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Cultural Appropriation and Cook Island Visual Identity

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Degree of Master of Computer Graphic Design at the University of Waikato.

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I began this journey with the aim of reaffirming my identity as a Cook Islander. This was initiated by the loss of my grandfather, Maka Kea who was the foundation of our family. For our family, my grandfather was the epitome of Cook Island culture and, our visual link to our culture. His contributions as a grandfather, father and mentor instilled many cultural beliefs in the formation of our identities. I must also acknowledge my late grandmother, Elizabeth Kea, a *taunga* of tivaevae design. Although her presence left many years ago, the memory of her has never faded. This research is dedicated to them both, whose presence and contributions embodied Cook Island culture.

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ABSTRACT

The issues surrounding appropriation leads this study to investigate if cultural appropriation is detrimental to Cook Island culture. The research focuses on Cook Island culture with the aim of identifying if appropriation occurs and if it leads to loss of Cook Island visual identity. Furthermore, the research considers the references utilised by Cook Island young adults with the aim of identifying the associations made with their visual identity. This extends to consider if Cook Island young adults have stronger associations with brands who appropriate Cook Island designs to their own culture. Thus, giving thought to consider if the influence of cultural primes utilised by foreign agencies generate a loss of identity within the youth culture of the Cook Islands, and ultimately generate a loss of cultural identity for future generations.

However, the limitations of this research and lack of literature, hindered the ability to substantiate if cultural appropriation leads to loss of Cook Island visual identity. Nonetheless, the research did provide recognition of the issues faced by the Cook Islands regarding cultural appropriation, identifying its ability to afford the same protection of its cultural forms as provided to those within Western society, are hindered due to the nature of its arts and culture. Furthermore, the research acknowledges the difficulty surrounding the identification of motifs considered to be distinct to the Cook Islands is predicated upon motifs generalised as Polynesian. The research also provided insight into the cues utilised by Cook Island young adults in the formation of their visual identity and, acknowledges the existence of brands utilising cultural forms as references utilised for representations of their visual identity.

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GLOSSARY

Ei	Necklace made of flowers
Etu	Star
Kaute	Hibiscus
Mana	Ideology, power, tribal authority
Maoritanga	Native history
Oora	Presentation of gifts
Pareu	Cook Island wrap or sarong
Rau	Leaf
Tapa	Cloth made from bark
Tatau	1. Tattoo 2. Presentation of scriptures from the Cook Island bible
Ta-tatau	The practice of tattooing
Teve	Species of wild arrowroot
Tivaevae	Cook Island quilt
Tivaevae taorei	Cook Island patchwork quilt
Tivaevae manu	Cook Island quilt cut from fabric folded four or eight times
Tivaevae tataura	Cook Island quilt made from fabric of various sizes and colour
Tivaevae tuitui tataura	Cook Island quilt made from intricate embroidery
Ukelele	Small guitar
Uto	Young coconut tree

1. INTRODUCTION

Cultural appropriation is a controversial topic as it is viewed as taking cultural forms from one culture for use by members of another. This leads one to question if cultural appropriation can have detrimental effects on the identity of indigenous cultures. This study investigates the appropriation of Cook Island designs for the purpose of determining if its effects on Cook Island young adults can lead to the loss of Cook Island identity. The research investigates four key areas; the Cook Islands; cultural appropriation; appropriation of Cook Island designs and; young adults' visual identity. The research also considers brands, within young adults' visual identity in Chapter Two and, Cook Island visual identity in Chapter Four.

This research intends to generate awareness amongst Cook Island society regarding the issues of appropriation of its cultural forms and, Cook Island young adult identity. The objective is to enable Cook Island society to consider options of protecting their cultural forms and, encourage promotion to strengthen cultural association by Cook Island young adults with their visual identity. This can also be extended to other indigenous cultures who face similar issues with appropriation and possibilities of loss of visual identity. The research is also intended to be considered by graphic designers and other creatives who appropriate cultural forms from indigenous cultures with the aim of providing some insight into the sensitivity regarding cultural identity.

The literature investigates the Cook Islands from a Western perspective while considering post-colonialism. Post colonialism questions imperial and colonial experiences to consider the experiences of indigenous cultures and the effects of colonial history on them "Postcolonial histories include the perspectives of the colonized and often revise the understanding of their experiences" (Green & Troup, 1999, p.279). Although this investigation intended to draw from literature which considered Cook Island culture from post-colonial perspectives, the limitations of this predicated upon lack of literature pertaining to the appropriation of Cook Island designs and visual identity. Therefore, the

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research considers both indigenous and colonial sources to provide a more astute and conclusive interpretation of the literature. Literature pertaining to the traditions, visual arts and practices of Cook Island society was addressed by both perspectives. Colonial perspective was considered in relation to cultural appropriation and young adult visual identity.

Chapter Two begins with the exploration of Cook Island history, religion, culture and identity. This is to provide an awareness of life and customs practised by Cook Island society and, to understand how their culture influences their identity while considering the significance of their cultural forms. The literature will also consider the significance of Christianity introduced in the early 19th century to determine the effects of colonisation and understand what contributions European society made to the Cook Islands. This relates to the fusion of European and Cook Island ideals which developed into a hybrid culture. The research of Cook Island cultural forms extends to consider two predominant disciplines of Cook Island arts and crafts, one practiced pre-European settlement, the other introduced with the colonisation of early European settlers. The aim is to identify the cultural significance of these visual arts and roles as representation of Cook Island visual identity.

Chapter Two will consider cultural appropriation for the purpose of providing clarification of its different applications and insight into acts of cultural appropriation considered less offensive to indigenous cultures. The research will extend to consider the implications surrounding the ownership of cultural arts by reflecting on the Westernised framework of intellectual property and authenticity. This extends to identify the issues faced by indigenous cultures whose works do not fit within the framework provided by Western society.

Furthermore, Chapter Two considers the appropriation of art forms belonging to other indigenous cultures similar to Cook Island arts. The research extends to

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highlight Cook Island society's resurgence in its cultural forms while providing an overview of the methods taken by some to protect their arts from appropriation.

Chapter Two also considers the visual identity of the young adult. The research addresses the period of most exploration with identity and considers the forms of representation for their visual identity. The literature also considers the link of brands to young adults' visual identity and, how brands seek to strengthen relationships with young adults by appropriating their cultural forms.

Due to the lack of literature pertaining to Cook Island motifs, new research is conducted in Chapter Three. Chapter Three investigates Cook Island motifs used in Cook Island *tivaevae*¹ in the aim of affirming the motifs validity as representations of Cook Island visual identity and substantiate what motifs are most commonly used in Cook Island arts. The limitations of this research hinders the capabilities of claiming the motifs identified as specific to the Cook Islands. However, the study extends to investigate Cook Island and Polynesian *tivaevae* in order to affirm *tivaevae* designs distinctive to the Cook Islands and substantiate differentiation to other Polynesian cultures.

The research conducted in Chapter Four was initiated by a lack of literature regarding Cook Island young adult visual identity and their perceptions of appropriation of Cook Island cultural forms. The investigation of Cook Island young adult identity aims to identify the representations of their visual identity and, affirm if Cook Island cultural forms are utilised. Furthermore, Chapter Four addresses Cook Island young adults' consideration of cultural appropriation in order to identify if Cook Island young adults have stronger affiliations with brands or with their culture. The research also examines appropriation of Cook Island cultural forms.

1 Cook Island quilt

INTRODUCTION

Furthermore, Chapter Four investigates the attitudes of Cook Island young adults to determine whether appropriation is viewed as beneficial to Cook Island culture or, if it is perceived as an affront to their culture.

Chapter Five provides an overview of the literature in Chapter Two and the findings of research in Chapters Three and Four. The aim is to clarify the visual identity of Cook Island young adults and to acknowledge acts of appropriation of Cook Island culture. However, due to the limitations of some areas in the research, it was not possible to clarify the appropriation of specific Cook Island motifs. Therefore, the research considered the attitude of appropriation from the viewpoint of Cook Island young adults in the aim to provide awareness of its occurrence and, consider its function within Cook Island society.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The investigation into Cook Island culture and identity reflects on the traditions and customs practiced pre-colonisation, identifying the effects of colonisation by early European settlers and the introduction of Christianity in the early 19th century. It looks closely at two disciplines of Cook Island arts and crafts to understand how cultural products were vested with meaning and value, and how these products are viewed as identification markers for the inhabitants of the individual islands and outer Polynesian cultures.

The literature will also consider cultural appropriation, beginning with its correlation to intellectual property and the definitions of cultural appropriation within differing disciplines. The literature will extend to identify various forms and applications of cultural appropriation and, highlight interpretations of authenticity from colonial and indigenous perspectives. The intent is to identify the complexities surrounding ownership of cultural products and identify the possible harm generated by cultural appropriation.

Furthermore, the literature will consider the interest by Cook Island people in reaffirming their identity and the methods they employ to protect their cultural forms, in particular with *ta-tatau*² and *tivaevae*. As there is little research regarding the appropriation of Cook Island cultural forms, the literature will consider acts of appropriation of cultural forms belonging to other indigenous cultures. The intent is to provide insight into how the issues faced by other indigenous cultures regarding cultural appropriation can be experienced by the Cook Islands.

The literature will also examine what visual forms are utilised by young adults as expressions of their identity and, it will also consider the relationship between brands and young adults. The intent is to identify what visual forms are most influential as references for visual identity and, if utilisation of cultural images by brands dominate as references for visual identity.

2 The practice of tattooing; ta = to strike; tatau = results of the tapping

LITERATURE REVIEW

To conclude this investigation, an analysis of the literature will be given, offering insight the significance of Cook Island cultural forms and how their arts are utilised as references for their identity. The research will also provide insight into the possibilities of loss of Cook Island identity generated from appropriation and identify forms of cultural appropriation generating the most harm.

2.1 THE COOK ISLANDS

The immigration of European settlers into Cook Island society during early 19th century created social and cultural change resulting in the loss of much traditional cultural knowledge. However, European contact also produced positive effects, precipitating a new hybrid culture. This later shaped the way Cook Island culture was portrayed locally while forming the basis of marketing strategies of cultural representation to the global arena.

In its infancy, the Cook Islands were regarded as a youthful nation, its maturity developed with the realisation global recognition would enhance cultural economic value “Tradition or culture became wealth – a valued and valuable possession of nations that could no longer be imagined as youthful” (Sissons, 1999, p.122). This saw the development of a national identity during the later half of the 20th century, “the task at hand was understood to be ‘making fifteen islands one country,’ as it was in the Cook Islands during 1965-1974” (Sissons, 1999, p.130), resulting with contemporary Cook Island society returning to its heritage in the aim of re-affirming its cultural identity.

THE COOK ISLANDS

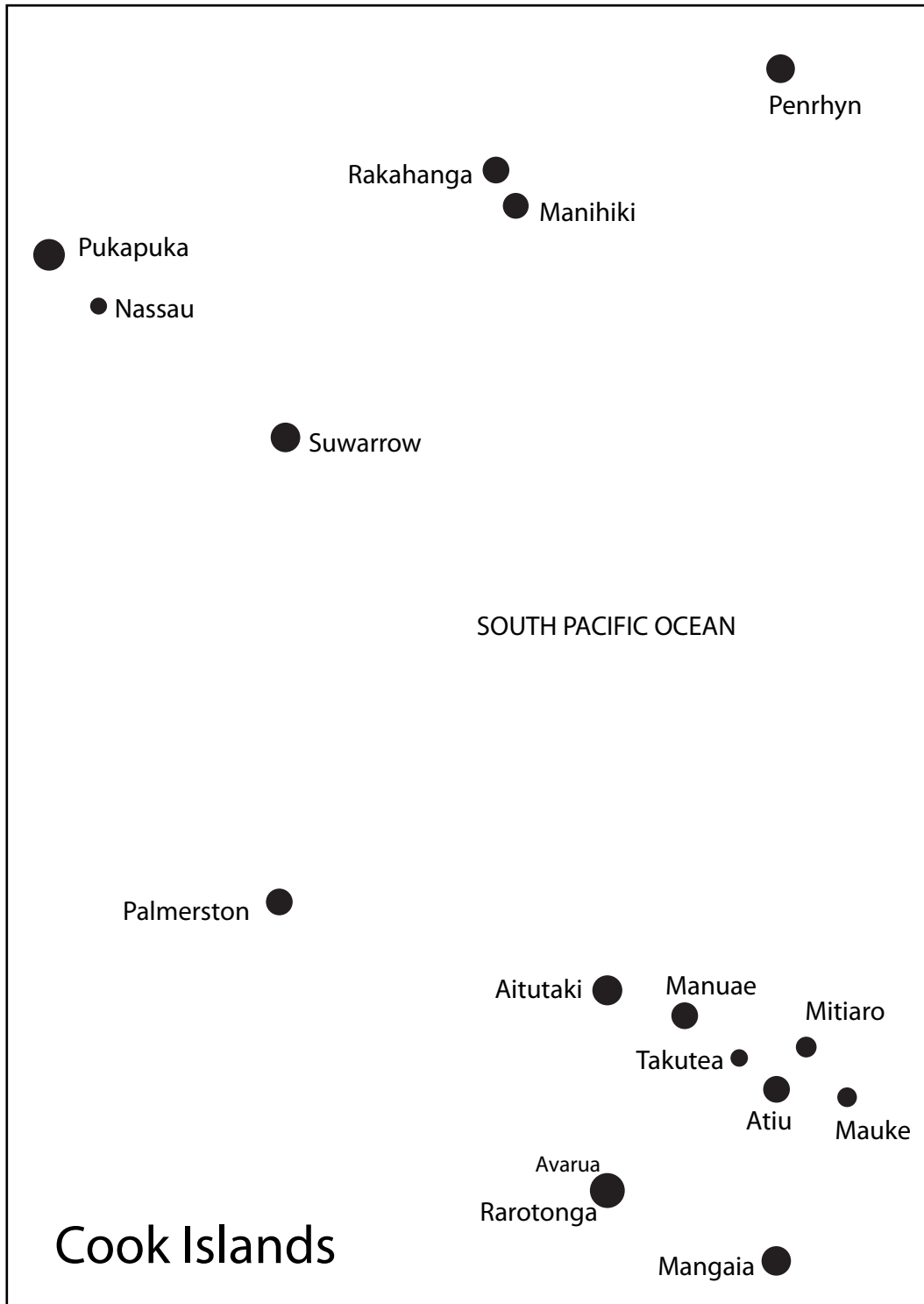


Fig.2.1 The 15 islands forming the nation of the Cook Islands.

THE COOK ISLANDS

2.1.1 Geography

The Cook Islands (Fig.2.1), is a group of 15 islands split into the Northern and Southern Cook Islands “Geographically, the Cook Islands fall into two clusters; a northern group of seven coral atolls and a much larger southern group of eight islands, most of them upraised coral formations” (Gilson, 1980, p.2). The Northern group consist of Pukapuka, Nassau, Rakahanga, Manihiki, Suwarrow, Penrhyn and Palmerston. The Southern group consists of Rarotonga, Aitutaki, Atiu, Mangaia, Manuae, Takutea, Mitiaro and Mauke. Its capital is Rarotonga, which has housed a civil government since the early 1890’s (Gilson, 1980).

The Cook Islands span across the Pacific Ocean, located within the Polynesian triangle, “The Polynesian islands lie in a broad triangular area in the middle and eastern Pacific, extending from Hawaii, north of the equator, to New Zealand on the southwest corner and Easter Island on the southeast” (Suggs, 1960, p.13). The triangle is divided into three sections according to cultural and geographical criteria; Western, Central and Marginal Polynesia, with a fourth section referred to as the Polynesian Outliers (Suggs, 1960). The Cook Islands lie in the centre of the Polynesian triangle.

2.1.2 History

The earliest history of the settlement of the Cook Islands is shrouded in mystery, “...the Islanders had a body of legends and traditions that accounted not only for their origins and their arrival on the island but also for the creation of the island itself and the islands around it” (Douglas & Douglas, 1987, p.17), illustrating the elusive and exotic nature of the Pacific. Legends illustrate its ancestors as great explorers and adventurers guided by experience and knowledge of the sea, voyaging across vast oceans, “skilled navigators and sailors, expert at reading ocean-currents and the stars as well as patterns of waves and bird flight” (Kingstone, 2001, p.4). Although there is uncertainty surrounding the origin

THE COOK ISLANDS

of Cook Island ancestors, there is nationwide belief their Polynesian ancestors originated in a region of French Polynesia “The people of the Cook Islands believe that their earliest ancestors came from the legendary homeland of ‘Avaiki, the exact location of which is uncertain but believed by some to be Raiatea in French Polynesia” (Kingstone, 2001, p.4).

There is also debate regarding the earliest European contact with the Cook Islands, while it has been claimed Alvaro de Mendana, a Spanish explorer, first sighted Pukapuka, there are discrepancies with the date of discovery (Gilson, 1980; Rademaker, 1994; Douglas & Douglas, 1987). Captain James Cook, who discovered Manuae in 1773, was also attributed to its discovery (Buck, 1944), although, it was not until 1935 that Europeans discovered all of the islands.

The discovery of Aitutaki in 1789 led to the expansion and colonisation of European settlers, the most significant was the establishment of the London Missionary Society station in 1821 (Buck, 1944). Once established, an explorer and missionary named John Williams began recruiting Polynesian teachers to more effectively spread the message of the Gospel (Gilson, 1980).

2.1.3 Religion

There were numerous gods and the islands shared many of the same gods, “all the islands of the group shared the same major gods such as Tangaroa, Tane, Rongo, and others” (Buck, 1944, p.310). However, the application of each island's physical manifestation of the gods differed (Figs. 2.2-2.4), “In Rarotonga, the technique was confined to wooden images of various forms. Aitutaki had both wooden images and carved slabs. In Atiu and Mitiaro, carved wooden stands were made on the round, with arches for feather decoration” (Buck. 1944, p.311).

The introduction of Christianity in the early 19th century, saw the desecration of many old world gods “the worship of the old gods were proscribed” (Lay, 1996, p.21), resulting in the loss of technical and cultural knowledge “wrought profound

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social as well as religious changes throughout the Cook Islands” (Lay, 1996, p.21). As Christianity became more widespread and its laws and methods of worship established, the traditions of their old world began to disappear as they assimilated with a new world.



Fig.2.2 Mangaian God.
(Art Galleries and
Museums Association
of NZ, 1969, p.61).



Fig.2.3 Aitutaki Triple God.
(Art Galleries and Museums
Association of NZ, 1969, p.62).



Fig.2.4 Rarotongan Standing God.
(Hooper, 2006, p.21).

THE COOK ISLANDS

2.1.4 Culture

Culture can be defined as the way people live, look, interact and communicate, “It refers to the language, customs, basic values, religion, core beliefs, and activities of a group of people. In short, a culture is a way of living” (Young, 2005, p.136). Culture is the systems, conventions and attributes that contribute to the infrastructure of a specific group. Beaglehole (1957) addresses culture in the context of localised and global perception.

Every cultural group is characterized by a basic personality or character structure which may be defined as that organization of needs, sentiments and attitudes, developed in interpersonal relations, which determines the self-view and the world-view as these are common to all or most of the member of the group (pp.252-253).

Crocombe & Crocombe (2003) address culture as the definitive element that shapes Cook Island identity, an entity as much alive as the people who belong to it.

Culture is an important part of our life (one step down from making a living or being employed perhaps, but vital nevertheless). We hang on to it because it gives us a unique identity in the global arena. We practise it because for some of our communities (especially the smaller and remote ones) it has been part of the survival kit for living on these islands. We celebrate it because not only does it sell seats on planes to the country, but it also makes us feel good, and most of us like a good dance and laugh. We respect it because it can be the decider in many situations of conflict in land and assets. And we hold on to it because we are not anything else but these things (Crocombe & Crocombe, 2003, p.149).

Cook Island culture was greatly governed by religious beliefs, “Social life and leadership were closely tied to a religious faith” (Rademaker, 1994, p.3), its fundamentals based on a predominant ideology, *mana* “The central idea was mana. Mana or divine power came from the gods, it gave authority and demanded public recognition” (Rademaker, 1994, p.3). *Mana* was instrumental in the day to day life of Cook Island culture, and was not only for those who had the birth-right to possess it “Mana was passed on by descent within a family, it could be obtained by ritual contact with the gods, but it could also be found in acquired skills” (Rademaker, 1994, p.3), allowing for objects to possess great cultural value.

THE COOK ISLANDS

i. Vanishing Culture

The establishment of a mission station in Aitutaki in 1821 perpetuated the most significant transformation of Cook Island society “it was left to the missionaries therefore to be the agents of social change, and it was their culture that left the most marked effects upon aboriginal native life” (Beaglehole, 1957, p.14). The impact instigated such significant change leading to the destruction of traditional cultural customs and knowledge. Amongst the losses was the art of *tatau* “much of the cultural knowledge pertaining to traditional *tatau*³ practice and traditional patterns were lost” (Utanga & Mangos, 2006, p.317). As there was little documentation recorded, the art and its practices virtually disappeared. Another aspect of Cook Island culture which suffered was the making of *tapa*⁴, “the making of *tapa* by women for household use, for dance costumes and for ritual exchanges, had almost disappeared” (Cowling, 2006, p.26), replaced by *tivaevae*, a craft introduced by the missionary wives.

Although the absorption of European customs instigated the loss of many cultural art forms, “With the rejection of certain institutions, the material objects that went with them also disappeared, and the technology and creative art of the skilled craftsmen weakened and died out” (Buck, 1944, p.412), it also cultivated a new, hybrid culture.

ii. Hybrid Culture

Rademaker’s (1994) analysis of Cook Island culture and its relationship to European customs addresses the development of a hybrid culture, “There came a new culture, a mixture of indigenous and European elements. It was in fact a culture of two layers” (p.4). The culmination of Cook Island culture and European traditions ultimately changed the dynamics of Cook Island society.

3 Tattoo

4 Cloth made from bark

THE COOK ISLANDS

People learned new ways of doing things and new ways of believing and thinking about things. The process of social change was initiated which in one aspect or another of the culture has been going on ever since. (Beaglehole, 1957, pp.11-12).

This parallel existence formed the basis of Cook Island life, although some islands were able to preserve more of their traditional culture than others “The Cook Islanders have adopted European ways in proportion to their contacts with Europeans, while retaining a large measure of their ancient culture and tradition, most strongly preserved in the more remote islands” (NZ Tourist & Publicity Dept., 1960, p.22), enabling contemporary Cook Island society to move towards restoring its individuality in a resurgence of its cultural traditions.

2.1.5 Identity

Collins Dictionary & Thesaurus (2002) defines identity as “1 state of being a specified person or thing. 2 individuality or personality. 3 state of being the same” (p.378). Mallon & Pereira (1997) addresses identity in the context as a collective group, “A society’s identity is established on the grounds of differentiation. Difference is highlighted, distinctiveness is valued, exclusiveness is defined” (p.10).

Cook Island identity is intertwined with its culture; while it influences their way of life, it also dictates who and what they identify themselves as, “While there is a conscious effort to distinguish between personality and culture, the two concepts intertwine, reflecting the fluid nature and interaction of personality and culture” (Crocombe & Crocombe, 2003, p.127). Within the constructs of its culture are underlying themes that form the foundation of its identity; culture, values, language and locality collectively creating a unified national identity. Their international identity is projected as a unique, vibrant, youthful nation possessing great cultural and historical value of global significance.

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2.1.6 Visual Identity

The most globally recognised forms of Cook Island culture lie in their performing arts, “Cook Islanders have maintained their culture wherever they have settled, most conspicuously in their dancing, drumming and singing” (Lay, 1996, p.23), its contribution as a symbol of culture, signifies unity amongst its people. Although dance and music are some of the most distinctive cultural cues, many Cook Island arts & crafts are of equal cultural value, “In the Cook Islands, crafted objects are the main channel of artistic expression” (Crocombe & Crocombe, 2003, p.45). For the purposes of this research, investigation will consider the visual forms most prominently seen in their visual arts.

i. Name

Locality and name play an integral role in Cook Island identity, “A most prominent symbol of national identity is the name ‘the Cook Islands’” (Crocombe & Crocombe, 2003, p.51), providing distinction to other Polynesian nations, expressing differentiation and signifying the multiple facets of its nation.

ii. The Flag

The flag, which was shown for the first time in 1974, was the result of a national competition organised by the Cook Island government (Kloosterman, 1976). As part of the competition conditions, Cook Island values were to be implemented into the new design, “represent the elements of the earth, the heavens and life, which encompass all the past, present and future, and are inspirations to be one united, free and dedicated people” (Kloosterman, 1976, p.63). The winning design was 15 gold stars arranged in a circle, representing each island, set against a blue background, signifying the ocean. However, political motivation substituted the colours to incorporate the brand colours of its Cook Island Party (CIP) (Fig.2.5), communicating a message of unity between CIP and nation (Sissons, 1999; Cook Island Ensign Act 1973). Five years later, the flag was replaced by one

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that signified a shift in its international status, communicating clear local and national messages “Locally, the change signalled the demise of the CIP and the beginning of a new era; internationally, it registered the Cook Islands as a member of the ‘red, white and blue’ club along with New Zealand, Australia, Great Britain, but also, by association the United States and France” (Sissons, 1999, p.131). The design incorporated the Union Jack and the background with white stars on a blue background, signifying international recognition and acceptance (Fig.2.6).



Fig.2.5 Cook Island Flag incorporating CIP colours. (Flagspot.net, 2006).

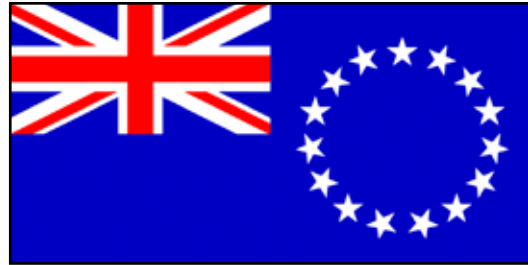


Fig.2.6 Cook Island Flag (Flagspot.net, 2008).

iii. Flowers

Originally used as a means of scenting the bark cloth, flowers feature as symbolic and tangible representations of Cook Island identity, signifying its authority in Cook Island culture and its environment.

Flowers have always been a feature of Pacific Island identity and culture and appear in many Pacific motifs such as on Cook Island *tivaevae* (quilts), contemporary art, and clothing styles. The underlying message is that flowers are an integral part of Pacific identity and are ‘naturally’ part of Pacific environments (Bedford, Longhurst & Underhill-Sem, 2001, p.7).

The significance of flowers as representations of Cook Island identity is such that many Pacific organisations and businesses adopt the names of flowers for their companies, usually naming the ventures after flowers deemed as ‘national’ icons.

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Flowers are widely invoked as a distinct material and symbolic representation of Polynesian culture...It is no surprise then, that Pacific tourism offices name their cultural festivals after common flowers which have been designated 'national flowers', such as the Teuila festival in Samoa, the Hibiscus festival in Fiji and the Maire festival in the Cook Islands (Bedford, Longhurst & Underhill-Sem, 2001, p.26).

However, recent times has seen a transformation in flowers as symbols of identity, "Artificial flowers and 'lolly leis' are becoming more common in New Zealand, Samoa, Tonga and the Cook Islands" (Bedford, Longhurst & Underhill-Sem, 2001, p.7), challenging views of authenticity as the production and use of artificial flowers (Fig.2.7) is becoming more common and widespread.

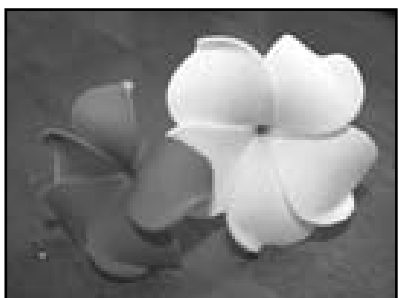


Fig. 2.7 Artificial flowers. (Private collection of Mrs Moeroa Maea).

iv. Ta-tatau

Ta-tatau, is the practice of tattooing; *ta* means to tap; *tatau* means the results of tapping. Prior to the introduction of Christianity, *ta-tatau* was prevalent in Cook Island culture. *Ta-tatau* was a means of expressing their identity and culture, and although the introduction of Christianity resulted in the loss of cultural knowledge pertaining to its traditional treatment and designs, "following the arrival of the missionaries, the art of *ta-tatau* literally disappeared overnight" (Utanga & Mangos, 2006, p.317), recent times has seen a revival of traditional tattooing, "The reasons for the revival are varied but undoubtedly relate to some degree to the reclaiming of political rights and making a statement about cultural identity" (Crocombe & Crocombe, 2003, p.65).

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v. Tivaevae

Tivaevae is a form of quilt-making introduced by missionary wives during early 19th century. The craft was adopted and adapted by Cook Islanders, utilising it as a means of cultural expression, “Cook Islanders have transformed it into a unique cultural expression” (D’Avella, 1998, pp.117-118). The distinctive style of Cook Island *tivaevae* play a significant role in its identity.

2.1.7 Re-Positioning

The competition for a national flag in 1979 stemmed from political objectives to portray national harmony, with the intent to re-position the Cook Islands in the global arena, demonstrating their capabilities of functioning in the modern world.

Nation-building is always undertaken with one eye on an international mirror and one eye on the domestic task at hand. When the task at hand was understood to be ‘making fifteen islands one country,’ as it was in the Cook Islands during 1965-1974, the reflected image of the nation was of youthful independence in an adult and familial world (Sissons, 1999, p.130).

However, the national success of re-positioning Cook Island identity relied on international acceptance that the Cook Islands advancement corresponded with the modern world and the recognition of *Maoritanga*⁵; the historical and cultural wealth of Cook Islands society.

National pride and status required more than a successful economy; it depended also upon international recognition of the Cook Islands as a Maori nation – an acknowledgement of Cook Islanders as modern Polynesians who belonged unambiguously with other post-colonial and aspiring post-colonial peoples of the South Pacific (Sissons, 1999, p.126).

As the move to a more progressive nation developed, Cook Island identity emerged as a valuable commodity. Items and traditional customs of great cultural value, previously discarded by early settlers, were reawakened, “Tradition or culture became wealth – a valued and valuable possession of nations that could no longer be imagined as youthful” (Sissons, 1994, p.122), projecting the Cook

5 Native history

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Islands as a developed and mature nation, “the transition from national ‘childhood’ to national ‘adulthood’ entailed the discovery of Maoritanga, the recovery of a common Maori heritage ” (Sissons, 1994, p.122).

The shift in perception allowed the Cook Islands to maximise its efforts to benefit economically from exposure, recognition and growth, which was realised with the nation hosting the Festival of Pacific Arts “Following the 1989 election, Geoffrey Henry’s government sought to reposition the Cook Islands globally as a contemporary Polynesian nation through tourist marketing, regional diplomacy and hosting the Sixth Festival of Pacific Arts” (Sissons, 1999, p.126). The Festival of Pacific Arts offered the opportunity for the Cook Islands to represent itself to its nation, to other Polynesian cultures, and to the international market, showcasing cultural knowledge that had not been practiced since the introduction of Christianity.

In building their vaka moana for the Festival of Pacific Arts, the Rarotongan ngati, Uritaua-ki-uta, were preparing to participate with representatives of other nations in a spectacle of rediscovered tradition directed outwards towards a tourist market and the peoples of other South Pacific nations and reflectively inwards towards Cook Islanders watching the pageant from the shore (Sissons, 1999, p.122).

The awareness that global recognition provided opportunities for expansion saw the development and modernisation of traditional cultural customs and expressions of identity to appeal to potential audiences and markets.

2.1.8 Re-Claiming of Identity

Its participation in the Festival of Pacific Arts initiated a shift in awareness in the preservation of local and national identity.

The nation that is reflected in the windows of tourist buses and the gold-rimmed spectacles of bankers and accountants is also a nation of villages, vaka and islands, each defending their limited local autonomy, reconstructing marae for their own use and perpetuating hereditary leadership (Sissons, 1999, p.131).

