A study of New Zealand men who have sex with men

Report three: māori men who have sex with men

A research project of the New Zealand AIDS Foundation funded by the Health Research Council of New Zealand.
MALE CALL
Waea Mai, Tāne Mā

Report Three
Māori Men Who Have Sex with Men/
Tāne Māori Moea Tāne

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Male Call/Waea Mai, Tāne Mā Report Series:

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HE MIHI

Tēnā rā koe i ngā mihi
ki ō tātou māta tārūrū nui
e hinga ake nei.
e hinga ake nei.
Tēnei rātou kua rito
ki te kāpunipunilanga
o ngā wairua,
ki tūa o te pae o maumahara,
a, waiho ake ana tātou
i konei haku ai.
taute āi ki a rātou.
Ko te whakatau noa ake,
ko rātou ki a rātou,
ko tātou ki a tātou
i roto i te wā nei.
Nō reira,
tēnā anō tātou katoa.
Overview

Male Call/Waea Mai, Tāne Mā was the first nationwide survey of men who have sex with men (msm) in New Zealand. The project was undertaken because no large scale baseline data on this population was available. While a number of other groups are affected by HIV in this country, the virus is most significantly present amongst msm, who account for over 80% of those with AIDS. As there is still no vaccine or cure for HIV infection, behaviour change remains the only strategy available to manage the HIV epidemic. In order to develop effective and efficient HIV prevention programmes, it was recognised that there was an urgent need for up to date, accurate data on the socio-sexual characteristics of men who have sex with men. The aims of this survey were to:

- describe men who have sex with men's HIV and AIDS knowledge and their sexual practices with a special focus on the adoption of safer strategies;
- examine the ways in which HIV and AIDS knowledge and safe sex practice are related to a number of important demographic and contextual variables;
- provide baseline data on the sexual behaviour of men who have sex with men which can be used to assist in the planning and development of HIV prevention programmes; and
- to develop a core set of baseline questions which could be used in future surveys of men who have sex with men.

The method used was a nationwide telephone survey, which was conducted over a six week period between May and June 1996. All men who had sex with another man in the previous five years were eligible to participate. Respondents called an 0800 toll-free phone number and answered a questionnaire, which took approximately forty minutes to complete. Respondents were able to terminate the call at any time. This method ensured that participants could remain anonymous, and encouraged a wide range of msm to participate. The questionnaire was developed by modifying and expanding the original Australian Project Male Call instrument, which was first used in 1992.

The questionnaire was completed in full by 1852 men. Male Call/Waea Mai, Tāne Mā attracted a broad cross section of msm through a successful recruitment campaign that spanned both mainstream and gay media.
MALE CALL/WAEA MAI, TĀNE MĀ
Report No. 3: Māori Men Who Have Sex with Men/ Tāne Māori Moea Tāne

Introduction

More than ten years after the arrival of HIV and AIDS in Aotearoa/New Zealand very little is known about the effects of the epidemic on Māori, the indigenous people of the country. As in other health areas, there has been speculation that Māori may be at greater risk of infection than the general population. For example, Mateketoketo Arai Kore: A report about HIV/AIDS and Māori (1994) states that Māori may be at greater risk of HIV for a number of reasons including youth unemployment, relative poverty, early school leaving age, loss of cultural identity and lack of information. To date, such perceptions have largely been based on patterns of infection amongst indigenous peoples and minority groups in other countries, which may refer to certain similarities but tend nevertheless to ignore the unique features of the Aotearoa/New Zealand context. Male Call/Waea Mai, Tāne Mā provides us with the first substantial information about Māori men in Aotearoa/New Zealand who have sex with men.

Fundamental to this project was a commitment to the principles of equity, as outlined in the Treaty of Waitangi. The project team was committed to ensuring full and appropriate involvement of Māori at all levels. It was recognised that there may be some barriers to Māori participation, such as lack of access to telephones and a lack of privacy to make a forty minute telephone call on what could be a very sensitive topic. In order to overcome these barriers, and to attract a high number of Māori respondents, the project team developed a number of specific recruitment strategies. These included:

- the appointment of a Māori recruitment coordinator;
- personal visits by the Māori coordinator to regional hui;
- liaison with Māori community health groups throughout New Zealand;
- advertising on Māori radio stations; and
- the use of both the Māori and the English languages in promotional material.¹

¹ Hui means meeting.
The success of this strategy can be measured by the range and number of Māori msm who responded to the promotion campaign. The survey attracted a total of 1852 respondents, of which 170 (9.2%) identified as Māori. This proportion falls just below that of 11.7% recorded in the 1996 New Zealand Census for the total population of Māori males aged fifteen years and over. The sample size is of considerable significance as it is the first time that a research project of this nature has attracted such a large number of Māori men.

This report provides a description of the demographic and social milieu characteristics, and the sexual relationships and practices of the 170 Māori msm who responded to the survey. While we cannot be certain that this sample is representative of all Māori msm, we are able to gain some insights into the sexual practices and relationships of a group of Māori msm in the 1990s. For the first time, in-depth information is available that will be important in the design and implementation of HIV prevention programmes focused on Māori msm.

While this report is mainly descriptive, some statistical analysis has been done and this has been incorporated into the text of the report. Logistic regressions were carried out for some of the main aims listed below. The details of these are outlined in Appendix 1 and the results are discussed in the body of the report. Where it was more appropriate to carry out univariate tests, the results of chi-squared tests and t-tests are footnoted.

The analysis that follows is based on the following aims:

- to examine the demographic characteristics and social milieu variables of Māori msm;
- to investigate the sexual practices and condom use of Māori msm;
- to compare the demographic, social milieu, sexual practice and condom use variables of Māori msm with those of non-Māori msm;
- to describe a number of important demographic, social milieu and sexual practice variables of Māori men who identified as takatāpui, comparing them with Māori men who did not identify as takatāpui; and
- to examine the predictors of Māori msm having highly unsafe sex.

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2 According to the 1996 Census, 157,383 Māori men aged fifteen and over (11.7% of the total population of this age group) indicated that they were of Māori ethnicity.

3 Within this report, statistical significance has been defined as having a p-value of ≤ 0.05.
Section I: Characteristics of the Māori Respondents

This section describes the demographic and social milieu characteristics of the Māori respondents of Male Call/Waea Mai, Tāne Mā. These characteristics are compared with those of the 1682 non-Māori respondents.

