

**Tā moko: Marked Histories and Identities**

**Te Ara Poutama**

**Faculty of Māori and Indigenous Development**

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## **Karakia Tā moko (Tapuika)**

Kikiwa, kikiwa  
Matao te uhi  
Ki tua o whare wera  
Tohu te parapara  
Rewa te ngarahu  
Kia mangu  
Kia u, kia ita e!

Ready the mind  
For the cutting edge of the chisel  
Beyond pain  
Carry out the rites  
Embed the pigment  
And be fixed  
The outstanding quality

## 1. Abstract

The primary objective of this work is to examine the way in which ideas about cultural identity are reflected in the current practice of tā moko. The research question asks, does tā moko carry cultural identity for contemporary wearers? What emerges in this study is the way in which contemporary notions of Māori identity – as manifested in tā moko – draw on traditional forms of the art and are imbued with pre-European Māori cultural concepts. However, the modern practice of tā moko also involves an extent of individual agency that is far greater than existed in any previous period. The conclusion reached here is that while the forms, symbolism, and historical resonance of contemporary tā moko are all the choice of the individual receiving the moko (an abrupt departure from traditional practices of tā moko), they are nonetheless an expression of traditional notions of Māori identity. The study uses triangulation of identity theories and qualitative methods that complement an overarching Kaupapa Māori approach. There are two main components as the exegesis is supported by a website. The third, a photographic book to showcase the art of tā moko. The captions linked to the photographs relate specifically to the research question. The website is designed as an online Māori development paper informed by this study. The photographic book relates directly to the research question and provides a voice for contemporary wearers to articulate in their own words the meanings and symbolism associated with their tā moko. It brings into focus in a creative way, the intent of the study which emphasises current practice, to explore symbolic messages that express history and identity.

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## **Attestation of Authorship**

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

Ngaropaki Hart .....

## Acknowledgements



Figure 1: David “Moko” Hart.

The outstanding photographer, Adrian Malloch, allowed me to use his beautiful images of my Uncle David for the artefact/website. They are a truly priceless gift.

*Note:* Copyright (2019) by Adrian Malloch Photography. Reprinted with permission.

### **Dedication**

This work is dedicated to my uncle, David Hart (Moko) (1972 – 2018) (Ngā Puhi/Ngāti Hine/Ngāi Tūhoe) who unexpectedly passed away while I was completing this thesis. He not only gifted me my first tā moko, but was also the first person to ignite my deep-interest and love for this form of art. I have felt his presence throughout the entire journey.

*E te matua moe mai, moe mai rā. Kāore e mutunga te aroha mōu!*

I am indebted to Professor Paul Moon, my primary supervisor, who is an outstanding historian, writer, researcher and academic. I am eternally grateful for his guidance throughout this thesis.

I also wish to extend my gratitude to Professor Pare Keiha, who never fails to support everyone in our Te Ara Poutama (TAP) whānau. My deepest thanks for Hohepa Spooner, for all the technological support. Also, to my fellow TAP teaching assistants, you are such resilient, caring and remarkable human beings. Thank you for making work never feel like work. A special thank you to my very best friend. The best part of this journey was getting to do it with you. To Elwyn Sheehan, the librarian extraordinaire whom we also consider TAP whanau, thank you for all of your help on the website.

A mihi to my uncle, Bryce Kihirini of Tapuika for his knowledge and for the karakia that opens this work, and to my Tapuika and Ngāti Hine whānau who have supported this project in so many ways.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge those who give or wear tā moko today. I believe it is a service to all Māori, as well as our tupuna to unapologetically mark ourselves with our histories and identities.

## **Ethics Declaration**

AUTEC Ethics number 18/164 approved on the 23 May 2018

## **Intellectual Property Declaration**

I retain copyright of all story design and images produced and presented as part of this thesis apart from the following material that is the intellectual property of others:

- Figure 1. David (Moko) Hart, with permission from photographer, Adrian Malloch.
- Figure 4. Photograph of note from Tā Moko studio, with permission from photographer, Adrian Malloch.
- Figure 10. Screenshot of website home page. Photograph of David Hart with tattoo gun, with permission from photographer, Adrian Malloch.
- Figure 12. Rawiri Biel. Tā moko artist Wiremu Barriball, provided by Rawiri Biel with permission.

## **Chapter one: Introduction**

“Tā moko: Marked histories and identities” is an in-depth study of the history of tā moko, with emphasis on current practice, to explore symbolic messages that express history and identity. It draws on theories of identity to ethically and politically analyse the revival of the tā moko as a microcosm of the Māori experience in Aotearoa.

The study uses triangulation of identity theories and qualitative methods that complement an overarching Kaupapa Māori approach. It should be noted that while researching tā moko as a topic, it was clear that most of the literature available was on facial tā moko, especially moko kauae. For this reason, a wearer of moko kauae was not chosen for the interviews, rather, I wanted to start recording the meanings behind tā moko on all parts of the body so that it was clear that all tā moko represent identity, and are just as important as facial tā moko.

There are three components to the study an exegesis is supported by a website and a photographic book.

- 1) The exegesis provides the commentary which brings the three components together.
- 2) The website is designed as an online Māori development paper informed by this study.
- 3) The photographic book relates directly to the research question and provides a forum for contemporary wearers, to articulate the meanings in their own words the meanings and symbolism associate with their tā moko.

### **1.1 A note about cultural appropriation**

It is not unlikely that questions of cultural appropriation arise when discussing tā moko. However, it is a far too broad and complex topic on its own. Therefore, it should be noted that cultural appropriation will not be discussed in this study. The term *cultural appropriation* has been defined as "the taking – from a culture that is not one's own – of intelliential property, cultural expressions or artefacts, history and ways of knowledge" (Ziff & Rao, 1997, p.1).

### **1.2 Overview of chapters**

#### ***Chapter two: Positioning the researcher***

Although the study relies primarily on identity theory as the key non-indigenous theoretical approach, there are strong hermeneutic influences. “The heuristic process is autobiographic, yet with virtually every question that matters personally there is also a social - and perhaps universal - significance" (Moustakas, 1975, p. 15). This is particularly evident in this chapter

where I position myself as the researcher in the context of my identity as it is expressed through my own tā moko. The design entwines both sides of my tribal whakapapa (genealogy) and identity (Tapuika and Ngāti Hine).

### ***Chapter three: Research design***

This chapter explains how and why I have designed the study. Methodologically, although this thesis relies on identity theories as the key non-indigenous theoretical approach, the entire project is filtered through a kaupapa Māori lens. Because of the theoretical and epistemological significance of kaupapa Māori to this study, I have chosen to preface the discussion with a synopsis of kaupapa Māori epistemology. Qualitative interviews are also used to explore contemporary attitudes to tā moko and how they are interpreted by those who wear tā moko. The ideas and theories that underpin the research are applied to the interviews and is conspicuous in the development of the artefact.

Throughout the entire design I am mindful of how kaupapa Māori frames every aspect of the research process. The creation of the artefact is included in this chapter, although a more comprehensive and detailed overview of the output is presented in chapter six. I also acknowledge the influence of hermeneutics throughout the execution of the research.

### ***Chapter four: The theoretical framework***

This chapter is separated into two sections. The first presents an overview and analysis of existing literature of tā moko in historical periods. Non-Māori sources from the nineteenth century are interpreted through the particular lens of that period. The second section provides a broader context of tā moko as the vehicle of symbolic messages to express identity. The link between the theory and the case study material are conspicuous. These theoretical positions make a significant contribution to the overall design of the entire research project to bring together history and identity theory to provide insights into the Māori experience of tā moko in an historical context.

### ***Chapter five: Contemporary tā moko experiences***

This chapter uses qualitative research (interviews) as a tool to demonstrate the links between history and identity theories through contemporary wearers of tā moko. The interviews are used as an example for students who use the *Tā moko: marked histories and identities* website to explore and explain how identity theories apply to the expression of contemporary tā moko.

A gallery of photographs of participants' tā moko is included to illustrate their personal interpretations of tā moko. The excerpts from the interviews that are used to illustrate agency and the changes in agency are moving. These koha (gifts) brought a poignancy to the project that was not anticipated.

### ***Chapter six: Digital tā moko: The website***

This chapter is an overview of the thesis project and artefact. It links the ideas surrounding history and identity directly to the artefact. It also includes screenshots of the website to explain the full design of the website in depth. This chapter also reviews the reasons a website was chosen as the artefact and includes a collection of student experiences of the site. For examination purposes, a hard-copy version of the website will be provided in the form of a book.

### ***Chapter seven: Conclusion***

This chapter summarises the in-depth study of the history of tā moko, with emphasis on current practice, to explore symbolic messages that express history and identity. It explains the areas where the thesis has drawn on theories of identity to ethically and politically analyse the revival of the tā moko as a microcosm of the Māori experience, in Aotearoa. The link between the theory and the findings from the qualitative interviews is unmistakable and brings together history and identity theory to provide insights into the Māori experience of tā moko in an historical context. The thesis ends with a parting quote, that implores all Māori to never shy away from receiving tā moko, because it is a symbol of Māori history and Māori identity.

## Chapter two: Positioning of the researcher



Figure 2: Ngaropaki Ereatara.

*Note:* Original photograph from author's family collection (2019). Reprinted with permission.

I was raised by my mother's people of Tapuika and named after my kuia/ancestor, Ngaropaki Ereatara (Figure 2). The moko kauae she wears will be the one that her descendants will likely wear. The revival of moko kauae had not taken full effect in Tapuika until very recently, at

least, not to the same extent as other forms of tā moko. Only two of my Tapuika kuia, who are not direct descendants of Ngaropaki, wear moko kauae. It has only been in the past year or so, that some in my mother's generation have proudly received their kauae - the youngest only a few years older than me. The revival of tā moko can be seen at tribal hui in Tapuika and is proudly visible across the generations.

When I was nearly sixteen years old, I reconnected with my father's side (Ngāpuhi/Ngāti Hine). In that same year, I received my first tā moko (Figure 3) from my uncle David (Figure 1). Before I received my tā moko, I identified myself as someone from "down the line" (Te Puke). However, I felt that I was a fair skinned urban Māori who did not know anything about being a "real Māori."

I had very little knowledge of my whakapapa on my father's side, and because I was told that I was not "Māori enough", I regrettably felt no need to learn my language or think I even deserved to wear a tā moko. However, to my surprise, my deserving a tā moko was not even a topic of discussion when my uncle sat down to draw my tā moko design. He simply asked where my mother was from and that was it. I then realised that I deserved this tā moko simply because I am a child of my parents, who are both Māori. That was the only pre-requisite I needed. When he explained what my tā moko meant, he said that it represented my whakapapa on both sides, meeting in the middle. My tā moko became confirmation of my identity as both Tapuika and Ngāpuhi/Ngāti Hine. Any uncertainty of who I was, disappeared.

Something that should have been a painful experience, begun to heal me from the inside out. It was as if my tā moko had always been there, and it was the right time for my Uncle David to make it visible.



Figure 3: Author's tā moko, personal collection, 2019.

On my 21<sup>st</sup> birthday, Uncle David added to my tā moko. While he was drawing the extensions, he told me “Your tā moko is your friend, it is always with you and it grows with you until you die”, which I later discovered was something he left behind in writing at his shop (Figure 4).