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This initiated a national interest in restoring Maoritanga and re-establishing cultural authenticity. This shift was predicated on its heritage and, in an effort to re-establish itself with its native culture, considerations were presented to rename the nation in an effort to restore its bond with its Polynesian ancestry “Sir Geoffrey Henry and the CIP favoured a change to an indigenous name (Avaiki being the most favoured choice) thus associating the country more closely with Polynesia” (Sissons, 1999, pp.129-130). The name was not changed as there were concerns regarding the impact on its tourist market “Others argued that the Cook Islands was well known by its current name in tourist markets and that any change might adversely affect the tourist industry” (Sissons, 1999, pp.129-130), therefore the new name would need to suit its dual identity; a nation and a destination “The Cook Islands is both a nation and a destination and any new name needed to be appropriate for both identities” (Sissons, 1999, pp.129-130). While the nation struggled with a compromise for a name change, it began reclaiming aspects of its traditional identity, and re-establishing it into its existing identity.

2.1.9 Ta-Tatau

With the exception of Pukapuka and Manihiki, “On Pukapuka...there was no war, and no tattooing. The same goes for Manihiki Rakahanga” (Gell, 1993, p.298), *ta-tatau* was prevalent in the Cook Islands prior to the arrival of the missionaries. The missionaries abolished the practice as it was viewed as a heathen practice “Christian doctrine shuns tattooing and views it as a form of mutilation, thereby, harming the body that God gave” (Utanga & Mangos, 2006, p.317).

As other art forms, the beliefs and rituals of Cook Island culture dominated its practices, “Strict rules known as “tapu” surrounded the wearing of *tatau* and rituals to appease the Polynesian gods were always performed” (Utanga & Mangos, 2006, p.316). Their abiding conviction in their faith was permeated in the art of *tatau*, which was of occasion believed to be a form of protection against evil spirits,

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“they were sometimes regarded as powerful talismans to ward off evil” (Utanga & Mangos, 2006, p.316) and a representation of *mana*, “The application of *ta-tatau* was a ritual symbolizing “mana” - a kind of innate tribal authority” (Utanga & Mangos, 2006, p.316).

While the wearing of *tatau* had strong religious foundations, it also served as a means of identity “the object of the mark was to preserve the descent of each family by giving each member thereof the proof of his descent on his own person” (Gudgeon, 1905, p.217) and was naturally regarded as a distinctive and decorative method of bodily adornment. The missionary John Williams writes of his encounter with the Rarotongan chief, Makea Pori (Fig.2.8), whose body was adorned by traditional tattoos.

At the time of which I write his body was most beautifully tattooed, and slightly coloured with a preparation of turmeric and ginger, which gave it a light orange tinge, and, in the estimation of the Rarotongans, added much to the beauty of his appearance (Williams, 1841, p.86).

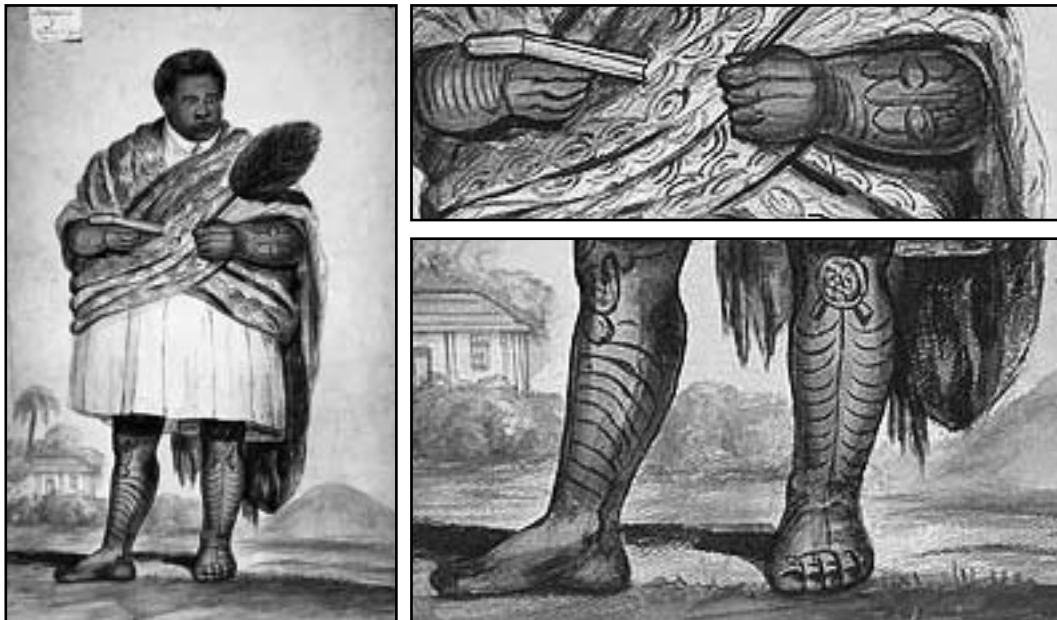


Fig.2.8 Makea Pori, Rarotongan Chief, and enlargements showing tatau on legs and arms. (National Library of Australia, n.d).

Buzacott, a carpenter who arrived in Rarotonga in 1828 (Utanga & Mangos, 2006), illustrates the magnificence of Makea’s tattoos in his detailed account, “his

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feet and legs up to about two inches above the knee, as well as his hands and arms to a little above the elbow, were most beautifully tattooed" (Sunderland & Buzacott, 1866, p142).

The wearing of *tatau* was not restricted to men, women could wear the art form also, however, men strictly dominated its application, "tattooing was only practiced by skilled craftsmen called "ta'unga" or "tufuga"...and it was strictly a male domain" (Utanga & Mangos, 2006, p.316).

Its application was identical in each island, "All used the tattooing comb and the light mallet for tapping the comb after the teeth had been dipped in a black pigment mixed from soot obtained by burning the oily kernels of candlenuts" (Buck, 1944, p.489), although the designs and placement on the body varied "The motifs used and exact parts of the body treated differed in each island" (Buck, 1944, p.489).

i. Design

There is very little documentation of the design and motifs used for tattooing "they were not recorded when the art was flourishing" (Buck, 1944, p.407) with the only recorded motifs coming from Rarotonga, Aitutaki and Mangaia (Buck, 1944). Of the documentation available, the sources came from "the few motifs that survived on individuals" (Buck, 1944, p.129), or from the memories of the old people of the islands "Such motifs as persisted or were remembered by the older people of Rarotonga, Aitutaki, and Mangaia" (Buck, 1944, p.407).

The origins of the motifs have been held to derive from woodcarvings "The motifs and patterns in tattooing are held by the natives to have derived from wood carving (*pana*)" (Buck, 1944, p.129), with its original source of inspiration developing from the carvings on canoes. Gudgeon's explanation provides a more conclusive account of its connection with carvings on the outrigger canoes used in their voyages across the pacific.

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Each canoe that arrived at Aitutaki from Hawaiki was carved on the bow in a more or less distinct pattern, presumably with the heraldic bearings of the chief of the canoe, and that this carving was adopted by those who came in the canoe as the ta-tatau (Gudgeon, 1905, p.217).

Major W. E. Gudgeon, a New Zealand soldier of the Maori wars, was sent to the Cook Islands in 1898 with the aim of assisting the chiefs' form a central government (Gilson, 1980). Gudgeon had the occasion to record motifs from Aitutaki in 1905. Of these recordings, he documented five motifs⁶ (Appendix 1), stating their origins came from their earlier home, Hawaiki. Peter H. Buck from Taniera Tangitoru, recorded 12 motifs (Appendix 2) from Mangaia in 1911, "I obtained a number of tattooing motifs in New Zealand from a Mangaian named Taniera Tangitoru...recorded in 1911" (Buck, 1944, p.130). A further two motifs (Appendix 3) were recorded at a later date in Mangaia.

During 1929, Peter Buck met three Rarotongans, "They were Tupai of Ngatangia, age 60, and Pakitoa and Tai 'Uritaua both of Avatiu and both about 77 years old" (Buck, 1944, pp.130-131), who were all marked with the *rau teve*⁷ motif on the back of their necks. The motif was exclusive to Rarotonga and the natives who joined the ships as sailors had the motif to show they were Rarotongan (Buck, 1944).

The *rau teve* motif is taken from the leaf of the *teve*, with its main part consisting of the leaf stalk with three or four divisions turned toward the ear and the accessory part of a number of spaced figures in hour-glass form but with the sides straight instead of curved. The number of hour-glass figures between the leaf and the middle line of the neck ranges from four to six depending on the size of the motifs and the spacing between them.

⁶ Buck (1944) attributes the number of motifs documented by Gudgeon as four.

⁷ Rau = leaf; Teve = species of wild arrowroot.

THE COOK ISLANDS

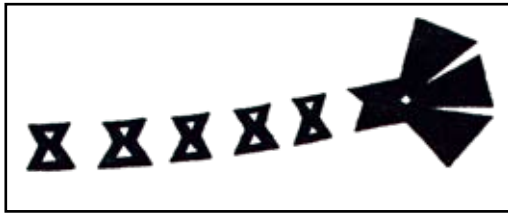


Fig.2.9 Tupai's rau teve (Buck, 1944, p.132).



Fig.2.10 Pakitoa's rau teve (Buck, 1944, p.132).

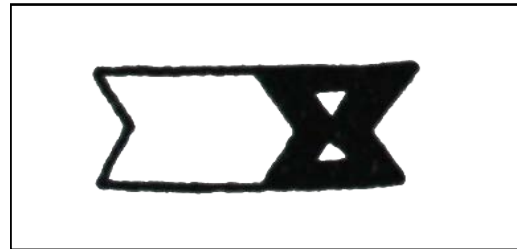


Fig.2.11 Tai Uritaua's rau teve (Buck, 1944, p.132).

Tupai's *rau teve* motif (Fig.2.9) has three lobes with four hourglass motifs to the middle line. Pakitoa's motif (Fig.2.10) has four lobes with four hourglass motifs, with the middle line passing through the fourth. Tai 'Uritaua's motif (Fig.2.11) has four lobes and six hour-glass motifs, with the sixth reaches the midline of the neck and the next motif on the other side, unfilled.

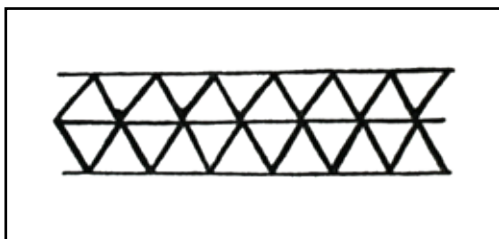


Fig.2.12 Ruru motif (Buck, 1944, p.132).

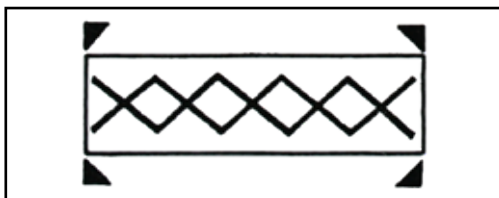


Fig.2.13 Ruru motif (Buck, 1944, p.132).



Fig.2.14 'etu motif (Buck, 1944, p.132).

Pakitoa also bore the *ruru* motif (Fig.2.12), a wrist pattern encircling his right forearm, its lines 1mm thick with another *ruru* motif (Fig.2.13) on the back of

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his left wrist measuring 56mm long. He also had the `etu⁸ motif (Fig.2.14), “five-pointed star on back of left hand of Paitoa on ulnar side with *rau teve* on radial side; same as Mangaian *maurua* motif (Buck, 1944, p.132).

From the recordings of Buck (1944) and Major Gudgeon, it becomes visible that the *ruru* motif was adopted by all the islands “It is evident that *ruru* as a term for the pattern around the wrist was shared by people in all the islands” (Buck, 1944, p.132). However, each style differed in each island as there appears to be no set pattern inherited from their previous homeland “though tattooing was shared by all, any set pattern that may have been used in the homeland was evidently not adhered to after diffusion of the people to the various islands of Polynesia” (Buck, 1944, p.132).

The motifs were held in high regard and considered to be of great cultural value; worn as proud symbols of their identity “In times of war would wear their’s like as emblem, signifying tribal affiliations” (Utanga & Mangos, 2006, p.316) and, if a motif was stolen from another island, conflict ensued “such conflict is consistent with the cultural tradition of the island of Aitutaki where if the mark of one tribe was stolen by another, a fight ensued” (Crocombe & Crocombe, 2003, p.65).

ii. Revival

Since the early 18th century, *ta-tatau* was considered a heathen practice, “In the decades leading up to 1992, *ta-tatau* was largely frowned upon on in the Cooks and rarely practiced with distinction” (Utanga & Mangos, 2006, p.321) with its form virtually disappearing altogether during the 19th century. However, recent times has seen a revival in the art, featuring in art festivals of the South Pacific “largely through the efforts of a handful of enthusiasts coupled with one of the biggest arts events in the South Pacific that this tattoo revival began” (Utanga

8 Star.

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& Mangos, 2006, p.320). The first festival was held in 1972, and its purpose to ensure the preservation of traditional arts and cultures “...first festival was held in Suva, Fiji, in 1972...the intention of the festival was very clear, to fight against the disappearance of traditional arts and culture in the South Pacific” (Utanga & Mangos, 2006, p.321) while encouraging a fusion of traditional practices with contemporary developments “the festival would encourage the preservation of indigenous art forms to give them new currency in the modern era” (Utanga & Mangos, 2006, p.321).

In 1992, the Cook Islands hosted the South Pacific festival. The festival had an overwhelming effect on *ta-tatau*, becoming the vehicle that introduced it back into Cook Island society.

As profound as the advent of Christianity was on the demise of *ta-tatau*, so too was the festival in its revival. Cook Island tattoo enthusiasts today look back at the event as the catalyst that put tattooing back into mainstream consciousness (Utanga & Mangos, 2006, p.321).

The fascination in *ta-tatau* was initially sparked by the event’s theme of the sea-faring journeys of Polynesians and their outrigger canoes, “Driving the interest in *ta-tatau* at the time was the resurgence of interest in the traditional voyaging canoe, known as “vaka,” partly because of the strong maritime theme of the festival” (Utanga & Mangos, 2006, p.322). The event was the most defining moment for *ta-tatau*, “it became a watershed event for tattoo enthusiasts, practitioners, and admirers” (Utanga & Mangos, 2006, p.321) allowing the opportunity for enthusiasts to share ideas and exhibit themselves as vehicles of expression “of visiting artists were a group of *ta-tatau* artists who brought with them tools, techniques, designs, as well as their own beautifully adorned bodies” (Utanga & Mangos, 2006, p.321).

With this renewed interest in *ta-tatau*, came a new breed of Cook Islanders who comfortably maintain their traditional customs and beliefs. Pa Ariki, the Rarotongan Paramount Chief, is one of those who represent this group “Perhaps

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because of her relative youth, Pa represents a new breed of “Ariki,” one who is as comfortable with traditional customs and practices as her Christian beliefs” (Utanga & Mangos, 2006, p.322). Her *tatau* were chosen to signify her identity, status and bond to her culture, while being a symbol of personal achievement.

Pa chose as her ta-tatau Cook Island symbols and designs pertinent to her status and tribal area embellished with Samoan motifs... represents a sense of achievement; she has sailed the great ocean of Kiva to Samoa, she is the traditional leader of her people (Utanga & Mangos, 2006, p.322).

Today, there are many Cook Islanders eager to adorn themselves with a *tatau*, and its revitalisation is bringing forth the magnificence of its culture and traditions “The renaissance is helping uncover the rich heritage of *ta-tatau* few people knew existed” (Utanga & Mangos, 2006, p.322). Many who embrace the art form perceive it as a voyage of self-discovery, eternally connected to their history and culture, “For many proud wearers of *ta-tatau* getting a *ta-tatau* is a personal journey that will remain with them forever” (Utanga & Mangos, 2006, p.322).

As Cook islanders are showing more interest in the art form, “Today many more Cook Islanders are wearing traditionally inspired *ta-tatau*” (Utanga & Mangos, 2006, p.322), artists are emerging and merging their contemporary talents with their traditional values.

Leading local artist Mike Tavioni had been exploring ta-tatau designs... New Zealand Cook Islander and ta-tatau artist Tetini Pekepo...was keen to express himself in skin art again...Ben Nichols had taught himself to tatau, ironically with the help of inmates...He was also doing his own research into design and drawing inspiration from the symbols and cultural heritage of his home island of Aitutaki (Utanga & Mangos, 2006, p.321).

With the renewed interest, *tatau* designs are more accepted, with those who bear and practice the art looking to their heritage for sources of inspiration “Cook Island patterns and motifs are now more commonplace and traditional designs are being rediscovered and redefined” (Utanga & Mangos, 2006, p.322). Their designs

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embrace tradition, coupled with modern practices, resulting in a blending of past and present.

2.1.10 Tivaevae

Tivaevae is the Cook Island term for the beautiful piecework and appliqué quilts, which are an important part of its culture. Prior to the arrival of the missionaries in the nineteenth century, the women made quilts from *tapa*, the bark cloth made from the paper mulberry or hibiscus⁹ “In the Cook Islands and among Cook Islanders in New Zealand, *tivaevae*, have replaced *tapa* and fine mats as the principal form of traditional wealth made by women” (Leenhardt, 1950, p.31). They decorated the plain cloth, *tapa* (Fig. 2.15 & 2.16), with freehand painting or stencils cut out of leaves or carved into wood which have been applied to its contemporary counterpart, *tivaevae* “The hand-drawn lines so clearly visible and distinctive on the surface of Cook Island bark cloth of the late nineteenth century can be found again in *tivaevae*, but on its underside” (Kuchler, 2003, pp.107-108).

Although there is no documentation that clearly states who introduced the craft to the Cook Islands, it has been generally accepted that it was introduced during the Missionary period “...has been suggested that the London Missionary Society wives who arrived in 1821 or that Tahitian missionaries’ wives may have been responsible” (Mallon & Pereira, 2002, p.68), presenting it as a civilised activity suitable for Cook Island women. Cook Island women embraced the art form, developing their own distinct style, transforming its purpose and practice to perpetuate their customs and traditions.

What may have started out as Victoriana quickly became an object that enabled a translation of Western ideals of attachment into a quintessentially Polynesian form of property. New concepts of person and of social relations, emerging rapidly from changing contexts of rank and sanctity, became tangible in quilt (Kuchler, 2003, p.98).

9 Kaute

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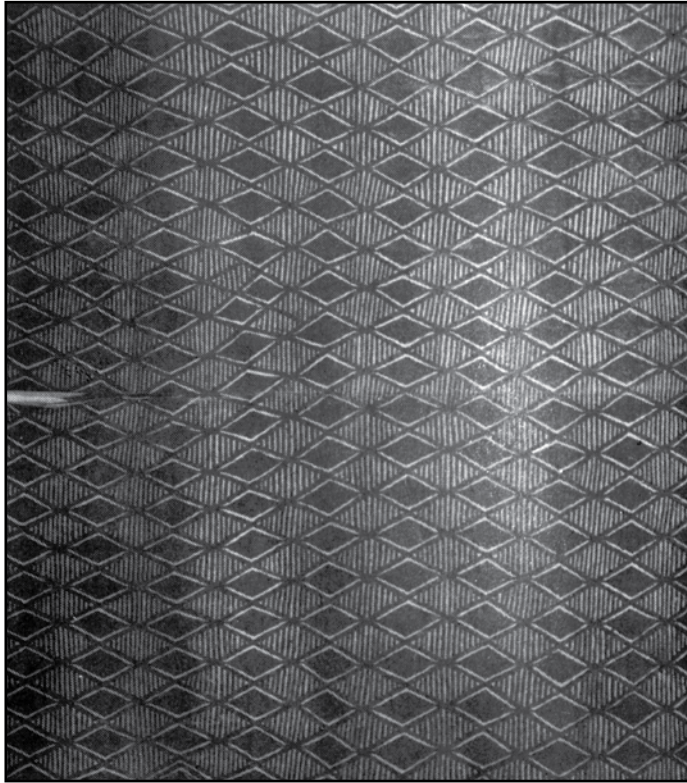


Fig.2.15 Manganian Tapa. (Buck, 1993, p.30).



Fig.2.16 Cook Island Tapa detail. (Mirow, 1993, p.149).

Originally a European craft, “medium of gift-giving that perpetuates many of the traditional values and customs that the missionaries, in other ways, tried to replace with their own” (D’Avella, 1998, pp.117-118), it is a valued activity that is a visual manifestation of Cook Island beliefs, customs and *mana*.

With the introduction of cotton cloth and the acquisition of needlework skills; one from the missionaries, the other from their wives, the women of the Cook Islands adapted their quilt-making to combine the motifs of traditional Polynesia with the colours and materials of modern technology “these joyous pieces of handiwork are distinguished by splashes of colour, representative of native flowers such as the hibiscus blossom, and set against the recurrent colours of nature” (Leenhardt, 1950, p.104).

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Fig.2.17 Cook Island hair cutting ceremony. (Rongokea, 2001, p.14).

The making and presentation of a *tivaevae* holds great cultural value “hold special and great sentimental value because of who has made it and presented the tivaevae” (Mallon & Pereira, 2002, p.75), and is used in many significant ceremonies (Fig. 2.17), such as weddings and funerals “They are used in a rite of passage ceremony” (Mallon & Pereira, 2002, p.65). However, in recent times, there has been an observation of its diminishing cultural value, “It has been discovered that outsiders who have learnt the craft are selling tivaevae, and for this reason it is felt that the cultural significance of the tivaevae is lessened” (Mallon & Pereira, 2002, p.74) as outsiders have shown interest in learning the craft, treating it as a means of earning financial reward.

The intricacy of the *tivaevae* determines its use, simpler forms are used for household use, while the more ornamental forms are presented at ceremonies of great importance “Although the plainer forms of tivaevae are actually used as bedspreads, the more elaborate forms are made primarily for presentation and display on important occasions” (Leenhardt, 1950, p.31). A good *tivaevae* may take several years to make and may become one of the most valued possessions in the household “Mostly tivaevae hold special and great sentimental value because of who has made and presented the tivaevae” (Mallon & Pereira, 2002, p.75).

Many of these quilts are made as a community project by a women’s club or church group, the women spending several hours each day working on the

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tivaevae. It remains an activity practiced amongst the Islands and abroad, a valuable link to their culture, with the time spent viewed as a significant social activity “The making of *tivaevae* is a communal activity. Groups of women in local communities gather to cut and piece the designs but parties also travel between islands to share design ideas and techniques” (D’Avella, 1998, p.118). It is an integral part of Cook Island society where women come together to share ideas, stories, strengthen relationships; an important instrument of communication within society.

There are four varieties of *tivaevae*; *tivaevae tāōrei* (Fig. 2.18), a patchwork variation of thousands of approximately 1cm coloured squares; *tivaevae manu* (Fig. 2.19), pieces of fabric folded four or eight times, cut with scissors, and unfolded to reveal the design. The designs are then stitched onto a base cloth of contrasting colour; *tivaevae tā’taura* (Fig. 2.20), made from pieces of fabric of varying sizes and colours, individually embroidered, then sewn onto a base cloth; and *tivaevae tuitui tā’taura* (Fig. 2.21), intricate embroidery using dazzling coloured thread.



Fig.2.18 Tivaevae taorei. (Private collection of Kea family).



Fig.2.19 Tivaevae manu (Private collection of Mrs Moeroa Maea).

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Fig.2.20 Tivaevae ta'taura. (Private collection of Mrs Moeroa Maea).



Fig.2.21 Detail of tivaevae tuitui ta'taura. (Private collection of Kea family).

i. Design

Cook Island *tivaevae* designs prominently draw inspiration from its environment “Patterns reflect the environment, especially plants and flowers, but also turtles, sea life and butterflies” (D’Avella, 1998, p.118). Floral imagery in particular, are prominent design elements, arranged in complex rotational symmetry usually with discordant colours and, vibrant and intricate embroidery, enhancing the authenticity of its subject matter while adding sculptural value to the composition – shifting between the background and foreground “Cook Island quilts are further distinguished by rich multicoloured embroidery adding to the three-dimensional appearance of the usually floral pattern which tends to be arranged in rotational symmetry” (Kuchler, 2003, p.97-98) providing impressive compositions capturing the vivacious nature of its culture (Fig. 2.22).

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Fig. 2.22 Rotational symmetry, bright vivacious colours and intricate embroidery generates a dynamic composition. (Hammond,1986a, p.35).



Fig. 2.23 Detail of embroidery with colour combinations adds dimension to the composition. (Private collection of Kea family).

The vivacious colour and its application was inherited from their passion with colour seen in its predecessor, *tapa* “Collections from the Pacific made during the nineteenth century show a preoccupation with coloration in eastern Polynesian bark cloth... Cook Island bark cloth, in particular, came in large and rectangular sheets, some of which were bright yellow on both sides” (Buck, 1944, p.72). While embroidery’s association with *tapa* links to the process of binding, a method used to contain the *mana* possessed by god idols. The complexity of stitching techniques with carefully selected colour combinations (Fig. 2.23), adds dimension to its composition “Intricately stitched embroidery heightens the three-dimensional, almost tactile ‘look’ of Cook Island quilts – striving towards an apparent realism in the depiction of flora and fauna that is underscored through the use of opposing as well as carefully graded colours” (Kuchler, 2003, p.110) offering compositions as tangible representations of its theme and styles reflective of its ever-changing surroundings.

Cook Island *tivaevae* do not incorporate borders as seen in other Polynesian quilts (Fig. 2.24 & 2.25), “unlike Tahitian and Hawaiian quilts, Cook Island *tivaevae* do not have borders, but a complex symmetry, which locks motifs into an intricate play of resemblance and difference” (Kuchler, 2003, p.110). The complexity of its arrangements unify the composition through proximity

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and interaction between harmony and contrast “reflects the fluidity of pattern transmission, while the cohesion of motifs which are visually attached to each other by an intricate symmetrical order manifests the salient impact of domesticity upon an otherwise unmarked visual landscape” (Kuchler, 2003, p.114). The complexity of its arrangement, often makes it difficult to identify specimens of flora featured.

On first examination, the motifs and patterns of the Cook Island *tivaevae*...are hard to visualize. Although the designs are based on the flora of the islands... they may at first be unrecognizable. This is at least partly because of the complex symmetrical arrangement of individual motifs, set within a myriad of overlapping colours through which the relation between background and foreground appears to shift and change the longer one stares at the pattern trying to work out how it is done (Kuchler, 2003, p.110).



Fig. 2.24 Hawaiian quilt. (Hammond,1986a, p.69).



Fig. 2.25 Tahiti - Society Islands quilt. (Hammond,1986a, p.32).

The semblance of interaction and authenticity is symbolic to the relationship between Cook Islanders and their environment while, its technical processes are significant to ideas related to *tapa* and *mana*. This culmination of visual interpretation and cultural beliefs presented new opportunities for design and, differentiation to other Polynesian quilts.

ii. Ownership

The ownership of many Cook Island *tivaevae* designs are unknown as they have been passed on and exposed to many generations that it is difficult to determine its original designers, an example is the *pua kaute*¹⁰ motif (Fig.26).

Many ta`orei designs have been around for such a long time that no one knows who first designed a particular pattern, and so no one owns the copyright. Pua kaute is one such pattern, and it is used throughout the Cook Islands and New Zealand (Mallon & Pereira, 2002, p.69).

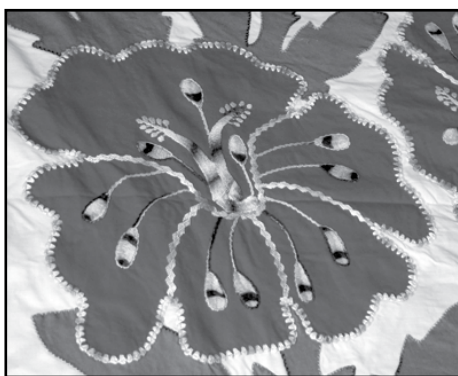


Fig. 2.26 Kaute motif, hibiscus.
(Private collection of Mrs Moeroa Maea).

However, it has been generally held that stitching techniques can help determine the ownership of designs, as the techniques are normally shared with those of close kinship "a quilt also allows ownership to be declared and restricted through stitches that tend to be passed down from mother to daughter" (Kuchler, 2003, p.114). In recent times another method for claiming ownership for designs has been the implementation of symbols incorporated into the design, symbolising the creator's signature and ownership of the design.

2.1.11 The Cook Islands Summary

It has been argued that the vicinity of the islands within the Cook Islands has created a non-unified collective culture and identity, however, it has been highlighted that the people of the Cook Islands participated in lifestyles and

10 Hibiscus

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customs that conformed essentially to the respect of a general Polynesian culture. This could be attributed to their sea-voyaging capabilities and explorations, as many times they travelled to other islands within their group, and those outside the Cook Island group. Although the islands had varying degrees of differentiation in regards to society customs and traditions, all maintained similar ideologies in regards to beliefs and social order.

With the establishment of Christianity in the early 19th century, came new beliefs, customs and traditions. Its impact proving detrimental to many aspects of Cook Island life, in particular the destruction of their old world gods and idols, as well as the loss of cultural knowledge pertaining to *ta-tatau*. However, there were positive effects that were embraced by Cook Island society, in particular, *tivaevae*. This new art form highlighted the new hybrid culture that was developing in the Cook Islands, a culmination of new European ideals combined with the traditions, practices and symbolism embedded within Cook Island visual arts.

The Cook Islands adopted the European method of quilt-making to produce visual expressions of their culture and identity. As the *tivaevae* replaced the traditional form of *tapa*, it became embedded with meaning and values significant to their culture and traditions. *Tivaevae* quickly became modes of expression of identity, and the motifs and symbols created drew inspiration from its environment, in particular, flowers featuring prominently in many designs.

Recent years has seen a renewed interest in many traditional practices and designs, with Cook Island descendants living within the islands and abroad seeking to re-affirm their identity and re-establish connections with their history and culture. The practices and design involved with *ta-tatau* and *tivaevae* are both vested with deep cultural and emotional significance, serving as representations of identity, differentiation and cohesion.

2.2 CULTURAL APPROPRIATION

The debate of cultural appropriation is one of great concern as its application can be problematic for indigenous cultures in the pursuit of ensuring authenticity, originality, identity, and cultural knowledge. The main issue concerning this investigation of cultural appropriation is to identify problems faced by indigenous cultures whose cultural products do not fit within the framework provided by Western society, and to identify instances of harm afforded to source cultures.

In order to identify this occurrence, investigation into cultural appropriation is undertaken beginning with insight into its correlation with intellectual property. The research explores various forms of appropriation with clarification between appropriation and cultural appropriation, and focuses on applications relating to the cultural appropriation of Cook Island designs.

2.2.1 Intellectual Property

Intellectual property refers to intangible works or inventions that is the result of creativity, “Intellectual property refers to creations of the mind: inventions, literary and artistic works, and symbols, names, images, and designs used in commerce” (WIPO, n.d.). Its similarity to cultural products, is predicated on the concept of intellectual activity as expressions of theoretical creativity, both of which are vulnerable to appropriation “Both categories embody intangible ideas, and both are vulnerable to theft by copying, whether that unauthorized reproduction is known as intellectual property infringement or cultural appropriation” (Scafidi, 2005, p.13).

The protection afforded by intellectual property laws do not cover the physical manifestations of theoretical ideas, instead, its purpose is to protect the moral and economic rights of the creators of intangible ideas “intellectual property law aims at safeguarding creators and other producers of intellectual goods and services... do not apply to the physical object in which the creation may be embodied but instead to the intellectual creation as such” (WIPO, 2004., p.3).

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2.2.2 Cultural Appropriation

There are several definitions of appropriation, a general interpretation is “to take something for one’s own use” (Nelson & Shiff, 2003, p.162), which implies an ominous association with plagiarism “also has more sinister connotations implying an improper taking of something or even abduction or theft” (Nelson & Shiff, 2003, p.162). From a Graphic Design viewpoint, appropriation is the modernisation of existing materials, while plagiarism is a direct form of theft “Plagiarism is regarded as a form of piracy, the stealing of someone else’s work. Appropriation, on the other hand, is now regarded as making sophisticated use of existing material” (Heller, Finamore & AIGA, 1997, p.4). Art history defines appropriation as “The direct duplication, copying or incorporation of an image (painting, photograph, etc) by another artist who represents it in a different context, thus completely altering its meaning and questioning notions of originality and authenticity” (Read, Stangos & Credo Reference, 1994, p19). Although there are various contexts in which appropriation is defined, there is the general idea that the practice makes use of work belonging to somebody else.

