

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR FIELDWORK INTERVIEWS: GENDER VARIANCE

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Location of Interview: Hilo HI

Name: J

Pseudonym: Aikanaka (man eater)

He is a famous Hawaiian entertainer, and wants to keep his privacy.

Year of birth: 1950

FAMILY BACKGROUND:

Family ethnic ancestry: total Hawaiian

Mother's Side:

Father's Side:

Which ethnic group do you most identify with? Hawaiian

Age of Mother at birth: don't know

Age of Father at birth: don't know

Your family's religion when you were a child: Calvinist Christian

Your religion now: Hawaiian

Are you an active participant in religion now: no

Family social status: descendant of ali'i (chiefs)

Did you speak the native language as a child? yes [see below]

Where lived when growing up (anywhere other than native land?)

I was born on Hawaii big island, but was hainied [adopted] by my father's father's elder sister and raised on Oahu. She was very well knowledged in things Hawaiian. She lived her life according to ancient ways. Her life was like moon sequences. She did not live by the sun. She knew exactly when to fish and when to plant, by the moon. She knew when the waves would be bad, where, and when someone could go and get certain fishes. She knew the tides, and read the stars. That's ancient. I grew up in Oahu, and though she was in her 70s she would still go fishing. Today everyone's getting involved with their language and their culture. For me, the language is most important, because in the language is the people. My own biological father, who died last year, disagreed with what is going on

with the Hawaiian language [revival]. But I told him, 'Even though you speak the language fluently, you speak to us kids in English. Your parents never spoke English, they refused to. But you and your wife spoke directly to your children in English. Now the language is being taught in the schools. Your generation mocks these people teaching the language, so when you hear these students coming out of school you say 'Oh they sound like a book.' I disagree. They're speaking a language that is old. You never spoke it fluently; you left out everything that was important. You spoke the layman's terms, but you didn't know it well enough to write it down thoroughly. They lose the discipline of the language, which is the love of the people, and the love of the people for this land and everything around it. And it's in the language. So they need people like me, because I'm a survivor of the language spoken normally. I can help.

I sing my songs to help keep my culture going. I do that by making sure that my songs and my music never change. The reason for that is because hula cannot change. The people of hula are the keepers of our culture. A lot of people don't know that. The person who is the kumu hula [teacher] is the source of every thing to do with dance. That's not just the movements of the body, the feet, the hands and everything else, but they need to have the knowledge of where to go at this particular time of the year, to look for a particular tree that can give the specific pa'u that you need to wear. They have to know this. Only the halau people know that. They know where to gather the berries that are sacred, for adornment and for sharing with the goddess of hula. They know these things. In the halau is where most of the knowledge of culture resides.

Position in birth order: #_4__ out of _8__ total children

of older brothers: 2

of older sisters: 1

of younger brothers: 2

of younger sisters: 2

Who were the most important persons in your childrearing:

grandmother [really fafasister] also her daughter, my father's female cousin, who became like my mother. I was hainied. I was chosen while I was in my mother's womb. They could not change it, because that was the word. When the elders spoke it was sacred. The order was made, and eight days after I was born I went to Oahu with my grandmother. She hainaied another daughter from another, and also an older brother hainaied. My sister on that side was the eldest. She is from the eldest of my father's father's family. There are 22 of

them in that family. The first born was hainied. I became the baby of that family. My adopted mother had a husband, and he lived there with them.

Which parent was the “boss” in the family:

grandmother, she was the elder. Her husband had died by that time.

Who disciplined you? grandmother

Do you feel that you had a happy childhood?

It was a very different kind of childhood. I was very limited in what I could do. I was a very sheltered person. I could not go out of the house. I was taught, and spoken to constantly, by my grandmother who told me all the ancient knowledge from the time she took me as a baby. I didn't know that, until now. And then it all has come back to me as an adult. How I know this is as I was growing up my grandmother would feed me as much information as she could, because her time was short. I was born at the time where she was at the end of her life. Her lifespan was very important for my family. It was important for her to survive until I was born, because when I was born things had happened. My grandmother saw certain signs coming before my birth, and especially on the day of my birth, and these are the kinds of things that only the ancients understood. That's when she knew she had to live, to store information in me. To be able to fulfill things that were done, and could not be finished. And to then have knowledge of what could not be finished, so that I could help finish it.