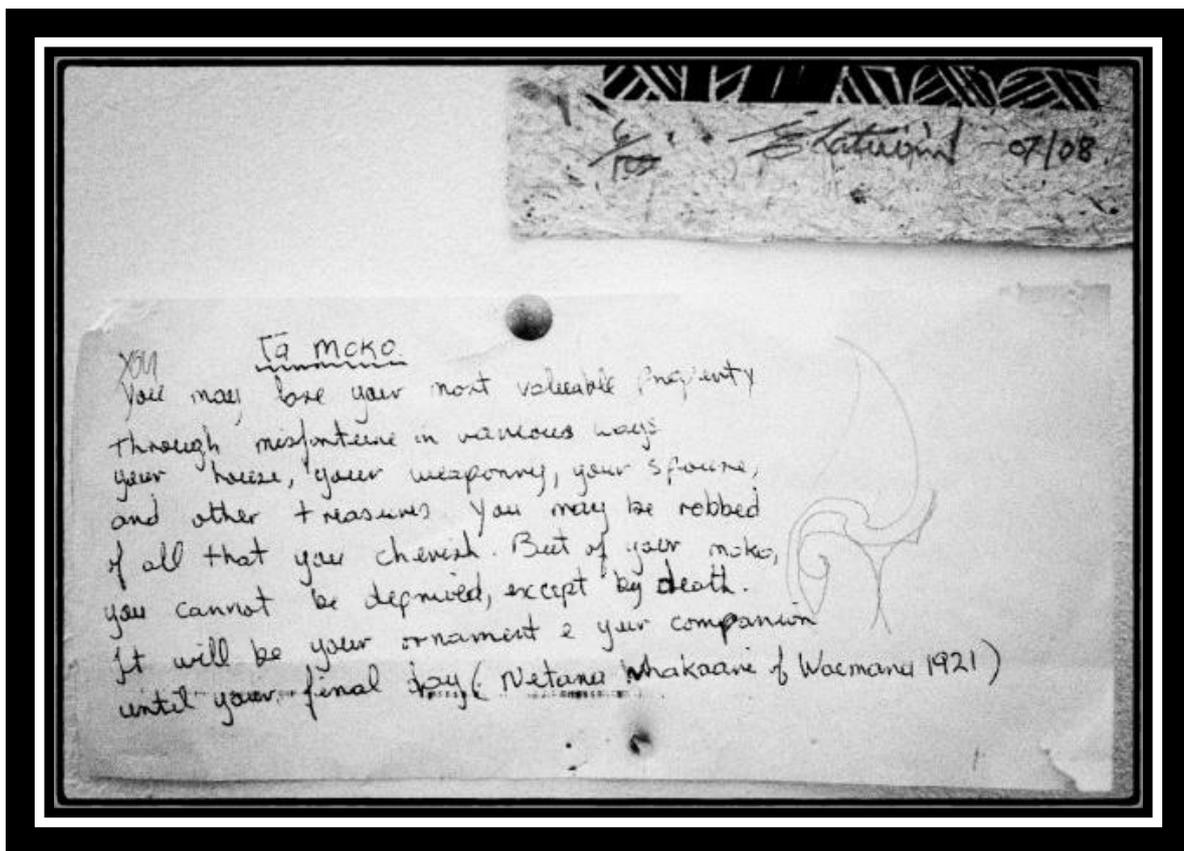


Figure 4: Image of note left by David Hart at his shop, provided by Adrian Malloch.

*Note:* Copyright (2019) by Adrian Malloch Photography. Reprinted with permission.

He did not explain the design to me and simply said “When you see your 21<sup>st</sup> key, it will all make sense”. I learned later that he had designed my 21<sup>st</sup> key/carving (Figure 4) and added it to my tā moko, which can be clearly seen in Figure 3. I was going into adulthood with my friend (my tā moko) knowing exactly who I was.



Figure 5: Author's 21<sup>st</sup> carving, personal collection, 2019

What receiving my tā moko did for me and my identity as a Māori, is the main reason I decided to conduct this study. For me, my tā moko represents more than the way I present myself as a Māori. It reminds me daily, that I am a child of my parents, a grandchild of my grandparents and a descendent of my ancestors. I am named after my kuia/ancestor, Ngaropaki. Just like her, I deserve to mark my identity on my skin.

## **Chapter three: Research design**

### **3.1 Introduction**

This research has two main components, an exegesis and an artefact. As the project has developed, and in the spirit of critical reflection, I have added another section to the artefact. A photographic book that replicates the key elements in the website has been produced and will serve as a koha (gift) to those members of the whānau and others whose contribution to

To study tā moko and create an artefact that is a conduit to learning about tā moko is kaupapa Māori in action. There is a significant amount of early literature that focuses on kaupapa Māori theory, mostly within education (see G.H. Smith, 1997, 2000, 2003a, 2003b; L.T. Smith, 1999, 2000; Smith & Reid, 2000). However, the theory has evolved and developed over time and across disciplines. “The organic nature of Kaupapa Māori theory...means that there are many ways in which it can be and is articulated” (Pihama, 2010, p. 5). The following table takes account of Pihama’s (2010) description of the theory as evolving and diverse in application as the position I have taken in developing a methodological approach specifically for this study. the project is priceless.

### **3.2 Methodological approaches**

The discussion on methodological approaches is prefaced with a discussion on kaupapa Māori because it is the overarching theoretical framework that underpins this study. I would argue that the holism of kaupapa Māori provides an ideal frame for ostensibly incongruent theoretical positions, and adds another dimension to the study of tā moko. It also connects Māori cultural beliefs (using pūrākau) to tā moko, in order to determine that the way Pākehā viewed tā moko throughout history as erroneous, as it misrepresents the Māori cultural meanings and interpretations of tā moko. Kaupapa Māori is also transforming the way in which theory and research is being shaped in Aotearoa (Henry & Pene, 2001) and has created a space for Māori research on Māori topics such as tā moko possible, within the academy (Bishop, 1998, 2008; Moewaka Barnes, 2000; G.H. Smith, 1997, 2003a, 2003b; L.T. Smith, 1999, 2000; Smith & Reid, 2000; Walker, Eketone, & Gibbs, 2006).

| Paradigm      | Methods       | Activity  |
|---------------|---------------|---|
| Kaupapa Māori | Karakia       | Perform karakia for protection and spiritual guidance.<br>Collect relevant karakia for inclusion in exegesis  |
|               | Whakapapa     | Apply the genealogical principles to deities that relate to tā moko<br>Record whakapapa of each participant and any connection this has to their tā moko<br>Ascertain the influence of tribal identity on tā moko |
|               | Kōrero a waha | Interviews – Māori style of interviewing as a conversation  |
|               | Pūrākau       | Narratives relating to tā moko  |

Figure 6: Kaupapa Māori methodological approach designed specifically for the project

It is generally accepted that a Māori paradigm has its genesis in a Māori worldview, which is discussed in more detail in chapter four. Methodologically, the application of Kaupapa Māori is discernible throughout the entire project. It underpins the study of tā moko and resonates with the description of a Māori paradigm as cognisant of customs, reflections, values and actions of realities that are inherent to Māori identity (Higgins, 2004, p. 8). Tā moko is deeply etched in the psyche of Māori cultural beliefs (White 1889; Smith, 1913; Best, 1924; Alpers, 1987) and like many other Māori practices, those linking to tā moko derive from the mythological world of our atua (gods).

Māori have developed sophisticated metaphors to explain human existence that can be best described as a separate reality because for many, the universe is predicated on kinship. The Māori world begins with the creation narratives. “In traditional Māori thought, the entire universe is personified and both spiritually and physically defined. The progenitors of life are ātua (gods), the primeval parents, Ranginui (sky) and Papatūānuku (earth)” (McNeill, 2016, p. 19). It is from this world that the traditions pertaining to tā moko originate to create Māori epistemology in this art.

Te Awekotuku et al. (2007) recounted the narrative of the Mataora and Niwareka as the creation story of tā moko. Higgins (2004) related two other origin stories of tā moko in the South Island, attributing the origins of tā moko to Rukutia, Tii Te Koropanga and Tamanuiāraangi. Her other account relates to the legendary demi-god Māui i Tikitiki-a-Taranga and Irawaru. It is conceivable that different iwi (tribes) had different accounts of the origins of

tā moko, but the most ubiquitous relate to Mataora and Niwareka. The writings of an early visitor, Scherzer (1861) suggested that tā moko was "first introduced by one of the tribes of the east coast by a certain Mataora, and the first man whose face was thus tattooed was named Onetunga" (p.111).

According to Ranginui Walker (1978) "today Māori will respond to the myth messages and cultural imperatives embedded in their mythology" (p. 40). The validity of Walker's claim is evidenced throughout this thesis and presents a context for the study of tā moko. The following screenshot demonstrates how Māori epistemology is applied pedagogically to the artefact.

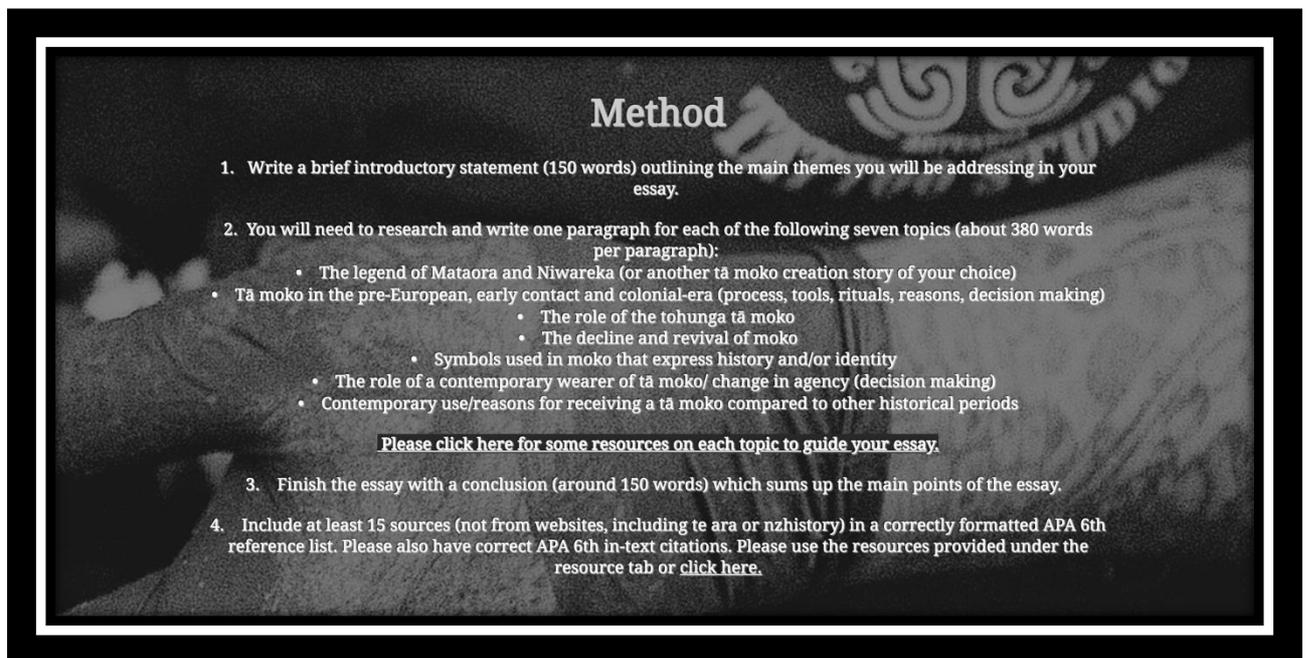


Figure 7: Method section for assignment one

However, there are also strong hermeneutic influences in the study. Firstly, I declare that my own personal experiences and the articulation of my tā moko as an exemplar of how tribal identity, are expressed in the design. In fact, heuristics are evident throughout the research process as I practise reflexivity to test my own assumptions and preconceptions about tā moko (see Adkins, 2003; Gadamer 1975; Heidegger, 1962; Smith 2003). Triangulation in this study includes qualitative interviews. All eight participants interviewed for this study wear tā moko, and the findings clearly show that each design carries narratives of identity and cultural pride.

Here again, the principles of heuristic inquiry influence the creation of the artefact. I use the word 'influences' deliberately because the creation of the website as the creative output is not

practice-led. The development of the website is driven and underpinned by theoretical antecedents rather than the creative process. However, there is a strong artistic element in the outputs because of the aesthetics of tā moko as an art form, and this is captured in the images that are used. 'Outputs' is plural because, in the spirit of heuristic reflexivity, there are two parts to the website artefact. A hard copy photographic booklet complements the website and a component of the research process and outcomes. All three components are designed as an integrated whole to address the research question. The overall outcome of the research demonstrates the way in which contemporary tā moko fuses traditional elements with modern notions of Māori identity reflects broader trends in the construction of contemporary Māori identity.

The shift in agency is well documented amongst Māori scholars who recognise that traditional definitions or concepts of identity have changed dramatically in post-colonial Aotearoa, New Zealand (Karetu, 1990; Houkamau, 2006; McIntosh, 2005; Smith, 1989). According to Durie (1994) in traditional society to identity was predicated on kinship relationships through the through a shared a common ancestor. He emphasises that these relationships were maintained and tied to certain responsibilities and obligations.

Today Māori identity is a challenge, and particularly the Māori diaspora who experience cultural alienation firsthand.

When someone openly identifies as being of Māori descent, there is an expectation that they know how to operate within a Māori paradigm according to tikanga Māori (Māori cultural values) and have a degree of linguistic ability. This is not always the case. The person's upbringing, their physical location, the community they grew up in and their interaction with their tribal area may not have been conducive to the acquisition of such knowledge ((Paringatai, 2014 p.

While Māori clearly have a position on identity I have used Identity theory as a methodological tool for the study of tā moko relies primarily on the work of identity theorists Stryker (1968) and Stryker & Burke (2000). They argued that the self is made up of a collection of identities, each of which is based on occupying different roles. These identities are said to influence behaviour, and each role has a set of associated meanings and expectations for the self. This approach resonates with a kaupapa Māori approach to deciphering the link between tā moko and identity. However, modern tā moko is interpreted quite differently, because the individual rather than the collective does, although not always, can design their tā moko. The findings from this study show that for many tā moko wearers, the symbolism contained in tā moko is a modern "take" on tradition. Often tā moko represents different meanings, expectations

associated with roles, that individuals place on themselves. This shift aligns with identity theory through a kaupapa Māori lens.