Cultural appropriation is the act of taking or using something from its source culture for use by another culture (Young, 2005). Scafidi (2005) provides a more detailed account of cultural appropriation “taking—from a culture that is not one’s own—of intellectual property, cultural expressions or artifacts, history, and ways of knowledge” (p.9) while, Coombe (1993a) defines it as “the depiction of minorities or cultures other than one’s own, either in fiction or non-fiction” (p.250).

Cultural appropriation is generalised as an affront against its source culture, “Cultural appropriation is seen as inherently bound up with the oppression of minority culture” (Young, 2008, p.ix), as it may cause offense “these appropriations may also be experienced as insults, if not serious affronts, to people for whom these expressive forms have histories and traditions” (Heller, Finamore & AIGA, 1997, p.18) and alter views of authenticity. While there are forms of cultural

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appropriation that conform to this perception, there are views that some forms of cultural appropriation can be beneficial to its source culture.

There are ongoing debates about the moralities of cultural appropriation, but in order to identify acts of cultural appropriation, distinctions need to be made between its source culture and the appropriating culture “The concept of cultural appropriation has no application unless insiders and outsiders, members and nonmembers of a culture, can be distinguished” (Young, 2005, p.136).

i. Forms of Cultural Appropriation

Some forms of cultural appropriation are considered appreciative appropriation, where the transformed work adds value to its source culture “it may simultaneously benefit the source community seeking to preserve or define its identity” (Scafidi, 2005, p.97). This preservation of identity acknowledges the works origin, while cultivating involvement for outside cultures with the source culture “Cultural products do, however, provide a starting point for recognition of the source community as well as a means of allowing outsiders a degree of participation in and appreciation of that community” (Scafidi, 2005, p.8). However, this acknowledgement and involvement can alternatively draw assumptions that some forms of cultural appropriation can be representations of the source culture “an act of representing a culture is not an act of appropriating from it” (Young, 2008, p.8), which leads to the question of what forms of cultural appropriation are considered appropriation, and which are representative.

Other forms of cultural appropriation can be detrimental to its source culture “Not only does misappropriation put the source community at risk of harmful or offensive stereotyping, but it also threatens to devalue cultural products through inappropriate, acontextual exposure or familiarity” (Scafidi, 2005, p.106). Coombe (1993b) addresses the detrimental effects of the cultural appropriation of the First Nation peoples, illustrating how after many years of cultural violence, works

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produced by contemporary First Nation people, have been devalued and criticised as inauthentic and lacking ‘Indianess’ qualities “when they write or paint, their work is often criticized for not being ‘authentic’ or sufficiently ‘Indian’” (Coombe, 1993b, p.268). This devaluation has created displacement within First Nation people “First Nations peoples feel themselves alienated from their artists and entrepreneurs, who appropriate these same spiritual commodities to be bought and sold on the market” (Coombe, 1993b, p.276) and has created great offense as the commodification of their cultural products used to promote new religious ideals, misrepresents their ideals of spirituality “The use of Native motifs, imagery, and themes in the “spiritually” marketed as New Age religion is particularly offensive, both because of its commodification and its distortion of Native traditions. That which is spiritual cannot be sold and must be treated with care and respect” (Coombe, 1993b, p.278).

ii. Applications of Appropriation

The application of appropriation can further be defined by its execution, some are innovative, others are non-innovative. Non-innovative appropriation occurs when artists appropriate cultural elements with the intention to replicate aesthetic qualities “not creating a new category of artwork, but adding to a category that already exists. They attempt to succeed by the standards already established within the culture from which they are appropriating” (Young, 2006, p.458). This form of appropriation raises questions of authenticity, where artist sometimes promote their works as genuine native compositions “Sometimes non-aboriginal artists have successfully passed off their works as aboriginal products” (Young, 2006, p.461). It can be difficult to determine the authenticity of many non-innovative appropriations “there is no reliable way for viewers to tell, just by looking at a painting, whether it is by a member of an aboriginal culture or by an outsider”

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(Young, 2006, p.461), so much that experts have had great difficulty distinguishing between the ‘copy’ and the original.

“Ray Eldridge, the distinguished African-American jazz trumpeter... once bet Leonard Feather, the music critic, that he could reliably tell the difference between jazz performances by African-Americans and non-African-Americans. If anyone could, Eldridge could...Put to the test, he failed miserably. In blind listening situations, he misidentified the cultural origins of the performer more than half of the time” (Young, 2006, p.460).

This form of appropriation can be harmful, as it can be a misrepresentation of its source culture, and in some cases, impair its commercial significance “Such fraud can harm the economic interests of insiders” (Young, 2006, p.468).

Innovative appropriation occurs when appropriated works are transformed in a manner that has no resemblance to its original purpose in its source culture. Young (2006) gives an example of innovative appropriation by Picasso, whose 1907 masterpiece, *Les Femmes d'Alger*, was inspired by African carving “Picasso was engaged in innovative content appropriation when he borrowed ideas from African carvers...Although African carving influenced Picasso, he did not produce a work that belongs to any tradition of African carving” (Young, 2006, p.458). This application of transformation ties in closely to the rationale of cultural appropriation as a means for individual artists to explore their artistic capabilities by exploring foreign cultures in their works, and raises the question about what contexts of culturally appropriated works are considered authentic, or inauthentic.

2.2.3 Authenticity

There is continual debate regarding the term authentic “The term ‘authenticity’ is used in so many different contexts that it may very well resist definition” (Golomb, 1995, p.7). From a legal standpoint, authenticity relates to intellectual property rights. Art history reflects upon *authentic* traditional art as “a piece 1) made by a member of a small-scale society, 2) the society’s traditional style,

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and 3) intended for a traditional social or religious function” (Shiner, 1994, p.226). However, when an artist transforms appropriated cultural forms in such a manner it becomes an expression of self-exploration, the transformed works are viewed as authentic to the artist “Authenticity...is the property of the product of an artist’s individual genius” (Young, 2008, p.47). Picasso was one such artist whose artistic explorations led to his transformative appropriated cultural forms of African carvings, reflective of his individuality and creative intellect “works that are an expression of an artist’s individual genius are characterized by *personal authenticity*” (Young, 2008, p.47).

Coleman (2001), presents an alternative framework to mainstream thoughts of indigenous art and authenticity, raising questions of authority to identify and acknowledge the authenticity of cultural products. Coleman argues cultural objects created for the purposes of financial gain by indigenous cultures are regarded by its relating culture as authentic.

Aboriginal groups have presented counter-claims that challenge Western philosophical preconceptions about authenticity...have claimed that works that are “obviously” inauthentic from a Western perspective are in fact authentic (Coleman, 2001, p.385).

This presents a different ideological framework from Western principles, and Coleman’s argument is supported by Shiner (1994), whose debate raises questions of authenticity based upon decision, rather than discovery “it is common practice to attack the authenticity of reproductions or even of original works simply on the basis that they are made for sale” (p.227), which highlights as the product was not produced for the purposes of ‘traditional’ practices and, from the Western philosophical viewpoint it is considered inauthentic¹¹. Although the basis of Coleman’s research focuses on a number of Aboriginal art scandals that occurred during 1996 and 1999, her model suggests indigenous cultures hold a

11 Inauthentic means to not be a true representation of a cultural product, and should not be confused with ‘forgery’. Forgery implies to deceive, while inauthentic in this context, means to not possess certain characteristics that would otherwise define itself as ‘authentic’

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different perspective to authenticity to that of the Western world. Many indigenous cultures view its cultural art forms as authentic representations of its identity, and when cultural appropriation occurs, there is risk of misrepresentation through inauthentic expressions of identity “The appropriation of cultural goods by outsiders to the original culture may lead to faulty portrayal of the members of that culture through misrepresentation” (Heyd, 2003, p.38), thereby altering its cultural significance and authenticity.

2.2.4 Representation/Misrepresentation

Another concerning factor occurs when the origins of appropriated products are misrepresented.

Misrepresentation of the origins of arts and crafts is common. According to one estimate, aboriginal Australians paint only about half of the didgeridoos sold. Many fewer are cut by an aboriginal craftsman. Nevertheless, almost all the instruments are sold as “authentic aboriginal didgeridoos” (Young, 2006, p.468).

The misrepresentations of origin can create offense to the source culture, as appropriating artists presume to represent their works as authentic native products “Insiders artists are justifiably upset when works by outsiders are represented as works by insiders” (Young, 2006, p.468). This can also harm outsiders, who acquire cultural objects on the belief that it originated from the native culture “Outsiders are also harmed. Collectors of, for example, Australian aboriginal art and the art of North American First Nations, often want to know that an artwork has been produced by an insider” (Young, 2006, p.468). Many artists and designers utilise “Art” as a vehicle to appropriate indigenous cultural products, utilising western frameworks that regard art as a means of expression as a necessary method to encourage individual creativity.

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What is becoming increasingly evident within film and television in this country is that there remains the myth of “Art for Arts sake”. This mythology promotes an ideal that one can participate in image creation, construction, re-presentation from a neutral position of Art which operates beyond the parameters of political analysis. Pakeha film makers and Media institutions continue to present Maori images unproblematically and then too often defend their representations through postmodernism or postcolonial frameworks (IRI, 1997).

Pihama (1994) presents an example which depicts how New Zealand Maori were badly misrepresented in the movie by Jane Campion, *The Piano*, its portrayal of Maori in the movie heavily constructed with colonial ideologies.

A clear example of the types of definitions and control in regard to imagery of Maori people can be seen in the recently acclaimed film *The Piano*. There is little doubt in my mind that Jane Campion is a film maker of great ability and repute. However, the depiction of Maori people in the film leaves no stereotyped stone unturned. What we have in *The Piano* is a series of constructions of Maori people which are located firmly in a colonial gaze, which range from the ‘happy go lucky native’ to the sexualised Maori woman available at all times to service Pakeha men. The perception of Maori people given in *The Piano* is that our tipuna were naive, simpleminded, lacked reason, acted impulsively and spoke only in terms of sexual innuendo, with a particular obsession with male genitalia. For Maori people *The Piano* is dangerous. It is dangerous in its portrayal of Maori people linked solely to a colonial gaze, that is uncritical and unchallenging of the stereotypes that have been paraded continuously as the way we were. (Pihama, 1994, p.239).

2.2.5 Rationale

There are two motivational factors for initiating cultural appropriation that concerns this research; economic gain and artistic expression. Some argue that cultural appropriation is a form of artistic expression and exploration, others view it as a means of economic benefit by providing new, untapped resources for commodification “members of the public copy and transform cultural products to suit their own tastes, express their own creative individuality, or simply make a profit” (Scafidi, 2005, p.9).

When cultural objects are appropriated for artistic expression and exploration, it is generally considered that it occurs because the artist finds merit in the cultural

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product “Presumably, artists who appropriate content from a culture do so because they find something of value in that culture” (Young, 2005, p.141). The artist presumably intends to develop their personal artistic ability, aided by exploration of new and foreign ideas “artistic creation and expression is often a form of enquiry” (Young, 2005, p.140). It has been argued that artistic exploration is an essential development of self-realisation, which allows artists to explore technical processes of cultural works through their own individual transformations.

The creation of a work of art is frequently a privileged form of expression. The argument for this conclusion starts with the premise that the creation of artwork is often essential to an individual's self-realization. Artists often use their works to understand matters that they find to be of pressing importance... explore the issues that they investigate through their art (Young, 2005, p.140).

Although the intent to explore cultural products may be for artistic development, there still maintains the ability to offend the source culture. Offense may be further generated if artists appropriate cultural products when there are more accessible forms of exploration available to the artist, “Artists who engage in cultural appropriation not as a means to self-realisation, but only for pecuniary reasons, may very well act wrongly, particularly if inoffensive ways of creating art are available to them” (Young, 2005, p.141).

From an economic viewpoint, the intention is, to explore indigenous cultures in the aim of finding inspiration and ideas for commodification “In their quest for distinction in competitive markets, it is not surprising that designers of trademarks have looked into more exotic locales and to other cultures to find signifying forms that are not already in commercial use” (Heller, Finamore & AIGA, 1997, p.18). The results of this can be especially offensive to its source culture, “This practice may be viewed as an invasive violation by those whose cultural forms become commodified and invested with alien meanings” (Heller, Finamore & AIGA, 1997, p.18), as its transformations of its cultural products become charged with foreign meaning which may de-value its cultural significance and alter meaning.

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2.2.6 Control

However culturally appropriated works are transformed or promoted, due to the nature of many cultural products, many cultures have difficulty maintaining control of how their cultural products are treated and transformed “Because cultural products, like intellectual properties, are non-competitive, intangible goods, it is often difficult or impossible to control their proliferation and use” (Scafidi, 2005, p.53). The lack of control is also shaped by the fact that cultures are ever-changing and progressive and, if there is a lack of a distinct tangible and verifiable agency to act on its behalf, the application of appropriation is more difficult to maintain “Since cultural groups are often loosely organized networks with shifting membership or degrees of affiliation, they tend to lack a single authoritative voice that might channel cultural appreciation or prevent cultural appropriation” (Scafidi, 2005, p.10). This difficulty also raises issues regarding as to who should benefit from the exposure and transformation of their cultural products; “Perhaps the most contentious internal issue of all is how to regulate the general public’s access to the cultural goods of a particular community—and who should benefit economically from their distribution” (Scafidi, 2005, p.10).

Although the control of culturally appropriated works is difficult to maintain, the source culture may still hold strong reservations about the result of the transformation “While source communities often have little control over the pattern of cultural appropriation, they nevertheless express strong and sometimes conflicting reactions to the outside use of their cultural products” (Scafidi, 2005, p.99), which can affect the reception of the transformed appropriations. These reservations are predicated on the source culture possessing the authority to acknowledge authenticity of appropriated works “While a source community may be unable to prevent nonconforming use or outsider appropriation, it can at least charge that the modified or stolen cultural product is not original or genuine”

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(Scafidi, 2005, p.54), which may alter the perceptions of the transformed works and the intentions of the appropriating culture.

2.2.7 Design Responsibility

When appropriating cultural forms, designers should consider reasons for appropriation “When appropriating forms from the past each designer must carefully assess whether he or she is continuing tradition, honouring the past, or debasing the original by separating it from its symbolic meaning and historical context” (Heller, Finamore & AIGA, 1997, p.5) and acknowledge the contributions of the source culture “When outsiders appropriate content from a disadvantaged minority culture, the source of the appropriated material ought to be fully and publicly acknowledged” (Young, 2005, p.141). If the source culture is not recognised, it may cause unnecessary offence “a failure to acknowledge sources is a gratuitous and unnecessary source of (perhaps additional) offense that can render otherwise unobjectionable cultural appropriation wrong” (Young, 2005, 141), and create problems for the marketability of the transformed appropriated product “cultural appropriation rarely occurs without at least some consideration of the significance of the original product, if only to ensure its marketability” (Scafidi, 2005, p.94).

In order to minimise offense afforded to source cultures of culturally appropriated works, consideration needs to be taken when appropriating cultural forms “Before outsiders can appropriate a cultural product, they must first recognize its existence, source community and value” (Scafidi, 2005, p.9) with an awareness of the symbolic and cultural significance of the appropriated works, recognising the transformation of culturally appropriated works may be considered representations of the source culture “In many discussions of cultural appropriation, concerns have been raised about outsiders who represent in their artworks individuals or institutions from another culture” (Young, 2008, p.7).

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2.2.8 Cultural Appropriation Summary

From the literature, it becomes clear cultural works of many indigenous do not fit neatly into the Westernised framework of intellectual properties. Due to this, many are at risk of losing their native identities along with perceptions of authenticity, and are left facing many issues regarding control and exploitation of its cultural forms. Their inability to control the appropriation of their cultural goods is predicated on the fact that many fail to have a single authority representing their culture. This attributes to the level of protection needed, fall outside Western frameworks.

Still more likely to fall outside the realm of intellectual property are the creative expressions of an unincorporated group, such as a particular race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, profession, avocation, class, or even gender or age category. The intangible products of these cultural groups, whether created deliberately or as a by-product of social interaction over time, tend to fail the tests of agency and novelty common to the utilitarian and ethical theories of intellectual property protection (Scafidi, 2005, p.21).

However, recent years has seen a review of intellectual property rights, with the intention to protect indigenous cultural products and safeguard traditional knowledge from loss, providing some hope for indigenous cultures to safeguard their cultural products.

The American legal system, however, has already begun to seek a balance between cultural appreciation and cultural appropriation of Native American handicrafts, and legal scholars have considered the proposal that protection of indigenous artworks should be expanded on both a national and a global basis” (Scafidi, 2005, p.22).

In the meantime, as there are various forms of appropriation that are less invasive or offensive, considerations can be made to minimise negative effects. One such method could be to treat cultural works with respect to its significance to its source culture, which could prove to be beneficial to all parties involved. Also, acknowledging the source culture can enhance indigenous cultures' identity while benefiting the appropriating artist and outsiders, by providing as

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association for each to recognise. However, as culturally appropriated works can easily be viewed as authentic representations of the source culture, and possessing possible negative or derogatory implications, care needs to be employed. From the literature, it becomes clear the less invasive form of cultural appropriation are works transformed in a manner viewed as innovative appropriation. The culturally appropriated works are transformed to the extent that the products no longer have significant cultural value to its source culture, which in turn, generates a new and fresh value to the product, creating a new visual identity of the product.

2.3 APPROPRIATING COOK ISLAND MOTIFS

There is little investigation into the appropriation of Cook Island cultural forms therefore, this investigation reflects on the appropriation of other indigenous cultures. The literature considers the appropriation of cultural arts similar to that practiced in Cook Island culture, specifically, the appropriation of New Zealand Maori tattoos. The aim is to provide insight into the possible issues facing the Cook Islands.

Furthermore, the research considers the resurgence in Cook Island visual arts by its descendants in the aim of preserving their cultural identity. This is addressed with *ta-tatau*, which has seen a recent interest by Cook Islanders as a form of reaffirming their identity and connection to their heritage. The research will also address the ownership value placed on *tivaevae* by Cook Island women, and how Cook Islanders view the practice and their designs as a means of expressing their culture and identity. The aim of this is to identify the methods employed by some Cook Islanders' in the hopes of protecting their cultural works from appropriation and, acknowledge the significance of *tivaevae* as representations of identity.

2.3.1 Ta-tatau Motifs

As foreign agencies are continuously seeking new visual forms and symbols for branding, they often look to indigenous cultures for sources of inspiration. This occurrence has been prevalent in tattooing across many cultures, in particular, the New Zealand Maori *ta-moko*. The appropriation of its indigenous cultural symbols for tattoos has generated great offense to Maori, seen recently with the creation of a Playstation game, *The Mark of Kri*, and its male Maori warrior wearing a *moko kawaii*, a style of tattoo worn only by women. The intentions of the creators of the game was to exhibit warrior-like qualities that made the character appear fearsome and powerful. However, the image of the character has generated much offense to Maori, coupled with the *moko kawaii*, the plunging of the *taiaha*, and the lack of consultation with Maori (Bailey, n.d).

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Recent years has seen a renewed interest in cultural practices with expressed interest in symbols and designs by younger generations. This has also been seen in Cook Island *ta-tatau*, where Cook Island descendants are embarking on explorations with *ta-tatau*, re-affirming links to their culture and their native identity.

Today many more Cook Islanders are wearing traditionally inspired *ta-tatau*, a practice that is no longer the social stigma it used to be. This renaissance is helping uncover the rich heritage of *ta-tatau* few people knew existed. For many proud wearers of *ta-tatau* getting a *ta-tatau* is a personal journey that will remain with them forever (Utanga & Mangos, 2006, p.322).

As the interest in *ta-tatau* grows, traditional designs are becoming more accessible "Cook Island patterns and motifs are now more commonplace and traditional designs are being rediscovered and redefined" (Utanga & Mangos, 2006, p.322). Although there are some who prefer to maintain the continuity and preservation of traditional *ta-tatau* designs, "I prefer not to change traditional designs. When you change a design, it is no longer traditional it is yours" (Michael Tavioni, as cited in Utanga & Mangos, 2006, p.325), there are those who view the transformation of traditional motifs into styles encompassing the past while embracing the new.

Some of the *ta-tatau* of the past are not relevant today. So what we've got to do is develop designs suitable for the professionals of today and have a closer look at re-designing some of our old designs (Tetini Pekepo, as cited in Utanga & Mangos, 2006, p.326).

2.3.2 Tivaevae Designs & Motifs

The interest by outsiders in exotic locations and their cultural symbols and values, has led to indigenous cultures seeking options of protecting their intellectual property. In the case of the Cook Islands, the protection of their *tivaevae* designs and motifs is no different, and although it has been argued that there is no precedent for copyrighting motifs and designs, Cook Island women vigilantly protect their designs.

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One woman in Rarotonga said that a woman must register a *tifai fai* design with the local government officials to “patent” it. Although local authorities say that such a procedure doesn’t exist, the woman’s statement indicates her strong feelings about the importance of originality (Hammond, 1986b, p.270).

The preservation of originality are highly regarded, where Cook Island women will often destroy the patterns to stop others from stealing and claiming the designs as theirs.

Some women create only one or a few *tifai fai* with a particular design and then destroy the pattern in order to preserve the originality of the design. As one Tahitian woman recalled, “My mother made three *tifai fai* with a basket of fruit. She gave one to me, one to my cousin, and one to her friend. Then she tore up the pattern.” By so doing, the woman ensured the uniqueness of her gifts (Hammond, 1986b, p.270).

Cook Island women guard their designs from the prospects of appropriation and are only shared with those who are trusted “many women closely guarded their patterns and shared them only with close friends or family members (Jones 1973:12-13). Even today, many Hawaiian women are reluctant to have their quilts photographed” (Hammond, 1986b, p.271). The importance placed on the preservation of originality and ownership of *tivaevae* designs stems not only from its authenticity as a form of cultural expression, the designs are symbolic to the identities of those who create them.

In recent times, many Polynesians have utilised their skill to gain financial reward, therefore, the importance of protecting their works from outsiders is paramount to the commercial success and viability of their arts. Many women will sign their works by incorporating a unique trademark into all their designs.

The significance of the *tifai fai* design as a symbol of personal identity is further illustrated in a relatively recent phenomenon among some Hawaiian women who sell their designs for commercial profit. Such women may “sign” their quilts by incorporating a distinctive artistic feature, such as a star, into all their designs. Thus, when another duplicates the design, she also replicates the original artist’s artistic signature. Original work by the artist herself may, in addition, bear her embroidered signature (Hammond, 1986b, p.271).

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This method of incorporating a visual symbol into their designs may be unrecognisable to those who appropriate the design, therefore, the personal signature of the original artist is replicated in the appropriated works which enables the creator to identify and affirm the work originally belonged to them.

The use of *tivaevae* as communication tools enables its creators to express information about themselves and associated activities they are involved with. It enables them to shape and present their identities to others, and the multiplicity expressed through the multi-faceted aspects of the *tivaevae* reveal the interesting and intriguing nature of their culture “Today, Polynesian women are still actively involved in constructing and communicating information about themselves through *tīfāifai* and associated activities...Polynesian women exercise many options for self expression through *tīfāifai*” (Hammond, 1986b, p.277). Therefore when appropriated by outside cultures, meaning and value are lost and can be misrepresentative of the Cook Island identity, “As used by an insider, an image may have rich symbolic significance. It may be the insigne of a clan or a deity. As used by an outsider, the same image is simply a strong graphic design” (Young, 2006, p.467), devaluing its cultural significance and misrepresenting its source culture.

While *tivaevae* are regarded as forms of great cultural value and expressions of their identity, there remains little investigation into the appropriation of Cook Island *tivaevae* motifs and designs by brands. However, it has been suggested that brands are capable of influencing and shaping national identity through advertising practices and utilising resources from the source culture.

Brand resources used in the construction of national identity are not only acquired from commercials that are unashamedly designed to appeal to a particular sense of national pride and that incorporate overt references to certain cultures and particular cultural practices” (Bulmer & Buchanan-Oliver, n.d, p.7).

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Therefore it can be argued that the appropriation of Cook Island *tivaevae* designs by brands and the transformations occurring through appropriation, can alter the perceptions of its identity by consumers.

Although there is a vast amount of literature pertaining to brands and cultural appropriation, there is little research into the influence of brand advertising practices using cultural cues to build their brand identity on younger generations perceptions of identity, "there is little understanding of the relationship between young consumers and the brand resources they are exposed to in the process of learning about national identity" (Bulmer & Buchanan-Oliver, n.d, p.10), and none specific to the appropriation of Cook Island cultural designs and the consequence to Cook Island younger generation perceptions of native identity.

2.3.3 Appropriating Cook Island Motifs Summary

When cultural objects are created within its source culture, they are embedded with symbolic meaning, representative of the customs, traditions and identity of its culture, while when appropriated by an outsider, the product may merely be appropriated for its aesthetic qualities. The challenge facing many indigenous cultures is finding methods to help protect their cultural designs and motifs, and this is no different with the Cook Islands.

With the introduction of Christianity in the early 19th century, came the destruction of much of its cultural practices and designs causing the greatest impact on *ta-tatau*. However, recent years has seen a renewed interest from Cook Island descendants, embarking on voyages of personal growth and re-affirmation of cultural identity.

While the influence of early European settlers during the 19th century created social upheaval within the Cook Islands, their influence did enable people of the Islands to learn and adopt new skills and art forms, in particular, *tivaevae*.

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However, the women of the Cook Islands transformed this art into personal and symbolic expressions of their cultural identity.

With the renewed interest in many of the traditional design of the Cook Islands, has also drawn interest by foreign agencies, who are constantly looking for new sources of inspiration, many times looking at exotic locations for new "points of difference" for their products and services. However, the appropriations and the transformations of the cultural designs that occur, more often than not are conducted with little consultation to the source culture, and with very little knowledge of the cultural significance and its embedded meanings, resulting in transformed cultural designs that either have very little resemblance to its originating design, or worse still, transformed in such a manner that is not only transforms its meaning and purpose, but creates offense as it wrongly represents the source culture.

Options for foreign agencies who appropriate cultural designs and symbols is to ensure the integrity of the source culture by ensuring that transformation that occurs either has no symbolic or aesthetic reference to its source culture, innovative appropriation, or if it opts to replicate the aesthetic value of the appropriated work, ensure the representations of the source culture are appropriate and accurate, while ensuring the designs are not used or portrayed in such a manner as to create profound offense "The challenge in designing for new cultural groups is to develop appropriate representations that will maintain the integrity of those represented and communicate positively their place in society" (Martinson & Chu, 2003, p.229).

2.4 YOUNG ADULT VISUAL IDENTITY

The research will explore youth visual identity, considering briefly the period of most change experienced by young adults. From here, the research will consider the varying forms of visual expression utilised by younger generations for asserting their identity, and consider the relationship between brand advertising and youth, highlighting the influences brands have on shaping youth identity. The purpose is to identify what forms of visual identity young adults utilise to express themselves, and if cultural cues used by non-source cultures alter perceptions of their ethnic identity.

2.4.1 The Formation of Identity in the Young Adult

Arnett (2000) asserts the period of most exploration and experimentation with identity for youth is the period of emerging adulthood “emerging adulthood is the period from (roughly) 18 to 25, most identity exploration takes place in emerging adulthood rather than adolescence” (p.473). This is the period of greatest change, and the formation of identity begins its transformation with possibilities to experiment with unrestrained compulsion “Emerging adulthood has been characterized as an age of possibilities that involves heightened identity exploration and risk-taking” (Padilla-Walker et. al., 2008, p.451). This concept lends itself to support ideas that identity is influenced by cultural experiences “Like adolescence, emerging adulthood is a period of the life course that is culturally constructed, not universal and immutable” (Arnett, 2000, p.470) rather than generalised attributes. As this period presents emerging adults with greater possibilities to explore and experiment, it also provides the opportunity to visually express their identity uninhibited by practices in later life that may curb distinction.

Emerging adulthood is a time in life when many different directions remain possible, when little about the future has been decided for certain, when the scope of independent exploration of life’s possibilities is greater for most people than it will be at any other period of the life course (Arnett, 2000, p.469).

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2.4.2 Visual Identity

Visual expression for emerging adults revolves around style, it is depicted in the music they listen to, the clothes they wear, the communication devices they use, the art forms they relate to and the genres they model themselves upon “Style has become the most prominent cultural medium for expressing the identity aspirations of youth culture” (Kjeldgaard & Askegaard, 2006, p.233). All of these forms of expression enable youth to visually express who they are and are means of differentiation, establishing their uniqueness to a homogenised society.

A method of visual expression commonly practiced by emerging adults to demonstrate their identity is body art “experiment with their own visual identity and for many this may involve, body piercing, tattoos and radical hair colours or styles” (Sparkman, 2002, pp.3-4). While many adults view the practice as an act of defiance and nonconformity, “adults frequently consider them as signs of deviant behaviour” (Armstrong & Murphy, 1997, as cited in Blair, 2007, p.40), emerging adults view the art forms as graphic expressions of their identity “Teens view their tattoos as objects of self-expression” (Blair, 2007, p.40). Tattooing provides emerging adults with a canvas, which they have the authority to exercise control, transforming their bodies into bold declarations of their identity “A tattooed body, as a site of representation, acted as a surface to display one’s identity to others” (Blair, 2007, p.41). Recent years has seen increased interest in tattooing, which has been embedded in youth culture since the 1990s “Tattoos are particularly popular with teenagers who explore their identity through experimentation with their outward appearances and, since the 1990s tattoos have become an established part of youth culture” (Riley & Cahill, 2005, as cited by Blair, 2007, p.39).

While body art is the most prolific in expressing identity for emerging adults, “Studies of youth subculture have shown the importance of the body in defining membership of a group and communicating it both within and outside the group” (Schroeder & Salzer-Mörling, 2006, p.157), other forms of visual expression are

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seen in clothing, music, technology and arts “played out in a set of highly stylized arenas of clothing, grooming, music, communication technology” (Kjeldgaard & Askegaard, 2006, p.233). Graffiti art and tagging are forms which have created controversy and uproar within many communities, however, younger generations view the art form as a method of self-identity, seeking acknowledgement and identification “The infectious allure of underground graffiti art has spread through our youths around the world. Their silent rebellion reflects a search for visual autonomy in a visually saturated world, which needs to be acknowledged” (Sparkman, 2002, p.3).

2.4.3 Young Adults & Brands

Bulmer & Buchanan-Oliver (n.d.), give a description which exhibits the link between brand advertising and identity, “Brand advertising is conceptualised as a resource used in the ongoing construction of national identity and as a catalyst in creating experiences that engender a sense of national community” (Bulmer, Buchanan-Oliver, n.d, p.2). It has been argued in order for brands to position themselves as valuable commodities that enhance, or define identities, “Brand stories may help consumers construct the story of their own lives, that is, their identity” (Bulmer, Buchanan-Oliver, n.d, pp.3-4), the appropriation of cultural symbols and values are drawn from the intended audience’s environment, “Some researchers argue that advertisements are most effective when the symbols, characters, and values depicted in the advertisements are drawn from the intended audiences cultural environment, which allows the audience to better identify with the message and the source of the message” (Appiah, 2001, p.9).

A study by Ritson & Elliot (1999) examines the relationship of brand advertising with younger generations. Younger generations’ capability to incorporate advertising meaning and symbols into everyday occurrences “their ability to use advertising meanings for the purpose of social interaction” (Ritson

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& Elliot, 1999, p.263) making this generation the most highly sought consumers by brands. Riston & Elliot (1999) term this generation as “advertising literate” as they are perceived as the most responsive to brands “This generation of young consumers has been singled out as the most brand conscious ever by virtue of the depth and breadth of their brand knowledge and preferences” (Achenreiner & John, 2003, p.205), as they are more likely to associate themselves with brands that expresses who they are, reinforcing their identities.

