



The evolutionary adaptation of body art: Tattooing as honest signaling of enhanced immune response in American Samoa

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Title: The evolutionary adaptation of body art: Tattooing as honest signaling of enhanced immune response in American Samoa

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Abbreviated title: Tattoos as a costly honest signal

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Abstract

Tattooing has been practiced globally for thousands of years. From an evolutionary perspective, this tradition seems counterintuitive because it is a dermal injury that risks infection. Previous research indicates tattooing may habituate the immune system for subsequent stress, as with exercise or vaccination, an important benefit in high-risk areas. Visible injuries through tattooing may be a form of costly honest signaling—consciously or unconsciously drawing attention to immunological quality.

Objectives: We tested this habituation effect of tattooing in American Samoa, where its practice is common and extensive and infectious disease rates high. We hypothesized that people with more tattoo experience would have enhanced immune response related to the stress of being tattooed. We compared total and rate of tattoo experience to determine if tattooing is more analogous to exercise or vaccination.

Methods: We measured secretory immunoglobulin A (SIgA), cortisol, C-reactive protein (CRP), and tattoo experience in 25 adults receiving tattoos. We compared post-tattoo SIgA to total and rate of tattoo experience using ANCOVA, controlling for pre-tattoo SIgA, tattoo duration, age, marital status, and stress and baseline health (cortisol, CRP, BMI, and cigarette use).

Results: Post-tattoo SIgA positively correlated with total tattoo experience ($p < 0.05$). Furthermore, when dichotomized by experience, participants with low tattoo experience showed little to no stress-related immune change, whereas high-experience participants exhibited elevated SIgA, suggesting habituation to repeated tattooing.

Conclusions: The historical and cultural popularity of tattooing may be partly due to honest information tattoos convey about adaptive biology, similar to physical benefits of exercise.

Keywords:

Immune response, tattooing, costly signaling, allostasis, American Samoa

Introduction

Tattooing has been practiced throughout the world for thousands of years as self-decoration, status marker, rite of passage, therapy, and physical protection (DeMello, 2000). Although there are clear cultural benefits to tattooing, studies of biological aspects have largely focused on risk of disease transmission, drug use, and infection (Atkinson, 2004). However, scarification (tattooing, scratching, branding, etc.) may prime the immune system by habituating it to short-term stress (Sosis, Kress, and Boster, 2007). Reducing the immunosuppression normally associated with stress may be particularly important in environments that have higher pathogenicity and disease loads, such as the tropics. Here we explore tattooing as a cultural adaptation that may provide enhanced immune response through short-term stress and consider its potential as a costly signal of health in American Samoa.

Ethnographic and historical research reflects the use of tattooing to confer strength, prevent illness, construct and reinforce social identity, and reduce spiritual and physical malignancy (e.g., Caplan, 2000; DeMello, 1991). In traditional Samoan culture, selected men and women received extensive tattoos to indicate commitment and affiliation with their chiefs, families, and villages (Ausage, 2015; Gell, 1993; Mallon and Galliot, 2018). Tattooing is integral to Samoan cultural identity and is reported to toughen the mind and body and create thoughtful leaders and warriors (Ausage, 2015; Mallon and Galliot, 2018; Ruck, 2018). In this Pacific region, tattooing is common, celebrated, and extensive and includes traditional hand (“tapping”) and modern electric techniques (Mallon and Galliot, 2018).

During the historic period, the Samoan Islands have been frequently exposed to infectious diseases (Crews, 1988), and tattooing may play a protective role. Prehistoric infectious disease exposure is unclear, though at least one source indicate that the malaria endemic in

Melanesia was rare in prehistoric Polynesia until Europeans arrived, suggesting a prolonged period of cultural expansion in the absence of this virulent threat associated with high mortality rates elsewhere (Buckley, 2006; Buckley, Kinsaston, Anson, Bedford, and Spriggs, 2013). On the other hand, there is pre-contact evidence of a dual-burden of yaws and metabolic disease in Polynesia that is consistent with later rates of yaws in the region (Buckley, 2000). Although biomedicine is now commonly utilized, exposure to these diseases paired with stress-related immunosuppression has been linked to elevated mortality and morbidity throughout the history of the island (Howells, Lynn, Weaver, Langford-Sesepesara, and Tufa, 2018). Tattooing may play an underappreciated role in biosocial buffering of environmental stressors by habituating the body to some types of adversity in ways analogous to other cultural stressors, such as exercise or vaccination.

Immune Response to Cultural Stressors

Immune changes occur in response to novel short-term stress as part of the normal fight-or-flight response (Coe, 2002), adaptations that can be culturally manipulated. Onset of physiological stress, including that triggered through exercise, vaccination, tattooing, or other sources, causes the deployment of leukocytes in the bloodstream to lymph nodes and sites of damage, vaccination, or wounding (Dhabhar, 2014). Contrary to suggestion that novel stress is immunosuppressive (Coe, 2002), leukocyte proliferation in localized areas can result in reduced numbers elsewhere in the bloodstream and give the appearance of immunosuppression in serum assays (Dhabhar, 2014). The confusion about the valence of immune response (enhanced or suppressed) to stress is due to lack of clarity about the type of stress. Short-term or acute stress (minutes to hours) is generally immune-enhancing, whereas chronic stress (hours to days) is immunosuppressant (Bosch, Ring, de Geus, Veerman, and Amerongen, 2002; Dhabhar, 2014).