### 3.3 Qualitative interviews

The qualitative interviews process demonstrates how methods can be developed using two different (Māori and Western) paradigms. The outcome is a research process and environment that supports Māori ways of thinking and knowing. Qualitative interviews provide structure which enables the researcher to focus on the research inquiry. Kōrero (discussion) is carefully designed around the key questions that allow the exploration of tā moko, identity and meaning. The structure facilitates the collation and analysis of the data (kōrero) so that arranging the themes is not complicated with extraneous and irrelevant (to the research) information.

| Paradigm               | Methods               | Activity  |
|------------------------|-----------------------|---|
| Qualitative interviews | Identify participants | Use existing networks                               |
|                        | Collaborate           |   |
|                        | Ethics approval       | To design research questions                        |
|                        |                       | Work with primary supervisor to get ethics approval |
|                        | Conduct interviews    | No more than 60 minutes maximum                     |
|                        | Data analysis         | Thematic analysis                                   |
|                        | Findings              | Report findings                                     |

Figure 8: Table of interview methodologies

#### *Participant profile*

The selection of participants included both female and male, from a range of iwi and varied in age (20s, 40s and 60s). It was anticipated that the diversity of the participant group profile could potentially generate different insights, perspectives and attitudes about tā moko.

| Participant | Tribal affiliation           | Sex    | Age   |
|-------------|------------------------------|--------|-------|
| A           | Ngāti Pōrou, Rongowhakaata   | Male   | 40-50 |
| B           | Ngāti Hine, Ngāpuhi          | Male   | 40-50 |
| C           | Ngāpuhi, Te Aupōuri          | Male   | 60-70 |
| D           | Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāpuhi     | Female | 20-30 |
| E           | Ngāpuhi                      | Female | 60-70 |
| F           | Ngāti Wai, Ngāti Raukawa     | Female | 20-30 |
| G           | Ngāpuhi, Muriwhenua          | Male   | 20-30 |
| H           | Tapuika, Ngāti Moko, Ngāpuhi | Male   | 20-30 |

Figure 9: Profile of research participants

### 3.4 Interview process

Each participant was interviewed individually in a *kanohi ki te kanohi* (face-to-face) situation, which is culturally the preferred social interaction for interview situations. There were six open ended interview questions:

1. Does your *tā moko* express your identity?
2. Who did you consult about the designs and why?
3. What influenced the designs you chose?
4. What links did your *tā* make to traditional designs?
5. What makes your *tā moko* authentic?
6. Are there any other additional comments you want to make?

### 3.5 Thematic analysis

The responses to the interview questions enabled me to extrapolate themes for analysis. =. Thematic analysis is: “A method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns within data” (Braun and Clarke, 2006. p. 79). The responses that informed the themes aligned to the key concept that underpin the research.

- The current practice of *tā moko* carries symbolic messages to express history and identity (personal, cultural and social).
- Contemporary *tā moko* is authentic and sacred today, regardless of the shift in agency (decision making) since traditional times.
- Because of colonisation, it is more important now than ever to receive a *tā moko* to resist any future attempts to diminish it as an aspect of Māori culture and to diminish any misconceptions surrounding *tā moko*, including those believed by Māori themselves.

These narratives are the cultural genesis of *tā moko* and are used to place Māori knowledge at the centre of this study. As seen in Figure 7, students must begin their essays on the *tā moko* narratives. This means that students will also use Māori knowledge at the centre of their work. The hope is that many students will have their own *iwi*-specific narratives and include them in their essays so that this knowledge is documented and released to the world.

### **3.6 Digital artefact as a research output**

The theoretical frameworks used to develop the thesis (artefact and exegesis) are not within the art and design field. As discussed in the previous section of this chapter, a kaupapa Māori paradigm frames the study and is the lens through which identity theories are viewed. These theoretical approaches are evident throughout the entire study and are also connected directly to the website. The majority of theses that have an artefact or creative output are in the field of art and design (Biggs, 2004; Smith & Dean, 2009; Sullivan, 2005) and are usually practice-led or practice based (Arnold, 2007; Bolt, 2004; Candy, Amitani, & Bilda 2007; Maarit, 2007). The creative output of this study is a digital artefact that aligns with the basic tenets of practice-based research, in "that the creative work in itself is a form of research and generates detectable research outputs" (Smith & Dean, 2009, p. 5).

However, rather than the construction of the website as the creative output informing the research, the development of the website was predicated on the research. An entire section is a collation of relevant source material for students to access online, most of which are academic articles and filmed interviews. My intention is to incorporate the exegesis into the actual website as a primary resource or text. In the process, the relation between the thesis and the individual project is a relationship with mutual influence and "provides a research-based theoretical and contextual framework for the practical work performed in the individual project... the individual project should be embedded in the thesis part as a case study. Relevance of theory and design should be shown at an early stage" (Thomassen & Oudheusden, 2004, p. 3).

This research, including the collation of resources, aligns with the assessment requirements of the tā moko curriculum. The influence of the arts is obvious in the visual presentation of the artefact (website). The black and white photographs are high resolution with the home page image produced by a professional photographer (Figure 10). The angle of the photograph and the contrasting shades give credence to the photographer's "eye" and artistic skills. The black and white theme is carried through the website to create a cohesive presentation.

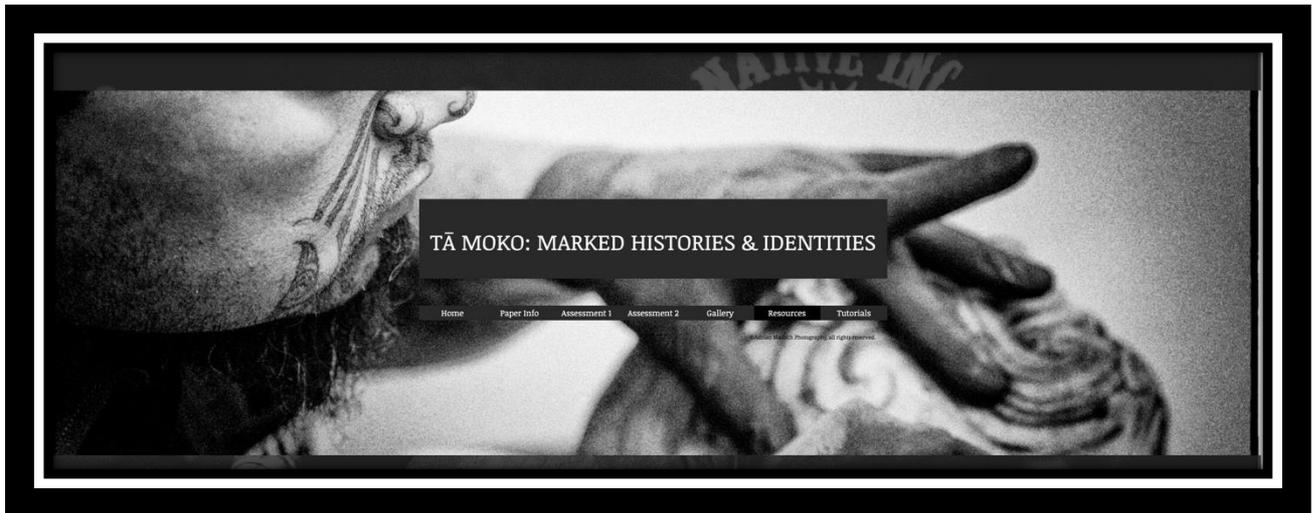


Figure 10: Screenshot of homepage with photograph by Adrian Malloch

*Note:* Copyright (2019) by Adrian Malloch Photography. Reprinted with permission.

The formatting and text were chosen to complement the overall design. Figure 11 is a screenshot of the website showing the details of assignment two, which requires students to ask a wearer of tā moko how their tā moko represents their identity and what role they play as an individual or in their communities.

### **3.7 The interface between identity theory and the website artefact**

As already broached identity as a concept is not the prerogative of non-indigenous theorists. In the context of this study I am mindful of traditional concepts of tribal identity (Durie, 1994). The application of Identity theory is merely a useful tool to analyse and understand modern articulations of tā moko. Kaupapa Māori research is as indelible as the ink on the examples that I use across all three components of this study. The examples that I have used to develop an understanding of identity are Māori wearers of tā moko.

Identity theorists Stryker (1968) and Stryker & Burke (2000) argued that the self is made up of a collection of identities, each of which is based on occupying different roles. These identities are said to influence behaviour, and that each role has a set of associated meanings and expectations for the self and this is how the theories of identity works for this section of the artefact.

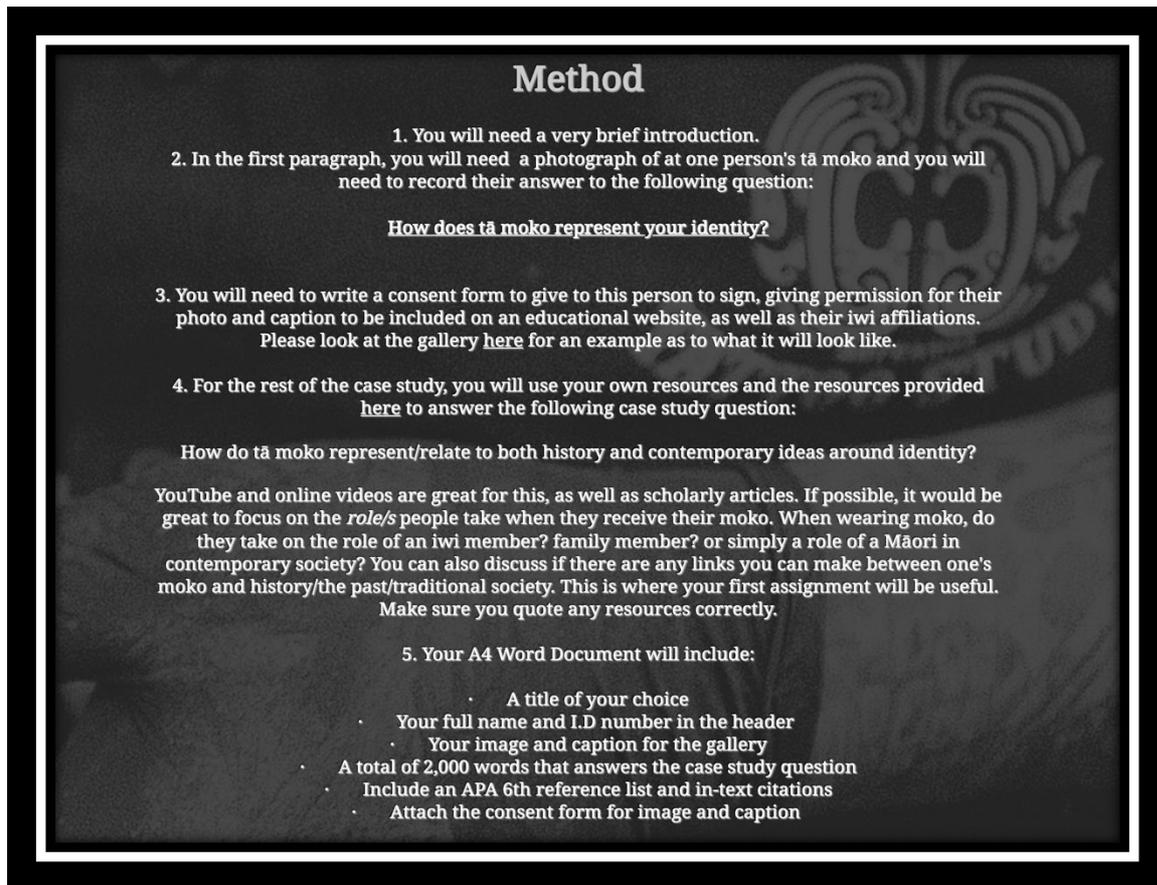


Figure 11: Screenshot: Method for assignment two.

To assist students with this assessment, an exemplar of photographs taken from the research with captions is included in the website gallery of photographs. Below is one example from the gallery.

