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MAURI AND THE PROCESSING OF INTERGENERATIONAL TRAUMA BY WĀHINE MĀORI

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*A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of*

Master of Arts Psychology

Massey University Manawatū (Palmerston North), Aotearoa (New Zealand).

2021.

Karakia (Incantation).

Ko te Pu

Te More

Te Weu

Te Aka

Te Rea

Te Waonui

Te Kune

Te Whe

Te Kore

Te Pō

Ki ngā tāngata Māori na Rangi rāua ko Papa

Ko tēnei te timatanga o te ao

Tēnei au tēnei au

Te hokai nei I taku tapu wae

Ko te hokai nuku

Ko te hokai rangi

Ko te hokai o tou tupuna a Tane-nui-a-rangi

I pikitia ai ki te rangi-tu-ha-ha

Ki te tihi o manono

I rokohina atu ra

Ko lo matua kore anake

I riro iho ai nga kete o te wānanga

Ko te kete tuauri, ko te kete tuatea, ko te kete aronui

Ka tiritiria ka poupoua

Kia Papatūānuku ka puta te ira tāngata

Ki te whai Ao ki te Ao Mārama

Tihei MAURI ORA.

Whakarāpopoto (Abstract).

This Masters thesis explored the relationship between mauri and the processing of intergenerational trauma. There were two research aims: the identification of mauri states within the processing of intergenerational trauma experienced by wāhine Māori; and the investigation of how the identified mauri states shifted throughout trauma processing. Four wāhine Māori participated in this qualitative study utilising semi-structured interviews sharing their lived experiences of intergenerational trauma processing. Kaupapa Māori methodologies grounded and guided the research process that involved implicit and explicit engagement with aspects of wairuatanga (spirituality) and esoteric knowledge. In addition, the mana wahine theory facilitated critical discussions concerning the experience of identifying as wāhine Māori whilst processing trauma. The principal findings suggested the mauri states of mauri moe/noho, mauri rere, mauri oho, mauri tau, hikitia mauri, mauri heke, mauri piki, mauri tu and mauri ora were present during trauma processing. Interpretative phenomenological analysis identified four major processing themes and fourteen subthemes drawn from substantial verbatim quotes. The findings suggested that the wāhine Māori have developed trauma processing strategies that harnessed the characteristics of identified mauri states, effectively processing and integrating their experience of intergenerational trauma. Further, that these strategies and the knowledge rationale are being transmitted intergenerationally. Consequently, the Mauri-Trauma Processing Framework was developed as a system that conceptualises the relationship between mauri and the processing of intergenerational trauma, to better inform trauma processing grounded in the Mātauranga generated from the lived experiences of the wāhine Māori.

He Mihi (Acknowledgements).

I would like to dedicate this research to my children Terina, Kora-lee, Osheya, Azarious and Arvay. You have been my most influential teachers in life. I hope you all read this one day and the kōrero we have had over the years makes greater sense. This journey is more so yours than mine now. You are our future, so dream big, follow your passions, and know that you have my support in whatever endeavours you undertake. Also, to the young wāhine Māori who aspire to do great things in life, know there are many pathways to success. Stand strong in your values; you have immense worth.

He mihi aroha ki ōku tūpuna. Thank you for your teachings handed down through our whakapapa, pūrākau and a-wairua. Our reconnection has served me the greatest protecting, encouraging, and challenging my personal, academic, and professional growth. I hope to carry your legacies forward.

To my supervisors Dr Natasha Tassell-Matamua and Dr Hukarere Valentine, thank you for supporting and guiding my research. I appreciate the strength, perseverance and resilience needed to succeed as wāhine Māori researchers, psychologists, academics, mothers and all the other hats that you both have worn at any one time. However, most of all thank you for being committed to Māori and Indigenous psychology, being there to encourage others to serve their people through the use and continued development of our own knowledges.

To my partner Tumoana, your endless support and faith in me is something that I will never have enough words to describe. Your unwavering love in me and my grand plans for our family's future have kept me strong. Thank you for growing with me, your joint commitment in seeing our whānau (family) thrive and listening to my lengthy pontifications about the world and ultimately the cosmos. There is no one else that I would rather do life with than you taku tau pūmau.

