, the instigator of sex, and taking an assertive role (S. M. Jackson & Cram, 2003; McClelland & Fine, 2013). This is an accurate characterisation of sexual socialisation in the CIs. The question asked participants how they expressed sexual desire(s) to a partner to explore the skills aronga mapu had to negotiate this aspect of their intimate

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108 The question of control over how often do you want to have sex violated the assumption of equal variances and as such a Mann-Whitney U test was conducted. Mann-Whitney U test shows that males significantly differed from females on ratings of how often they wanted to have sex (p < .000). Males wanted to have sex significantly more often than females.

109 Questionnaire question number 51.
lives. Table R shows where participants were asked to pick one response that would best represent their lived experiences.

Table R. Expression of Sexual Desires

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How might you express your sexual desires to a partner you know well? Please pick one</th>
<th>Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blank</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By showing them what I like and want</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By telling them</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By telling them and showing them what I like</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don't express my sexual desires to my partner</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I wouldn't express my sexual desires to my partner</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>674</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Young people overwhelmingly responded positively about their ability to communicate their desires to their partners. Of the total number of participants, 567 (84%) answered that they would ‘show’, ‘tell’, or ‘tell and show’ their partners, their sexual desires.

Of those that ‘don’t’, or ‘wouldn’t’ share their desires, there were gendered responses which are shown in Table S. Females were represented in these two categories more than double that of males: ‘don’t’: 67% cf 33%, or ‘wouldn’t’: 70% cf 30% indicating the strong presence of both gender and cultural expectations that ‘good girls’ should not be knowledgeable or assertive when it comes to sex. Table S also reveals those that ‘don’t’ or ‘wouldn’t’ communicate their sexual desire(s) are more likely to be from the younger (15-19) age group.110

However, indicating the complexity of this landscape in the CIs, in direct contrast, the younger group was also more highly represented in the two categories related to having confidence in their ability to communicate their

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110 15-19 years: I don’t express my desire: females n=17, 12%; males n=12, 6%. 15-19 years: I wouldn’t express my desire: females n=28, 12%; males 8, 4%.
desires. Sixty four percent of the 15-19 participants answered they could ‘show’ what they liked, 64%, compared to 36% of the 20-24 cohort. Similarly, of those that answered they would ‘tell’ their partners what they desired, 72% were from the younger age group, while only 28% were from the older group. The younger female cohort appears to be much more confident than their older sisters in their reported abilities to convey sexual desires.

Table S. Expression of Sexual Desire by Gender and Age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How might you express your sexual desires to a partner you know well? Please pick one</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By showing them what I like and want</td>
<td>48% n=59</td>
<td>52% n=65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By telling them</td>
<td>51% n=133</td>
<td>49% n=128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By telling them and showing them what I like</td>
<td>59% n=108</td>
<td>41% n=74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don't express my sexual desires to my partner</td>
<td>67% n=37</td>
<td>33% n=18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I wouldn't express my sexual desires to my partner</td>
<td>70% n=33</td>
<td>30% n=14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most aronga mapu answered they could communicate their intimate desires, with both genders being similarly able to communicate desire using verbal and / or nonverbal skills. Although it appears that it is females who are more confident to do so than males, especially in the ‘telling’, or the ‘telling and showing’, categories. It could be that males do not feel that they need to explain or tell their partner and therefore do not expect to.

5.6.4 Sexual and Relationship Desires: Summary

These responses to the questions about pleasure and sex demonstrate the complexities of desire. Some young people report that they are able to communicate their desires easily and others cannot. Asking for pleasure, or
acknowledging and acting on desire, present a potential risk as they provide an opportunity to be judged, and possibly rejected, and it therefore requires confidence. Considering how to deploy confidence and the skills to ask for pleasure, or act on desire, into a classroom teaching and learning context is also complex.

As previously mentioned, the SRE programme will take a sex positive stance, namely, that consensual sexual activities are seen as normal in adolescence and where the teaching and learning activities support aronga mapu to learn the skills to enact positive, and pleasurable, relationships (Harden, 2014). To have positive relationships people need to have the skills to communicate what they desire in their sexual relationships, and this might be very different for different people. They also need to learn that pleasure is not only derived from orgasm as is often considered in heteronormative (and marriage) discourse (Allen, 2011b). Therefore, the programme will attempt to examine and support pleasure by incorporating lessons related to:

- assertive communication (Activities 11, 12)
- critical analysis of responses to scenarios about pleasure (Activities 11, 12)
- understandings that sex may not always be orgasmic and considering if sexual activity can satisfy desire without orgasm (Activity 12)

Focus Group participants said that the idea of pleasure had never been mentioned in any sexuality education contexts they had experienced. They reported that they had never considered being able (and willing) to ask for pleasure, or act on desire. Ascertaining how aronga mapu have been able to access alternative sexual subjectivities of sexual desire, for example, assertively asking for pleasure, which is counter cultural within the restrictive and conservative cultural environment, is worth further investigation. Whether aronga mapu will be able to transfer the knowledge of how to ask for and expect pleasure into behaviour in relationships is another area worthy of further research, as knowledge does not necessarily transfer into behaviour, as was seen with condom use in 5.5.4 (seen in Table O).
The data suggest that aronga mapu sexualities will be enhanced by including SRE activities that provide opportunities to experiment and practice ‘sexual self-efficacy, sexual self-esteem, feelings of pleasure and satisfaction, and freedom from pain and negative affect regarding sexuality’ (Harden, 2014, p. 455) (Activities 4, 5, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18). Experiencing and practicing (albeit in a skills practice / role-play situation) a range of ways to responding to scenarios with assertiveness also sews the seeds of possibility for alternative gender performances.

5.7 Openga | Conclusion
The threads identified as important by aronga mapu in this square impact on the patterns cut and sewn together in the SRE programme. The findings shared in Square Five revealed multiple understandings of the nature of the sexual knowledge and practice(s) of aronga mapu in the CIs.

Thirty percent of the participants identified as part of the LGBT community or did not identify their sexuality and 70% identified as heterosexual. This finding, alone, indicates the need to redefine traditional sexuality education practices in the CIs to disrupt gender normativity as well as heteronormativity. This finding, especially when placed alongside reports in the CIs that identify the health of LGBT aronga mapu as vulnerable, needs to be urgently taken into the SRE programme and also considered at policy level by Government (Activities 5, 6, 7, 8, 9) (Cook Islands Ministry of Internal Affairs: Youth Suicide Prevention Steering Committee, 2015).

Most aronga mapu were knowledgeable about sex and had experienced sex by the time they were 14 years of age, which supports the need to consider the philosophical stance the SRE is written from and to take a sex-positive approach. Most participants identified themselves as sexual subjects in the way they answered the questionnaire. The findings show that respondents participated in sexual encounters without being in relationships and almost 20% of the participants were involved in concurrent sexual relationships.
More than 60% of the participants considered they could control aspects of their sexual encounters such as sexual activity, use of contraception, and when to have sex. However, these findings when analysed by age, indicated that younger participants need support to be able to act with agency in these aspects of their lives. That females in the study considered themselves more in control of these aspects of their sexual activities than males is worthy of further research to ascertain how they have counter-navigated the expectations of hegemonic femininities.

The sexual confidence of participants to convey their sexual desires to a partner did not seem to be based on lack of knowledge or experience(s). Participants reported feeling knowledgeable about sex whether experienced or inexperienced. When asked where they got knowledge about sex from most participants considered their friends, lovers, school sexual programmes and extended family (but not parents) to be the best conveyers of sexual knowledge. Parents rarely featured as a good source of knowledge about sex and this points to a potential area for further research. The findings also provide information about what qualities aronga mapu most value from their teachers / educators when being taught SRE programmes. These are: being askable, kind, respectful, safe, and knowledgeable.

The multiple and complex threads of the findings, sometimes interconnected, and at other times in contrast to each other, illuminate the multiplicity of aronga mapu sexual subjectivities. Their varied nature offers the opportunity for multiple threads to be incorporated into the sexuality tivaevae that become lessons in the SRE resource. Strong findings that link historical and performative understandings of gender, sex and sexualities have been illustrated through the questionnaire and have been embroidered further with anecdotes from the focus group conversations. The design of the SRE programme incorporates these findings / threads / designs into lessons that will begin to teach the knowledge and skills that aronga mapu have indicated as important.
Square 6: Puapinga Takitini | Focus Group Findings

6.1 Introduction
Square Five of the sexuality tivaevae illustrated some of the complexities that influence the ways in which aronga mapu in the CI’s experience gender, sex, sexuality, and relationships. The fifth square demonstrated how contradictory and challenging navigating the sexuality landscape can be for young Cook Islanders. Square Six continues with the exploration of these complexities through the threads of conversations exposed in focus group discussions. Additionally, the threads of conversation are sewn together with findings from the questionnaire. The threads are analysed according to several, often interconnecting, lenses – lenses of culture, performativity, heteronormativity, power, and agency. Investigating and interrogating how gender is enacted within the lives of aronga mapu facilitated a pathway to explore how CIs’ hegemonic understandings can be disrupted or troubled in the SRE programme to benefit young people and the intimate relationships they have. Central to the design of this square of the tivaevae is an analysis of the dominant threads common across the focus groups and how these themes / threads are utilised and / or subdued in supporting aronga mapu in their personal lives. Poststructural analysis also provides a tool to privilege the odd,
the side-lined, the quieter, non-dominant threads, as these are also interesting. That is, the notion that potential and possibilities can emerge from the fissures, the cracks, the unlikely places and not just the dominant voice.

The focus group discussions were held to examine the kinds of relationships that young people desired as well as to ascertain what they had learned, or thought was important for young Cook Islanders to learn, in SRE. The square begins with a discussion of aronga mapu views of SRE topics and moves to the themes they identify about relationships. The square finishes by discussing heteronormativity. The Te Tiare Association focus group is discussed at length in this later section, as this has been an area underrepresented in CIs research.

Within poststructuralist thinking, discourse refers to the way groups of statements give meanings to how the social world operates (Weedon, 1987). Therefore, the discourse revealed by aronga mapu in the focus groups is a way of illustrating how the sexual subjectivities of aronga mapu are constituted in the CIs context. The data offers an insight into dominant and normative discourses about gender, sex and relationships while also providing understanding of how heteronormativity, culture, religion, education, and gender intersect with this context.

Central to designing a CIs SRE programme was taokotai | collaboration with aronga mapu. Their input was essential to ensure the programme would be contextually relevant and based on their needs. To explore relevancy of proposed content in SRE an activity was used in the second half of the focus group sessions. A participatory card activity was used to ascertain aronga mapu thoughts on what topics and content they believed were important to include in a SRE programme designed for aronga mapu in the CIs (see Appendix G).

111 Ten questions were asked of participants. Eight questions were those Louisa Allen (2000, 2011) used in research projects undertaken in NZ. See Appendix C for the questions or 4.3.1 on focus group implementation.
6.2 Aronga Mapu Perspective on the Content of Api‘ianga Tupuanga Kopapa | Sexuality Education

Some topics in the card activity\(^{112}\) were readily accepted by focus groups as important, while others generated debate and discussion before a decision was made about whether or not that content should be included in the SRE resource. This section begins with an analysis of the topics participants wanted included and then moves onto those that had a mixed response to inclusion. Where a conflict of opinion occurred, I give examples of what aronga mapu were considering before they decided where to place the card.

6.2.1 Topics Aronga Mapu Wanted Included

There was clear consensus across all the focus groups that the following eighteen topics were necessary in CIs SRE programmes:

- Puberty
- Contraception
- Condoms
- Sterilisation
- Sexually Transmitted Infections
- Abstinence
- What sexual activity is
- Lower risk sexual activities
- Conception
- Teenage parenthood
- Sexual harassment and abuse
- Sexuality and disability
- Communication skills
- Effects of alcohol on sexual decision-making
- Gender roles and stereotypes
- Positive body image
- Effects of the media
- Pornography

\(^{112}\) Appendix G has the list of topics. See 4.3.1 for detail on the card activity.
As identified in Square Two (2.4.1), a common approach in the Pacific has been to use abstinence or medicalised public health models when teaching SRE. That all the groups identified traditional aspects of api’ianga tupuanga kopapa such as puberty, abstinence, STIs, contraception, what sexual activity is, and conception is not surprising as these content areas are probably the most familiar to young people in terms of what might be expected. That aronga mapu unanimously identified content areas that are less traditional as important offers a critique of the way SRE has been offered in the past.

Calling for communication skills, wanting to learn and understand how gender stereotypes, the media, or alcohol, influence them and / or their relationships, teenage pregnancy, sexuality and disability, and about positive body image, offers understandings of how they comprehend themselves as sexual subjects. Inclusion of this type of content suggests that aronga mapu want SRE to be considerably broader than what has been offered historically in sexual reproductive health classes. The unanimous decisions of this content inclusion positions young people as asserting their right to access a broader range of topics, which can enhance their knowledge and decision-making. There were additional topics considered important by aronga mapu when the blank cards in the activity were utilised.

6.2.2 Topics Added
As stated in Square Four (4.3.1), blank cards were made available to aronga mapu should they like to add further topics that had not already been identified with the pre-prepared cards. The following topics were additionally identified by different focus groups as important content:

- Where to go to get help
- Sexuality sessions for parents: ‘we have to school the parents’
- Rape (for young men and women)
- What happens during pregnancy, after giving birth, baby care, the implications of being a young mother: ‘nobody tells you about what happens after you’ve had the baby!’ (CIFWA)
- Cervical smears

113 Including pornography.
• Making sure aronga mapu know about the ‘morning after pill’ (Emergency Contraceptive Pill) and ensuring it is easily available
• Religion and sexuality
• Translating the SRE programme into Maori
• Condoms to be made easily available without having to ask an adult (OISG)

Some of the topics identified in the list above can easily be incorporated into the topics stated by all the groups as important, such as contraception (the ECP) and teenage parenthood (pregnancy, after birth etc.), and ‘where to go to for help’. Other suggestions, such as translation into Maori, would require significant funding and time to implement. Asking aronga mapu to consider the messages they learn via their involvement within multiple organisations, including churches, will begin to facilitate including religion and sexuality into the SRE. When teaching the SRE with aronga mapu they will be asked to fill in a ‘critical thinking about sexuality tivaevae’ sheet at the end of some lessons (copy sheet A in the SRE). The copy sheet will ask aronga mapu to consider the lesson just experienced and to reflect on the way different groups in society might view the topic they had just been learning about. For example, what might their church, parents, or peers say about the way that gender stereotypes limit the way people can live their lives? To cover ‘sexuality and religion’ in an extensive way is not possible within the scope of this exegesis. While rape and sexual violence will be touched on in the SRE programme the focus for the SRE programme is on employing a strengths based approach to develop the skills for positive relationships rather than focussing on risk (Fine & McClelland, 2006; Fitzpatrick, 2014). Consent and exploring what makes ‘healthy’ and ‘unhealthy’ relationships will be included in the SRE programme (Activities 11, 16). Nevertheless, it is anticipated that the focus of the next SRE programme developed will be on teaching young

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114 Some participants thought the SRE programme would be better utilised if it was translated into CIs Maori for those on the outer islands. To translate will require several different dialectal translations as well as funding for translators. Funding will be sought to do this at a later date. See footnote in Activity 12 of the SRE resource for how difficult translation can be.

115 Male condoms are available from the Red Cross office in Rarotonga but participants in this outer island focus group discussed that they were too shy to ask for them. On the island of Rarotonga there are multiple sites where free (male) condoms are available.
people the knowledge and skills to be able to keep themselves safe from unwanted sex, sexual violence, and abuse. The findings reported later in this Square (6.4.1) suggest that the need for this extra resource is crucial.

6.2.3 Topics with Mixed Responses

Six of the pre-prepared cards had mixed responses. Some focus groups thought these topics should be taught and other groups did not. Or, participants in the same group disagreed with each other about whether or not the topic should be included. I will discuss each of the topics where there was a mixed response and offer some insights into the discussion that took place around the decision-making.

6.2.3.1 Masturbation

DFP: Masturbation, touching yourself [holding up the card]?  

Group together: No! [Lots of laughter around the room]  

Moe: You know Miss - it’s good - and it’s bad  

Taiata: You don’t get the same feelings if you masturbate  

DFP to the group: Are you saying ‘no’ [masturbation shouldn’t be taught] as you feel uncomfortable because others in the group might think that you do this if you say yes it should be taught?  

Group: Yeah [in unison and laughing]  

There was no dissent or discussion about the card ‘masturbation’ within four of the focus groups as they decided that the card should go into the ‘should be taught’ pile.\textsuperscript{116} It was the sports group, predominantly males,\textsuperscript{117} who had the most difficulty with the topic of masturbation being included in the

\textsuperscript{116} CIFWA, Te Tiare, Rotoract and, what could be considered the most conservative group, the OISG.  

\textsuperscript{117} One female.
SRE. The CIRC group had a couple of people who were unsure, but who did not say an outright ‘no’ to this topic being included. The CISA group overwhelmingly resisted ‘masturbation’ being included as the excerpt from the focus group transcript shows. Only one person in the CISA group was prepared to say there was something positive, albeit qualified, about masturbation in saying ‘you know Miss it’s good and it’s bad’. The participants’ response to my final suggestion that they may feel uncomfortable suggesting masturbation be included as it may implicate them, indicates they may not actually disagree with masturbation being included, rather it was too difficult to say that masturbation should be included in the group in front of their peers because doing do might suggest to peers that they indulged in masturbation.

It is not only some aronga mapu who find discussion about masturbation problematic. Teachers often find teaching this topic difficult, especially in connection to sexual pleasure (Oliver, van der Meulen, Larkin, Flicker, & Toronto Teen Survey Research Team, 2013). The difficulty and reticence of discussing pleasure impacts on teaching and learning about masturbation as a way to self-discover pleasure and it is often taught in sexuality classes only as an alternative to sex, or a way to keep safe from STIs (L Harrison, 2000; Oliver et al., 2013; Ollis, 2015). Masturbation will be included in the activity in the SRE programme that explores sexual activity (Activity 12).

6.2.3.2 Female Desire

All of the focus groups, with one exception, agreed that the topic ‘how to tell if a female is turned on’ was important to include in the programme. CIFWA argued that ‘how to tell if a female was turned on’ was more about communication than teaching about female arousal. Some of the discussion that took place around this card in the CIFWA group is now shared:

DFP: what about ‘how to tell if a female is turned on’?

Tere: That is communication
DFP: Some young people have said they don't know how to know if their partner is ready [for sex]

Ripeka: Yeah

Teura: What if a woman doesn't want her man to know?

Tere: I think it is about communication, it's [pleasure] a thing you should be talking about - it should never just be silent

DFP: I think that it has come up as important as some people have been worried and want to ensure they pleasure their partners so they turn to something like pornography to see if they can learn how to please a woman since nobody talks about these things with young people

Ripeka: Yeah, then they want you to moan and groan!

Teura: You know, sometimes women want to fake it [orgasm / pleasure] so they can get it over and done with.

[Laughter from the whole group]

(CIFWA)

What Tere indicates in this discussion is that for these women, pleasure is a negotiated and communicated state that should be incorporated into intimate relationships. When she says ‘it's [pleasure] a thing you should be talking about...it should never be silent’ Tere could be understood to be indicating that pleasure should be at the fore in intimate relationships and that she would expect pleasure as part of any relationship she has. In taking this stance Tere acknowledges her sexual subjectivity and agency by ensuring her own pleasure in her intimate liaisons; her statement also challenges CIs dominant discourse about female sexual subjectivities and practices.

Teura’s statement about women not wanting their male partners to know that they are turned on could illustrate dominant ideas in the CI’s that women
should not reveal their sexual pleasure to men for fear of the negative impact on their reputation, or that they should forfeit their own pleasure by hiding it / pretending that they are not enjoying sex. These ideas of female passivity conform to conventional female sexuality in the CIs and many other contexts where male pleasure is paramount and females take a passive role in sexual activity.

Teura’s later comment about wanting to fake pleasure ‘to get it over and done with’ also consolidates heteronormative masculine and female sexual sexualities whereby women feel that they cannot say no to sex, or are ‘supposed’ to enjoy sex and therefore feel the need to ‘fake it [orgasm]’. These kinds of experiences performatively preserve the gendered expectations of females as passive in sexual activity while (male) partners are seen as sexual experts. Teura’s statement also indicates the gendered expectation that men should, will, or can, always achieve orgasm.

6.2.3.3 Sexual Pleasure

The card ‘How to make sexual activity enjoyable for both partners’ generated discussion in several groups:

Makiroa: It depends what you show them and then they go home and tell their parents.. [and get in trouble with their parents]

Nane: Maybe - if they are 18

Tuoro: No I think they need to know from the start.

(Rotoract)

Moe: No I don’t think so… It’s like you are forcing them to have sex if you teach this

Rere: It’s bad for you guys to teach this
DFP: So, you’re thinking ‘no’ as if we do teach about mutual pleasure we might be encouraging people to have sex?

Group: Yes

DFP: Do you think that young people know sex can be, or is supposed to be enjoyable, before they have sex?

Group: Yes [consensus]

DFP: Otherwise, why would you want to have sex right?

Group talking amongst themselves …

Different participants: No, no, no…[they indicate to put it in the NO pile while saying this]

(CISA)

Tere: It is important but only at a certain age

DFP: Yes at an age appropriate point

Ripeka: Yes, we need to do this as it says that sex is pleasurable

Teura: So funny you ask that as I just had a friend ask me that - how to make it enjoyable for both of them

Tere: We do talk [in our sessions] about how you should both be comfortable and that you should both enjoy it. We do get people say - can you give me some tips!

DFP: So maybe [we need to incorporate into the resource] some safe ways that we could share ideas about mutual responsibility to ensure you both enjoy sex [safe ways for teachers to teach and safe ways for students to apply]

Yes [group consensus]
The amount of discussion generated about making sex pleasurable for both partners illustrates some of the complexities involved with incorporating the discourse of pleasure into the SRE programme. A number of other researchers have found similar complexities in different countries such as NZ, Australia, United States of America and Canada (Allen, 2005b, 2007, 2011b; Allen et al., 2013; Cameron-Lewis & Allen, 2013; Fine, 1988; Fine & McClelland, 2006; Ingham, 2005; Lamb, 2010; Oliver et al., 2013; Ollis, 2009).