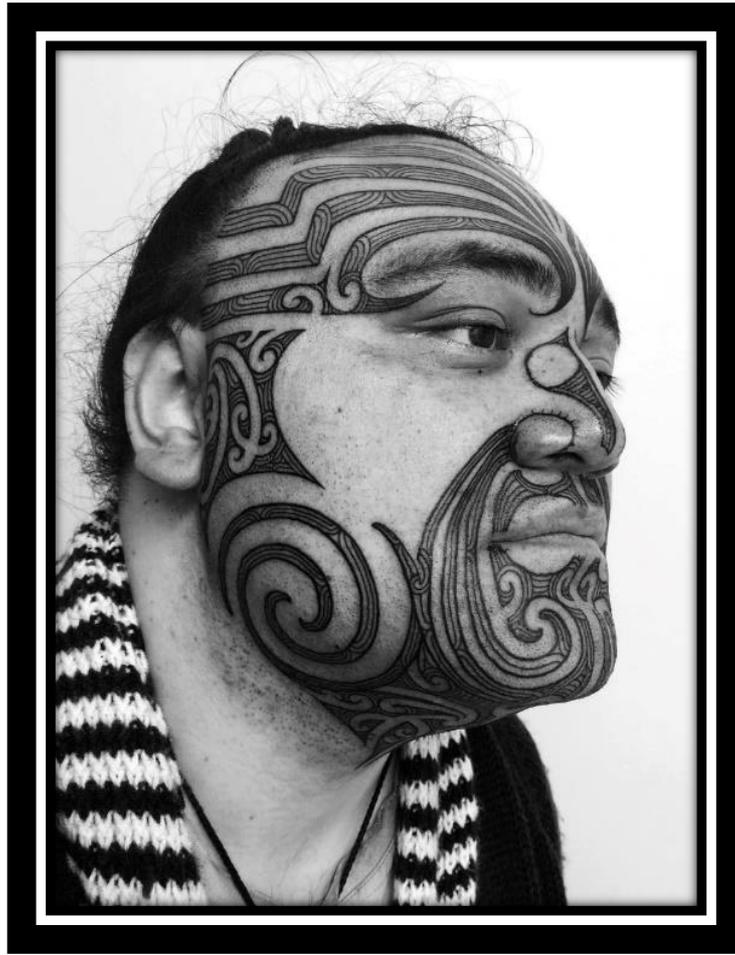


Figure 12: Wiremu Barriball. Photographer permission given by Rawiri Biel

*What do I think makes my tā moko, or mataora authentic? Perhaps, it's because of the reason behind me getting it in the first place. Perhaps it's because the person wearing this treasure is Māori, or because its artist is Māori, and sacred incantations were said during the tattooing process. It could also be because of the designs and traditional aspects of our ancestors, or because of the pure fact that I have a mataora.*

### **3.8 Conclusion**

The research design for this project is located within a kaupapa Māori model. The complexity of triangulation is managed by drawing on distinct methods that emerge from each paradigm but come together to create composite and cohesive research outputs. Underpinning this process is a reflexivity that relies on constantly and critically assessing and revising the work. This also involves using Auckland University of Technology auditing systems as a method of eliciting feedback for improving the website as a teaching and learning tool. Having now outlined the approach and strategies taken to developing the research (both the exegesis and the creative outputs) I will now consider the theoretical framework that drives the critical analysis of tā moko and the Māori response. The next chapter is divided into two distinct sections: the history of tā moko, and theory and identity.

## **Chapter four: Theoretical frameworks**

### **4.1 Tā moko in history**

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of the literature on how tā moko has evolved throughout history. Chronologically, the historical periods fall into three distinct time frames:

- Pre-European (referred to as “traditional” in the literature)
- Early contact period (Early nineteenth century)
- Colonial era (1840- 1970/80s)

The chapter also reviews the literature on how the changes regarding agency in the practice of tā moko throughout history affect the interpretation of tā moko in contemporary times (around 1980s to today). It should be stated that while there is a corpus of historical information on tā moko, certain facts regarding tohunga tā moko in the early stages of European contact are hard, if not impossible, to ascertain (Dunn, 2011).

### **4.2 Pre-European: Early literature on tā moko**

Much of the early documentation of European encounters with Māori who wore tā moko had a combined fascination, curiosity, and repulsion for the art (Beaglehole, 1962). What is interesting about the following early recordings of the art is that they give a sense that tā moko was ubiquitous during the early contact periods, even though tā moko was known to be an integral aspect of traditional Māori society before the arrival of Europeans (Rua, Tūhoe, Awa, & Whakaue, 1999). Thompson (1859) explained that according to tradition, the first settlers in New Zealand did not actually have tā moko.

King, Friedlander, and Friedlander (1972) gave credence to this fact when they related how the famous colonial writer, James Cowan (1921), had difficulty locating anyone with mataora (full face tā moko). This further supports the observation that Māori men in the colonial period era did not have moko. King et al. (1972) explained that the reasons for receiving tā moko are complex. During the early contact period, it was likely that the symbols used in the art reflected different elements of life; religion, food making, love making, war and death.

According to Te Awekotuku et al. (2007) it is thought that the early forms of tā moko evolved during a period of mourning. Women would haehae (lacerate) themselves to express their grief for their loved one. The pigment from the ngārahu or blackening soot would colour the wounds

and these markings then served as a permanent reminder of deceased. Another plausible example was aesthetics. “Most meditated-on desire and beauty, vanity and being desirable. Transforming the body, transforming the face, was primarily about pleasing one’s self, and then pleasing others. And that pleasure, intrinsically, was about pride” (Te Awekotuku, 2009, p. 2). Tā moko are perceived as beautiful adornments of the body and this aspect of the art persists over time. However, meanings and interpretations of the symbolism contained in tā moko change over time. Therefore, it should be noted that much, or all the early literature in tā moko, is primarily from a European perspective and should be interpreted through the cultural lens of this period.

#### **4.3 Early contact period: Early European understandings of moko**

The early documentation of tā moko began with Captain Cook’s observations of moko in 1769. He had a romanticised view on tā moko and explained “the marks in general are spirals drawn with great nicety (they)... resemble the foliage of old chased ornaments, convolutions of filigree work”. Banks, a naturalist who travelled with Cook, had similar views but noticed that the custom was not practised throughout the country (Beaglehole, 1962). This is important to note, because as mentioned earlier, the following encounters suggest that it was a common practice. A year or so later, in July 1772, Le Dez, the first lieutenant of the French ship, *The Marquis de Castries*, described Māori with tā moko as; "disfigured by several strange designs that they like to decorate themselves...." (Beaglehole, 1962, p. 57)

Craik (1830) recorded that men were not allowed to be tattooed on the forehead, chin, and upper lip, “except the very greatest among the chiefs because the more they are tattooed, the more they are honoured” (p. 42). Scherzer (1861) was told that a tā moko was not considered complete unless the face, hips and upper surface of the thigh (as far as the knee) were tattooed (p.113), and Elder (1932) observed that the breast and arms were never tattooed during the traditional era (p.172). Dieffenbach (1843) recorded that as soon as they reached puberty, young girls received their tā moko on their lips, and often, that is where they would stop.

Shortland (1851) explained that this was due to the extreme pain, and that tā moko had to be completed in stages. Polack (1863) wrote that regardless of the pain, a tā moko healed fast on Māori skin. Shortland (1851) also did not consider that tā moko held any meaning, as he believed that “the idea that facial tā moko intended to constitute a distinctive mark between different tribes, or to denote rank, has been variously stated. However, it is, in fact, only a mark of manhood, and a fashionable mode of adornment, by which the young men seek to gain the

good graces of the young women.” (pp. 17-18). These very early observations of tā moko vary in reliability, and of course, it was not long before Europeans sought to discontinue the practice entirely.

#### **4.4 Colonial era: The decline and revival of moko**

The decline of tā moko throughout history is not linked to a single change or event; rather, it is best to consider the decline as the result of a series of events that contributed in varying degrees to the current practice. As a Māori tradition, tā moko never discontinued entirely (Dunn, 2011). However, what remains clear is that throughout history, there were deliberate attempts to eliminate this tradition of Māori culture (Rua et al., 1999). By 1840, colonialism had taken its toll on Māori traditions. Missionary influences discouraged body modification practices among all Pacific Island peoples (Blackburn, 1999), and missionaries demonised tā moko as a pagan and unspeakable perversion.

Samuel Marsden of the Church Missionary Society arrived in Aotearoa in 1814 and actively condemned the practice of tā moko. He wrote in his journal:

Tooi informed us that his brother Korro Korro wished him to be tattooed. We told him that it was a very foolish and ridiculous custom, and as he had seen so much of civil life, he should now lay aside the barbarous customs of his country and adopt those of civilized nations (Elder, 1932, p. 167).

Nicholas (1817) also described tā moko as a "barbarous practice (which) will be abolished in time among the New Zealanders and that the missionaries will exert all the influence they are possessed of to dissuade them from it." (pp. 360-361).

It was many years later when Thompson (1859) reported that tā moko was finally “going out of fashion, partly from the influence of the missionaries, who describe it as the devil’s art, but chiefly from the example of the settlers” (p. 312). However, there was a short-lived resurrection of the practice during the NZ Wars of the 1860s. Although due to the unjustified and illegal confiscation of Māori land, Māori vitality decreased, as well as the pūkanohi (fully marked face) (Hiroa, 1982). Cowan believed that the last traditional full-face operation occurred in 1865 when he observed “the fully tattooed Māori whose face was completely covered with lines of blue-black tā moko is no longer to be seen. Now the tattooed male Māori has all but vanished from the face of these islands” (1921, p. 241). The introduction of Christianity was not the only reason for the decline in tā moko. The practice of mokomokai (preserved dried heads) contributed to the decline as it made some Māori men fear that their decorated head

would be used for trading purposes. As Robley noted, “In the first place, no man who was well tattooed was safe for an hour unless he was a great chief, for he might be at any time watched until he was off his guard and then knocked down and killed, and his head sold to the traders” (1896, p. 169).

The female tā moko, however, was a practice that continued uninterrupted. The decline in men’s facial tā moko prompted a series of souvenirs by different photographers, and powerful portraits by artists such as Goldie and Lindauer. By the time Lindauer arrived in Aotearoa in 1874, it was still mostly only the women who were receiving facial tā moko (Ellis, 2018). This was during a time where Māori were reeling from the processes of colonisation, such as the establishment of the Native Land Court and the New Zealand Wars. From around 1900, Goldie specialised in oil paintings of Māori, with various titles that were criticised for being narrative pictures, rather than portraits (Bell, 1980). Bell argued that Goldie’s paintings represented a past and a present that was largely a European invention and that they projected the notion of the ‘passing’ or ‘dying’ of the ‘old time Māori’ (p. 88).

It should be noted that during this time, Māori population was rising and they were resisting further thefts of their remaining lands and cultural autonomy (Pool, 1977; Williams, 1969; Walker, 1990). It is likely Goldie believed he was doing a favour for future generations by recording a part of Māori culture that he was sure would die. He clearly misjudged his critics and assumed too much. Tā moko resurfaced in the 1970s at a slow rate, and in the 1980s a push to revive Māori language and culture began, leading the ancient practice of tā moko to grow in momentum (Cheesemen, 2015). Like all art, tā moko has evolved, and continues to evolve and change.

#### **4.5 The shift in agency: The role of the tohunga tā moko**

The issue of agency is crucial to this study, and the discussion of the major role the tohunga had in deciding who would receive tā moko, why and what form they would take, is one of the most significant changes in the evolution of tā moko. ‘Tohunga’ is a general term used for artists and specialists with an in-depth knowledge of traditional art forms. For the purpose of this work, the mention of tohunga is taken to mean a tohunga tā moko exclusively.

The traditional tā moko process involved marking of the face and head, which were considered tapu (sacred) (Elder, 2012). A tohunga was in a position of respect and prestige (Hiroa 1982, Robley 1998), so their role was to make sure everything was done correctly and safely.

Tohunga were trained in special schools and the practice of tā moko was always in a very controlled environment (Neich, 1994). The process of giving and receiving tā moko was associated with extensive rituals and regulations (Rua, 1999) and these rituals were an essential component to make sure both the tohunga and receiver were safe. Te Awekotuku (1997) explained the tapu of hygiene, and that no-one involved in the process was to handle food, so any sustenance was provided by helpers at appropriate times. Also, the person receiving the tā moko had to refrain from any intimate contact until the tā moko had healed. It has been said that in some cases, people of particularly high status or mana could not be tattooed. This may have been to prevent the restrictions regarding tapu possibly affecting mana, or the mana being overpowering to a tohunga (Gathercole, 1988).

Whatever the reason, it should be noted that tohunga never wore tā moko themselves. During the periods of high demand, the tohunga's elevated status, connection to the ariki (gods), and their high-quality skills all ensured that the most talented tohunga tā moko expected to be paid well, and in some instances, travelled far to perform their art (Dunn, 2011). However, tā moko were not performed purely for financial gain, but rather, traditionally practised within the community for ritual reasons. Tā moko varied in place and time and dispersal of tā moko designs occurred not only through closeness to other wearers, but by the popularity of the tohunga. Gathercole (1988) suggested that early tā moko were not simply status markers, but rather, were highly developed and complicated.