To my parents Mereana and Rodney, thank you for growing and nurturing my mind and supporting my endeavours in your own unique ways. I appreciate what you both

contributed with the limited resources available. You are amazing grandparents, and I hope to be as instrumental in the lives of our children and mokopuna as you both are.

I would like to acknowledge my wider whānau for all your support in my personal and academic growth, loving me through it all. Especially my sister-in-law Nicki, I value your support, thank you for loving my children like your own and helping raise them while I was tucked away researching.

I would also like to acknowledge Te Rau Puawai and my many hoa haere for your support throughout the years, providing many opportunities to connect with likeminded others, and the financial security to pursue a very long academic pathway. My friends Aryan and Ahnya, I appreciate the time, effort, advice, and encouragement you both shared with me throughout this journey. The listening ears and additional minds were welcomed and gave me a deep sense of peace.

Mary and Ciaran at Healnz, he mihi maioha for your mentorship and helping with all the 'tricky' bits that arose throughout this process. Further, for listening and unpacking what it means to be a wahine Māori with a particular vision that was a little (or a lot) outside of the box. Your support kept me going in the face of many adversities and provided me with practical solutions to keep moving forward. Thank you to Ururaiaha, Nikki, Leeann, Agnes, Matiu, Louisa, Kiri, and Dr Rebecca Wirihana for taking the time to share your Mātauranga, especially in the early stages when I was finding my feet and navigating uncharted waters.

Dr Lily George thank you for your endless support over the years, from reading over my work, to pushing me to continually think about my commitment to Māori and having time for my many questions. Additionally, Dr Phillipa Pehi for affirming my inner-strength and reminding me to take care of myself.

I would like to make a special acknowledgement to my participants for sharing intimate aspects of their life stories. I acknowledge their strength, resilience, and foresight to strive to heal, for not only themselves but also their families and future generations.

Kaua e mate wheke, mate ururoa!

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Te whakatakotoranga o tēnei rangahau

(Chapter outline).

Chapter 1 introduces the topics of intergenerational trauma, mauri, and experience as wāhine Māori contextualising academic and social milieu, laying the foundation and rationale of the research. Given these considerations the aims of the research and research question are then stated. Chapter 2 explicitly discusses the importance of recognising positionality within the research process and provides an in-depth reflexive account of my processing journey as wahine Māori. Chapter 3 further explicates the positioning of Māori psychology situated within Māori epistemology; Mātauranga and Mātauranga wāhine. Chapter 4 then examines Māori cosmology, mauri, significant interrelated notions, and introduces the notion of mauri states. Thereafter, a discussion on trauma assessment and trauma transmission is discussed in chapter 5.

A precolonial conceptualisation of pāmamae is presented in chapter 6 and related to the mauri and mauri states, further exploring the impact of cultural imperialism on such wellbeing ideologies. Chapter 7 discusses key factors associated within processing intergenerational trauma gathered through the research process, and chapter 8 defines the methodological practices undertaken to achieve the aims and answer the research question. Chapter 9 presents the findings and provides two layers of analysis extensively examining and interpreting the experiences of the wāhine Māori. The sections are demarcated as preliminary findings featuring the major processing themes and interrelated subthemes drawn from the selected quotes showcasing idiosyncratic and overarching sensemaking. Thereafter, an in-depth analysis of the major processing themes and subthemes is presented, grounded in a culturally meaningful context that considers trauma processing ideologies of the wāhine Māori. From these discussions, a trauma processing framework is offered as representative of the research findings in chapter 10, alongside the significance of the research findings, possible implications, and specific limitations.

Te wāhanga tuatahi (Chapter 1).

He tīmatanga (Introduction).

There is ever-growing recognition of the prevalence of intergenerational trauma and its negative consequences for the individual, family, culture, community, and society (Isobel et al., 2019). These effects are systemic and transmit across generations (Marsh et al., 2015). The predominant psychological methods used to identify and address intergenerational trauma have been called into question- failing to meet the needs of Māori, particularly wāhine Māori. Pihama et al. (2017) concurred stating that the existing dominant models fail to adequately explore the experience of trauma for Māori, with little or no effort to engage with Māori perspectives. Consequently, trauma assessment and interventions of this kind will have limited applicability.