Demographic characteristics

The demographic characteristics of the 170 Māori respondents are outlined below. These include age, education, occupation, income, place of residence and iwi affiliation.

Age

In marked contrast to the non-Māori respondents, Māori were characterised by their youthfulness. For example, whilst half of the Māori respondents were aged between 20 and 29 (50.0%), the corresponding figure for non-Māori was 28.3%. Furthermore, 11.7% of Māori respondents were aged 40 and over, compared to 34.6% of non-Māori. See Figure 1 for a comparison of the ages of the Māori and non-Māori respondents.

![Figure 1: Age - a comparison of Māori and non-Māori respondents](image)

Education

Data on educational achievement in this country shows that Māori are more likely than non-Māori to leave school without formal qualifications (Davies and Nicholl 1993). This has repercussions for Māori school leavers, in that they are less likely to enter tertiary education and are more likely to take up unskilled employment. Although no statistically significant differences were found in Male Call/Waea Mai, Tāne Mā, this difference in educational levels was reflected overall.

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4 p<0.0001
5 p<0.0001
A total of 16.5% of Māori respondents had no school qualifications, compared with 11% of the non-Māori sample. Conversely, a lower proportion of Māori respondents stated they had gained a university qualification. Figure 2 shows a comparison of the educational qualifications of Māori and non-Māori respondents.

**Figure 2: Educational qualifications - a comparison of Māori and non-Māori respondents**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qualification</th>
<th>Māori (n=170)</th>
<th>Non-Māori (n=1682)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Graduate degree</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undergraduate degree</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade certificate/diploma</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some school qualification</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No formal school qualification</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**Occupation**

A Comparison of the current occupations of Māori and non-Māori found several significant differences between the two samples. Māori were significantly less likely than non-Māori to be in professional and semi-professional work. For example, whilst 14.7% of Māori were in these positions, 28.7% of non-Māori were. Māori were also significantly more likely than non-Māori to be in semi-skilled work. These trends are also evident in the national employment patterns (Statistics New Zealand 1997). Figure 3 shows a comparison of the occupations of Māori and non-Māori respondents.

**Figure 3: Occupation - a comparison of Māori and non-Māori respondents**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Māori (n=170)</th>
<th>Non-Māori (n=1682)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-skilled</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not in paid work</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical/Technical</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi/Professional</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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6. *p* < 0.0001
7. *p* = 0.05
Income

Perhaps not surprisingly, differences were found between the two samples in terms of income. For example, Māori were significantly more likely than non-Māori to be on incomes of under $30,000. Over half (57.7%) of the Māori respondents were in this category, compared with 46.0% of non-Māori. Māori were also significantly less likely than non-Māori to be on an income of $50,000 or more (figures were 11.8% and 21.4% respectively). The reported incomes of Māori and non-Māori respondents are outlined in Figure 4.

![Figure 4: Income - a comparison of Māori and non-Māori respondents](image)

Place of residence

Urban migration has been a feature of Māori society within the last one hundred years. Large numbers of Māori have moved from rural areas to both urban and smaller provincial centres (Pool 1991). Furthermore, in the case of gay men, migration to urban areas with large numbers of other gay men is a recognised post-World War II phenomenon in Western countries throughout the world. For some time now gay men in these countries have been migrating to major cities to escape discrimination and to seek out supportive social support networks (Browning 1996; D’Emilio 1989; LeVay and Nonas 1995; Sadownik 1996; Weeks 1991). It is reasonable to assume that the migration of many Māori MSM has been prompted by similar motivating factors.

Just under half of all Māori respondents (45.5%) indicated that they resided in Auckland, which was similar to the figure of 44.7% for non-Māori respondents. However, Māori were significantly less likely than non-Māori to live in other main urban areas, such as

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\(^{a} p=0.004\)

\(^{b} p=0.0005\)
Wellington and Christchurch. Although not statistically significant, proportionately more Māori than non-Māori lived in provincial towns and rural areas. Figure 5 compares the place of residence of the Māori and non-Māori respondents.

![Figure 5: Place of residence - a comparison of Māori and non-Māori respondents](image)

This finding reflects the overall pattern of residence of the Māori population as recorded in the 1996 Census, namely that greater numbers of Māori live in Auckland and north of Auckland than elsewhere (Statistics New Zealand 1997). The Māori recruitment coordinator was based in Auckland, and although he covered the whole country, his efforts were nevertheless more concentrated in the greater Auckland area. This may have had an effect on the places from which Māori responses came.

**Iwi affiliation**

All respondents who identified as Māori were asked to identify their iwi affiliation. Over a third of all Māori respondents (38.8%) did not name their iwi. This proportion is similar to the 36% of Māori who did not state their iwi affiliation in the 1996 Census (Statistics New Zealand 1998).

Of the respondents who did identify their iwi, most claimed affiliation with Ngāpuhi - twenty-nine men, or 17.1% of all Māori respondents. Again, this is similar to the 1996 Census results which found that Ngāpuhi was the largest iwi with 95,451 members (Statistics New Zealand 1997).

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10 p=0.05
11 'Iwi' means tribe.
Social milieu characteristics

The term 'social milieu' refers to the social contexts in which the respondents live. These contexts may influence how open men are about their sexual orientation, and reflect the extent to which they are attached to the gay community. This section focuses on the social milieu characteristics of the 170 Māori respondents, and compares them with those of the 1682 non-Māori respondents. In particular, Māori men's sexual identity, disclosure of sexual identity to others, gay community involvement and contact with the HIV/AIDS epidemic are discussed.

Sexual identity

Māori respondents claimed a diversity of sexual identities, reflecting what Weeks (1991) refers to as the diversity exhibited by groups of men whose one common feature is that they have sex with other men. Respondents were asked to choose the terms that described their sexual identity, and more than one choice could be made. On average, Māori men chose 2.6 identities. Figure 6 shows the sexual identities chosen by both Māori and non-Māori respondents.

![Figure 6: Sexual identity - a comparison of Māori and non-Māori respondents](image)

The most popular sexual identity for Māori respondents was gay, with just over two thirds of all Māori respondents (68.2%) choosing this category. The second most popular sexual identity amongst Māori msm was homosexual (58.6%). However significantly fewer Māori than non-Māori chose gay or homosexual, which indicates that these forms of sexual identity may be culturally specific.\(^2\) Researchers into sexual identity have

\(^2\) p=0.008, p=0.04 respectively.
commented on the inability of Western paradigms of sexual identity to adequately
describe non-Western forms of sexuality (Dowsett 1996; Connell and Dowsett 1992). Gay
identity can be viewed as being closely associated with Western paradigms, with which
many Māori msm do not feel comfortable.  