The practice of tā moko is no longer the foundation of social transaction within Māori communities. Undertaking tā moko in contemporary Aotearoa is now primarily an individual decision (Dunn, 2011). Traditionally, tā moko was often compulsory, with individuals forced to conform to the standards embraced by a hapū. The degradation of Māori culture over the past 150 years has seen a substantial change in ceremonies and relaxation of conventions about who can give tā moko and who is entitled to wear it. Today tā moko designs represent a link through to the past, as descendants and other iwi members look once again to placing these tā moko on their own skin, to honour their ancestors, and thereby celebrate their survival (Ellis, 2018).

Regardless of this shift, many of those associated with tā moko today believe that the custom is as authentic and sacred as it has ever been (Gell, 1993). 'Authentic', in the context of this study, means simply that a tā moko is more than a social transaction; it is a part of one's identity. The difference between individual identity and social identity are of critical importance to

explain the effects of this shift in contemporary society. The next section of the thesis will focus on these identity theories and how they affect the qualitative research in this study.

#### **4.6 Tā moko and theories of identity**

This section aims to define identity theories and discuss how the theories function, discuss their leading proponents and critics, as well as how the theories have evolved. Identity theorists Stryker (1968) and Burke (2000) argued that the self is made up of a collection of identities, each of which is based on occupying different roles. These identities are said to influence behaviour, and each role has a set of associated meanings and expectations for the self. It should be noted that social identity theory is linked to, but is not the same as identity theory (Stets & Burke, 2000).

Social identity theory proposes that a person's sense of who they are depends on the groups to which they belong (Hogg, Terry, & White, 1995). Both identity theory and social identity theory are essential for the theoretical discussion of how the participants in this study viewed their tā moko as a representation of their identity. All participants in this study described their tā moko as a way of identifying as Māori and identifying as a member of their iwi. Tā moko is used to express individuality, as well as membership of a group (Dunn, 2011), which is why both identity theories are critical for this research. It should also be noted that social science recognises cultural identity as identity that is achieved, rather than ascribed, meaning it is not something we are born with, but something created through the process of social interaction (Leeds-Hurwitz, 1995), or in this case, receiving a tā moko.

The definitions of identity theory and social identity theory have evolved over time and earlier versions of identity theory focused on mental states (Armstrong, 1968; Feigl, 1958; Lewis, 1966; Place, 1956; Smart, 1962). As argued by Lewis (1966), the brain and mental states are synonymous and there is no difference between the mental and physical experiences. Lewis strongly believed that:

The definitive characteristic of any (sort of) experience as such is its causal role, its syndrome of most typical causes and effects. But we materialists believe that these causal roles which belong by analytic necessity to experiences belong in fact to certain physical states. Since these physical states possess the definitive character of experiences, they must be experiences (p.17).

The anti-metaphysical approach reduces the human identity to only the physical and is the antithesis of Māori concepts of identity, which are holistic, and take cognisance of the physical,

social and spiritual elements of identity. Paul Moon (2003) in *Tohunga*, provided a critique to this materialist approach to identity:

You see, to me, what makes a person is their mauri and their wairua, but a scientist won't look at that, they are only interested in the chemicals. So, I think that one day, people will realise that we need to look beyond the chemicals. So really, you have to be open and expect the unknown (p.65).

Hilary Putnam (1975) was equally critical of what he saw as the rigidity and oversimplification of identity theory. Rather, he suggested the idea of multiple realisability. Freeman (2007) explained the concept of multiple realisability in reference to Michael Bamberg's article *Who am I? Narration and its contribution to self and identity* (2011), and how this article is an important attempt to locate the fashioning of self and identity in those sorts of local, relational, interactive practices found in everyday life.

The example that Putnam (1975) used to support his argument was that pain can be experienced in different and multiple ways and was not simply a singular brain state as identity theory suggests. The karakia of Mataroa (who in Māori epistemology brought the art of tā moko), describes the pain associated with the process. His chant calls on Niwaka to come for him and take him back to the world of the living. The complexity of the chant defies literal translation, but it speaks of the darkness associated with death, and his ancestral homeland of Taranaki.

Niwareka, Niwareka, kawē noa i a au

Ki te pōuriuri, ki te pōtangotango.

Whākina te mamae o te ipo

Kai Ahuahu, kai Rangatira,

Kai Nukumoanariki.

Ko Kurareira, ko Taranaki.

Kai Taranaki hoki te ipo, toro hohoro e.

(Te Ao Hou, 1965, p. 17).

In philosophical terms, a brain state is a snapshot of who a person is right at the instant the snapshot was taken (Freeman, 2007). Tā moko can then be considered a permanent snapshot of who a person is or how they identify themselves. It is important to note that as mentioned in the history section of this paper, tā moko was often compulsory. Society placed demands on individuals to conform to the standards embraced by the iwi or hapū (Dunn, 2011). Individual and social identity are different in this case, and Gell (1993) explained that if body

modifications are viewed as a way of establishing individuality, then the term ‘individual’ must be qualified by the society itself. As these definitions change, it is logical to assume that tā moko would also experience a shift in meaning if it is to have a useful role as part of Māori identity claims (Dunn, 2011).

The key contribution of identity theory is the significance of roles that a person assumes as a member of a group. These roles are determined by an individual’s place within a group. The key interpretation of identity theory in this study is that different roles that a person performs create an individual’s identity. In traditional Māori society, this theory has real credence. Moon (2012) described tā moko as representing all facets of an individual’s identity, including their role and status in society. The practice of selling mokomokai (dried heads) in the early colonial period altered the function of tā moko. The heads of corpses of low status were carved for the market, so tā moko could no longer be relied upon as an insignia of identity.

Today, tā moko is not a conduit to advertise a person’s role in a community, but as research findings show, it instead represents identity in contemporary idiom. In a cross-cultural society, this study argues that the role of a Māori wearing tā moko is a proclamation of Māori identity. The majority of those interviewed described their tā moko as symbols of group identity (i.e. to a whānau, hapū and/or iwi). Some also carried symbols of tribal identification. Te Awekotuku et al. (2007) acknowledged that tā moko acts as an affirmation of identity for contemporary Māori. An example of this may be one receiving for the purpose of remembering a tūpuna (ancestor) and their survival and resilience throughout history, which in some ways, defies the colonial agenda. Despite the validity of the arguments highlighting the limitations of identity theory, it is still useful to this study, particularly in relation to understanding the role of tā moko in shaping individual as well as social identity. Social identity theory gives meaning and depth to these roles so that both theoretical positions contribute to an in-depth understanding of the role of identity in the customs and practice of tā moko.

Identity theory is also a useful tool for clarifying the behaviour and motivations that propelled the resurgence of tā moko. Burke and Stets (2009) argued that identity theory focuses on roles or what individuals do, and this is a key determinant of behaviour. When applied to this study, the act of receiving tā moko for the role of a wearer is the key to group membership, which also comes from social identity theory. In connection with the artefact, one of the resources suggested for students to use in their own case study assignment, is an interview of a renowned contemporary tā moko artist discussing her decision to receive her moko kauae at a young age.

She explained that it was her role as a Māori woman and as a mother to wear her kauae. As a mother, she wanted her children to live their lives seeing her with a kauae, so that they grew up recognising facial tā moko as the norm. She further elaborated that she decided to get her kauae for “all of the Māori women who have passed without a kauae believing that they were not important enough or old enough to receive it”. She believed that because she had her moko kauae, it was such an extensive part of her identity that “when we die, they (everyone who has passed) will be able to recognise us” (Life with Stevie, 2019). This is just one example of the resources that students can access (from the website) and use for their case study on how tā moko represents identity today.

Through the findings of this study, the cultural context and nuances that give depth and meaning to tā moko, are too one dimensional, and social identity theory provides the broader context for analysing identity. Henri Tajfel (1959) is recognised as the originator of social identity theory and advocated this much broader agenda:

...social psychology can and must include in its theoretical and research preoccupations a direct concern with the relationship between human psychological functioning and the large-scale social processes and events which shape this functioning and are shaped by it (Tajfel, Jaspars & Fraser 1984, p. 3).

Put simply, in social identity theory, “a social identity is a person's knowledge that he or she belongs to a social category or group” (Abrams & Hogg, 1988, p. 318.) This approach resonates with a holistic kaupapa Māori epistemological approach, which takes account of the multi-faceted nature of the human experience. The participants interviewed, without exception, always identified themselves with their tribal affiliations, irrespective of whether they lived on their papakainga (tribal estate). Additionally, their tā moko symbolised and carried their identity as tribal beings. Throughout the study and in the analysis of the participant responses in the qualitative interviews, these theoretical approaches provide a platform for analysis that captures the complexity of meanings surrounding tā moko and identity. Identity theories complement the overarching kaupapa Māori paradigm from which all aspects of the research are viewed.

To conclude this chapter, it is crucial to explain why identity theories have been chosen to apply to the research. Due to colonisation and the near extinction of tā moko it is essential that we do not lose any of our cultural insignia, such as tā moko, which celebrates the uniqueness of identity. Interestingly, John Te Rangianiwaniwa Rangihau, who is recognised as a Ngāi

Tūhoe leader and scholar who made a lasting contribution to the cultural and spiritual renaissance of the Māori people argues against the pan-Māori notion of identity:

Each tribe has its own history. And it is not a history that can be shared among others. How can I share with the history of Ngati Porou, of Te Arawa, of Waikato? Because I am not of those people. I am a Tuhoe person, and all I can share in is Tuhoe history...I have a faint suspicion that Māoritanga is a term coined by the Pakeha together. Because if you cannot divide and rule, then for tribal people, all you can do is unite them and rule. Because then they lose everything by losing their tribal histories and traditions that give them their identity (Rangihau 1992, p. 190).

Students using the website will be from many different iwi, and will relate to the concept of tribal identity taking precedence over a pan-Māori one. The outcome will ensure that tribal histories will be documented, and that this aspect of our culture, that represents our identity, will not be lost. All of the participants in the study spoke of their tā moko as links to their whakapapa, either in a tribal, whānau or hāpu related. Although Participant G's tā moko expressed his identity as *takatāpui* (Māori third gender) he, like all of the participants prefaced his explanation with his tribal affiliations. This indicated that in contemporary society tribal identity takes precedence over Māori identity. However, identifying as both as tribal and as Māori appears to be the norm.

## Chapter five: Contemporary tā moko experiences

### 5.1 Research findings from in-depth interviews

Throughout this chapter are screenshots of participants' tā moko with quotes from the interviews as captions. I wanted to address the perception/reality that historically, tā moko was an element of Māori culture that was almost lost (See Rua et al., 1999). The findings from the interviews give credence to the assertion that the contemporary articulation of custom is as authentic and sacred as it has ever been (Gell, 1993). It is evident from the collated interview findings that although the sample is small, tā moko had cultural significance and meaning relating to identity (cultural, social, personal or all) for all the participants.

#### *Theme 1: Current practice of tā moko carries symbolic messages to express history and identity*

This was a recurring theme that was evident in responses to all six questions, apart from a reference to history which was implied rather than stated explicitly. The following excerpts from the interviews demonstrate the importance of history and identity for a wearer of tā moko. There is one exception, participant G, who clearly wanted his tā moko to reflect his identity/role as takatāpui (LGBTQI+). Incorporated into the design were symbols that brought together his past, present and future within his strong role as takatāpui Māori. Tā moko is used to express individuality, as well as group (Dunn, 2011) and Participant G believed his tā moko represented himself as takatāpui, but also his role in the takatāpui community. Participants C and D explained that their tā moko affirmed their identity as parents.



Figure 13: Participant G

*I wanted the korero around my tā moko (behind my ears and neck) to represent me as a takatāpui, as in my female and male side coming together as one – which is how I see myself. I have come to believe I have a strong connection to my feminine side (a female potential).*



Figure 14: Participant C

*I thought about it for years but stopped short of getting it done because I didn't feel I deserved to have it, was entitled to it or had earned it. My wife and my children were my motive. It was their belief and view of me as a husband and father that motivated me to get my tā moko.*



Figure 15: Participant D

*I had been wanting tā moko for a long time, not only as a way of expressing myself as Māori and how proud I am to be Māori, but also as a representation of the two people who mean more to me than anything - my twin daughters.*

References to history were evident in the interviews when the participants related their tā moko to their iwi and/or hapū. One participant made direct references to historical events that were represented in his tā moko. Tā moko as an aspect of Māori culture, is deeply etched in the psyche of Māori cultural beliefs (White 1889; Smith, 1913; Best, 1924; Alpers, 1987) and tā moko derive from the mythological world of our atua (gods). This is evident in Participant E's response, who described the connections that are made between the atua (gods) and her tā moko.