Kagitcibasi (1984) discussed Western psychology as the dominant psychological perspective, critiquing values of homogeneity and uncritical individualism as biasing psychological theory. Henceforth, there is a need to widen perspectives of trauma, increasing cultural relevance and informed application. Such shifts in conceptual framing are significant to the wellbeing of wāhine Māori, who experience high levels of marginalisation and are significantly affected by intergenerational trauma within Aotearoa, grossly overrepresented in trauma profiles such as family violence, self-harm, drug and alcohol abuse, mental illness and health issues (Pihama et al., 2014).

Notions such as mauri have been promoted by Durie (2001) and Pohatu (2011) as a wellbeing ideology that has efficacy when processing trauma experiences for Māori, and beneficial to overall wellness. Further, those such as Duran (2006), Murray (2019) and Smith (2019) have stated the importance of Indigenous conceptualisations of intergenerational trauma within assessment and intervention practices.

Exploring mauri and intergenerational trauma processing ideologies was therefore seen as rational, with both also described as relational phenomena amenable to change through interconnected relationships (Pohatu, 2011; Wirihana & Smith, 2019). By drawing

these notions together, it is hoped that additional insight will be gained providing and supporting informed praxis with wāhine Māori as they process intergenerational trauma.

Aims of research.

Therefore, the aims of this research were to:

1. identify differing expressions of mauri within the processing of intergenerational trauma through exploring the lived experiences of wāhine Māori;
2. explore how the expression of mauri states shifts throughout the processing of intergenerational trauma for wāhine Māori.

To answer the research question: *how can the lived experiences of wāhine Māori inform and improve our understanding of the relationship between mauri and the processing of intergenerational trauma?*

He kupu whakamutunga (Chapter summary).

Intergenerational trauma has been heavily documented by Indigenous and Māori scholars and such knowledge held for generations within Māori culture. Nevertheless, informed trauma praxis with wāhine Māori has been criticised as lacking and unfitting. Conversely, mauri is considered a wellbeing ideology that inherently prioritises Māori and aligns with Māori conceptualisations of processing intergenerational trauma. Therefore, conducive with the research aims and research question. Chapter 2 discusses the positioning of this thesis and provides a reflexive account to augment the use of mauri as a trauma processing frame and the journey undertaken by the wāhine Māori participants in this study.

Te wāhanga tuarua (Chapter 2).

Whakanōhanga (Positioning).

Reflexivity is a powerful tool of Self-discovery. When exercised well throughout the research process profound moments occur, where the researcher explores their position and the effect this has on themselves, others, and the research. Palaganas et al. (2017) agreed, noting that reflexivity is the attempt to give a full and honest account of the research process, explaining the position of the researcher and their relationship to the research.

My subjective positioning was thus extremely relevant to this thesis and I openly acknowledge and accept that I share a similar story to that of the wāhine Māori participants. My processing of intergenerational trauma is on-going, and my understanding of mauri growing. These experiences have intersected with the wāhine Māori through the vessel of this thesis. Such a position informs my interactions with the wāhine Māori and the research topic, enabling empathy and connection. Sadler (2014) exclaimed that this is the point of difference between Māori and non-Māori research, where collective understandings and interconnected experiences occur, fostering perspective. However, this process needed to be critically reflected upon, so as to not conflate or project my experiences onto that of the wāhine Māori. By making my position clear from the outset and sharing my own reflexive processing (see chapter 2, pg. 5), healthy boundaries were established, and respectively maintained. In doing so, I was able to attend to my own processing needs whilst simultaneously sharing and exploring the lived experiences of the wāhine Māori.

Thereafter, to understand the experience of others, we must first understand our own experience (Parahoo, 2006). It is critical introspection; important when navigating positionality (Hesse-Biber, 2007), as a reminder of the power and privilege in creating relationships and knowledge used by others to promote, educate, and challenge realities (Palaganas et al., 2017). The consequences of these are better served with critical awareness of the implications of investing various aspects of ourselves.

Palaganas et al. (2017) further shared that "through reflexivity, researchers acknowledge the changes brought about in themselves as a result of the research process and

how these changes have affected the research process" (p. 1). These sentiments were inextricably felt during this research.