We saw in the previous discussion, that pleasure is positioned in relation to the cultural norms of the groups discussing it. People in the same groups could not agree with each other, as we saw with the Rotoract group, with two participants being very cautious and Tuoro disagreeing with her fellow participants by saying pleasure needs to be discussed ‘right from the start’ of a SRE programme.

The CISA group found this card particularly confronting and strongly disagreed with this topic being taught. I was surprised with the ferocity of their statements and when I tried to explore why they thought talking about pleasure for both partners was so wrong by trying to ask them questions, they shut down my questioning by verbally and physically saying ‘No, no, no’. They explained that they thought that if pleasure were taught as part of a SRE programme that would mean the programme would be encouraging people to have sex. This position was demonstrated by the comment from Moe: ‘It’s like you guys are forcing them to have sex’. Perhaps this statement is one they have heard adults use against the teaching of sexuality education in schools— that if young people participate in sex education they will then want to go and have sex. Even though aronga mapu in this focus group agreed that young people already had ideas that sex should be pleasurable before they have sex they were still resistant that this could be taught at school. One participant strongly rejected this card by saying ‘that is bad for you guys to teach this’. Others seemed to agree.
Arguments of this nature have dominated sexuality education for many years and different groups in various communities have debated whether SRE programmes should be based on a sex-positive or abstinence philosophy (Allen, 2012; Allen et al., 2013; Allen et al., 2014; J. Hirst, 2013, 2014; Ingham, 2005; Rasmussen, 2004). Perhaps the cultural constructions surrounding talk of sexual pleasure in the CIs made it too difficult for this group to consider the possibility that pleasure could be discussed with aronga mapu. In addition, because sex education has historically been taught from a deficit model and focussed on what you should not do, rather than what you should / could do, it may have been too challenging for some of the participants to consider a sex-positive stance to SRE.

In contrast, we see from the comments from the CIFWA group that young women supported the teaching of mutual pleasure, albeit at an age appropriate time, as did one of the participants in the Rotoract group. Coincidentally one of the CIFWA group had recently been asked how to ensure that both partners experience pleasure in their relationship, indicating that this topic does interest people and could be taught (Activities 11, 12).

6.2.3.4 Gender and Sexual Diversity

The final topics where there was some contention among focus group participants are interconnected – these topics were ‘homophobia’, ‘akava’ine | transgender’ and ‘sexual diversity’. One and a half\footnote{All of the boys in the OISG.} groups thought that these topics were not suitable for inclusion into the SRE programme.

Some participants in the Rotoract group felt that ‘homophobia’ did not need to be included in the SRE programme as ‘gay people are really out there’ in the CIs. This comment infers that they thought the reason homophobia does not need addressing is because the people she perceives to be gay, akava’ine, are accepted as they are ‘allowed’ to be part of, or are accepted, by society.
Tuoro: Nah. [we do not need to teach about homophobia] I find that our gay people are really out there

DFP: So, are there gay people [using her terminology] that are not ‘out there’? Where are they?

Nane: At home

DFP: Do you think they are they at home because they can’t be ‘out’ as themselves? [Question not answered]

Violeti: I have a nephew and he’s eight and he screams if he can’t dress like a girl and his school lets him dress in a girl’s uniform

(Rotoract)

The participants in this group collapse gender and sexuality together and femininity in males is being (mis)read as an indication of same sex attraction. The group did not consider other sexualities along the diversity spectrum in their conceptualisation of homophobia and this is probably because the LGB(T)\textsuperscript{119} community are only rarely visible in overt ways in CIs society (discussed in 5.3.1). The reason I challenged Tuoro and the group by asking the question about ‘other’ gay people who might not be ‘out there’ and where they were, was to try and get the group to (re)consider the possibility that not all people may be able to live as they would like to in CIs society. Be that as it may, this question was not answered and Violeti then moved the conversation onto young akava’ine.

Violeti’s comment about her nephew being allowed to wear a girl’s school uniform confirms that some schools support young akava’ine. However, the Te Tiare Association (TTA) focus group were highly critical of the lack of support of akava’ine by the CIMoE. Most likely the acceptance of a young

\textsuperscript{119} I have bracketed the T to indicate that akava’ine | transgender are visible as they live their lives openly in the community but lesbian, gay, and bisexual people are not. I bracket in this way in several more instances later in this square.
gender diverse person wanting to dress to reflect their gender identity is related to an individual teacher’s and/or principal’s acceptance rather than a reflection of CIMoE policy that is designed to support diversity in schools. Australian research with young people has found that gender-questioning and transgender young people experienced higher rates of self-harm and suicidal thoughts than their cisgender and same-sex attracted peers (E. Smith et al., 2014). It has also been noted that aronga mapu from the LGBT community in the CIs are more vulnerable to marginalisation and bullying due to homophobic attitudes (Cook Islands Ministry of Internal Affairs: Youth Suicide Prevention Steering Committee, 2015). There will be more discussion around akava’ine school experiences later in this chapter within the analysis of the TTA focus group conversation (6.6).

While there was unanimous support from all of the focus groups in Rarotonga for inclusion and support of ‘diverse sexualities’ to be incorporated into the SRE programme, some of the participants of the OISG were resistant. All the young women (18 participants) unanimously agreed that sexual diversity, homophobia and akava’ine | transgender, should be addressed while all of the young men (16 participants) disagreed. All the young people in this group were still attending school and this may have impacted on this point of difference. Schools continue to be identified as a major site of young people’s experiences of homophobia and transphobia, mainly from peers, but also from teachers (Safe Schools Coalition in partnership with Minus18, 2016) and the heteronormative culture of schooling often silences the voices of LGBT people (Allen, 2015; Epstein et al., 2003; Mitton-Kukner, Kearns, & Tompkins, 2015; Sexton, 2015; Snapp et al., 2015).

One young woman, Teata, tried to explain her appreciation of social justice and awareness of the potential impact of not addressing sexual diversity when she spoke directly to the boys. Her statements display perceptiveness of where the concern of the boys might stem from:

120 Personal identity and gender corresponds with birth sex.
.. you know, it doesn’t mean to say that you are homosexual if you are learning about homosexuality. But if you are gay, then it’s good to know that other people might feel like that too, and that it’s not just you ... that you are not on your own.

(OISG)

She identified that it could be isolating and / or confusing if you were LGBT if aronga mapu are never taught about sexual diversity. However, the boys did not alter their stance and none appeared willing or able to answer my question about why they felt so strongly. They only offered ideas they had gained through the church and Bible ‘that it is wrong’ as their argument. This vignette illustrates the ‘disciplinary power of sexuality’ which permits some expressions of sexuality, and renders others perverse (Foucault, 1978/1990). Therefore, it was not possible, or permissible for the boys to say that the teaching of sexual diversity might be okay.

Teata’s insightful explanation to the boys demonstrates her understanding of alternative sexual subjectivities, as well as her understanding of homophobic attitudes and beliefs. Her challenge to the boys, which seemed to have the agreement of all the girls, displays sensitivity to what it would be like for a same sex attracted person to live in a small, isolated community. Teata is an example of a young woman contesting and negotiating dominant sexual subjectivities with her male peers. This courageous act, as well as the act of all the girls supporting sexual diversity, could be perlocutionary in that it could lead to the idea of sexual diversity being more readily accepted in the future (Butler, 1997; Plummer, 1995).

This scenario offers insights into the powerful heteronormative and hegemonic rhetoric surrounding male sexuality in the outer islands where the young men could not, in any way, entertain the idea of teaching anything related to sexual diversity, even though one of their peers tried to persuade them otherwise. Throughout the girls’ resistance and troubling of the discourse of heteronormativity the boys were completely silent; a passive albeit strong resistance to the girls’ challenge. The unanimous silence by the
boys was a power-enacting performative act of resistance; they were clearly unwilling to entertain any acceptance, or tolerance, of alternative male sexual subjectivities. The need to appear to be staunchly heterosexual and therefore opposed to sexual diversity by the boys in this group is demonstrative of the way in which masculinity is enacted in the outer islands. This was further illustrated when the boys also resisted the inclusion of learning about akava’ine | transgender. The fact that no boy would, or could, resist the heteronormative regulation shared by the other males in the group is testimony to the authority of hegemonic views and the difficulty of resisting them. Conversely, the young women were comfortable enough to be able to do this, albeit within the safety of the whole group of young women. This positioning is in keeping with findings by some scholars that males can be more confronted by homosexuality or gender diversity than females (LaMar & Kite, 1998).

In viewing these gendered responses, I wondered why the girls felt comfortable to challenge the heteronormative ideas learned through their church and family when the boys could not. What had enabled them to be courageous\footnote{In this context, it is fair to say it was courageous due to the rigid religious context of the island where the focus groups was held} enough to articulate their views in contradiction of the conservative and religious outer islanders’ views? And what of the boys? Maybe agreeing with this proposed curriculum content was tantamount to putting your hand up to be bullied for standing out or characterised as gay. It would appear that the stronghold of hegemonic and heteronormative ways of being, especially in the isolated context of an outer island, meant that these boys could not support the inclusion of sexual diversity in a SRE programme as it contested their ideas of masculinity (Allen, 2005a). Other scholars have found that gender relations are complicated and boys often stick together rather than stand out as different from their peer group (Reay, 2001). Potential risk of judgement by their peers could have also been why no girls contested Teata’s stand as possibly it was too risky to speak outside of the group norm as has been found in other studies (Sigelman & Rider, 2006).
There is an accepted understanding that adolescents are concerned with peer group conformity and acceptance, so helping young people to feel confident enough to make up their own minds and stand outside of the majority needs to be considered in terms of the SRE programme. One way to build confidence in young people about their ability to adopt a different opinion to others is by asking them to take on a range of different beliefs, opinions, or roles, for an activity such as a debate or a contextual twist as part of a lesson. Such pedagogical approaches might help aronga mapu to practice standing out and voicing alternative opinions or points of view that differ from societal norms. In this way they may begin to explore and imagine life from differing perspectives (Activities 7, 8, 18).

6.2.4 Topic Rejected

In the card activity, there was only one topic card that was unanimously declared unnecessary. This topic was, ‘how to tell if a man is turned on’. This card was often met with raucous laughter as participants commented, almost universally, that everyone knew when men were turned on, as ‘it was fairly obvious’ or, as one young woman in the outer islands explained: ‘you don’t need that in there as they [boys / males] are always on’. Every group’s rejection of this possible topic confirmed a normative view of CI men as always being ready and willing for sex.

6.2.5 Section Summary

This section exploring the content that aronga mapu wanted in their SRE revealed colourful and complex ideas that can be integrated with Square Five designs into the sexuality education tivaevae. Aronga mapu have clearly indicated they require advice, guidance and support to learn the various proficiencies needed to sew their individual tivaevae to represent the ways that they might engage in intimate relationships. Some designs may appear conventional, influenced as they are by history, culture, and religion. Whereas other designs may be contemporary and influenced by globalisation, such as the media, Internet, music, transnational movement, and the tourism industry. These focus group discussions have shown the content that aronga mapu want in their SRE programme and there was some consistency across all
groups about the nature of the content and skills considered necessary. Through the content identified as important, each individual’s metaphorical sexuality tivaevae will be personally designed and representing multiple ideas, as aronga mapu engage in the lessons of the SRE programme.

The designs of some tivaevae may start out as one idea, and change along the way, as other influences or ideas are sewn into / onto the fabric, and some designs may be unpicked as new skills are practised and learned. The challenge remains in developing the skills to be able to confidently sew a tivaevae / or initiate sexual debut, or later sexual activities, in ways that are considered positive by those involved. The anticipation of cutting the fabric to start your tivaevae, could be construed as beginning an intimate relationship in a self-assured way - knowing that you have some skills to confidently manage most circumstances that are likely to arise.

6.3 Tu Inangaru | Relationships and Gender Roles

In *Discipline and Punish* (1975) Foucault argues that as you learn what constitutes power and knowledge in any given society, you learn that some aspects of society are ‘normal’ and therefore advantaged, while others aspects of society are abnormal and consequently disadvantaged (Foucault, 1975). As discussed in Square Three,¹²² these understandings are enabled through the creation of hegemonic binaries where one side holds more authority in society than the other. Binaries therefore create groups in society that are marginalised, invisible, or excluded (Gray et al., 2016). In this study those most marginalised through their invisibility, or exclusion from discussions about sexuality (outside of this study), are aronga mapu and the LGB(T) community.¹²³ Foucault argues that power / knowledge relations and practices are:

… continuous and uninterrupted processes which subject our bodies, govern our gestures, dictate our behaviors … subjects are gradually, 

¹²² See 3.3.2.1, 3.3.2.2.
¹²³ I have deliberately bracketed the ‘T’ here as the formulation of the Te Tiare Association has made visible / audible the transgender | akava’ine voice in recent years although the voice of trans males is still invisible.
progressively, really and materially constituted through a multiplicity of organisms, forces, energies, materials, desires, thoughts.

(Foucault, 2000, p. 74)

Foucault (2000) argues that by the time children become young adults, power / knowledge, through multiple avenues, has already shaped what is acceptable. In this study people are influenced, as Foucault indicates, by culture, politics, travel or tourism, globalisation, the hierarchy of the tribe they are part of, anau | family, peers and the various churches in abundance. Through these influences, power / knowledge is understood by aronga mapu and they learn how they ‘should’ act in front of adults, as well as how they can act with their peers. Then, they use this power / knowledge to their advantage. It is in this way that ‘moral rightness’ is defined. For aronga mapu, heteronormative values and principles define how moral rightness and sexuality are prioritised. The (im)position of white, middle class values, infiltrated through colonisation and Christianity, drive the moral authority through which aronga mapu are governed by (Holmes, 2014d; L. T. Smith, 2012).

In order to explore power and its role(s) within the relationships in the focus groups, it was important to extract from the conversations how power is put to work and to identify how hegemony (im)positions itself within the relationships that aronga mapu experience. In the analysis that follows I identify the way in which people express what they want in relationships and how they are constrained by the dynamics of their context. I identify when aronga mapu struggled with or against power and also how they themselves were vehicles of power – in other words ‘how did power operate on, through and from them?’ (A. Y. Jackson & Mazzei, 2012, p. 56). In the following discussions, an exploration of the power relations from both focus group and questionnaire data takes place. Cls cultural expectations are shared through the experiences participants reveal about their relationships with their peers, parents, teachers, church ministers, and sexual partners in the discursive space of sexuality and relationships.
6.3.1 Relationship Aspirations

In the questionnaire, when asked about the qualities participants wanted in their relationships, aronga mapu overwhelmingly answered that they wanted relationships that were ‘loving’, ‘trustworthy’, ‘honest’ and ‘fun’. Allen (2000) identifies these qualities as often seen in movies and television programmes and she calls them the ‘happily ever after discourse’ (p.158). While 45 different qualities were identified in this question, Table T shares a thematic analysis of the qualities identified if more than five participants mentioned this characteristic.

Table T. What Aronga Mapu want in Relationships

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What I want in a relationship is:</th>
<th>Number of mentions¹²⁵</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Loving, caring, connection, romantic</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust, honesty, faithful, loyal, committed, reliable</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fun, happy, easy going</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patience, accepting, respect, communication, understanding, supportive</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex related (e.g. good in bed, passion)</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Happy</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good person / kind</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Best friend</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everything</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good looking</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good personality</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smart</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Qualities related to sex were mentioned only 47 times (7%) by participants, which dismisses a dominant discourse commonly associated with aronga mapu — that sex is all young people think about (Allen, 2008b). Another myth debunked in Table T is that attractiveness is all-important for youth when considering whom they desire as partners. Being ‘good looking’ or ‘hot’ was only mentioned 13 times (2%) as something participants looked for in a relationship.

¹²⁴ Question 50.
¹²⁵ 230 responses from females: 194 responses from males
partner. However, traditional subjectivities were evident in some of the responses, for example, traditional male subjectivities about relationships are evident in the following comments:

- Not to cheat
- Lady in the street, but a freak in the bed
- Beauty, sexy, a little nasty, and fun
- Happy and loving and minimal amount of dramas
- Heaps of sex
- To have sex everyday
- Blonde overseas chicks
- A babe
- A good girl

Many alternative masculine subjectivities were also shared regarding what aronga mapu desired from relationships. Most common were:

- Fun and love and heaps of trust
- Honesty, trust and a friend
- Just talk about our secrets
- Loyalty, trustworthy, honesty, reliability, sensible, sexually active and fun, smart, and many more
- Someone I feel comfortable around
- Love, caring, and someone in it for the long run
- Love, trust, happiness and fun
Similar findings were shared by the female cohort such as traditional female subjectivities about what females want in their relationships:

- A good looking guy who is nice
- A happy family
- A heart who won't lie, someone who puts God first, someone who loves me for who I am
- A true loving hearted partner
- A baby
- Commitment, security and love
- Fun loving, humble, caring, educated, talented, hardworking, NOT A PLAYER (sic)
- A husband
- Lovable, able to take care of me and look after me
- To hold his hand in public and tell all the girls he is mine

However, there were far fewer examples of females choosing alternative or non-traditional female subjectivities in the qualities they desired in their relationships. There were only four examples:\textsuperscript{126}

- Able to take on my mum
- Lots of sexual activity
- Don’t want a relationship
- Kinky sex

\textsuperscript{126} Out of 230 responses.
Many commentaries in the TTA discussion offered understandings of the way hegemonic gender ideas play out. Many akava’ine take on female roles that manifest in the utmost hegemonic interpretations and performative idea(l)s of being a woman in the CIs. The TTA group’s understandings of femaleness were expressed through hyperfemininity, where hegemonic ideas of being a ‘real’ (CIs) woman were heightened. Alongside their hegemonic ideals of femininity many participants subscribed to traditional female subjectivities when discussing the qualities they wanted in their partners and relationships:

- Trusting
- Loving
- Caring
- The partner is ‘hot’
- Patient
- Faithful
- Accepting
- Wealthy
- Have prospects
- Honest
- Someone who doesn’t want to be with me just for sex
- Not violent
- Acceptance
- Someone to talk to

Such as, wearing high heels, full make up, immaculate dress, jewellery and being accomplished at the female ura while also doing domestic tasks. They may also adapt their voice and mannerisms.
Conformity to be in relationships to ‘be the same as others’ was illustrated in the following excerpt, as well as expressions of wanting, or needing to be protected:

Serena: [we want] to be like everyone else

Tau: ‘cause everyone else is doing it [having sex and being in relationships]

Jerry: Because you feel insecure [if you are not in a relationship]

Shelly: you feel vulnerable

The need to have a sense of belonging, and the knowledge that they are the same as others, are revealed in the comments above. The group commented that wanting to have a partner, and to enjoy sexual relationships, was ‘fundamentally human’ however to link this to having to have a partner as you feel ‘vulnerable’ or ‘insecure’ if you are on your own, signifies the vulnerability that members of TTA perceive or experience. Participants expounded on their reasons for feeling the need to be protected later in the conversation when the amount of bullying, discrimination and stigmatisation this group face, often on a daily basis, became evident (6.6.2, 6.6.3). The feeling that they need a man to protect them reflects both traditional female subjectivities as well as reflecting their experiences as akava’ine.

In contrast, there were participants who contested these traditional ideas, challenging hegemonic femininities by saying ‘those things are not for me’. Some of the participants had quite different desires of their partners and / or relationships such as:

- Sex on tap
• Someone who is a little bit violent
• Someone who will have sex with me when I want it, not just when he wants it

Consequently, these participants contested traditional female subjectivities. Therefore, the complexity and variance of the types of relationships or partners that TTA participants wanted was similar to other groups in that many of the females in other focus groups predominantly wanted traditionally represented heterosexual relationships, although, as with this group, there were a few exceptions to the normalised relationships mostly portrayed in the CIs.

It appears from the data that males are more able to resist, contest, or articulate publicly, normative gender ideals in terms of the kinds of relationships they wish to have. Many males were willing to share that they desired more than sex in their relationships. On the other hand, females in this study appeared to subscribe, almost completely, to Allen’s (2000) ‘happily ever after discourse’ of wanting ‘the ideal partner’ who will be committed, caring, and love them forever. Content in traditional sex education classes rarely includes discussion or exploration of the qualities or expectations of partners / relationships as they usually adhere to biological information as lessons (Kirby, 1985, 2007a, 2008; Kohler et al., 2008). Facilitating opportunities for young people to consider what kind of qualities they might desire in a partner, or in their personal relationships, will be part of the SRE programme (Activity 4). Activities that include such content will allow opportunities for disrupting traditional and gendered subjectivities about what people look for in their partner(s) or intimate / sexual relationships.

6.3.2 Monogamous, Concurrent and / or Multiple Relationships

Waksler (1986) argues that adults use power to sanction what is ‘obvious’ or ‘known to everybody’ (p.74). She argues that socialisation is therefore political as adults attempt to produce another version of themselves (Waksler, 1986). As an example, when there are disagreements between adults and aronga mapu, it is assumed that aronga mapu are wrong and adults are right as it is
considered obvious or is assumed that adults know more than young people. In such ways adults are a significant influence on attitudes, values and behaviours about gender, sex and sexuality, which therefore places anau as powerful influences on sexual behaviours as, immediate and extended anau,\(^\text{128}\) reinforce ideas, beliefs and customs related to the social order of CIs culture. However, aronga mapu often push back on these influences and the notion of what is sometimes known as rebellion, or using your power / knowledge to resist hegemony, was discussed by aronga mapu.

The ideas of ‘acting out’, whether against parental expectations or others such as the church, or ‘to rebel’ were divulged in focus groups when participants were discussing the question ‘what kinds of relationships do young people have’? The next excerpt is from the CIFWA group who were volunteers that provide sexuality education workshops to the community. Most were single mothers raising their children with the support of their families. When doing their volunteer work they often rub up against and challenge a number of normative forces and beliefs such as, religion, heterosexuality, and aronga mapu not being sexually active. CIFWA’s work with aronga mapu in the community is revolutionary for the CIs especially about topics such as relationships that are non-heterosexual, contraception, abortion, and youth making their own choices. That fact that they have quietly, however sporadically, managed to do this work in some parts of the community,\(^\text{129}\) is what Ken Plummer (1995) calls developing an ‘interpretive community of support’ (p.116). Such a community can, slowly but surely, become useful politically as ideas gain more space in the community. The intervention work that CIFWA does in the community also supports the articulation of alternative ‘conditions of possibility’ (Rose, 1996) for aronga mapu as they, sew / sow the seeds of possibility of participating in relationships that are formed around different principles than previous hegemonic assumptions, for example, supporting same-sex relationships. The next two excerpts illustrate some of the gendered ideas these young women shared about the ways control is

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\(^\text{128}\) Seen in Square Five, Table F ‘other’ (but not parents) family members were key sources of information about sex.