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3 Whether stress enhances or suppresses immune response depends on duration of the stress,
4 leukocyte distribution in the body, glucocorticoid (cortisol in humans) distributions in the body,
5 and the timing of the stressor (Dhabhar, 2014). The latency and degree of increased immune
6 function caused by short-term stress appears to depend on previous exposure to the stressor in
7 conjunction with other health factors (Campbell and Turner, 2018; Sapolsky, 2002).
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11 For instance, exercise induces stress response and increases circulating epinephrine,
12 norepinephrine, cortisol, and other stress-related factors. Studies mimicking exercise-like,
13 repeated short-term stress in mice demonstrate immune benefits (Dhabhar, 2014). Energy flux
14 changes with respect to physical condition, which involves corresponding changes that impact
15 the immune system and allow it to adjust to the exercise stress (Campbell and Turner, 2018).
16 Similarly, though initial response to a vaccine can result in mild pathogenic symptoms, short-
17 term stress accompanying the vaccine ultimately improves vaccine efficacy (Dhabhar, 2014).
18 This acute stress has been found to enhance immune response for a large portion of the
19 organism's lifetime through increase in effector and memory helper T cells (Dhabhar and
20 Viswanathan, 2005). During this time, the immune system produces antibodies that increase the
21 likelihood of rapid detection of future pathogen exposures related to the vaccine.
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25 This principle has recently been harnessed by administering vaccines through electric
26 tattoo machines (Kim, 2017). Vaccinations administered using tattoo machines work better than
27 intramuscular injection through the acute stress of repeated shallow puncturing (Pokorna, Rubio,
28 and Müller, 2008). This immune effect via tattoo machine administration is likely linked to
29 tertiary immune surveillance, which triggers system-wide response to localized encounters
30 (Kupper and Fuhlbrigge, 2004). These surveillance mechanisms in the skin interact via dendritic
31 cells with primary immune monitoring in lymph nodes. Tertiary immune surveillance hedges
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3 bets on the encounter being system-wide instead merely a localized dermal encounter by
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5 providing enhanced adaptive immune responses to antibodies in other body tissues (Kupper and
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7 Fuhlbrigge, 2004). Thus, adaptive immune response caused by localized stress can be detected
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9 throughout the body, including saliva.
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12 However, with cosmetic and cultural tattooing, it is not clear if there is a prolonged
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14 immune system effect from one tattooing session (as with the acute stress accompanying
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16 immunization), if repetition is necessary (as with the exercise-like benefit achieved through
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18 repeated short-term stress episodes), or what mechanisms are involved in the process. Testing
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20 these effects requires measurement of total tattoo experience and rate of tattoo experience with
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22 regard to endocrine and immune markers.
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27 ***Measuring the Body's Response to Tattooing***

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29 Assessment of various endocrine and immunological biomarkers, such as
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31 immunoglobulin A, cortisol, and C-reactive protein (CRP), can address these tertiary
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33 mechanisms of immune response to tattooing. They are rapidly produced and easily collected
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35 through non-invasive means, such as saliva. IgA is an acute-phase biomarker and mucosal
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37 antibody that is a frontline defense against common bacteria and viruses. IgA undermines
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39 bacterial adherence to mucosal surfaces through nonspecific interactions (Marcotte and Lavoie,
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41 1998).
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45 Cortisol is released as part of the hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenal (HPA) axis and plays a
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47 role in suppression of immune response and restoration to baseline (Sapolsky, 2002). Cortisol is
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49 positively associated with secretory immunoglobulin A (SIgA) under conditions of short-term
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51 stress and inversely related under long-term or excessive stress (Bosch et al., 2002). Cortisol
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53 seems to play a regulatory function for lymphocyte proliferation, such that abnormally high
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3 doses of corticosteroid added to lymphocyte cultures decreases cellular activity, whereas
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5 subphysiological levels of corticosteroid augment immune response (Coe, 2002). Gleeson (2007)
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7 proposes that long-term or chronic stress causes increases in cortisol and epinephrine production,
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9 among other actions, resulting in decreased macrophage and T helper 1 cell cytokine production.
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11 This diminished production (i.e., immunosuppression) can increase risk for viral infection but
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13 reduce risk of chronic disease (Gleeson, 2007).
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17 CRP is an acute-phase biomarker that reflects general inflammation and can be indicative
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19 of infection, as well as potential cardiovascular and metabolic disorders (Dehghan et al., 2007;
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21 Pearson et al., 2003; Volanakis, 2001). A previous study found that total tattoo experience (an
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23 index of number of hours tattooed, tattoos, tattoo sessions, body covered, and years tattooed)
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25 positively predicts post-tattoo SIgA levels (Lynn et al., 2016). In that study, changes in cortisol
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27 and SIgA were inversely related in participants with lower tattoo experience but positively
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29 associated in those with higher tattoo experience. However, the authors were unable to control
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31 for pre-existing conditions that might produce physiological stress or add to an already taxed
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33 immune response. A minimally invasive way to assess baseline health is to assay CRP from the
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35 same saliva samples.
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41 ***Tattooing as a Costly Signal of Health***

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43 Multiple scholars have suggested that tattooing may be a permanent exterior “costly
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45 signal” of health that demonstrates the ability to quickly heal (Koziel, Kretschmer, and
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47 Pawlowski, 2010; Sosis et al., 2007; Wohlrab, Fink, Kappeler, and Brewer, 2009). Although this
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49 can be particularly important where infectious disease risk is relatively high, tattooing occurs all
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51 over the world, not just in dangerous environments. Carmen and colleagues (2012) suggest that,
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53 even where disease rates are not particularly high, tattooing may be a means of “upping the ante”
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3 by injuring the body in a relatively safe way, thereby highlighting underlying biological quality
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5 or group commitment. Bearing the cost of injuries to the body through tattooing may suggest
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7 stamina through pain tolerance and a robust ability to heal.
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10 Such an ability to rebound from injury would be especially important for populations that
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12 experience high disease burden, like those living in the Samoas. We tested this costly signaling
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14 model of tattooing in American Samoa. We predicted that those with more tattoo experience
15
16 would have enhanced immune response to their tattoo when controlling for overall health.
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18 Similarly, consistent with the physical manifestation of health embodied through exercise, we
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20 predicted that tattooing has a comparable impact on the immune system, requiring repeated
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22 exposure for benefits. We tested this second hypothesis by comparing immunological impacts of
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24 total tattoo experience (analogous to exercise) and rate of tattoo experience (analogous to
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26 vaccination).
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31 **Methods**