Huritao whaiaro (Reflexivity).

I offer a reflexive account that details my research process and the connection to my own processing of intergenerational trauma, candidly and authentically. Firstly, to explore my metacognitions, identifying assumptions and values about the research topic and the research process. Secondly, to address the implications of these influences as dialogue that challenges the perspectives and wider social assumptions of wāhine Māori and their processing of intergenerational trauma. I extrapolate my interpretation of such experiences through my own positioning to augment the conceptualisation of this thesis, and the living process of healing intergenerational trauma experienced by the wāhine Māori participants.

Te timatatanga (The beginning).

Although my research process began in 2020, the process to get here has been many lifetimes. Within these lifetimes are layers of whakapapa (genealogy), all with stories, values and worldviews that littered my subconscious and ultimately my sensemaking. However, what I found most perplexing was my ability over the years to push these inner thoughts aside and steam ahead with life, like the effects of intergenerational trauma had skipped me. This is quite intriguing from a psychological perspective, as it epitomises the effects of intergenerational trauma and the ability of the mind, or as I have come to conceptualise, the wairua, tinana and mauri to protect parts of our experience(s) that are traumatic. However, if we listen intently these aspects of experience also signal the right moments to heal.

As such, this research process was a timely and necessary reminder that the impact of intergenerational trauma can pervade all types of experience, at all levels of functioning. Further, as I found, many of our actions undertaken reflect intrinsic attempts to process these experiences, uncovering that what I needed most was to process my own experience of

intergenerational trauma. I have had several triggering moments throughout life where I have utilised Western psychological tools garnered through academic studies to understand my experience. I recognise that the use of Western psychological tools does not seemingly align with the Indigenous stance I have taken. To explain, I do believe that Western psychology has its utility, however this research process has led me to expand my conceptualisation of psychology and trauma experiences. I now understand that there are more effective and empowering ways to meet the wellbeing needs of Māori. Relatedly, I espouse that Western psychology merely ameliorates collective historical trauma responses and individualises the effects of intergenerational trauma due to inherit power differentials, and the need to maintain this imbalance. Therefore, it is extremely difficult for Māori to conceptualise what intergenerational trauma is, how it exactly impacts us and what we can do about it. This blurring effect undermines three key elements essential to the overarching sensemaking processes for Māori: whānau, whakapapa and wairuatanga. These three notions were crucial in underpinning my processing and are significant *hoa haere* for the mauri.

Huarahi (Processing)

In critical reflection these initial experiences were mauri moe/noho with my mauri sitting idle, covered by layers of intergenerational trauma, and submerged in Western ideologies. As the research process progressed, I was exposed to Mātauranga and began to indigenise my life, applying what I was learning. The growing awareness was profound and transformational. I was beginning to locate my authentic Self and confront truths within my own experience of intergenerational trauma—the disconnection of my whānau, whakapapa and consequently wairuatanga. To articulate this experience as a coherent whole was difficult, as it was fragmented and decompartmentalised. Partly, because my experience was not congruent with where I wanted to be, how I wanted to feel and how I saw myself, resulting in uncomfortable emotions that led to low levels of dissociation as I struggled through the intrapsychic pressure; mauri rere.

However, I now conceptualise this experience as a misalignment with my wairua, mauri and tinana. Here my wairua and tinana were signalling that change was occurring and the impact that this was having on my mauri. These lessons informed my research process;

to sit and be present with the wāhine Māori as we navigated the complexities of their experiences, to *tuku aroha* for their grief, trauma, and processing. Such a practice enhanced my connection to the participants and reflected the sensitivity I had in our discussions, whilst informing how the *mauri*, *wairua* and *tinana* aspects shifted during the processing of intergenerational trauma and the research process. An understanding that would have been potentially inaccessible, especially at this level, *wairua ki te wairua* (spiritual aspect to spiritual aspect), if I had not intentionally positioned myself as an insider, inextricably connected to the research and the wāhine Māori. Relatedly, I did not realise how my research would initiate massive healing within my wider *whānau* and set us all on a path to processing our experiences of intergenerational trauma. However, this process was not without resistance and counterchallenge, as disrupting intergenerational homeostasis is not without ramifications. The use of *rāhui* or boundary setting encouraged the healthy processing of these feelings through the respectful disengagement from destructive responses, keeping those invested safe and creating space for others to process their experiences triggered by my personal processing; *mauri tu*.