\(^\text{129}\) Although there is resistance from predominantly religious quarters.
authorised in some relationships. The excerpts expose resistance and agency. Despite aronga mapu being told by adults that they must be in monogamous relationships, particularly if there are children involved, some young people find ways to work around these expectations. In the process, they have multiple and concurrent relationships even though such relationships are in direct contrast to CIs hegemonic expectations.\footnote{This focus group data is supported by Table L where 20\% of participants in the questionnaire were involved in concurrent sexual relationships.}

Tere: … we have such a large drinking culture here so once Wednesday starts, that’s the weekend and it carries on ‘til Sunday and during that time I’ve noticed in a lot of relationships one is home and the other is out. There’s no companionship – or one partner is out and the other is out but they aren’t partying together. You know [they say] you’re my partner, but you stay home and I’m going out. It especially happens when there are kids involved at home. ‘I will go out and have my life with other people outside of our relationship’ - It seems to be very common here

DFP: And they ‘tap and gap’ other people?

Everyone: Yeah

DFP: So what’s that about then do you think? Why do you think they stay together if they are unhappy and they are off doing things with other people?

Ripeka: Sometimes its family – I wasn’t allowed to go out with boys and it wasn’t until I got pregnant - that is when the family stepped in and said we both had to stay home. Soon after that he was going out, we had this newborn and my family had to step in… but he didn’t listen to my parents. He knows when he goes out he does all that he wants, and he knows whatever I do tonight I will still have my baby and my girlfriend
DFP: Because he thinks you will tolerate whatever he does?

Ripeka nods in agreement.

(CIFWA)

The above dialogue portrays some challenges about relationships and how power impacts on, through, and from, aronga mapu in the CIs. Adults tell, or in Ripeka’s case, force young people to have monogamous relationships. These types of ideas about young couples being ‘made’ to live together by parents, or get married when they get pregnant, and then having concurrent relationships, were common across all focus groups.

The CIFWA group attempt to interrupt the CIs discourse(s) of multiple relationships, violence, and ‘cheating’ in relationships being normalised when they facilitate their sexuality education courses. Their disenchantment with the practices of concurrent or ‘cheating’ relationships is reinforced in the following conversation:

Tere: There is a very large number of short-term and one-night-stand relationships than long term relationships. Then there are the long-term that are not good relationships. You know, they are usually pretty toxic or abusive - where one, or even both, of the partners are cheating. That seems to be very common here.

Teuru: I spoke to one of our, um, one of our youth members from my Church... Which was quite shocking [to me] really … and really opened my eyes as to what is happening in my church. He said: why waste time in a long-term relationship when you can tap and gap? I asked what is tap and gap? They said: have sex with one person and then .. [indicates with her hand up and over her shoulder] … out. I said to him, that’s not very nice really is it? He said: you know… well, I’m still young, I’m going to do it [tap and gap] while I can, I want to experience life and I have the right to, and when I want to settle; I’ll settle.
This discussion reveals the gendered subjectivities of the young women in this group. The clear gender differences in these women wanting monogamous non-violent relationships sits in stark contrast to what the young man articulates he wants; that is, no ties to anyone and being able to ‘tap and gap’. ‘Tap’ being figurative for sex, while ‘gap’ is a vernacular from NZ meaning ‘to leave’.\textsuperscript{131} For this young man it seems highly improbable that he would consider having just one partner. His rejection of monogamous relationships in favour of casual sex are examples of defying the normative expectations of religion, even while he conformatively attended a church youth group. So, in some ways, he is conforming to religious expectations by being at church, whilst at the same time, he is defying or contesting the Church’s teachings. In this way the conformity produces that which is altered (A. Y. Jackson & Mazzei, 2012). The normalisation of ‘tap and gap’ proves stronger than the Church’s expectations. Throughout the course of this research in focus group discussions ‘tap and gap’ was discussed repeatedly as a normal part of aronga mapu life. At the same time, almost every focus group participant was actively involved in church life. In almost every focus group participants commented that ‘adults are not good role models’ in terms of adults engaging in multiple as well as concurrent sexual relationships. This phenomenon offers another insight into how ‘tap and gap’ has become normalised. If young people have repeatedly witnessed adults involved in multiple sexual relationships it then becomes normalised. In this way ‘tap and gap’ is now part of the normalisation of the way that sexual relationships happen in the CIs.

Ironically, in every focus group it was suggested that ‘adults were not very good role models’ when it came to monogamous relationships.\textsuperscript{132} Participants in every focus group also discussed how often adults, seem to be in married / monogamous relationships by all appearances, when they are also having relationships with other people. That aronga mapu shared these ideas about

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{131} In NZ, when someone is about to leave they will often say ‘I’m going to gap it’. Therefore to ‘tap and gap’ means to have sex then leave (usually quick smart).
\item \textsuperscript{132} And equally, when drinking alcohol – both of which are usually constructed as a problem for aronga mapu.
\end{itemize}
adults illustrates that they recognise that adults are inconsistent and in being so an alternative narrative is supplied. The behaviours repeatedly modelled by adults teach aronga mapu that multiple relationships, hidden behind the façade of a public monogamous relationship, are normalised in CIs culture.

Every focus group identified the normalisation of cheating or concurrent relationships as one of the issues they found the most difficult about being in sexual relationships, due to the ‘dramas’ often associated with having multiple partners without consent. Conversely, every group also identified a stable monogamous relationship as desirable. Drawing out the complexities of monogamous vis-à-vis non-monogamous relationships, was identified by aronga mapu as important to the SRE programme. For these reasons, as well as those discussed in Square Five (5.5.3.1), it is important to include scenarios in the SRE programme that will help to tease out the emotional dimensions and complications that arise when multiple and concurrent relationships occur with or without open discussion (Activity 18).

6.3.3 Cyclone Proofing Relationships

I asked the CIFWA group what they thought CIs aronga mapu needed to learn about sexual relationships and the discussion included the following:

Tere: Yes [we need to learn] how to know when a relationship is unhealthy and even how can you work towards fixing it, or when you have to, and to realise when it’s not going to be able to be fixed.

Teuru: I do think it’s going to be quite hard to change the [concurrent relationships] mindset, as that's all they have known.

Tere: Yeah but we don't do that, we pitch it really… um … like these are the choices you have, you chose the one that's right for you… what partner do you have… you choose the one that's right for you.
Tere’s wisdom in the final point of this excerpt where she considers the use of an open and non-judgemental approach to the SRE programme sits well with the strength based, sex-positive and inclusive approach of the SRE programme. She appears to be suggesting the need to include discussion about the multiple ways relationships can occur and stresses choosing the way that is ‘right for you’ such as including discussion of relationships that are monogamous as well as polyamorous and including LGBT relationships, not only those that are heterosexual. Including discussions along these lines in the SRE will problematise the heteronormative ideas that relationships can only take one shape. Such discussions will also assist aronga mapu in deciding for themselves the types of relationships they wish to be involved in.133

The ideas shared by Tere when she says young people need to ‘know when a relationship is unhealthy’, and learn ‘how can you work towards fixing it’, or ‘to realise when it’s not able to be fixed’ were major themes shared by every focus group. The feeling of powerlessness, and the difficulty of handling emotions in relationships, especially when a relationship ended, were high on the list of skills young people wanted to learn about having relationships. Some participants confessed that their sense of powerlessness sometimes resulted in acts that were vengeful and/or aggressive towards their partner. As an example, Ruru explains how he understood this sense of powerlessness:

There is a way they have to act (sic) when a partner tells you they don’t want to be with you anymore ... they get rejected by their partner and they then attempt suicide… or ‘sleep’ with their best friend [to get back at them].

The other young men in the CISA group agreed with Ruru and articulated a gendered response about how CIs males are expected to respond to

133 See also 5.5.5.
rejection. Suicide is predominantly a male issue in the CIs, although females also commit or attempt suicide. The factor most commonly associated with suicide has been relationship breakups (Cook Islands Ministry of Internal Affairs: Youth Suicide Prevention Steering Committee, 2015). This revelation from Ruru, and his peers, reveal the power(ful) way that hegemonic masculinity can place young men (and their partners) at risk.

6.3.4 Section Summary
In the SRE programme, lessons have been designed to support exploration of how to resist stereotypes or traditional subjectivities of the gendered ways people ‘should’ or ‘should not’ act. The lessons ask young people to consider how judgements of behaviour, based on gender and / or sexuality, advantages some and disadvantages others (Activity 3). Activities such as these will support the development of young people’s critical analysis about who is advantaged by gender stereotypes. By doing this work with young people the swelling of the ‘interpretive community of support’ continues (Plummer, 1995, p. 116). The SRE programme will also introduce activities where aronga mapu can explore the qualities they want in their partners and relationships as well as ‘how to know when a relationship is unhealthy’ and ‘how to break up kindly’. These common situations will be addressed through ‘skills practise’ and role-play to experiment with various scenarios where there is a need or desire to communicate that something needs to change in a relationship or that they want to end the relationship (Activities 4, 12, 17).

6.4 Tika’anga | Consent, Power and Control
Focus group conversations revealed findings related to bullying and sexual violence. This aggression was often associated with gender and / or sexual diversity, i.e. homophobia or transphobia. As a signatory to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), the CIs Government has a responsibility to ensure that all aronga mapu under the age of 18 are protected from ‘discrimination on any grounds’. Yet many aronga mapu in this study shared experiences where they felt unsafe or unprotected by adults, and even, by their peers. What became clear as various experiences of
injury\textsuperscript{134} were shared, was the need to consider safety and interventions across a wide range of contexts not only in the SRE programme but also on a much larger scale from multiple and intersecting organisations. Considering how communities support the safety of young people is a complex undertaking which requires careful scrutiny of the responsibility and accountability for providing safe environments for all aronga mapu to thrive (Rasmussen, Sanjakdar, Allen, Quinlivan, & Bromdal, 2015). Rasmussen et al., (2015) suggest that ‘individuals cannot take [full] responsibility for bullying’ (p.3). These scholars propose that bullying, and I suggest therefore violence, is embedded in societies through repetition, and rooted in relations of power. This understanding intimates that addressing violence, bullying and harassment, which are intertwined with culture and religion, would be no easy ‘fix’. Nevertheless, for the sake of the aronga mapu, addressing bullying is something that cannot be neglected. The next section explores the data that aronga mapu revealed about the levels of sexual violence in their lives.

6.4.1 Forced Sex
Unwanted, or forced sex, ranges along a continuum from ‘not desired, to unwanted and coerced, to forcible sexual contact and rape’ (Flack et al., 2007). Sexual violence and unwanted sex therefore can be experienced in committed as well as casual relationships. In the questionnaire, almost a quarter (23%) of aronga mapu reported that they had ‘ever’\textsuperscript{135} been forced to have sex and 12% reported experiencing forced sex in the six months prior to answering the questionnaire. The median age of first forced sex was 16 and the approximate median age of perpetrators was 19. Of those that had experienced forced sex, 90 were female and 55 were male, representing 24% of the female participants and 18% of the male participants in this study. By comparison, 20% of females, and 9% of males responded that they had experienced sexual abuse in the Youth12 study in NZ (Clark et al., 2013). Sexual abuse is often associated with young women however this study has revealed that young men are also at risk of sexual abuse in the CIs.

\textsuperscript{134} Whether physical, sexual, or mental and emotional injury.
\textsuperscript{135} One hundred and forty-five aronga mapu had experienced forced sex in their lifetime while 75 had experienced forced sex in the previous six months.
Respondents identified that most of the time the perpetrators had been someone close to them, such as: a parent (2%), or neighbour (3%), work colleague (4%), relative (6%), family friend (16%); 30% of the sexual violence was committed by partners, and 20% was instigated by strangers. A study investigating the sexual violence that women in NZ experienced found that male family members were most likely the perpetrators of sexual violence (Fanslow, Robinson, Crengle, & Perese, 2007) whereas the largest single cohort identified in this study was partners. Participants then identified that the sexual violence most often occurred at parties (41%), at home (19%), or at ‘other’ venues (28%). This data suggests that intimate partner violence is common with aronga mapu and therefore something that can begin to be addressed by SRE (Ball, 2013; Gillian Tasker, 2013). In comparison, 13% of women in the Te Ata O Te Ngakau: Shadows of the Heart. Cook Islands Family Health and Safety Study reported experiencing partner sexual violence (Cook Islands Ministry of Health, 2014b). A number of risk factors were identified in this study that placed CIs women at higher risk of intimate partner violence, such as partners with less education, in parallel relationships with other women, who consumed alcohol, or, that had a history of violence in their lives. It is possible that these same risks could be applicable to aronga mapu although this does not necessarily account for the young men experiencing sexual violence. Unfortunately, a limitation of the study was asking only a few questions to ascertain information about the level of sexual violence / abuse. Reframing of, and additional, questions could have ensured more clarity between first sexual experience, forced sexual experiences, identifying child sexual abuse, where aronga mapu are most at risk of being abused, and a clearer understanding of who perpetrated the abuse. The findings indicate the high level of sexual abuse experienced by aronga mapu in the CIs and show this as an area in need of further research and intervention. Three other studies have revealed similar findings (Cook Islands Ministry of Health, 2014b; Cook Islands Ministry of Health & Secretariat of the Pacific Community, 2007, 2009).

136 Some participants did not identify their perpetrator.
The focus groups also commented on forced sex. When asked a question about why people have sex or get into relationships, participants in the CIRC focus group indicated that pressure to be sexual could extend beyond peer pressure to participate into being coerced into sex by their peers.

Tiare: ‘cause you are forced to

DFP: Do you mean you are forced to do something sexual, or forced how?

Tiare: I don’t want to answer that question.¹³⁷

DFP: Okay. So, [to the rest of the group] sometimes you are forced to go out with someone, or have sex with someone?

Marama: Yeah - sometimes you’re forced to go out with someone

Telaina: Yeah cause everyone else is

DFP: So does that mean that you ‘should’ be as well?

Marama: Yeah

DFP: So, you do it to keep up with your friends even though you might not want to?

Consensus: Yeah

(CIRC)

Sexual violence and coercion were topics that frequently arose in the focus groups however the quote above indicates that other dynamics are at play. Tiare was too uncomfortable to explain further what her comment was about in this public forum. My impression was that she, or someone she knew, was coerced, or forced to have sex by their friends.
These data sets confirm that by the time SRE is implemented, generally around the age of 13 or 14 years, only 25% of students have not experienced sex, either through adolescent experimentation or abuse. This finding signposts that waiting until early secondary school before involving students in SRE is waiting too long (Lewis & Knijn, 2002). Such a delay could even be considered negligent as it places aronga mapu at risk by precluding them from the education that they require to keep themselves safe (United Nations, 1989; World Health Organization, 2006). While the physical repercussions of sexual violence, as well as early and unprotected sex, may show through the physical ramifications of such encounters (such as STIs, pregnancies or injuries), it is challenging to measure the impact on the other dimensions of pito’enua. How the social, mental and emotional, or spiritual health costs manifest themselves in aronga mapu who experience sexual violence is unknown, although the high suicide rate, and the high level of alcohol (mis)use by aronga mapu in the CIs, could be considered to be related to this data.

This data signals a lack of sexual safety for aronga mapu and indicates the necessity of teaching the skills required to develop and be able to identify positive healthy relationships, challenge gender norms, and seek help. The Te Ata O Te Ngakau: Shadows of the Heart. Cook Islands Family Health and Safety Study (2014) report makes many recommendations for addressing family violence in the CIs; one recommendation in particular is applicable to this study: ‘Raise awareness, especially amongst youth, to better understand the long term commitments and responsibilities involved in establishing healthy relationships’ (Cook Islands Ministry of Health, 2014b p.17). This data shows that some young people in the CIs are not safe and that the community needs to explore why, and how, the vulnerability of aronga mapu is tolerated. It is imperative that the CIs community be proactive, and accountable, taking responsibility for the safety of the nation’s aronga mapu. This responsibility is

138 In 2012 three in four youth had used alcohol and among those that drank the median drinks consumed was high at 7.5 drinks at a time. Sixty one percent of those under 18 years consumed alcohol (Cook Islands Ministry of Health & Secretariat of the Pacific Community, 2012). Legal age to access alcohol in the CIs is 18.
an expectation of signatories to the UNCRC, and the CIs Government acknowledges their obligations in this arena in many of its policy documents (Cook Islands Government & UNICEF, 2004; Cook Islands Ministry of Education, 2007; Cook Islands Ministry of Finance and Economic Management & UNFPA, 2015; Cook Islands Ministry of Health, 2014b; Cook Islands Ministry of Internal Affairs, 2015; Cook Islands Ministry of Internal Affairs: Youth Suicide Prevention Steering Committee, 2015; Rasmussen et al., 2015; United Nations, 1989). While interventions to keep young people safe need to be multi-sectoral, a beginning point would be the establishment of interventions such as SRE which begins at primary school (Briggs & Hawkins, 1997) as would perpetrator treatment programmes (Fanslow et al., 2007). SRE programmes, beginning from primary school, need to incorporate teaching and learning activities about ethics, and consent / coercion, in multiple, age appropriate ways, rather than simply using strategies about risk avoidance (Carmody, 2009; Department of Education and Early Childhood Development, 2014; Ferguson et al., 2008; UN Women, 2015).

6.4.2 Section Summary

If you see the underside of a tivaevae without the backing it reveals the underside of the stitches. The backing hides from the viewer of the tivaevae the stitches that are put to work to hold the design in place. In the same way, sexual violence is hidden from view, and allowed to continue, as some adults abuse the trust placed in them. Coupled with a lack of available support systems, this leads to aronga mapu being silenced and sexual violence being kept from sight. These unseen stitches, which hide their secret work underneath the view seen on the front of the tivaevae, threaten the beauty of the design on the front. When almost a quarter of the aronga mapu experience sexual violence as the data indicates, the knots are messy and that they will become unravelled is almost guaranteed, yet how, is unknown. I argue that when a quarter of the aronga mapu population in a country experience sexual violence there are long-term, inter-generational implications.
The literature provides evidence that indicates that violence is influenced by gender norms (Carmody & Carrington, 2000; Flood, Fergus, & Heenan, 2009; World Health Organization, 2006) and further supports the exploration of CIs gender norms in the SRE programme and how these are at times put to work, or support the (mis)use of power to hurt others (UN Women, 2015) (Activities 3, 15, 16). Further, the evidence about the level of sexual violence experienced by aronga mapu has led to the development of lessons in the SRE resource that provide opportunities for aronga mapu to explore the often opaque but entrenched ideas about violence using a social justice perspective (Activities 11, 15, 16, 19). It would be desirable to develop a fuller set of lessons to address keeping young people safe from all forms of abuse, however this material is outside the scope of this PhD. However, the data indicates the high level of abuse that is happening, and suggest that schools, and community educational organisations need to intervene urgently through teaching programmes to develop skills to prevent abuse, to recognise when abuse is happening, and how to make it stop, as well as how to get support.

6.5 Heteronormativity
Butler (1990) argues that one of the key effects of gender performativity is to regulate sexuality so that men and women will conform to gender norms within a heterosexual framework. This notion, known as heteronormativity, is the imbedded societal belief that heterosexuality is the ‘norm’ (Blaise & Taylor, 2012). As such, people are also active agents in the construction of gender, regulating their own expressions of gender within binary norms, as well as actively policing the gender performances of others. This practice, known as ‘heterosexualisation’ forms an integral part of young people’s everyday experiences as they grow up, play sports, watch television, go to church and generally live their lives (Davies, 1989; K. H. Robinson, 2015). Data from the focus groups reveal that young people in the CIs have been culturally socialised into both normative gender maintenance roles as well as a ‘compulsory heterosexuality’ (Rich, 1980). The expectations of heteronormativity were explained by every group; however the work of

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139 However, this data will be used to seek funding to develop a second resource after the PhD is completed which addressed gender-based violence and sexual violence in relationships.
heteronormativity becomes more exposed through the Te Tiare Association focus group discussion.

In all CIs contexts heterosexuality (re)presents as ‘normal’, reified, and as a taken for granted expectation. Within most sexuality classes, heterosexuality is presumed, as it is in almost all interactions in society. Sexual Others – those who are non-heterosexual – are stigmatised and often marginalised in Pacific communities and this is certainly so for the CIs (Secretariat of the Pacific Community, 2015). In this way, Foucault’s concept of being there but not there, is the way that akava’ine and the LGB community are (un)seen in the CIs. The (in)visibility of LGB(T) communities in the CIs may be due to concerns about religious or moral judgement that is often made apparent whenever situations related to homosexuality occur in the community (see Webb, 2015; Sarah Wilson, 2015a). As indicated in Square Five, more than nine percent of aronga mapu identify as LGBT. By comparison, this figure is more than double the number who identified as LGBT in the 2012 Youth Survey in NZ (Lucassen et al., 2014).

The findings in the Tika’anga section (6.4) indicated the acute vulnerability that aronga mapu face in relation to sexual violence. A variety of types of violence are used as disciplinary power to privilege heterosexuality and to exclude anyone who might be ‘other’ (Butler, 1990: 2007; Schilt & Westbrook, 2009). Lack of recognition of the LGBT community by the Government and other agencies, alongside the marginalisation faced by the LGBT community, also increases the vulnerabilities of aronga mapu who identify as gender or sexually diverse (M. P. Marshall et al., 2011; K.H. Robinson, Bansel, Denson, Ovenson, & Davies, 2014). Although there are no laws that criminalise sexual acts between women in the CIs, it is illegal for same sex partners to marry and it is a crime for men to have sex with men (Gerber, 2014; Eirangi Marsters, 2014). Lesbian women and bisexual people, present as invisible / transparent threads in the sexuality tivaevae as they are not part of the heteronormative understandings of CIs life. The fine thread(s), representing

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140 Twenty three percent of aronga mapu did not identify their sexuality.
141 There but not there.
men who desire other men, and akava’ine are faint, but threaded nevertheless. The privileging of males over females in CIs society could account for why this is so and why men felt more willing to self-identify in the study. Alternatively, as the community has discussed male homosexuality more often, albeit usually in health contexts such as HIV prevention, or in deprecating ways, the fact that discussion has occurred recognises the existence of gay men in the community. In turn, this could account for why this group felt more comfortable to identify themselves as ‘other’ in the questionnaire. Also, being a member of the TTA, which provides a space to (re)conceptualise personal difficulties as a politicised collective struggle, could have helped as being part of such a group creates a philosophy with which to resist hegemonic heteronormative understandings (Wexler, DiFluvio, & Burke, 2009). Most members of TTA are akava’ine.