My grandmother nourished that soft side of me. Maybe because of the way I was reared, I stand for the chiefly side of her ancestors. In that side of her family resides the secret sweetness of the people. It means the mingling of minds and hearts.

GENERAL SOCIAL ATTITUDES TOWARD GENDER VARIANCE

Define in your own words what is a mahu?

I have been involved in hula and Hawaiian music for over 20 years. Mahu are usually the masters of the hula, and the top male hula teachers. They retain more grace and feeling of the Hawaiian culture in their dancing than the other hula teachers. They exemplify more the spirit of hula. They allow themselves to dig deeper within themselves. They have a way about themselves that they can express better. I don't know why, but others (masculine men and women) really can't do it as well as the mahus. They don't know how to show their expressions as well. The mahus can do both

roles, as both men and women. When they try to do the masculine part, their feminine part will show.

In ancient time hula was not a sexist thing, it was just an art form. It did not matter if it was male or female, they were connected to their sources, to the land or more especially to their gods. That goes back to the times when we were ruled by chiefs, not by the royal monarchy, that came later. Before Kamehameha, when everyone lived in villages, the villages were usually separate families living side by side of each other. They were just the caretakers of the land, and they shared what they had amongst themselves. They shared everything of themselves.

Mahu, first of all, are in grace, and they accept their graceness more than the rigid person. They are not ashamed of their grace. They are not going to hide anything, because they don't know how to. There are the exceptions, that you can see, who try to hide themselves. But it still comes through. This is not to say that straight men do not have their gentle side; they can be teddy bears too. That does not make them a mahu. But those who try to hide their mahuness, that's where we've lost touch with our cultural side. People don't see things culturally any more. They don't see it as a part of their culture, but they see it as a part of an American way of life. We are American people, and American people are not supposed to be like this.

The mahu were so prominent in the hula because they have both sides within him, both the strong masculine side and the softness of themselves to be able to move and express like how the wind ruffles through the leaves. They have to be able to do that, and make you feel it. A regular man can't do that. Women can't either. You're not going to catch a man dancer, who has a body built masculinely, all of a sudden come out dancing like a woman. Because there is the grace of the mahu. And yet there are some masculine men who have that little swish in them. They have that little grace in them that is not really feminine, but it is part of what the dance is.

Most of the male dancers are mahu. Very few of them are straight men. And the ones who are straight, you can tell them apart, because their grace is not as graceful. Unfortunately, they don't have that extra bit that they need. They can't. Just like our stronger women, they don't have the grace within them. They're truck drivers, they're horse riders. They're rough. Mahu people cannot take that kind of pain. Yet they can do things in the body that a normal straight male could not endure. Like for instance, exercising. Today people are so health conscious, but if you were to do the exercises that a dancer does, those mahus learn how to do

things that no straight man can do. They did it when they were young, and that's how they've gotten the grace down pat where it should be.

Q: Is mahu something inborn, or is it something they have just learned over time?

Both. Most of them are born like that, and then some come along later. I don't know why, but they say because they came out of the closet. As long as you know, you have to develop an accent on it. I knew when I was little, that I was different than everybody else. I did not attach the name mahu to it, but now I accept that I am what I am. But today mahu is not a nice word. It is a slang word. Samoan people call the mahu people fafine. I guess I would have to identify myself as a mahu, because I'm not straight. I tried that, but it didn't work. That was a big mistake.

With mahu everybody is looking at the sexual part of it, and ignoring the fact that a mahu is a person with soft tendencies. Subtract the homosexual part of it, and it is a cultural thing. Only cultured people will understand that. That's why Polynesian people have no problem accepting their children at a young age if they come out swishy or whatever. They don't even try to change them. That is even more true in other Polynesian families. Unfortunately, Hawaiian people have become so westernized in such a short time. Much has happened. Folks have to understand what Hawaii has gone through. We are a small group of islands, and we were bombarded by so many.

Q: During these ancient times, did the mahu have a place within their village?

