

## アオテアロア・ニュージーランドにおけるマオリ女性のマナ ——テアロハ・ラウントゥリー氏による2講演の記録——

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2018年の晩秋、アオテアロア・ニュージーランドより、マオリ研究者、テアロハ・ラウントゥリー (Te Aroha Rountree) 氏が海外出張の合間を縫って来日した。11月25日 (日) には、日本オセアニア学会の関東地区例会として、お茶の水女子大学にて、「メソジスト教会における女性のマナ：ニュージーランド・メソジスト教会の権威ある地位に座すマオリ女性たち (Mana Wahine: Māori Women in Positions of Authority in Aotearoa/NZ)」という題名のもと、お話頂いた。ディスカッサントとして学会員の棚橋訓先生 (お茶の水女子大学) を迎え、参加者の数は多くなかったものの、専門性高い意見交換がなされた。続く12月5日 (水) には、首都大学東京の特別講義として、「ター・モコ (入墨) と文化の流用：モコ・カウワエ (あごの入墨) は、マオリ女性の権利か、パーケハー (ヨーロッパ人) 女性の特権か? (Tā Moko: Cultural Appropriation. Moko Kauwae: Māori Women's Right, Pākehā Women's Privilege?)」という題名のもと、お話頂いた。公開講義としたために教室は学生でいっぱいとなった。要旨では割愛されているが、ラウントゥリー氏自身がどのように腕や脚に入墨をまとうに至ったか、という経験談を交えて下さったこともあって、学生は非常に熱心に耳を傾け、質疑応答も活発であった。

本稿では、後日ラウントゥリー氏が寄せて下さった2つの講演の要旨を、彼女の許可を得て収録する。その前に、ラウントゥリー氏の紹介と2講演の解説を簡単に行いたい。

テアロハ・ラウントゥリー氏は、私が20代の頃から付き合いのある、家族同然の親友であると同時に、同年代ではあるものの恩師と言っていいほど研究及び生活両面において世話になった人物である。オークランド大学のマオリ・スタディーズ学部にて、故郷ホキアンガ地方のマオリ史研究によりMA (Hons) を得て、現在はオークランドに所在する国内唯一のメソジスト系神学大学 (Trinity Theological College) にて、マオリ・スタディーズの専任教員 (Lecturer in Māori Studies) を務める40代初頭の女性研究者である。彼女はマオリとしては、北島北部を領域とし、最大の部族のひとつである、ンガ・プヒ部族 (Ngā Puhī) の成員である。より厳密には、ホキアンガ地方を領域とするンガイ・トゥテアーウル準部族 (Ngai Tuteāuru) の成員であり、この地域と集団に対して非常に強い帰属意識を持っている。多くのマオリがそうであるように、人生の大半を最大都市オークランドの南部郊外で過ごしてきたが、親の教育方針

もあって、マオリ語のネイティブ・スピーカーであり、自分の部族・準部族に関する歴史や系譜あるいは伝統知識に明るい。また、生まれ持った統率力と寛容力から、親族間のみならず、オークランドの地域コミュニティや準部族、あるいは教会組織や神学大学などでも、若きリーダーを務める人物である。

2つの講演はいずれも、マオリ女性のマナ (mana) すなわち「力」に注目した内容であった。一つ目の講演では、アオテアロアのキリスト教の発展史におけるマオリ女性の活躍を指摘した上で、その位置付けの変化を紐解いている。キリスト教というと、宣教師の到来以降の歴史を植民地化史と軌を一にするものと捉えがちだ。確かに、アオテアロアにおいても当初キリスト教教会は、ヨーロッパ系男性が主導権を握る保守的な組織であった。しかしながら他方、宣教の過程で識字能力を授けるなど、結果的にマオリをエンパワーメントした側面があった。そのため、教会を拠点とするマオリ女性たちが、マオリ女性の地位向上の働きかけや先住民運動などを先導してきたという。その成果もあって、特にメソジスト教会では、1980年代より二文化主義を採用し、組織運営上もマオリ側と非マオリ側を分けて各々の自律性を尊重するという先進的な試みを進めてきており、だからこそラウントゥリー氏が今のようなポストにある。二重の意味で周辺化されがちな存在であるマオリ女性が、外来の宗教を自文化化していくことに連動して、自分たちの地位や権利を獲得していくという歴史が、マオリ女性研究者自身から語られることの意味を考えたい。