32 *Location*

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36 American Samoa is the southernmost territory of the USA. Located in the South Pacific,
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38 this chain of seven islands and atolls is home to over 51,000 inhabitants, the majority (89%) of
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40 which is of Samoan descent (CIA, 2018). In 2017, we recruited participants in collaboration with
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42 a *tufuga tā tatau* (traditional Samoan tattoo master using the tapping method) and two electric-
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44 machine tattooists/owners at their professional studios (Off Da Rock Tattoos and Tatau Manaia)
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46 on the largest island of Tutuila.
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51 Hand-tap tattoos were administered in the *fale* (open-air hut) of the *tufuga tā tatau* in
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53 two cases and on a community member's open-air back porch in another case. In both situations,
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55 tattoo recipients lay on woven mats made of leaves and were positioned by assistants with
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3 pillows (wrapped in new plastic wrap at the beginning of each session). The *tufuga tā tatau* sat
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5 cross-legged on the floor to administer the tattoo with tools ('*au*) of various sizes he had crafted
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7 from boar tusk, turtle shell, wood, and coconut fiber. Two assistants stretched the recipients' skin
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9 with the palms of their hands and wiped away ink and bodily fluids, and another assistant fanned
10
11 the tattoo recipient. The *tufuga tā tatau* and stretchers wore latex gloves throughout tattooing.
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13 Friends and family were welcome to watch but expected to sit, wear a *lavalava* (cloth wrap), and
14
15 remain quiet. Tattoos were administered with traditional Samoan music playing.
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19 Both electric tattoo studios were in enclosed, air-conditioned rooms and equipped
20
21 similarly to those of the US mainland. Customers were positioned on stools or padded benches
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23 that the artists covered with new plastic wrap between each client. Artists would sit on padded
24
25 stools with wheels to move around customers. Electric tattoo machines with sterile needles were
26
27 utilized in these shops, and tattooists wore disposable latex gloves while giving tattoos. Each
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29 artist worked independently, though friends and family were invited to support the tattoo
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31 recipient. Artists would frequently have rock or hip-hop music playing during the tattooing
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33 process.
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39 **Procedures**

40 We recruited participants by working in collaboration with the *tufuga tā tatau* and
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42 electric tattoo artists and used radio, TV, and newspaper stories to introduce the community to
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44 the study. The *tufuga tā tatau* and tattoo artists would contact us when they had clients
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46 scheduled. They would tell their clients about the study and ask if they would like to hear more
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48 about the project. If the customer agreed, our research team would provide additional
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50 explanations. All clients approached participated in the study.
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Tattoo as an honest fitness signal

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3 After obtaining informed consent from participants, a team member administered a short
4 survey querying demographic information, tattoo experience, perceived stress, and other
5 potential endocrine and immune covariates (e.g., recent sickness, cigarette and alcohol use,
6 medications, etc.) (Appendix A). We obtained previous tattoo experience by asking when
7 participants had received each of their tattoos, how long each had taken, and the extent of the
8 body tattoos covered (using female and male body outlines with grid overlays to calculate
9 percentages). We measured perceived stress using the 4-item Perceived Stress Scale (Cohen,
10 Kamarck, and Mermelstein, 1983) to control for non-tattoo-related elevations in cortisol caused
11 by personal stress (lowest score = 0, highest score = 16; high scores associated with greater
12 stress). All written materials were available in English and Samoan.
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26 We then collected participant weight and body fat percentage using a Tanita body
27 composition analyzer (Model TBF 310) and calculated BMI using self-reported height. We
28 collected handgrip strength (mean of duplicate measures for each hand) using a Detecto hand
29 dynamometer (Model DHS 174). Finally, we collected 1.8mL saliva immediately before and
30 after tattooing sessions via the passive drool method using 2mL cryovials and saliva collection
31 aids (SalivaBio LLC) and recorded the time of each sample to account for tattoo duration.
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40 We stored saliva samples in a consumer-grade freezer before transporting them to the
41 University of North Carolina Wilmington, where they were stored in a medical freezer (-20° F)
42 until assayed. We shipped samples overnight with dry ice to Salimetrics LLC (State College,
43 PA), where they were assayed according to published enzyme-linked immunosorbent assay
44 (ELISA) protocols. SIgA and cortisol units are reported as micrograms per milliliter ($\mu\text{g}/\text{mL}$),
45 whereas CRP units are reported as picograms per milliliter (pg/mL).
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3 The study design was approved by the Institutional Review Boards of the University of
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5 Alabama (#17-OR-156-ME) and American Samoa Department of Health (IRB #1249, FWA
6
7 #24252).

11 ***Participants***

12 We recruited 9 women and 16 men (ages 19-69, mean \pm SD = 37.7 \pm 16.31). Seven
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14 participants were residents of American Samoa, while 16 were visiting for work, family, or
15
16 vacation. Three participants received hand-tapped tattoos and 22 via electric tattoo machines.
17
18 Self-reported ethnicity was evenly split between Pacific Islander ($n = 14$) and non-Pacific
19
20 Islander ($n = 11$). All participants were at least 18 years old.