Male Call/Waea Mai. Tāne Mā also found that Māori were more likely than non-Māori to
identify as bisexual. Whilst a third (35.3%) of Māori respondents identified as bisexual
26.7% of non-Māori respondents did so. There may be two possible reasons behind
this. Firstly, dualisms such as 'gay' and 'straight' may not be useful for many Māori msm.
As Māori increasingly look to their cultural heritage to describe themselves, it is possible
that terms such as bisexual may be seen as convenient interim descriptors of sexuality.

Secondly, this finding may be related to Māori cultural heritage and tradition. Evidence
from both oral and written accounts of early Māori society confirm that a range of different
forms of sexual expression was a fundamental feature of Māori society. Ngāhuia Te
Awekotuku (1996) writes that "sexuality was enjoyed in many forms. People chose
partners of either sex for pleasure, and same-sex love was not condemned or vilified".

A third of Māori respondents (31.1% or 53 men) identified as takatāpui. These men are
discussed in more depth in Section VII of this report.

Disclosure of attraction to men

Respondents were asked whether they had told anyone about their sexual attraction to
men. The majority of Māori respondents (90.6%) had told someone. The men who had
done so were also asked who they had told.

Of the 154 Māori respondents who had told someone that they were sexually attracted to
men, most had told their friends. The largest proportion (92.2%) had told their gay
friends, and 79.2% had told their straight friends. However, Māori were significantly less
likely than non-Māori to have told their friends, with 96.5% and 84.1% of the 1583 non-
Māori having told their gay and straight friends respectively.  

\[ p = 0.03 \]

\[ p = 0.01 \text{ for gay friends and } p = 0.04 \text{ for straight friends.} \]
The second largest group of respondents who had disclosed reported having told family members. Similar proportions of Māori (76.5%) and non-Māori respondents (75.4%) had told members of their immediate families. Figure 7 shows a comparison of disclosure by Māori and non-Māori respondents.

Figure 7: People to whom respondents have disclosed their sexual attraction to men - comparison of Māori and non-Māori respondents

[Chart showing disclosure by category]

Significantly fewer Māori (64.3%) than non-Māori (72.1%) had told their workmates about their sexuality.¹⁵ This non-disclosure to workmates and friends may be linked to the fact that there were higher numbers of Māori than non-Māori who did not identify as gay.

**Age of disclosure**

Māori men were more likely than non-Māori men to disclose their attraction to men at an earlier age. For example, just under half of the 170 Māori respondents (47.3%) had disclosed to someone by the age of twenty, compared with 40.6% of non-Māori.¹⁶ This suggests that young Māori men may have more supportive social networks than other young men, especially within their immediate whanau, which allow them to talk more freely about issues related to sexuality.

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¹⁵ p<0.01
¹⁶ p=0.05
Gay community involvement

Male Call/Waea Mai, Tāne Mā was interested in gauging men’s attachment to the gay community for the purpose of exploring the relationship between involvement with the gay community and sexual practice, including condom use. A gay community attachment scale was constructed by ranking (on a scale of one to twelve) respondents’ social contact with other gay/homosexual men, and places they visited with their gay friends. A score of five or more was regarded as indicating the respondent was gay community attached (gca), and a score of four or less meant that the respondent was non-gay community attached (ngca).

Overall, Māori were less likely than non-Māori to be attached to the gay community. Just over half (51.8%) of the 170 Māori respondents were gca, compared with nearly two thirds (64.8%) of non-Māori respondents (see Figure 8). This reflects the findings of research conducted by Herewini and Sheridan (1994) on the health needs of Māori gay men that Māori men are likely to feel excluded from gay community initiatives, as they are often based on white middle class ideals. Some Māori msm may be more likely to feel part of community groups which include a strong Māori cultural component.

![Figure 8: Gay community attachment - comparison of Māori and non-Māori respondents](image)

It is interesting to note, however, that the fifty three respondents who identified as takatāpui were significantly more likely than other Māori respondents to be attached to the gay community (see Section VII for further discussion).

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17 p=0.001
Respondents were asked if they saw themselves as being part of the gay community. Māori respondents were significantly less likely than non-Māori to assess themselves as being part of the gay community. While 69.4% of Māori MSM saw themselves as part of the gay community, the corresponding figure for non-Māori was 69.5%.

The survey also found that significantly fewer Māori than non-Māori respondents were, or had been, members of gay organisations - a third of all Māori MSM (36.5%) were involved in gay organisations, compared with half of all non-Māori respondents (50.2%).

Section II: Sexual Relationships

Traditionally, Māori society was known for its sexual diversity, with many tipuna having more than one concurrent sexual partner (Karelu, 1995). Such relationships were an accepted feature of society and were seen by many as a source of pride. The data from this survey indicates that the sexual practices and relationships of Māori MSM are as diverse in the 1990s as they were in the past. This is despite almost 160 years of attempts by Church and State to regulate the sexual behaviour of both Māori and tauwi.

Types of sexual partners

Male Call/Waea Mai, Tāne Mā respondents were asked about sexual practices with both regular and casual partners in the previous six months. A regular male partner was defined in Male Call as someone ‘you have had sex with more than once, and with whom you plan to have sex again in the near future’. A casual male partner was defined as any sexual partner who did not fall into the category of a regular partner. The findings for Māori MSM in these two categories will be discussed separately below.

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10 \( p=0.01 \)
10 \( p=0.0005 \)
20 Tipuna means ancestors.
21 Tauwi refers to all those inhabitants of New Zealand who are not Māori.
Regular sexual partners

As respondents were questioned on their sexual practices and condom use in the previous six months, for the purpose of analysis only those men who were in a regular sexual relationship with a man of six months or longer are included here. A third of all Māori respondents (33.5% or 57 men) were in such a relationship (see Figure 9).

![Figure 9: Had sex with a regular male partner in previous six months - a comparison of Māori and non-Māori respondents](image)

There was no significant difference between Māori and non-Māori men in regard to being in a regular sexual relationship with a man (40.6% or 684 of the non-Māori men were in a relationship of six months or longer).