While it has been common practice for brands to appropriate cultural symbols and values, there is little known about the effects of culturally appropriated objects used in brand advertising on younger generations “There is little if any information on the effects of high culturally embedded advertisements on adolescents” (Appiah, 2001, p.9).

There needs to be more research in regards to the appropriation of Cook Island motifs and designs by brands who utilise these symbols in their advertising practices and products, and into the effects of shaping and influencing identities of younger generations caused by exposure to brands, brand advertising and products. It has been argued that although there is little evidence, there are suggestions that tension is created between the younger generations' traditional culture and the new culture expressed through brands.

At a broader level, there is more to be done to complete out understanding of the effects of brand communications on other types of non-brand community identity. There are questions about how members of a national community learn about identity...there is little understanding of the relationship between young consumers and the resources they are exposed to in the process of learning about national identity...There are tensions between the pull of their traditional culture and the attractions of the new one” (Bulmer & Buchanan-Oliver, n.d, p.10).

2.4.4 Young Adult Visual Identity Summary

From the research it has been identified that the most influential period of change and shaping of identities for individuals is during their late teens to mid-

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twenties. During this time, emerging adults are less inhibited by rules, regulations and structure, and are more likely to rebel against the conformities of society in search of individuality, uniqueness, and acknowledgement.

There are many forms of visual expression used as vehicles of their identity, the most significant being body art. Emerging adults view this practice as a means of identification and a means of control, as their bodies are blank canvases for which they are responsible and have authority of. While body art has been seen as controversial and as acts of defiance, which is the reason why many teenagers engage in the practice, style plays a significant role in shaping of their identities. This can take shape in their clothing, the music they listen, the genres they are associated with; goth, punk, rock, hip-hop, etc; and even art; graffiti, tagging. These visual expressions allow younger generations the opportunity to explore and experiment with their identities.

It is also significant to understand how brand advertising influence and shape identities, as many brands appropriate cultural symbols to establish relationships with consumers. Brands understand younger generations are the most valued consumers, as their capabilities of understanding and relating to the messages expressed through brand advertising is echoed into their everyday life, where younger generations are at ease talking and sharing experiences with fellow peers.

However, it has become apparent that more research needs to be conducted in the effects of brand advertising and younger generations, as there is little evidence of its impact on younger generations' ethnic identities. This leads to question the effects of brand advertising appropriating cultural symbols and values has on source cultures.

2.5 LITERATURE REVIEW CONCLUSION

As there was little research dealing directly with Cook Island motifs, appropriation of Cook Island cultural forms and Cook Island young adult visual identity, the research considered literature from both indigenous and colonial sources. Where the literature could not be identified, the scope of research was broadened. This was apparent with young adult identity, as it was initially intended to examine the visual identity of Cook Island young adults. The same issue was experienced with appropriation of Cook Island cultural forms. The research considered cultural appropriation from the Western perspective and, extended to consider the appropriation of other cultures from the indigenous perspective. This enabled the research to utilise perspectives from other indigenous cultures and, acknowledge the Cook Islands encounters similar issues to other indigenous cultures.

The period of time that caused the greatest social upheaval and cultural violation to the Cook Islands was in the early 19th century during the introduction of Christianity. The period almost saw the complete destruction of valuable cultural knowledge and traditions. Remarkably, some of its more remote islands, managed to maintain some aspects of these traditions, which has enabled contemporary Cook Islands to refer back to in search of re-establishing their native history.

From the research it becomes clear there is a great deal of cultural meaning and value vested in Cook Island designs and motifs. The representations of their identity is expressed through their visual arts, and the historical context of their origins attributes its significance as symbols of status, expressions of diverse cultural practices, and expressions of identity communicated through their designs. The resurgence in interest in their arts signifies the culture's desire to instigate autonomy and aspirations for preserving their identity, ensured by its descendant's understanding and willingness to embrace its *maoritanga*.

LITERATURE REVIEW CONCLUSION

While the introduction of Christianity instigated great social upheaval within the Cook Islands, it also initiated trends and developments in new arts. The most significant of all for visual arts was the *tivaevae*. Cook Island women embraced the art form, investing their own interpretations and practices. The *tivaevae* became the tool which they were able to use to communicate their identity and express the multiplicity of their culture, transforming the quilts embodying their uniqueness and style. Their style was unique to other Polynesian cultures, while Hawaii designs were much more abstract and Tahiti was more geometric, Cook Island *tivaevae* was representational. Their understanding of colour, form, movement and dimension were projected based upon traditional styles and themes, reflecting the interchangeability of their culture and environment. The compositions possessed attributes of rotational balance, rich in colour, that created remarkable effects of striking movement.

The *mana* embedded in the compositions was representative of the respect and understanding of ownership of designs. However, many designs today are not attributed to a single person as the interchangeability of their culture and their sociability has caused the exchange of designs within its many communities. However, contemporary Cook Island society is understanding the importance of protecting their designs from appropriation, and are employing personal techniques to ensure ownership of designs are recognised.

The cultural appropriation of their cultural products has also led to an interest in using Western frameworks to protect their designs from outsiders, and although their cultural properties do not fit into the Western framework, they are looking to other cultures for guidance in the resolution of this matter. The issues surrounding cultural appropriation is not only predicated upon the idea of ownership, there are concerns outsiders will benefit financially from their works and hinder the marketability of their authenticity. This also presents other problems, while authenticity may be questioned regarding the designs, it may also initiate concerns

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about the authenticity of their identity. As their designs are appropriated, the transformations that occur can alter perceptions of their identity, through misrepresentation. This misrepresentation can create great offense to the Cook Islands and can harm their identity, by presenting inappropriate experiences that distort the authentic nature of their culture. The possibilities of misrepresentation through the transformations of culturally appropriated works can also create harm to outsiders, misleading them into preconceived notions of the Cook Islands, altering the authentic experience of its culture.

It becomes clear there is very little control afforded to many indigenous cultures to protect their cultural products, however, there is a social and moral responsibility that is becoming more visible and embedded into the constructs of contemporary society. While cultural appropriation used to be considered a necessary act that enabled societies to progress and express appreciation for fine arts, in many cases it is now considered plagiarism and theft. Techniques are being employed that generate the least amount of cultural harm to indigenous cultures, and from the literature it becomes clear that in order for this to occur, appropriators need to be considerate of the source culture, paying attention to the cultural significance and meaning embedded in the works. It seems that the most effective occurrence of transformation is when cultural objects are treated as innovative appropriations. The products are separated from its original symbolic meaning and value, so they no longer possess any cultural significance or distinctive aesthetic qualities that can be attributed to its origins, therefore the association with the product no longer relates to its source culture.

While cultural appropriation can generate offense to the Cook Islands and its marketability to other cultures, it can also alter the perceptions of their identity viewed by its younger generations. As emerging adults are more susceptible to brand advertising, they are more willing to express themselves and to generate social order and acceptance within their peer groups through the associations with

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brands. However, there is little research into the effects brands have on younger generations perception of identity, therefore it can only be assumed that when products are culturally appropriated from their native culture, the effects it has on outsiders and those living within the Cook Island culture, can create similar experiences for emerging Cook Island adults.

3. STUDY OF TIVAEVAE & MOTIFS

The lack of literature pertaining to the cultural appropriation of Cook Island designs, appears to be due to the generalisation of Cook Island designs as Polynesian. In this classification, Cook Island designs lack the authority of individuality and authenticity.

To determine authenticity and distinguish Cook Island designs from other Polynesian designs, the research will investigate what elements feature in Cook Island designs. To make these determinations the research involved three stages of investigation.

The first investigation analyses which motifs are most commonly used by analysing a series of Cook Island *tivaevae* whose designs and compositions are commonplace within Cook Island society.

The second investigation explores the composition of Cook Island *tivaevae*, focusing on the various elements and arrangements within its composition. The research will also extend to Polynesian *tivaevae* to establish authority of designs being distinctive to the Cook Islands.

The third investigation will make comparisons between the results of the second investigation of Cook Island and Polynesian *tivaevae* in order to identify differentiation of Cook Island designs.

From these investigations, it is expected conclusions will be drawn in the aim of establishing what motifs are commonly used in Cook Island *tivaevae*.

3.1 IDENTIFICATION OF MOTIFS

Although the literature identified the uniqueness of Cook Island *tivaevae* to other Polynesian *tivaevae*, “They are recognizable by their complex symmetry and intricate geometric patterns. These patterns are most abstract in Hawaii, most geometric is Tahiti and more representational in the Cook Islands” (Kuchler, 2003, p.97-98), there is little research determining motifs unique to the Cook Islands. Much of the problem appears to be motifs featured in many Cook Islands designs are categorised as Polynesian “Flowers have always been a feature of Pacific Island identity and culture and appear in many Pacific motifs such as on Cook Island *tivaevae* (quilts), contemporary art, and clothing styles” (Bedford, Longhurst & Underhill-Sem, 2001, p.7).

Given the research on Polynesian *tivaevae*, this study sought to identify motifs common to Cook Island *tivaevae*. However, the motifs cannot be categorised as unique to the Cook Islands as there was insufficient access to other Polynesian *tivaevae* to make valid distinctions.

The Cook Island and Polynesian *tivaevae* used for this research possessed two or more characteristics: rotational symmetry; representational forms; flora and fauna motifs; embroidery, “Cook Island quilts are further distinguished by rich multicoloured embroidery” (Kuchler, 2003, p.97-98); and colour, “distinguished by splashes of colour, representative of native flowers such as the hibiscus blossom, and set against the recurrent colours of nature” (Leenhardt, 1950, p.104).

3.1.1 Methodology

To identify what motifs are commonly seen in Cook Island *tivaevae*, an investigation of 67 Cook Island *tivaevae* from five sources were analysed (Fig.3.1). Three sources for this investigation came from books; Lynnsay Rongokea's, *The Art of Tivaevae: Traditional Cook Island Quilting* (2001); *Tokoroa Tivaivai Tivaevae Artists* (2006), by Ngamata Enoka and Moeroa Maea, and *Tifaifai and*

IDENTIFICATION OF MOTIFS

Quilts of Polynesia (1986) by Joyce Hammond. The other sources came from the private collections of Mrs Moeroa Maea and Mrs Teatuanui Teau.

The study examines which motifs are most commonly used by analysing 67 Cook Island *tivaevae* whose designs are commonplace within Cook Island society. The selection of the 67 Cook Island *tivaevae* was determined by each possessing two or more characteristics identified in the literature as features of Cook Island *tivaevae*; representational forms, flora and fauna motifs, rotational symmetry, intricately stitched embroidery and, contrasting colours.

The study examined the 67 *tivaevae* to identify the dominant motif in each. Motifs were identified as dominant based upon size and repetition. 67 motifs were counted and grouped into three categories; flora, animals and objects. Within these categories, further categorisation involved identifying the types of motifs within its parent category.

IDENTIFICATION OF MOTIFS



Fig. 3.1 Cook Island tivaevae motifs. (See Appendix 5 for full reference list).

IDENTIFICATION OF MOTIFS

3.1.2 Results

Flora	No.	Animals	No.	Objects	No.
Hibiscus	7	Crab	1	Fan	1
Lily	5	Butterfly	1	Crown	1
Water Lily	4	Peacock	1	Lantern	1
Tiger Lily	3	Sea Urchins	1	Stars	1
Xmas Lily	1	Turtles	3		
Gardenia	2	Mermaid	1		
Chrysanthemum	11				
Anthurium	1				
Grapes	1				
Orchid	4				
Poinsettias	1				
Coconut	1				
Rose	3				
Zinnia	1				
Bouquet	2				
Blue Marie leaves	1				
Taro leaves	1				
Horse head plant	1				
Other - unnamed	5				
Total	55		8		4

Of the 67 Cook Island *tivaevae* analysed, 55 used flora motifs, 8 used animal motifs with the remaining 4 using object motifs (Table 1). Of the flora motifs there were 20 species identified and one classification as unnamed flora. chrysanthemum¹² is most popular with 11 occurrences, followed by hibiscus¹³ with 7, lily with 5, orchid and water lily¹⁴ with 4 each, and tiger lily¹⁵ and rose¹⁶ with 3 each. There were 5 occurrences of unnamed flora used. Of the remaining flora classifications, each were used once in Cook Island *tivaevae*. Of the remaining 12 *tivaevae*, 8 used animal motifs. There were 5 species and one mythical creature

12 *Matarita*

13 *Kaute*

14 *Riri vai*

15 *Riri taika*

16 *Roti*

IDENTIFICATION OF MOTIFS

identified. Turtle is the most popular animal motifs with 3 occurrences. The remaining 4 *tivaevae* used object motifs.

3.1.3 Findings

From the results of the analysis, flora featured prominently as motifs in Cook Island *tivaevae*. Of this group, the most occurrences seen were chrysanthemums, hibiscus, lilies, orchids, water lilies, tiger lilies and roses. However, there are four species of Lily, indicating this group had the highest number at 13, therefore lilies (with its various species) featured in more *tivaevae* than any other group. Flora motifs representing food collectively amounted to three, consisting of grape, coconut and taro leaves. The results indicate there are six flora groups that feature frequently in Cook Island *tivaevae*.

Although animals did not feature strongly Cook Island *tivaevae*, the crab, sea urchin, butterfly and turtle motifs, are significant to acknowledge as the literature identified sea life and butterflies as sources of inspiration. It is also feasible to include mermaid into this group, although a mythical creature, has associations with the sea. The collective amount of these motifs were seven.

From the results of object motifs, stars and crown totalled two. Although object motifs have not been addressed previously, there is acknowledgment the crown and the star are used "The *taorei* technique allows for many intricate geometric design variations through the use of colour combinations, creating popular designs of flowers (chrysanthemums, roses, lilies), the turtle, the crown and the Star of David" (Rongokea, 2001, p.17), substantiating their inclusion in this study.

3.1.4 Identification of Motifs Discussion

This study sought to identify motifs common to Cook Island *tivaevae*. The major findings indicate that flora motifs prominently feature in Cook Island *tivaevae*. Within this category, lilies demonstrated the highest use followed by

IDENTIFICATION OF MOTIFS

chrysanthemums. The literature identified hibiscus as a motif that has been used for many generations and its occurrences in this study substantiates its use is significant to qualify as a common Cook Island *tivaevae* motif. Orchids were also identified as featuring in four *tivaevae*.

Results also demonstrate subjects of sea life are commonly used, substantiated by the claim that the designs for Cook Island *tivaevae* draw inspiration from its environment "Patterns reflect the environment, especially plants and flowers, but also turtles, sea life and butterflies" (D'Avella, 1998, p.118).

Although stars and crown were identified and acknowledged their inclusion in this study, the low numbers demonstrate they are not motifs commonly seen in Cook Island *tivaevae*.

Findings indicated lilies, chrysanthemum, hibiscus, orchids and sea life as motifs most commonly used in Cook Island *tivaevae*. The next chapter investigates if the motifs can be considered as representations of their identity.

3.1.5 Future Research

The findings of this study provide a first step in examining motifs common to Cook Island *tivaevae*. Future research could extend the findings by analysing other Polynesian *tivaevae* motifs to substantiate the motifs identified in this study as distinctive to the Cook Islands.

3.2 ANALYSIS OF COOK ISLAND TIVAEVAE

Literature has indicated Cook Island *tivaevae* are unique and distinguishable to other Polynesian *tivaevae*, and the previous study identified lilies, chrysanthemum, hibiscus and orchids as floral motifs commonly used in Cook Island *tivaevae*.

This study aims to extend this research, examining attributes commonly seen in Cook Island *tivaevae* to substantiate evidence of their representational value to the Cook Islands. However, the attributes cannot be categorised as unique to the Cook Islands as there was insufficient access to other Polynesian *tivaevae* to make valid distinctions.

This study examined four Cook Island *tivaevae*. The four *tivaevae* (Figs. 3.2-3.5) were selected from the 67 analysed in the previous investigation (Chapter 3.1). They were selected as they exhibited qualities commonly associated with Cook Island *tivaevae*; colour, embroidery, representational forms, rotational symmetry and, flora and fauna motifs. All of which have been identified in the literature as characteristics commonly seen in Cook Island *tivaevae*. The representational form attribute is extended to depiction; illustrative or geometric and; realism, easily identifiable as its subject matter. Two other characteristics were added to this study; border and grid. The relevance of the border attribute relates to its use in other Polynesian *tivaevae* as identified in the literature “unlike Tahitian and Hawaiian quilts, Cook Island *tivaevae* do not have borders” (Kuchler, 2003, p.110). The addition of the grid characteristic allows for identification of complex arrangement.

ANALYSIS OF COOK ISLAND TIVAEVAE



Fig 3.2 Tivaevae 1. (Rongokea, 2001, p.61).



Fig 3.3 Tivaevae 2. (Rongokea, 2001, p.118).



Fig 3.4 Tivaevae 3. (Rongokea, 2001, p.51).



Fig. 3.5 Tivaevae 4.
(Private Collection, Mrs Teatuanui Teau).

3.2.1 Methodology

To substantiate Cook Island designs as authoritative representations of the Cook Islands, a study of four Cook Island *tivaevae* possessing attributes distinguished as commonplace in Cook Island *tivaevae* was explored. The four Cook Island *tivaevae* were selected from the 67 analysed in the previous study (Chapter 3.1).

The limitation of this research predicated upon insufficient access to other Polynesian *tivaevae*, therefore the number of Cook Island *tivaevae* analysed was based upon access to other Polynesian *tivaevae* that possessed two or more attributes identified as commonplace with Cook Island *tivaevae*; colour,

ANALYSIS OF COOK ISLAND TIVAEVAE

embroidery, representational forms, rotational symmetry and, flora and fauna motifs, border and grid.

The study explored elements of the *tivaevae* for individual analysis. Each category was chosen to give clearer indication of the attributes featured, with some elements explored further for the purpose of identifying levels of intricacy. Table 3.2 gives a description of the elements analysed.

In order to conduct a comprehensive analysis, two of the attributes identified were extended; representational form and, flora and fauna motifs. The representation form attribute was translated to depiction and realism. The aim was to identify styles used for representation of subject matter and to acknowledge if the motif closely resembled its subject. The flora and fauna motifs are classified as motif, for the purpose of acknowledging other subject matter as the dominant motif present. The grid attribute was added with sub-categories of columns and rows, to enable identification of level of complexity involved with arrangement of motifs.

Attribute	Description
Rotational	Does the <i>tivaevae</i> have rotational balance - no dominant orientation
Grid	Does the composition use a regular grid
Columns	How many
Rows	How many
Depiction	Are the forms illustrative: characteristics defined by organic and fluid curves, irregularities in shape and line or; geometric: characteristic defined by regular lines or shapes.
Motif	What does the dominant motif represent
Realism	Are the motifs easily recognisable as its subject matter (species)
No. of Motifs	Total number of motifs - including the different varieties
Variety	How many different motifs are there, excluding plant stems
Colour	How many colours are used
Embroidery	Is embroidery used as part of its visual aesthetic (stitching which secures designs to the base is not considered)
No. Styles	How many different embroidery styles are there
Border	Does it have a decorative border

ANALYSIS OF COOK ISLAND TIVAEVAE

3.2.2 Results

Attribute	<i>Tivaevae 1</i>	<i>Tivaevae 2</i>	<i>Tivaevae 3</i>	<i>Tivaevae 4</i>
Rotational	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Grid	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Columns	5	4	4	4
Rows	5	4	4	4
Depiction	Illustrative	Illustrative	Illustrative	Illustrative
Motif	Tiger Lily	Chrysanthemum	Chrysanthemum	Gardenia
Realism	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
No. of Motifs	24	18	12	56
Variety	2	2	2	2
Colour	8	2	15	10
Embroidery	Yes	No	No	No
No. Styles	3	0	0	0
Border	No	No	No	No

From the results of this investigation, there are seven attributes which have been clearly identified with all four *tivaevae*. They all exhibit rotational symmetry and utilise a regular grid. The motifs are easily recognisable as its subject matter and the dominant motif in each *tivaevae* utilise flowers as its subject matter. They also all contain the same number of varieties of motifs and all elements of form were illustrative. None of the *tivaevae* use a border.

Three of the four *tivaevae* utilised the same number of rows and columns. *Tivaevae 1* was the only composition that utilised the attribute of embroidery, with three differing embroidery styles identified.

The greatest variation of elements between the *tivaevae* were the total number of motifs and the number of colours used. *Tivaevae 4* has the greatest number of motifs at 56, followed by *Tivaevae 1* with 24, *Tivaevae 2* with 18 and *Tivaevae 3* with 12.

Tivaevae 1 has eight colours, *Tivaevae 2* has two colours, *Tivaevae 3* had the highest total of colours at 15 and *Tivaevae 4* has ten colours.

3.2.3 Findings

From the results of the analysis of the four *tivaevae*, an interpretive analysis was conducted to establish the significance of the elements identified and to demonstrate if the relevance of the elements is evidence of their representational value to the Cook Islands. The interpretations are supported by images illustrating the method of visual exploration.

i. Rotational

All four *tivaevae* possess the element of rotational symmetry, where each *tivaevae* can be rotated and maintain its look. The rate of rotation for three of the *tivaevae* is 90° as seen in Fig. 3.6. There is a variation in *Tivaevae* 2 (Fig. 3.7), which works on 180° intervals. The rotational balance is enhanced by the proximity and interlocking of elements, expressing unity through the visual connections of its motifs based upon structure and order.

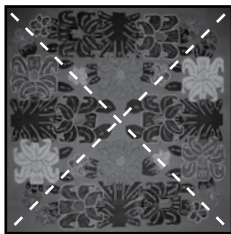


Fig 3.6 Tivaevae 1 rotated 90°

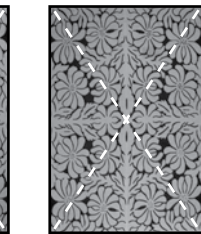
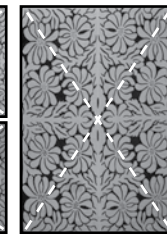
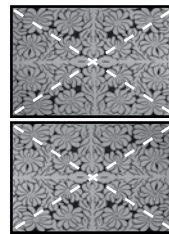
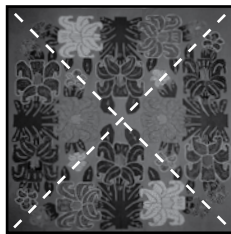


Fig 3.7 Tivaevae 2 rotated 180°

ii. Grid

All four *tivaevae* use a regular grid, cross-sectioned by diagonals (Figs. 3.8-3.11). The amount of columns and rows created by the grid, generates calculated control ensuring harmony and balance is maintained. This dissection also gives opportunity for the elements to express distinction with the grid enhancing the relationship of the elements within the composition.

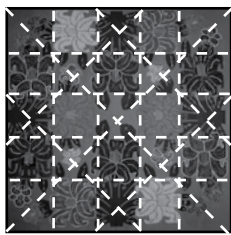


Fig 3.8 Tivaevae 1 grid.

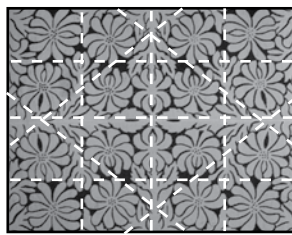


Fig 3.9 Tivaevae 2 grid.

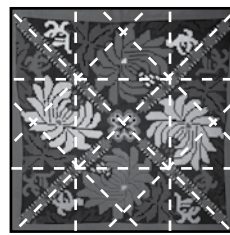


Fig 3.10 Tivaevae 3 grid.

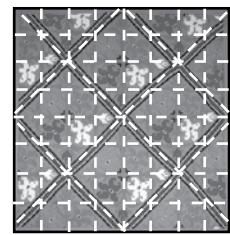


Fig 3.11 Tivaevae 4 grid.

iii. Depiction

The forms within all four *tivaevae* are illustrative, using fluid and irregular line to create lively and free-flowing arrangements. Although *Tivaevae* 3 & 4 are constructed by thousands of small squares, the arrangement enables the forms to express its organic origins. The use of line, irregularity and fluidity expresses freedom, personality and differentiation.

iv. Motif

All of the *tivaevae* feature flowers as the dominating motifs in the compositions. *Tivaevae* 2 & 3 are the chrysanthemum, *Tivaevae* 1 is the tiger lily and, *Tivaevae* 4 is a gardenia¹⁷ (Figs. 3.12-3.15). Three of the motifs are in the top four categories established in the previous investigation of identifying motifs commonly used in Cook Island *tivaevae* (Table 3.1).

The illustrative nature of the forms depict realism, allowing easy recognition of the species represented by the motifs (Figs. 3.16-3.18). The sense of realism

¹⁷ *Tiare maori*

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expresses clarity and simplicity, providing contrast and tranquillity to the complexity of the compositions.

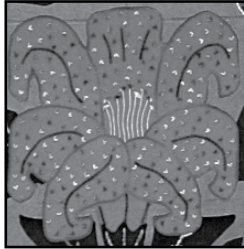


Fig. 3.12 Form detail of Tivaevae 1. Tiger Lily.

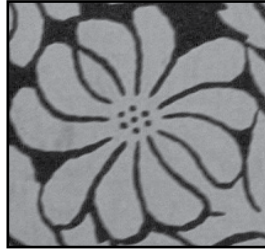


Fig. 3.13 Form detail of Tivaevae 2. Chrysanthemum.



Fig. 3.14 Form detail of Tivaevae 3. Chrysanthemum.

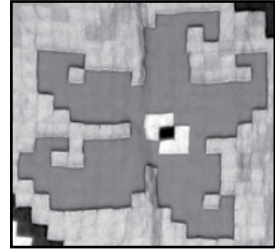


Fig. 3.15 Form detail of Tivaevae 4. Gardenia.



Fig. 3.16 Tiger Lily (Flickr, 2008d).



Fig. 3.17 Chrysanthemum. (Flickr, 2008b).



Fig. 3.18 Gardenia. (Flickr, 2008c).

All four motifs utilise different techniques to achieve realism. The solidity of the motifs in *Tivaevae 1* are animated by the organic nature of the petals and leaves branching from the arrangements. *Tivaevae 2* possesses greater organic forms, utilising negative space to generate clarity and recognition of its subject while the interaction of the shapes is enhanced by the complexity of its cutting technique. The harshness of the squares used in *Tivaevae 3* and *4* are softened by its arrangement, allowing the motifs to express its organic origins.

The number of motifs in each *tivaevae* greatly vary. This appears to be due to the size of the motifs and the arrangements based upon its grid. *Tivaevae 3* and *4* show the greatest variation in numbers and as can be seen, the motifs in *Tivaevae 3* are generous in size in comparison to *Tivaevae 4*. Although the amount of motifs is dependant on the size of the motifs, each *tivaevae* utilise the entire space of the canvas, leaving only a blank edge framing the compositions.

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All four *tivaevae* use two different motifs (Figs. 3.19-3.22). This variation adds interest and contrast to the composition, which is seen with the variation of motifs used in the other three *tivaevae*. The use of two motifs allows for distinction between the dominating motifs and its supporting elements.

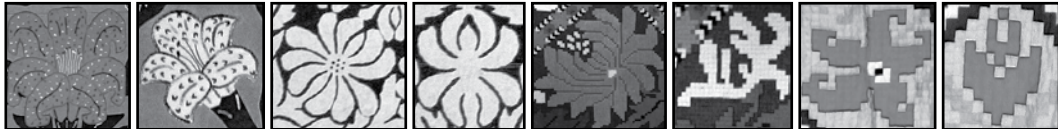


Fig. 3.19 Tivaevae 1 motifs. Fig. 3.20 Tivaevae 2 motifs. Fig. 3.21 Tivaevae 3 motifs. Fig. 3.22 Tivaevae 4 motifs.

v. Colour

Tivaevae 1 uses 8 colours (Fig. 3.23) however, the intricacy of the embroidery appears to alter the intensities of some of its colours. The blue background provides contrast and acts as the foundation of the composition, tying the various colours and elements together. The contrasting coloured motifs generate a dynamic and arresting composition with the arrangement of colour; orange and deep violet together in the centre; yellow/red, red/blue, blue/brown and, brown/yellow on the outer edge, adding interest and harmony to the composition. The colours used for the embroidery, works in harmony with the motif colours, adding contrast which gives a very tactile, textural quality and, depth and dimension.



Fig 3.23 Colour range of Tivaevae 1.



Fig 3.24 Colour range of Tivaevae 2.

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Tivaevae 2 uses two complimentary colours (Fig. 3.24). The rich indigo and warm yellow provides contrast and interaction between the foreground and background. The complexity of the arrangement is simplified through its use of minimal colour palette.

Tivaevae 3 uses 15 colours (Fig. 3.25). The mahogany background of the motifs creates depth, linking the various elements into a unified, cohesive composition. The contrast of the background with the elements in the foreground generates a sense of interaction with the colour systems working in harmony with each other adding interest. Each diagonal segment of the composition contains its own colour palette, generating a kaleidoscope of colour expressing a dynamic composition.



Fig 3.25 Colour range of Tivaevae 3.

Tivaevae 4 uses 10 colours (Fig. 3.26). The bright blue is used for the background, creating depth, while linking the various colours and elements into a unified and cohesive composition. The contrast of the background with the elements in the foreground generates a sense of interaction. Each diagonal segment contains the same colour palettes drawn from the 10 identified, producing a harmonious composition.

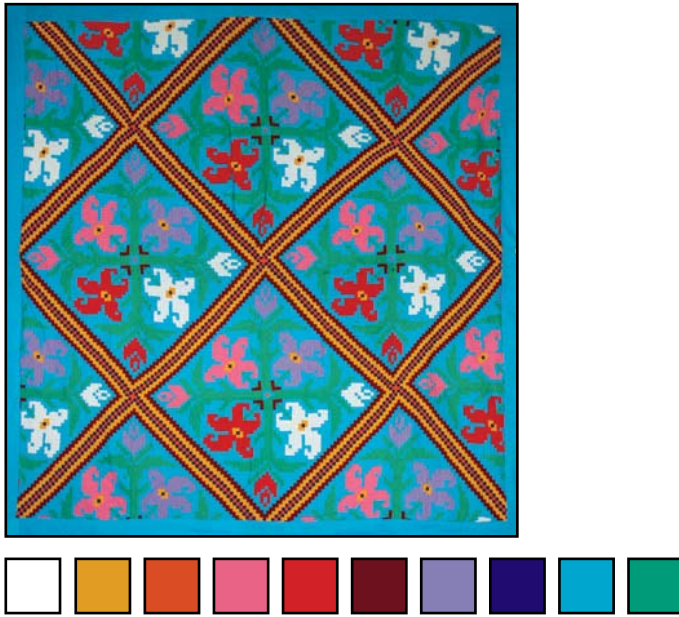


Fig.3.26 Colour range of Tivaevae 4.

vi. Embroidery

Although all four *tivaevae* analysed use stitching for its construction, only *Tivaevae* 1 utilises embroidery as a featured aesthetic (Fig. 3.27).

There are three main stitching styles, each with its own purpose to realistically render attributes of the flower. The 'v' shaped stitching mimics the dots seen on the tiger lily (Fig.3.28), while the stitching lines through the middle of the petals mimics the texture seen on tiger lilies. The stem like stitches with the anthers in the centre of the lilies resembles those seen in tiger lilies. The stitching on the leaves of the flower adds contrast and makes the form appear real and 3-dimensional, generating interest and bringing the composition to life. The arrangement of the stitches enhances the realism, adding colour and shading, generating a vision of 3-dimensionality.



Fig. 3.27 Embroidery detail of Sample 1.



Fig. 3.28 Tiger Lily (Flickr, 2008d).

vii. Border

None of the *tivaevae* used a decorative border, opting for utilisation of space to frame and add tranquility to the dynamic compositions.

3.2.4 Cook Island Tivaevae Discussion

The visual investigation of the four Cook Island *tivaevae* were conducted for the purpose of recognising elements, techniques and styles used in the compositions in order to identify the strengths and attributes are commonly used.

From this investigation there were many attributes which appear to feature prominently in Cook Island *tivaevae*. The Cook Island *tivaevae* communicate various aspects of its culture and influences of designs are embodied in the attributes featured.