I don't know if there are any documents that talk about the mahu, however, because everything was passed on through the generations, through stories and chants. Unfortunately in my family there are no chants, because after the missionaries came my family became Calvinist Christians. It was there that a lot of the old customs and traditions of the people were abolished within my family. But that does not mean that somewhere in time later, a future generation of person is not going to be in touch with what happened prior to this change [with Christianization]. I'm a person like that. I come from that kind of time where I was born in the new time and the new thought, where my family had accepted a different way of life, as opposed to what their ancestors did. It was difficult for me growing up, being taught not to be able to mingle with people. I was raised differently. I could not eat certain kinds of foods; I ate

only certain foods. I was not allowed to undress myself; it was forbidden. My feet could not touch the ground. That's because of the sacredness of who I was, and who I represented in my family.

My grandmother reared me in that way, and that is something old. In the old times that's how the ancients reared their special people. How they knew they were special was because they lived according to symbols or signs they would see in the elements. The elements would predict to them what this child is to be or how it should be raised. This occurred before I was born. I was chosen before I was born, by my grandmother. This was from old, from the chieftains passing down their lineages, passing down what's within their family. Unfortunately, at the time the missionaries came my great grandfather accepted Christianity. But his another part of his family kept the old customs. So my family became torn in parts, and one part of the family would go into Christianity while the other would add Christianity to what was already there. Then it split again later, in the next generation. And then it became separate families. And yet, my grandmother was a person like her father who was important.

In my family there were several mahu in the family, a couple of generations before I was born. Back then mahu was very common. Incest was also common amongst the Hawaiian people. This is how they gained their Kapu, or their sacredness. It was sacred. The closer the blood tie, the higher the elevation or the higher the rank of the chieftain. It was not unusual to hear of a father-daughter relationship. It was very sacred. There was a husband-wife relationship, and it would continue on from there. The mother will sleep with her son, brother and sister, uncles and aunts, cousins, etc. It was most common among the ali'i, but at the same time, while this was done to produce more of their family genealogy, they also had their other partners. It was not uncommon for a [male] chief or [female] chiefess to have another partner or partners of the same sex. Because it was a sexual thing, but sex was very sacred. It was the combination of mind and body, and the spirits within, that they mingled. Whatever happened on the outside of the body, that's just an added thing. The mingling of what was within both parties was even more important. This is why, when the missionaries came, it was very difficult for the Hawaiian people to accept that sex was bad, and to go through those changes. Today the Hawaiian people are getting more in touch with their roots and their heritage. These are younger people who attack the thought that Christianity said 'This is wrong.' That's hurting the parent and grandparent

generation that is still here. We're going through that struggle [of competing sexual ideologies] again now.

I was raised by my father's father's older sister. I was reared in a different manner. I was hainied [adopted] by my grand aunt, and she reared me for the simple reason of what had happened in her past by her parents. Her father was a man of the cloth, and her mother was the keeper of tradition. And before her mother died, unfortunately she was not keeper of the kind of tradition you want to keep. She had the talent to hurt people. She was that kind of kahuna [shaman]. People would come to see her when they wanted other people dead or hurt. Kahunas could be men or women, it did not matter.

I don't like hula competitions, because I don't believe in competing in art. That's a very western thing. You can't do that, because one is not better than the other. And no one is the best. In the beginning, hula was a time of sharing. Sharing your individual thoughts of this one particular song. There might be ten of us, and one song; we should see this song ten different ways. Or, how alike are we? How much research did we do into the song? That will tell whether we researched correctly. Or did someone stand out over the others? Why? Where was their emphasis, and why did they emphasize that word? Now, you open a new door [of thinking] so when you go home you're going to look for that side. Why did that kumu hula do this, while all of us did this? So you're going to take a second look at it, and say 'Oh, OK, they saw something else and put the importance over there rather than here. Because the meanings are many. Hula was never meant to be competitive. It's a haoele thing, a very foreign thing to compete, and it was never meant to be like that.

The kumu hulas teach their halau that 'We're not out there to win. We're not out there to be 'the best.' We are who we are, and we're there for a purpose. That purpose is for the preservation of our art and culture, in hula. Now, if society wants to present us an award, let's accept it gracefully. But whether we win or not, it is not important. What is important is that we display and express our story, as we all worked hard for doing that. That's what most kumu hula do. But not all; some of them are in there for the competition.