*He (the artist) talked through his drawings and explained each line and specific pieces that relate to our tribe and the land and the sea that we have occupied since the arrival of the waka from Hawaiki. (Participant C).*



Figure 16: Participant E (two photographs)

*With my ears, one has shades of blue depicting the moana (sea); the other has shades of green depicting the whenua (land). They tell the story of the connection (of) my hapū to Papatūānuku and Tangaroa.*

Arguably, all other participants made oblique references to tribal history because tribal identity carries the history of the tribe. Interestingly, some participants expressed the historical significance of their tā moko designs by comparing modern and traditional design features. This explains why a mixture of history and identity theories is crucial for understanding the importance of tā moko today. In early historical literature, Shortland (1851) did not believe that tā moko held any meaning. Regardless of how accurate that is, what is a certainty now, is that tā moko holds meaning today, and tā moko artists still use elements of history in the designs.

*Mark's designs are of a more modern style, more detailed compared to traditional designs. However, the design is recognisably Māori with Ngāti Pōrou and Rongowhakaata symbols. (Participant A).*



Figure 17: Participant F

*I wasn't tattooed using traditional tools that would have been used on my ancestors, like a chisel. It differs in no way, shape or form from those of the past. It still has the 'īwhana' (curve) etc. And also, these parts of the mataora (full-face moko), the pūtaringa (tattoo marks under ear), and so on."*



Figure 18: Participant B

*My design is influenced by my iwi and hapū - that's why I chose my cousin to complete this work, knowing that it would be authentic and specific to Ngāti Hine and Ngāpuhi... woven into my tā moko are the traditional designs of my hapū, including tuna and hinaki along with traditional Ngāpuhi chisel type markings.*

***Theme 2: Tā moko is still authentic and sacred, regardless of the dramatic changes in agency since traditional times***

One of the misconceptions surrounding tā moko today is that tā moko is only authentic if it is done traditionally. The issue with this mindset is that the reasons for receiving a tā moko have changed dramatically. A significant change is in the area of agency and decision making. Traditionally, tā moko was often compulsory, with individuals forced to conform to the standards embraced by the hapū. Now, undertaking tā moko in contemporary Aotearoa is

mainly administered by individual decision (Dunn, 2011) and is possibly more authentic than ever before. ‘Authentic’, in terms of this study, means simply that a tā moko is more than a social transaction, and is in fact, a part of one's identity. Although authenticity was evidenced as a key factor in all the interviews, there were considerable differences in how authenticity was interpreted by each wearer.



Figure 19: Participant A

*For me, my tā moko is authentic because it was done for the right reasons, at the right time, and by the right person. I was fortunate to have my tā moko done by an artist from my own tribe who is a recognised expert in tā moko.*

*I think it's authentically Māori because I understand what it means, I can explain it to anyone who asks, and I also think it's authentic because I believe I got it for good reasons, and not just to look cool (Participant F).*

*For me it will always be authentic as it will always reflect the mana of the man who created it – the tohunga tā moko (Participant C).*

*This is a spiritual way of thinking, but I heard about this woman who wanted to get a moko kauae done and what has happened is she has had to have her kauae done over*

*five times because it keeps fading off. I think that is the biggest sign that it is not your time to get it or something has gone wrong in terms of authenticity. I truly believe because my tā moko have not faded – that is the biggest sign that I have done things the right way. And of course, everything I have said earlier – the process I had to take to get my tā moko makes it both unique and authentic (Participant G).*

Only two participants mentioned karakia (prayer/incantation) as part of the tā moko.

*He did a karakia and I did one by myself and it began (Participant G).*

The point I want to make here, is that the decisions were actually made by both the contemporary artists and the wearer. It is evident from the interviews that all the participants had deep respect for their tā moko artist, who in some ways replaced the tohunga or acted as a contemporary tohunga. Recognition of the tohunga tā moko as an expert in the field and with the appropriate knowledge about tribal histories was a feature of all the interview responses. Te Awekotuku (1997) described the role of the tohunga in the traditional Māori cultural setting where all the design decisions and control of the process were with the tohunga: “At least two art makers – one, the tohunga or accomplished expert, the other an apprentice/assistant – were engaged in the operation...” (p. 109). Without exception, all eight participants in this study relied on or consulted with the contemporary tohunga tā moko/artist on the design.

*Kāore i a au tētehi kupu mō te taha ki ngā tohu o te mataora, kao! Katoa, katoa i waiho atu ki ngā ringa a te kaitā, māna katoa ngā tohu e mau nei au e tā. Me taku whakamihi hakahoki ki te ātaahua o ana mahi.*

*I can't speak too much about the designs, as I left that entire process for the artist to decide and determine the designs I now wear on my face. And I thank him wholeheartedly for his beautiful work (Participant H).*

Participant F described a more collaborative modern approach.

*After explaining to my tā moko artist what I wanted my tā moko to represent, she drew up a brief design and explained the meanings behind the different whakairo that she would be implementing.*

The shift in agency, whereby the recipient has some design choices or confers with the contemporary artist/tohunga is more common today, although it was evident that many of the participants left the entire process to the contemporary artist/tohunga. The shift in agency was also reflected in differences in methods (tools) but ultimately the wairua (spirit) and essence of meaning was retained.

*I sometimes think, although I wasn't tattooed using traditional tools that would have been used on my ancestors, like a chisel, it differs in no way, shape or form from those of the past. It still has the 'tīwhana etc., and also, these parts of the mataora, the rere pēhina and the pūtaringa, and so on. It's not to say that the design determines how Māori one mataora is, whether it's as authentic as those seen in the past, no way! The reasons for why we receive/get tāmoko/mataora nowadays is no different (Participant H).*

***Theme 3: Because of colonisation, it is more important now than ever before, to receive a tā moko to resist any future attempts to diminish it as an aspect of Māori culture and to diminish any misconceptions surrounding moko, including those believed by Māori themselves.***

Two participants were very vocal about the resurgence of tā moko as anti-colonial.

*The survival of our culture for me is tied up to the colonial attitude to takatāpui. I am researching the traditional attitudes towards takatāpui and I think that Victorian attitudes have contaminated our culture. That's why I wanted the kōrero around my tā moko to represent me as a takatāpui as in my female and male side and it coming together as one. I believe that my tā moko challenges colonial attitudes and is an important part of the revitalisation of authentic Māori cultural beliefs (Participant G).*

Participant H argued that

*It is colonised behaviour to make any excuse to not receive facial moko. When Māori put up these types of barriers, we are acting colonised. These barriers stop us from embracing an important and beautiful aspect of our culture.*

He continued to explain that in his view, tribal identity and tā moko are inextricable.

*“Ki te kore ko koe ko Tapuika, ko wai?” From then on, those words really stuck with me, because if I don't show my Tapuikatanga then who will? It's the same with my mataora (full facial moko). Ko taku tā moko, ko au - I am my tā moko and my moko is me... I remembered that in the past, mataora were no rare commodity amongst the Tapuika people, which led to the desire to revitalise the mataora amongst my own people, in the hope that it becomes a signal of life and hope again one day.*

The near extinction of tā moko is an historical fact (King et al., 1972; Simmons, 1989; Nikora et al., 2007; Tikao & Beattie 1990), Surprisingly, the demise of tā moko and particularly mataora (male facial tā moko) began in the early days of colonisation. “The face-tattooing of the men, a practice discouraged by the missionaries but revived in the war days of the sixties, was discontinued long before 1870” (Cowan, 1921, p. 245). It is apparent from the findings from this part of the research that tā moko is making its mark in modern Aotearoa.

*I had been wanting tā moko for a long time, not only as a way of expressing myself as Māori and (but) how proud I am to be Māori (Participant D).*

## Conclusion

The photographs and some quotes from these interviews have been added to the *Gallery of Marked Identities* on the website (Figure 20), as examples of marked identities for students to learn from, and also use as ideas for what they wish to achieve with their own case studies, which will be added to the gallery later.

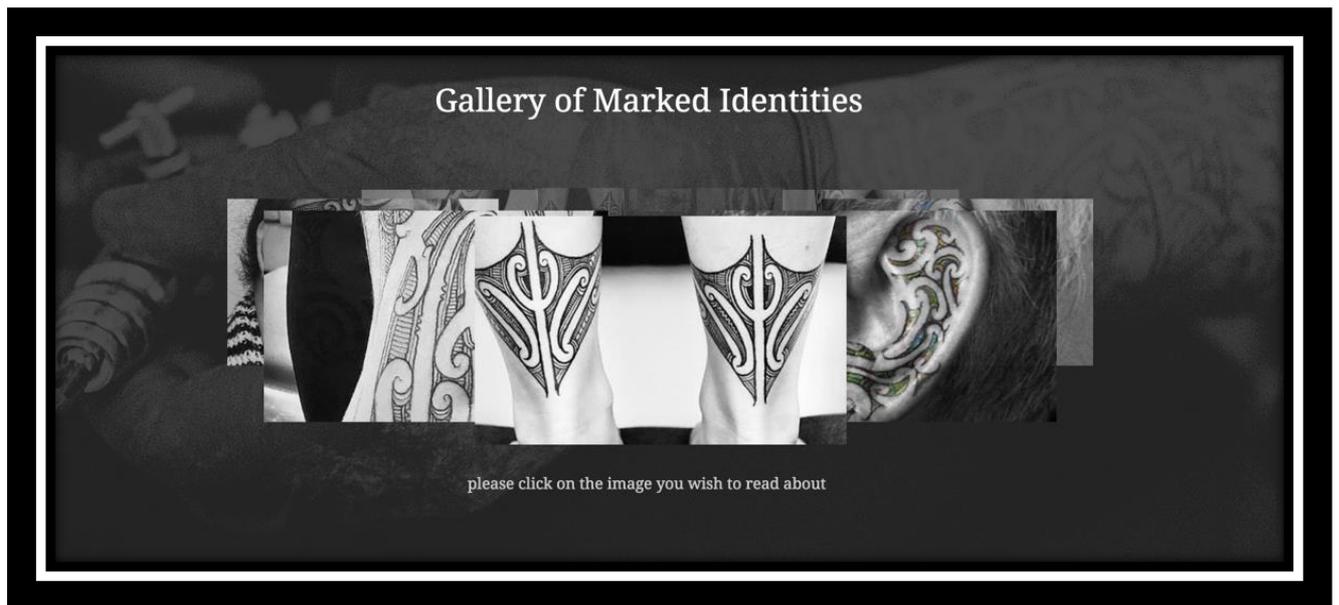


Figure 20: Screenshot: Gallery of tā moko

I hope that the artefact and my findings help students understand that if you identify as Māori, you are more than worthy and deserving of wearing any tā moko (including kauae and mataora). It is an aspect of Māori identity and as Māori you are entitled to it if you even if you are not fluent, even if you are young, and even if you do not actively serve the community, because it is a service to wear tā moko with pride. If it is worn all the time, it becomes normal. When it becomes normal, it can never die.

## Chapter six: Digital tā moko

The purpose of this chapter is to use screenshots to give the full design of the soft copy version of the creative output (the website) and its connection to the rest of the thesis. However, it was decided that the screenshots and a link were not the best way to showcase the beauty of the tā moko that have been captured for this study. A hard copy version of the website will therefore be printed in the form of a book. The aim of the book is to provide a more artistic and visual experience for the examiners. It will include the exact same material as the website, but with a stronger focus on the artistic images, rather than text.

### 6.1 Design of full website

The first page of the website is the home page that includes the menu (Figure 21). Both images are seen more clearly in Figure 22 and Figure 23. The image is of a tā moko artist, and my late uncle David (Moko) Hart, tattooing a mataora.



Figure 21: Screenshot: Homepage with menu



Figure 22: David Hart performing a mataora

*Note:* Copyright (2019) by Adrian Malloch Photography. Reprinted with permission.



Figure 23: Contemporary tools of the trade

*Note:* Copyright (2019) by Adrian Malloch Photography. Reprinted with permission.

The use of David Hart was a deliberate choice, not only because the thesis and study are dedicated to David, but because it the photographs are the perfect representation of contemporary and traditional worlds existing at once. The photographer Adrian Malloch also gave me a photograph of drawings that David constantly referenced when undertaking tā moko (Figure 24).



Figure 24: The drawing that the artist constantly used as a reference.  
 Note: Copyright (2019) by Adrian Malloch Photography. Reprinted with permission.

The whakapapa of deities associated with the origins of tā moko are included in the image (Figure 24) and directly links to the previous discussions about the kaupapa Māori paradigm that frames this work. It shows that David used symbols that represent the ātua Mataora and Niwareka, who are protagonists in the creation story of tā moko (Te Awekotuku, 1997). It should also be noted that the choice to use black and white for every photograph (apart from those whose tā moko had some colour) was also deliberate. Tā moko is after all, an art, and I did not want any colour to distract from the fine lines and intricate details that give tā moko its beauty.

When scrolling down on the home page, a welcome note with some details of the paper and a dedication (Figure 25) can be seen.



Figure 25: Screenshot: Welcome

The first link on the menu directs students to the Paper Information section of the website (Figure 26). This includes an overview of the paper, the learning outcomes, learning on the internet, and other general information. This is a general section of the website, but very necessary.