Open and closed relationships

The 57 Māori men who were in a regular relationship of six months or longer were however less likely than non-Māori men in relationships to have had sex outside the relationship in the previous six months. Just over half (50.6%) of those 57 Māori men also had sex with casual partners in the previous six months, compared with 57.3% of non-Māori.

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22 See Male Call/Waea Mai, Tāne Mā Report No. 2: Men in Relationships with Men for more detailed analysis of the demographic characteristics, sexual practices and condom use of Male Call/Waea Mai, Tāne Mā respondents who were in a regular relationship with another man.

23 Respondents were asked whether they had sex with a regular male partner in the previous six months. At several points in this and other Male Call/Waea Mai, Tāne Mā reports, those men who did have a regular male sex partner are often also referred to as ‘being in a relationship’ with them. We acknowledge however that this may hold different meanings for respondents - for example, 10.6% of the 57 Māori men who had a regular partner described this person as their ‘luck buddy’.

24 p=0.05

25 Two men had not had sex in the last six months.
Casual sexual partners

Two thirds of Māori respondents (65.9% or 112 men) had sex with a casual male partner in the previous six months. Māori were less likely than non-Māori to have done this - the corresponding figure for non-Māori was 74.4%, or 1250 men (see Figure 10).

![Figure 10: Had sex with casual male partner/s in previous six months - a comparison of Māori and non-Māori respondents](image)

Number of casual male partners

A very similar pattern emerged for both Māori and non-Māori in terms of numbers of casual male partners in the previous six months. Just over half (55.2%) of the 112 Māori men who had sex with a casual male partner in the previous six months had five or fewer partners (see Figure 11).

![Figure 11: Number of casual male partners in previous six months](image)

\[26 \ p=0.03\]
Venues at which men met male sex partners in previous year

Male Call/Waea Mai, Tāne Mā respondents were asked where they had gone in the previous year to meet or look for male sex partners. The options were not exclusive, and on average, men stated they had been to just over five venues in the previous year.\(^{27}\)

Māori MSM reported that they had been to a diversity of sites in the previous year to find male sex partners. The highest proportion (50.6%) reported having gone to gay bars in the previous year to meet or look for male sex partners, and a similar proportion (50.0%) reported that they had met sex partners at private parties and friends’ places. It is interesting to note that larger proportions of Māori than non-Māori MSM had been to straight bars (37.6% compared with 21.5%) and public toilets (38.8% compared with 27.0%) to meet men.\(^{28}\) This links in with other Male Call/Waea Mai, Tāne Mā findings which indicate that Māori MSM are less likely than non-Māori MSM to identify as gay, and to be gay community attached.

Section III: Sexual Practices

Sex was defined broadly in the survey as “any intimate physical contact that involves sexual excitement”, providing ample room for men to specify their own sexual experiences. All sexual practices that were included in the questionnaire have been broadly divided into two categories. The first category includes sexual activities which do not involve penile-anal intercourse, but may still involve the anus, such as rimming and finger fucking.\(^{29}\) This category is called ‘oral and other sex.’ The second category includes those sexual practices which involve penile-anal intercourse and is referred to as ‘anal sex.’ The findings within each category will be discussed separately below.

Oral and other sex

This section discusses the patterns of oral and other sex with regular partners, by the 57 Māori MSM who were in a relationship of six months or longer. It also discusses patterns of oral and other sex with casual partners, by the 112 Māori MSM who had sex with casual partners in the previous six months. Any significant differences between Māori and non-Māori sexual practices are noted. Figure 12 shows the patterns of oral and other sexual practices of Māori and non-Māori men with both regular and casual male partners.

\(^{27}\) See Male Call/Waea Mai, Tāne Mā Report No 4: Casual Sex between Men for more detailed analysis of the venues MSM went to meet or look for male sex partners in the previous year.

\(^{28}\) P values of <0.0001 for straight bars and 0.002 for public toilets.

\(^{29}\) The term “rimming” refers to oral-anal contact.
Figure 12
Oral and other sexual practices of Māori and non-Māori MSM (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Māori with regular partners (n=57)</th>
<th>non-Māori with regular partners (n=864)</th>
<th>Māori with casual partners (n=112)</th>
<th>non-Māori with casual partners (n=1250)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oral sex</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sucking partner and not swallowing cum</td>
<td>82.4</td>
<td>85.9</td>
<td>87.5</td>
<td>85.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sucking partner and swallowing cum</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>37.7</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>19.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being sucked and not ejaculating</td>
<td>66.6</td>
<td>78.8</td>
<td>78.5</td>
<td>82.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being sucked and ejaculating</td>
<td>29.8</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>47.3</td>
<td>31.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other sex</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deep kissing</td>
<td>91.2</td>
<td>90.4</td>
<td>79.4</td>
<td>79.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masturbating together</td>
<td>84.2</td>
<td>91.2</td>
<td>90.1</td>
<td>93.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sensuous touching</td>
<td>92.9</td>
<td>93.1</td>
<td>85.7</td>
<td>92.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rimming partner</td>
<td>57.8</td>
<td>47.6</td>
<td>40.1</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being rimmed</td>
<td>59.6</td>
<td>52.3</td>
<td>60.7</td>
<td>50.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finger fucking partner</td>
<td>57.8</td>
<td>63.5</td>
<td>58.0</td>
<td>58.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being finger fucked</td>
<td>68.4</td>
<td>62.4</td>
<td>58.9</td>
<td>59.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Using sex toys</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>33.6</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>20.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Oral and other sex with regular male partners**

As Figure 12 shows, Māori men engaged in a wide range of sexual activities with their regular partners, with high numbers of respondents engaging in safe practices such as sensuous touching (82.9%), deep kissing (91.2%), mutual masturbation (84.2%) and oral sex without ejaculation (82.4% for receptive, and 66.6% for insertive). Fewer than half of Māori men practised oral sex with ejaculation into the mouth, both receptive (38.5%) and insertive (29.8%).

Unfortunately, because of the small number of Māori men with regular partners, statistical tests could not be carried out for a few of the more common practices. Where tests could be done, no significant differences were found between Māori and non-Māori men with their regular partners.

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30 The men were asked whether they had engaged in these activities 'never', 'occasionally' or 'often'. 'Occasionally' and 'often' were combined here to gain an answer of 'yes'.