Additionally, I thought that conscientisation through education was sufficient to understand and heal intergenerational trauma. Awareness whilst important, alone cannot process such layered and soul-wounding trauma, a more integrative and holistic process is needed. Trauma must be placed into a meaningful context where transformation is a tangible possibility. The research process grew my understanding of such caveats, connecting theory to the real complexities of lived experience. This was awakening, empowering, and liberating; *mauri oho*.

With these moments of enlightenment came moments of uncertainty. The amount of change and unbounded potential awoken generated *wīwī-wāwā* (scatteredness) arising as a part of this psychological liberation. Feelings of emancipation were fraught with moments of second-guessing and degrees of external validation seeking. Am I okay? Is what I am doing okay? Am I upsetting anyone? Who am I to say these things-to want to change our 'normal'? These thoughts are Self-sabotaging and disempowering, characterised as a trauma response with safety and security bonds that foster secure identity impinged upon; *mauri rere*.

I needed to learn to trust myself, trust the process. To achieve this, my *mauri* needed to be settled. However, I was constantly pushed out of *mauri tau* due to the massive amount

of information being acquired, processed, integrated, and applied within my personal life and the research process. To balance this exertion, I actively and intentionally engaged in experiences that encouraged mauri tau. I researched cultural practices that indigenised the cultural-Self and used them ritually, reading internal and external signs that signified mauri shifts. The development of these practises progressed to the point where I was able to purposefully shift myself into states that were beneficial to an experience, much like the wāhine Māori participants. The effect this had on my research process was significant. I no longer forced writing or reading and throughout the interviews I attuned myself to the wāhine Māori participants, and eventually let go of my entrenched research assumptions allowing the discussions to flow freely. This stance enabled me to be still and present, responding to the needs of the participants and research, fostering a deeper connection that promoted trust and honesty. In this regard, my participants and the research process were aligned; mauri tau.

Consequently, it became clear that for my mauri to flow and for the research process to continue with minimal disruption, my mauri, and the mauri of the wāhine Māori needed support. I read that manaakitanga, whānaungatanga and strong agreeance to a kaupapa (topic) are primary support mechanisms of the mauri. These were all true; however, I suggest that investing in the wairua and tinana were also crucial in supporting my mauri. Without developing the connection to my wairuatanga and tinana through practises such as takutaku, karakia and learning my whakapapa, along with breathing practises, eating my pepeha (food for my homeland), walking the whenua (land) and growing a garden, I believe my mauri and the mauri I fostered with my participants would not have been as supported; hikitia mauri.

Needless-to-say, the process was extremely challenging, far more confronting than I could have ever anticipated. However, it was also life-changing and has incredibly influenced the way I see myself, my commitment, and responsibilities as a wahine Māori researcher, future Māori clinical psychologist and most importantly to my whakapapa and whakatupu uri (future generations); mauri ora!

✚ He kupu whakamutunga (Chapter summary).

The positioning of this thesis was considered important in explicating the (re)conceptualisation of experience, personally and within the research process. It is believed that this practice was particularly significant when traversing intimate parts of the Self impacted by trauma (collective and lived), whilst simultaneously exploring similar spaces with the wāhine Māori participants. The following chapter situates this thesis within Māori psychology and denotes the connection of Mātauranga and the validity of Mātauranga wāhine when conceptualising the sensemaking of the wāhine Māori during the processing of intergenerational trauma.

Te wāhanga tuatoru (Chapter 3).

Māori Psychology.

This chapter explores the ontological theory base and episteme used in positioning this thesis as Indigenous and developing Māori psychology from a wāhine Māori perspective. Figure 1 depicts these connections, drawing down from Cosmology to ontology, Mātauranga, Mātauranga wāhine and mana wahine knowledge systems. The context of these ideologies is useful in making greater sense of mauri states within the processing of intergenerational trauma by wāhine Māori and are considered foundational in the interpretation of the proceeding chapters.