26 ***Analysis***

27 To gain better understanding of the effects of previous tattoos on immune and stress
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29 response, we created two tattoo experience variables—an additive and a rate variable. We
30
31 considered the additive variable (total tattoo experience) analogous to the impact of physical
32
33 exercise on the immune system, as something that is cumulative or repeated throughout life. We
34
35 created the total tattoo experience variable by summing:

$$36 \text{Number of tattoos} + \text{Tattoo sessions} + \text{Lifetime hours spent receiving tattoos} + \text{Years tattooed} + \text{Percent} \\ 37 \text{of body tattooed.}$$

38
39 The rate variable (rate of tattoo experience) was comparable to an inoculation, such that
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41 one or a few administrations has long-term effects on immune response. We calculated the rate
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43 of tattoo experience variable as follows:

$$44 \text{(Number of tattoos} + \text{Tattoo sessions} + \text{Lifetime hours spent receiving tattoos} + \text{Percent of body} \\ 45 \text{tattooed)} / \text{Years tattooed.}$$

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47 To assess immune and endocrine response, SIgA, cortisol, and CRP were assayed from
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49 saliva samples. SIgA may be sensitive to amount of saliva a person can produce in a given time,
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3 so we controlled for flow rate by dividing SIgA values by amount of total protein per sample
4 (which is not flow sensitive) following Lynn et al. (2016). We tested for differences between
5
6 pre- and post-tattoo measures of all three biomarkers using paired samples *t*-tests and then
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8 transformed them using \log_{10} because of skewed distributions typical of biomarkers.
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12 To test the impact to total and rate of tattoo experience on post-tattoo $\text{SIgA}_{\log_{10}}$, we
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14 conducted separate analyses of covariance (ANCOVA) using the linear regression function of
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16 SPSS Version 25 for Windows (IBM Corp., Armonk, NY). We included pre-tattoo SIgA, pre-
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18 tattoo CRP, post-tattoo cortisol, age, BMI, and duration of the tattoo received in the study as *a*
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20 *priori* covariates in the models. Pre-tattoo SIgA controlled for variability in antibody levels
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22 before tattooing began and pre-tattoo CRP for baseline health, while post-tattoo cortisol was
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24 included to control for effects of circulating cortisol on SIgA. We included BMI in the models
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26 because of established relationships between body size and immune response and the importance
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28 of body weight in previous tattoo research (Lynn et al., 2016; 2018). Age was included since
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30 “years tattooed” was a measure in the tattoo experience variables and tattoo duration as a control
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32 for time between pre- and post-tattoo measures. We used bivariate correlations with SIgA to
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34 determine other covariates for the models. We considered all statistics significant if $p < 0.05$.
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41 **Results**

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43 While tattooing is an important cultural practice in American Samoa, the *tufuga tā tatau*
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45 and artists in our study relied on tourists and visitors to supplement their incomes, and
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47 participants in the study were primarily non-residents of American Samoa ($n = 16$). Most were
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49 also well educated—18 had at least some college, while only one participant had less than a high
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51 school diploma. Half were in a committed relationship of some type ($n = 12$), while 10 were
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53 single or in a casual relationship. All participants self-reported SES as either high ($n = 12$) or
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3 middle class ($n = 11$). Participants worked on average 33.9 hours per week ($SD = 22.60$); but,
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5 consistent with being mostly visitors to the island, they had generally worked fewer the week
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7 they received the tattoo for this study (4.8 ± 11.75).
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10 Table 1 outlines the psycho- and anthropometric data collected for dependent variables
11 and potential fixed factors and covariates for regression modeling. Of note, only 16% ($n = 4$) of
12 our participants classified as normal/healthy BMI according to Centers for Disease Control and
13 Prevention criteria (CDC, 2017), while another 16% were classified as overweight and 68% ($n =$
14 17) as obese. A large positive correlation between fat percentage and BMI ($r = 0.67, p < 0.001$)
15 suggests that these categories are not due to high muscle mass. Additionally, mean SIgA and
16 cortisol increased from pre- to post-tattoo measures, though only the change in cortisol was
17 significant ($p = 0.04$). CRP decreased from pre- to post-tattoo, but the change was not
18 significant.
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30 [TABLE 1] 31

32 We collected data related to recent illness and alcohol, cigarette, and medication use
33 because of potential for these factors to influence on endocrine or immune activity. Two
34 participants reported being sick within two days of the study. Most participants (64%) had no
35 alcoholic drinks in the 24 hours before being tattooed, but five (21%) participants had 1-2 drinks
36 and three (12%) as many as 5-9. Similarly, 16 participants did not smoke any cigarettes in the
37 previous week, but eight were smokers who reported having anywhere from one to 80 cigarettes
38 the previous week. One participant reported being on a stimulant medication (Adderall); one on
39 hormonal medication (birth control); one on a dietary supplement; and five on medication for
40 blood pressure, cholesterol, or diabetes.
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Tattoo as an honest fitness signal

We conducted bivariate correlations with pre- and post-tattoo SIgA, post-tattoo cortisol, and pre-tattoo CRP to determine which of these additional covariates to include in ANCOVA modeling (Table 2). Marital status, SES, and cigarette use were significantly related to SIgA, but marital status and SES were also positively associated with each other ($r = 0.60$, $p = 0.002$). We included cigarette use in regression analysis, but, to avoid confounding effects, we retained marital status over SES because marital status explains more variance in pretest SIgA ($r = -0.53$). Education, previous tattoo-related infections, and recent alcohol consumption were significantly associated with pre-tattoo CRP. Since inflammation is associated with increased CRP levels, we considered pre-tattoo CRP a proxy of problems with tattoo healing or alcohol use and, to avoid multicollinearity, did not use tattoo problems or alcohol use in regression analysis. The association with education is less clear, but the correlation was negative, so it may indicate other factors associated with low education (e.g., poor nutrition, sleep, or drug use). Bivariate correlations with biomarkers for other variables were not significant and therefore not included in regression modeling.