The significance of the rotational attribute exhibits an innovative communication technique, expressing unity with the interlinking of elements in an ordered fashion generating a sense of interaction and vitality. Its complex arrangements coexisting in spatial harmony with the elements, expressive of the relationship between Cook Island people and the environment. The sections achieved by the use of grids exhibit qualities of individuality seamlessly connected,

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expressing ideas of the vitality and value of relationships, while order and structure are softened by the irregular forms it sustains, communicating ideas of freedom.

Inspiration draws from the environment, with flowers featuring as prominent design elements. The compositions are saturated with the floral motifs, communicating ideas of passion and vitality, while its illustrative qualities communicate ideas of understanding and appreciation of their surroundings, expressing a culture in harmony with nature. Hierarchy of the elements exhibits qualities of distinction while their interaction communicates a vivacious and dynamic culture. The interaction between the elements generate a sense of depth and plays with the concept of the background and foreground continuously shifting. The arrangements within the composition generates a sense of growth and life in harmony with its elements.

The understanding and play with colour generates dynamic and compelling compositions. The extensive colour palettes exhibit a great mastery and love for colour, cleverly utilised to enhance and bring life to its elements, generating a sense of interaction and dimensionality. However, there is also no issue with utilising a minimal colour palette, as seen in *Tivaevae 2*, its minimal colour palette enhances and draws focus to the complexity of the design and its cutting technique. The passion for colour exhibits a great understanding of its power as a visual tool to bring life to its elements, while the intricate embroidery adds textural and sculptural value, expressing the idea of realistic interpretation. The lack of decorative borders are compensated with utilisation of space, allowing the designs to appear unrestrained and liberated.

In order to determine if these attributes are distinctive of Cook Island *tivaevae*, the following analysis of four Polynesian *tivaevae* will assist in providing a comparison with those identified in the Cook Island *tivaevae*.

3.3 ANALYSIS OF POLYNESIAN TIVAEVAE

Literature has indicated Cook Island *tivaevae* are unique and distinguishable to other Polynesian *tivaevae*, and the previous study identified attributes shared by the Cook Island *tivaevae* analysed. This study aims to extend this research, examining attributes seen in Polynesian *tivaevae* to provide a comparison to the attributes identified in the previous study. However, the attributes cannot be categorised as unique to Polynesia as there was insufficient access to other Polynesian *tivaevae* to make valid distinctions.

This study examined four Polynesian *tivaevae*. These Polynesian *tivaevae* were selected as they were identified as possessing attributes considered distinct to Polynesia *tivaevae*; borders "unlike Tahitian and Hawaiian quilts, Cook Island *tivaevae* do not have borders" (Kuchler, 2003, p.110); connecting patterns "The large connecting patterns were produced by folding and cutting fabric, similar to the technique used in Hawaii, the snowflake style" (Campbell, 2005, p.31). They were also selected as they exhibited attributes identified in the literature as common to Cook Island *tivaevae*; colour, embroidery, representational forms, rotational symmetry and, flora and fauna motifs. The representational form attribute is extended to depiction; illustrative or geometric and; realism, easily identifiable as its subject matter. Two other characteristics were added to this study; border and grid. The addition of the grid characteristic allows for identification of complex arrangement.

ANALYSIS OF POLYNESIAN TIVAEVAE

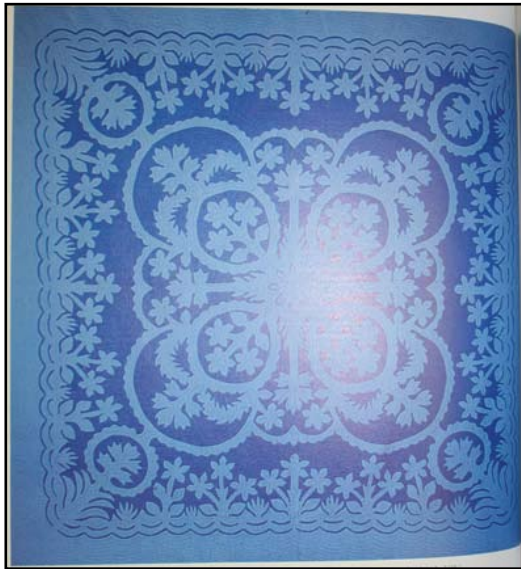


Fig. 3.29 Tivaevae 5. (Hammond, 1986a, p.38).



Fig. 3.30 Tivaevae 6. (Hammond, 1986a, p.36).



Fig. 3.31 Tivaevae 7. (Hammond, 1986a, p.33).



Fig. 3.32 Tivaevae 8. (Hammond, 1986a, p.32).

3.3.1 Methodology

To substantiate Cook Island designs as authoritative representations of the Cook Islands, a study of four Polynesian *tivaevae* was explored (Figs. 3.29-3.32). The Polynesian *tivaevae* were selected from Joyce Hammond's *Tifaifai and Quilts of Polynesia* (1986). The limitation of this research predicated upon insufficient access to other Polynesian *tivaevae*, therefore the number of *tivaevae* analysed was based upon access to Polynesian *tivaevae* that possessed two or more attributes identified as commonplace with Cook Island *tivaevae*. This investigation uses the same methodology as Chapter 3.2.

ANALYSIS OF POLYNESIAN TIVAEVAE

3.3.2 Results

Attribute	<i>Tivaevae 5</i>	<i>Tivaevae 6</i>	<i>Tivaevae 7</i>	<i>Tivaevae 8</i>
Rotational	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Grid	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Columns	2	2	0	2
Rows	2	2	0	2
Depiction	Geometric	Geometric	Illustrative	Geometric
Motif	Jasmine	Constellation	Anthurium	Peacock
Realism	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
No.of Motifs	45	53	27	11
Variety	3	4	2	3
Colour	2	2	7	2
Embroidery	No	No	No	No
No. Styles	0	0	0	0
Border	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

From the results of this investigation, there are three attributes which have been clearly identified with all four Polynesian *tivaevae*. The dominant motifs are recognisable as its subject matter, they all used borders and none used embroidery.

There were six instances where attributes were identified in *Tivaevae 5, 6 & 8*; rotational symmetry, grid, same number of columns and rows, depiction and same amount of colours used.

There were three instances where values and attributes varied with all four *tivaevae*; the dominating motif in all *tivaevae* differed; each *tivaevae* have different number of motifs and; each have different number of variety of motifs.

3.3.3 Findings

From the results of the analysis of the four Polynesian *tivaevae*, an interpretive analysis was conducted to establish the significance of the elements identified and to demonstrate what elements are commonly featured. The interpretations are supported by images illustrating the method of visual exploration.

i. Rotational

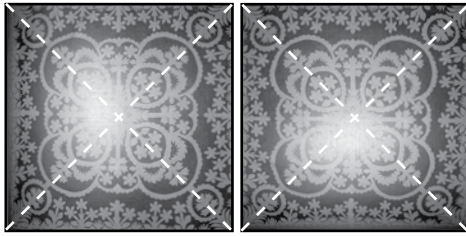


Fig. 3.33 Tivaevae 5 rotated 180°.

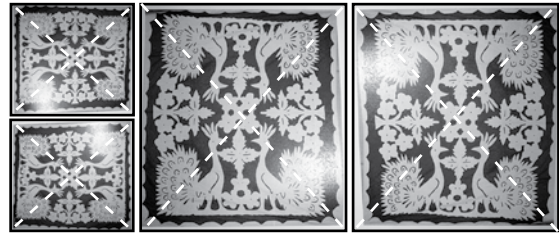


Fig. 3.34 Tivaevae 8 rotated 180°.

Tivaevae 5, 6 and 8 possess the element of rotational symmetry, where the *tivaevae* can be rotated and maintain its look. The rate of rotation for two of the *tivaevae* is 90° as seen in Fig. 3.33. There is a variation in *Tivaevae* 8 (Fig. 3.34), which works on 180° intervals. The rotational balance is enhanced by the proximity and interlocking of the elements, generating a sense of unity with its complex arrangement coexisting in spatial harmony with the elements. *Tivaevae* 7 does not have rotational symmetry, when the composition is rotated the arrangement is not the same.

ii. Grid

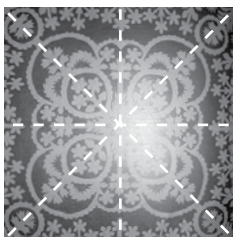


Fig. 3.35 Tivaevae 5 grid.

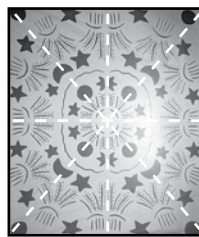


Fig. 3.36 Tivaevae 6 grid.



Fig. 3.37 Tivaevae 8 grid.

Tivaevae 5, 6 and 8 use a regular grid, cross-sectioned by diagonals (Figs. 3.35-3.37). The grids divide the composition in half vertically, horizontally and diagonally. The simplicity of the grid allows for large areas of the canvas to be generously explored while controlling the elements to ensure harmony and balance is maintained. The divisions also gives opportunity for the elements to express distinction and individuality while enhancing the relationship of the elements,

ANALYSIS OF POLYNESIAN TIVAEVAE

interlocked to convey interaction and vitality. *Tivaevae 7* doesn't use a grid, opting for a loose and random arrangement of its motifs.

iii. Depiction

Tivaevae 5, 6 and 8 are geometric, characterised by regular lines and shapes. The regularity of the forms expresses consistency and uniformity with structural balance reoccurring through its form. Order is softened by the organic stylisation of its geometric forms. *Tivaevae 7* is illustrative, using fluid and irregular line to create lively and free-flowing forms.

iv. Motif



Fig. 3.38 Detail of Tivaevae 5



Fig. 3.39 Detail of Tivaevae 6



Fig. 3.40 Detail of Tivaevae 7



Fig. 3.41 Detail of Tivaevae 8



Fig. 3.42 Jasmine. (Flickr, 2007).



Fig. 3.43 Constellation. (Flickr, 2006).



Fig. 3.44 Anthurium. (Flickr, 2009).

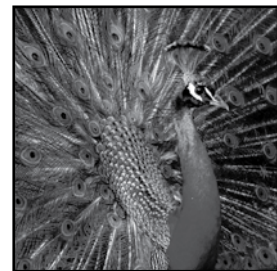


Fig. 3.45 Peacock. (Flickr, 2008a).

Tivaevae 5 and 7 feature floral motifs, *Tivaevae 6* features constellations, while *Tivaevae 8* features an animal motif (Figs. 3.38-3.45). Although the flower motif is clearly identifiable in *Tivaevae 5*, its simplistic geometric form and lack of detail makes it difficult to clearly acknowledge its specimen. Comparison to its subject matter was possible after translation of its Hawaiian title, *Pikake*, meaning Jasmine. The geometric forms of *Tivaevae 5, 6* and allows for recognition of its

ANALYSIS OF POLYNESIAN TIVAEVAE

subjects, while the organic stylisation of *Tivaevae 7* depicts the most realistic rendition.

The number of motifs in each *tivaevae* analysed greatly vary. This appears to be due to the size of the motifs and the intricacy of arrangements. *Tivaevae 6* has the highest number of motifs with 53 followed by *Tivaevae 5* with 45, *Tivaevae 7* with 27 and, *Tivaevae 8* with 11. *Tivaevae 8* has the lowest occurrences and possessed the largest motifs of all the *tivaevae* analysed. Although the amount of motifs is dependant on the size of motifs, each *tivaevae* utilise the entire space of the canvas, with space afforded between the arrangement of the elements and its border.

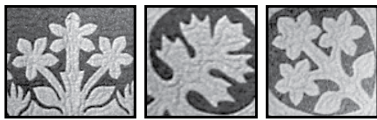


Fig. 3.46 Tivaevae 5 motifs.

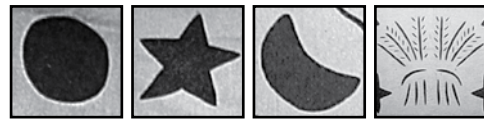


Fig. 3.47 Tivaevae 6 motifs.

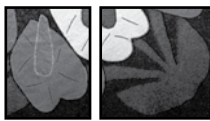


Fig. 3.48 Tivaevae 7 motifs.



Fig. 3.49 Tivaevae 8 motifs.

Tivaevae 5 and *8* each have three different motifs while *Tivaevae 6* has four and *Tivaevae 7* has two (Figs. 3.46-3.49), adding contrast and interest. However, the complexity involved and amount of varying motifs makes difficult to distinguish the dominating motif, this is most visible in *Tivaevae 6* with four different motifs. Although its message may be to convey the vastness of the universe, the focal point of the composition rests in the centre, which consists of the repetition of three different motifs.

v. Colour

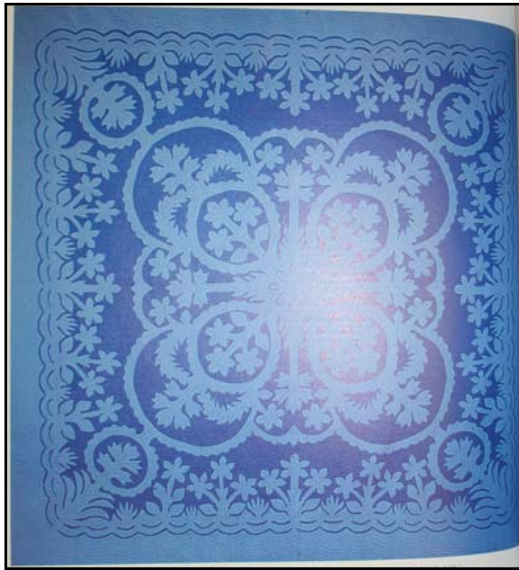


Fig. 3.50 Colour range of Tivaevae 5.



Fig. 3.51 Colour range of Tivaevae 6.

Tivaevae 5 uses two colours for its composition (Fig. 3.50). Although tonal similarities create a sense of monotony, the play with tone illustrates interaction between the foreground and background. The medium blue background generates a sense of coolness and tranquillity, pacifying the complexity of the arrangement of the composition and affording its intricacy to take centre stage.

Tivaevae 6 uses two complimentary colours (Fig. 3.51), generating contrast and interest. Although the intricacy of the forms are not as extensive as *Tivaevae* 5, the complimentary colour palette draws attention to the forms within the composition, utilising negative space to enhance the simplicity of its elements.

Tivaevae 7 used 7 colours (Fig. 3.52). The density of the deep mahogany adds dimensionality and creates a solid foundation for the elements, enhancing interaction between the foreground and background. The variance of coloured motifs exhibits vitality and rhythm, generating a dynamic composition. The contrast afforded by the green adds interest and breaks up the monotonous tones of red adding a textural quality, bringing depth and dimension to the composition.

ANALYSIS OF POLYNESIAN TIVAEVAE

The orange border helps to tie all the elements together with the repetition of colour portraying unity and harmony.



Fig. 3.52 Colour range of Tivaevae 7.



Fig. 3.53 Colour range of Tivaevae 8.

Tivaevae 8 uses two complimentary colours (Fig. 3.53). The warm earthy brown provides a sense of stability for its light-hearted counterpart, generating interaction and compatibility. Its minimalistic palette draws attention to the detailed cutting technique of the design, with its use of negative space adding interest and depth.

The simplicity of colour draws attention to the elements within the compositions, recognising minimal colour palettes are an effective method of enhancing the complexity of the design and its cutting techniques. Where colour has been explored more extensively, it is utilised to enhance its elements and generate depth, creating interaction and vitality.

vi. Embroidery

Although the results affirm none of the Polynesian *tivaevae* used embroidery, it is worth mentioning the closest resemblance of an embroidery stitch is seen in *Tivaevae* 7. However, its use is minimal and appears as lines (Fig. 3.54). The lack of detail enables the motifs to express themselves through their form.



Fig. 3.54 Embroidery detail of Tivaevae 7.

vii. Border

All of the *tivaevae* use a border to frame their compositions, with similar scallop styles. The use of borders enclose the elements, generating unity and holding the varying elements together.



Fig. 3.55 Tivaevae 5 border.

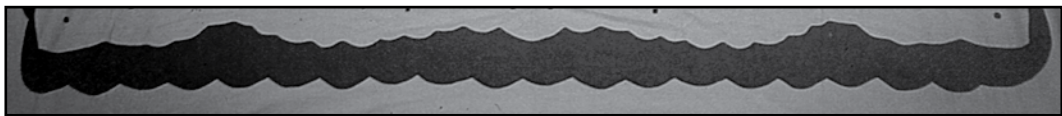


Fig. 3.56 Tivaevae 6 border.

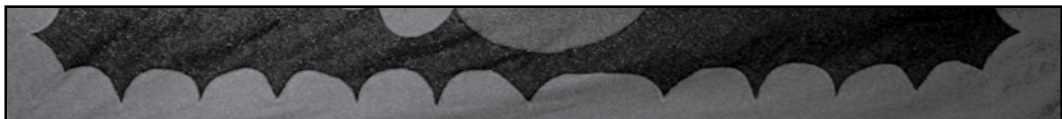


Fig. 3.57 Tivaevae 7 border.



Fig. 3.58 Tivaevae 8 border.

3.3.4 Polynesian Tivaevae Discussion

The visual investigation of the four Polynesian *tivaevae* was conducted for the purpose of recognising elements, techniques and styles used in the compositions in order to identify attributes commonly used.

From this study there were three attributes featured in all four Polynesian *tivaevae* analysed; depiction, borders and no embroidery. Although one of the four Polynesian *tivaevae* uses a different stylisation from the other three, they all attempt to depict realistic renditions of its subject matter, communicating appreciation and understanding. The use of borders in all Polynesian *tivaevae* expresses unity, consistency and cohesion, the elements linked together with its border mimicking shapes within the composition exhibiting consistency and connection. The framing of the compositions present a worthy contribution to the compositions, its organic stylisation revolving around the elements generating a sense of security and balance. The lack of embroidery as a visual aesthetic exhibits aspirations for simplicity communicating clarity and independence. While these attributes communicate appreciation, relationships and independence, other messages are communicated in each *tivaevae*, expressing differentiation and diversity.

Three of the Polynesian *tivaevae* analysed also possessed attributes of rotational symmetry, grid, same number of columns and rows, depiction and same number of colours used. The significance of the rotation attribute exhibits an innovative communication technique, expressing unity through the visual connections of its motifs based upon structure and order while variation in rate of rotation expresses diversification. This is enhanced by the use of simplistic grid structures which allows elements to explore and utilise space, creating instinctive and harmonious compositions. The depiction of the motifs are geometric, expressing consistency and uniformity, although the abstraction afforded to its forms do little to present realistic renditions of its subject matter. It appears the

ANALYSIS OF POLYNESIAN TIVAEVAE

purpose of this is to consider the cutting and design techniques of the composition as a whole, rather than its individual stylised forms, expressing the compositions are more than merely a collection of elements. This concept is reinforced by the use of minimalistic and monotone colour palettes. Where a variety of colour exists, it is used in a manner to express vitality and rhythm, creating an illusion of interaction between the elements and its environment. The minimal use of embroidery communicates simplicity and clarity, allowing the compositions to express themselves through their form.

3.4 COOK ISLAND & POLYNESIAN TIVAEVAE

This component of research involves a comparison of the results of the previous two investigations. The results of the visual analysis of Cook Island *tivaevae* are compared to the results of the visual analysis of Polynesian *tivaevae*. The purpose of this investigation is to identify attributes distinctive to Cook Island *tivaevae*. The investigation will also consider if any attributes are shared between Cook Island and Polynesian *tivaevae*.

3.4.1 Results

Attribute	Cook Island <i>Tivaevae</i>				Polynesian <i>Tivaevae</i>			
	T1	T2	T3	T4	T5	T6	T7	T8
Rotational	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Grid	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Columns	5	4	4	4	2	2	0	2
Rows	5	4	4	4	2	2	0	2
Depiction	Illustrative	Illustrative	Illustrative	Illustrative	Geometric	Geometric	Illustrative	Geometric
Motif	Tiger Lily	Chrysanthemum	Chrysanthemum	Gardenia	Jasmine	Constellation	Anthurium	Peacock
Realism	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
No. of Motifs	24	18	12	56	45	53	27	11
Variety	2	2	2	2	3	4	2	3
Colour	8	2	15	10	2	2	7	2
Embroidery	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
No. Styles	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Border	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

From the previous two investigations, the results show Cook Island *tivaevae* feature more attributes than other Polynesian *tivaevae* (Table 3.5). The attributes in Cook Island *tivaevae* are; rotational, grid, depiction, motif, realism and, none had borders. The motif in the Cook Island *tivaevae* are all flowers. The attributes in Polynesian *tivaevae* are; realism, borders and, none had embroidery. One attribute seen in all the Cook Island and Polynesian *tivaevae* was the element of realism. Cook Island and Polynesian *tivaevae* attempt to present realistic renditions of its subject matter but both have stylistic differences. The Cook Island *tivaevae* opt

COOK ISLAND & POLYNESIAN TIVAEVAE

for illustrative renditions of forms in all the *tivaevae* analysed, while Polynesian *tivaevae* predominantly opt for geometric interpretations.

3.4.2 Findings

i. Rotational

Attribute	Cook Island <i>Tivaevae</i>				Polynesian <i>Tivaevae</i>			
	T1	T2	T3	T4	T5	T6	T7	T8
Rotational	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes

All of the Cook Island *tivaevae* utilise the element of rotational symmetry, while three Polynesian *tivaevae* (T5, 6 and 8) possessed the attribute (Table 3.6). The rate of rotation for both Cook Island and Polynesian *tivaevae* is 90°, while in each group, there was one *tivaevae* that had a variation of rotational, working on 180° intervals. The proximity of elements bound together in harmony, affords appreciation of the composition as a whole and not as a collection of separate elements, communicating a unified entity.

ii. Grid

Attribute	Cook Island <i>Tivaevae</i>				Polynesian <i>Tivaevae</i>			
	T1	T2	T3	T4	T5	T6	T7	T8
Grid	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Columns	5	4	4	4	2	2	0	2
Rows	5	4	4	4	2	2	0	2

All of the Cook Island *tivaevae* utilise regular grids, while three Polynesian *tivaevae* (T5, T6 and T8) possessed the attribute (Table 3.6). The use of grids indicates understanding of structure and order, enabling elements opportunity to exhibit qualities of distinction while the interlocking of attributes expresses connection. The Cook Island *tivaevae* involved more complex grid systems,

COOK ISLAND & POLYNESIAN TIVAEVAE

illustrating calculated control regulating the complex arrangements of its elements. The Polynesian *tivaevae* utilised simpler grid systems allowing for greater exploration of space while the lack of grid in *Tivaevae 7* generates a free-flowing arrangement of its motifs.

iii. Depiction

Attribute	Cook Island <i>Tivaevae</i>				Polynesian <i>Tivaevae</i>			
	T1	T2	T3	T4	T5	T6	T7	T8
Depiction	Illustrative	Illustrative	Illustrative	Illustrative	Geometric	Geometric	Illustrative	Geometric

All four Cook Island *tivaevae* are illustrative while three Polynesian *tivaevae* (T5, T6 and T8) employed geometric stylisation, *Tivaevae 7* used illustrative techniques (Table 3.7). The use of illustrative stylisation in all four Cook Island *tivaevae* and the Polynesian *tivaevae* (T7) provides differentiation captured by the irregularity and fluid nature of line. The geometric forms in the three Polynesian *tivaevae* are characterised by their regularity of line and shape, with structural balance maintained through repetition, expressing consistency and uniformity.

iv. Motif

Attribute	Cook Island <i>Tivaevae</i>				Polynesian <i>Tivaevae</i>			
	T1	T2	T3	T4	T5	T6	T7	T8
Motif	Tiger Lily	Chrysanthemum	Chrysanthemum	Gardenia	Jasmine	Constellation	Anthurium	Peacock
Realism	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
No. of Motifs	24	18	12	56	45	53	27	11
Variety	2	2	2	2	3	4	2	3

All of the Cook Island *tivaevae* feature flowers as the dominant motifs, while two Polynesian *tivaevae* (T5 and T7) featured flowers (Table 3.8). *Tivaevae 6* featured constellations and *tivaevae 8* featured peacocks. Although it is difficult to recognise the specimen of the subject matter in *Tivaevae 5*, both Cook Island and Polynesian *tivaevae* express aspirations of realism.

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The number of motifs in Cook Island and Polynesian *tivaevae* varied greatly, with higher numbers of motifs seen in Polynesian *tivaevae*. Also, the Polynesian *tivaevae* had odd number of motifs while the Cook Island *tivaevae* have even numbers. The total number of motifs in both groups depended upon the size of the motifs. The motifs are repeated and the entire canvas are saturated with motifs.

The variation of motifs in the Cook Island *tivaevae* were the same with all four analysed while the number of various motifs in the Polynesian *tivaevae* differed. The Cook Island *tivaevae* use of two varieties of motifs, indicates hierarchy and balance with the dominant and secondary motifs coexisting to produce a harmonious composition. The various numbers of motifs in the Polynesian *tivaevae* makes it difficult to identify the dominant motif and this is especially apparent in *Tivaevae 6*.

v. Colour

Attribute	Cook Island <i>Tivaevae</i>				Polynesian <i>Tivaevae</i>			
	T1	T2	T3	T4	T5	T6	T7	T8
Colour	8	2	15	10	2	2	7	2

With the exception of *Tivaevae 2*, the Cook Island *tivaevae* utilise a much more extensive colour palette than three of the Polynesian *tivaevae* (Table 3.9). The use of colour generates dynamic and captivating compositions, cleverly animating its static imagery, precipitating interaction and dimensionality. *Tivaevae 7*, a Polynesian *tivaevae* also adopts a larger colour palette, and corresponds to the Cook Island use of colour to create a dynamic composition. The minimalist colour palette of *Tivaevae 2* corresponds with its capabilities of drawing attention to the complexities of the design and cutting techniques as expressed in the Polynesian *tivaevae*.

COOK ISLAND & POLYNESIAN TIVAEVAE

vi. Embroidery

Table 3.11 Cook Island & Polynesian Embroidery Attribute								
Attribute	Cook Island <i>Tivaevae</i>				Polynesian <i>Tivaevae</i>			
	T1	T2	T3	T4	T5	T6	T7	T8
Embroidery	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
No. Styles	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Embroidery was not employed in any of the Polynesian *tivaevae* and was identified in only one of the Cook Island *tivaevae* (Table 3.10). Its use adds a textural quality and its intricacy enhances the realistic nature of the illustrative forms while the colour and shading created adds dimensionality, bringing the composition to life.

vii. Border

Table 3.12 Cook Island & Polynesian Border Attribute								
Attribute	Cook Island <i>Tivaevae</i>				Polynesian <i>Tivaevae</i>			
	T1	T2	T3	T4	T5	T6	T7	T8
Border	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Borders were not employed in any of the Cook Island *tivaevae* but was identified in all of the Polynesian *tivaevae* (Table 3.11). The borders in the Polynesian *tivaevae* generate unity by enclosing all the elements, maintaining the idea of structure and balance.

3.4.3 Cook Island and Polynesian Tivaevae Discussion

The comparison of the four Cook Island and Polynesian *tivaevae* was conducted for the purpose of recognising elements, techniques and styles commonly used in both groups. It was also designed to identify techniques and styles utilised predominantly in Cook Island *tivaevae*. From these findings, it is clear Cook Island and Polynesian *tivaevae* have distinct stylistic preferences.

The study revealed Cook Island *tivaevae* featured more attributes than Polynesian *tivaevae*. Three elements were identified that featured prominently in Cook Island *tivaevae* and, either lacked, had opposite values or was only identified in one of the four Polynesian *tivaevae*; depiction, motif and colour. One element; border, featured in Polynesian *tivaevae* and did not in the Cook Island *tivaevae*. These results indicated styles, subjects and techniques exhibited differentiation between Cook Island and Polynesian *tivaevae*.

The Cook Island *tivaevae* employed illustrative stylisation techniques, conveying differentiation and personality while the Polynesian *tivaevae* are characterised by geometric stylisation, expressing consistency and uniformity. While Cook Island and Polynesian *tivaevae* all express aspirations of realism, the Cook Island *tivaevae* are more successful aided by its illustrative renditions. Although embroidery only featured in one of the Cook Island *tivaevae*, its lack of connection to Polynesian *tivaevae* gives consideration to its role in Cook Island *tivaevae*. Its use and application enhances the realism afforded to the forms within the *tivaevae*, its ability to change colour intensities and create shading, enhancing the tactile effect of the composition while adding depth.

Cook Island *tivaevae* draw inspiration predominantly from flowers, capturing the essence of life and vitality through realistic renditions enhanced by its use of colour. This substantiates flowers as a prominent source of inspiration for Cook Island *tivaevae*, while the motivation for Polynesian *tivaevae* extends to a much broader scope of subjects for inspiration.

COOK ISLAND & POLYNESIAN TIVAEVAE

The extensive colour palettes seen in the Cook Island *tivaevae*, and its application attains distinction, animate the two-dimensional forms to create dazzling compositions, expressive of passion, vitality and their environment. While the Polynesian *tivaevae* minimal colour palettes enhanced and strengthened the complexities of its arrangements, drawing attention to the cutting techniques, expressing understanding of hierarchy and clarity. The utilisation of borders in the Polynesian *tivaevae* exhibits stability, structure and balance, while the Cook Island *tivaevae* opt for space to frame the compositions, exhibiting structure and calm.

Polynesian *tivaevae* also had greater variation of motifs, proving difficult to determine the dominant motif in some cases, which may be indicative of equality. Cook Island *tivaevae* were more restrained with the variety of motifs, all used two variations, indicating a sense of hierarchy, expressing ideas of elements collaborating in harmony. This is reinforced by the use of rotational symmetry by all four Cook Island *tivaevae*, illustrating the importance of relationships and balance, stabilised by structure and order. The Polynesian *tivaevae* also exhibit this quality in three of its *tivaevae*, exhibiting understanding of its use as an innovative communication tool. However, the Polynesian *tivaevae* employed simpler grid systems than its counterparts, affording motifs to radiate from its constraints while interlocked with its surroundings communicating ideas of individuality strengthened through collaboration. The Cook Island *tivaevae* opt for more complex grid systems exhibiting clarity of elements and the relationships formed.

3.5 STUDY OF TIVAEVAE & MOTIFS CONCLUSION

The lack of literature pertaining to the cultural appropriation of Cook Island designs may be attributed to the generalisation of Cook Island designs as Polynesian. Therefore, this investigation set out to determine what differentiations are evidence of Cook Island's distinction to other Polynesian cultures. From the literature, evidence suggests the most recognisable forms of Cook Island's visual expression of identity is *tivaevae*. While Kuchler (2003) identifies attributes considered distinctive to Cook Island *tivaevae*, this investigation sought to analyse these attributes and other features which could be considered as distinct to Cook Island *tivaevae*. It also aimed to identify if Cook Island *tivaevae* motifs could be considered as authentic representations of Cook Island visual identity.

Although there were limitations to this research, it became clear that there were significant occurrences of flowers in Cook Island *tivaevae*. The high numbers of flowers represented in Cook Island *tivaevae* strongly suggests their natural affiliation and association with flora, suggesting the relationship is evidence of the significance of flowers as representations of visual identity. The flowers identified as having the highest occurrences in Cook Island *tivaevae* were lilies, chrysanthemums and hibiscus, and can be considered as authentic representations of Cook Island visual identity.

From the analysis of elements in Cook Island *tivaevae*, flowers were identified as the dominant motifs in all four *tivaevae*, with Chrysanthemums featuring in two of the four *tivaevae*. The *tivaevae* were saturated with the floral motifs illuminated by stylistic renditions. These illustrative expressions communicated a culture in harmony with nature, appreciative and understanding of the wildlife surrounding their society. The interaction of the environment and culture is reinforced by hierarchy and interaction between the elements, coupled with the mastery of colour communicating a vivacious culture continuously shifting and in harmony with the elements. Minimal colour palettes affords recognition to the mastery and complexity of cutting and design techniques, while the understanding

STUDY OF TIVAEVAE & MOTIFS CONCLUSION

of colour as a powerful visual tool is enhanced by use of embroidery techniques, cleverly adding texture and sculptural value to intensify the realism of the motifs. Although the compositions are engulfed with motifs, its complex arrangements coexist in spatial harmony communicating ideas of liberation and expressive of the relationship between Cook Island culture and the environment. This is enhanced by the structure and order afforded to the compositions by the use of complex grids and conveys individuality seamlessly connected.