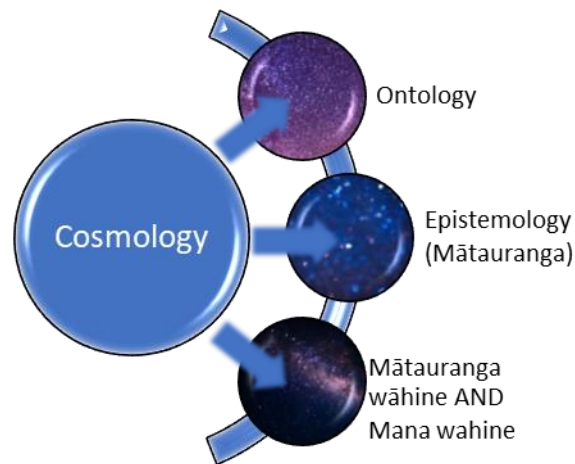


Figure 1

Diagram of the Interconnected Knowledge Notions used in Theoretical Positioning

Mātauranga (Māori Epistemology).

Mātauranga is a knowledge tradition, an epistemology, and ways of knowing and understanding that affirms a Māori worldview. Waitoki (2016) expanded stating that “Mātauranga is a unique Māori way of viewing the relational phenomena of the world, taking into account Māori methods of comprehending, observing, experiencing, studying and understanding everything: the seen and unseen that exists, and has existed, and may yet exist” (p.2). Such a tenet encourages and enables research alongside wāhine Māori by exploring and considering what can be known and how such knowingness is interpreted.

Consequently, this thesis embodied Mātauranga by exploring mauri and the processing of intergenerational trauma, attempting to comprehend the interpretation of seen and unseen aspects of the past, present, and future through the lived experiences of wāhine Māori. The aims and research question reiterating the desire and intention to reinvest into Mātauranga, drawing on not only historical teachings, but also present manifestations of Mātauranga adapted to suit the contemporary experience of wāhine Māori.

This perspective aligns with Sadler who stated that although Mātauranga is ancient, with its roots in Polynesia, it was developed and advanced by Māori to aid their ways of knowing, processing, and understanding their everchanging world in Aotearoa. The proliferation of Mātauranga was then based on the need to adapt and meet the needs of tupuna (ancestors); to be compatible with the environmental changes encountered in their new world (2007). Thus, the function of Mātauranga is still highly pertinent to experience in the contemporary world. Durie (1985) acknowledged the adaptive function of Mātauranga as an evolving knowledge system, that is better thought of as fluid rather than fixed. Royal (1998) expressed similar thoughts suggesting that “perhaps the most important issue facing Mātauranga is the rediscovery and the reconstruction of the worldview or the paradigm out of which it was created in pre-European contact times, a paradigm that can be reapplied in contemporary circumstances in order to discover new Mātauranga” (p. 126). Sadler (2007) concurred by reiterating the function and purpose of Mātauranga as a system to investigate and understand the world, in developing tikanga traditions, customs, knowledge sharing processes and sensemaking strategies transferable across time and context.

Mātauranga is therefore relational and comprised of collected knowledges found within all relationships generated with its inception being a cosmological bond (see chapter 4); ideal when investigating phenomena, obtaining new knowledge, and updating and integrating previous knowledge (Hikuroa et al., 2017). These notions are congruent with this thesis, drawing from ancient tupuna knowledges such as mauri, whilst exploring the lived experiences of wāhine Māori that contain knowledges regarding intergenerational trauma processing within a contemporary context. Such a process illustrates how Mātauranga is invested and (re)invested, growing Māori sensemaking and understandings about their realities.

Mātauranga wāhine.