[TABLE 2]

We conducted ANCOVA on post-tattoo SIgA_{log10} with pre-tattoo SIgA_{log10}, pre-tattoo CRP_{log10}, post-tattoo cortisol_{log10}, tattoo experience, tattoo duration, age, cigarette use, BMI (grouped by classifications), and marital status as independent variables. We tested separate models with tattoo experience as an additive and as a rate variable, but neither the rate of tattoo experience model ($F_{9,7} = 3.02$, $p = 0.08$, $r^2 = 0.80$) nor any of the variables in that model were predictive of SIgA, so we do not report on rate of tattoo experience further. By contrast, the additive model was significant ($F_{9,15} = 5.07$, $p = 0.003$, $r^2 = 0.75$); and total tattoo experience, cortisol, BMI, marital status, and cigarette use were all significant predictors with large effect

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3 sizes (Table 3). Total tattoo experience had the largest effect on SIgA after cigarette use, BMI,
4 and marital status. We chose to control for cigarette use instead of removing those participants
5 since the sample was so small, but we double-checked their influence by removing them from
6 analysis. Removing those seven participants did not change the models in any significant ways.
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8 While being sick in the past 48 hours was not correlated with biomarker measures, we similarly
9 checked the influence of recent illness by rerunning the regression model without the two
10 recently sick participants and found no difference.
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19 **[TABLE 3]**

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21 We explored the elements that comprised the total tattoo experience variable (hours
22 tattooed, number of tattoos, number of tattoo sessions, percent of body tattooed, and years
23 tattooed) by substituting each independently into the ANCOVA model in place of total tattoo
24 experience (because of limited statistical power, we could not include them in the model
25 simultaneously). Number of sessions ($\beta = 0.53, p = 0.001$), total hours tattooed ($\beta = 0.52, p =$
26 0.001), percent of body tattooed ($\beta = 0.36, p = 0.01$), and number of tattoos ($\beta = 0.51, p = 0.01$)
27 were all significant with moderate to large effect sizes. Years tattooed was not significant ($\beta =$
28 $0.29, p = 0.30$). Combined, this suggests that the repeated stimulation and extent of tattooing had
29 the greater effect on SIgA than the amount of time the body had to adjust.
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42 To explore the direction of the impact of the overall model on SIgA, we dichotomized the
43 additive tattoo experience variable into two groups based on the distribution (low tattoo
44 experience = 0-39, high tattoo experience = 40+). We then graphed this dichotomized variable
45 against estimated marginal means (which includes all independent variables in the model) of pre-
46 and post-tattoo SIgA (Fig 1). The estimated marginal means for pre- and post-tattoo measures in
47 the low tattoo experience group (2.274 and 2.264, respectively) showed a moderate decrease,
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3 whereas there was an increase in the high tattoo experience group (2.508 to 2.578). We
4 conducted paired samples *t*-tests on pre-tattoo, post-tattoo, and change in SIgA, cortisol, and
5
6 CRP; no differences between high and low tattoo groups were significant. When controlling for
7
8 other variables by replacing total tattoo experience in ANCOVA with the dichotomized variable,
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10 the difference between high and low tattoo experience was significant with a moderate effect size
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15 ($p = 0.01, \beta = 0.36$).
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17 [FIGURE 1]

18 Discussion

19
20 We explored tattooing as a cultural adaptation that provides benefits to immune response
21 through short-term stress while considering its potential as a costly signal of health. Quick
22 immunological response to dermal injury may be a one mechanism of costly honest fitness
23 signaling and an adaptation for populations experiencing high disease burdens. As such, the
24 biological cost of the tattoo as a wound is offset by enhancement of immune response and eye-
25 catching qualities of tattoos. This combination is consistent with Zahavi and Zahavi's (1997)
26 model for costly honest signaling (aka, "handicap principle"). As Getty (2002) points out, a
27 costly honest signal of biological quality is one wherein an individual can "waste" energy or
28 viability but have more to spare, resulting in a positive correlation between that wasted and
29 remaining surplus energy/viability.
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44 We hypothesized that tattooing is an honest signal of fitness because the immune systems
45 of relatively fit individuals would adjust over time to being tattooed. We predicted that those
46 with more total tattoo experience would have enhanced immune response associated with their
47 newest tattoo when controlling for other variables; heavily tattooed individuals would have
48 immune responses that are more robust after receiving a dermal injury relative to those with less
49 tattooing. Consistent with that prediction, we found people with low total tattoo experience
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3 showed no immunological enhancement, while those with high total tattoo experience showed
4 immune enhancement. It is unclear if these effects are both clinically and statistically significant,
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6 but they are consistent with previous research on tattooing and immune benefits (Lynn et al.,
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8 2016).
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12 Despite this support for the research hypothesis, the positive association among total
13 tattoo experience, BMI, and SIgA is puzzling. While BMI does not distinguish fat from muscle
14 mass, measurement of fat density confirms that high BMI is consistent with overweight and
15 obese phenotypes in our study. In previous research, overweight and obese BMIs were
16 associated with higher rates of tattoo-related infections (Lynn et al., 2018). Studies of immune
17 response in overweight and obese phenotypes indicates higher risks of infection and increased
18 levels of some peripheral immune factors, consistent with those observed in autoimmune
19 diseases or infections (Dobner and Kaser, 2018; Ilavská et al., 2012). It is not clear these
20 concentrations extend to secretory levels in saliva, but increased rates of circulating stress and
21 immune factors in overweight and obese people is associated with asthma and autoimmune
22 disorders (Hersoug and Linneberg, 2007). As with chronic stress, these persistently high levels
23 contribute to allostatic load, an accumulation of negative health factors. Previous reports
24 indicated low rates of asthma and autoimmune disease in developing countries, but lifestyles and
25 health have changed quickly in many of these countries. There are few data on adult asthma in
26 the Pacific (Beran, Zar, Perrin, Menezes, and Burney, 2015), and rates of autoimmune disorders
27 vary significantly by disease.
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Though we are cautious about over-interpreting from a small sample, tattooing may mitigate some of the negative impacts of increased adipose tissue on immunocompetence. This effect could be produced in a manner similar to how exercise ameliorates deleterious impacts of