Figure 26: Screenshot: Paper information

The first assignment, like the first section of the theoretical overview chapter of thesis, is an essay dedicated to the history of tā moko (Figure 27). The assignment is set out almost identically to this chapter. The historical timeframes that students must research are Pre-European/Traditional era, The Early Contact period and the Colonial era.

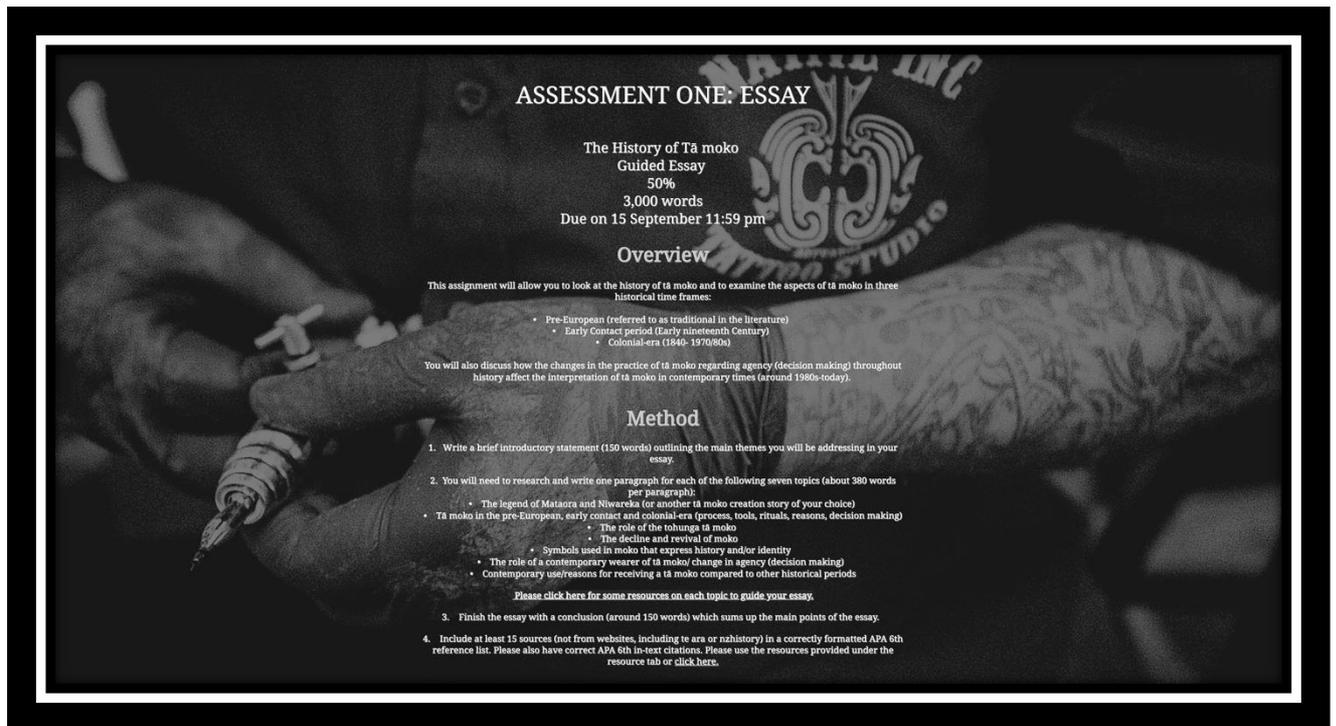


Figure 27: Screenshot: Essay

Perhaps the most transformative aspect of the artefact is the Gallery of Marked identities section of the website. The images that students take for assignment two (Figure 28) and their chosen caption about identity and identity role/s will be added to the gallery. This means that there will be a place where contemporary tā moko is constantly being updated and documented. It may also act as a place where students who have misconceptions surrounding tā moko, or are even deciding to get tā moko, can go to read and understand its beauty, relevance and importance in contemporary society. The most important reason for including the gallery, was to help students begin to understand that tā moko, for so many, is their identity, and this is also why identity theories are so necessary for this study. It is important to note that when an image is selected with a click, it appears larger with a quote from person photographed relating to tā moko and identity (Figure 29).

**ASSESSMENT TWO: CASE STUDY**

50%  
2,000 words, including one photo and caption/quote relating to identity to include in the gallery.  
Due on 21 October before 11:59 pm

**Overview**

This assignment will allow you to explore the links between personal, social and cultural identity and contemporary tā moko.

**Method**

1. You will need a very brief introduction.
2. In the first paragraph, you will need a photograph of at one person's tā moko and you will need to record their answer to the following question:  
*How does tā moko represent your identity?*
3. You will need to write a consent form to give to this person to sign, giving permission for their photo and caption to be included on an educational website, as well as their iwi affiliations. Please look at the gallery here for an example as to what it will look like.
4. For the rest of the case study, you will use your own resources and the resources provided here to answer the following case study question:  
*How do tā moko represent/relate to both history and contemporary ideas around identity?*  
YouTube and online videos are great for this, as well as scholarly articles. If possible, it would be great to focus on the roles people take when they receive their moko. When wearing moko, do they take on the role of an iwi member? family member? or simply a role of a Māori in contemporary society? You can also discuss if there are any links you can make between one's moko and history/the past/traditional society. This is where your first assignment will be useful. Make sure you quote any resources correctly.
5. Your A4 Word Document will include:
  - A title of your choice
  - Your full name and I.D number in the header
  - Your image and caption for the gallery
  - A total of 2,000 words that answers the case study question
  - Include an APA 6th reference list and in-text citations
  - Attach the consent form for image and caption

Figure 28: Screenshot: Assessment two

Ngāti Hine, Ngāpuhi

"With my ears, one has shades of blue depicting the "moana" The other has shades of green depicting the "whenua" These were a gift from David for my 70th. Admittedly I ask for small koru designs because I could not wear earrings. David had other plans. I am so blessed to showcase his mahi. MOE MAI RA E MOKO."

Figure 29: Screenshot: Gallery picture with caption

Finally, to guide students through their study, resources (Figure 30) are provided for both assessments and tutorials (Figure 31) that students can book throughout the course.

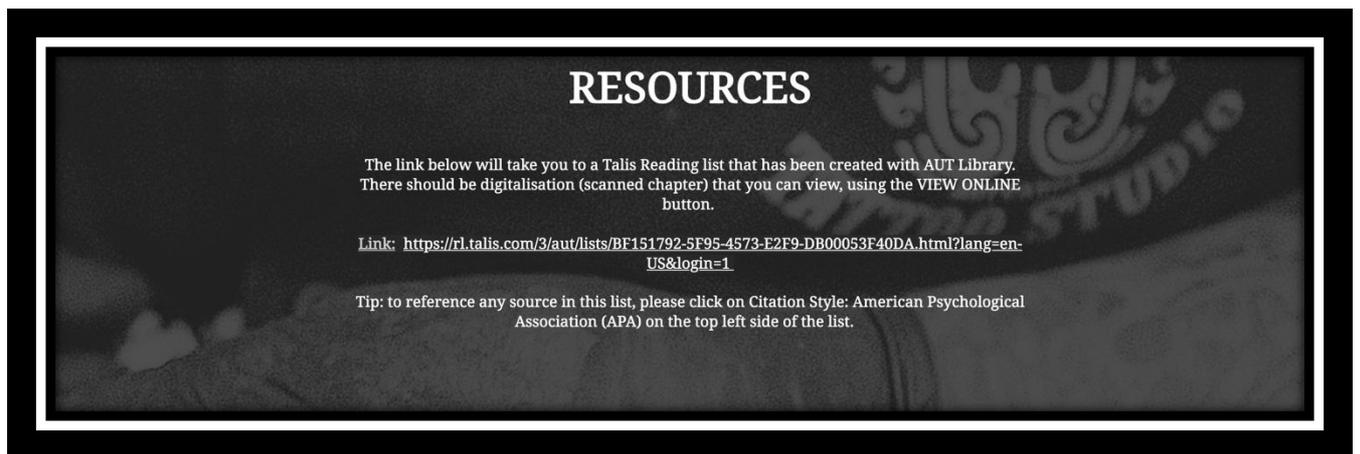


Figure 30: Screenshot: Resources

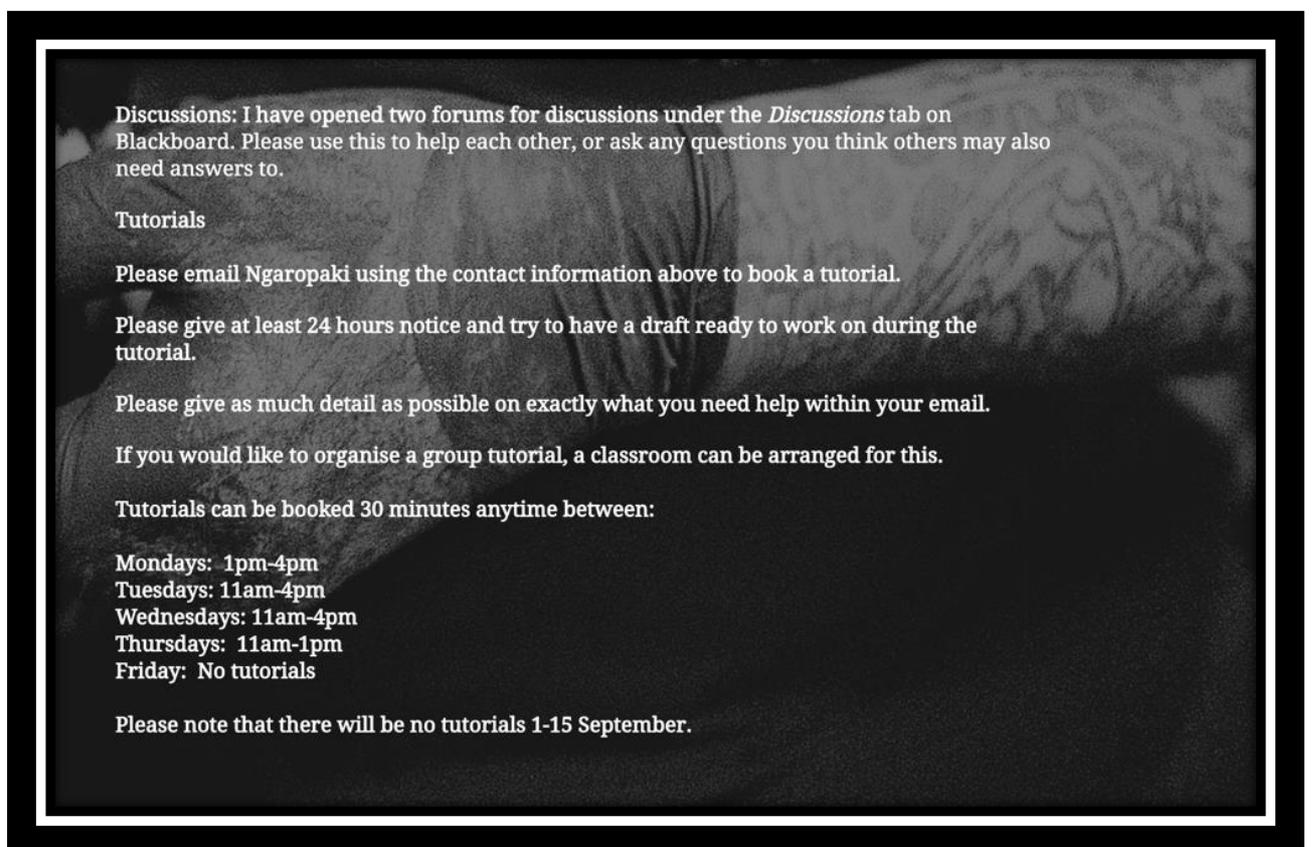


Figure 31: Screenshot: Tutorials

## 6.2 Conclusion

The website was trialled in 2019 to gauge student experiences of the site. Feedback includes the following comments that are strong indicators that the research project is achieving its objectives. As the paper has already been delivered once, it should be noted that students have already responded positively. Below are some of the comments from students, providing evidence that it is transforming and adding to their knowledge of tā moko.

- *Personally, I knew very little about the history of tā moko and tā moko in general so everything that I had learnt through my research was all new to me. I found the legend of Mataora and Niwareka especially interesting.*
- *Previously, I had seen tā moko as a way of showing off cool Māori designs and had no idea about the traditional tā moko and process, neither the difference between a traditional design and kirituhi/contemporary designs.*
- *I definitely learnt a lot about how integral it (tā moko) is to Māori identity.*
- *(The paper) opened up a new world of thinking about an ancient artform for Māori. I felt like I needed a whole year in this paper it was so interesting, I started to grow in confidence and understand things in the last few weeks, which made me want to learn more and discuss more.*

A copy of the SPEQ (student paper experience questionnaire) report for the paper has been included in the Appendices. The success of the paper is a success for Māori, and with hope, more students will continue to honour the past by understanding the connection of identity to tā moko.