Two examples are now offered to give some context of the ways that the LGBT community is considered in the CIs. In 2015, the Te Tiare group sought to change the section of the CIs Crimes Act which determines that it a criminal offence for men to have sex with men. The community ferociously opposed the law change and it became the focus of international discussion (Radio New Zealand, 2015; Sarah Wilson, 2015a). Another example happened when two CIs women wanted to renew their marriage vows with their CIs families on their family land. The aronga mana | tribal leaders intercepted and prohibited the ceremony. From throughout the CIs, other tribal leaders, church leaders, and members of the community with status such as parliamentarians from throughout the CIs supported the prohibitive stance of the aronga mana (Webb, 2015). These two examples offer an understanding of the level of homophobia and discrimination in the community that in turn supports an understanding of the risks a young person might incur if they identify as LGBT. So, while scenarios similar to these examples were played out in the community, aronga mapu consistently voiced their concerns about the impact that homophobia, transphobia and hegemonic heteronormativity had on the lives of some aronga mapu in the focus group.

142 They had been legally married in NZ.
Of particular note around CIs experiences of heteronormativity, homophobia and transphobia, is the focus group discussion with TTA where their narratives highlighted the lived realities of being bullied, humiliated, disciplined and punished for their gender and sexual identity. Their experiences make visible the societal expectations of the way(s) gender role performance is enacted in the CIs. Their stories help uncover and unstitch the cultural mechanisms in place that work hard to preserve the heteronormative discourse that maintains the status quo. These discussions will now be explored.

6.5.1 Te Tiare Association

Almost everyone in the TTA group identified as akava’ine and as women (TTA, 2012). One member told me privately that he was not akava’ine, he was gay. However, to have a sense of belonging he ‘queened up’ to be part of TTA. There were some criticisms that if you were not a Queen if was not easy to be part of the TTA. Most of the participants had been in sexual relationships with straight | heterosexual men and discussed their sense of being a woman as connected to being the partner of a straight man. The group specified that they felt more like a woman if they were with a straight guy rather than being with a gay man:

If it’s a gay guy, then sexual roles will be like top and bottom, and we both do the same thing. But with a straight guy it’s different, with a gay guy - I eat you and you eat me - we play sword fights, but with a straight guy, then I’m the lady. Us queens - we don’t do sword fights.

(TTA)

Several participants in the group agreed with the comment ‘we don’t do sword fights’ signposting the different sexual roles that occur when akava’ine are with straight men. The comment indicates that akava’ine are the sexually receptive partners when they are with a straight partner and that this gives them more of a sense of being a woman. The desire for a ‘normal’ relationship
— a heterosexual relationship - illustrates the way that akava'ine are influenced by gender performativity. As akava'ine identify as women, they adopt the gendered expectations that women in the CIs are ‘supposed’ to aspire to, that is, to desire men and to be in heterosexual relationships. Consequently, akava’ine’s understandings of heterosexual relationships as heteronormative can be seen as an effect of the performative ways in which gender is presented for females in the CIs. Gender performativity is illustrated by the excerpt in the way that the sexual encounters described should not involve ‘sword fights’, just as it would not when females and males have sex. Therefore, when straight men desired akava’ine, they were verified as being womanly and therefore legitimately female. When they attract a straight man, they are successfully presenting their female gender in a way that conforms to hegemonically acceptable and reified CIs gender identity.

Being with a straight guy who was also in a(ther) relationship with a woman, seemed to increasingly validate the participants’ sense of womanliness as can be seen by Shelly’s comment below. Many participants in TTA felt that if a straight man chose a ‘real’ woman as his partner, as well as them, the man also thought of their akava’ine partner as a ‘real’ woman. TTA participants indicated that there were aspects of being with a straight male partner that made life difficult. For example, life was problematic for them if their straight partner was not ‘out’ as having a transgender partner. This was especially so when some people in the community refused to recognise them as a heterosexual couple. Being seen as two men together had social and legal implications and this was problematic:

Sarah: It’s hard, like if you’re going out with a straight guy, it’s totally hard. It’s at a different level, um, you know, if he’s not all ‘out’ there. But if I was out with a gay guy it would be different, it would just look like we are friends.

Selena: If you’re going with a straight guy you have to realise they will go back with girls, you have to expect it and try not to force yourself on them. A straight guy is a straight guy
Shelly: It’s fun and scary at the same time [to go with a straight guy who has a girlfriend]

Lalita: I’m sure we’ve all been with a straight guy it’s one of our girls’ things

Shelly: I find it cool as. If I go out with a straight guy I feel like more of a woman

Lalita: These girls here [the focus group], 90% swing one way

Jerry: But you have to be very careful

(TTA)

Here the participants explain the complexity of being with straight men and how performative gender roles related to sexuality: maleness and femaleness are challenged within an akava’ine | straight relationship. These relationships are not considered homosexual relationships by akava’ine, as they understand themselves as women. However, the way the community, or some straight partners conceive of such relationships is that they are same sex relationships. Hence, the participants’ admission that they ‘have to be very careful’. Kalissa Alexeyeff argues that ‘straight men who have sex with laelae143 are not considered, and do not consider themselves, to be homosexual’ (Alexeyeff, 2008, p. 147). If they considered the relationship / sex they were having with akava’ine to be heterosexual, or if akava’ine thought the community considered their relationships with straight men as heterosexual, one wonders why the need to hide their relationships for fear of judgement or condemnation? To confirm this idea, there was never a time during TTA discussion where anybody declared their relationships with men as heterosexual, or that the community was okay with them having relationships with men. Another verification is the very low number of ‘out’ akava’ine and male relationships. The president of the TTA advised that there are ‘maybe’ two such relationships currently ‘out’ in the country (V. Wichman,

143 Another Cls term for akava’ine coined from Tahiti.
personal communication, March 2, 2016). As discussed previously, being gay is associated with risk in the CIs context. Censure occurs at a variety of levels in the community: legally, educationally, religiously, and culturally, due to the hegemonic and heteronormative way these values are intrinsically part of CIs society or have come to be seen as such. The impact of these values is that very few LGBT relationships are ‘out’ (known about) in the community.

These insights can be read through Butler’s (1990: 2007) argument that gender and sexuality are often collapsed together and thought to signify one another. Gender is immersed in politics, culture and society and these hegemonic sociocultural influences persuade society that non-normative gender is flawed and therefore an indication of homosexuality (Butler, 1990: 2007). The anxiety caused from this kind of thinking has performatively become pervasive throughout the Pacific where in many countries, including the CIs, there is a price to pay for not conforming to gender norms (Alexeyeff & Besnier, 2014; Dvorak, 2014; George, 2014; Gerber, 2014; Kuwahara, 2014; Stewart, 2014; Tcherkezoff, 2014; Teaiwa, 2014).

The concept of straight men having sex with other men, or a transgender partner, and considering themselves heterosexual can be discussed and understood in terms of ‘heteroflexibility’. Heteroflexibility is a term that refers to the ‘incorporation of same-sex desires and practices into the definition of heterosexuality’ (Carrillo & Hoffman, 2016). This term has allowed for some fluidity in the way heterosexuality is considered. Carrillo and Hoffman (2016) explain that this term allows people who identify as straight to show ‘interest in being sexually involved with both women and men without perceiving a need to give up their identity as straight or heterosexual’ (p.2). I offer this term as a way to understand the men who have sex with akava’ine who consider themselves straight; while at the same time acknowledging that akava’ine see themselves in straight relationships as they consider themselves women. Information that acknowledges the complexities of sexuality and supports young people to understand the fluidity of gender and sexualities was

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144 The experiences of akava’ine with straight men is something that several other Pacific Nations experience and was discussed in Square Two (2.3, footnote 19).
requested in the SRE programme by TTA. Their conversations reported above, and below, indicate the necessity:

Shelly: There’s the straight gay, there’s the feminine gay and they all mix us up together.

Tau: In the resource we need to clarify transgender, transsexual, drag queen and they think we all sword fight!

Sarah: People mix us all up together… so we need to make sure that’s in the resource.

This discussion indicates the need for the SRE programme to incorporate conversations around different sexual identities, sexual fluidity and gender fluidity (Activities 3 – 9).

6.6.2 Identifying as Akava’ine

TTA participants discussed identifying as an alternate gender to the one they were assigned at birth from when they were very young children. Some participants shared how their parents adapted to some aspects of movement outside of their gender category whereas at other times this boundary crossing was evidently not acceptable. Alongside the lack of acceptance of their gender presentations, participants discussed the difficulties as they grew up of ‘trying to figure yourself out – what you are - and where you fit – or if you do [fit], or where can you fit!’ (Violeti, TTA). There were mixed responses from the group about how their families variously supported them as young boys who were interested in what their families perceived were feminine interests:

Vaine: You are accepted to clean the house, babysit, cook but you are not allowed a partner (nods of agreement from the others)

Jerry: My dad would tell me off ... and show and read me in the Bible… like warning and trying to scare me.
Valery: I would have to sneak to netball – I was supposed to be playing rugby … I got a hiding if they found out I had gone to netball

Jerry: It’s embarrassing on the community so nobody wants their child to be like us

The conversation illustrates some acceptance of sons performing traditional feminine domestic roles. Some of the complexities of growing up akava’ine are also glimpsed through these comments. We hear of parents wanting to ‘fix’ their child who was not conforming to masculine subjectivities by using Bible readings as Jerry spoke about. Butler (1990) argues that gender non-conformity is often associated with homosexuality and Jerry’s report that families are embarrassed by effeminate behaviour illustrates this, or their sons choosing a sport identified as ‘feminine’ by the community. Some children were resistant and willing to accept consequences, such as punishments, if they did what they knew their parents would not condone. These commentaries offer examples of the ways that gender is policed as well as some indications of the kind of price that akava’ine paid for not conforming to masculine norms (Butler, 1990: 2007). Perceptions of ‘shame’ brought on the family through sons acting outside of gender norms indicate the effect that gender performativity has on the lives of akava’ine. However, if there had been any family support this was revoked when they became interested in having male partners as they moved from childhood to adolescence:

DFP: Do you think young transgender youth are very supported by their families when you start to experiment sexually?

Group consensus: NO! [Loud and almost in unison]

DFP: Did anyone have an experience where they were supported?

Group consensus: NO! [in unison]
Lalita: It was only when I really came out, but under their roof? No. It was very hard

Selena: It is really hard

The lack of family support for some of the TTA participants impacted on the relationships they could have with their families. Some akava’ine reportedly left for overseas to try and work out for themselves - away from island judgement - how they wanted to live their lives. For others, this lack of support has had a lifelong impact on their health and wellbeing, as well as their familial relationships. It is extremely important that LGBT young people are in supportive environments as they move through adolescence to adulthood. Positive and supportive relationships with families and friends are paramount in supporting LGBT youth to develop as healthy individuals - as such relationships are for all youth (Clark et al., 2014; Lucassen et al., 2014). It appeared that if there was any family support as they grew up, it was through the relationships they had with their mothers. Sarah, Selena and Tau explained:

Sarah: I was all right with my mum – she knew – but we never talked about it – we didn’t know how to start it … we don’t talk about it.

DFP: Because it was too hard to talk about?

[Sarah nods]

Selena: The mothers are always supportive compared to the males

Tau: It was really hard in my family too. It was just when dad died that ... we didn’t talk about it ‘til my dad died.

The gendered responses in relation to family support indicate the complexities of growing up akava’ine and the extent to which mothers are able to support their children. Potentially mothers are being supportive in contradiction to the
values and beliefs of the child’s father as well as wider community attitudes. There was a cost for the way that these children challenged gendered expectations through their interest in ‘female’ activities. Many were punished through the severing of their relationships with their parents. That Sarah’s mother ‘knew’ but never spoke about her child’s gender non-conformity reveals that it was risky for Sarah’s mother to show support of her child if she contradicted the father’s values. CI’s gender norms dictate that women are expected to be supportive of their children as well as obey their husbands. In light of this, it is perhaps to be expected that the mothers of akava’ine children were the ones who could support their children as they developed. The resounding silence by fathers, as well as mothers, however is a powerful indication of the hegemonic disciplinary power of gender norms that is evoked if one does not conform.

Tau’s indication that it was not until her father died that her mother felt comfortable to discuss Tau’s gender identity with her exposes the influence that her father had in the family and also reflects the heteronormative and patriarchal family values generally present in CIs families. These kinds of values led some of the participants to share how they rebelled against their parents. Their rebellions consisted of ‘acting out’ by having sex when they knew their parents would disapprove, especially if they were judging and punishing them for playing netball or making other such judgments of their ‘feminine’ behaviour. When I asked if their parents knew they were having sex as an act of rebellion one participant said ‘no, but it’s still good to do it’. These acts of rebellion can be appreciated through the lens of power and agency; a legitimate and powerful response to being judged as deviant and dismissed by people they care about. The rebellion indicates that akava’ine aronga mapu did not accept the ways that their parents were trying to influence them, as well as demonstrating how they deliberately pushed back against conforming to heteronormative expectations.

Other participants in the group reported that they had sought professional support to work though some of the experiences from their childhood. One of the main concerns of the group was the level of self-harm, attempted suicide,
or suicide by their contemporaries. When discussing how well they were accepted at school or by their families they voiced ‘our biggest concern is suicide’. In the CIs and in other countries suicide is acknowledged as a key risk associated with people who are transgender, and/or same sex attracted (Cook Islands Ministry of Internal Affairs: Youth Suicide Prevention Steering Committee, 2015; J. P. Robinson & Espelage, 2012; K.H. Robinson et al., 2014). Foucault argued that ‘people know what they do; they frequently know why they do what they do; but what they don’t know is what what they do does’ (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983, p.187, as cited in A. Y. Jackson & Mazzei, 2012). When young people are not allowed to live in the way that they determine is the best way for themselves, because adults believe their way is the wrong way, their wellbeing is affected (Waksler, 1986). Understanding the impact of ‘what what they do does’ to others will be addressed in the SRE programme as it is foundational in understanding social justice (7.15). The use of power and control in relationships where, for example, young people are forced by the community to live as the gender assigned to them at birth when they do not recognise that gender, contributes significantly to the mental illness in the CIs (Cook Islands Ministry of Internal Affairs: Youth Suicide Prevention Steering Committee, 2015; L. Tuara, personal communication, June 16, 2015).

6.6.2.1 Coming Out as Akava’ine

Coming out as sexually active was discussed in Square Five145 but there were different aspects to this process for members of TTA. First, accepting that they did not conform to the expected gender presentation associated with their birth sex is not easy in a heteronormative society with strong gender expectations. To identify as a woman is one thing, having the courage to commence living as a woman in society is another. Secondly, many akava’ine identify as heterosexual women and are attracted to men. As people in the community often perceive relationships between akava’ine and men as a same-sex relationship, to then act on such understandings of self presented a

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145 In the discussion of Table H.
difficult scenario when living in a heteronormative society that vehemently shuns homosexuality and gender diversity.

Below the participants discuss the difficulty of coming out in the CIs:

Vaine: Another hard thing [about relationships] is coming out to the public.

Sarah: Before I used to wait ‘til it was dark before going out, but now I go for it

Jerry: Yeah, it’s if other people see you with your partner… that’s hard.

Valery: Not [hard] about being a drag Queen …. being a drag Queen is always fabulous!

Sarah: [it is like they are judging] ‘It’s bad enough being a drag queen … but now you are walking with a man!’?

Serena: But once you’ve done it the first time you’re fine

You are ‘fine’, unless you have to worry about your personal safety when considering coming out and being seen with a partner in public. Other responses suggest that participants often had to consider their safety:

Tau: We have to be very careful as well as it’s a very controversial issue [being transgender]

Sarah: We are trying to decriminalise sodomy by having an amendment done to the Crimes Act

Jerry: Yeah, being a lesbian is ok [in the law] but gays are not

Valery: But when we are talking about sexuality – in the CIs we are targeted [for sex] as we are feminine…
Tau and Valery began to discuss the way that power is enacted when TTA are ‘out’ in the community. The need to consider carefully when and where they can go out with a partner and whether they will be safe needs to be considered in various ways. While laws about sex acts between men are similar throughout the English speaking Pacific, how these are observed varies between countries (Stewart, 2014). In the CIs there has never been a charge brought against any man, yet Sarah highlights it is illegal for men to have sex with men, indicating this is a concern that they have to constantly consider. The work TTA have undertaken towards having the Crimes Act amended is important work for the health and wellbeing of the LGBT community. Decriminalisation has been shown to support improved social attitudes, even in countries where the laws have rarely been enforced but the fact the law is there is a deterrent - panopticon (Farran, 2014).

6.6.3 Akava’ine Experiences of Sexual Violence
In the previous dialogue, Tau and Valery spoke of the way men target akava’ine for sex as well as how akava’ine are harassed because of their gender presentation and relationships. After this discussion, I reminded them of the findings from the CIs Akava’ine and MSM Study (2009) which found that 46% of 15-24 year old akava’ine in that study had experienced sexual violence.146 Their response was:

Lalita (whispered): You [the people who do this sexual violence] should go to hell…

Tau: They want to keep us out

Shelly: We don’t know why they [the community] are silent with these sorts of issues

Lalita: Yeah instead of making it [homosexuality] a bad thing [rather than the sexual violence]

Lalita appears to be implying that the reason for the silence, or lack of action against the sexual violence akava’ine experience, could be a way of punishing

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146 In the previous six months to the questionnaire.
them for their non-normative gender and perceived sexuality. It is noted that sexual violence against aronga mapu\textsuperscript{147} is also silenced (6.4.1). Akava’ine claim that as long as they stick to the domestic and nonsexual roles of women, they are accepted into the community. However, social acceptance is withdrawn when they desire men as their partners. The inability to transverse religious beliefs, (‘it says it is wrong in the Bible Debi’, Selena, TTA; Principal of Island School) whilst supporting and understanding diversity is difficult when ‘up against’ powerful hegemonic heteronormative narratives. Without considerable time to explore one’s values, beliefs and thinking about human rights and social justice, as well as openness to exploring these ideas, it is unlikely this lack of acceptance will change. Incorporating activities in the SRE programme that ask aronga mapu to consider ‘other’ sexualities outside of heterosexuality will begin to sew / sow seeds of change (7.13 – 7.16). The sex-positive philosophy in the SRE programme mirrors Queen and Comella (2008) entailing the development of a ‘cultural philosophy that understands sexuality as a potentially positive force in one’s life . . . [it] allows for and in fact celebrates sexual diversity, differing desires and relationship structures, and individual choices based on consent’ (Queen & Comella, 2008, p. 278).

Participants went on to describe examples of ‘tolerance’ from the community such as working for organisations that supported them in the way they chose to dress at work, for example, wear dresses, high heels and make up to work. They pointed out however that this changed if a man came to visit them at work. Lalita described an incident where critical comments were made to her that caused a woman of authority to intervene:

Lalita: nobody has said for us not to wear a dress or make-up to work. We have worked with some very beautiful people and some very ugly people... but when it comes to relationships with men - that is not okay. This boy came to visit me at work ... and then they ask ‘why did a boy come to see you?’ and

\textsuperscript{147} Of which akava’ine and homosexual men would make up 5.6% (or possibly more due to the number of participants who answered ‘unsure’ or ‘refused’ to identify their sexual orientation) of the 23%.
then Mama Niki put them in their place… that happened at work

DFP: So, you needed someone to advocate for you?

Lalita: Yep

Jerry: (Whispered) It’s alright to dress up like a girl, but it’s not alright to go with a boy

Jerry’s whispered comment was one that was repeated many times in the various contexts I worked within in the CIs. Many people mention how well akava’ine are accepted in the CIs, and to a certain extent this is a correct assumption. As Jerry points out however, you are accepted until you, who identify and present as a woman, have a male partner. The community then see you as a man and the rules for men apply.

6.6.4 Akava’ine at School

TTA members shared experiences of homophobic or transphobic harassment and violence in a range of contexts; in school, church, from families or peers, on the streets, at sports and in the workplace. The way that some teachers harassed akava’ine at school, as well as the incidence of teachers condoning other students harassing them, were discussed by the group. The Australian ‘Growing up Queer’ study found that teacher compliance with sexual harassment was a scenario common to many Australian young people. The authors suggest that the violation of trust by teachers who condone homophobia at school can have a serious impact on the health and wellbeing of youth (K.H. Robinson et al., 2014). The report also states that this type of harassment can impact on the educational experiences of LGBT youth as they become more likely to drop out of school, something also experienced in the CIs:

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148 Some of the personal stories collated for the SRE programme negate how well accepted akava’ine are while growing up (7.16). Many of the stories present examples of bullying, disciplining and violence for being interested in feminine things.
Sarah: We were talking about DNA and genes and things, you know XY and XX ... the high school teacher told me, you are an XXY... can you stand up and say what being a laelae [akava’ine] is like?

DFP: So he totally humiliated you in front of the class?

Sarah: Yes

Tau: I had an experience like that, because I liked tennis he [the teacher] just assumed I was gay and said that to the whole class

Sarah: When I was seeing a psychologist years later I recalled this situation and how I felt ...

That Sarah relayed this experience to her psychologist years later signifies the impact this experience had on her wellbeing. She was still working through the embarrassment and humiliation of the way she was treated at school well into adulthood. When discussing education, and schooling, this group had many concerns based on their own experiences of being akava’ine at school; experiences that impacted on their mental, emotional, and physical health, wellbeing and safety. In a discussion related to their experiences at school one participant shared the following illustration of the way she was taunted at school by boys and her way of managing this bullying:

Sarah: I would be called cocksucker cocksucker all day at school but as soon as the sun sets, they want their cocks sucked... so what did I do? I did it?

DFP: Did you feel you had too? [I wondered if they would be violent if she didn’t do what they wanted or if there were other reasons].

Sarah: I felt I was doing the right thing as I was comfortable being with a guy
DFP: So then there’s the whole thing of how come it’s not all right during the day but at night it’s ok?