二つ目の講演では、マオリの伝統である入墨、とりわけ女性が唇からあごにかけてまとうモコ・カウワエ (moko kauwae) に注目し、昨今の出来事と議論を取り上げて、それがなぜマオリ女性だけに許されるべきなのかについて、論じた。マオリの入墨は、螺旋形や曲線を多用する特徴的なデザインから、今や世界的に有名になっている。本来は、特別な専門家によって高貴な人びとの主に頭部に施され、それをまとったひとのマナを表現する神聖なものとして位置付けられてきた。植民地化の過程で入墨は衰退を余儀なくされたが、1980年代以降、マオリ文化の再活性化いわゆるマオリ・ルネサンスのなかで、再びまとうマオリが増えてきた。その一方で、その歴史や意義を知らぬ文化的他者によって、エキゾチックなファッションとして利用されたり消費されたりするケースが後を絶たないという。ラウントゥリー氏がこの点を批判するにあたって、モコ・カウワエはマオリ文化の脈絡から切り離せるものではなく、マオリ女性がモコ・カウワエをまとうということは、マオリ語能力を始めとしてあらゆるマオリ文化の担い手として責任を負うことである、という指摘は刺激的だ。私なりに換言するならば、ひとがモコ・カウワエを選び自らに合うように変えるのではなく、モコ・カウワエがひとを選び自らに合うように変えるという側面がある、ということになる。だからこそ、マオリの伝統としての入墨は、マオリ以外にも開かれたものとして存在しえない。グローバル化が進む現在、文化の流用やハイブリッド化を既定路線として肯定する風潮があろうが、だからこそ彼女らの主張を重く受け取りたい。

## 【講演その I】

### Mana Wahine: Māori Women in Positions of Authority in Aotearoa/NZ

*Kia hora te marino*

*Kia whakapapa pounamu te moana*

*Hei huarahi mā tātou i te rangi nei*

*Aroha atu, aroha mai*

*Tātou i a tātou katoa*

*Hui e! Taiki e!*<sup>1)</sup>

*May peace be abundant*

*May the sea glisten like greenstone*

*May it be as a pathway for us this day*

*Let us give and receive love (compassion)*

*Let us show respect for one another*

This essay is entitled 'Mana Wahine', and in this instance simply refers to Māori women's authority. The phrase is often used to affirm the role of Māori women in tribal and societal leadership contexts. The 'mana' of Māori women both inherited and earned is acknowledged in the contributions they make economically, socially, politically and spiritually to the tribe and community. This title speaks directly of the recognized power and authority of Māori women to exercise leadership both in traditional and contemporary Māori society. This essay also gives significant emphasis to Māori women's roles within 'Te Haahi Weteriana o Aotearoa,' Methodist Church of New Zealand.

The Christian tradition from which the Methodist Church of New Zealand is derived, can be broadly defined as a Christ-based tradition, with an emphasis on the life, death and resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth. The Methodist tradition is a distinctively Protestant institution that was born out of the Church of England in the early eighteenth century. The founders of the Methodist movement were the Wesley brothers, Charles and John, who out of discontent for the exclusivity of the Church of England, sought to make Christianity and ultimately salvation accessible to all, including the poor and marginalized of society. The Methodist tradition is often focused on the philosophy of Christianity as both a 'social and personal religion'. This extends the responsibility of religion to the care and compassion of the surrounding community, environment and society in which it is established. While we are as

individuals encouraged to seek a personal relationship with God it is also our collective duty or responsibility to offer support to our communities and to advocate for justice in all forms.

The Wesleyan Missionary society arrived in Aotearoa, New Zealand in 1822 with the missionary Samuel Leigh, upon the suggestion of Reverend Samuel Marsden, of the Church Missionary Society. Marsden, who had been in New Zealand since 1814, encouraged Leigh to establish the first Wesleyan Mission to Māori. The Wesleydale Mission to Kaero, Whangaroa was short-lived and after retreating to New South Wales, Australia in 1827, the Wesleyans returned once again in 1828. The second Wesleyan mission was established in Mangungu, Hokianga upon the invitation of Patuone (Ngā Puhi Chief). Between 1822 and 1845 there were a further thirteen Wesleyan Mission stations established throughout New Zealand.