31 The questionnaire asked men whether they had 'swallowed' their partner’s cum during oral sex. It should be noted that while this will have been taken literally by some respondents, for others it may mean having their partner’s semen in the mouth only.
Oral and other sex with casual partners

Again, Māori men reported engaging in a wide range of sexual activities with their casual partners, with the most popular being masturbation (90.1%), sensuous touching (85.7%), deep kissing (79.4%) and oral sex without ejaculation into the mouth, both receptive (87.5%) and insertive (78.5%). It is interesting to note that whilst a relatively low proportion of Māori msm reported engaging in receptive oral sex with ejaculation with their casual partners (17.8%), just under half (47.3%) reported engaging in insertive oral sex with ejaculation.

There were several significant differences between the reported sexual practices of Māori and non-Māori with their casual male partners. Proportionately more Māori than non-Māori men engaged in insertive oral sex with ejaculation with their casual male partners (47.3% compared with 31.6%) 32 Māori were also significantly less likely than non-Māori msm to have engaged in sensuous touching with casual partners, and were more likely to have engaged in rimming and being rimmed (see Figure 12). 33

Differences in sexual practices with regular and casual partners

When the oral and other sexual practices of Māori msm with their regular and casual male partners were compared, several interesting differences emerged. 34 For example, proportionately fewer Māori men engaged in intimate activities such as deep kissing, sensuous touching and rimming with their casual partners than with their regular partners. Conversely, higher levels of masturbation were reported with casual than with regular partners.

Māori men reported more oral sex with casual partners than with their regular partners in all categories, with the exception of receptive oral sex (sucking) with ejaculation into the mouth - 17.8% of the 112 Māori men who had sex with casual partners did this, compared with 38.5% of the 57 Māori men in relationships of six months or longer.

32 p=0.002
33 p-values of 0.05 for sensuous touching, 0.04 for rimming and 0.04 for being rimmed.
34 Unfortunately we could not test these differences for statistical significance as the two groups were not exclusive.
Anal sex

Anal sex has specific culturally determined meanings. While anal sex might have specific meaning for gay men in Western cultures (Rofes 1995), this may not be the same for men from indigenous cultures, who may attach different symbolic values to this activity. Karetu (1995) has referred to the acceptance of sexual diversity that existed within pre-European Māori society. It is reasonable to assume that practices such as anal sex were viewed somewhat differently from the way they are viewed today, and that culturally defined concepts may be a feature of how many Māori msm view their sexuality.

A logistic regression was used to see whether the respondents who identified as Māori were more likely than other respondents to have had anal sex in the previous six months with a male partner (see Appendix 1 for the variables used). Being Māori was not found to have an effect on whether or not respondents had anal sex.

This section discusses the patterns of anal sex first with regular partners, as reported by the 57 Māori msm who were in a relationship of six months or longer, and second with casual partners, as reported by the 112 Māori msm who had sex with casual partners in the previous six months. Any significant differences between Māori and non-Māori anal sex practices are noted. Figure 13 shows the proportions of these two groups who had anal sex in the previous six months.

![Figure 13: Māori respondents (n=170)](#)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(n=170)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Had sex with regular male partner (of six months or more) (n=57)</td>
<td>33.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Had sex with casual male partner/s (n=112)</td>
<td>65.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Had anal sex with regular male partner (n=45)</td>
<td>78.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Had anal sex with casual male partner/s (n=68)</td>
<td>60.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Anal sex with regular partner**

Over three quarters (78.9%) of the 57 Māori men who were in a regular relationship with another man of six months or longer had anal sex with their regular partner in the previous six months. When data on all four types of anal sex with regular partners was compared, Māori msm reported slightly higher levels of anal sex with ejaculation inside (both insertive and receptive) than with withdrawal (see Figure 14).

![Figure 14: Anal sex practices with regular partner - comparison of Māori and non-Māori](image)

Overall, similar proportions of Māori msm had anal sex with their regular partners in the previous six months (78.9%), compared with non-Māori (76%). In addition, reported anal sex practices between the two groups were comparable (see Figure 14).

**Anal sex with casual partners**

Just under two thirds (60.7%) of the 112 Māori men who had sex with casual partners had engaged in anal sex with a casual partner at least once in the previous six months. When data on all four types of anal sex with casual partners was compared, it was found that Māori msm had engaged in slightly higher levels of insertive anal sex than receptive anal sex (see Figure 15).

---

35 Unfortunately, statistical significance of this data could not be tested, as groups were not exclusive.
There were no significant differences between Māori and non-Māori msm in terms of anal sex practices with a casual male partner.

Differences in anal sex practices with regular and casual partners

When the anal sex practices of Māori msm with their regular and casual male partners were compared, it appeared that a higher proportion of Māori msm engaged in anal sex with their regular male partner (79%) than with their casual partners (61%). This is not surprising. Almost all studies of the sexual practices of msm show that more msm have anal sex with their regular partners than with their casual partners. Furthermore, proportionately more Māori msm appear to have engaged in anal sex with ejaculation with their regular partners than with their casual partners. This finding was also reflected when the anal sex practices of the total Male Call/Waea Mai, Tāne Mā sample were analysed.

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36 Examples include Kippax et al. 1993; Davies et al. 1993; Myers et al. 1993.
37 See Male Call/Waea Mai, Tāne Mā Report No. 2: Men in Relationships with Men for a more detailed analysis of the anal sex practices of the total sample of men in relationships.
Section IV: Condom Use

Each respondent to Male Call/Waea Mai, Tāne Mā was asked to indicate condom use on a scale of “always” to “never” and was asked to do this separately for each type of anal sex, with both regular and casual male partners. The respondent’s answers may have differed for each type of anal sex. For instance, some men may have reported “never” using a condom for anal sex with withdrawal, but may have indicated “always” if ejaculation inside was involved. Analysis of the data did, however, allow a distinct subgroup of men who “never used a condom” with any male partner in the previous six months to be isolated. This category includes only those men who indicated that they had “never” used a condom for any type of anal sex in the previous six months (men who reported that they “very rarely” or “sometimes” used condoms were not included in this category).

Of the 110 Māori msm who had anal sex with another male in the previous six months, 20% never used a condom. The findings for condom use with regular and casual partners are discussed below.

Condom use with regular partners

A large proportion of Māori msm practised safe sex with their regular partner. Nearly three quarters (71%) of Māori men who had anal sex with their regular partner stated they had used a condom, either sometimes or regularly (see Figure 16).