What are the labor roles of AG?

In the old times, women did a lot of work that men would do. They did a lot of backbreaking jobs, so there was not much difference in the kinds of work that each sex would do. What is a

man's job, what is a woman's job? They never knew that. They did not say, this is for men only and that was for women only. Today, men and women do not mix their work like in olden times. The mahu did the same kind of work as other men, but that was ancient times so I haven't heard much about this.

By the time I was born the mahu already had that stigma 'they're faggot' and all that. The specialness of themselves, many others don't see that anymore. They did work that was typical of both men and women, when I was young.

How do AG dress?

They dress like everyone else, except they dress to be noticed. They'll just do something that you'll notice them. For example, in grooming. I'm from a time when everyone had to be groomed well. Not a hair out of place, shirttails tucked, clothes pressed. They had an erectness, and a stature of themselves. They weren't military-like and yet you could say that they were very neat like a uniform. All they had was an aloha shirt, and a pair of trousers, but they stood at attention. And they commanded attention, without saying anything. They dressed like men, but they were still mahu. And then there were the ones who weren't ashamed of what they were, and they were usually the drag queens. A mahu could be either dressing like a man or a woman. Also, there were those who dressed as men, but they had feminine hairdo and facial cosmetics on at the same time.

It did not matter how they were dressed, they were still mahu.

LESBIANS: I never heard a Hawaiian word for the [lesbian] women like that. Mahu is just applied to males, and females are called butchies or dykes. Those are English words, so I don't know whether mahu was attached to females in olden times. But that makes sense if it did. My adopted sister is one.

Just like I can tell a mahu person, I can spot a butchie Hawaiian and they can spot me. It is something inside both sexes. I was like that when I was small. It is inborn, part of my nature. It was there when mahus were little, and whoever reared them did not correct it [repress it]. They let it go, so it just bloomed from there.

What are the usual sexual inclinations of AG (use Kinsey scale 0--6)?

This is a difficult question, because I come from a different time and I was reared in a different way. I'm trying to talk about that time, and see where we are today. As far as I'm concerned, the way I am, I look for the spiritualness between two people.

Unfortunately, I might find that spiritualness in another female, but that is not who I prefer to sleep with. I feel that my whole being is content when I'm with another male sexually. It could be a mahu or not, but as long as we connect spiritually, that's what is important. The majority of mahus that I know are attracted only to males. We've had a couple that really blew my mind, since they went to sleep with women. But they're the exception. They wanted to sleep with a woman in order to get a child. In my opinion that's OK if you take off all the garb [as a drag queen]. If you remove the female drag, then I can accept you as a man with a woman. But still it's kind of strange for a mahu to have sex with a woman.

Other words meaning the same thing as mahu? none

Choose from among the following pairs of words to best describe persons who are mahu:

physically strong YES	physically weak
emotionally strong YES	emotionally weak
hard worker YES	lazy
intelligent DEFINITELY YES	stupid
brave YES	cowardly
sensitive YES	unfeeling
friendly YES	hostile
graceful YES	awkward
witty YES	dull
creative or artistic YES, VERY CREATIVE	not creative or artistic
happy YES	sad
serious	playful YES
sex is important to them YES	sex is not important to them
accepted by others YES	persecuted by others
well-liked by others YES	lonely
proud of themselves YES	not accepting of themselves

Do you have any relatives who are mahu?

Yes, my adopted sister was a butchie. She was a taxi driver. That was a kind of job you often found dykes working. She was a very popular person, especially with the surfer guys, beachboys. She was a surfer, she was always out in the ocean. She was a tomboy, and was always with the boys. They accepted her of course. She was their equal in every way. No one talked about her sexual preference; she was just seen as a tomboy. She was also popular with the mahus.

When I was little, I saw many mahus at parties and gatherings. Our house was a popular place for Hawaiian gatherings. Back then, it was against the law for a boy to walk around completely in drag [to “impersonate a female”], so the mahus who dressed in women’s clothes would wear a little sign that said “I am a boy.” The Native Hawaiians didn’t care, but the law did. I was around them a lot, and my family treated them as just another person. There was no prejudice involved. They dressed how they dressed at their own choice, and it wasn’t for any of us to say otherwise. I was just a little kid, but I never heard the men who were around who didn’t know these drag queens to ever say anything negative. We all had a good time together, especially since [after?] there was a first meeting. At that time it was very common. You found more mahus in drag then, than you do today.