The impacts of a war-weary people had begun to show within Māori tribes and the threat of being conquered by a neighbouring tribe had also begun to dissipate. The influence of Pākehā (White) Missionaries cannot be understated in regard to the increase in Māori conversions to Christianity which was at its height during the 1830s. This was partly attributed to the improved efficiency of the Missions and also the strong desire of Māori for literacy. The spread of the Gospel to the regions was, despite the omission in the historiography of Christianity in New Zealand, in its inception accredited to the work of early Māori converts. Some of whom were captives of warfare who had been educated in the Missions and upon their release, returned to their tribes and began to preach the Gospel among their people. This occurred much to the surprise of Pākehā Missionaries who arrived to find people familiar with the Gospel and the teachings of the Bible. The early relationships between Māori and the Missionaries were also influential in the development of Māori social and political assertion, particularly in the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (The Treaty of Waitangi) 1840<sup>2)</sup> and Māori conversion to Christianity. The Methodist Church of New Zealand was in its founding years largely organized and managed by Pākehā and Māori were not able to hold positions of significance in the church. All manner of governance, structure and function of the church was carried out by Pākehā male Presbyters.<sup>3)</sup>

The establishment of the Maori Home Missionaries was a step towards Māori autonomy within the church. Māori were educated in mission schools and later church initiatives included an institute for the training of Māori ministers, however the Home Missionaries were still very much under the auspices of the Pākehā who continued to act as Superintendents for Māori Home Missioners. By 1845, there was an estimated Māori population of 80,000, of which 16,000 were recorded as having attended Methodist services regularly enough to be registered members of a Parish. In the same year the Wesleyan Native Institution was established in Auckland, for the purposes of training Māori teachers and preachers.

In the 1980s there was significant social and political upheaval within Māori society.

The development of the modern-day church has come a long way from the days of Pākehā patriarchy. By 1983 modern Methodism was pioneering the development of a truly Bicultural Church. The 1983 Conference recognized the inequality for Māori within both society and church. The Church responded to that inequality with the decision to begin a Bicultural Journey. A journey based on power-sharing and treaty partnership relationships expressed through the establishment of Tauīwi and Te Taha Māori sections of the church. The governance and structures were developed as an expression of and commitment to our bicultural church. The governing processes allow for consensus decision-making between the bicultural partners, rather than a majority rules process that automatically disadvantages minority groups within the church.

There have been many women at the forefront of significant changes within Aotearoa society including pioneering Suffragist, Meri Te Tai Mangakahia from Te Rarawa and Panguru, Hokianga. Meri was educated in St Mary's convent in Auckland and became an accomplished pianist. In 1893 Meri addressed Kotahitanga (Māori Parliament) to speak for Māori women's right to vote and to be elected members of Te Kotahitanga, a previously male-only institution. The activist Dame Whina Cooper, also of Te Rarawa and Panguru, Hokianga was instrumental in the formation of Te Roopu Wahine Māori Toko i te Ora (the Māori Women's Welfare League) and served as President of the league in 1951-57. The League was established to support the social and economic well-being of Māori women and their children post World War Two. It continues to work for improving the quality of life for Māori. Whina (and others) initiated the 1975 Land March, walking the length of the North Island to protest the continued loss of tribal lands and the lack of redress of Māori grievances which sparked the socio-political movements of 'Tino Rangatiratanga' popular in the 1970s and 80s. The longest reigning Māori monarch, Te Arikunui, Dame Te Atairangikaahu was an influential diplomat and ambassador for Māori and Aotearoa. Piki as she was affectionately known to her whanau (family) from Waahi Pa, Ngaruawahia, was mentored by her Great-Aunt Princess Te Puea Herangi into the role of head of the Kingitanga (monarchy). Te Puea herself was an advocate for Māori rights and during her time as matriarch of the Kingitanga, encouraged against and actively opposed conscription saying her people would return worse off than when they left. Just as Māori women were responding to the needs of our iwi (tribal groups), many were also responding to in service to the various churches, including Te Haahi Weteriana o Aotearoa (Methodist Church of New Zealand). The church was largely a patriarchal institution and for many years women were not permitted to candidate for ordained ministry. As soon as women in ministry had children and families, they were required to leave their ministries to care for their children a policy not applied to men who had families while serving the church. Wahine Māori (Māori women) entered into ministry largely as Deaconesses who provided pastoral

care and worship in small rural communities. However, over time Māori women have taken up prominent positions within the church serving on governance and management boards and committees, including national and ecumenical bodies. Currently, the Tumuaki (Head of Māori Division), the Lecturer in Māori Studies (Trinity College) and various other positions are held by women, who have both mentored and been mentored by Wahine Māori. “Ko te Amorangi ki mua, ko te Hapai o muri” (The emblem of God in front, the food bearers to the rear)<sup>4)</sup>.