A logistic regression was used to see whether those identifying as Māori were more likely to never use a condom in a regular relationship of at least six months (see Appendix 1 for variables used). The test found that Māori were significantly more likely than non-Māori to use condoms in sex with regular partners.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure 16: Condom use by men who had anal sex (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never use a condom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes/always use a condom</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

36 The full scale for condom use was: Never/Very rarely/Sometimes/Almost always/Always.
39 p=0.03
Condom use with casual partners

Māra Call/Waea Mai, Tāne Mā also found that most of the Māori men who had anal sex with casual partners practised safe sex. That is, most men used condoms (either sometimes or always) for anal sex with their casual partners. Only 13% of Māori men who had anal sex with casual partners never used a condom (see Figure 16). A logistic regression was used to see whether Māori were more likely to never use a condom with their casual partners. The test found no significant differences between Māori and non-Māori in relation to condom use with casual partners.

It is interesting to note that reported condom use for anal sex with casual partners was higher than that reported for regular partners, for both Māori and non-Māori msm. This finding is in line with other research (see Kippax et al. 1993; Kippax et al. 1995; Davies et al. 1993; Myers et al. 1992; Hoff et al. 1996).

Section V: Highly Unsafe Sex

Highly unsafe sex is defined here as unprotected anal sex with a partner whose HIV status was unknown to the respondent or different from their own. This definition has been chosen because such a scenario includes the combination of two potentially high risk elements: unprotected anal intercourse and unawareness of a partner’s sero-status.

However, we wish to stress that it must not be assumed that unprotected anal intercourse with a partner whose HIV status is ‘known’ can be regarded as a safe strategy, and most men will not know the sero-status of their casual partners.

Just over one fifth of Māori respondents had engaged in highly unsafe sex on at least one occasion in the previous six months (21.8% of all 110 Māori respondents who had anal sex, or 24 men). For some these men, the reported incidence of highly unsafe sex may have been a ‘slip up’ - just under a half (45.8%) of them had only done this once in the previous six months.
The figure for reported incidences of highly unsafe anal sex by Māori is very similar to that for the 1144 non-Māori men who had had anal sex in the previous six months, at 19.9% (228 men).  

![Figure 17: Proportion of Māori men who had highly unsafe anal sex, by partner type](image)

Respondents were asked whether they had engaged in this type of sex with regular and casual male partners. A slightly larger proportion of Māori men had highly unsafe sex with casual male partners than with regular partners - while 27.5% of the 69 Māori men who had anal sex with casual partners in the previous six months reported they had engaged in highly unsafe sex with a casual partner, 17.8% of the 45 Māori men who had anal sex with their regular male partners had done this with a regular partner (see Figure 17). These findings were very similar to those of the non-Māori men who had anal sex in the previous six months. Of the 748 non-Māori men who had anal sex with casual partners in the previous six months, 26.6% reported at least one incident of highly unsafe sex with them, and 13.4% of the 514 non-Māori men who had anal sex with regular male partners reported at least one incident of highly unsafe anal sex.

**Predictors of highly unsafe sex**

A logistic regression was used to investigate the effects of certain demographic and social milieu variables on the likelihood of Māori men engaging in highly unsafe anal sex in the previous six months, with any male partner (see Appendix 1 for variables used and full results). It was found that being on a lower income, being younger, and having sex with casual partners were significant predictors of Māori men engaging in highly unsafe sex. These three predictors are briefly discussed below.

---

40 No significant difference.
Income

Māori respondents who were on lower incomes were more likely than those on higher incomes to have engaged in highly unsafe sex with a male partner in the previous six months.\textsuperscript{41} For example, of the 61 Māori respondents who earned under $20,000, 16.3\% had engaged in highly unsafe sex with a male partner, compared with 12.9\% of those 108 Māori men who earned $20,000 or more.

Age

Older Māori men were less likely to have highly unsafe sex than younger men.\textsuperscript{42} For example, of the 24 Māori men who had highly unsafe anal sex, none were aged over forty, three quarters (75.0\%) were aged 25-39, and a quarter (25.0\%) were aged 15-24 years.

Having sex with casual partners

Those respondents who had sex with casual partners in the previous six months were more likely than those who did not to have engaged in unsafe sex, with any partner.\textsuperscript{43} For example, while 18.7\% of the 112 Māori men who had sex with a casual partner reported engaging in highly unsafe sex with (any) male partner in the previous six months, only 5.1\% of the 58 Māori men who did not have sex with casual partners had done this with a male partner.

Section VI: HIV Testing

Respondents to this survey were asked whether they had ever had an HIV test and if they had, how long it had been since they were last tested. The findings indicate that many Māori msm are concerned about their health status in relation to HIV. Two thirds of all 170 Māori respondents (69.4\% or 118 men) had tested for HIV at least once in their lifetime, and three quarters of these 118 men (75.9\%) had tested more than once. This is comparable with the testing rates of non-Māori msm - 70.4\% of all non-Māori had tested at least once in their lifetime.

When the analysis was narrowed to include only those 110 Māori men who had engaged in anal sex in the previous six months, we found that a larger proportion of these men had had an HIV test in their lifetime - 74.5\%, or 82 men. Furthermore, of those 82 men

\textsuperscript{41} p=0.03
\textsuperscript{42} p=0.03
who had been tested at least once. 41.5% had done so in the six months prior to interview.

![Figure 18: Places respondents went to obtain latest HIV test - comparison of Māori and non-Māori](image)

Respondents were asked to indicate where they went to get their last HIV test. As Figure 18 shows, the most commonly reported place Māori MSM went to be tested was the local GP (35.5%), followed by STD clinics (28.8%) and New Zealand AIDS Foundation clinics (19.5%).

Previous research has found that Māori are faced with a range of barriers in terms of access to primary health care (Pomare et al. 1995). In line with this, Male Call/Waea Mai, Tāne Mā found that Māori were significantly less likely than non-Māori to have gone to the GP for an HIV test, even though this was the most common place for respondents to have gone. Other popular places for testing were STD clinics and NZAF clinics, for both Māori and non-Māori men.