What are the reactions of non-native outlanders to AG?

We became aware that some other people, outside our Hawaiian race, had some negative reactions to mahu. They’d say things like, “Oh those Hawaiians, they’re all a bunch of mahus.” That’s how they thought, all the different groups, but haoles were the worse. And among the Japanese, any of them who were mahu were frowned upon by their own people. They always felt safer when they were around Hawaiians. That’s when they relaxed. But the immigrant groups could not say but so much, because this is Hawaii, and we Hawaiian people are the hosts, therefore our rules fall on them. And so they lived their culture, but they also adapted to Hawaiian culture. It was a very mixed-culture experience growing up in Hawaii.

Did you ever hear any stories about the position of AG years ago, in the old days?
(any pre-Christianity knowledge?)

I cannot answer, I can only say they were looked upon as someone to care for and nurture the young. Everyone could trust them, because they had that talent, and they still do, to care for children and for their extended family and friends of family. They are like that, still today; they have not changed. That is about the only role that I know is visible for them. They were never discarded. The Hawaiian people don’t look down on them. They are as equal as anyone else. Western society allows us to make the mistake of frowning upon them. In the Polynesian sense, they’re just a little more special. And they are! In my family, my brothers trust me more than they would their sisters or other brothers. They trust their children with me.

That's not to take away from my other brothers and sisters, because they are just as important as uncles and aunts. But as far as caring for their children, they would turn to me first.

I don't know of any particular duty that the mahu people had in the old times, except that they were there at the call of the chief.

Did AG have anything to do with the native religion? see above

Did that religion have any special ceremonial role for AG?

Q: The old documents suggest Aikane originally meant homosexual partner. Did you ever hear it used like that?

Aikane means friend. I have never heard Aikane used for homosexual partner. That's like Aikanaka, which means 'man eater.'

'Moe' means 'to sleep with,' and 'ai' means to eat, and 'kane' means man. I've questioned why Aikane would mean friend, but I've never come across the use of homosexual for Aikane.

Q: Why were same-sex relationships so accepted?

A lot of it [acceptance of same-sex relationships] has to do with our ali'i. Our chiefs did that. It was not unusual, but was very commonly practiced. Today, only the oldest generation knows this, but they became Christian so they don't talk about it. My parents' generation don't even know these things. Even speaking the Hawaiian language was forbidden to many. The missionaries got the Hawaiians to stop speaking their own mother tongue. In a sense the people have no connection to their past, because they don't know what their past is. Their past as far as they are concerned is a very Christian one, except for they might speak some of the language. Also, this whole machismo thing has been brought into Hawaii by outsiders, from America, Europe and Asia. The old Hawaiian men did not act like that. This machismo thing is going to be the death of our people, if we let it take control. Fortunately, as the younger generation is trying to revive the old ways, some of them are questioning this machismo as well.

I know about the old ways only because my grandmother taught them to me. My grandmother was born in 1877. [She was age 73 when he was born] She never spoke English to me; it was all in Hawaiian. It was important that I hear my own language, but I did not know that until years later, after she was passed away. Then the language comes alive in me, and everything comes back now. If I had been older I could have been attuned to why she was doing what she did, and I might never have lost my mother tongue. I grew up only speaking Hawaiian then going to English-speaking school, my

grandmother died and then no one was there to talk Hawaiian to me. But I still understood, because in the church Hawaiian language was spoken. That is the only place to hear much Hawaiian. The Hawaiian-speaking churches are fading.

Today, more young people are learning Hawaiian in school, but I grew up with it. I'm the exception. I survived what my parents' generation was not allowed to do. They just didn't understand, because their parents spoke to them in English. My grandmother could speak and write English, but she chose not to. But those born after 1900 were never taught to speak Hawaiian correctly.

Did you ever travel to other areas outside your native area?

I've traveled all over the world, as an entertainer. I know that I have grace within me, and if people think I am mahu, I don't care. But when I was working for an entertainment company, it was important that I left my sexual preference on the side. I was there for the company. But I often wondered, how could someone look at me and really think I'm straight.