写真 2018年12月5日の首都大学東京における特別講義の様子

## 【講演そのⅡ】

Tā Moko: Cultural Appropriation

Moko Kauwae: Māori women's right, Pākehā women's privilege?

*Tā moko . . . .*

*to stretch the skin in preparation,*

*to incise and chisel into the skin,*

*to open the wound and deposit the soot and clay and red ochre,*

*to clean the blood spilling from the swollen skin,*

*to listen to the karakia (chanted prayer) to ease the suffering,*

*to sing mōteatea (songs) to distract from the pain,  
to recount the whakapapa (genealogy) of generations passed,  
to recall the kōrero o neherā (oral narratives) of the ancient ones,  
to bear the marks of our tūpuna (ancestors) as our birthright,  
This is Tā moko!*<sup>5)</sup>

This essay explores the subject of Tā moko (Māori skin markings) both traditional and contemporary. The essay will also focus specifically on the current context of Moko kauwae (chin markings) and what I have entitled, a Māori women's right and a Pākehā (White) women's privilege. The phrase 'ta moko' is derived from the sound of the wooden instrument being tapped against the uhi (chisel) as it etches a design into the skin drawing blood and creating crevices in the skin where the black ink will later be laid to give shape to an age-old practice of marking the skin. Just as a carver might carve out a design in a wooden log, so too does the tohunga tā moko (artist) carve a design into the skin.

*"Because the head the most sacred part of the body was touched and blood spilt,  
the whole ceremony was tapu  
The tip of a birdbone chisel dipped into sooty black pigment  
Tapped by a beater to the sound of songs created to soothe  
The painful process of creating moko so don't use that word tattoo."*<sup>6)</sup>

The tradition of tā moko belongs to Ruaumoko, the youngest of the children of Ranginui and Papatūānuku, and his descendants, Uetonga and his son-in-law Mataora. The oral traditions of tā moko tell of the rangatira (leader) Mataora and his wife Niwareka, a tūrehu (super-natural being) from Rarohenga (underworld)<sup>7)</sup>. It is said that when Mataora struck Niwareka across her face, she fled and returned to Rarohenga, to her father, Uetonga. Mataora in his shame and indignity went in search of his wife, in the hopes of redeeming himself. When he arrived in Rarohenga he was met by Uetonga, who was a renowned tohunga tā moko. Mataora was captivated by Uetonga's work, in his world tā moko wasn't permanent he had never encountered this before and Uetonga convinced him to undergo the process. Mataora cried out in pain and agony as his skin was etched and chiselled and reshaped, he called for Niwareka, who having witnessed the anguish on his swollen face forgave his transgression and returned home with him. It is said that Mataora took the tradition of tā moko to his people and established a Whare Tuahi (House of learning) to preserve the customs and practices of tā moko. The tradition of tā moko in Aotearoa has been removed from the Whare Tuahi and has been redefined by contemporary Māori society, consumerism, and global appropriation of



culture. The once life-affirming Whare Tuahi, has been replaced by dark and foreboding tattoo parlors, back-alley workshops or make-shift garages and sheds. The finely fashioned uhi have been made obsolete by the convenience of electric tattoo guns. The difficulty of sourcing soot, clay and red ochre has made synthetic inks of every colour in the rainbow an easy substitute. Only a rare few of the old tohunga tā moko still remain, those who retain the practice of tā (to tap or chisel) and the cultural wisdoms that accompany the tapu (sacredness) of tā moko.

*“Women received kauae or chin moko*

*Some copied their mothers or grandmothers*

*Others allowed the artist to express their own creativity*

*The moko indicated genealogy, rank, accomplishment*

*It represented masculinity, beauty, warriorhood, identity*

*So don't use that word tattoo.”<sup>8)</sup>*

In contemporary Aotearoa, moko has undergone a reclamation process of sorts. The academic and political debates around moko and those who wear them, raise significant issues for Māori including intellectual property, tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) and whakapapa (genealogy). The moko today has also become a symbol of resistance against colonial dominance and reclamation of cultural identity. Moko are a visible and outward expression of te ao Māori (Māori world), past, present and future. Moko has also become a permanent part of New Zealand's popular culture and as a result has come under scrutiny from those who have misconceptions about the tradition. Moko has often been the subject of misunderstanding and those who bear the facial markings have been stereotyped as gang members or criminals, or alternatively they have been held to a higher standard as exponents of te reo Māori (Māori language) and tikanga Māori (Māori customs and traditions).