From the analysis of elements in Polynesian *tivaevae*, inspiration draws from a much wider scope of subjects, extending from flora and fauna to constellations. Polynesian *tivaevae* are saturated with motifs while its artistic renditions embrace geometric stylisations, communicating ideas of equality. However, one *tivaevae* opted for an illustrative rendition, exhibiting ideas of appreciation of its subject, endeavoured by the realism afforded to the motifs by all the Polynesian *tivaevae* studied. The simplified geometric motifs allows for recognition of the compositions as a complete and unified entity, communicating a culture in harmony with its elements and the components which structure its society, reinforced by minimal use of colour, ensures attention is drawn to the entire composition and the detail afforded to its arrangement. Where colour has been explored it expresses ideas of the interaction between culture and environment, while communicating rhythm and vitality. The motifs utilise their allocated space exhibiting clarity and independence while the grid systems exhibits structure and order, communicating the value of individuality in harmony with its associations. The organic stylisation of the borders softens the geometric forms it embraces and communicates security and a unified culture.

From the comparative analysis between Cook Island and Polynesian *tivaevae*, although there are some attributes shared amongst both groups, it becomes clear Cook Island artistic expressions exhibited qualities that were distinct from the

STUDY OF TIVAEVAE & MOTIFS CONCLUSION

Polynesian *tivaevae* analysed, suggesting their aesthetic attributes are not shared with other Polynesian *tivaevae*.

While Cook Island employed illustrative stylisation of motifs, Polynesian *tivaevae* predominantly opted for geometric renditions. This exhibits two different characteristics; Cook Island communicating differentiation and versatility, Polynesian conveying monotony and reliability. While both Cook Island and Polynesian *tivaevae* aspire to express realism of its subject matter, Cook Island *tivaevae* employed other artistic techniques not seen in the Polynesian *tivaevae*. The acknowledgment of embroidery as an effective tool with the illustrative stylisations of the Cook Island *tivaevae*, generated greater realism while the mastery of colour communicates appreciation, vitality and passion. The utilisation of space to frame the compositions in the Cook Island *tivaevae* conveyed tranquility to its dynamic and ornate arrangements while the Polynesian *tivaevae* opted for organic stylisations of borders suggesting stability.

Cook Island *tivaevae* had an obvious preference for flowers as sources of inspiration and their creative capabilities differed from the Polynesian *tivaevae*. The Polynesian *tivaevae* communicated structure, equality, unity, independence, stability, interaction and vitality. Although Cook Island *tivaevae* expressed similar ideas as the Polynesian *tivaevae*, the level of communication extended to express individuality, passion, vitality and liberation.

4. STUDY OF COOK ISLAND VISUAL IDENTITY

There is lack of literature pertaining to the visual identity of Cook Island young adults, identification of visual forms considered distinct to the Cook Islands, cultural appropriation of Cook Island designs and, brands association with Cook Island young adult identity. This research addresses these issues.

In order to determine if cultural visual forms are utilised in Cook Island young adult identity, identification of visual forms by Cook Island young adults considered to distinctive to the Cook Islands was examined. The significance of these visual forms was examined to establish if there was a strong cultural association with the forms, and if they were relevant to the identity of Cook Island young adults. The research also explored brands that utilised imagery affiliated with Polynesian cultures, specifically the hibiscus, to identify what associations were made by Cook Island young adults. Consideration of brands also led to understanding Cook Island young adults view of cultural appropriation and, sought to determine if cultural appropriation occurred with Cook Island designs and understand its function in Cook Island visual identity.

4.1 PARTICIPANT VISUAL QUESTIONNAIRE

The research set out to determine what visual forms are considered distinctive to Cook Island culture. This led to the exploration of *tivaevae* in the aim of identifying visual forms considered by Cook Island young adults as significant to Cook Island culture and to determine if there is a distinction between Cook Island *tivaevae* and other Polynesian *tivaevae*. The research also investigated whether Cook Island young adults identified with images due to cultural connections or association with brands.

4.1.1 Methodology

Ten participants of Cook Island descent within the age of 18 to 25 years from the Waikato region, New Zealand, participated in this survey. The surveys were conducted on 17th August, 2009. There were four men and six women participants. The questionnaires dealt specifically with Cook Island *tivaevae*, consisting of images pertaining to the Cook Islands and other Polynesian cultures. The participants were given a questionnaire of five questions (Table 4.1).

Participants are identified in this investigation as; Participant 1, Participant 2...Participant 10; or, P.1, P.2, ...P.10. The order of the participants does not correspond with the order of the participants in the following research.











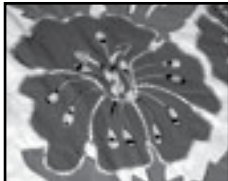

PARTICIPANT VISUAL QUESTIONNAIRE

Fig 4.1 Participant Visual Questionnaire 2009

Q1. Which of the words below best describes the significance of a *tivaevae*?
(Participants were asked to circle as many as they thought applied).




Value	Status	Individuality	Beliefs	Identity	Family	Relationships	Singular	Decoration
Art	Culture	Mana	Ownership	Recognition	Value (\$)	Technology	Rites of Passage	Unity

Q2. Which four motifs do you identify as Cook Island?
(Participants were asked to tick the ones they thought applied).

 A	 B	 C	 D
 E	 F	 G	 H
 I	 J	 K	 L







Of the ones you chose, can you rank them most and least identifiable as Cook Island? (1=highly; 2=moderately; 3=least). *(Participants were asked to write the number next to the motif).*

Q3. From the three designs shown, can you identify which of these is a Cook Island *tivaevae*?
(Participants were asked to circle a, b, or c).

 A	 B	 C
--	--	--

PARTICIPANT VISUAL QUESTIONNAIRE

Q4. What do you identify with in these images? The brand/label or, the designs/motifs
(Participants were asked to circle one).

Q5. In the previous question you were asked to select what you identified with the images - Can you briefly explain your reasons?

Fig 4.1 Participant Visual Questionnaire 2009 (continued from previous page)

The four motifs from Cook Island *tivaevae* in Q2 were: C - taro leaves; E - chrysanthemum; H - hibiscus and; K - hibiscus. The Cook Island *tivaevae* in Q3 was C. The brands chosen for Q4 were selected for their images of the hibiscus, identified in the literature as a flower used for designs in Cook Island *tivaevae*.

PARTICIPANT VISUAL QUESTIONNAIRE

4.1.2 Results

1. Which of the words below best describes the significance of a *tivaevae*?

P1: Identity, decoration, art, culture.

P2: Identity, art, culture

P3: Value, art, culture, beliefs, identity

P4: Beliefs, identity, family, decoration, art, culture

P5: Beliefs, identity, family, decoration, art, culture

P6: Individuality, culture

P7: Matched words across the list

P8: Individuality, beliefs, identity, family, decoration, art, culture, mana, ownership, value (\$), unity

P9: Individuality, beliefs, identity, family, art, culture, unity

P10: Value, beliefs, identity, family, art, culture, recognition, unity

2. Which four motifs do you identify as Cook Island?

P1: Selected 3 of 4 Cook Island motifs; ranked 1, 2, and 3. The non-Cook Island ranked 4

P2: Selected all the correct motifs; ranked 1, 2, 3, & 4

P3: Selected 4 motifs; 2 were Cook Island motifs; both ranked 1. The other 2 both ranked 3

P4: Selected 3 of 4 Cook Island motifs. All selected ranked 1

P5: Selected 5 motifs, 4 were Cook Island; all ranked 1. The fifth motif was ranked 2

P6: Selected 3 of 4 Cook Island motifs; one ranked 1, the other two ranked 2. The non-Cook Island ranked 3

P7: Selected all correct motifs; three of four ranked 1, the fourth ranked 2

P8: Selected 2 of 4 Cook Island motifs; both ranked 1. One of the non-Cook Island ranked 1, the other ranked 2

P9: Selected 2 of 4 Cook Island motifs; both ranked 1. The non-Cook Island ranked 2, and 3

P10: Selected 3 of 4 Cook Island motifs; one ranked 1, the other two both ranked two. The non-Cook Island ranked 1

PARTICIPANT VISUAL QUESTIONNAIRE

3. From the three designs shown, can you identify which of these is a Cook Island *tivaevae*?

All participants identified the correct *tivaevae*.

4. What do you identify with in these images?

P1: Brand/label

P2: Designs/motifs

P3: Brand/label

P4: Brand/label

P5: Brand/label

P6: Designs/motifs

P7: Designs/motifs

P8: Brand and the designs

P9: Designs

P10: Designs/motifs

Four participants identified with brand/label. Four identified with designs/motifs. One identified with the brand and the designs. One identified with the designs and wrote "The flowers in the design".

5. Can you briefly explain your reasons

P1: Commented although the designs are eye catching, it's the brand/label that makes it unique.

P2: Commented they liked the flowers

P3: Commented they liked the brands because they are recognised world-wide and labels are commonly seen.

P4: Commented they liked the brands.

P5: Commented it was the brands they buy and wear.

P6: Commented they had seen most of the designs in a lot of tattoos and *tivaevae*.

P7: Commented the flowers enhance the beauty within their culture, and represents who they are.

P8: Commented they had seen these in NZ and Australia

P9: Commented the hibiscus as a significant symbol for Cook Island

P10: Commented the designs/motifs identify him as an Islander

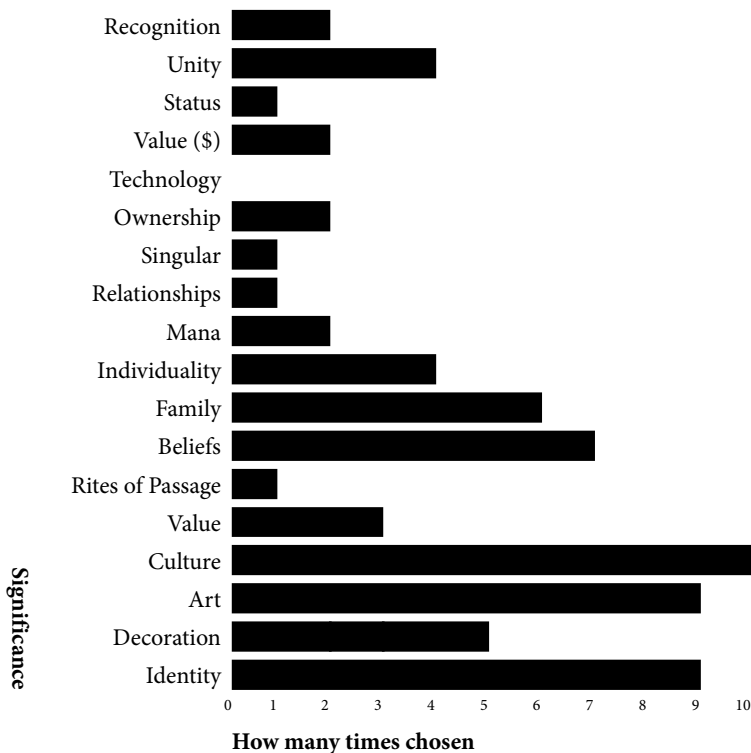
PARTICIPANT VISUAL QUESTIONNAIRE

4.1.3 Findings

Findings are drawn for each of the questions addressed in the questionnaires based on the evidence of the results.

1. Which of the words below best describes the significance of a *tivaevae*?

Fig 4.2 Significance of *Tivaevae*



Of the ten participants, the results (Fig 4.2) show culture was identified by all ten participants; nine selected art and identity each; seven selected beliefs; six selected family; five selected decoration; four selected individuality and unity each; three selected value; recognition, mana and value (\$) and ownership were selected twice each; status, singular, relationships and, rites of passage were all selected once and; technology was not selected.

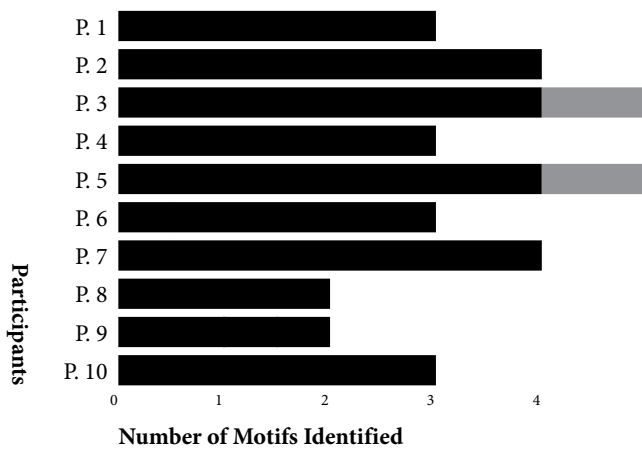
There was one participant who matched the words with other words in the list, linking relationships to culture, value to art, status to value (\$), individuality

PARTICIPANT VISUAL QUESTIONNAIRE

to rites of passage, identity to mana, family to unity, singular to ownership and, decoration to recognition.

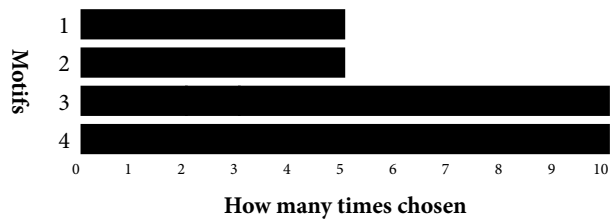
2. Which four motifs do you identify as Cook Island?

Fig 4.3 Identification of Cook Island Motifs



Four participants were able to identify all four Cook Island motifs, four others identified three Cook Island motifs, while the remaining two identified two (Fig 4.3).

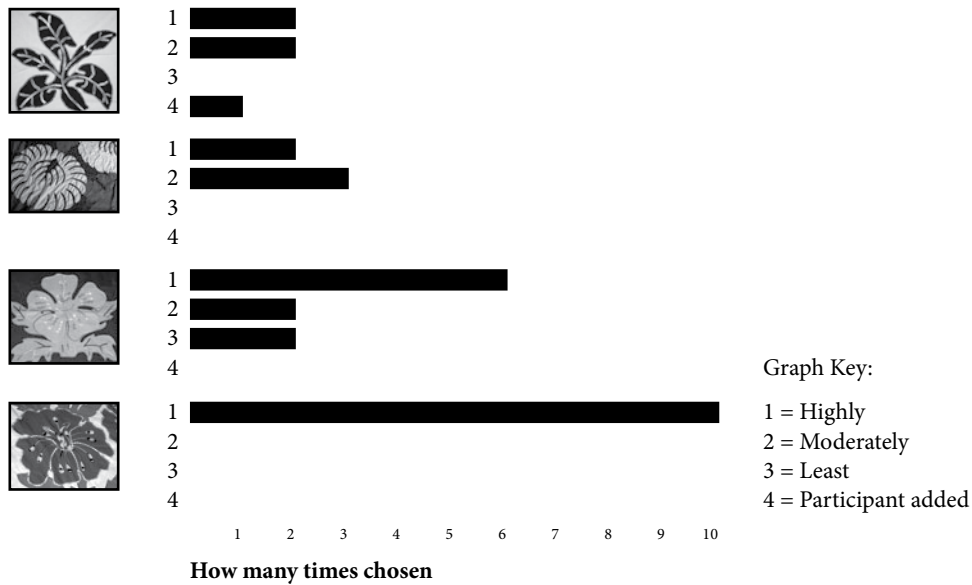
Fig 4.4 Count of Cook Island Motif Selection



Motif 3 and 4 were selected by all ten participants, while motifs 1 and 2 were selected each by five participants (Fig 4.4).

PARTICIPANT VISUAL QUESTIONNAIRE

Fig 4.5 Identifiability Rank of Cook Island Motifs



Motif 4 was ranked by all the participants as highly identifiable as Cook Island (Fig 4.5).

3. From the three designs shown, can you identify which of these is a Cook Island *tivaevae*?

From the results, all participants were able to identify the Cook Island *tivaevae*.

4. What do you identify with in these images?

Four participants identified with the designs/motifs, demonstrating evidence of their affiliation with Cook Island culture. Four other participants indicated they identified with the brand/label, demonstrating lack of cultural connection to the imagery. One participant identified with both the brand and the motifs, acknowledged the flowers, indicates the associations of flowers with the Cook Islands. One participant identified with the designs and acknowledged the flowers in the design.

PARTICIPANT VISUAL QUESTIONNAIRE

5. Can you briefly explain your reasons

From the four participants who identified with the brand/label, the strongest reasons for selections were world-wide recognition and uniqueness, supported by comments that they were the brands they buy and wear and are easily recognised. The participant who identified with the design, pinpointed the hibiscus and conveyed its representational value to the Cook Islands. The participant who identified with the brand and the design indicated they had seen these in NZ and Australia. From the four who identified with the design/motif, the reasons for selection were representational value, they are seen in tattoo and *tivaevae* designs and, they liked the flowers.

4.1.4 Participant Visual Questionnaire Discussion

The questionnaire proposed to establish if participants were able to identify images and motifs specific to the Cook Islands. It also sought to determine if they acknowledged images due to association with brands or, if they identified with its cultural link. The purpose was to identify if there is a stronger representation of identity through association of Cook Island culture or with brands.

All participants indicated culture describes the significance of *tivaevae* and nine also identified art and identity, suggesting Cook Island young adults view *tivaevae* as artistic expression of culture and identity. This is supported by the selection of decoration by five participants, indicating *tivaevae* as visual extensions of their culture. The selection of family and belief indicates understand its connection to Cook Island ideology and acknowledge *tivaevae* as an important component of family. However this is overshadowed by the lack of association with relationships, suggesting they do not understand the significance of the collaborations or the bonds formed with the women who create them. The selection of individuality suggests as an activity distinct to the Cook Islands supported by the selection of unity, advocating the distinction provided by

PARTICIPANT VISUAL QUESTIONNAIRE

individuality provides a means of expressing a unified culture. The low association of value indicates participants either do not understand the cultural meaning or, perceive value from an economic standpoint. Lack of understanding the cultural meaning embedded in Cook Island *tivaevae* is substantiated by the lack of association with *mana*, recognition and rites of passage. This could indicate participants do not link *tivaevae* with cultural knowledge and its authority as an activity embedded with traditional knowledge. The lack of association with recognition indicates participants may not view *tivaevae* as medium widely acknowledged. However, if value is perceived from an economic standpoint it is substantiated by the lack of association with ownership, value (\$), status and singular, indicating *tivaevae* are not viewed as financial or personal assets. Technology was not acknowledged by any of the participants indicating Cook Island young adults view the practice as a traditional art form.

The findings exhibited evidence of the associations of flower motifs with Cook Island culture. There was an unmistakable acknowledgement of the hibiscus, substantiated by confirmation of its authority as the most representative form of Cook Island identity. The findings also indicate there is an unmistakable recognition of Cook Island *tivaevae*, exhibiting evidence of cultural awareness and its relevance in Cook Island society.

The assertion of the representational value of the hibiscus motif to the Cook Islands was substantiated by the affiliation of images with Cook Island culture. However, evidence also indicated a comparable association of images to brands. Testimony demonstrated lack of cultural connection to the imagery and indicated attitudes toward exclusivity and recognition.

Although the evidence indicated there is an even association with Cook Island culture and brands, the evidence highlighted the cultural connections of *tivaevae* and the hibiscus motif, precipitates acknowledgement of its authority as representative forms of Cook Island identity.

PARTICIPANT VISUAL QUESTIONNAIRE

From the findings of this study it is clear Cook Island young adults view Cook Island *tivaevae* as expressive representations of identity, substantiated by evidence of cultural awareness and its relevance in Cook Island society. The findings indicate Cook Island young adults are able to discern a Cook Island *tivaevae* from other Polynesian *tivaevae* and, the association of the hibiscus as the most distinctive representative form substantiates its value to Cook Island culture. It is clear Cook Island young adults associations with their culture leads to reference back to their culture for sources of visual representations of identity. However the proportional association with brands indicate Cook Island young adults also draw from brands for visual representations of their identity, substantiating culture and brands as comparable sources of visual identity.

4.2 PARTICIPANT INTERVIEWS

The research set out to determine what visual imagery Cook Island young adults associate as representations of their identity in order to determine if cultural affiliation is present in the visual forms used for portrayal of identity.

Exploration of Cook Island visual arts was investigated to identify what forms are considered to be most recognisable and distinctive to Cook Island culture. This led to the acknowledgement of its significance and if the physical manifestations are connected to the identity of Cook Island young adults.

The research also explored Cook Island young adults' perception of cultural appropriation in order to determine if instances of cultural appropriation occurs and if they considered it as a contribution to Cook Island society or if they view it as an act of diminishing identity.

4.2.1 Methodology

Participants of Cook Island descent within the ages of 18 to 25 years from the Waikato region, New Zealand were interviewed. The interviews were conducted on 17th August, 2009. There were four men and six women participants. The interviews lasted approximately 20 minutes each and were recorded in digital video. Before the participants were interviewed, the researcher presented an overview of this investigation. Table 4.1 lists the questions for the interview.

Q1	What images/motifs/symbols represent your identity?
Q2	What are Cook Island's most recognisable forms of its visual arts?
Q3	What is the significance of these visual arts you have identified?
Q4	Can you identify any images/symbols/motifs specific to the Cook Islands?
Q5	Do you associate any of these as representations of your identity?
Q6	What do you think cultural appropriation is?
Q7	Have you been exposed to instances of cultural appropriation of Cook Island designs?
Q8	How do you feel about Cook Island art being appropriated by non-Cook Islanders?

PARTICIPANT INTERVIEWS

4.2.2 Results

1. What images/motifs/symbols represent your identity?

	Identity component	Image/Motif/Symbol	Reason
P1	Religion Sports Ethnicity	Temple/chapel Rugby, touch Not specified	I'm a pretty diverse guy so for me I'd have to say...I go to church, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. The symbol there would be the...the temple or the chapel. That would be a big part of my identity, and there's my culture, just the Cook Island culture, and so just anything really that represents the Cook Islands, big part of my identity...um. Play sports so, more specifically rugby and touch so that's definitely a part of my identity
P2	Ethnicity	Bigness	I'm a bit of a rough looking guy...um...I reckon my bigness really... represents who I am..that I'm Raro...but I do get mistaken for Samoan or Maori but I tell them that I'm Raro
P3	Clothing Shoes Perfume	Mossimo Lee Boss	The clothing I wear, the shoes...um, perfumes, for clothing...ah Mossimo...it's a brand I like, and um...shoes, Lee shoes, um and for perfumes...probably Boss perfumes if it's a fragrance and it's the brand...it's just the perfume I like...that's it
P4	Ethnicity	<i>Pareu</i> , tiare and tipani flowers	I like wearing the mareko Cook Island <i>pareu</i> ...cos when you wear it in public and people see it they know like the <i>pareu</i> is what Cook Island people wear. I like wearing Tiare Maori flowers because that's the national flower of the islands and the most recognised one, with the tipani too
P5	Not specified	Flowers	That's how people remember me
P6	Sports Ethnicity	Cook Island national flag, <i>uto</i>	Coming from a sporting background, for me it would be the Cook Island national flag. and, I think the one of the most important image to me for being a Cook Islander would be ummm...the <i>uto</i> , the coconut and the roots and what I've read from it tells us how our nation grew from that
P7	Sport Career Ethnicity	Syndicate fight club Car paint Island music	Represents me like a fighter yeah boxer, what about like cars and that...yeah like painting cars represents me as a automotive refinisher...yeah and..umm...yeah...oh island music...can you say that...yeah defines me as a islander, a cook islander and who I am
P8	Ethnicity	Tipani flower	Our culture is beautiful, so the tipani flower symbols us and um being a beautiful culture, its bright, us cook islanders are bright and so yeah so that why I think symbolises us
P9	Ethnicity	The flag, <i>uto</i>	the old flag that's got the <i>uto</i> on it, the <i>uto</i> represents our growth of generation, the roots represents me as our ancestors
P10	Ethnicity	Tipani flower	Represents me, my personal identity, being cook island

From the results of the interviews (Table 4.2), four participants acknowledged flowers as representations of their identity; three identified the tipani flower and one of the three also identified the tiare¹⁸ flower. One of the four also identified

PARTICIPANT INTERVIEWS

*pareu*¹⁹. Two participants identified flags; one participant specified the Cook Island national flag. Two participants identified *uto*²⁰ as representations of identity. One participant identified the temple, rugby and touch as representations of identity. One participant identified three brands as representations of identity. One participant identified a sport club, car painting and island music as representations of identity. One participant identified size.

Of the four participants (P.4, P.5, P.8 and P.10) who acknowledged flowers, participant 4 identified tipani and commented flowers were how people remembered them. Participant 10 identified tipani, commenting they represented them as being a Cook Islander. Participant 5 identified tiare flowers as the national flower and the most recognised, while participant 8 identified tipani flowers as symbolic representations linking the flower's beauty and brightness to the Cook Islands.

The two participants who identified flags (P.6 and P.9) both also identified *uto*. Participant 6 explained the flag was the most important image to them as a representation of being Cook Island while the *uto* represents the growth of their nation. Participant 9 also identified the flag as being a representation of the growth of their nation, while its roots represented their ancestors.

Participant 1 acknowledged the temple as one identity component while sports played a significant role in their identity and although did not specify any images pertaining to Cook Island culture, acknowledged the Cook Islands as a big part of their identity.

Participant 3 identified three brands as visual representations of their identity and linked the brands to items of clothing and personal products, acknowledging they were brands the participant liked.

19 Wrap or sarong.

20 Young coconut tree

PARTICIPANT INTERVIEWS

Participant 7 identified a sports fighting club, car painting and Cook Island music as representations of their identity. The participant commented the fight club represented them as a boxer while car painting represented them as a career. The Cook Island music component was explained as a representation of the participant being Cook Island.

Participant 3 identified size as representation of identity, commenting size represents them as Rarotongan however, the participant also acknowledged being mistaken for Samoan or Maori.

2. What are Cook Island's most recognisable forms of its visual arts?

	Art/Activity	Reason
P1	<i>Tivaevae</i> , drums, flower <i>ei</i>	I think the <i>tivaevae</i> ...that ah...definitely a part of Cook Island identity as well as the Cook Island drums and ah...even the head <i>ei</i> ...the flower <i>ei</i> ...yeah
P2	<i>Tivaevae</i> , <i>ukelele</i> , drums, dancing, <i>tatau</i>	Not specified
P3	Dance, drumming, <i>pareu</i> , <i>tivaevae</i>	Not specified
P4	<i>Pareu</i> , <i>tivaevae</i> , drumming, dancing	Not specified
P5	<i>Tivaevae</i> , dancing, <i>pareu</i>	Not specified
P6	<i>Tivaevae</i> , hibiscus, <i>pareu</i> , <i>mumu</i>	Would be the <i>tivaevae</i> and our um pictures of the hibiscus, like we see it everywhere, even on popular brands we see them, and but yeah on our <i>tivaevae</i> , we normally have it on our...oh and <i>pareu</i> and um <i>mumu</i> dresses
P7	<i>Tivaevae</i> , dance, <i>ukelele</i> , drums	are we supposed to explain about the <i>ukelele</i> or nah....everyone just knows that that's Cook Island yeah, and ah the island drums
P8	Drums, dances	A lot of um people in New Zealand know us as the culture that always has drums um especially even our Cook Island dancing too
P9	Costumes, <i>páre</i> , <i>mumu</i>	The women's hats they wear to church on Sundays
P10	<i>Tivaevae</i>	Not much cultures do <i>tivaevae</i> and me growing up seeing that most of the mamas here at this church have only did <i>tivaevae</i> and that's something that the Cook Island culture is well known for and that's recognisable for the cook island culture

PARTICIPANT INTERVIEWS

From the results of the interviews (Table 4.3), *tivaevae* were identified by eight participants. Drums and dance were identified by five participants. *Pareu* was identified by four participants. *Ukelele*²¹ and *mumu*²² were identified twice. Costumes, *páre*²³, *tatau*²⁴ and *ei*²⁵ were identified once.

The eight participants who identified *tivaevae*, participant 1 commented it was part of Cook Island identity while, participant 10 commented not many other cultures make *tivaevae* and it is a form the Cook Island's are recognised for. Participant 6 comments the hibiscus is seen everywhere, on popular brands and on Cook Island *tivaevae*. The remaining five who identified *tivaevae* did not specify reasons.

Of the five participants who identified drums and dance, participant 8 commented they are most recognisable as many people in New Zealand recognise the Cook Island's as the culture who always has drums and links this recognition to dancing also. Participant 7 comments everyone knows its Cook Island and links this to the *ukelele* also.

Of the four participants who identified *pareu*, only participant 6 gives an explanation, linking it to the comment regarding *tivaevae* and hibiscus. Participant 6 also links *pareu* with *tivaevae* and hibiscus.

Of the four remaining art/activity identified, only *pare* was explained further. Participant 9 commented *pare* are the hats women wear to church.

21 Hawaiian word for small guitar. Cook Island word is *ukarere*

22 Dress

23 Hat

24 A presentation of scriptures from the Cook Island Bible to a congregation.

25 Necklace of flowers

PARTICIPANT INTERVIEWS

3. What is the significance of these visual arts you have identified?

	Art/Activity	Reason
P1	Drums, <i>ukelele</i> , <i>tivaevae</i>	Well the Cook Island drums...um...it's probably the most um....like the one instrument the Cook Islands are well known for...is for playing the island drums, but as well as the ukelele...the <i>ukelele</i> is definitely one and...I'm not sure if Cook Islanders are the only ones that make <i>tivaevae</i> but I know that it's definitely a custom for the ladies...yeah make <i>tivaevae</i> as part of our identity
P2	<i>Tivaevae</i> , <i>ukelele</i> , drums, dance <i>Tatau</i>	just showing who you are is the most important thing in life is it, I think it is, like um when people do their <i>tatau</i> is just like they're praying to lord um...and stuff in, in their own language, like Cook Island, Samoan, Tongan...um..yeah
P3	Drum, dance	It's a Cook Island cultural thing that's been around for generations...and it just represents the Cook Island culture
P4	<i>Pareu</i> , <i>tivaevae</i>	Because when the Island mamas do it, they do like what they want, sometimes they put like their island on it, like Aitutaki, Mangaia, and then that's like their significance, the island. and the <i>tivaevae</i> because usually on it it's something from the island, whether it's the flowers or the leaves or the trees
P5	<i>Tivaevae</i>	our mamas make it for like 21st or our <i>ooras</i> [presentation of gifts] at our weddings
P6	<i>Tivaevae</i>	The flower can represent the beauty of our culture...and our, the <i>tivaevae</i> shows our heritage, it goes like back from when our ancestors, and our <i>tivaevae</i> show our generations in the family
P7	<i>Tivaevae</i> , dance, <i>ukelele</i> , drums	It's part of our culture and its just been our culture for years
P8	Drums, dances	Promotes who we are and we like to share with other cultural people too and the non-cook islanders that this is how we do our culture
P9	Costumes, mumu	Costumes can be used for dancing ...traditional dancing which they have in the constitutions. um...the <i>mumu</i> ...the ladies...it's a traditional dress...traditional dress...um because it kind of represents who you are and what you love doing, like the costumes, I know our...a lot of the young people in our community they love to dance, so, if you have a costume it also relates to who you want to be and tells the people out there that you are Cook Island and you love to do what you are doing
P10	<i>Tivaevae</i>	Identity, individuality, that's something that just belongs to the cook island culture, or that I know of...yeah individuality

No. of Participants	Art/Activity	Reason
7	<i>Tivaevae</i>	Custom. Representational. Ceremonial. Beauty. Heritage. Genealogy. Traditional. Identity. Individuality. Ownership
5	Drums	Recognition. Culture. Traditional. Cultural wealth
4	Dance	Recognition. Culture. Traditional
1	<i>Pareu</i>	Custom. Representation. Identity
3	<i>Ukelele</i>	Recognition. Culture. Traditional
1	Costumes	Traditional. Identity. Pride
1	Mumu	Traditional. Identity. Pride

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From the results (Table 4.4) seven arts/activities were identified (Table 4.5). Of those, *tivaevae* was identified seven times and had the highest number of significance attributes. Drums was identified five times, dance was identified four times and *ukelele* three times. *Pareu*, costumes and *mumu* were identified once each.