If yes, did you notice any different attitudes toward AG there?

I often wondered, and it was always a puzzle for me, if [not finished??] [see end of interview]

PERSONAL BACKGROUND:

In this section it is important to be as open-ended as possible, to allow S to set the direction. Don't use questions that are too constructive of the choices for answers. Emphasize there are no right or wrong answers. Don't let S think you prefer one answer over another. Keep repeating your desire to get as accurate a view of S's viewpoint as possible.

What kinds of jobs have you had as an adult? entertainer for Hawaiian Airlines, in the sales promotion department. I don't like to think that I was promoting the airlines, but my emphasis was put on Hawaiian culture. People say I was selling it, but I say no I was Sharing it. People get the wrong idea and think "Tiny Bubbles" and "Blue Hawaii" is Hawaiian music. So I tried to educate people as to the real Hawaiian culture. When I went out on the road and did hula, everyone thought 'that's not what we want to see, that's not the fancy grass skirts.' I said, 'That's Hollywood, not Hawaiian.' I want to try to give an accurate picture of Hawaiian culture.

Which one(s) did you enjoy doing most? musician (ukulele, piano and singer).

What kinds of activities do you enjoy doing in your leisure time?

just lounge around. I'm not much of an outdoor person, since I was raised so much inside.

When you were in school, what were your favorite subjects?

I never liked school, because at that time Hawaiians were going through such a bad time. They were repressing Hawaiian culture.

What grade level did you complete, as your highest education?

I graduated high school, but no more beyond that.

When you were a child, did you have any particular skills-abilities?

Just music, but my grandmother did not allow other things. I wanted to join the high school band, because they traveled around performing, but my family did not allow it. They were very protective of me.

What kind of play did you enjoy doing as a child? chase and tag, jumprope (mostly with girls, but sometimes some boys would come in), climbing trees (both girls and boys did that).

Did you play mostly with boys, girls, both, or by yourself? in younger age, I was always by myself. then when I was about 10, I was sexually involved with older boys who would come on to me. But otherwise I was with girls, in regular play activities.

Did you see yourself as typical of other boys? no, I was different. I knew I was different. I couldn't do what they did. I was awkward. I can't stand pain. If I fell down and scrapped my knee, I'd cry. And that was very sissy to them. It hurt really bad, like I'd just cut my whole leg off. I didn't like that. I didn't like the look of that either. No, I didn't want that kind of rough play. So every time I can avoid pain, I'd avoid it.

[WW: could an extra-sensitivity to pain have led some boys to avoid rough play, and to gravitate toward domestic activities with females, and thus model themselves on the feminine adults who they most admired and were most closely associated with?]

The boys would say to me, 'Oh you big sissy, it's just a little scratch.' And I'd say, 'But it hurt!' I guess that's how it sticks with you. They'd say to other boys, 'Oh don't play with him, he's a sissy.' So

that's where they'd avoid me, and I didn't want to play those rough games anyway.

Did others see you as a sissy?

The old people don't see things like that. They look inside you. They don't care what you do on the outside of you.

If different, did they ever call you names?

What names? sissy, terry

How did you feel when they called you this?

I'd say, "So what!" I wouldn't deny it, there was no reason to. Sometimes it would hurt me, but usually it did not hurt. Because I knew, even though they called me these names, there was going to be a time when they needed me. I knew that somehow, and I just waited til that time.

Did your Mother try to encourage you to act like other boys,
or did she allow you to act the way you wanted?

They never pressured me to act any different from the way I wanted.

Did your Father try to encourage you to act like other boys,
or did he allow you to act the way you wanted?

When I was about age 10 to 12, my adopted Fa and adopted Bro would sometimes say "stop acting like a girl. You're not a girl!" I said, "I know I'm not a girl! I know that! But I can't do what everyone else does. So, I'm different!"

When you were an adolescent, what activities did you most enjoy doing?

Drinking alcohol. I just to like to cut out of school, and go down to the beach. The police would try to catch us. We'd dodge them, and they'd chase us. That was the fun of it. We'd run between houses and say "You can't find us." Then we'd get to the beach and go into the water. The police would be on the beach, but we'd just swim to the next cove and come out another way. They'd go back into their car, like 'Forget it' and give up chasing us. Then we felt like we won. It was great fun. It was just like playing chase. I enjoyed that.