Selena: Boys will be boys! When they are with their friends they will always be cheeky but when they are their own they don’t have the others to back them up

Sarah: I just do it to them as next time I have something to throw back at them

[Others in the group agreed that they would take the same action in order to have something to use back against the perpetrators of the bullying].

Here, Sarah responds to this bullying in a way that she says she feels comfortable doing, and that enables her to have power over the bullies. Her decision to act on their requests for oral sex provides her with what she thinks will be the ability to stop the bullying. The boys undoubtedly would not like to have their homophobic terms thrown back at them for fear of being outing as gay or that they had taken part in a homosexual act. The boys could perhaps be authorising their own heteroflexibility, it could be adolescent curiosity and experimentation, or it could be a way of revealing their attraction to Sarah. My concern in response to this situation was whether Sarah was really acting with personal agency and authority in choosing to give the ‘blowjob’. Rather, could her fear for her safety, or not being able to tell anyone that she was being pressured to perform sexual acts, be behind her compliance? Sarah had previously shared that she had been seeing a psychologist about the way she had been treated in her aronga mapu and it could be that this sort of experience contributed to her needing this support. In light of the level of sexual violence experienced by aronga mapu in the CIs there are real concerns that others, if not Sarah, may not be able to safely handle situations such as this.

Unfortunately, as shown in the Growing Up Queer study (2014), experiences such as those Sarah shared display a lack of acceptance, tolerance, and
understanding by teachers, peers and schools and these attitudes led to several members of TTA leaving school early:

Sarah: I left school because I broke up with my boyfriend. I couldn’t talk to anybody about it - nobody understood why I was so depressed

Lalita: Some of our young girls who have left school said to me ‘we don’t want to go as the teachers say I have to cut my hair’ [boys had to have their hair above the collar]. This sort of attitude needs to change on sexuality. They [the teachers] need to educate themselves so they accept students for who they are…. And then the young sisters will stay at school

Valery: But the problem with the teachers is that even talking about sex is a no-no

Beginning to counteract these kinds of experiences requires both teacher professional development and ensuring school environments are safe for everyone through school policy (Ollis, 2003; Ollis et al., 2012; RainbowYOUTH, 2015; Secretariat of the Pacific Community, 2015; Snapp et al., 2015). UNESCO has funded a four-day professional development workshop for this SRE programme for teachers and community educators to attend from most islands of the CIs. Creating safe environments to support LBGT safety in classes will be addressed in the SRE programme (8.6, Pre activity). Activities which utilise scenarios that have been shared as part of this study will also be employed in multiple ways to promote challenges to the status quo (Activities 6 - 9). Taking this kind of approach will begin to address the school environment and the teachers’ knowledge and translate it into an inclusive SRE programme. When I asked the TTA if any of the sexuality education they had while at school helped them in any of the relationships there was a strong and negative response:

149 When my children were at high school the Deputy Principal carried scissors and would walk around the boys when they were attending the school assembly and randomly cut any boys hair that was longer than their collar.
Unanimously: No!

DFP: Not one of you had any sexuality education?

Selena: Not talking about gay!

Sarah: At lunch breaks - yeah!

Serena: Only from the friends and the older sisters [other akava’ine]

Tau: They talk about making babies but they don’t talk about us!

The indication that none of them had experienced any formal sexuality education was repeated in other focus groups. However, the particular point they make is that even if they had any sexuality education, *their* kinds of relationships were never spoken about. This silence or omission needs to change when one considers that more than nine percent of the aronga mapu population identifies as LGBT. To this end teaching about gender and sexual diversity is incorporated into the SRE programme. As previously mentioned, during 2015 there were a few stories related to the LGBT community in the CIs News. One of these stories was about the piloting of the SRE manual with some teachers from all of the southern CIs (Sarah Wilson, 2015b).150

Interestingly not one letter to the editor was received about what the teachers were learning, even though the newspaper clearly said that teachers were investigating teaching and learning activities related to sexual diversity. In another story the president of TTA was recognised with a Queens Award for her work on the amendment to the Crimes Act. In ensuring such stories make the newspaper, TTA and their allies have been attempting to ‘fatten up’, or ready, the community for change:

Stories can be heard when a community has been fattened up, rendered ripe and willing to hear such stories. They cannot

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150 See Appendix H.
easily be heard amongst isolated individuals … to turn it [being LGBT] from a private, personal tale to one that can be told publicly and loudly is a task of immense political proportions. It requires a collective effort, creating spaces in the wider social order and…. bit by bit – through … the meeting, the recording, the newspaper, the television programme, the film, … and so on – the voice gains a little more space and the claims become the bigger.

(Plummer, 1995, p. 116)

The stories that were told throughout the focus group discussions may only have had small audiences prepared to listen to (and hear) what aronga mapu were saying. Nevertheless, the teaching of the SRE programme provides for the ‘fattening up’ process to gain traction (Activities 3 – 9, 19). By including a range of stories about the lived realities of people in the CIs LGBT community in the SRE programme, the community is ‘fattened up’, as the stories will be shared further afield (Activity 9). The stories and lessons will act as enablers to social change as they begin to challenge the traditional heteronormative sexuality education that has been dominant in the lives of Cook Islanders for many years. People will hear young people describing their lived realities, and the repercussions of being forced to live their lives in ways that are harmful to their true selves, and this ‘telling’ may enable the ‘production, and reception’ of other stories more conceivable in the future (Plummer, 1995, p. 116).

6.6.5 Section Summary

As indicated in section 6.2.3 all focus groups,¹⁵¹ not just TTA, declared that the SRE programme should include sexual and gender diversity as content. This identification and level of support is pivotal to the development of the SRE programme and offers a view of the politics of aronga mapu. Signposting a strong social justice and human rights agenda, aronga mapu indicated the need for sexual and gender diversity to be incorporated despite their awareness that these topics were controversial and in direct contrast to what many adults would think appropriate. The SRE will also suggest that a

¹⁵¹ Apart from the boys in the OISG.
possible point for aronga mapu to consider as critical action in schools is the setting up a support group such as a ‘Gay-Straight Alliance’\(^{152}\) for aronga mapu who identify as LGBT, something that has not been done before (Activity 19). A collective perspective may provide sexually minoritised aronga mapu with ‘connections that facilitate the process of making meaning around an identity that is silenced’ and provide support to aronga mapu to (re)‘gain a sense of power over their lives’ (RainbowYOUTH, 2015; Safe Schools Coalition in partnership with Minus18, 2016; Wexler et al., 2009, p. 569). Heteronormativity impacts negatively on people who are sexually or gender diverse and it also narrows options for all people in the community in terms of how they can safely and supportively explore and express their identities. Therefore by challenging heteronormativity benefits are gained for everyone (Gunn & Smith, 2015b; L. Smith & Gunn, 2015).

TTA are represented as both the front of the tivaevae in their flamboyancy and beauty as akava’ine; they are also represented on the underside. The hidden aspects of their lives, those parts that are rarely shown / seen in public, are represented by the backstitches of the tivaevae. Despite being unseen by the public they are there - visible and yet invisible (Gray et al., 2016). The presence of akava’ine in society is seemingly tolerated until they breach heteronormative rules. The public know the backstitches of akava’ine lives are there; they are what hold the front of the tivaevae in place. The backstitches are never acknowledged for the work they do. Rarely are they even thought about, they are just ‘there’, as akava’ine are, albeit that some of their lives are lived behind closed doors.

### 6.7 Openga | Conclusion

The findings from the questionnaire and the focus groups offer many insights into possibilities for the multiple ways forward in how SRE in the CIs could be approached. The wide variety of views shared by aronga mapu offer complex and contested ways that aronga mapu negotiate their daily lives in the CIs.

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\(^{152}\) A Gay-Straight Alliance is a student-run club which provides a safe place for students to meet, support each other, talk about issues related to sexual orientation and gender identity and expression, and work to end homophobia and transphobia.
The data in Squares Five and Six informs the SRE resource. Whilst, in the context of this thesis it would be impossible to develop a programme that covered all of what has been shared, I have begun the process by formulating a set of lessons that develop and unpack sex and relationships through challenging heteronormativity as many of the issues identified through this research signposted that aronga mapu want to learn more about how to develop positive, intimate, and inclusive relationships. Square Seven outlines the SRE resource and the connection to the research further.
Square 7: O’ora te Tivaevae | The Sexuality and Relationships Education Resource

7.1 Introduction
This square provides a summary of the findings, outlines how the research informs the design of the resource, and concludes the exegesis. An overview of the connections between the research presented in this exegesis and the SRE resource designed for aronga mapu in the CIs concludes the square. The SRE resource is presented in a separate document.

7.2 Summary of Findings and Conclusions
This research project set out to understand the sexuality and relationships context of young people in the CIs. Inspired by Allen’s (2000, 2011) studies with young people in NZ I questioned if different findings would be discovered with young people in the CIs. When the Cook Islands HIV, STI, and TB Committee (CIHSTC) decided that a sexuality education resource that was based on the needs of aronga mapu in the CIs was a desirable goal, I adapted Allen’s (2000, 2011) work to meet the needs of the CIHSTC. As the study was set in the CIs the use of a culturally appropriate research model was required. As such, the Tivaevae Research Model, developed by Cook
Islander Teremoana Maua-Hodges (2001, 2016a), became the tool with which this research project was designed and pieced together to form a metaphorical sexuality tivaevae that represents CIs understandings of sexuality and relationships. The research project that informed the development of the SRE resource included a questionnaire that asked 674 15-24 year olds across the CIs questions about sex and sexuality, and six focus groups, which were facilitated in Rarotonga and the outer islands.

The research findings contribute to understandings in several areas:

1. Young Cook Islanders’ conceptualisation of their sexual knowledge and their embodied experiences
2. Young Cook Islanders’ sexual subjectivities
3. What young people in the Cook Islands determine as important in SRE
4. The impact of colonialism and normative understandings on the sexual lives of young Cook Islanders’
5. Development of a broader understanding and use of the Tivaevae Research Model

Square One considered how a metaphorical sexuality tivaevae could be achieved through providing a rationale for the research, explaining why the research was important, and identifying the cultural context of the project. Square One also outlined that this was the first study to explore gender, sex, sexuality and relationships with aronga mapu in the CIs and that both Government and Non Government Organisations thought the study important and that if they did not understand the realities of young peoples lives they could not support them in meaningful ways.

Square Two provided an overview of the research context and how the sexuality tivaevae is integral to the historical and contemporary context of the CIs. CIs normative influences on gender, sex, sexuality and relationships were explored in this square. These influences were then considered alongside literature and discourses about sexuality education positioned from a global and local context to expose the lack of literature related to young people in the Pacific and their sexuality education needs.
Square Three introduced the Tivaevae Research Model as a culturally appropriate method for use in this research project. This Indigenous research method was extended and then threaded with postcolonial and feminist poststructural theories to explain how the metaphorical tivaevae would be fashioned, as the findings were analysed and revealed through the squares. It is hoped that the use of the Tivaevae Model in this way will lead to extending the way the model is used in other research projects or to initiate understandings of the way(s) other Indigenous models might be considered.

Square Four of the sexuality tivaevae outlined the multi-methods used in the research and how these were applied within the Tivaevae Model. The square illustrated how the questionnaire and focus group designs were adapted through applying the values inherent in the Tivaevae Model. Consultation and collaboration with aronga mapu and CI organisations occurred to endeavour to ensure the methods were culturally respectful and were appropriate for use with aronga mapu.

Square Five identified multiple and complex designs to be incorporated into the sexuality tivaevae. Aronga mapu understanding(s) of sexual knowledge (5.4) and sexual practices (5.5, 5.6) identified the multi-layered design of the CIs gender, sex and sexuality landscape. Young people in the CIs clearly conceptualised themselves as sexual subjects and influenced the tivaevae design to be courageously sex positive. The SRE design had to incorporate teaching and learning lessons to support aronga mapu to safely navigate the findings about their level of sexual activity and the number of partners and concurrent partners they have. These findings, alongside the way aronga mapu identified their confidence about their sexual knowledge and the control they have over their sexual activity, exposed the sexual subjectivities of young Cook Islanders.

For the first time aspects of the lives of young people who identify as LGBT in the CIs is known (5.3.1, 6.5). Having 9.1% of the aronga mapu population identify as LGBT signposted that the SRE needed to address heteronormative
understandings of SRE and incorporate lessons to better understand and increase acceptance of diverse gender and sexual orientations. This finding reveals aspects of CIs society that had, until this research, been previously concealed from view on the CIs sexuality landscape / tivaevae. In becoming faintly visible this finding / design can encourage the visibility of members of the LGBT community and therefore the incorporation of activities into SRE to challenge heteronormativity. Several avenues for further research were identified in the responses to this question. The low number of lesbians identified (0.3%) and that almost as many people identified as bisexual (3%) as did gay men (3.6%) is new knowledge for the CIs. While akava’ine / trans women have had some visibility in CIs life, lesbian, bisexual and gay men have not been. Research into lesbian, bisexual, and gay aronga mapu experiences in the CIs should be considered. Investigating why so many (23%) aronga mapu were not willing to reveal their sexual orientation in the questionnaire could also be explored further.

Aronga mapu responded that they were least knowledgeable about STI’s, how to avoid unwanted sex, and communicating about sex to their partners (5.4). Whereas areas they reported they were most knowledgeable about were: how to put on condoms, understanding what turns a partner on, getting what they wanted out of a sexual relationship and about sexual positions and techniques (5.4). However some of these findings were contested in the responses that were given in later questions (5.5). The research revealed that friends and lovers (5.4.2) were the preferred source of sexual knowledge for young people regardless of gender. It appears that young men in the CIs are able to negotiate competing forms of hegemonic masculinity by being willing to seek information about sex from their friends and lovers without appearing vulnerable. Aronga mapu value knowledge gained through practice / experience as indicated by signalling lovers as the second highest preferred source of knowledge and participants felt fairly confident about their sexual knowledge whether they were experienced, or not, (5.4.1). Learning though

153 Even though 54% of the participants in the study were female.
154 There has been one study of Akava’ine and Men who have Sex with Men however this study was predominantly focussed on HIV prevention (Cook Islands Ministry of Health & Secretariat of the Pacific Community, 2009).
experience counters literature which suggests young people need to learn skills before they are sexually active (Kirby, 2007b).

Square Five revealed previously hidden threads of the tivaevae and demonstrated that aronga mapu participated in sexual encounters without being in relationships (5.5.3) and often had concurrent relationships. This finding challenges traditional SRE programmes that suggest sexual relationships should only be commenced within stable relationships and these findings propose that aronga mapu might disregard risk as important in their decision-making. Alternatively, when asked what participants wanted in sexual relationships most 15–19 year olds in the study said that sex was something ‘fun’ or ‘pleasurable’ (5.6). Participants responded positively about their ability to ‘show’, ‘tell’, or ‘tell and show’ their partners their sexual desires (5.6.3). Ascertainment how aronga mapu have been able to access alternative sexual subjectivities of sexual desire, for example, assertively asking for pleasure, which is counter cultural within the restrictive and conservative cultural environment of the CIs, is worthy of further investigation. That females in the study considered themselves more in control of their sexual encounters than the male respondents is also an interesting finding worthy of further research in a society where many females subscribe to traditional female subjectivities.

Square Six predominantly reported the findings from the focus group discussions and wove a variety of threads identified by aronga mapu as desirable in CIs SRE into the sexuality tivaevae (6.2). Their colourful and complex ideas about the content / design they wanted sewn into the sexuality tivaevae, alongside the designs illuminated in Square Five, gave a distinct purpose to the SRE resource. Dominant discourses commonly associated with young people were challenged in this square when aronga mapu revealed that they were interested in other aspects of relationships besides sex or a partner that was good looking (6.3). Males were more able to resist, contest, or articulate publicly, normative gender ideals in terms of the kinds of relationships they wish to have while females almost completely subscribed to traditional female subjectivities about relationships (6.3.1). Investigating how
CIs males are able to resist hegemonic ideas of masculinity could be another avenue worthy of further research.

Square Six also revealed a concealed aspect / design in the sexuality tivaevae when 20% of aronga mapu revealed that they had concurrent relationships. The ideas of non-monogamy were commonly discussed in the focus groups and indicate that multiple relationships are normalised in CIs culture (6.3.2). Young people identified the need to learn how to manage their emotions in relationships, how to recognise when relationships have become unhealthy, and how to break off a relationship ‘kindly’ (6.3.3). Their understandings of the skills relationships require were also identified in this square.

Understanding how hegemonic masculinities and femininities play out to place young people at risk in relationships is important learning to sew into the SRE programme given the large number of participants who identified that they had experienced sexual violence (6.4.1). Most abuse was perpetrated by someone known to the young person and was experienced at parties or at home (6.4.1). This dark aspect of the tivaevae has been uncovered for all to see and the level of sexual violence could be contributing to a number of concerns about aronga mapu such as the high suicide rate and the level of substance abuse (Cook Islands Ministry of Health & World Health Organization, 2011; Cook Islands Ministry of Internal Affairs: Youth Suicide Prevention Steering Committee, 2015). While there has been research into the level of gender-based violence with women in the CIs, further research into child sexual abuse is required. Development of policies and programmes to ensure that young people are kept safe, and know the skills to keep themselves safe or seeking help, are also needed, as are support strategies for those who are the survivors of abuse. The disturbing finding of the level of sexual violence experienced by aronga mapu had to impact on the design of the sexuality tivaevae. Teaching about consent and unhealthy relationships is incorporated into the SRE (Activities 11, 16). What is happening to young people cannot be left to continue and as indicated in Square Six a
multifaceted response is required; education is but one thread or pattern in redesigning the current sexual violence picture.

Finally, Square Six illustrates the impact of heteronormativity on the lives of the participants. Every focus group confirmed that the SRE programme should include sexual and gender diversity as content despite their knowledge that this topic would be controversial (6.2.3, 6.5.). As a result, Te Tiare and akava’ine are represented in the sexuality tivaevae. However, the research revealed that there are other aspects of these designs that represent akava’ine that need ‘outing’. The impact of dominant heteronormative discourse on the lives of akava’ine was evident in the study (6.5, 6.6). This is juxtaposed by the commitment by the CIs government to keep all young people safe. By including learning opportunities that recognise and focus on the way normative understandings impact negatively on the lives of some and not others affords understandings of social justice that are important in every society. The SRE will speak to these strategies while exploring gender, sexuality and relationships and in this way the design of the sexuality tivaevae will continue to evolve as some issues in society are resolved and others emerge. The next section explains the SRE resource and makes links between the exegesis and the lessons.

7.3 The Sexuality and Relationships Resource
Aimed at junior secondary students, or people of a similar age in community groups, the SRE is designed based on the needs identified by aronga mapu in the exegesis and is underpinned by current research about best pedagogical practice for sexuality education. The SRE resource is an educator’s manual with twenty lessons designed to teach young people the skills to consider, plan for, and incorporate into, their sexual lives. Writing one programme that comprehensively covered every topic and key finding identified as important by aronga mapu in the exegesis was not feasible. Therefore the SRE

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155 Year 9 and 10, or aged between 12 and 15 years, although some of the lessons could be taken at year 7 or 8.
156 Educators indicated during the pilot phase that twenty lessons would be the maximum lessons they could teach.
157 Funding is being sought to write a second resource that will address learning the skills to keep safe from bullying, abuse and violence.
focuses on developing the capacity of aronga mapu to enjoy equitable, responsible, fulfilling, and healthy, sexual lives. Consequently, the following inclusions about content were made:

- **Human development:** reproductive and sexual anatomy and physiology\(^{158}\), gender identity and sexual orientation
- **Personal skills:** exploration of attitudes and values, decision-making, communication, negotiation, seeking help
- **Relationships:** friendships, love, identifying the characteristics of relationships we prefer, understanding how we are influenced, peer pressure, and sexual / intimate relationships
- **Keeping ourselves healthy and safe:** critically thinking about sexuality, sexual activities, and how to navigate sexual activity safely, contraception and STIs, as well as managing the emotional, mental and physical challenges associated with sexual activity and / or relationships
- **Sexuality and society:** considering human rights and social justice issues related to gender, sex and sexuality and the impact of social norms and discrimination
- **Consultation and collaboration with the community:** ideas to schools about how they could consult, collaborate, and support their school community

7.3.1 *Understanding the Cook Islands Sexuality Context*

Some of the current research is shared in each lesson to develop the contextual knowledge and understanding of educators about aronga mapu sexuality and relationships in the CIs. Data is shared about what aronga mapu identified as important to learn in SRE.

7.3.2 *Policies and Practices for Schools*

How school practices, policies and support structures could be considered or enhanced to support students and teachers is discussed for those

\(^{158}\) It is desirable that anatomy and physiology would have been taught during a pubertal changes unit of work prior to these lessons. There are extra lessons included the SRE programme in case educators or participants are unfamiliar with these aspects of sexuality education.
implementing the programme from within educational settings (8.3). This discussion is envisioned to support the successful implementation of SRE in schools and to create safer and more inclusive schools.

7.3.3 Pedagogical Approaches
Culturally responsive pedagogy, values and ideology are important when considering topics such as SRE that are not only personal but also culturally sensitive. It is important that a Cook Islands, contextually relevant approach, is used when facilitating these lessons so that aronga mapu can take both their traditional and contemporary knowledge, and combine these ideas in ways they feel best maximise their skills to attain their full potential. To facilitate this approach CIs cultural values are incorporated into the SRE and lesson approaches facilitate participatory pedagogy (8.3, 8.3).

The importance of being responsible citizens who understand, uphold, and preserve social justice is imperative for everyone (St. Pierre, 2000). Subsequently developing a sense and awareness of social justice is an important thread woven throughout the SRE. Participants are led through activities that ask them to examine critically certain scenarios that were shared in the research to ascertain if human rights, and social justice, are supported. For example, scenarios such as, where discriminatory practices happen to girls who are sexually active, but not boys; when akava’ine are bullied for the way they present to the world; or when people are coerced to have sex. By exploring scenarios such as these, and how people could respond in ways that are assertive, aids in the development of skills that encourage the development of communication skills.

7.3.4 Teaching Staff
The programme was designed for delivery by professional staff or volunteers. People such as teachers, counsellors, Non Government Organisation (NGO) staff, community leaders, health workers, religious leaders, members of sexuality or youth support groups\textsuperscript{159}, or nurses / sexual reproductive health educators. Ideally, the facilitators of the programme would have participated in

\textsuperscript{159} Such as Te Tiare Association, Youth Peer Educators, or Rotoract.
the professional development for this programme. If they were not able to attend the professional development the front end of the SRE (8.1 – 8.5) offers understandings of philosophy and approaches appropriate for the implementation of the programme.