Mātauranga wāhine is considered a specific element of Mātauranga, where knowledges emic to wāhine Māori are theorised to have a wairua aspect fostered within whānau, hapū and iwi, particularly on the marae (Jenkins & Pihama, 2001). This knowledge perspective was utilised in the balancing of socio-cultural roles and energies related to tāne Māori and wāhine Māori (Mikaere, 2003). Irwin (1992) stated that Mātauranga wāhine is thus crucial to the development of wāhine Māori theories on experience, ensuring the best interests of wāhine Māori are met and continue to balance narrative perspectives, such as Western ideologies that lean heavily towards the patriarchy. Therefore, the development and articulation of Mātauranga wāhine is related to the survival and continued challenging of contradictions faced by wāhine Māori throughout their lived experience (Mikaere, 1994). Such contradictions exist on multiple levels, intersecting to create systemic and systematic levels of disadvantage (Smith, 1992) that can confuse realities and complicate sensemaking needed when processing experiences such as intergenerational trauma and utilising mauri states. Consequently, Irwin (1992) believed Mātauranga wāhine is an episteme beneficial in encouraging wāhine Māori to trust their analytic abilities to critically explore their lived experiences, drawing and adding to a theory base that promotes their sensemaking.

He kupu whakamutunga (Chapter summary).

Mātauranga as an episteme provides principles of understanding. However, such understandings are not fixed and represent plural realities. Mātauranga generated and regenerated intergenerationally serves as guidance and reflects experiences associated with people, time, space, and place. Mātauranga is thus fluid and aims to meet the needs of those who use it and reinvest into it; this is an adaptive process. For wāhine Māori, the continued development and use of Mātauranga wāhine supports their experiences in a way that is uniquely wāhine Māori, affirming their sensemaking and trauma processing journeys. The next chapter grounds mauri within a theoretical base of cosmological narratives, explicating mauri, and its interrelated notions. Thereafter, the notion of mauri as various states is introduced and explained.

Te wāhanga tuawha (Chapter 4).

Māori cosmology.

When examining the relationship mauri states have to the processing of intergenerational trauma for wāhine Māori, an adequate grasp of Māori cosmological narratives is needed. Jackson (2011) believed that such understanding is important to the conceptualisation of Te Ao Māori and the interpretation of experience as Māori. Māori cosmological narratives detail how the cosmos came into being, as well as describing the origins of Māori society. These narratives convey messages that inform beliefs and values of Māori, which are central to sensemaking in everyday practices, thinking, feeling, behaving and being (Ka'ai & Higgins, 2004).

Three major evolutionary realms of creation are referred to within Māori cosmological narratives: *Te Kore* explained as the realm of energy, potential, the void, nothingness; *Te Pō* the realm of form, the dark, the night; and *Te Ao Mārama* the realm of emergence, light and reality, enlightenment, and dwelling place of humans (Walker, 1990). Within each of these three evolutionary realms, additional growth phases that contribute to the whakapapa of creation exist, generating mauri (Jackson, 2011). Māori cosmological narratives do vary from region to region, between iwi and hapū. However, "the stories that revolve around them have a common thread or theme running through them" (Marsden, 2003b, p. 55). Smith (2012) discussed the emic variation found within Māori cosmology, suggesting that organic differences in their expression were reflective of Māori local epistemologies and the acceptance of multiple versions of reality.

Campbell (2004) believed that cosmological narratives provide another layer of understanding to our perceived roles, purpose and sensemaking of the world, identifying four significant functions:

the ability to "reconcile consciousness to the preconditions of its own existence...to evoke in the individual a sense of grateful, affirmative awe before the monstrous mystery that is existence"; "to present an image of the cosmos...that will maintain and elicit the experience of awe"; "to validate and maintain a certain sociological system,

a shared set of rights and wrongs”; and finally “to carry the individual through the stages of life from birth through maturity through senility to death” (p. 5–8).

This quote elucidates the Māori worldview, informed, and made sensical through cosmological narratives from which stems Mātauranga and fruits Māori culture, growing Māori beliefs and value systems (Royal, 1998). Māori cosmology informs how Māori perceive “ultimate reality and meaning” (Marsden, 2003a, p. 3), which influences how concepts such as mauri and mauri states are understood when processing experiences such as intergenerational trauma. It could be said that such ideologies are a matrix of interwoven knowledges, cohesive in nature, generating tools and strategies to interpret experience.

Conversely, the influence of colonisation and Western knowledge on cosmological narratives relating to ideologies such as mauri have been heavily debated. Gemmell (2013) argued that colonial practices such as assimilation and acculturation of cosmological beliefs through Christianity, have repackaged sensemaking processes in ways that are more congruent with Western perspectives. Smith (2012) called this *orientalising the other*, where the acquisition of Indigenous knowledges occurs and is considered subordinate, a lesser variant of Western truth.