Of the seven participants who identified *tivaevae*, participant 1 commented it was a custom for island women supported by participant 4 acknowledgement of island mamas making them, adding the images on *tivaevae* come from plants and flowers of the islands the mamas belong to. Participant 6 also comments on their representational value acknowledging the historical knowledge and genealogy embedded in *tivaevae*. Participant 5 relates their significance to ceremonies and participant 7 comments it is a traditional activity. Participant 10 relates the significance of *tivaevae* to identity, individuality and belonging to the Cook Islands.

Of the five participants who identified drums, participant 1 identified its significance as recognisable to the Cook Islands. Participant 3 acknowledged its significance as a traditional cultural form. Participant 7 also commented it is a traditional form while participant 8 commented its significance relates to how Cook Islanders like to share their knowledge with others by showing them.

The *ukelele* was identified by three participants with participant 1 commenting it is an object recognised as Cook Island and participant 7 acknowledging it as a traditional form.

Costume and *mumu* were each identified once. Participant 10 acknowledged the significance of costumes relates to its role with traditional dancing and the *mumu* as traditional dress, representing who they are.

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4. Can you identify any images/symbols/motifs specific to the Cook Islands?

	Response	Reason
P1	Drums, <i>ukelele</i>	It's kinda hard with the instruments just cause other cultures use them as well... the <i>ukelele</i> and the drums..but...mmm. Couldn't say that there was one specific thing that only Cook Islanders have
P2	Singing, drums, dance, <i>ei</i>	Doesn't specify
P3	Drum, dance	Doesn't specify
P4	Tattoos, flowers - tipani, tiare maori	The Cook Island tattoo because it mostly tells of your genealogy where your from
P5	Flowers - tipani, tiare maori	Because it shows our beauty
P6	Flowers - hibiscus	I think that the biggest part that we see like everywhere would be the flowers yeah the hibiscus
P7	Tiare flower, palm trees, coconut trees, lagoons	Doesn't specify
P8	Tie-dyed <i>pareu</i>	Cook islanders always have different colours of <i>pareus</i> and you see them around too in NZ
P9	Flowers - hibiscus, tiare maori	yes the flower...um the hibiscus flower, the tiare maori flowers that a lot of young people and our elderly people use today
P10	Palm tree, coconut tree, flowers - hibiscus, tiare maori, tipani	I don't see much cultures with that specific flower only the cook island culture um...the palm tree, the sunset...oh not so much the sunset, the palm tree yes, and the three coconuts, the three coconuts on some of the labels in Auckland but yeah just the tiare tipani and all those designs and all that

From the results (Table 4.6), plants were identified by six participants. Of those six, three identified tipani, five identified tiare maori, three identified hibiscus, two identified coconut trees and two identified palm trees. One of this group also identified lagoon. From the remaining four participants, three identified drums, two identified dance; *ei* and singing were both identified once.

Of the participants who identified flowers, participant 5 links the hibiscus and tiare maori to tipani, commenting it was because they express the beauty of the Cook Islands. Participant 10 links the tipani, hibiscus and tiare maori as flowers not seen with many cultures. Participant 9 acknowledges flowers, specifying hibiscus and tiare maori, as being used by a lot of young people and their elderly people.

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The two participants who identified the coconut tree (P.7 and P.10), participant 10 comments the image of the three coconuts are seen on some of the labels in Auckland, but does not acknowledge what the labels are.

The three participants who identified drums (P.1, P.2 and P.3) only participants comments on reasons, however could not identify one specific thing that only Cook Islanders have.

The remaining forms; dance, *ei*, *ukelele* and singing, were not specified by any of the participants reasons for why they are specific to the Cook Islands.

5. Do you associate any of these as representations of your identity?

	Response	Object	Reason
P1	Not specified	Not specified	Not specified
P2	Yes	<i>Ukelele</i>	Especially the <i>ukelele</i> , because I like the uke
P3	Yes	Cook Island music	Not specified
P4	Yes	Flower	When you go to the islands, you see everyone wearing it there, wear it when they dance and then they <i>akaai</i> [greet people with <i>ei</i>] people when you go over, like they put the <i>ei</i> on the tourist
P5	Yes	Not specified	Not specified
P6	Yes	Flower, <i>pareu</i>	Wearing the flower in my hair and going to like functions, especially if its like not a pacific island function wearing the flower and probably dressing myself up in the <i>pareu</i> would show that I am Cook Island
P7	Thinks so	Not specified	Not specified
P8	Yes	<i>Pareu</i>	I was brought up tie-dying <i>pareu</i>
P9	Yes	Tiare maori	I reckon the tiare maori represents myself, who I am, my family, the roots from where I come from and also the leaves represents what I love doing
P10	Yes	Sunset, tiare maori	Not specified

From the results (Table 4.7) eight participants said yes. Of the eight, four identified flowers with two specifying tiare maori and one also added sunset. Two of the eight who said yes identified *pareu*, one identified *ukelele* and one identified Cook Island music. One participant thought so and one participant did not specify.

Of the four who acknowledged flowers as representations of their identity, participant 4 commented it was because when you go to the islands everyone

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wears them. Participant 9 specified tiare maori, explaining it represents them, where they come from, their family and what they love to do. Participant 6 commented flowers and *pareu* represents being Cook Island. Participant 10 does not specify reasons for flowers or the sunset as cultural representations of identity.

The participant who identified *ukelele* (P.2), commented it was because they like the *ukelele*. Participant 3 identified Cook Island music but did not specify why.

6. What do you think cultural appropriation is?

	Response	Reason/Example
P1	Someone uses part of another culture	For example, when um...other other ah countries tried to use the Maori haka as...I don't know something that they do, like for example I seen...I watched the football team over in America they did kamate...an um...I thought that was cultural appropriation there
P2	Don't really know what it is	None given
P3	When different cultures, European people...using the Cook Island drums or European people doing island dance	None given
P4	Don't know how to put it into words	None given
P5	Don't really know how to explain it	None given
P6	Used an example to explain	It would be the warriors, the rugby league team, using um...pacific drums, like Cook Island drums to represent the, even though their symbol is Maori, it could be a cultural appropriation.
P7	Other cultures stealing our ideas	None given
P8	Taking stuff from one culture to another	None given
P9	I don't know how to explain it	None given
P10	Used an example to explain	The Samoan culture playing the drums...like the show, one of the shows on tv, channel 3, I don't remember the name of the show but it shows that Samoan people are playing the drums and I don't know if that's their culture and I don't know if it belongs to them but I feel that it belongs to the cook island culture and that's what cultural appropriation means to me

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From the results (Table 4.8), four participants either did not know what it was or had difficulty trying to explain²⁶. Of the remaining six participants, three used examples for explanations while the remaining three gave descriptions. Of the three who gave examples, two identified the Cook Island drums as appropriated although one was unsure if the drums belonged to Samoan or the Cook Islands however, felt the drums belonged to the Cook Islands. The other participant gave an example of Maori haka being appropriated by an American football team. Of the three who gave descriptions, one referred to other cultures using the Cook Island drums and Europeans' doing island dance. The other two participants explained cultural appropriation as taking or using parts of another culture.

²⁶ For those participants who were unsure of what cultural appropriation is, the interview was paused after this question and the researcher gave a description of cultural appropriation.

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7. Have you been exposed to instances of cultural appropriation of Cook Island designs?

	Response	Appropriation	Reason
P1	Yes	Drums	I went to the tamiki tour in Rotorua and there were Maoris' playing the island drums
P2	Yes	<i>Ukelele</i> , drums, tattoos	I've just seen heaps of people playing the uke, drums...ah...even copies some tattoos from Samoans, this fellas pakeha
P3	Yes	Drums, dance, tattoos	European people in Tokoroa...ah...with Cook Island design tattoos on their bodies...and...yeah...just with the schools and that, the different cultures that do Cook Island, like dancing, drumming
P4	Probably	Not specified	Not specified
P5	Don't know	Not specified	Not specified
P6	Yes	Tattoos, hibiscus	Like tattooing, example would be um Robbie Williams, having a maori...ah pacific maori design on him...and the Billabong brand and the Roxy brand they have the hibiscus flower with the brand, and...yea some design dresses have some cultural um flower materials on them
P7	Yes	Tattoos	Seeing like island tattoos on European people and that...yeah I've seen the odd person
P8	Yes	Not specified	Not specified
P9	Yes	Flowers, hibiscus	I've noticed some of the brands that have the Cook Island flowers such as Roxy, Ripcurl and some surfboards that have the kind of wave and also the hibiscus that blends in
P10	Yes	Hibiscus, tattoos	If you're talking about the hibiscus, if it's the hibiscus, yes, I've seen it in many billabong, many Samoan designs, tattoos...yea just the hibiscus, no other designs

From the results (Table 4.9), eight participants answered yes, two others either did not know or weren't aware of it. Five of the eight participants identified tattoos, while three identified hibiscus. Drums was identified as appropriated by three participants and, ukelele was identified by one participant identified while another participant identified dance. Three participants did not specify what was appropriated.

The five participants (P.2, P.3, P.6, P.7 and P.10) who identified tattoo, participant commented about people copying tattoos from Samoa. Participants 3 and 7 commented they had seen European people with Cook Island designs.

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Participant 6 commented on Robbie Williams having a maori/pacific maori tattoo design. Participant 10's comment applied to the hibiscus.

The three participants (P.6, P.9 and P.10) who identified hibiscus, participant 6 commented on seeing billabong and roxy with the hibiscus. Participant 9 also commented seeing roxy, ripcurl and surfboards with Cook Island flowers. Participant 10 also commented seeing the hibiscus with billabong.

Of the three participants (P.1, P.2 and P.3) who identified drums, participant 1 commented seeing Maori' playing island drums, while participant 2 commented on seeing heaps of people playing the drums and *ukelele*. Participant 3 commented different cultures doing Cook Island drumming and dance.

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8. How do you feel about Cook Island art being appropriated by non-Cook Islanders?

	Response	Reason
P1	It's okay	I guess it's how they use it, if they can say specifically that it is Cook Island...um origin, then I guess its okay, and if they using it in good ways...they not ah...trying to downgrade the Cook Island customs and traditions
P2	It's kind of degrading to us	To me I feel its kind of degrading us, because it's not actually us out there promoting our stuff, its other people...yeah, so that's what I think
P3	It shouldn't be done	I think it shouldn't be done because of them not being of Cook Island descent and it's just wrong in my eyes
P4	Don't really like it	Don't really like it because when the <i>tivaevae</i> is made, its takes a long time and its hard work, and then for people to just take it, and then...like use it, it's just taking the hard work of our people and just...like saying it's nothing
P5	Think that it's good	I think that it's um good, because um, like pakeha's are proud of like using stuff that belong to us and our people...yeah
P6	We should be overwhelmed	We should be overwhelmed by it, because its just showing that our culture has taken an interest in non-Cook Island people, especially with the flowers and our <i>tivaevae</i> and um and non-Cook Island people...oh with food, yep, especially food our um donuts, and yeah I think its real good our culture has taken an influence of non-Cook Islanders, it just shows that our culture is out there
P7	I don't think it's right	Nah I don't think it's right, I think it should only be on Cook Islanders because it's our culture and its our designs so it should only be for us...yeah
P8	Thinks it's a good idea	I'm glad they want to promote our culture, and do what we do and yeah, so I am fully stoked about that
P9	I don't have a problem with it	I don't have a problem with that, I reckon that's good for them, and also for us Cook Islanders, that's putting our culture out and also for them to learn what they're using of our cook island culture which us as cook islanders use of theirs
P10	I think it's good	I think its good that that our culture has been exposed in that way and everybody is able to take it with them, like the <i>tivaevae</i> , throughout my whole years, I've seen that pakeha...pakeha people like the <i>tivaevae</i> and that's really good for us Cook Island people and the amount of work that our mamas and papas put into... oh...mama...put into these <i>tivaevae</i> it's really good for them and I love seeing the designs and stuff being shared amongst New Zealanders and stuff...yea

From the results (Table 4.10), four participants viewed it negatively, five were positive and one participant acceptance was conditional. Of the four participants (P.2, P.3, P.4 and P.7) who viewed it negatively, participants 3 and 7 gave reasons pertaining to ethnicity with one specifying it belonged to them as a Cook Islander. Participant 2 specified it was derogatory to them as somebody was promoting their culture while the participant 4 viewed it as diminishing the cultural wealth of the product. Of the five participants (P.5, P.6, P.8, P.9 and P.10) who viewed it positively, participants 5, 8 and 9 acknowledged it was helping to promote their

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culture with participant 6 indicated it meant their culture has a positive influence on other cultures. Participant 10 viewed it as a method to share their cultural wealth and a form of exposure. Participant 5 also expressed how other cultures are proud of using their cultural forms.

4.2.3 Findings

Findings were drawn for each of the questions addressed in the interviews based on the evidence provided by the results.

1. What images/motifs/symbols represent your identity?

Evidence of the results indicated six participants associated objects or elements relating to the Cook Islands as representations of their identity. Participant 2 identified a personal attribute, linking it to the cultural component of their identity. Participant 5 identified flowers but did not link it to an identity component. Participant 1 identified Cook Island culture as the identity component but did not specify any elements. Participant 3 did not identify culture as an identity component, selecting Mossimo, Lee and Boss as representations of identity. Apart from participants 3 and 5, eight participants specified Cook Island culture as an identity component utilised to draw representations from for visual identity.

The elements attributed to identity exhibits higher numbers with flowers, specifically tipani and tiare maori. The significance of tipani predicates upon recognition as symbolic representation of Cook Island culture with, tiare maori acknowledged as the national flower.

Flags and *uto* were identified as representations of identity, substantiated by cultural meaning signifying links to ancestry and genealogy. The significance of *uto* as a visual form extends to its representation of the growth of Cook Island society, while the roots are symbolic to the strength of their development.

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While Cook Island culture was a significant component to visual identity, the evidence precipitates it is not the only component from which Cook Island young adults draw representation from. The evidence indicated religion, sports, career and brands are associations made with identity. Although these components lacked numbers to determine their relevance, the acknowledgement of only brands in one participant signified lack of cultural association with visual identity.

2. What are Cook Island's most recognisable forms of its visual arts?

Evidence of the results indicate *tivaevae* as Cook Island's most recognisable visual art, substantiated by its identification by eight participants. Evidence exhibited acknowledgement of its function with identity and identified as a renown Cook Island activity. The connection of *tivaevae* and *pareu* with pictures of hibiscus substantiates the use of flower motifs by Cook Island visual arts while the association of images of hibiscus with popular brands signifies the hibiscus promoted in non-Cook Island products. *Pare* was identified by one participant and was association with the women who wore them to church on Sunday.

Performing arts were identified as a recognisable Cook Island visual art substantiated by the identification of drums and dance by five participants. The results identified drums and dance as renown Cook Island activities and was extended to include ukelele.

3. What is the significance of these visual arts you have identified?

Evidence of the results identified *tivaevae* with the highest significance attributes, precipitating participants' knowledge of its importance and relevance to the Cook Islands. Participants recognised it was a customary activity capturing the beauty of the Cook Islands, embedded with cultural meaning. The *tivaevae* was also acknowledged as a traditional form linking contemporary society with its ancestors, representative of its history and ritualistic activities. *Tivaevae* was also considered as representations of identity, exhibiting qualities precipitating distinction, prompting recognition and esteem.

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Drums, dance and *ukelele* were identified as renowned Cook Island traditional cultural forms and identified as forms utilised to share and promote cultural wealth with other cultures. Costume was acknowledged for its contributions to traditional dance while *mumu* was acknowledged as a form of traditional attire.

4. Can you identify any images/symbols/motifs specific to the Cook Islands?

The results indicate plants featured prominently as images/symbols/motifs. Participants recognised the connection with flora and acknowledged the *tipani*, *tiare maori* and the hibiscus as subject matter used prominently in Cook Island motifs. The association and identification of flowers indicates the connection and significance of flowers with Cook Island society, while recognition of specific flowers precipitates distinction.

The association of coconut trees, palm trees and the lagoon substantiates the significance of the environment as symbols of Cook Island culture. Although the recognition of three coconuts identified as specific to the Cook Islands, was acknowledged as being promoted in labels, the labels were not specified. The identification of drums, dance, *ukelele* and singing signifies connections with performing arts as visual expressions.

5. Do you associate any of these as representations of your identity?

The evidence from the results participants readily accept cultural objects as representations of their identity. The perception is these objects provide differentiation, recognition and exhibits pride. This is substantiated by participants who associated *pareu* and flowers as representations of identity, with two participants specifying the *tiare maori* flower. The flowers were acknowledged as representative of the Cook Islands, while recognised as an item worn by residents of the Cook Islands. Flowers were also acknowledged as representation of family and heritage. The *ukelele* was associated as representation of identity and was acknowledged as an instrument they like. Cook Island music was associated as representations of identity, although reasons were not specified.

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6. What do you think cultural appropriation is?

From the results, four participants either did not know what it was or had difficulty trying to explain²⁷. Of the remaining six participants, three used examples for explanations while the remaining three gave descriptions.

The results of the six participants indicated their knowledge of cultural appropriation and confirmation of a general understanding of its meaning. Three participants gave examples of what they viewed as cultural appropriation. Two of these participants used examples of Cook Island drums being appropriated by Maori and Samoan cultures, linking its use in sports and on a television show. The example given by participant 1 identifies the Maori haka being appropriated by an American football team. The three participants who gave definitions of cultural appropriation, viewed it as an act of taking from one culture to another, with one participant acknowledged it as an act stealing their (Cook Island culture) ideas.

7. Have you been exposed to instances of cultural appropriation of Cook Island designs?

The results confirmed acts of cultural appropriation with participants identifying specific items pertaining to Cook Island culture. From the seven participants who specified what forms were appropriated, the highest occurrence of cultural appropriation occurred with Cook Island tattoos. The participants who acknowledged cultural appropriation tattoos, two participants linked it to Europeans appropriating Cook Island tattoos, while two others acknowledged the appropriation of Maori and Samoan tattoos.

The appropriation of the hibiscus, acknowledged by participants as a Cook Island flower, was substantiated by its use on specific brands; billabong, roxy and ripcurl. Surfboards were also acknowledged as appropriating hibiscus.

²⁷ For those participants who were unsure of what cultural appropriation is, the interview was paused after this question and the researcher gave a description of cultural appropriation.

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The appropriation of Cook Island drums and the *ukelele* was substantiated by participants view the objects are of Cook Island origin and predicates ownership to Cook Island society.

8. How do you feel about Cook Island art being appropriated by non-Cook Islanders?

Although there were six participants who accepted cultural appropriation, one of the six expressed concern for preservation of Cook Island customs and traditions, and expressed its origins should be acknowledged. The remaining five who accepted cultural appropriation expressed pride when other cultures appropriated Cook Island culture and viewed the acts as methods of promoting and sharing their cultural wealth with others.

The four participants negative views of cultural appropriation was predicated upon ownership, indicative of authority to access of cultural goods. Participants candidly expressed only Cook Islanders have right to access of cultural goods.

4.2.4 Participant Interview Discussion

The research set out to determine if cultural forms attributed to Cook Island young adults' visual identity and the cultural significance of the forms identified. The research also addressed issues regarding cultural appropriation to determine if Cook Island young adults could identify acts and establish its function in Cook Island identity.

Evidence of the findings indicated a greater association with elements pertaining to Cook Island culture as representations of Cook Island young adult visual identity, demonstrating a significant link to Cook Island culture as part of the portrayal of identity.

The findings indicate flowers are held in high esteem as representations of Cook Island young adults' visual identity, predicated as memorable representations of Cook Island culture, symbolising family and heritage. The acknowledgement

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hibiscus, tipani and tiare maori as prominent Cook Island motifs with tiare maori recognised as a national flower and tipani as symbolic representations demonstrating the beauty of the islands, verifies flowers connection with Cook Island society, channelling distinction. Therefore it can be argued tipani, tiare maori and hibiscus are authoritative representations of Cook Island identity.

The findings indicate flags and *uto* are viewed as representations of identity, substantiated by their cultural value as forms embedded with historical references linking contemporary society with its *maoritanga*. The significance of the coconut as a visual form substantiates environmental inspiration of Cook Island cultural symbols, corroborated as representative of the growth of Cook Island society while the roots are symbolic to the strength of their development. The significance of these visual forms indicate Cook Island young adults' understanding of cultural value embedded with forms representative of the Cook Islands.

The findings also indicated religion, sports, career and brands as sources of representations of visual identity. Although these components lacked numbers to discuss the strength of these images in comparison to cultural forms, the acknowledgement of brands as representation in one participant is of interest. Although this occurrence only appeared with one participant it cannot be ruled out as insignificant, as it could indicate the primary source of visual representation for other Cook Island young adults identity are brands.

The acknowledgment of *tivaevae* as Cook Island's most recognisable visual art demonstrates participants' awareness of the associations of *tivaevae* with the Cook Islands. This was substantiated by its recognition as a Cook Island activity easily recognisable as a component of Cook Island identity. The authority of *tivaevae* as representative of Cook Island culture was precipitated by Cook Island young adults' view awareness of its cultural significance, demonstrating their knowledge of *maoritanga* embedded in the art form. The significance of the hibiscus

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identified in Cook Island visual arts acknowledges its authority as a Cook Island motif, while recognition of its use in brands confirms its widespread use.

The association of performing art activities with Cook Island visual arts precipitates an awareness of culture intertwined with craft and art, evidence of attitudes that performing arts are visual expressions of Cook Island culture. The significance of performing arts indicates Cook Island's interest to involve others to participate in their cultural experience.

The lack of understanding of cultural appropriation by some participants may be due to the term being rarely used while, those who understood the term acknowledged it as an act of taking from one culture to another. Participants also referenced the appropriation of other cultures, indicating their knowledge of cultural appropriation.

The findings demonstrated acts of appropriation of Cook Island culture does occur. The most notable acts were the appropriation of Cook Island tattoos, the hibiscus and the Cook Island drums. The findings indicated cases of European appropriation of Cook Island tattoos while Billabong, Roxy and Ripcurl were identified with the appropriation of hibiscus acknowledged as a Cook Island flower and, appropriation of Cook Island drums were identified to have occurred by Maori and Samoan cultures. Acts of appropriation of Cook Island culture was substantiated by attitudes their origin are vested to Cook Island ownership.

The findings indicated positive and negative affiliations with cultural appropriation. Participants who were accepting expressed attitudes deeming acts of cultural appropriation as beneficial to the Cook Islands as it provides opportunities to promote their culture while allowing others to participate with their cultural wealth. This was substantiated by Cook Island's interest to encourage the spread of their cultural knowledge and the pride experienced when other cultures draw inspiration from their culture. While there is an acceptance of cultural appropriation, evidence also indicated a concern for the preservation of

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cultural customs and traditions, demonstrating expectations of cultural sensitivity and issues of cultural significance. This leads to the negative associations identified with the appropriation of Cook Island culture. The findings indicated concerns of ownership demonstrating issues regarding the authority and accessibility of Cook Island cultural goods.

Findings of this study identified participants readily accept cultural objects as representations of their identity. The perception is these objects provide differentiation, recognition and exhibits pride. While Cook Island culture was a significant component to visual identity, the evidence precipitates it is not the only element Cook Island young adults draw representation from. Although forms associated with Cook Island culture was affiliated with higher than any other component, the lack of cultural association and affiliation to brands for sources of visual identity highlights an issue of potential cultural identity loss.

The acceptance of appropriation of Cook Island cultural forms was based upon benefits to Cook Island culture. Conditions of its use predicated on recognition of origin and ownership and, cultural sensitivity.

4.3 STUDY OF COOK ISLAND VISUAL IDENTITY CONCLUSION

The research set out to determine what visual forms are considered distinct to the Cook Islands and if its cultural forms attributed to the visual identity of Cook Island young adults. It also addressed brand association to determine its relevance to Cook Island young adult visual identity and the issues surrounding cultural appropriation.

From the results of this research, evidence indicated unmistakable recognition of Cook Island *tivaevae*, substantiated by evidence of its significance confirming its authority as representative of the Cook Islands. The acknowledgement of *tivaevae* as expressions of identity emphasised hibiscus, tiare maori and tipane as authoritative representations of Cook Island identity, substantiated by their representational value as cultural extensions. The representational value of flowers corroborated with Cook Island young adults affirmation that culture conveys differentiation, recognition and pride. Cultural forms of distinction extended to flags and coconuts, recognised for their cultural value as symbolic representations of the foundation of contemporary society.

The research presented evidence indicating associations with forms relating to Cook Island culture as representations of visual identity. The most significant were the hibiscus, tipani and tiare maori flowers, their validation as forms embedded with cultural meaning presents their authority as representative of Cook Island identity.

Cultural forms were not the only means of representation for visual identity, the association with culture, sports, religion, career and brands, substantiates evidence of the diversity of Cook Island young adults. The identity component of interest was the association of visual identity with brands. While Cook Island young adults embraced cultural forms as affirmation of cultural identity, they also acknowledged brands as expressions of individuality. This raises the issue of brand association in the search for autonomy surpassing cultural references for Cook Island visual identity. Of particular interest was the affirmation of the widespread

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use of the hibiscus. While the research confirmed its representative value of Cook Island identity, Cook Island young adults' association with brands identified lack of cultural connection.

The affirmation of cultural appropriation of Cook Island tattoos, the hibiscus and the Cook Island drums drew attention to concerns of origin and ownership of cultural forms, precipitated by concerns of authority and accessibility. Evidence also indicated concern for preservation of culture demonstrated by expectations of cultural sensitivity. However, evidence indicated an appreciation of cultural appropriation substantiated by recognition of its uses of promotion and sharing of cultural wealth.

The research indicated Cook Island young adults associated cultural images as representations of their identity and demonstrated the significance of cultural arts in the development of visual identity. However, cultural images were not the only reference points for Cook Island young adult visual identity. Of interest, brand association by Cook Island young adults is significant to acknowledge as the literature suggests evidence of brands appropriating cultural forms to develop relationships with young adults "Some researchers argue that advertisements are most effective when the symbols, characters, and values depicted in the advertisements are drawn from the intended audience's cultural environment, which allows the audience to better identify with the message and the source of the message" (Appiah, 2001, p.9). Therefore, there is the possibility of brands overshadowing cultural references for Cook Island young adult visual identity.

5. CONCLUSION

While Cook Island culture suffered social and cultural upheaval with the introduction of Christianity in the early 19th century, some islands maintained some traditional knowledge of cultural arts, facilitating modern society to reconnect with native history. In 1992, the Cook Islands hosted the South Pacific Festival initiating the resurgence of *ta-tatau*. This event signalled a shift toward reclaiming of cultural traditions in the aim for independence and preservation of identity, with many Cook Island young adults willing to embrace their *maoritanga*, incorporating traditional values with contemporary talents. The cultural meaning embedded in *ta-tatau* intertwined with contemporary practices resulted in a blending of past and present.

The establishment of Christianity was not completely detrimental to Cook Island culture, introducing new trends in creative arts which the Cook Islands embraced, incorporating their own interpretations and customs. The most significant was the introduction of *tivaevae*, argued to have been introduced by the missionary wives in the early 19th century. *Tivaevae* became a symbolic artistic expression of Cook Island culture, with meaning vested into traditional arts transferred to this new form. Of significance is the association of embroidery and the layering of fabric to *tapa*, where binding was a technique used to suppress god idols' *mana*, while the preoccupation with colour was associated with the colour in *tapa*. *Tivaevae* replaced *tapa* as the principal form of traditional wealth, although maintains the cultural significance afforded to *tapa*. *Tivaevae* became a means of expressing their identity and the diversity of their culture, embodied with styles distinctive to the Cook Islands and embedded with symbolic meaning pertaining to their culture and environment.

While *tivaevae* are embedded with *mana* representative of its esteem and signalling appreciation of ownership, the designs for many *tivaevae* patterns are difficult to attribute to one person as the patterns and designs have been passed on from generation to generation and, dispersed throughout its many

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communities. However, contemporary Cook Island society has realised the value of their designs and are adopting techniques to ensure ownership of designs are recognised. This development has stemmed from acknowledgement of outside cultures appropriating their designs for economic gain, diminishing the cultural significance of Cook Island *tivaevae* and raising concerns of authenticity and recognition.

The issue of cultural appropriation also extends to the marketability of their culture and raises concerns regarding representations of their identity. In order to circumvent such occurrences, Polynesian women incorporate personal symbols into their works. However, as with many indigenous cultures this method is not sufficient to ensure security of their designs. This is predicated upon their works falling outside of Western framework of intellectual property. Like many other cultures, the Cook Island's face the same issue of protecting their work. While marketability is of concern when cultural arts are appropriated, the issue facing indigenous cultures like the Cook Islands is the transformations of cultural arts when appropriated.

Although not all cultural appropriation is intended to cause harm to the source culture, the transformations that occur when cultural arts are appropriated can have detrimental repercussions for the source culture. Of concern is the misrepresentation of the source culture and the possibility of mistrust of authentic representations of identity. This misrepresentation and mistrust not only applies to misleading outsiders, it could extend to expatriate Cook Island young adults and lead to an eventual loss of Cook Island identity. The literature confirms young adults are more receptive to receiving brands, although little research analyses the effects of brand association with the formation of identity, therefore it could be surmised the effect of cultural appropriation on the source culture and outsiders can create similar experiences for Cook Island young adults.

CONCLUSION

The largest obstacle Cook Island society faces with cultural appropriation of *tivaevae* designs and motifs is the generalisation of their works as Polynesian, this appears to be due to the lack of information detailing motifs and designs specific to the Cook Islands. Therefore this study set out to provide new knowledge in the aim of affirming motifs distinct to the Cook Islands and establish their authority as representations of Cook Island identity. Although there were limitations to this research, the evidence of the research indicated flowers are prominent sources of inspiration for Cook Island *tivaevae* and considered as authentic representations of Cook Island visual identity. Comparing the findings of the identification of motifs, the participant questionnaire and the participant interviews, the most significant species identified as common to Cook Island culture was the hibiscus, while it is worthy to note the identification of motifs study also identified high occurrences of lilies and chrysanthemum. Of interest was the acknowledgement of tipani and tiare maori from the participant studies which validated the cultural meaning vested in these forms and presents their authority as representative of Cook Island identity. It is also worthy to note the chrysanthemum and lilies identified in the identification of motifs study were not acknowledged by the participants in this research. However, this should not be disregarded as representations of Cook Island identity as their occurrences in Cook Island *tivaevae* could be indicative of its use outside the scope of Cook Island young adult lifestyle. While the hibiscus can be considered as an authoritative representation of Cook Island visual identity, the acknowledgement of the chrysanthemum, lilies, tipani and tiare maori in the investigations are significant to concede as representative of Cook Island identity. However, as it cannot be surmised these flowers, including the hibiscus, are solely representative of the Cook Islands, more research into this would determine if they are distinctive to Cook Island culture.

While the motifs have proven difficult to establish as distinct to the Cook Islands, their application in Cook Island *tivaevae* substantiates *tivaevae* authority

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as the most representational visual art of their identity with the artistic expressions endorsing their style as distinct from other Polynesian *tivaevae*. Cook Island *tivaevae* embraced their inspirations for designs and afforded as much realism as possible, paying tribute to its sources of inspiration. The motifs are illuminated by its artistic renditions coupled with design principles, communicating a culture in harmony with the wildlife surrounding their society, and expressive of their passion, vitality and independence.