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3 chronic stress (Dhabhar, 2014). Finally, there is an emerging literature on metabolically healthy
4 obesity, which concerns a subgroup of obese phenotypes not at higher risk for cardiometabolic
5 disorders (Stefan, Häring, Hu, and Schulze, 2013). Though Samoans suffer from high rates of
6 obesity-related metabolic disorders (Lin et al., 2017), they may also be genetically predisposed to
7 metabolically healthy large phenotypes (Minster et al., 2016). The role of tattooing as a costly
8 honest signal of health is thus relative to the normal distribution of phenotypes in the Samoa
9 population and to population health.

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19 Again, we are cautious in that only part of our sample included Pacific Islanders, but in
20 the Samoas and the United States, tattooing may be a means of “upping the ante,” as Carmen and
21 colleagues (2012) point out, when other factors are relatively equal. Thus, in American Samoa
22 and USA, where is obesity epidemic, tattooing may highlight *relative* immunological fitness
23 despite other negative indications of health—i.e., signaling “healthy enough.” This is consistent
24 with how natural selection actually works, favoring all phenotypes able to survive and
25 differentially produce by simply gaining an edge on competitors, even a small one.

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Cortisol levels in our study showed significant increase from pre- to post-tattoo, which is
consistent with a short-term stress response. CRP exhibited a non-significant decrease. While we
primarily assayed CRP to establish baseline health at the beginning of the tattoo, we thought
tattoo-related inflammation would cause an overall increase in CRP. However, the inverse
relationship between change in CRP and change in SIgA is consistent with one that measured
changes with regard to short-term stress (Tauler, Martinez, Moreno, Martínez, and Aguilo, 2013)
and another that showed a non-significant trend of an increase in SIgA and lack of change in
CRP (Campisi, Bravo, Cole, and Gobeil, 2012). Thus, the utility of cortisol and CRP in

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3 understanding the biological dynamics of tattooing remain unclear save for baseline controls of
4 stress and inflammation.
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8 In addition to examining a signaling function, we tested whether tattooing impacts the
9 immune system over time, as with vaccinations. Research on the mechanisms by which the
10 immune systems holds tattoo ink in place suggests that immune response may continue after
11 even one tattoo (Baranska et al., 2018). However, there was no relationship between immune
12 response and either the rate of tattoo experience or years tattooed (years since first tattoo). By
13 contrast, people with more total tattoo experience had elevated immune responses that may be
14 related to multiple exposures to tattooing, similar to studies of repeated exercise or other forms
15 of repeated short-term stress (Dhabhar, 2014; Dhabhar et al., 2010). In our regression modeling,
16 immune response and total tattoo experience (both continuous and dichotomized versions of the
17 variable) had a positive, significant relationship.
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31 These mechanisms are likely part of the allostatic interaction among endocrine and
32 immune systems and the environment. Allostasis is the maintenance of stability in changing
33 internal or external environments throughout the life course (McEwen and Wingfield, 2010).
34 Results from previous studies focusing on the impact of allostatic mechanisms of tattooing on
35 immune response have been mixed. One recent case study reported complications from tattooing
36 in an immunosuppressed woman (Wilson, O'Boyle, and Leach, 2018), which is consistent with
37 other research demonstrating that short- and long-term stress can exacerbate proinflammatory
38 and autoimmune diseases (Dhabhar, 2014). Conversely, Baranska and colleagues' (2018) study
39 of the interaction between inks and the immune system was conducted on mice but suggests
40 macrophages and fibroblasts of immune response may play roles.
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3 Our findings are somewhat consistent with other studies of SIgA and stress, indicating
4 that tattooing follows the normal pattern of short-term stress. For instance, laboratory studies that
5 assess immune responses to induced psychological stress (e.g., variations of the Trier Social
6 Stress Test, which involves anticipatory waiting and public speaking, mental arithmetic) indicate
7 that SIgA increases from pre-posttest then returns to baseline (Benham, Nash, and Baldwin,
8 2009; Birkett, Johnson, and Gelety, 2017; Campisi et al., 2012; De Andrés-García, Moya-Albiol,
9 and González-Bono, 2012; Fan et al., 2009; Takatsuji et al., 2008; Trueba, Mizrachi, Auchus,
10 Vogel, and Ritz, 2012). Our findings differ in that SIgA returned to baseline shortly after the
11 stress in those studies. While we did not test SIgA levels after a post-tattoo refractory period,
12 comparison of low and high tattoo experience participants indicates an accrued affect. It is
13 possible that SIgA returns to baseline a short time after the stress of tattooing is over, but the
14 baselines of low and high tattoo experiences is somewhat different (though the differences are
15 not significant).