The Human Rights Commission has dealt with many cases of discrimination involving wearers of moko. Kay Robin who in 2001 was refused entry to a bar that did not accept patrons with facial or offensive tattoos. Mark Kopua (tā moko artist) in 2009 was refused entry to the Bourbon Bar in Christchurch on the basis that they did not accept patrons with gang tattoos. There have been several cases of Māori being refused employment opportunities because of their moko, but perhaps one of the most interesting is the long-held policy of Air New Zealand, that staff must comply with uniform standards which declares body art (tattoos, tā moko) must not be visible. Claire Nathan in 2013 and Sydney Heremaia in 2019 were both excluded from potential employment because of their moko and tātau (Samoan skin markings). The issue of Air New Zealand's policy is made more controversial when Māori motifs and designs are then used on the planes, company merchandise and flight crew uniforms, and when sports



athletes with moko are used to promote the company in marketing and advertising campaigns. Associate Professor<sup>9)</sup>, Leonie Pihama comments, “Air NZ believes it has the right to use the koru (spiral motif) as its branding, to promote itself, to describe its uniform – but it will not employ someone who wears on their skin the symbols of our tupuna (ancestors) and our ancestral connection.”<sup>10)</sup>

This discussion and dialogue about moko reaches into every sphere of New Zealand society and comes with varied levels of expectation. For many people, including Māori the perception that moko is to be earned and those who wear moko are to be drug and alcohol free, to be fluent in te reo Māori, to understand and practice tikanga Māori are just some of the many perspectives that limit and often define the nature of mau moko (wearing moko). Mohi Rua conducted a study (2003) of contemporary wearers of moko and analysed their experiences stating, “Their moko represented ‘cultural fluency’. Resonating pre-colonial and resistance representations, wearers felt and experienced heavy pressure to be fluent speakers of Māori, competent ritualists, and reservoirs of traditional knowledge.”<sup>11)</sup> In contemporary Māori society the debates rage on about who can wear tā moko and why. New Zealand athletes, rugby and league players, kapahaka (art and dance) performers and musicians among others, proudly sport their tā moko as symbols of their identity and nationhood. Others wear kirituhi (ornamental tattoo) designed to appeal to the passing tourist looking for a permanent souvenir or the patriotic kiwi<sup>12)</sup> heading overseas.

Moana Maniapoto understands the appeal of tā moko and has witnessed the appropriation of it on a global scale. She recalls many occasions where she has encountered the demands of the consumer that have often motivated the appropriation of Māori culture and have reduced moko to a commodity. Maniapoto writes; “The makers of The Mark of Kri were looking for a new way to sell their next game featuring a warrior, and they thought that moko made their character look way more ‘authentic’: . . . There was a heavily pierced white guy strolling along the cobbled streets of Venice with a moko kauwae or kauae, I thought briefly about telling him he had it all wrong, but decided to have a another wine instead.”<sup>13)</sup> Māori women in every field and discipline can be found wearing moko kauwae and generations of both young and old are sporting moko as symbols of pride, resistance and whakapapa. Over many generations the moko kauwae has been through battles and wars, it has been a source of strength and struggle for Māori women both in wider Aotearoa (New Zealand) and globally. The moko kauwae is to wāhine Māori (Māori women) a visible symbol of our whanau (family), hapu (tribal group) and iwi (tribal group). The moko kauwae debate has in recent years been overwhelmed by the rhetoric of worthiness, preparedness and outright Māoriness. The pre-requisites to wear moko kauwae appear to include your worth or status within the whanau, hapu and iwi, your attainment of fluency in te reo me ngā tikanga (Māori

language and customs), and even your capacity to simply appear to be Māori enough. Pihama challenges every single notion that demands pre-requisites of wāhine Māori to wear moko kauwae, stating clearly and definitively, “It is our right as wāhine Māori to wear moko kauwae and it is our decision to make.”<sup>14)</sup>

*“I wear my pride upon my Skin  
My pride has always been within  
I wear my strength upon my Face  
Come from another time and Place.”<sup>15)</sup>*

There have been many examples from around the world of the cultural appropriation of moko and particularly moko kauwae. From the fashion faux pas by Jean Paul Gaultier in 2007 and Marie Claire in 2014, to the marketing of tractors, roller derby, and energy drinks cultural appropriation of moko continues to manifest itself. However, perhaps more disconcerting is the cultural appropriation that happens right here in our own backyard of Aotearoa. Sally Anderson, a Pākehā woman and Life Coach married to a Māori man who wears mataora (facial moko), recently received her moko kauwae. The public response was varied and unpredictable, wāhine Māori who offered comment however seemed unanimous in their opposition. Leonie Pihama led the charge making her stance clear,