The stylised flower motifs in Cook Island *tivaevae* afforded unmistakable recognition and acknowledgment by the participants in this study as authoritative representations of Cook Island identity, substantiated by their representational value as extensions of their culture, corroborating with Cook Island young adults' affirmation that culture conveys differentiation, recognition and pride. However, the study also identified other reference points for Cook Island young adult visual identity. Of interest was the association with brands virtually equalled with cultural art when the brands utilised imagery possessing a Polynesian quality in particular the use of the hibiscus. This raised the issue of the search for individuality and distinction by Cook Island young adults may lead to brand association surpassing cultural references for visual identity, as participants who associated with brands identified a lack of cultural connection to the imagery.

While there was an acknowledgement of the widespread use of the hibiscus by the participants in this study, there was little animosity towards those who utilised the form. This attitude extended to their views of appropriation of Cook Island visual arts, exhibiting acceptance of the practice as a means of promoting their cultural wealth. However not all participants felt the same way, some exhibited concerns of authenticity and ownership, and preservation of cultural traditions.

The research conducted in this study identified Cook Island *tivaevae* as authentic representations of Cook Island identity, while its artistic stylisations affirmed its authority as distinctive to the Cook Islands. While the motifs could

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not be substantiated as distinctive to the Cook Islands, their cultural significance substantiates claims as representations of their identity. The validation of the hibiscus, tiare maori, tipani, chrysanthemum and lilies by Cook Island young adults and the evidence of the identification of motifs study, indicates their strong association with the Cook Islands. Although the widespread use of these forms, in particular the hibiscus, may not substantiate their authority as distinct to the Cook Islands, the stylistic renditions can be considered distinct. In light of this, consideration needs to be given to the appropriation of these artistic forms, as the possibility of Cook Island young adults affiliating more with brands than with culture is predicated on use of cultural images.

While this research intended to identify if appropriation of Cook Island designs can lead to loss of Cook Island identity, the lack of literature and limitations of the research meant this was not possible to achieve. However, the research from this investigation did provide insight into the issues facing the Cook Islands concerning appropriation and awareness of the references utilised by Cook Island young adults as representations of their visual identity. Furthermore, the research provided insight into motifs commonly used within Cook Island culture and acknowledged the hibiscus, tipani and tiare maori are considered by Cook Island young adults as representations of their visual identity.

5.1 FUTURE RESEARCH

The findings of this study provides a first step in identifying motifs commonly used in Cook Island *tivaevae*. Future research could extend the findings by analysing other Polynesian *tivaevae* motifs to substantiate the motifs identified in this study as distinctive to the Cook Islands. Future research can also extend the findings of the analysis of the Cook Island and Polynesian *tivaevae* to substantiate if the creative capabilities seen in Cook Island *tivaevae* are solely practiced by the Cook Islands. This research also provided insight into what visual forms

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Cook Island young adults utilise as representations of their identity, establishing culture and brand association as the most influential in the formation of their visual identity. Therefore, future research could extend the findings by analysing Cook Island motifs and the appropriation of these motifs by brands to determine which of the two are greater sources for the formation of Cook Island young adult visual identity. Furthermore, this leads to the consideration of exclusion cultural references in the formation of their visual identity which, future research could consider the extent of this occurrence and determine if this contributes to cultural identity loss.

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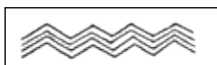
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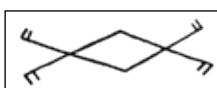
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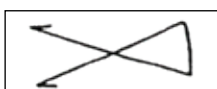
APPENDIX 1



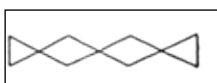
The *pa-maunga* motif is held to be the marking of *Te-Muna-korero*. The motif is called *pa-maunga*²⁸ in honour of the mountain ranges of Hawaiki (Gudgeon, 1905, p.217; Buck, 1944, p.130). Buck (1944) names this motif as *papavaro*, and documents the motif to have been tattooed on “the abdomen and front of thighs, sometimes back” (p.130).



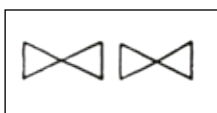
The *puapua-inano* motif, is attributed to chief Kaki, whose canoe, the *Katopa-enua*, was next to arrive, landing at Taravao (Gudgeon, 1905, p.217; Buck, 1944, p.130).



The *komua* motif is accredited to Irakau, who arrived on the *Ui-tariao*²⁹ canoe through the Taketake passage. Gudgeon translation of *komua* means “the forward thrust of a spear” (Gudgeon, 1905, p.218; Buck, 1944, p.130).



The *paeko* motif is attributed to the *Ariki*³⁰ *Te-Erui-o-te-Rangi*, who was said to arrive in a double canoe by the *Ava-tapu*. One side of the canoe was named *Te Rangi-matote*, and the other *Te Toenga-rangi* (Gudgeon, 1905, p.218; Buck, 1944, p.130).



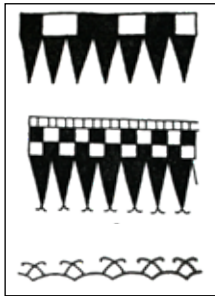
The *punarua* motif is held to be the marking of the chief Ruatapu, who is said to have “asserted his mana over all the tribes of the island”, and, whose canoe, the *Tue-moana*, was said be the last of the ancestral canoes (Gudgeon, 1905, p.218; Buck, 1944, p.130).

28 Gudgeon (1905) terms this motif *pa-maunga*, Buck (1944) labels it *papavaro*.

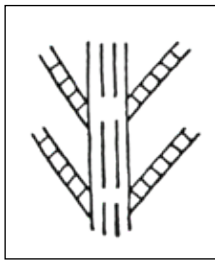
29 Gudgeon (1905) spells as “Ui-tario”.

30 High chief.

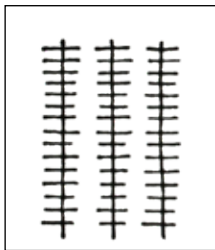
APPENDIX 2



The *ruru* or the *kau* motifs wraps around the wrist below the *manuta`i* motif (Buck, 1944, p.130-131).



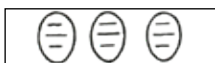
The *mokora* motif is tattooed on the back of the hand and the fingers (Buck, 1944, p.130).



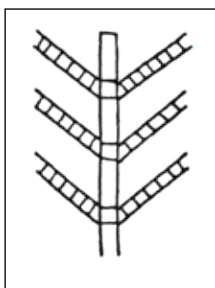
The *pa`oro* motif is tattooed from the knee to the ankle (Buck, 1944, p.131).



The *vava`anga* motif is tattooed just above the knee (Buck, 1944, p.131).

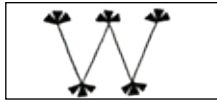


The *pote`a* motif is tattooed on the thigh above the *vava`anga* in sets of four to encircle the limb (Buck, 1944, p.131).



The *tuata`iti* motif (fig.16) “mesial lines along spine and oblique lines extending to mid-axillary line; resembles Aitutaki’s *manuta`i* motif” (Buck, 1944, p.131).

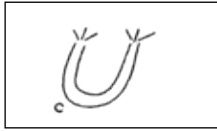
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The *puvakevake* motif is held to represent the three original tribes of Mangaia, tattooed on to the chest, shoulder and upper arm (Buck, 1944, p.131).



The *manuta`i* motif encircles the forearm with lower points toward the hand (Buck, 1944, p.131).



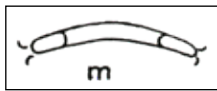
The *motupoki* motif is a curved double line that follows the curve of the hand between the thumb and the forefinger with the ends on the “proximal phalanx of the thumb and forefinger” (Buck, 1944, p.131).



The *maurua* motif (fig.17) is named after a star and tattooed on the abdomen (Buck, 1944, p.131).



The *purauti* motif (fig.18) is a face motif with the curved base towards the ear and the apex toward the nose (Buck, 1944, p.131).



The *ngutu* motif (fig.19) a female pattern on the upper lip (Buck, 1944, p.131).

APPENDIX 3



The *poe rauiti* (fig.20) a facial tattoo with the point towards the ear (Buck, 1944, p.131).



The *mokomoko* motif (fig.21) is a heel pattern of curved line on either side of Achilles tendon (Buck, 1944, p.131).

APPENDIX 4

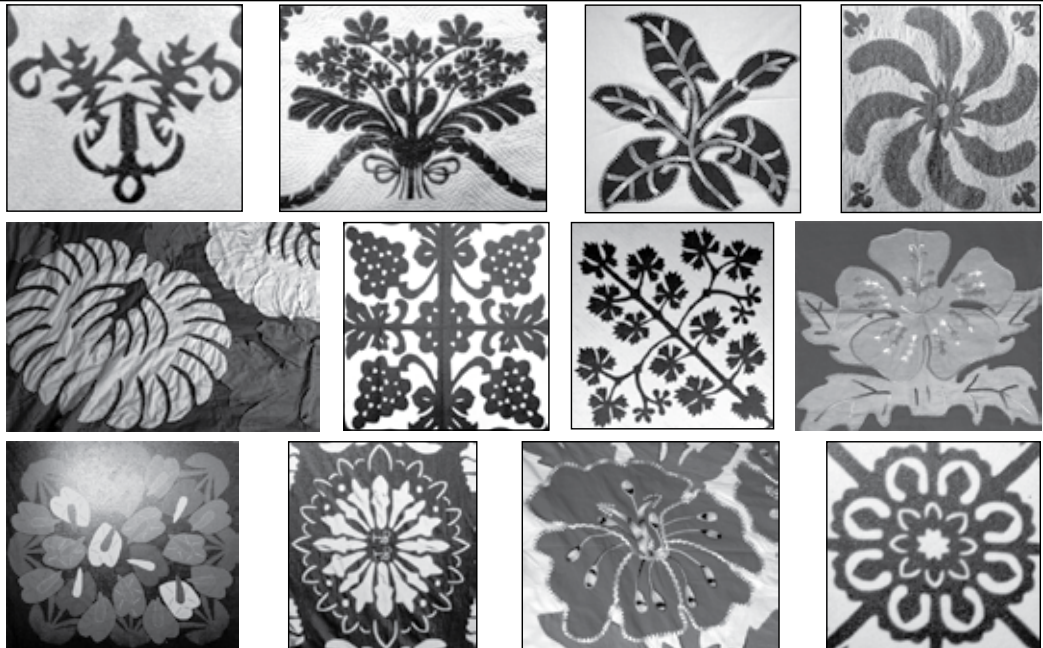
This questionnaire deals specifically with Cook Island tivaevae.

Which of the words below best describes the significance of a tivaevae?
please circle as many as you think.

- | | |
|---------------|------------------|
| Value | Art |
| Status | Culture |
| Individuality | Mana |
| Beliefs | Ownership |
| Identity | Recognition |
| Family | Value (\$) |
| Relationships | Technology |
| Singular | Rites of Passage |
| Decoration | Unity |



1



Which four motifs do you identify as Cook Island?
please circle or tick.

Of the ones you chose, can you rank them most and least identifiable as Cook Island.
1 = highly; 2 = moderately; 3 = least.

2

APPENDIX 4

APPENDIX 4



a

b

c

From the three designs shown, can you identify which of these is a Cook Island tivaevae?
 please circle a, b, or c.

3

What do you identify with in these images?

The brand/label

The designs/motifs



4

APPENDIX 4

In the previous question you were asked to select what you identified with the images.





Can you briefly explain your reasons?

Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire.

APPENDIX 5

	Hibiscus (kaute). Tivaevae taorei. (Hammond, 1986a, p.8).		Orhids. Tivaevae tataura. (Rongokea, 2001, p.38).
	Tiare Maori (Maori flower). Tivaevae manu. (Rongokea, 2001, p.104).		Turtle Carapace Turtle. Paka 'Onu 'Onu. Tivaevae taorei. (Hammond, 1986a, p.10).
	Hibiscus (Kaute). Tivaevae tataura. (Rongokea, 2001, p.45).		Lily. Tivaevae tataura. (Enoka & Maea, 2006, p.Bateseba Daniel).
	Poinsettias. Tivaevae tataura. (Rongokea, 2001, p.97).		Grapes. Tivaevae tataura. (Rongokea, 2001, p.6).
	Tiger Lily (Riri taika) (Rongokea, 2001, p.100).		Other flora. Tivaevae manu. (Rongokea, 2001, p.8).
	Flower bouquet. Tivaevae tuitui tataura. (Rongokea, 2001, p.125).		Gardenia (Tiare Maori). Tivaevae manu. (Rongokea, 2001, p.46).
	Water lily. Tivaevae tataura. (Rongokea, 2001, p.129).		Water lily (Riri vai). Tivaevae tataura. (Rongokea, 2001, p.44).
	Other flora. Tivaevae taorei. (Rongokea, 2001, p.110).		Hanging lantern (Mori tautau). (Rongokea, 2001, p.43).
	Crown. Tivaevae taorei. (Rongokea, 2001, p.65).		Lily. Tivaevae taorei. (Rongokea, 2001, p.109).
	Water Lily (Riri Vai). Tivaevae tataura. (Rongokea, 2001, p.27).		Chrysanthemum (Matirita). Tivaevae manu. (Rongokea, 2001, p.22).
	Chrysanthemum. Tivaevae tataura. (Rongokea, 2001, p.19)		Chrysanthemum (Matirita). Tivaevae tataura. (Rongokea, 2001, p.83).
			Chrysanthemum. Tivaevae tataura. (Enoka & Maea, 2006, p.Rourukeu Mangi).

APPENDIX 5

	Tiger Lily (Riri taika). Tivaevae taorei. (Rongokea, 2001,p.130). p.31).		Mermaid (Merio). Tivaevae tataura. (Rongokea, 2001,
	Rose (Roti). Tivaevae tataura. (Rongokea, 2001, p.84).		Horse Head plant (Rau mitimiti oroenua). (Rongokea, 2001, p.115)
	Turtle back (Paka onu). (Rongokea, 2001,p.101).		Hibiscus. Tivaevae tataura. (Hammond, 1986a, p.33).
	Chrysanthemum. Tivaevae tataura. (Enoka & Maea, 2006, p.Pkotea Ngatamariki).		Chrysanthemum. Tivaevae tataura. (Enoka & Maea, 2006, p.Roimata Fortes).
	Lily. Tivaevae tataura. (Rongokea, 2001, p.105).		Tiare Ora Varu. Tivaevae tataura. (Rongokea, 2001, p.26).
	Lily. Tivaevae taorei. (Private collection of Mrs Teatuanui Teau).		Chrysanthemum (Matirita). Tivaevae taorei. (Rongokea, 2001, p.51).
	Orchid. Tivaevae tataura. & Maea, 2006, (Enoka & p.Tuteretere Tokatema John Teinangaro).		Turtle. Tivaevae taorei. (Enoka Maea, 2006, p.Teetu Teao Kawenga).
	Chrysanthemum. Tivaevae taorei. (Rongokea, 2001, p.124).		Cattleya Orchid. Tivaevae tataura. (Rongokea, 2001, p.123).
	Peacock. Tivaevae tataura. (Rongokea, 2001, p.90).		Taro leaves (Kape). Tivaevae tataura. (Rongokea, 2001, p.69).
	Chrysanthemum (Matarita). Tivaevae manu. (Rongokea, 2001, p.118).		Orchid. Tivaevae tataura. (Enoka & Maea, 2006, Pio Tuakana).
	Flower bouquet. Tivaevae tuitui tataura. (Rongokea, 2001, p.52).		Xmas Lily (Riri iotepa). Tivaevae manu. (Rongokea, 2001, p.87).

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	Fan. (Tairiiri). Tivaevae manu. (Rongokea, 2001, p.119).		Anthuriums. Tivaevae tataura. (Rongokea, 2001, p.39).
	Hibiscus. Tivaevae tataura. (Hammond, 1986a, p.35).		Rose (Roti). Tivaevae tataura. Rongokea, 2001, p.77).
	Rose (Roti). Tivaevae tataura. (Rongokea, 2001, p.23).		Blue Marie leaves. Tivaevae manu. (Rongokea, 2001, p.114).
	Crabs. Tivaevae manu. (Rongokea, 2001, p.86).		Other Flora. Tivaevae tataura. (Enoka & Maea, 2006, Viriama Tuapou).
	Chrysanthemum (Matirita). Tivaevae tataura. (Rongokea, 2001, p.35).		Sea Urchins. Tivaevae manu. (Rongokea, 2001, p.91).
	Tiger Lily (Riri taika). (Rongokea, 2001, p.61).		Hibiscus (Kaute). Tivaevae taorei. (Rongoka, 2001, p.72).
	Butterfly. Tivaevae manu. (Rongokea, 2001, p.19).		Coconut. Puru-Arari. Tivaevae tataura. (Rongokea, 2001, p.38).
	Zinnia. Tivaevae tataura. (Rongokea, 2001, p.95).		Other flora. Tivaevae tataura. (Rongokea, 2001, p.62).
	Stars. Tivaevae taorei. (Rongokea, 2001, p.57).		Other flora. Tivaevae taorei. (Enoka & Maea, 2006, p.Ina Teaurima).
	Chrysanthemum. Tivaevae tataura. (Enoka & Maea, 2006, p.Io-A-Te-Are-Tini Dean).		Hibiscus (Kaute). Tivaevae taorei. (Rongokea, 2001, p.59).
	Hibiscus (Kaute). Tivaevae tataura. (Enoka & Maea, 2006, p.Mrs Felesite Tunupopo).		Lily. Tivaevae tataura. (Enoka & Maea, 2006, p.Mareta SimionaMakiakama).

APPENDIX 6

Participant 1

Q1: Um...I'm a pretty diverse guy so for me I'd have to say...I got to church, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. The symbol there would be the...the temple or the chapel. That would be a big part of my identity, and there's my culture, just the Cook Island culture, and so just anything really that represents the Cook Islands, big part of my identity...um. Play sports so, more specifically rugby and touch so that's definitely a part of my identity. Yeah.

Q2: Um...I think the tivaevae...that ah...definitely a part of Cook Island identity as well as the Cook Island drums and ah...even the head leis...the flower leis...yeah

Q3: Well the Cook Island drums...um...it's probably the most um....like the one instrument the Cook Islands are well known for...is for playing the island drums, but as well as the ukelele...the ukelele is definitely one and...I'm not sure if Cook Islanders are the only ones that make tivaevae but I know that its definitely a custom for the ladies...yeah make tivaevae as part of our identity

Q4: Um...think just the same things that I've said really. It's kinda hard with the instruments just cause other cultures use them as well...the ukelele and the drums.. but...mmm. Couldn't say that there was one specific thing that only Cook Islanders have.

Q5: Did not identify any images/motifs/symbols in Q4, just objects

Q6: Think that is where someone uses part of another culture as like...like something they are doing. For example, when um...other other ah countries tried to use the Maori haka as...I don't know something that they do, like for example I seen...I watched the football team over in America they did kamate...an um...I thought that was cultural appropriation there

Q7: Ah...can't say I have...oh wait actually, there was a...I went to the tamiki tour in Rotorua and there were Maori's playing the island drums...but they said that...I thought it was good for them to identify that they were actually playing Cook Island drums as part of their items

Q8: I guess it's how they use it, if they can say specifically that it is Cook Island... um origin, then I guess its okay, and if they using it in good ways...they not ah... trying to downgrade the Cook Island customs and traditions.

Participant 2

Q1: Um...well I'm a bit of a rough looking guy...um...I reckon my bigness really... represents who I am..that I'm Raro...but I do get mistaken for Samoan or Maori but I tell them that I'm Raro.

Q2: Um...tivaevae, ukelele, drums um...the dancing, the hula...um...even like um tatau at a church and stuff like that

Q3: sorry what was that again... um...um...the meaning...just showing...just showing who you are is the most important thing in life is it, I think it is, like um when people do their tatau is just like they're praying to lord um...and stuff in, in their own language, like Cook Island, Samoan, Tongan...um..yeah

APPENDIX 6

Q4: Singing...is that right? um...drum, dancing, um the leis...

Q5: Um...is that like...(Interviewer had to interject and explain the question) yes definitely, especially the ukele, because I...I like the uke

Q6: Well um...I don't really know what it is...so um...i reckon it is umm...oh what is it? actually sorry (Interviewer had to interject and explain the question) ...oh well just people playing the uke really aye...there's a lot of people out there playing that are actually playing the ukes. Well to me I reckon its good but you know I think it's quite sad to see it slip away and not our people really play it, stuff like that

Q7: Yes I have actually...um just yeah I've just seen heaps of people playing the uke, drums...ah...even copies some tattoos from Samoans, this fellas pakeha, just stuff like that its really weird to me.

Q8: To me I feel its kind of degrading us, because it's not actually us out there promoting our stuff, its other people...yeah, so that's what I think

Participant 3

Q1: Um...the clothing I wear, the shoes...um, perfumes, for clothing...ah Mossimo...it's a brand I like, and um...shoes, Lee shoes, um and for perfumes... probably Boss perfumes if it's a fragrance and it's the brand...it's just the perfume I like...that's it

Q2: It's ah...cultural dances, the dancing, the...the drummings...um...um...the pareos they are making...they make...the...the pillow cases...the island designs on pillow cases they do...and...that's it.

Q3: Um...for the...Cook Island drumming and that...and the dancing and that... it's...it's a Cook Island cultural thing that's been around for generations...and it just represents the Cook Island culture...that's it.

Q4: Um...palm trees...ah...flowers...flowers...um...nah...just stop it....(laughter)...

Q5: Nah...I don't...that doesn't represent...the drums they don't represent me... nah...I don't...oh...Cook Island music...oh that's something else aye...yeah...that's about it, just Cook Island music...but then that comes back to the drums and that... the ukeleles...that's it...that's about it

Q6: Um...when different cultures...say...say for European people...um...using the Cook Island drums or European people doing Cook Island dancers...

Q7: mmm...yep...European people in Tokoroa...ah...with Cook Island design tattoos on their bodies...and...yeah...just with the schools and that, the different cultures that do Cook Island, like dancing, drumming

Q8: ah...I think it shouldn't be done because of them not being of Cook Island descent and it's just wrong in my eyes.

APPENDIX 6

Participant 4

Q1: Umm...well I like wearing the mareko Cook Island pareu...cos when you wear it in public and people see it they know like the pareu is what Cook Island people wear. I like wearing Tiare Maori flowers because that's the national flower of the islands and the most recognised one, with the tipani too.

Q2: The pareu, the tivaevae and the performing arts side, the dancing and the drumming. oh and the tattoos.

Q3: Umm, the pareu because when you dye it and you get the...the...wee...the thing you put on it and the picture comes up, it's because when the Island mamas do it, they do like what they want, sometimes they put like their island on it, like Aitutaki, Mangaia, and then that's like their significance, the island. and the tivaevae because usually on it it's something from the island, whether it's the flowers or the leaves or the trees

Q4: Oh, the flowers, the...mmm. the tipani ones, tiare maori...interview paused for participant.

interviewed continued: ah the Cook Island tattoo because it mostly tells of your geneology where your from.

Q5: Yep...the flower because when...when you go to the islands, you see everyone wearing it there, wear it when they dance and then they akaei people when you go over, like they put the leis on the tourist

Q6: mmm...not sure what cultural appropriation is...interview paused for participant

Interview resumed: ummmm I know a fair bit about it but I don't know how to put it into words.

Q7: I probably have been but I am not aware of it

Q8: mmm....don't really like it because when the tivaevaes...[hard to hear the word] its takes a long time and its hard work, and then for people to just take it, and then...like use it, it's just taking the hard work of our people and just...like saying it's nothing.

Participant 5

Q1: Umm, flowers because um that's how people remember me

Q2: Tivaevae, umm...interview paused for participant

interview resumed: ummm...our Cook Island dancing, buying pareus...ah and tivaevae making

Q3: Umm...interveiw paused for participant.

interview resumed: umm like umm for our tivaevaes our mamas make them for... interview interrupted by cat.

interview resumed: like for the tivaevaes, our mamas make it for like 21st or our ooras at our weddings

Q4: Um flowers. um because it shows our beauty...um tipani or tiare maori

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Q5: yep.

Q6: Um...i don't really know how to explain it...[researcher asks if she understands it]..yes

Q7: I probably have but I don't really know

Q8: Um..i think that it's um good, because um, like pakeha's are proud of like using stuff that belong to us and our people...yeah

Participant 6

Q1: Well coming from a sporting background, for me it would be the Cook Island national flag. and, I think the one of the most important image to me for being a Cook Islander would be ummm...the uto, the coconut and the roots and what I've read from it it tells us how our nation grew from that

Q2: mmm...would be the tivaevae and our um pictues of the hibiscus, like we see it everywhere, even on popular brands we see them, and but yeah on our tivaevae, we normally have it on our...oh and pareu and um mumu dresses

Q3: Umm...the flower can represent the beauty of our culture...and our, the tivaevae shows our heritage, it goes like back from when our ancestors, and our tivaevaes show our generations in the family

Q4: Umm...hibiscus and um...mmm...yeah the flower mainly the flowers. I think that the biggest part that we see like everywhere would be the flowers yeah the hibiscus

Q5: Ummm yes I do...ah wearing the flower in my hair and going to like functions, especially if its like not a pacific island function wearing the flower and probably dressing myself up in the pareu would show that I am Cook Island

Q6: Ummmi don understand the question but just putting it into my own words is a bit difficult, so, but I have an example...it would be the warriors, the rugby league team, using um...pacific drums, like Cook Island drums to represent the, even though their symbol is maori, it could be a cultural appropriation.

Q7: Umm...yes. the um like tattooing, example would be um Robbie Williams, having a maori...ah pacific maori design on him...and the billabong brand and the roxy brand they have the hibiscus flower with the brand, and...yea some design dresses have some cultural um flower materials on them

Q8

I think its...like we should be overwhelmed by it, because its just showing that our culture has taken an interest in non-Cook Island people, especially with the flowers and our tivaevaes and um and non-Cook Island people...oh with food, yep, especially food oour um donuts, and yeah I think its real good our culture has taken an influence of non-Cook Islanders, it just shows that our culture is out there.

Adds: I'm proud to be Cook Island.

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Participant 7

Q1: It's that like the fight syndicate gears...yeah that represents me like a fighter yeah boxer, what about like cars and that...yeah like painting cars represents me as a automotive refinisher...yeah and..umm...yeah...oh island music...can you say that...yeah defines me as a islander, a cook islander and who I am and yea, that's all

Q2: Is that like the tiare flower and that yeah, kind of or like Polynesian groups... like palm tree...
ah the ukelele...yeah..um...are we supposed to explain about the ukelele or nah... just how everyone just knows that that's cook island yeah, and ah the island drums, I don't really know anything else

Q3: Um...it's part of our culture and its just been our culture for years

Q4: The tiare flower, the plam...the coconut trees, the lagoons

Q5: Um...do you mean like the palm trees and that...yeah, I think so.

Q6: Um...just other cultures stealing our ideas, the cook island culture ideas and um using it for themselves

Q7: Is that like seeing like island tattoos on european people and that...yeah I've seen the odd person

Q8: Um...nah I don't think it's right, I think it should only be on cook islanders because it's our culture and its our designs so it should only be for us...yeah

Participant 8

Q: Tipani flower...ah tipani flowers are beautiful, our culture is beautiful, so the tipani flower symbols us and um being a beautiful culture, its bright, us cook islanders are bright and so yeah so that why I think symbolises us

Q2: I would say the drums, a lot of um people in New Zealand know us as the culture that always has drums um especially even our Cook Island dancing too, that's ah one of them too..known to have real good dances, talented dances so yeah I would say the cultural dancing and the drumming and that

Q3: Me being an islander and being brought up in cultural activities, dancing and drumming actually promotes who we are and we like to share with other cultural people too and the non-cook islanders that this is how we do our culutre

Q4: I would have to say the tie-died pareus, us cook islanders always have different colours of pareus and you see them around too in NZ

Q5: Um yes, I was brought up tie-dying pareus and it was used for you could use it to perform and stuff um even if you go to bed in it, its quite handy we even decorate, its good for decorations and um other things too.

Q6: Um...taking stuff from one culture to another, and um some cultures take...i'm not being biased or anything but you know they always take...oh hang on...[paused for participant]

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taking from one culture to another, and other cultures they like to use our drum too, our drumming, especially the base and the [island word for drum?] and all the other stuff. and I see a lot of samoans wearing what we wear too, but not the revealing stuff, just like how we do our dresses and that, so sometimes us cook islanders take what the samoans got too

Q7: Um...i've seen a lot of designs like billabong and all that, and hivana, but I think that's a Hawaiian design, and I've seen design in flea markets, where they've used ummm put like puma, reeboks on the pareu..so

Q8: Oh I think it's a good idea, I'm glad they want to promote our culture, and do what we do and yeah, so I am fully stoked about that.

Adds: being a cook islander is really really good, for me myself, I'm teaching my son about our culture and he's picking it up, so if I was...to anyone out there, I would give it a go, learn your culture, it's a good thing

Participant 9

Q1: Um...the old flag with the uto which represents our generation for today, the um...coconut, also well for me it represents our ancestors and the leaves the stableness of our generation of growth. the old flag that's got the utu on it, the utu represents our growth of generation, the roots represents me as our ancestors, the coconuts will be the

Q2: Costumes um...the pares, the hats, the women's hats they wear to church on Sundays, and also the mumu dresses, um flower in the ear

Q3: Costumes can be used for dancing ...traditional dancing which they have in the constitutions. um...the mumuus...the ladies...it's a traditional dress...traditional dress...um (researcher interjects) because it kind of represents who you are and what you love doing, like the costumes, I know our...a lot of the young people in our community they love to dance, so, if you have a costume it also relates to who you want to be and tells the people out there that you are cook island and you love to do what you are doing

Q4: The different designs they have on other cultural backgrounds, samoans I always think that some of the stuff that they use is cook island and along as with tongan, but just have different meanings to the different symbols we have in relationships with theirs
yes the flower...um the hibiscus flower, the tiare maori flowers that a lot of young people and our elderly people use today.

Q5: Um...yes the tiare maori...i reckon the tiare maori represents myself, who I am, my family, the roots from where I come from and also the leaves represents what I love doing

Q6: Ok...i understand what cultural appropriation is, its just I can't put it into words

Q7: Yes...i have...um...i've noticed some of the brands that have the cook island flowers such as roxy, ripcurl. and some surfboards that have the kind of wave and also the hibiscus that blends in

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Q8: I don't have a problem with that, I reckon that's good for them, and also for us cook islanders, that's putting our culture out and also for them to learn what they're using of our cook island culture which us as cook islanders use of theirs

Participant 10

Q1: Um...for me the basic tipani, the basic flower that I wear in my ear, just seeing that represents me, my personal identity, being cook island, just the basic flower in the ear

Q2: Um...tivaevaes...that's about it tivaevaes being that not much cultures do tivaevaes and me growing up seeing that most of the mamas here at this church have only did tivaevaes and that's something that the cook island culture is well known for and that's recognisable for the cook island culture

Q3: Identity, individuality, that's something that just belongs to the cook island culture, or that I know of...yeah individuality

Q4: The hibiscus, tiare tipani...the tiare tipani, the tiare maori, I don't see much cultures with that specific flower only the cook island culture um...the palm tree, the sunset...oh not so much the sunset, the palm tree yes, and the three coconuts, the three coconuts on some of the labels in auckland but yeah just the tiare tipani and all those designs and all that

Q5: Not so much the sunset...oh the sunset yes...the flower, the tiare, just the simple flower in my ear...yep I do

Q6: Um...the samoan culture playing the drums...like the show, one of the shows on tv, channel 3, I don't remember the name of the show but it shows that samoan people are playing the drums and I don't know if that's their culture and I don't know if it belongs to them but I feel that it belongs to the cook island culture and that's what cultural appropriation means to me

Q7: If you're talking about the hibiscus, if it's the hibiscus, yes, I've seen it in many billabong, many samoan designs, tattoos...yea just the hibiscus, no other designs

Q8: I think it's good, I think its good that that our culture has been exposed in that way and everybody is able to take it with them, like the tivaevaes, throughout my whole years, I've seen that pakeha...pakeha people like the itvaevaes and that's really good for us cook island people and the amount of work that our mamas and papas put into...oh...mama...put into these tivaevaes it's really good for them and I love seeing the designs and stuff being shared amongst New Zealanders and stuff... yea