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33 However, significant positive correlation between SIgA and total tattoo experience in our
34 study and previous research (Lynn et al., 2016) suggests habituation occurs due to repeated
35 dermal stress of being tattooed. This lends support to our hypothesis that tattooing is more like
36 exercise than inoculation in how it affects the immune system. Like tattooing, exercise is
37 culturally moderated eustress with positive emotional valence. Experimental studies of a single
38 exercise bout on immune response are inconclusive, but regular physical activity or frequent
39 exercise is consistently associated with enhanced immune response in general (Campbell and
40 Turner, 2018) and increased SIgA in particular (Akimoto et al., 2003; Leicht, Bishop, and
41 Goosey-Tolfrey, 2011). Mechanisms are still unclear, but one recently favored hypothesis
42 suggests that exercise benefits thymopoiesis (differentiation of thymocytes into mature T cells in
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3 the thymus) and the balance of naïve and memory T cells in the bloodstream (Simpson, 2011;
4 Simpson and Guy, 2010). Similar mechanisms may entail from tattooing but be affected by
5 cultural differences. If such benefits accrue, they are most likely to occur by extended dermal
6 resistance to viruses, bacteria, and tumors, as has been observed in rodents and non-human
7 primates (Dhabhar, 2014).
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14 15 16 ***Limitations***

17 Our interpretations are limited because a small sample size lacked the variation in tattoo
18 experience needed to address all research questions. Nonetheless, our analysis supports previous
19 findings among a different demographic with greater variation in gender and age parity.
20 Additionally, despite consistent associations between total tattoo experience and SIgA measures
21 in the current and past studies (Lynn et al., 2016), there are some challenges to the utility of oral
22 SIgA as a reliable marker of stress-related immune response. Salivary IgA is involved in
23 maintaining homeostasis in the host-bacteria ecology of the mouth, but optimal oral hygiene is
24 not common in adults, resulting in high rates of between-person variation in SIgA. SIgA also
25 varies due to circadian rhythms, psychological stress, sex differences, diet, ethnicity, disease,
26 medications, tobacco use, and menstrual cycle phase, among other factors (Campbell and Turner,
27 2018).
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43 Future research would benefit from using markers with potential for greater precision that
44 can yield more insight into the mechanisms involved in allostatic change. The costly signaling
45 model could also benefit from ratings of signaling (in terms of healthful appearance,
46 attractiveness, etc.) by objective observers. Finally, refinements in methodology should include
47 sampling at controlled time intervals instead of simply before and after tattooing; many tattoos
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3 involve breaks or are completed over multiple days, leading to confusion in operationalizing the
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5 beginning and end of tattoo “sessions.”
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8 9 **Conclusion**

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11 Although the number of heavily tattooed Pacific Islanders in our study was small,
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13 conducting this work in American Samoa was important from cultural and health perspectives.
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15 Samoans have a vibrant cultural tradition of tattooing. In the Samoas, as with many other
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17 cultures, tattoos are viewed as protective against illness and an indicator physical stamina
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19 (Krutak, 2012). Tattooing is a matter of pride and a cultural behavior for which Samoans are
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21 globally celebrated (Mallon, 2005; 2010; Mallon and Galliot, 2018). Psychosocial benefits of
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23 tattooing may extend to both social prestige and enhanced immune response, despite negative
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25 trends in obesity and other cardiometabolic health factors (Lin et al., 2017). Our data suggest
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27 there are biological underpinnings of these cultural understandings. This region continues to
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29 experience significant challenges with infectious and non-communicable diseases (Howells et
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31 al., 2018). We propose that the short-term risks of tattooing may be minor compared to a long-
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33 term benefits of bolstering of the immune system.
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39 Our findings support a model for tattoos as a signal of immunocompetence and physical
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41 stamina. The persistent notion that tattooing is a visible embodiment of resilience is supported by
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43 the positive relationship between total tattooing experience and SIgA. This research is important
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45 because of the contemporary, historical, and cultural ubiquity of tattooing. When compared to
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47 other cultural stressors, such as exercise and vaccination, tattooing appears to depend on multiple
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49 applications to facilitate allostatic habituation. This response is more similar to the influence
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51 exercise has on immune response, as there is no vaccine left in the body that has a lasting impact
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53 on immune response. We predict that, as with repeated exercise, the benefits of multiple tattoo
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3 experiences on immune response extend beyond tattoo sessions, rendering highly tattooed
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5 individuals relatively more resistant to other dermal stress. Our findings can be applied in sports,
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7 exercise, and health sciences and clinical research areas wherein cultural practices have salient,
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9 visible impacts on immune function and health. Combined, these avenues of research will
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11 improve knowledge about the mechanisms of short-term stress and allostatic habituation.
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For Peer Review

Author Contributions

Lynn designed study, analyzed data, and drafted manuscript. Lynn and Howells collected all data and revised manuscript. Herdrich assisted with field logistics. Ioane, Hudson, and Fitiao assisted with participant recruitment. All authors reviewed and approved final manuscript.

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Tables

Table 1. Variable descriptives and *t*-test comparisons of pre- and post-tattoo biomarker measures.