Overall, both Māori and non-Māori rated their chances of becoming infected as low. Over 80% of both groups rated their chances of infection as 5 or under on a scale of 1-10 (HIV infection being perceived as "impossible" at 1 and "certain" at 10). However, Māori respondents tended to perceive themselves to be more at risk (the median for Māori was 3, compared to 2 for non-Māori). A Wilcoxon test was carried out which found that the Māori figures were significantly larger \( p < 0.001 \).
Section VII: Men Who Identified as Takatāpui

Historically, the term takatāpui was used to describe an intimate companion of the same sex. The word features in Williams’ Dictionary which was first published in 1844, and it also appears in Ngā Motetearoa. However in contemporary Aotearoa/New Zealand society the term is understood to describe same sex attraction, and it embraces men, women and transgender people. It fulfills the function of bringing together sexual and cultural strands of an individual’s identity, and has been adopted by people from a range of different sexualities.

A total of 53 Māori respondents to Male Call/Waea Mai, Tāne Mā identified as takatāpui, representing a third (31.2%) of all Māori respondents. The base numbers were too small to test for significant differences with other Māori in terms of sexual practices and condom use. However, we were able to examine the predictors of takatāpui identity, and to describe several demographic and social milieu characteristics of takatāpui respondents. This represents the first quantitative data on the demographic and social milieu characteristics of takatāpui tāne in New Zealand, and it will serve as a useful measure with which to compare future studies into the sexuality of Māori men.

![Figure 19: Percentage of Māori respondents who identified as takatāpui](n=170)

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45 Ngā Motetearoa is a collection of songs that were gathered by Sir Apirana Ngata and first published in 1928.

46 Within contemporary Māori society, takatāpui tāne applies to men, takatāpui wāhine applies to women, takatāpui whakawāhine refers to male to female transsexuals and takatāpui whakatāne refers to female to male transsexuals.
Predictors of takatāpui identity

A logistic regression was undertaken to investigate the effect of several demographic and social milieu variables on the likelihood of Māori men identifying as takatāpui (see Appendix 1 for full details of variables used and results). The test found that Māori men who lived in cities were significantly more likely to identify as takatāpui, as were Māori men who were gay community attached. These two predictors are briefly discussed below.

Place of residence

The data would suggest that the term takatāpui is still relatively new for many Māori, with its usage being confined largely to the main urban areas. Māori men who lived in cities were significantly more likely than those from provincial areas to identify as takatāpui. For example, of all 170 Māori respondents, a third (36.7%) of those living in Auckland and 30.2% of those living in the other main urban areas identified as takatāpui, compared with 16% of those living in secondary urban and rural areas.

Gay community attachment

In addition to being largely urban-based, takatāpui identity is closely linked to gay community attachment. Māori respondents who were attached to the gay community were significantly more likely than those who were not gay community attached to identify as takatāpui. Half (50.0%) of all gca Māori respondents identified as takatāpui, compared with 11.0% of non-gca Māori men.

The majority of takatāpui respondents (83.0%) were attached to the gay community (see Figure 20).

---

47 p=0.008
48 p=0.004
Other characteristics of takatāpui

When we compared the demographic and social milieu characteristics of the 53 Māori respondents who identified as takatāpui with those of the 117 Māori men who did not choose this identity, several interesting findings emerged. They are summarised below.

- Slightly higher numbers of men who identified as takatāpui named their iwi (61.1%) than those who did not choose this identity (78.6%).
- A substantial proportion (86.8%) of takatāpui respondents also identified as gay. In contrast, 59.8% of the rest of the Māori respondents also chose gay.
- Greater numbers of takatāpui than other Māori msm were members of gay organisations (60.4%; 25.6%), regularly read gay newspapers and magazines (62.3%; 29.9%), and saw themselves as part of the gay community (83.0%; 48.7%).
- A slightly higher proportion of takatāpui were in a relationship with a man of six months or longer (39.6%) than those who did not choose this identity (30.7%).
- Two thirds (66%) of takatāpui respondents had had sex with a casual partner in the previous six months. This figure was very similar to that for the other Māori respondents (65.8%).

Conclusion

Male Call/Waea Mai, Tāne Mā has been able to provide some of the first in-depth information on the characteristics and sexual practices of Māori msm. The data presented in this report only begins to reveal the fullness and diversity of the socio-sexual lives of Māori msm in this country, and it provides a baseline with which to compare future research findings.

In terms of demographic and milieu characteristics, there were several significant differences between Māori and non-Māori msm. Māori were more likely to be younger, on lower incomes, and in semi-skilled work. The survey also found that Māori were less likely than non-Māori to identify as ‘gay’ and/or ‘homosexual’, and were more likely than non-Māori to identify as ‘bisexual’.

One of the most significant findings was that Māori msm are less likely than other msm to feel part of the gay community. Allanah Ryan (1991) has commented on the importance of community in the New Zealand context and the support that it can provide to gay men who are dealing with the demands of the AIDS epidemic, both personally and as a collective. The findings here would suggest that many Māori men are not in a position to derive the benefits that accrue from gay community membership.
Another interesting finding was that Māori MSM differ somewhat from non-Māori in terms of sexual partners. Specifically, Māori were less likely to have had sex with casual partners in the previous six months. While similar proportions of Māori and non-Māori were in a relationship with another man, Māori were less likely to have had sex outside that relationship.

Māori men reported a wide range of sexual practices with their partners (both regular and casual) and these did not differ, in most instances, from non-Māori. There was one exception to this however - Māori were significantly more likely than non-Māori to have engaged in insertive oral sex with ejaculation into the mouth with their casual partners.

One of the most important and encouraging findings in this survey was that, overall, Māori MSM are not more likely than non-Māori MSM to engage in unsafe sex. In fact, Māori were found to be significantly more likely to use a condom for anal sex with their regular partner than non-Māori. Furthermore, 87% of those Māori men who had anal sex with a casual partner reported condom use. These findings suggest that many Māori MSM have responded effectively to messages about safe sex.

However, a small group of Māori men are engaging in sexual practices, albeit at low levels, which pose a high risk of the transmission of HIV. One fifth (21.8%) of all Māori men who had anal sex with either a casual or regular partner in the six months prior to the survey had engaged in at least one incidence of anal intercourse without a condom with a partner whose HIV status was unknown or different from their own. Being on a lower income, being younger and having had sex with casual partners were found to be significant predictors of Māori engaging in highly unsafe sex.