## Chapter seven: Conclusion

The approach to this study is multifaceted, and includes a history of tā moko, cognisant of how theories of identity reflect and provide insights into the importance of contemporary moko, viewed through a kaupapa Māori lens. As the study progressed it also became very apparent that contemporary manifestations of Māori identity draw on tūturu Māori (pre-European Māori cultural concepts). Contemporary articulations of tā moko also involve an extent of individual agency that is unprecedented. The link between the theory and the findings from the qualitative interviews is unmistakable and bring together history and identity theory to provide insights into the Māori experience of tā moko in an historical context.

However, it became obvious that the historical research and the identity theory sections needed to be separated so that the differences and similarities between traditional and contemporary tā moko are easily recognised. Excerpts from the interviews are used to illustrate agency and the changes in agency. However, research findings also provided compelling evidence that the forms, symbolism, and historical resonance of contemporary tā moko, while in most cases were based on individual choices, nonetheless expressed traditional notions of Māori identity in a contemporary idiom. It was not difficult to conclude from the findings that tā moko carry symbolic messages that express history and identity. The meanings behind tā moko on all parts of the body gave clarity to the assumption that tā moko represents identity, and provide this message as clearly as do facial tā moko.

There are strong hermeneutic influences throughout the study, which is particularly obvious in the positioning of the researcher, where I affirm my identity as it is expressed through my own tā moko. The design entwines both sides of my tribal whakapapa and identity. A gallery of photographs of participants' tā moko are included on the website to illustrate their personal interpretations of tā moko. I have tried to emphasise the interface between the development of the website as a creative output and the exegesis by linking ideas surrounding history and identity directly to the artefact. I have also included screenshots of the website to explain the full design of the website in depth, as relevant throughout. A booklet that interprets the content and spirit of the website has been produced as part of the creative output.

The manifestation of tā moko is a microcosm of the Māori experience in Aotearoa. It sits within a holistic revitalisation agenda, led by the resurgence of te reo Māori. All of the participants in the study and myself as the researcher, are committed to te reo Māori. Some were fluent speakers, whereas others were learning the reo and were not confident speakers. To them I say,

let your tā moko motivate you to learn te reo. This research demonstrates and supports the idea that wearing tā moko was not contingent on any other factors except an inextricable link to identity. I would argue that a study about this aspect of Māori could not exist without the theoretical and epistemological significance of kaupapa Māori. I was especially mindful of how kaupapa Māori framed the research process, and how it was important to incorporate aspects of kaupapa Māori into the instructions for the students' (i.e. those who use the website) research as well.

It is my hope that my website (artefact) contributes to te ao Māori by becoming a space to learn the history of tā moko, but also, a space to learn that even though tā moko is no longer used as a weapon in wars, it can still, in a small way, be used as a weapon against colonisation. We sometimes need reminding that at one point, like our language, tā moko was nearly taken from us. I have found in my discussions during this study that many believe that you must be of service to your iwi to receive tā moko. To them I say, it is already a service to proudly wear a tā moko, because many of our ancestors were told they could not.

To those who say they are not old enough, I say, is it not better to live more of your years on earth with your tā moko? Many also suppose they are not deserving, or worthy of tā moko. To them I say, you were always worthy, and you always will be. To mark your identity, is to mark yourself something that can never be taken away from you. When we have these doubts, we must always remember the enlightened words of Netana Whakaari:

You may lose your most valuable property...through misfortune in various ways; you may lose your house, your patu pounamu, your wife, and other treasures—you may be robbed of all your most-prized possessions; but of your moko you cannot be deprived except by death; it will be your ornament and your companion until your last day (Cowan, 1921, p. 214).

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## Appendices

### **APPENDIX 1: Link to Website**

Link: [www.auttamoko.com](http://www.auttamoko.com)

## APPENDIX 2: SPEQ Report Semester 1, 2019

SPEQ - Paper Occurrence Report for HIST704/71-A-2019-S1 Ta Moko: Marked Histories and Identities - Online paper

### Paper occurrence/stream SPEQ report for HIST704/71-A-2019-S1 Ta Moko: Marked Histories and Identities - Online paper - S1 2019

This SPEQ report presents feedback for the paper-specific items received from students for the paper occurrence HIST704/71-A-2019-S1 Ta Moko: Marked Histories and Identities - Online paper.

Please [click here](#) for guidance on interpreting/using your report or check the [AUTi SPEQ page](#).

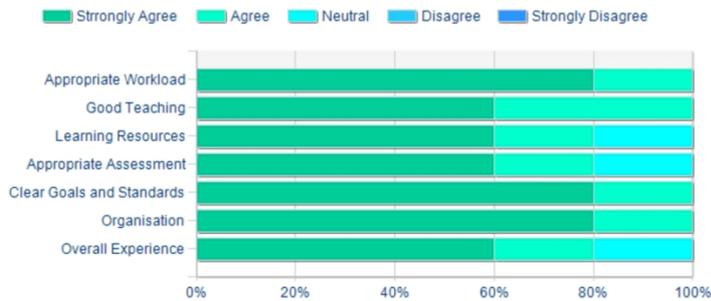
This is the last semester where the Generic Skills question will be a core SPEQ item. In S2 2017 the Generic Skills item will move to the item bank and the question on Organisation included in the custom questions section will become a core SPEQ item. This change has been approved by the Faculty SPEQ representatives.

#### Sample and Response Rate

| Raters         | Students for FO |
|----------------|-----------------|
| Responded      | 5               |
| Invited        | 15              |
| Response Ratio | 33.33%          |

Comments related to specific core and added items can be found in the students' comments section of this report.

#### Paper occurrence/stream ratings - Overview of core questions



**Paper occurrence/stream ratings - Response category breakdown of core questions**

|  | Response Count | Satisfied (SA + A) % | Neutral (%) | Dissatisfied (SD + D) % |
|--|----------------|----------------------|-------------|-------------------------|
| Appropriate Workload<br>(I was generally given enough time to understand the things I had to learn)          | 5              | 100.00 %             | 0.00 %      | 0.00 %                  |
| Good Teaching<br>(The teaching stimulated my interest in learning more about the subject)                    | 5              | 100.00 %             | 0.00 %      | 0.00 %                  |
| Learning Resources<br>(The learning resources in this paper supported my studies)                            | 5              | 80.00 %              | 20.00 %     | 0.00 %                  |
| Appropriate Assessment<br>(The assessments in this paper were a fair measure of my learning)                 | 5              | 80.00 %              | 20.00 %     | 0.00 %                  |
| Clear Goals and Standards<br>(The staff made it clear right from the start what they expected from students) | 5              | 100.00 %             | 0.00 %      | 0.00 %                  |
| Organisation<br>(The paper was well organised and ran smoothly)  | 5              | 100.00 %             | 0.00 %      | 0.00 %                  |
| The paper was well organised and ran smoothly  | 0              | 0.00 %               | 0.00 %      | 0.00 %                  |
| Overall Experience<br>(Overall, I was satisfied with the quality of this paper)                              | 5              | 80.00 %              | 20.00 %     | 0.00 %                  |

**Raw student comments for HIST704/71-A-2019-S1 Ta Moko: Marked Histories and Identities - Online paper**

**Note on how to use students' comments**

This section reports all the verbatim comments provided by students. Students have been assured of confidentiality to encourage feedback. As each comment is the feedback of one student, it may not be a fair representation of the class. Use the qualitative and quantitative comments together to get an impression of how common points raised in the comments may be.

This section contains comments related to core and additional SPEQ questions about the paper. Please note that questions that students did not provide any comments for will not be shown below.

There may be offensive comments on occasion. The system does not currently allow us to remove them while still providing reports in a timely manner; please ignore such comments.

**What were the best aspects of this paper?**

| Comments   |
|--|
| Learning about the history of tā moko and the meaning behind tā moko both historically and in today's contemporary world.  |
| Being able to create and edit a video for assessment 2   |
| Opened up a new world of thinking about an ancient artform for Maori. I felt like I needed a whole year in this paper it was so interesting, I started to grow in confidence and understand things in the last few weeks, which made me want to learn more and discuss more. |

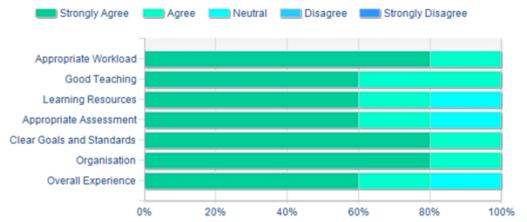
**What aspects of this paper are most in need of improvement?**

| Comments   |
|--|
| There were 2 assignments for this paper and the first one was worth 70% and the other 30%. I believe 70% of your mark is too high for one paper and perhaps it could be reduced to 60% or even 50% for each one as I found both as important as the other. |
| N/a  |
| None. An amazing paper. A field trip would have been awesome to have a visual and tactile experience. Discussion group with other paper students to discuss learning and points of views. Essay writing was challenging at this level.                     |

**Comparative paper ratings for the core questions**

Aggregated data is provided here for comparative purposes. This information should be used with caution as the mix of papers in any one aggregation may not provide an appropriate benchmark.

**All occurrences/streams of HIST704 Ta Moko: Marked Histories and Identities - Overview**



**All occurrences/streams of HIST704 Ta Moko: Marked Histories and Identities - Response Category Breakdown**

| Question                  | % Satisfied | % Neutral | % Dissatisfied |
|---------------------------|-------------|-----------|----------------|
| Appropriate Workload      | 100.00%     | 0.00%     | 0.00%          |
| Good Teaching             | 100.00%     | 0.00%     | 0.00%          |
| Learning Resources        | 80.00%      | 20.00%    | 0.00%          |
| Appropriate Assessment    | 80.00%      | 20.00%    | 0.00%          |
| Clear Goals and Standards | 100.00%     | 0.00%     | 0.00%          |
| Organisation              | 100.00%     | 0.00%     | 0.00%          |
| Overall Experience        | 80.00%      | 20.00%    | 0.00%          |

**Comments on paper ratings (Comments)**

For each paper item, students could leave additional comments about their rating. The following section reports students' comments for each quality indicator surveyed.

|                           |   |
|---------------------------|---|
| Appropriate Workload      | <b>Comment</b><br>-Yes due dates were fair  |
| Good Teaching             | <b>Comment</b><br>-Very much so   |
| Learning Resources        | <b>Comment</b><br>-Yes lots of recommended readings available   |
| Appropriate Assessment    | <b>Comment</b><br>-Agreed   |
| Clear Goals and Standards | <b>Comment</b><br>-Yes lecturer was very clear about expectations   |
| Organisation              | <b>Comment</b><br>-Online paper which was quite clear   |
| Overall Experience        | <b>Comment</b><br>-I found this a very interesting paper and as it's the first year I can see this paper growing.<br>-great balance of media, written, documentaries – awesome!!! |

**Appendix**

Paper Name: HIST704 Ta Moko: Marked Histories and Identities  
 Class: HIST704/71  
 Period Code:  
 Location: City  
 Paper Level: 7  
 Subject Field: 03 - Studies in Human Society

## APPENDIX 3: Ethics Approval Document

23 May 2018

Paul Moon  
Te Ara Poutama

Dear Paul

Re Ethics Application: **18/164 Marked histories and identities: The revival of ta moko as a cultural artefact**

Thank you for providing evidence as requested, which satisfies the points raised by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC).

Your ethics application has been approved for three years until 23 May 2021.

### Standard Conditions of Approval

1. A progress report is due annually on the anniversary of the approval date, using form EA2, which is available online through <http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics>.
2. A final report is due at the expiration of the approval period, or, upon completion of project, using form EA3, which is available online through <http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics>.
3. Any amendments to the project must be approved by AUTEC prior to being implemented. Amendments can be requested using the EA2 form: <http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics>.
4. Any serious or unexpected adverse events must be reported to AUTEC Secretariat as a matter of priority.
5. Any unforeseen events that might affect continued ethical acceptability of the project should also be reported to the AUTEC Secretariat as a matter of priority.

Please quote the application number and title on all future correspondence related to this project.

AUTEC grants ethical approval only. If you require management approval for access for your research from another institution or organisation then you are responsible for obtaining it. You are reminded that it is your responsibility to ensure that the spelling and grammar of documents being provided to participants or external organisations is of a high standard.

For any enquiries, please contact [ethics@aut.ac.nz](mailto:ethics@aut.ac.nz)

Yours sincerely,



Kate O'Connor  
Executive Manager  
**Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee**

Cc: [nhart@aut.ac.nz](mailto:nhart@aut.ac.nz); [hinematau.mcneill@aut.ac.nz](mailto:hinematau.mcneill@aut.ac.nz)