		Mean	SD	Min-max
Perceived stress		5.1	1.83	0-8
BMI		32.0	6.23	20.2-43.4
Fat %		30.9	9.58	12.1-49.0
Handgrip strength	Right	90.7	24.38	47.5-138.0
	Left	84.5	22.38	45.4-133.2
	Mean	87.6	22.81	46.5-125.9
Tattoo experience	Years tattooed	12.5	11.96	0-39
	Number of tattoos	2.4	2.48	0-11
	Percent of body	8.8	14.10	0-50
	Total time tattooed (hours)	7.2	11.20	0-49.3
	Number of sessions	2.8	3.70	0-15
	Total tattoo experience	25.2	28.31	0-105.9
	Rate of tattoo experience	0.43	0.501	0-2.0
Tattoo duration (hours)		4.0	2.40	1.2-10.4
Pain rating		7.0	1.65	5-10
SIgA (µg/mL)	Pre-tattoo	263.6	134.59	34.9-546.4
	Post-tattoo	325.3	199.93	92.01-896.4
Cortisol (µg/mL)*	Pre-tattoo	0.143	0.09	0.03-0.39
	Post-tattoo	0.218	0.16	0.02-0.60
CRP (pg/mL)	Pre-tattoo	7042.7	19038.50	152.9-88139.7
	Post-tattoo	5021.1	99.04	92.3-45959.7

**p* < 0.05

Tattoo as an honest fitness signal

Table 2. Bivariate correlations of regression biomarkers and potential covariates.

	SIgA		CRP _{pre-tattoo}	Cortisol _{post-tattoo}
	Pre-tattoo	Post-tattoo		
Gender	0.09	0.14	0.25	-0.30
Age	-0.15	0.27	0.11	-0.23
Resident	-0.04	0.06	0.18	0.36
Ethnicity	-0.32	-0.15	0.12	0.03
Education	0.26	0.16	-0.50*	0.13
Marital status	-0.53**	0.25	0.10	0.01
SES	-0.48*	-0.06	0.07	-0.14
Perceived stress	0.36	0.29	-0.18	0.18
Tattoo problems	-0.08	0.001	0.89**	-0.11
Recently sick	0.20	-0.22	-0.05	-0.12
Alcohol use	-0.15	-0.01	0.51*	-0.32
Cigarette use	0.01	0.63**	-0.09	0.36
Medications	0.25	0.20	-0.14	-0.16
Recent hours worked	0.02	-0.26	0.20	-0.23
Fat percentage	0.25	0.05	-0.09	-0.13
Handgrip strength	0.12	0.09	0.15	-0.20
Social support	0.14	0.19	0.31	0.11
Tattoo artist	-0.14	0.13	-0.18	0.19
Pain rating	-0.24	0.05	0.01	0.03

* $p < 0.05$ (2-tailed), ** $p < 0.01$ (2-tailed)

Table 3. Analysis of covariance of post-tattoo $\text{SigA}_{\log_{10}}$.

	Standardized β	<i>P</i>
<i>Constant</i>		<0.001
Pre-tattoo $\text{SigA}_{\log_{10}}$	-0.10	0.485
Pre-tattoo $\text{CRP}_{\log_{10}}$	-0.42	0.003
Post-tattoo cortisol $_{\log_{10}}$	0.52	0.001
Total tattoo experience	0.48	0.004
Tattoo duration	-0.18	0.195
Age	0.54	0.003
Cigarette use	0.71	<0.001
BMI	0.81	<0.001
Marital status	-0.42	0.062

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Figure Legends

Fig 1. Low tattoo experience participants (0-39) display slight decrease in estimated marginal means of pre- (2.274) to post-tattoo SIgA_{log10} (2.264), whereas high tattoo experience participants (40+) show a general increase in immune response (2.508 to 2.578) over the course of the tattoo. Estimated marginal means represent adjustment for other model variables (pre-tattoo CRP_{log10}, post-tattoo cortisol_{log10}, tattoo experience, tattoo duration, age, cigarette use, BMI, and marital status).

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Appendix A

For Peer Review

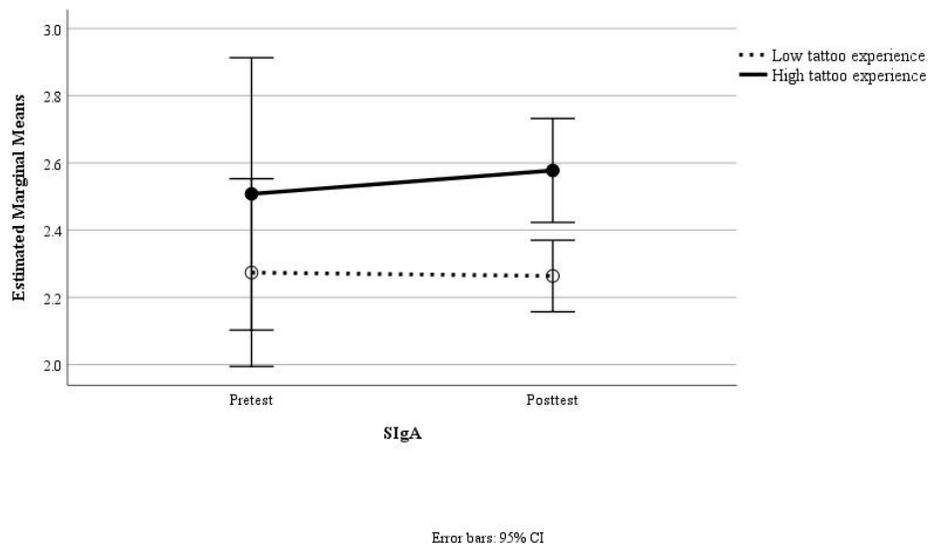


Fig 1. Low tattoo experience participants (0-39) display slight decrease in estimated marginal means of pre- (2.274) to post-tattoo $\text{SigA}_{\log 10}$ (2.264), whereas high tattoo experience participants (40+) show a general increase in immune response (2.508 to 2.578) over the course of the tattoo. Estimated marginal means represent adjustment for other model variables (pre-tattoo $\text{CRP}_{\log 10}$, post-tattoo $\text{cortisol}_{\log 10}$, tattoo experience, tattoo duration, age, cigarette use, BMI, and marital status).

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