Fifty three Māori MSM identified as takatāpui. These men were more likely to be urban-based and gay community attached than those who did not identify in this way. As mentioned earlier, the small numbers in this subsample precluded testing for significance. Nevertheless, the findings suggest that, in terms of HIV and AIDS education, Māori MSM who choose this identity may be easier to reach than other Māori MSM, as the majority of them are gay community attached. The differences between takatāpui and others, while not statistically significant, remind us that Māori MSM are not one homogeneous group. They come from a broad and varied range of backgrounds.
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Information collected by Male Call/Waea Mai, Tāne Mā about Māori MSM will be particularly important for the development of effective health promotion programmes. If Māori are not actively connected with the gay community and the networks within which health promotion messages are delivered, it is likely that those messages will fail to reach them. It is important therefore that health promotion initiatives are developed using a variety of culturally appropriate strategies. Ideally, these would be delivered by Māori in a manner that is acceptable to whanau, hapu and iwi. Resources must be dedicated to ensure the continued development of initiatives of this kind.
References


Appendix 1: Statistical Analysis

In all the analyses unless stated otherwise, the variables were classified as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Classification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>15-24, 25-39, 40+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residency</td>
<td>Major and main urban, secondary urban, minor urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualification</td>
<td>School Certificate or no school qualification v others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
<td>$20,000 or less vs &gt;$20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gay community attachment</td>
<td>Index scale 0-12, divided into &lt;=4 and &gt;4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regular male partner</td>
<td>None, less than 6 months, more than 6 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disclosure</td>
<td>Told anyone or not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Had sex with casual partners</td>
<td>Yes or no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ever had an HIV test</td>
<td>Yes or no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical attitude to anal sex</td>
<td>Agree or disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotional attitude to anal sex</td>
<td>Agree or disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identify as takatāpui or not</td>
<td>Yes or no</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Having anal sex
A logistic regression was used to see whether Māori were more likely to have anal sex than other respondents. All variables as listed above were used, with the exception of disclosure, and identifying as takatāpui, and the inclusion of identifying as Māori or not. 1354 out of 1715 people had complete data and were included in the analysis. Being Māori was not found to have an effect on whether or not they had anal sex (p=0.3).

Condom use with regular partners
A logistic regression was used to see whether identifying as Māori had an effect on the use of condoms in a regular relationship of at least six months. All variables as listed above were used, with the exception of disclosure, and identifying as takatāpui, and the inclusion of identifying as Māori or not. Māori were more likely to use condoms in sex with regular partners (p=0.03).

Condom use with casual partners
A logistic regression was used to see whether identifying as Māori had an effect on the use of condoms with casual partners. All variables as listed above were used, with the exception of disclosure, and identifying as takatāpui, and the inclusion of identifying as Māori or not. No difference was found in the proportion of Māori versus non-Māori to use of condoms in casual sex (p=0.9).
Appendix 1: Statistical Analysis

In all the analyses unless stated otherwise, the variables were classified as:

- **Age**: 15-24, 25-39, 40+
- **Residency**: Major and main urban, secondary urban, minor urban and rural
- **Qualification**: School Certificate or no school qualification v others
- **Income**: $20,000 or less vs >$20,000
- **Gay community attachment**: Index scale 0-12, divided into <=4 and >4
- **Regular male partner**: None, less than 6 months, more than 6 months
- **Disclosure**: Told anyone or not
- **Had sex with casual partners**: Yes or no
- **Ever had an HIV test**: Yes or no
- **Physical attitude to anal sex**: Agree or disagree
- **Emotional attitude to anal sex**: Agree or disagree
- **Identify as takatāpui or not**: Yes or no

**Having anal sex**

A logistic regression was used to see whether Māori were more likely to have anal sex than other respondents. All variables as listed above were used, with the exception of disclosure, and identifying as takatāpui, and the inclusion of identifying as Māori or not. 1354 out of 1715 people had complete data and were included in the analysis. Being Māori was not found to have an effect on whether or not they had anal sex (p=0.3).

**Condom use with regular partners**

A logistic regression was used to see whether identifying as Māori had an effect on the use of condoms in a regular relationship of at least six months. All variables as listed above were used, with the exception of disclosure, and identifying as takatāpui, and the inclusion of identifying as Māori or not. Māori were more likely to use condoms in sex with regular partners (p=0.03).

**Condom use with casual partners**

A logistic regression was used to see whether identifying as Māori had an effect on the use of condoms with casual partners. All variables as listed above were used, with the exception of disclosure, and identifying as takatāpui, and the inclusion of identifying as Māori or not. No difference was found in the proportion of Māori versus non-Māori to use of condoms in casual sex (p=0.9).
Having highly unsafe sex

A logistic regression was used to investigate which factors influence whether or not Māori men had highly unsafe sex, with any male partner, in the previous six months (that is, unprotected anal sex with a man whose HIV status was unknown, or different from his own). 125 men had full information and were included in the analysis. The results are listed below in Table Six.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Details</th>
<th>p-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>15-24, 25-39, over 40</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residency</td>
<td>Major and minor urban areas, secondary urban, minor urban and rural</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualification</td>
<td>School Certificate or no school qualification vs others</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
<td>$20,000 or less vs &gt;$20,000</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GCA</td>
<td>Index scale 1-12</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takatāpui</td>
<td>Identified as takatāpui, or not</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regular male partner</td>
<td>None, in a relationship less than 6 months, in a relationship over 6 months</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casual partner</td>
<td>Had sex with casual male partner, or not</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude to anal sex</td>
<td>Find anal sex the “most physically satisfying” sex practice, or not</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude to anal sex</td>
<td>Find anal sex the “most emotionally satisfying” sex practice, or not</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIV test</td>
<td>Ever had HIV test, or not</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Māori men who were on lower incomes and who had sex with casual male partners were more likely to have engaged in highly unsafe anal sex in the previous six months. Older Māori men were less likely to have done this.
Identifying as takatāpui

A logistic regression was used to investigate the effect of demographics and social milieu on whether Māori respondents identified as takatāpui. Fifty-three men identified as takatāpui, had full information and were included in this analysis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Details</th>
<th>p-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>15-24, 25-39, 40 and over</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residency</td>
<td>Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, Dunedin, Palmerston North and Hamilton v other regions</td>
<td>0.008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualification</td>
<td>School Certificate or no school qualification vs others</td>
<td>0.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
<td>$20,000 or less vs &gt;$20,000</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GCA</td>
<td>Index scale 1-12</td>
<td>0.004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regular male partner</td>
<td>None, in a relationship less than 6 months, in a relationship over 6 months</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Māori respondents who were attached to the gay community were more likely to identify as takatāpui, as were Māori men who lived in the cities.