In adolescence, who were your closest friends? both
(girls, boys, both, or none?)

How old were you when you went through puberty?

About 10.

At what age do you remember feeling erotic thoughts as a child?

From as early as I can remember, I remember looking at photos of Rock Hudson. I loved him, and I loved John Wayne. I would fantasize, when I saw him kissing the girl on the movie screen, that I was the person he was kissing. Then I'd dream about him. Even before age 5, I enjoyed rubbing myself sexually.

What age did you first engage in sexual behavior? age 5

With whom? (category of that person; age? he was my cousin, but he was older than me, age 19 sex? male

He had me suck him. I had never seen this done before, but I knew instinctively how to do it. My conscience knew things were going to happen. It's like kissing. He wanted action, and he just pulled out his cock and pushed my mouth down on it. He forced himself upon me. But I already knew what this was, and I had prepared myself. And my lips just opened up. I took his hands, that were holding my head, and moved them to his sides, so he could see that I was doing this on my own. So he got more than what he expected, because all he expected was to shove it in and get release. But I didn't allow him to do that. I caressed him. I gave him a lot of satisfaction, because it was like I knew exactly what I was doing. Everything just went into place. He didn't have to hold me there, I was doing it of my own free will. I ate it all up. I knew when he was at the point of climax, and I stopped, so it would last longer. And that's when he really started to enjoy it. I felt good! I felt a good release from it, and I know he did.

I never told anyone about this experience, but I feel it was a real positive contributor to my life. I felt like, I know what I know, and enjoy what he touched in me. Sure, I'm glad that it happened.

It happened many times between us. Later he got married to a woman, and had five sons. He moved away, and I did not see him for a long time, but since I've been an adult he and I have made love again. He does not identify himself as gay, and he shouldn't. As far as I know, I am the only male he has ever had sex with. He and I relate in a very spiritual way. Our spirits mingle and there is a part of him inside me, that would not be there unless we had had sex. To me that is the station of life that is so special, because it provides a very sensitive connection. I value that connection, and I believe that it helped me to grow and become more spiritual.

That is why my grandmother saw it necessary to rear me the way she did. She did not want her family to forget the spiritual aspects of Hawaiian tradition. This is part of my spirituality. My

grandmother wanted to store the memories of her great-grandfather, who taught her these things when she was little. He was a chief, and he passed down this knowledge to her, so she could in turn pass it on to her descendent who would be the chosen one. The mystical things that happened at the time of my birth told her that I was that one. The traditional chiefs, after the time of Kamehameha I and the coming of the missionaries, all went underground.

What specific sexual acts did you do (optional if S not comfortable):

I really wanted to be screwed, but I never liked the feeling. It hurt, and I don't like pain. So I just stay with the oral.

How did you feel about this experience afterwards? I liked it!

Did anyone ever force or coerce you to have sex when you did not want to? no

Did you ever have sex with a relative? yes, more cousins, many times

Get S history of love affairs and erotic pairbondings:

I had sex with lots of males, older, same age, and younger. It happened quite frequently, from age 5 all the way through adolescence into adulthood. They were mostly friends, and today they're all married to women.

Range of erotic practices (optional if S uncomfortable):

I sucked them, and sometimes they would suck me, but that wasn't a big thing to me. I enjoyed the sucking. Sometimes we would do it between the legs, and in other positions. I would twist their bodies in and out! They'd say, 'What are you doing to me, what do you think I am, a rubber band?' I'd say, 'But you're enjoying it aren't you?' I'd tell them to go back and try it with their girlfriend, and I'd say, 'I can tell you, you're going to make her a very happy person.' I was not jealous of the fact that they had a girlfriend or wife. I felt like I was giving them something to help them learn to enjoy themselves more. For myself, I didn't have to get sucked. I felt like my release was internal. It was more the spiritual connection with the person rather than the act itself.

Have you ever had any erotic desires for females?