It is important that educators are able to facilitate this programme feeling comfortable using participatory teaching strategies that are inclusive, non-judgmental, and accepting of aronga mapu ideas that the educator may not agree with personally. It could be that in a school the best person to teach this resource may be a school counsellor, a health education teacher, or someone else completely. It could be co-facilitated between schools and NGOs. Aronga mapu indicated the best people to teach SRE were those who were ‘knowledgeable but not judgmental’, ‘who could laugh with them’, ‘would answer their questions honestly’ and ‘someone who could keep confidences’.

7.4 Aims of the Resource
The overall aim for the resource is for all aronga mapu to have the skills and knowledge to enjoy equitable, responsible, fulfilling, and healthy, sexual lives. The lessons are intended to support aronga mapu to meet this aim by developing critical thinking skills in relation to sexuality and relationships that enable them to recognise:

- they are actively involved in the construction of their sexuality and gender identity
- there is a wide range of difference and diversity within all groups related to gender, sex, and relationships
- how discriminatory practices can damage the wellbeing of themselves and others
- how societal influences and power structures operate in the construction of sexuality and gender
- how to resist restrictions placed on them by others' constructions of gender and/or sexuality

### 7.5 Overview of Lessons

Table U offers an overview of the twenty lessons, their learning intentions, research links, and where each lesson links to the exegesis.

#### Table U. Overview of Lessons

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Learning Intentions</th>
<th>Research Links</th>
<th>Exegesis Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Activity 1: What do we think? Part 2: Definition of a sexually healthy person | - Develop an understanding of their own and other people’s views and positions in relation to issues of sexuality  
- Evaluate our current knowledge about sex, sexuality and relationships | | |
| Activity 2: Tangata Tuitarere | A stranger arrives Part 2: Akarongo matatio | - Understand that there are multiple, and often conflicting, knowledge sources and influences about sex, sexuality and relationships that come from many different sections of society  
- Critically analyse popular culture messages about sex, sexuality and relationships | Friends and lovers were the most useful sources of knowledge. This activity explores the multiple, indirect, and often conflicting, messages about sex that aronga mapu receive. | 5.4.2 |
| Activity 3: Ta tatou tu | our roles | - Analyse society’s expectations for females and males  
- Identify how gender stereotypes limit individuals and impact on society  
- Explore and understand gender expectations that are biologically determined and those that are socially determined | The research revealed that while in some ways young people did not conform to traditional understandings of femininity and masculinity there were also times that societal expectations of female or male gender inhibited the ways that aronga mapu lived their lives. | 5.6.1 6.5 |
| Activity 4: Pirianga meitaki | respectful relationships | - Identify and reflect on which characteristics they value in platonic and sexual/intimate relationships  
- Clarify our values about the people we have in our lives  
- Recognise that people often have similar ideas about what qualities and characteristics they desire in sexual or intimate partners/relationships | Young people often felt pressured to have sex by their peers rather than plan their sexual debut. Most of the participants in the questionnaire had experienced sex by the time they were 14-15 years of age. Aronga mapu spoke about the characteristics of the kinds of relationships they desire as being respectful, pleasurable and fun. | 5.5.4 6.3 |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity 5</th>
<th>Purotu, manea, e te akaieie</th>
<th>Intimacy, desire / attraction, and love</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Analyse the wider contexts of love</td>
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<td>• Explore and clarify our values and beliefs about love, attraction and desire</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Identify the physical, social and emotional effects of sexual arousal</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Identify options for dealing with attraction dilemmas which have both positive and negative consequences</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>• Identify possibly conflicting messages about sexuality from family and society</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aronga mapu want to learn about the emotional side of sex and relationships. They did not want to only learn about pregnancy or sexually transmittable infections in sexuality education classes.</td>
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<td>5.6.1 6.3.1</td>
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<tr>
<th>Activity 6</th>
<th>Assumptions and myths about sexual orientation</th>
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<tr>
<td>Part 2: the power of language</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Critically examine societal assumptions and myths about heterosexuality and homosexuality</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Analyse how language can contribute towards discrimination, victimisation and oppression</td>
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<tr>
<td>Almost 10% of the aronga mapu in the research identified as Lesbian (0.3%), Bisexual (3%), Gay (3.5%) or Transgender (2%). Another 23% either were unsure, or did not answer this question, and 68% identified as heterosexual. Many aronga mapu spoke about LGBT aronga mapu being humiliated, bullied and victimised by adults, or peers, in the focus groups.</td>
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<td>5.3.1 6.5</td>
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<tr>
<th>Activity 7</th>
<th>Who and what gets punished or rewarded?</th>
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<tr>
<td>• Identify and understand the impact a lack of anau</td>
<td>family and societal support may have on LGBT aronga mapu and the relationships they have</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Increase our awareness of the issues affecting different people in the Cook Islands</td>
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<tr>
<td>As above</td>
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<td>5.3.1 6.5</td>
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<tr>
<th>Activity 8</th>
<th>Tamaka tuke</th>
<th>wearing someone else’s shoes</th>
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<tr>
<td>• Understand the impact of discrimination on the lives of people who are outside the ‘norm’</td>
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<tr>
<td>As above</td>
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<td>5.3.1 6.5</td>
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<tr>
<th>Activity 9</th>
<th>LGBT stories of the Cook Islands</th>
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<tr>
<td>Part 2: LGBT stories in the Cook Islands media</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Empathise and understand the realities of being LGBT in the Cook Islands</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Explain common experiences of aronga mapu who are LGBT</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Critically analyse three newspaper articles and identify the underlying values and beliefs and issues</td>
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<tr>
<td>Some members of the LGBT community do not feel that they can be openly ‘out’ in Cook Islands society.</td>
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<td>5.3.1 6.5</td>
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</table>
| Activity 10  
Decision time | • Reflect critically on the decisions we need to make when considering becoming sexually active | The research revealed that most aronga mapu in Cook Islands have had sex before they are 15. Aronga mapu have high rates of STIs and teenage pregnancies. | 5.4.1  
5.5.4  
5.5.3.1  
5.5.4  
5.5.4.1  
5.5.5  
6.3.1 |
| Activity 11  
Toou tiika'anga | Consent | • Understand that it can be difficult to communicate clearly, or negotiate, in sexual relationships  
• Understand that it is important to communicate and check understanding  
• Demonstrate an understanding of consent | In the data many aronga mapu had felt pressured to participate in sexual activities or had experienced forced sex. More than half of 15-19 year olds feel that they have 'no', or only 'some', control over the kinds of sexual activity they do. Young women reported that they felt in control of asking and showing their partners what they wanted sexually. Young men felt they had less control. | 5.5.4  
5.4.1  
6.4.1 |
| Activity 12  
Relationships and sexual activity  
Part 2: Safe, unsafe, only safe if | • Classify sexual activities from least intimate to most intimate and then 'safe', 'unsafe', or 'only safe if..'  
• Respect that intimacy of sexual activities may be different for different people  
• Reflect on what level of intimacy might be appropriate for themselves and to reinforce their right to set their own limits  
• Respond to pressure situations using assertive communication | Participants in the research responded that in the sex education they received at school sexual activities, other than vaginal intercourse, were rarely discussed. Aronga mapu also discussed feeling pressured to do sexual activities by their peers | 5.4  
5.5  
5.6 |
| Activity 13  
Contraception | • Consider, and add to, our existing knowledge of contraception  
• Take responsibility for contraceptive use  
• Develop awareness of the importance of correct condom, and other contraceptives, use  
• Demonstrate the correct steps for condom use  
• To practice negotiation of condom use | Aronga mapu rarely have the knowledge they need about contraception, which leads to our high teenage pregnancy rates. Aronga mapu responded that they did not have control over the use of contraception for a range of reasons. | 5.5.4 |
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Activity 14</th>
<th>STIs: what are they and how are they transmitted?</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Know the STI's that are common in the Cook Islands</td>
<td></td>
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<td>- Understand how STIs are transmitted</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Understand how to keep themselves safe from getting a STI</td>
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<tr>
<td>The research reported that only 42% of aronga mapu used a condom for their first sexual experience, which contributes to the high number of teenage pregnancies and STIs. Of those that have multiple partners only 15% use condoms.</td>
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<td>5.4.1</td>
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<tr>
<th>Activity 15</th>
<th>Cyclone proofing relationships</th>
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<tr>
<td>- Identify the characteristics of strong and resilient relationships</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Analyse the impact a variety of scenarios could have on the strength of a relationship</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aronga mapu want to learn how the have strong, pleasurable and respectful relationships. They want to learn 'the emotional skills' not just the physical aspects of relationships and how 'to fix' relationships when they go wrong.</td>
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<td>6.3.3</td>
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<tr>
<th>Activity 16</th>
<th>Healthy, unhealthy, don’t know</th>
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<tr>
<td>- Analyse the impact becoming sexually active has on pito’enua</td>
<td>wellbeing</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Critically analyse a variety of situations to decide if they are healthy or unhealthy for relationships</td>
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<tr>
<td>Participants said they want to learn about the signs of an unhealthy relationship or, ideas about how to ‘fix’ relationships when they went wrong. This activity explores healthy and unhealthy relationships.</td>
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<td>5.5.4</td>
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<tr>
<th>Activity 17</th>
<th>‘Breaking up kindly’</th>
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<tr>
<td>- Communicate clearly, honestly and respectfully when ending a relationship</td>
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<tr>
<td>The research illustrated that young people often experience ‘drama’ when relationships break up. Aronga mapu spoke of regular experiences that were verbally or physically violent, or both, when relationships failed.</td>
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<td>6.3.3</td>
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<tr>
<th>Activity 18: One lover, two, or three?</th>
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<tr>
<td>- Understand that some people do not want to be in monogamous relationships</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Open communication is key to healthy and positive relationships</td>
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<tr>
<td>Twenty percent of the participants in the research were involved in more than one relationship at the same time.</td>
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<td>5.5.3.1 5.5.5</td>
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<tr>
<th>Activity 19</th>
<th>Knowledge to action – what can we do?</th>
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<tr>
<td>- Identify an issue related to gender, sex or relationships that we care about</td>
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<td>- Identify a course of action to advocate for social change related to that issue</td>
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<tr>
<td>Young people identified a range of areas that need improvement that would enhance the health of young people.</td>
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<tr>
<th>Activity 20</th>
<th>What have we learned? What do we still want to learn more about?</th>
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<tr>
<td>- Evaluate our learning</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Critically reflect on our current knowledge</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Identify what knowledge we would like to learn next</td>
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</table>
7.6 Openga | Conclusion

My hopes for this research are that the findings will provide a basis to re-think not just SRE and how it is delivered in the CIs but also that the dissemination of this research might help to make a change in some Government practices, policies, and laws. Basing the SRE resource on the lived realities and self-identified needs of aronga mapu (a premise that young Cook Islanders are not naïve and without agency as they are sometimes (mis)understood to be) identified a solution to designing a needs-led SRE resource that would be contextually appropriate.

The World Health Organisation (2006) states that

sexual health requires a positive and respectful approach to sexuality and sexual relationships, as well as the possibility of having pleasurable and safe sexual experiences, free of coercion, discrimination and violence

(p. 5).

If comprehensively implemented the SRE resource has the potential to impact on the sexual health of young people in the CIs so that they are given the skills to be able to partake in positive healthy sexual lives and intimate relationships that meet their needs. It could be that other countries in the Pacific are interested in the model represented in this research as the region has set clear goals to strengthen their approach to supporting young people to develop the skills to become sexually healthy adults (Secretariat of the Pacific Community, 2015; UNFPA et al., 2015). This research project contributes to the CIs meeting eight of the key recommendations set in the Sexual and reproductive health of young people in Asia and the Pacific: A review of issues, policies and programmes (UNFPA et al., 2015) report: 1.1 Support research to address knowledge gaps about sexually active young people; 1.2 Knowledge and use of contraception of unmarried people; forced sex; 2.4 support and delivery of programmes that aim to address socio-cultural and gender norms that impact on young peoples SRH; 3.1 Support and scale up appropriate school based sexuality education and teacher training; 3.2 Invest
in other mechanisms to address sexuality education with those who are out of school; 5.1 support further research to better understand the needs and information and service delivery of young key populations; 5.2 strengthen school based sexuality education to include sexual orientation and gender identity to better meet the needs of same sex attracted and transgender young people and address attitudes that lead to discrimination, bullying and harassment; 5.3 strengthen the delivery of comprehensive education through engagement with NGOs; 6.1 support the active and meaningful engagement of youth and youth led organisations in programme development (p. 8-12).

All seven squares are now sewn together into the metaphorical sexuality tivaevae in the form of the SRE. The SRE resource, as the eighth square, completes the tivaevae.

Figure 9. Eight Squares of the Sexuality Tivaevae

Tivaevae created and sewn by Helene Kay. Photo by hk photography, used with permission.
References


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Littlefield.

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263


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Appendices
Appendix A: Cook Islands Prime Ministers Office Research Permission

PERMIT TO UNDERTAKE:

Research in the Cook Islands

This is to certify that: Debi Futter-Puati

Has permission from the Foundation for National Research to do a research in the Cook Islands from: November 2011 – November 2015.

On the island of: Rarotonga and Atiu & Aitutaki

The topic of research is: "Sexuality Education in the Cook Islands"

The Cook Islands Associate Researchers are:
Hon. Nandi Glassie, Niki Rattle, Ana File, Polly Tongia & Vania Kennings

The following special conditions apply to this research:
- Provide an yearly update of research fieldwork to CIRC.
- Submit a preliminary report following the completion of your field work.
- Submit three copies of the final findings (2 hard copies + 1 e-copy) to the CIRC by December 2015.

Permit issued on: 22 September 2011 Issued by: Mac Mokorona

Receipt Number: Waived
Reference Number: 24/11 Signed

For enquiries concerning this permit, please quote the Name of the Researcher and the Reference Number to the Chairperson, Foundation for National Research, and Office of the Prime Minister, Rarotonga, and COOK ISLANDS. Phone (682) 29 300, Fax (682) 20 856, or Email: services@pmoffice.gov.ck Website: www.pmoffice.gov.ck

COOK ISLANDS
NATIONAL RESEARCH UNIT
Office of the Prime Minister
Private Bag, Rarotonga
Cook Islands
Appendix B: Information and Consent Forms – Focus Groups

Date:

INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN A RESEARCH PROJECT

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION

Project Title: Sexuality Education in the Cook Islands

INFORMATION AND CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS IN FOCUS GROUPS

Investigators:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ms Debbie Futter-Puati Puati</th>
<th>Email: <a href="mailto:Debi.futter-puati@rmit.edu.au">Debi.futter-puati@rmit.edu.au</a></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Telephone: +61 3 99257803</td>
<td>Degree currently undertaking: PhD</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Senior Supervisor:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dr Jennifer Elsden-Clifton</th>
<th><a href="mailto:Jennifer.elsden-clifton@rmit.edu.au">Jennifer.elsden-clifton@rmit.edu.au</a></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Telephone: +61 3 99257915</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kia Orana, You are invited to participate in a research project being conducted by RMIT University. Please read this sheet carefully and be confident that you understand its contents before deciding whether to participate. If you have any questions about the project, please ask one of the investigators.

Who is involved in this research project? Why is it being conducted?

My name is Debbie Futter-Puati. I used to work as the Health Advisor at the Cook Islands Ministry of Education and was also the HIV and STI Coordinator for the Cook Islands Ministry of Health. Through this work I became interested in the sexual health status of young people in the Cook Islands. Now I am a PhD student at RMIT University and I am researching sexuality education in the Cook Islands. I would like to do this research project with you and your ……….. (e.g. Cook Islands Red Cross Youth Peer Educators) group on what you think makes a successful sexuality education programme for Cook Island young people and what you think the key issues are for teaching young people in the Cook Islands about sexual relationships.

The aim of this study is to listen to young peoples ideas about sexuality education, to reflect on how the teaching of sexuality education is done in the Cook Islands, and to then design a Cook Islands sexuality resource based on what this research shows. This study has received ethics approval from the RMIT University Higher Education Research Committee with approval number: ____________________. It has also received approval from the Cook Islands Research Committee at the Office of the Cook Islands Prime Minister and the Cook Islands Minister of Health. NGOs such as the Cook
Islands Red Cross, Cook Islands Family Welfare, Cook Islands National Youth Council and the Cook Islands National Council of Women also support this research.

**Why have you been approached? What is the project about? What are the questions being addressed? If I agree to participate, what will I be required to do?**

I am asking for volunteers, who are aged between 15 and 20, to take part in a group discussion with me (which I will record) relating to the kinds of things you learned in any sexuality education you received while at school and what you think should, or shouldn't be, in sexuality education programmes for young people in the Cook Islands. I am looking for a group of about twenty people to form the discussion group and I am happy for people to come with some of their friends. Part of the discussion group will be the answering of an anonymous questionnaire using a hand held computer (a PDA) about your ideas regarding sexuality and the time frame will be approximately 1½ hours for the discussion. You will be able to have a look at the questionnaire on the PDA to decide if you would like to participate if you wish as some personal information will be asked in the questionnaire e.g. are you sexually active? If you are sexually active when did you begin to be sexually active? These sorts of questions are included as I wish to find out if the sexuality education young people receive in the Cook Islands is given early enough and if you had enough information at the age you began to be sexually active to keep yourself physically and emotionally safe.

**What are the possible risks or disadvantages?**

There is a very slight possibility that someone could be recognised within the descriptions of the research, as the Cook Islands is a small nation, despite the concerted effort to disguise any likely recognition. To counteract this I will double-check, as will my supervisor, that recognition of any participant is unlikely. PDA questionnaires will be numbered and no names will be known of who completed each questionnaire. No names will be taken of students within the group discussions and although a consent form will be signed, these will not be used to identify anybody within the writing up of the comments made.

If you are unduly concerned about your responses to any part of the questionnaire or if you find participation in the project distressing, you should contact either Debi Futter-Puati or your youth group leader (insert name when this is confirmed) as soon as is convenient to you. (Named person) will discuss your concerns with you confidentially and suggest appropriate follow-up, if necessary. Or if you have any concerns about this study or the conduct of this research you may also contact Tina Samson at the Office of the Prime Ministers Office in Avarua, Telephone +682 25494 Ext 801, or email: services@pmoffice.gov.ck

**What are the benefits associated with participation?**

While there are no direct benefits to you as a participant it is hoped that this research will lead to sexuality education being based on the needs that young
people in the Cook Islands identify as important in the future. Also that this research may influence the way interventions in the sexual and reproductive health area are based which may enhance their effectiveness. This study could also lead to more complex understandings of sexual and reproductive health in the Pacific context and the possibility of including young people as active agents in developing responses to an issue that has historically been viewed as problematical. This research could allow for youth voices to be heard which could reveal the complexity of the issue/s and some possible solutions.

What will happen to the information I provide?
Pseudonyms (made up names) will be used in this study if comments are quoted from the group discussion and only myself, and my supervisor, will see the data collected. Neither myself, nor my supervisor, will know who gave which answers on the PDA as they will be anonymous. The information I gather from these discussions and the questionnaire will be used to write my PhD thesis as well as journal articles however there will be no data shared that will identify you as any possible identification will be disguised with the data being destroyed after five years (after being stored securely at RMIT).

As the use of a PDA will be utilised for the questionnaire I am not obtaining written informed consent from you to participate in the questionnaire. Instead, I assume that you have given consent by your completion and return of the questionnaire.

The only way any information that you provide could be disclosed is only if (1) it is to protect you or others from harm, (2) a court order is produced, or (3) you provide the researchers with written permission.

What are my rights as a participant?

- The right to withdraw from participation at any time.
- The right to have any unprocessed data withdrawn and destroyed, provided it can be reliably identified, and provided that so doing does not increase the risk for the participant.
- The right to have any questions answered at any time.

Meitaki maata e kia manuia,

..................................................................  .....................................................

Debbie Futter-Puati  Dr Jen Elsden-Clifton

PhD Student  Supervisor
PARTICIPANT’S CONSENT

Not required if consent is implied e.g. return of an anonymous survey

1. I have had the project explained to me, and I have read the information sheet

2. I agree to participate in the research project as described
   I agree to take part in the discussion about sexuality education

3. I acknowledge that:

   (a) I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time and to withdraw any unprocessed data previously supplied (unless follow-up is needed for safety).
   
   (b) The project is for the purpose of research. It may not be of direct benefit to me.
   
   (c) The privacy of the personal information I provide will be safeguarded and only disclosed where I have consented to the disclosure or as required by law.
   
   (d) The security of the research data will be protected during and after completion of the study. The data collected during the study may be published, and a report of the project outcomes will be provided to the National HIV, STI and TB Committee. Any information which will identify me will not be used.

Participants Consent

Participant: ___________________________ Date: ___________________________

(Signature)

Witness:

[only required if research is assessed as more than low risk; otherwise please delete]

Witness: ___________________________ Date: ___________________________

(Signature)

Any complaints about your participation in this project may be directed to the Ethics Officer, RMIT Human Research Ethics Committee, Research & Innovation, RMIT, GPO Box 2476V, Melbourne, 3001. The telephone number is (03) 9925 2251.

Details of the complaints procedure are available on the Complaints with respect to participation in research at RMIT page.

Participants should be given a photocopy of this PICF after it has been signed.
Appendix C: Focus Group Discussion Questions

1. Why do you think people get involved in relationships?
2. What qualities do you think are important in relationships?
3. How would you describe the types of relationships young people get into?
4. What do you think young people want out of relationships?
5. What are some of the best things about being in a relationship?
6. What are some of the hardest things about being in a relationship?
7. What kind of problems do you think young people experience in sexual relationships?
8. Has the sex education you had while at school helped you in any of the relationships you might have had since then?
9. Were you ever taught about the kinds of things that help to make a relationship work while you were at school?
10. What were the most useful things learned at school about relationships?
Appendix D: Information and Consent Forms – Interviews

Date:

INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN A RESEARCH PROJECT
PARTICIPANT INFORMATION
Project Title: Sexuality Education in the Cook Islands.