“I use the word ‘privilege’ deliberately as it reminds us that any Pākehā women seeking to or wearing moko kauwae do not do so as a right, they do so as a privilege. Moko kauwae is the right of Māori women. It is not the right for anyone else. Moko kauwae is the assertion of an indigenous right that has been marginalised, demeaned and denied by Pākehā colonial dominance. It is not a right for Pākehā women. The resurgence of moko kauwae is a resurgence of Mana Wahine. It is not a resurgence for Pākehā women.”<sup>16)</sup>

Pihama made comment on Anderson’s desire to wear moko kauwae identifying what she believes is nothing more than the entitlement of a Pākehā woman, “The desire to take moko kauwae is justified not on whakapapa, not on mana wahine, not on any aspirations for tino rangatiratanga, or mana motuhake or cultural resurgence. Rather the reasoning is about self-transformation as a Pākehā woman who believes she should be a ‘black’ woman, and a sense of self entitlement.”<sup>17)</sup> There was a brutal response from the New Zealand public particularly on social media. Māori women who were critical of Anderson receiving a moko kauwae were vilified and condemned as racists for not supporting a non-Māori sense of entitlement. However, as Pihama states the issues of cultural appropriation are beyond this one Pākehā

woman and are indicative of a more systemic issue of dominance that continues to perpetuate colonisation, white supremacy and privilege. For those on the periphery of this debate it is easy to protest the injustice of non-Māori not being given the right to appropriate Māori culture, as I write it I hope that it is read and heard as it is intended, to evoke informed debate. The taonga<sup>18)</sup> of moko kauwae like all aspects of Māori culture are the product of our society, both traditional and contemporary. The globalisation of indigenous culture has raised issues of cultural appropriation and questions the rights of indigenous people to our own wisdoms and intellectual property. It is both our right and obligation as wāhine Māori to continue to protect moko kauwae as a taonga for new generations of Māori women to wear when and if they choose with no ill-conceived notions of worthiness. An unconditional birthright determined by our whakapapa, not dictated by colonial ideologies and epistemologies.

## Annotations

- 1) The author of this whakatauki (proverbial saying) as I understand is Rangawhenua a prophet of Ngāti Pahere and Ngāti Maniapoto descent, Te Koura Putaroa Marae, Taumarunui, Aotearoa, NZ.
- 2) Te Tiriti o Waitangi 1840 was an agreement between the Crown representatives and Confederated Tribes of New Zealand that allowed for the continuation of Māori values, ways of life, cultural beliefs and retention of tribal lands and resources while making space for European settlement in Aotearoa, New Zealand.
- 3) Ordained ministers, most often stationed to a particular Parish.
- 4) The whakatauki (proverbial saying), is in reference to those who are considered to be tapu (sacred, set apart), those who have reached the pinnacle within the wānanga (traditional learning institutions) and those who remain noa (profane), those who continue with their learning.
- 5) This was a spoken-word piece composed by myself (Te Aroha Rountree), for this essay as an expression of Māori skin markings, entitled *This is Tā moko*.
- 6) Maniapoto, Spoken-word song, *Moko*, in "Of your moko you cannot be deprived."
- 7) According to a Māori world view, Ranginui (Sky Father) and Papatūānuku (Earth Mother) were the primordial parents who bore many children including Ruaumoko, who was in the womb during the separation of his parents and made his presence known through earthquakes and volcanoes.
- 8) Maniapoto, Spoken-word song, *Moko*, in "Of your moko you cannot be deprived."
- 9) Pihama was previously the Director for Te Kotahi Research Institute at the University of Waikato, and an Associate Professor in Education at the University of Auckland.
- 10) Pihama, "We are not your brand: Why Air New Zealand's tā moko ban must end."
- 11) Nikora, Rua and Te Awakotuku, "Renewal and Resistance: Moko in Contemporary New Zealand," 480.
- 12) Colloquial term for New Zealander, or the native bird of Aotearoa.
- 13) Maniapoto, Spoken-word song, *Moko*, in "Of your moko you cannot be deprived."
- 14) Pihama, "Moko Kauae is the right of all Māori women. It is not the right for anyone else."
- 15) Maniapoto, Spoken-word song, *Moko*, in "Of your moko you cannot be deprived."
- 16) Pihama, "Moko Kauae is the right of all Māori women. It is not the right for anyone else."
- 17) Ibid.
- 18) Something of value, cherished, prized or treasured.

## Reference List

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