No, but when I was 23 I got married to a woman because of pressure from my relatives. Before the wedding I thought it was a mistake, and I talked to her about it, and she asked if I wanted to back out. It was only two days before the wedding, and I said it's too late to back out. She was aware of my sexual past, and she was

very understanding. But the only way I could have sex with her was to visualize being with a man. After a few months I told her it was not working, so we split. She was very nice about it, and it wasn't a problem. After that my family did not give me any more pressure.

PRESENT SELF-IMAGE:

Describe your ideal lover:

I want a masculine man.

Would you like to marry one person permanently, YES

or be single with different love partners? I'd prefer one.

Would you like to change your body or personality in any way?

If yes, explain how and why: I'd like to lose weight, but otherwise I'm satisfied with my body and person.

Is your body different in any way from that of a typical male? no

Do you see yourself as a boy/man or girl/woman,
or something distinct from either of those categories?

First of all, I'm a man, but the way I do things is womanly.

What does being a mahu mean to you?

Mahu are like womenfolk. When they dance the hula they dance more feminine. I sing with a woman's voice. If that makes me a mahu, then that's just the way it is. If I'm a mahu, that's OK. I am a mahu, but I'm just not a mahu in drag, though I always wear a lavalava. I sleep with men, and I love men. The mingling of minds and spirits, most preferred with the same sex. I have deeper feelings for things that men don't experience.

What are the advantages to being _____?

Since hula and song are identified with the mahu people, I consider it an advantage that I am part of this. How I sing is part of keeping my culture alive. That's my art, and that's my contribution to my people. I've perfected it.

What are the disadvantages to being _____?

Because my family lives nearby me here, I don't go out looking for sex much here. I do those things elsewhere, where it doesn't get back to my relatives. It doesn't matter what I do, but what gets back to them. I respect my family, and I protect their reputation. Of course they know that I go with men, and they say 'well, you shouldn't feel shy to go out.' But I do restrict my going out sexually in public. They accept me for who I am, but I want to act

respectfully because that's the way I was bred. I am of the upper class.

Do you ever feel depressed about being _____?

no

Do you ever feel lucky, especially chosen, or blessed to be _____?

I'll say I'm blessed. One time a Hawaiian minister told me that in his prayer God revealed to him how special I was.

Why do you think you are mahu?

People just look on the outside of a person. They don't bother to look on the inside. They only see what's on the outside and that's why they judge from what that see. But they're not seeing correctly, they're not looking deeper where we should be. It has nothing to do with whether one is a mahu or whatever. What is important is what is on the inside of the person. That's why traditional Hawaiians had no problem with incest, brother-sister, mother-son, father-daughter, brother-brother, sister-sister, aunty-niece.

What would you like your life to be like when you are elderly?

At age 100 I would still like to be on the stage singing. That's why I'm very careful the way I sing now, to preserve my voice.

Who do you think will take care of you in your old age?

My siblings or their children.

Who do you live with now? I live by myself now.

Have you ever thought about adopting children?

I adopted my brother's sons, and reared them, but they have now grown and moved out on their own.

Is that ever done by mahus. yes, sometimes.

KNOWLEDGE OF OTHER PEOPLES' AFFECTIONAL INTERESTS:

Are there other native mahu you know? yes

Do you associate with them very much?

Only two, who are my closest friends. We stick together a lot.

Would you ever have sex with them? no

Why or why not? they are my best friends!

If you have sex with males, how do they identify their own sexuality?

they identify as straight men

Are there native males who are not mahu, but who only like having sex with other males?

How do they define themselves? as straight men, they are not mahu

I appeal to their hidden side, and I respected their privacy

How do others define them?

Do they live together as a couple? no, unless they were relatives, but then they would be seen as just family and not as lovers.

What is the difference between mahu and “gay/homosexual”?

I like to think that there are straight men and crooked men, and some bend a little bit different than the others. Just because a man slept with me doesn't make him crooked.

Do you think there are mahu in other cultures

I know for sure that Polynesian cultures in general all have mahu. they call it different names, but it is the same. When I went to Europe on my job, I found that they were the same all over the world. Somehow this is all related in each culture. If I'm a mahu in my section of the world, then the Polynesian race is part of the human race, and it's the same everywhere.

I was reared in the thinking of the ali'i, the chiefs of yesterday. This enables me to see my mahu status as a special quality. It is the inner soul. THE END