INTERVIEW PERMISSION AND CONSENT FORM FOR TEACHER OR FACILITATOR

Investigators:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ms Debbie Futter-Puati</th>
<th>Email: <a href="mailto:Debi.futter-puati@rmit.edu.au">Debi.futter-puati@rmit.edu.au</a></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Telephone: +61 3 99257803</td>
<td>Degree currently undertaking: PhD</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Senior Supervisor:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dr Jennifer Elsdon-Clifton</th>
<th><a href="mailto:Jennifer.elsdon-clifton@rmit.edu.au">Jennifer.elsdon-clifton@rmit.edu.au</a></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Telephone: +61 3 99257915</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kia Orana,

You are invited to participate in a research project being conducted by RMIT University, Melbourne. Please read this sheet carefully and be confident that you understand its contents before deciding whether to participate. If you have any questions about the project, please ask one of the investigators.

Who is involved in this research project? Why is it being conducted?

My name is Debbie Futter-Puati. I used to work as the Health Advisor at the Cook Islands Ministry of Education and was also the HIV and STI Coordinator for the Cook Islands Ministry of Health. Through this work I became interested in the sexual health status of young people in the Cook Islands. Now I am a PhD student at RMIT University, Melbourne and I am researching sexuality education in the Cook Islands. I would like to do this research project with you and your sexuality lesson class. I will be observing the lessons your teacher does with you in your health class as I investigate what makes a successful sexuality education programme for Cook Island young people.

The aim of this study is to reflect on how the teaching of sexuality education is done in the Cook Islands, and to then design a Cook Islands sexuality resource based on what this research shows. This study has received ethics approval from the RMIT University, Higher Education Research Committee with approval number: 18 / 12. It has also received approval from the Cook Islands Research Committee at the Office of the Cook Islands Prime Minister and the Cook Islands Minister of Health. Non Government Organisations such
as the Cook Islands Red Cross, Cook Islands Family Welfare, Cook Islands National Youth Council and the Cook Islands National Council of Women also support this research.

**Why have you been approached? What are the questions being addressed? If I agree to participate, what will I be required to do?**

You are a teacher or facilitator that is taking lessons on sexuality education. I wish to speak to you about which approaches you feel are of most benefit to students learning in this field. This study involves discussing with you the teaching and learning activities in your sexuality programme.

Only my supervisor and myself will see the data I collect. The information I gather from the interview will be used to write a Cook Islands Sexuality Education resource, my PhD thesis, as well as possible journal articles however there will be no data shared that will identify you unless you are willing to be identified. If you do not give permission then any possible identification will be disguised with the data being destroyed after writing my thesis.

**What are the possible risks or disadvantages?**

It is unlikely that anyone participating in an interview could be recognised within the data gained however, if required, I will make a concerted effort to disguise anything that could lead to likely recognition. I will double-check, as will my supervisor, that recognition of any participant is unlikely. If you are concerned about any part of this interview or if you find participation in the project distressing, you should contact either, Debi Futter-Puati or your school principal / NGO CEO (whichever is appropriate), as soon as is convenient to you. They will discuss your concerns with you confidentially and suggest appropriate follow-up, if necessary. Or if you have any concerns about this study or the conduct of this research you may also contact Tina Samson at the Office of the Prime Ministers Office in Avarua, Telephone +682 25494 Ext 801, or email: services@pmoffice.gov.ck

**What are the benefits associated with participation?**

While there are no direct benefits to you as a participant it is hoped that this research will lead to sexuality education being taught in a way that is best suited to young people in the Cook Islands and contribute to the pedagogy used in the Cook Islands sexuality resource. It could also help educators in other Pacific nations with they way they decide to teach sexuality education with their youth.

**What will happen to the information I provide?**

Pseudonyms (made up names) will be used in this study if any comments from the observations are quoted and only myself, and my supervisor, will see the data collected.
The only way any information that you provide could be disclosed is only if (1) it is to protect you or others from harm, (2) a court order is produced, or (3) you provide the researchers with written permission.

The data from the interview will be destroyed after five years of my PhD being submitted (after being stored securely at RMIT).

**What are my rights as a participant?**

- The right to withdraw from participation at any time.
- The right to have any unprocessed data withdrawn and destroyed, provided it can be reliably identified, and provided that so doing does not increase the risk for the participant.
- The right to have any questions answered at any time.

Meitaki maata e kia manuia,

………………………………………………

Debbie Futter-Puati Dr Jen Elsdon-Clifton
PhD Candidate Supervisor
PARTICIPANT’S CONSENT

Not required if consent is implied e.g. return of an anonymous survey

11. I have had the project explained to me, and I have read the information sheet

12. I agree to participate in the research project as described
   I agree to allow myself to be interviewed about the sexuality education programme I teach

13. I acknowledge that:
   (c) I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time and to withdraw any unprocessed data previously supplied (unless follow-up is needed for safety).
   (d) The project is for the purpose of research it may not be of direct benefit to me.
   (c) The privacy of the personal information I provide will be safeguarded and only disclosed where I have consented to the disclosure or as required by law.
   (d) The security of the research data will be protected during and after completion of the study. The data collected during the study may be published, and a report of the project outcomes will be provided to the National HIV, STI and TB Committee Any information which will identify me will not be used.

Participants Consent

Participant: __________________________ Date: ________________
(Signature)

Witness: _____________________________ Date: ________________
(Signature)

[only required if research is assessed as more than low risk; otherwise please delete]

Witness: _____________________________ Date: ________________
(Signature)

Any complaints about your participation in this project may be directed to the Ethics Officer, RMIT Human Research Ethics Committee, Research & Innovation, RMIT, GPO Box 2476V, Melbourne, 3001. The telephone number is (03) 9925 2251. Details of the complaints procedure are available on the Complaints with respect to participation in research at RMIT page

Participants should be given a photocopy of this PICF after it has been signed.
Appendix E: Interview Questions

INTERVIEW SHEET
Name: _________________________
Date: __________________________
Venue: _________________________

The purpose of this interview is to better understand the pedagogy suited to Cook Islands students within sexuality education classes.

1. Do you choose to teach sexuality education or is it an expected part of your job description?
   ..........................................................................................................................
   ..........................................................................................................................

2. What training have you had in the area of health education?
   ..........................................................................................................................
   ..........................................................................................................................

3. Do you think this is sufficient for you to teach sexuality education confidently? If no, then what other training would you like to receive?
   ..........................................................................................................................
   ..........................................................................................................................

4. What resources or programs/kits do they draw on/use to help you develop your lessons?
   ..........................................................................................................................
   ..........................................................................................................................

5. Are the resources you have available suitable for you to develop a programme you think is relevant and useful to young people?
   ..........................................................................................................................
   ..........................................................................................................................

6. When teaching young people sexuality education do you physically set up the room in any particular way? If answer yes then (b) What benefits do you see setting up the room in this way has in relation to the teaching and learning in your classroom?
   ..........................................................................................................................
   ..........................................................................................................................

7. When teaching sexuality education how do you ‘set the scene’ for the lesson with the students (or do you need to ‘set the scene’)?
   ..........................................................................................................................
   ..........................................................................................................................

8. When students ask questions related to sexuality education during your lessons do you have a set way that you respond? If yes, could you give me an example?
9. What type of pedagogical approaches do you use when teaching sexuality education?

10. How do the students respond to these pedagogical approaches?

11. How do you ensure you have a safe learning environment for young people when teaching about sexuality education? E.g. are students able to ask questions if they are unclear or to explore teaching concepts more fully?

12. How do you motivate and engage the young people in the lesson/s?

13. Do you evaluate your sexuality education lessons with the participants? If yes 11 (b) How are the lessons you teach with young people about sexuality education evaluated? 11 (c) What results have the evaluations shown you e.g. Is there any evidence that the young people have understood the learning intention of the lesson?

14. Based on your experience is there any advice you would give other sex education teachers in the Cook Islands?

15. If we were to design a Cook Islands sexuality resource what things do you consider are the most important things to include?
Appendix F: Cook Islands Aronga Mapu Questionnaire
(148 questions in total – 35 questions were included for this doctoral study: Questions 14, 15, then 17-52).

Section One: Background Characteristics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ARE YOU WILLING TO PARTICIPATE</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>YES  □</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Q.2  Are you
Male □
Female □
Other □  specify:

Which country or islands were you born in?
□ Rarotonga
□ Aitutaki
□ Atiu
□ Mitiaro
□ Mauke
□ Mangaia
□ Pukapuka
□ Palmerston
□ Penrhyn
□ Manihiki
□ Rakahanga
□ Nassau
□ If born outside the Cook Islands (specify country of birth) _____________________  (Go to Q.102b)

Q.5  What year did you first arrive in the Cook Islands?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>□ Don’t know</th>
<th>□ No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>answer/refused</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Q.6 To which ethnic group do you belong?
- Polynesian
- Melanesian
- Micronesian
- Asian
- Caucasian
- Mixed ethnicity
- Other (specify) ________________________
- No answer/refused

Q.7 What religion do you belong to?
- CICC
- Catholic
- SDA
- LDS Mormon
- Jehovah’s Witness
- AOG
- Other (specify) ________________________
- No answer/refused

Q.8 Which village are you currently living in?
________________________________________

Q.9 In the last 12 months have you been away from your home for more than one month continuously?
- Yes
- No
- Don’t know
- No answer/refused

Q.10 What is the highest level of education you have completed? Primary school, Secondary School or Higher (eg college, university?)
- Never attended school
- Some Primary school
- Completed Primary school
- Completed Secondary
- Some Secondary school
- Completed Higher
- No answer/refused

Q.11 What is your occupation?
- Student
- Transport worker (eg driver)
- Fisherman/seafarer
- Police/Military/Security
- Farmer
- Construction/Laborer
- Landscaping/construction
- Professional (eg Dr, lawyer)
- Hospitality
- Home Duties
- Retail / Sales work
- Tourism
- Clerical/Office work
- Not employed
- Other (specify) ________________________
- No answer/refused
Section Two: Sexual History

Q.12 Are you currently…
- Living Alone
- Living with relatives
- Living with parents
- Living with spouse/friends

Q.13 How old are you?

Q.14 Have you ever had a partner? (Note: a partner is someone you have ‘gone out with / had a relationship with’ – for any period of time and remember that young women can have girlfriends and young men can have boyfriends)
- Yes
- No
- Don’t know

Q.15 Which applies to you?

Please tick one only
- I have a partner right now
- I have had a partner in the past but do not have one right now
- I am married
- I have never had a partner

Q.16 What is the occupation of your partner?
- Student
- Transport worker (eg driver)
- Fisherman/seafarer
- Police/Military/Security
- Farmer
- Construction/Laborer
- Landscaping/construction
- Professional (eg Dr, lawyer)
- Hospitality
- Home Duties
- Tourism
- Clerical/Office work
- Not employed
- Retail / Sales work
- Other (specify) ____________________________
- No answer/refused

Q.17 Approximately what age were you when you started having a boyfriend or girlfriend? (E.g. seeing each other on a regular basis, or having one night stands.. and everything in between)

a. ___ ___ Age
Q.18 How many girlfriends / boyfriends have you had e.g. 1, 6, 20 etc?

Q.19 Are your girlfriends or boyfriends usually … please tick one only
   a. Older than you
   b. Younger than you
   c. The same age as you
   d. A mixture of older, younger, the same age

Q.20 How long (to the nearest week, month or year) was your longest relationship

Q.21 How long to the nearest week, month or year was your shortest relationship

Q.22 If you are currently in a relationship how long have you been in this relationship?

Q.23 Please tick the statement that applies to you (NB. Sexually active means participating in petting that is, hugging, kissing, touching, having oral sex or sexual intercourse with someone)
   a. I have been sexually active with a partner
   b. I have not been sexually active with a partner

If they answer stop their questionnaire in section three at question Q. 318 reroute to section 4

Q.24 At approximately what age did you first learn about sexual intercourse?

   [__|__| Age
Q.25 Which things do you feel you know about in relation to sex? Choose as many statements as you wish

a. How to put on a condom
   yes   no
b. What turns a partner on
   yes   no
c. Getting what you want out of a sexual relationship
   yes   no
d. Sexual positions and techniques
   yes   no
e. What lesbianism is
   yes   no
f. What homosexuality is
   yes   no
g. How to get pregnant
   yes   no
h. What Sexually Transmitted Infections are and how you get them
   yes   no
i. How to avoid unwanted sexual activity
   yes   no
j. How to prevent getting a Sexually Transmitted Infection
   yes   no
k. How to say no to someone wanting sexual contact
   yes   no
l. How to deal with the consequences of saying ‘no’
   yes   no

Q.26
If you feel you are knowledgeable about other areas in relation to sex please type these in here. ..................

Q.27 Tick the number suitable to how you learned the most about sex?

1. Never
2. Not useful
3. Useful
4. Very useful

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>Romantic novels</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Educational books about sex</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>Pornographic magazines movies or DVDs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Parents</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other family members e.g. cousins, aunties etc</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Magazines</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Television/ movies / music videos</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth Peer Educators</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parties</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lovers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q. 28 Please type in here if there are any others you would like to add in.
Q.29 How do you feel about your sexual knowledge? Please tick only one.
   a. Confident and experienced  
   b. Confident but not experienced  
   c. Not confident but experienced  
   d. Not confident and not experienced  

Q.30 Do you think your level of sexual knowledge has affected your relationships or your ability to have relationships?
   No  
   Yes  

Q.31 If YES, how has your level of sexual knowledge affected your relationships? Please describe  

Q.32 How would you describe your body? Please choose three words from the list

- Perfect  
- unique  
- toned  
- changing  
- flabby  
- hairy  
- ugly  
- useful  
- strong  
- attractive  
- sexy  
- small  
- Skinny  
- well-proportioned  
- over weight  
- weak  
- feminine  
- masculine  

1.  
2.  
3.  

Q.33 Are there any other words you would describe your body that are not listed? If so please type them in here  

Q.34 How sexy do you think you are?
   Very sexy  
   Sort of sexy  
   Not very sexy at all  

Q.35 How often do you want to have sex?
   Very often  
   Sometimes  
   Not Often  
   Never
Q.36 Type the number appropriate to how you consider your body

4 = always  3 = regularly  2 = occasionally  1 = never

Think it is nice          1  2  3  4
Ignore it              1  2  3  4
Hate it              1  2  3  4
Hide it              1  2  3  4
Criticise it      1  2  3  4
Worry about it  1  2  3  4
Touch it           1  2  3  4
Enjoy it          1  2  3  4

Q.37 What parts of your body do you get the most pleasure from? That is: those parts you like to touch or be touched, to smell, or look at. Please choose your 3 most pleasurable parts from the list

Genitals  ears  chest  neck  face  legs
Back    hands  thighs  tongue  hair  stomach
Feet    eyes  lips  bum

1 ....................
2 ....................
3 ....................

Q38 Are there other parts of the body that you find pleasurable that are not listed above? Please specify

Q.39 Which mostly describes your attitude towards sexual activity?

It is something which is fun          agree  disagree
It is to be taken seriously by both partners agree  disagree
It is risky                        agree  disagree
It is over rated                  agree  disagree
It increases your status amongst your friends agree  disagree
It is pleasurable                agree  disagree
It indicates your commitment to someone agree  disagree
It should be reserved for marriage agree  disagree
It is a loving experience       agree  disagree
I do it to please my partner    agree  disagree
I do it purely for my own satisfaction agree  disagree
I do it because my friends are doing it agree  disagree
It is disgusting and animal like agree  disagree
It is private and intimate       agree  disagree
It is embarrassing            agree  disagree
Q.40 Are you? (Please tick one only)
Homosexual (a man who is sexually attracted to other men) □
Lesbian (a woman who is sexually attracted to other women) □
Bisexual (a person who is sexually attracted to both sexes) □
Heterosexual (a person who is sexually attracted to the opposite sex) □
Akavaine (A Man who identifies as a woman having sex with a man) □
Not sure □
Other (please specify) …………………………………………………………………..

STOP PLEASE NOTE: Only answer the next section if you have been sexually active with a partner REROUTE DEVICE TO SECTION 5 IF THEY ANSWERED NOT SEXUALLY ACTIVE on Q 304.

Q.41 Please choose 3-4 words that describe how you see yourself as a sexual partner
Fun loving dominant gentle romantic
Lustful affectionate impatient caring
Lazy spontaneous humorous assertive
Raunchy loving kinky none of the above?

1. ……………………………………………
2. ……………………………………………

Q 42 Are there any other words you would use to describe yourself as a sexual partner?
…………………………………………………………………………………………

Q.43 Do you feel able to control the level and kinds of sexual activities that occur in a relationship with a partner?
Yes □
No □
Sometimes □

Q.44 What do you feel you have control over?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1 = no control</th>
<th>2 = some control</th>
<th>3 = lots of control</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kinds of sexual activity</td>
<td>1  2  3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contraception</td>
<td>1  2  3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How often to have sex</td>
<td>1  2  3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Q.45 What parts of your partner turn you on the most? (Please choose the 3 most attractive parts)

- Genitals
- ears
- chest
- neck
- face
- legs
- Back
- hands
- thighs
- tongue
- hair
- stomach
- Feet
- eyes
- lips
- bum

1 ..................................
2 ..................................
3 ..................................

Q. 46 Are there other parts of the body that you find sensual that are not listed above? Please specify

........................................................................................................................................

Q.47 Please complete the following sentences

Q. 48 What I find pleasurable about sexual activity is:

........................................................................................................................................

Q.49 What I do not find pleasurable about sexual activity is:

........................................................................................................................................

Q.50 What I want in a girlfriend / boyfriend relationship is:

........................................................................................................................................

Q.51 How might you express your sexual desires to a partner you know well? Please pick ONE

By telling them

☐

By showing them what I like and want

☐

By telling them and showing them what I like

☐

I don’t express my sexual desires to my partner

☐

I wouldn’t express my sexual desires to my partner (please specify why)

☐

........................................................................................................................................

Q.52 If you have any arguments about sex, what do you argue about?

........................................................................................................................................

Q.53 Do you use contraceptives (please tick one only)

Always ☐

Sometimes ☐

Never ☐
Q.54
How old were you when you first had sex? Either vaginal or anal sex. It includes any transactional sex (where money, goods or resources were given for sex). Take your time and give your best estimate if you cannot remember exactly.

[ ] [ ] [ ] Years old
☐ Don’t remember
☐ No answer/refused

Q.55
Think about all your sex partners in your lifetime. How many sex partners in total have you had? Remember to include your wife/husband or any live-in partners, girl/boyfriends or other partners you may have had. Give your best estimate if you cannot remember exactly.

[ ] [ ] [ ] Partners
☐ Don’t remember
☐ No answer/refused

Q.56
Have you ever heard of a male condom?
☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ No answer/refused

Q.57
Have you ever heard of a female condom?
☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ No answer/refused

Q.58
The first time you had sex, did you and your partner use a condom (male or female)?
☐ Yes, male condom skip to Q.236
☐ Yes, female condom skip to Q.236
☐ No
☐ No hadn’t heard of a condom
☐ No answer/refused

Q.59
Have you and a sex partner ever used a condom (male or female) during sex? (can ☑ both)

☐ Yes, male condom
☐ Yes, female condom
☐ No
☐ No answer/refused
Q.60 In the last 12 months how many different sex partners have you had? Take your time to think about your answer and give your best estimate if you cannot remember exactly.

|____|____| Partners
☐ Don’t remember
☐ No answer/refused
☐ None (Go to section 4)

Q.61 In the last 12 months, how often did you use a condom during sex? (Read and tick one response)
☐ Every time
☐ Sometimes
☐ Never
☐ Don’t know
☐ No answer/refused

Q.62 In the last 12 months have you paid money to someone for having sex with you?
☐ Yes
☐ No (Go to Q338)
☐ No answer/refused

Q.63 How many paid partners have you had sex with during the last 12 months? Take your time and give your best estimate if you cannot remember exactly how many.
|____|____| Paid partners
☐ Don’t know
☐ No answer/refused

Q.64 In the last 12 months have you given goods or favours to someone for having sex with you? (goods or favours might be gifts, food, clothes, taxi ride, alcohol or drugs.
☐ Yes
☐ No (Go to Q339)
☐ No answer/refused

Q.65 How many partners have you had sex with who you have given goods or favours during the last 12 months? Take your time and give your best estimate if you cannot remember exactly how many.
|____|____| Given partners
☐ Don’t know
☐ No answer/refused

Q.66 In the last 12 months has anyone paid you money to have sex with you?
☐ Yes
☐ No (Go to Q340)
☐ No answer/refused

Q.67 How many partners have paid you money to have sex during the last 12
In the last 12 months, how often did you and all your paying partners use a condom during sex? (Read all options and tick one response)
- Every time
- Sometimes
- Never
- Don’t know
- No answer/refused

The last time you had sex with a paying partner, did you use a condom?
- Yes  (Go to Q340)
- No
- Don’t know
- No answer/refused

Why didn’t you and your last paying partner use a condom? (Tick all that apply)
- None easily available
- Too expensive
- I didn’t want to
- Partner didn’t want to
- Sex doesn’t feel as good
- Too drunk/high to use one
- Too embarrassed
- Don’t know how to use one
- Other (specify) ___________________________
- No answer/refused

In the last 12 months has anyone given you goods or favours for having sex with them? eg have you been given gifts, food, clothes, taxi ride, alcohol or drugs for having sex?
- Yes
- No  (Go to Q341)
- No answer/refused

How many partners giving goods or favours have you had sex with during the last 12 months? Take your time and give your best estimate if you cannot remember exactly how many.
|___|___|___| Giving partners
- Don’t know
- No answer/refused

In the last 12 months, how often did you and all partners giving goods or favours use a condom during sex? (Tick response)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q.74</th>
<th>Every time</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
<th>No answer/refused</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The last time you had sex with a partner giving goods or favours, did you and this person use a condom?</td>
<td>Yes (Go to Q341)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Don’t know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Why didn’t you and your last partner giving goods or favours use a condom? (Tick all that apply)</td>
<td>None easily available</td>
<td>Too expensive</td>
<td>I didn’t want to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q.76</td>
<td>In the last 12 months have you had more than ONE sexual relationship at the same time, that is, overlapping relationships?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No answer/refused</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q.77</td>
<td>In the last 12 months have you been off-island?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No (Go to Q343)</td>
<td>No answer/refused</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q.78</td>
<td>Did you have sex with anyone while you were off-island other than your partner?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No answer/refused</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q.79</td>
<td>Has any person ever forced you to have sex, even though you did not want to?</td>
<td>Yes (Go to Q343a)</td>
<td>No (Go to Q401 if male Q501 if female)</td>
<td>No answer/refused</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Q.80 Has any person forced you to have sex, even though you didn’t want to, *in the last six months?*
- Yes
- No
- No answer/refused

Q.81 What is your relationship with the person who forced you to have sex?
- Partner
- Parent
- Other relative
- Neighbour
- Family friend
- Work colleague
- Stranger
- Other *(specify)*: _______________________
- No answer/refused

Q.82 How old were you when this (first) occurred?
- Age
- Don’t know
- No answer

Q.83 Where did the forced sex occur?
- At Home
- At a party
- At a relative’s place
- At a neighbour’s place
- Other *(specify)*: _______________________
- No answer/refused

Q.84 What is the approximate age of the person who forced you to have sex?
- Age
- Don’t know
- No answer
Q.301 Have you touched the penis of another man or had another man touch your penis for sexual arousal or pleasure? Remember your answer is completely confidential and anonymous.

☐ Yes
☐ No (Go to Q501)
☐ No answer/refused

Q.302 In the last 12 months, have you had anal sex with any male sex partners? You can either be the insertive partner (your penis in his anus) or the receptive partner (his penis in your anus)

☐ Yes
☐ No (Go to Q501)
☐ No answer/refused

Q.302a How many male partners have you had anal sex (insertive or receptive) with during the last 12 months? Take your time and give your best estimate if you cannot remember

[ ] Male partners
☐ Don't know
☐ No answer/refused

Q.302b Have you ever used a condom during anal sex (insertive or receptive) with a male partner?

☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Don't know
☐ No answer/refused

Q.302c Where did you meet your most recent, male sex partner?

☐ On the street
☐ Bar/Nightclub
☐ Private House
☐ Port/Harbour/Wharf/Boat
☐ Hotel/Motel
☐ Beach
☐ Party Bus
☐ Friend
☐ School/college
☐ Work
☐ Other (specify) __________________________
☐ No answer/refused

Q.302d The last time you had anal sex (insertive or receptive) with a male partner, did you and this partner use a condom?

☐ Yes (Go to Q302f)
☐ No
☐ Don't know
☐ No answer/refused
Q.302e Why didn’t you and your last male partner use a condom during anal sex (insertive or receptive)? (Tick all that apply)

- None easily available
- Too expensive
- I didn’t want to
- Partner didn’t want to
- Sex doesn’t feel as good
- Too drunk/high to use one
- Too embarrassed
- Don’t know how to use one
- Other (specify) ___________________________
- No answer/refused

Q.302f In the last 12 months, how often did you and your male partners use a condom during anal sex (insertive or receptive)?

- Every time
- Sometimes
- Never
- Don’t know
- No answer/refused

**Section Four: Alcohol and Drug Use**

The next questions are about alcohol and drug use.

**Q.40.1** During the last 12 months, how often did you have drinks containing alcohol such as beer, wine, shot of liquor, home brew etc. not including holy communion. Would you say ..

- 2 to 3 times a week
- 4 or more times a week
- Monthly or less
- 2 to 4 times a month
- Special Occasions
- Don’t know
- Never (Go to Q514)
- No answer/refused

**Q.40.2** During the last 12 months, how many standard drinks containing alcohol did you have on a typical occasion when drinking? A standard drink is a can of beer, a glass of wine or port, one shot of spirits etc. not including holy communion

___ ___ standard drinks

**Q.40.3** During the last 12 months, on how many days did you have 5 or more drinks of alcohol in a row, that is, within a couple of hours? Drinks containing alcohol are drinks such as beer, wine, shot of liquor, home brew etc. not including holy communion. Would you say....

- never
- 1 day
Q.40 4 During the past 12 months, how did you usually get the alcohol you drank?
☐ I bought it in a store such as a liquor store, village store or retail shop, supermarket, or petrol station
☐ I bought it at a restaurant, bar, clubhouse or club
☐ I bought it at a public event such as a concert/show or sporting event
☐ I gave someone else money to buy it for me
☐ Someone gave it to me
☐ I took it from a store or family member
☐ I got it from my parents
☐ I got it some other way

Q.40 5 During the past twelve months where have you consumed alcohol? Please tick as many as are relevant to you.
☐ At weekend parties.
☐ At the Music/Movies/TV
☐ At the beach
☐ Friends/Family
☐ At nightclubs or bars.
☐ At the beach
☐ At home (parents knew).
☐ At home (parents didn’t know)
Please type in if there are any other places you have used alcohol …..

Q.40 6 On the last occasion you were drinking alcohol, which of the following did you drink?
☐ Beer
☐ Wine
☐ Premix / RTD
☐ Spirits
☐ Homebrew

Q.40 7 Who do you think is responsible for contributing to the problem of alcohol use by youth under age 21? Please tick all that apply.
☐ Parents
☐ Public agencies
☐ Alcohol outlets, such as liquor stores, bars and restaurants
☐ Advertising
☐ Youth themselves
☐ Other
| Q.40 8 | Answer True or False to this statement.  
I am able to enjoy parties/ events when Alcohol is NOT served.  
☐ True  
☐ False  
☐ No answer/refused |
| Q.40 9 | Can you recall seeing / hearing advertisements for Alcohol  
☐ Yes  
☐ No  
☐ (Go to Q513) |
| Q.41 0 | What do you remember about the advertisements that you saw  
☐ The ad included an animal or cartoon characters  
☐ The people drinking alcohol were attractive or sexy  
☐ A great party was happening  
☐ The actors were physically attracted to each other  
☐ The people drinking looked like they had strength or athletic ability  
☐ The ads were funny or amusing  
☐ I remembered the alcohol brand  
☐ Other  
☐ No answer/refused |
| Q.41 1 | How did the advertisements make you feel about drinking  
☐ Drinking is a boring thing to do  
☐ Drinking is important for a good party or will make you popular  
☐ Drinking is fun  
☐ Drinking could be harmful to your health  
☐ Other  
☐ No answer/refused |
| Q.41 2 | Are you ever influenced by advertising to buy a product? How often  
☐ Yes very often  
☐ Not very often  
☐ Yes sometimes  
☐ Never  
☐ No answer/refused |
| Q.41 3 | Have you ever;  
☐ had family problems because you used alcohol  
☐ Been arrested because you used alcohol  
☐ Driven under the influence of alcohol  
☐ Been a passenger in a vehicle with a driver under the influence of alcohol  
☐ Had an injury because you used alcohol  
☐ Had unprotected sex because you used alcohol  
☐ Forced someone or were forced to have sex because you used alcohol |
Next we would like to ask you about recreational drug use. Remember that all your responses are completely confidential and will not be released to anyone.

### Q.41

#### Have you ever tried (If Yes ask if used in last 12 months)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Drug</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Yes, (Ever tried)</th>
<th>If Yes, Used in last 3 months?</th>
<th>No answer/refused</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Betel Nut</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mushrooms</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Marijuana/Cannabis/Weed</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kava</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amphetamines/Ecstasy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sniffing (butane/gasoline/kerosene/glue)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Q.41

#### Some people have tried injecting drugs using a syringe. Have you injected drugs in the last 12 months? (not including drugs injected for medical reasons or treatment of an illness like diabetes).

- Yes
- No (go to Q 601)
- No answer/refused

### Q.41

#### What drugs have you injected in the last 12 months?

- Heroin
- Coke / Cocaine
- Speed
- Other ________
- Don't know
- No answer/refused

### Q.41

#### The last time you used a needle or syringe was it used by someone else first?

- Yes
- No
- Don't know
- No answer/refused

### Q.41

#### The last time you had sex did you use a condom?

- Yes
- No
- Don't know
- No answer/refused
## Section Five: HIV/AIDS Knowledge, Attitudes and Access to Testing

HIV is a virus (infection) that can be passed from person to person. HIV is the virus that causes AIDS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Statement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Q.50 1</strong></td>
<td>Before this survey, have you ever heard of HIV or the disease called AIDS?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ Yes</td>
<td>□ No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here are some statements about how HIV may be passed from person to person. For each statement, please indicate whether you think it is True or False or you don’t know. It’s OK not to know.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Statement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Q.50 2</strong></td>
<td>Having sex with only one, uninfected, faithful partner can reduce the chance of getting HIV.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ True</td>
<td>□ False</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Statement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Q.50 3</strong></td>
<td>Using condoms correctly every time can reduce the chance of getting HIV.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ True</td>
<td>□ False</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Statement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Q.50 4</strong></td>
<td>A healthy looking person can be infected with HIV.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ True</td>
<td>□ False</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Statement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Q.50 5</strong></td>
<td>A person can get HIV from mosquito bites.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ True</td>
<td>□ False</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Statement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Q.50 6</strong></td>
<td>A person can get HIV from sharing a meal with someone who is infected with HIV?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ True</td>
<td>□ False</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Statement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Q.50 7</strong></td>
<td>A mother can pass HIV to their baby during pregnancy, delivery or breastfeeding.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ True</td>
<td>□ False</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here are some statements about attitudes. We would like to know your opinion. There are no right or wrong answers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Statement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Q.50 8</strong></td>
<td>Would you buy fresh vegetables from a shopkeeper or vendor if you knew that this person had HIV?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ Yes</td>
<td>□ No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Statement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Q.50 9</strong></td>
<td>If a member of your family became ill with HIV, the virus that causes AIDS, would you want it to remain secret?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ Yes</td>
<td>□ No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Statement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Q.51 0</strong></td>
<td>If a member of your family became sick with HIV, would you be willing to care for her or him in your own household?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ Yes</td>
<td>□ No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Statement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Q.51 1</strong></td>
<td>In your opinion, if a teacher has HIV and is not sick, should they be allowed to continue teaching in the school?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ Should be allowed</td>
<td>□ Should not be allowed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q.51</td>
<td>A person should be able to keep his/her HIV status private (no one else needs to find out)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>□ Strongly agree □ Agree □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree □ Don’t know □ No answer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The next few questions are about HIV and STI testing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q.513</th>
<th>Is it possible in your community for someone to get a confidential HIV or STI test? Confidential means no one will know the result if the person being tested doesn’t want them to know.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>□ Yes <em>(Go to Q614)</em> □ No □ Don’t know □ No answer/refused</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Why can’t you get a confidential HIV / STI test result? *(Tick all that apply)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q.513a</th>
<th>HIV testing is not available □ Testing site too public □ Everyone will find out □ Testing site too difficult to get to □ Opening hours not convenient □ Other <em>(specify)</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>□ No answer/refused</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Have you ever had an HIV or STI test?

| Q.514 | □ Yes □ No *(Go to 615)* □ Don’t know □ No answer/refused                                         |

When did you have your last STI test?

| Q.514a | In the last 3 months □ In the last year □ Over a year ago □ Don’t know □ No answer/refused |

Where did you receive your last HIV / STI test?

| Q.514b | □ Ministry of Health Centre □ Non Government Health Centre □ Overseas □ No answer/refused □ Community Clinic or Program □ Other |

Why did you have your last STI / HIV test?

<p>| Q.514c | □ I asked for it □ Medical Check □ Blood donor □ Work Permit or Scholarship requirement □ Don’t know □ Routine Antenatal Screening □ No answer/refused |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q.514d</th>
<th>Did you receive the result of your last HIV / STI test?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>□ Yes □ No □ Don’t know □ No answer/refused</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q.515</th>
<th><strong>☑ appropriate responses</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Have you…</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heard messages about HIV or AIDS on radio</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seen messages about HIV or AIDS on TV</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read messages about HIV or AIDS in newspapers</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seen messages about HIV or AIDS on billboards</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read leaflets or pamphlets about HIV or AIDS</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Received HIV information from outreach workers visiting the community/village</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Section Six: Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q.601</th>
<th>Have you ever been diagnosed with a sexually transmitted infection by a doctor or health worker?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>□ Yes □ No (Go to Q702) □ No answer/refused</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q.601a</th>
<th>What infection were you diagnosed with…? (☑ all that apply)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>□ Gonorrhoea □ Syphilis □ Thrush □ Chlamydia □ Other (specify) ____________________________ □ Don't know □ No answer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q.601b</th>
<th>Were your sexual partner(s) also treated for this STI?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>□ Yes □ No □ Don’t know □ No answer/refused</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q.602</th>
<th>In the last one month have you had a …</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unusual genital or anal discharge?</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rash, ulcer or sore around your genitals?</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower abdominal pain (in between your period) or during sex?</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Have you seen anyone for treatment of these symptoms?
### Section Seven: Concluding Remarks, Interventions and Referrals

This is the end of the interview. Thank you very much for taking the time to answer these questions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Health information provided?</td>
<td>□ Verbal □ Printed □ No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Referral for STI support?</td>
<td>□ Yes □ No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Referral to other service?</td>
<td>□ Yes (specify) □ No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condoms provided?</td>
<td>□ Yes □ No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Refer for voluntary and confidential counselling and then proceed to specimen collection if asked.
Appendix G: Topics For Card Activity in Focus Groups

Physical changes at puberty

Periods

Conception (the process of how an egg and sperm meet)

Teenage parenthood

Abortion

Sterilization (preventing pregnancy permanently)

Sexually transmitted infections (sti’s)

Condom use

Contraception other than condoms

Lower risk sexual activities / (e.g. kissing and touching)

Effects of alcohol on sexual decision-making

Sexual harassment and abuse

Homophobia / (prejudice and discrimination against people who are gay / lele / akava’ine)

Sexual diversity / (lele, akava’ine, gay, lesbian, bisexual)

Akava’ine / transgendered people

Gender roles / (what it means to be a man or woman in society)

Pornography

Prostitution

How the media presents sex and sexuality

Sex and the internet

Positive body image / (feeling good about your body)

Sexuality and disability

Masturbation / (touching yourself)

What sexual activity is

How you can tell if a female is turned on

How you can tell if a male is turned on

Communicating with partners about sexual activity / (saying yes / saying no /
saying let’s do … instead)

How to make sexual activity enjoyable for both partners

Abstinence / (not having sex)

Dealing with relationship break ups
Sexual orientation is one of the top five reasons youth ring the help line, alongside pregnancy and relationship breakups.

A sexuality education workshop for teachers took baby steps towards addressing this issue with a session on supporting students with different sexual orientations last week.

The session was part of an overall workshop on how teachers could become better educators of sexuality and healthy relationships, inclusive of all young people.

It was based on Cook Islands sexuality research in 2012 which included a survey with over 600 young people aged between 15 and 24 years, as well as various Government reports.

More than 70 percent of those surveyed reported being sexually active and 40 percent were sexually active before the age of 14.
When asked to identify their sexuality, nine percent of the survey participants identified as lesbian, gay, bisexual or transgender (LGBT).

More than 20 percent 'refused' or were 'unsure' about which category to put themselves into which workshop leader, Debi Futter-Puati, says could account for more than 9% of young people in the Cook Islands identifying as LGBT.

To begin this sensitive session, Puati shared a quote from the former Director General of the World Health Organisation, Dr Gro Harlem Brundtland.

Brundtland said young people need adult assistance to deal with the thoughts, feelings and experiences that accompany physical maturity.

“Evidence from around the world has clearly shown that providing information and building skills on human sexuality and human relationships helps avert health problems, and creates more mature and responsible attitudes.”

Puati says while many participants at the workshop were initially wary of discussions on sexual orientation, it was good to at least broach the subject and begin to think about how these young people are marginalised in the school and community environment.

“I thought it was important to have this topic in the training because in my study, all the kids said that learning about diversity is important,” she says.

Puati says if you asked adults the same question, they won’t necessarily say the same thing.

To highlight this issue, Puati showed a video which uses contextual twisting to get people to walk in a marginalised person’s shoes.

The video showed a straight person in an all LGBT world, and the issues this straight person faced trying to fit in and be accepted.

Puati says the video is very hard hitting because in the clip, the girl ends up trying to take her own life which is really distressing.

“I think it’s important to show this kind of distress for people to wake up and realise the implications of their behaviour,” she says.
Puati says when you talk to young people, they really understand fairness and social justice, where as adults can often complicate it.

To illustrate this, the group at the workshop were put into pairs to ask each other a question surrounding sexual orientation, with a twist.

One of the questions was, when did you choose to become heterosexual or straight?

Puati says many people said they didn’t choose to be straight, they just are.

Yet this is a common judgement placed on those who identify as LGBT, who are assumed to have ‘chosen’ their sexuality and that they can just change it.

In general, Puati says the workshop went really well and there were some positive evaluations.

“There is still some apprehension about going back to their schools and implementing their new training on sexuality education as a whole, and that’s one of the real challenges of only having one teacher from each school on the training,” she says.

Puati says she feels positive about the training, but thinks there should be further workshops. “Sexuality education isn’t just about sexual intercourse or just about condoms, it’s much bigger than that.”

2 comments

- **Comment Link** Tuesday, 30 June 2015 22:52 posted by Debi
  This education is based on what young people here in the Cook Islands want to learn. Not what someone else in another country said. The young people who shared these ideas were 99% christian.

- **Comment Link** Tuesday, 30 June 2015 10:54 posted by Kenny
  This Sex Education is just one of many known destructive curriculums perpetrated by United Nation’s Robert Muller Schools to lead our kids away from the safety of their Christian values. Parents would be horrified to learn about the complete Sex Ed program...eg use of Porno material. Fact: Robert Muller Schools who created the World Curriculum uses Alice Baileys writings who is a Luciferian with perverted beliefs.
Appendix I: Letter of Support from the Cook Islands Minister of Health

Government of the Cook Islands
OFFICE OF THE MINISTER FOR HEALTH & AGRICULTURE
PO Box 3259, Rarotonga, Cook Islands, Telephone: (682) 20-261, Facsimile: (682) 20-262 Email: nandi@ministerglassie.gov.ck, ceo1@ministerglassie.gov.ck

16th August 2011

The Chairperson,
Cook Islands Research Committee,
Prime Minister’s Office,
Avarua,
Rarotonga

Kia Orana,

Re -Letter of recommendation for Debbie Futter-Puati
Research Project – Sexuality Education – Cook Islands.

We are very pleased to endorse and to offer our support to Ms Debbie Futter in her research study concerning sexuality education within the Cook Islands. The application for the study is timely given the alarming statistics we have on the sexually transmitted infections, (STI) of which Chlamydia is one of these which the Ministry of Health is currently providing an island wide mass treatment.

Debbie Futter-Puati has strong connections with the Cook Islands having previously worked as the Health and Physical Well-being Advisor at the Cook Islands Ministry of Education and also the HIV and STI Coordinator for the Cook Islands Ministry of Health over the last ten years. Through this work she became very interested in the sexual health status of youth in the Cook Islands. She is married to James Uri-Puati of Tikioki and the mother of two Cook Islands children and these connections drive her interest in this research project alongside her professional interests.

Debbie is currently a PhD student at RMIT University and has designed a research project to investigate sexuality education in the Cook Islands with the aim of being able to understand the socio-cultural issues young people in the Cook Islands are dealing with in relation to their intimate relationships. The previous research into sexual and reproductive health in the Cook Islands has been of a medical nature but also identified that there is a gap between the knowledge young people have (e.g. they know they should use a condom) and their behaviour (in that they don’t use a condom) and Debi’s research will look to investigate this ‘gap’ between knowledge and behaviour. Gaining this knowledge will help to design a sexuality education resource specifically designed to the needs of Cook Island youth and could therefore contribute to
reducing the current alarming reproductive health status of youth in the Cook Islands.

We fully support and endorse this research project as we see direct benefits to the Cook Islands and particularly to the Cook Islands Ministry of Health including the partners we work with relating to teenage pregnancy, HIV and STI reduction. We understand that other members of the Cook Islands National HIV, STI, TB Committee have given their endorsement to Debi to do this research project. These organisations are: Cook Islands Red Cross, Cook Islands Family Welfare, Cook Islands National Youth Council, Ministry of Internal Affairs, the HIV Coordinator for the Ministry of Health and the National Council of Women. They have informed Debi that they fully support her research project in that they see the data gathered from her research as contributing to how they plan their interventions and providing an evidence base to the work that they do.

This study would involve working collaboratively with others and the key organizations have already given support. Debi has given us her assurance that people involved in the study will not be identified and anything discussed will be kept confidential, other than her immediate supervisors. Dr Jennifer Elsdon-Clifton and Dr Emily Gray at RMIT University, to whom she is responsible to during her study.

We hoping that you will grant her permission to undergo this study as the findings of this study will enable sexuality education to be implemented from a uniquely Cook Islands perspective in the future.

Thank you in anticipation and look forward to a favourable response to her.

Man Unuia
Chief Executive Officer to

MINISTER GLASSIE,
MINISTER OF HEALTH &
MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE
Appendix J: RMIT Ethics Approval

Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC)
Research and Innovation office

Date: 1 June 2012
Project number: 18/12
Project title: Sexuality education in the Cook Islands
Risk classification: More than low risk
Investigator: Debbie Futter-Puati
Approved: From: 1 June 2012 To: 31 December 2013

Terms of approval:
1. Responsibilities of investigator
   It is the responsibility of the above investigator to ensure that all other investigators and staff on a project are aware of the terms of approval and to ensure that the project is conducted as approved by HREC. Approval is only valid whilst investigator holds a position at RMIT University.
2. Amendments
   Approval must be sought from HREC to amend any aspect of a project including approved documents. To apply for an amendment use the request for amendment form, which is available on the HREC website and submitted to the HREC secretary. Amendments must not be implemented without first gaining approval from HREC.
3. Adverse events
   You should notify HREC immediately of any serious or unexpected adverse effects on participants or unforeseen events affecting the ethical acceptability of the project.
4. Plain Language Statement (PLS)
   The PLS and any other material used to recruit and inform participants of the project must include the RMIT University logo. The PLS must contain a complaints clause including the above project number.
5. Annual reports
   Continued approval of this project is dependent on the submission of an annual report.
6. Final report
   A final report must be provided at the conclusion of the project. HREC must be notified if the project is discontinued before the expected date of completion.
7. Monitoring
   Projects may be subject to an audit or any other form of monitoring by HREC at any time.
8. Retention and storage of data
   The investigator is responsible for the storage and retention of original data pertaining to a project for a minimum period of five years.

In any future correspondence please quote the project number and project title above.

A/Prof Barbara Polus
Chairperson
RMIT HREC

cc: Dr Peter Burke (Ethics Officer/HREC secretary), Dr Jennifer Elsdon-Clifton (supervisor).

KIGovernance/RMIT Ethics/HREC/HREC 2012Correspondence/44Notice of approval pro forma.doc