Additionally, a profound impact on learning culturally relevant Māori sensemaking tools has occurred through the suppression and oppression of Te reo Māori (Naylor, 2006). The restricted use and growth of the Māori language greatly influenced the ability of Māori to transmit cosmological narratives that house notions like mauri. Smith (2012) stated that Te reo Māori as a language system is significant to the conceptualisation, comprehension, expression, and communication of experience and sensemaking, with specific words denoting specific meanings relevant to experience. Thus, culturally connected language that places experiences such as intergenerational trauma within wider wellbeing ideologies like cosmological narratives, are considered an important aspect of processing intergenerational trauma for Māori.

Consequently, the question becomes what exactly is mauri, why is it important to holistic wellbeing and how is it relevant to the processing of intergenerational trauma for wāhine Māori?

Royal (2003) discussed the creation of mauri as when Io-matua-kore (supreme being) implanted the life essence into a kākano (seed) at Rangiatea, used by Tāne to give life to Hineahuone (first wahine Māori), and reflects our whakapapa connection of ira atua (deity aspect) and ira tangata (human aspect). Henare (2001) shared another narrative stating that Io possessed mauri, and then this life force was transmitted by Hauora, a child of Ranginui and Papatūānuku, to humankind. Nevertheless, in these processes' mauri became the spark of life, the essential life essence, a life force, an activity moving within us (Marsden, 2015; Ngawati, 2008; Smith, 2019). Mauri has also been described as the force that interpenetrates all things to bind and knit them together (Marsden, 2003). Wilson (2020) depicted mauri as housed within the two fluids of wairua, embodied and infused within the tinana. Mauri is also considered a protective quality, described as an immaterial essence with great protective powers (Best, 1929), to protect life and produce vitality (Ngawati, 2008), influenced by external and internal factors of experience (Penehira, 2019). Therefore, mauri is characterised by many qualities. However, for the purposes of this thesis mauri is understood as *an essential life-force possessing protective qualities that seeks psychological, physical, and spiritual equilibrium through the integration of experience.*

Mauri me hoa haere (Mauri and interrelated notions).

Ngawati (2018) found that mauri does not stand alone, with interrelated and interdependent elements building a comprehensive and extensive belief system that forms a network of understanding experience. *Pūngao* (energy) is a significant contributor to the network of understanding (Pohatu, 2011). *Pūngao* is expended and impacts upon the mauri, this relationship changes the state of the mauri (Morgan, 2004). Therefore, *pūngao* impacts the vibrations of mauri, consequently influencing how mauri is seen and felt within the Self,

others, places, spaces, and objects (Ngawati, 2018). The energy expended by mauri and felt by others is defined as *hau* (Ngawati, 2018). Mead (2003) stated that a “person leaves part of their hau at places where they have sat or walked. The warmth of the body that remains after a person has left a chair is part of their hau” (p. 58). The stronger the hau, the stronger and healthier the vitality of the mauri is thought to be, with the hau nourished by good acts and relationships that also strengthen mana (Henare, 2001).

Mana is therefore another important interrelated notion, with mana described as an extraordinary power, presence or essence and is related to the concepts of prestige and authority drawn from our connection to atua (Penehira, 2019). Mana can be challenged and therefore strengthened or weakened affecting the condition of the mauri (Tamaiti, 2015). Therefore, mana-enhancing experiences strengthen the mauri, where experiences that attack or diminish the mana, such as trauma, deplete mauri (Pohatu, 2011). Relatedly, mana-enhancing experiences are connected to *manaaki*, established by generating common and respectful relationships, increasing the mana of the Self, others and the kaupapa (Moon, 2003). Consequently, manaaki strengthens the mauri within a person through their connected relationships grounded in intentionality.

The Tohunga Hohepa Kereopa confirmed this connection by stating that the setting down of purposeful actions towards an agreed-upon kaupapa, honestly and truthfully, promoted the health and wellbeing of that said kaupapa and all involved (Moon, 2003). Valuing the reciprocal nature of these processes speaks to mauri as an ethos that characterises people and their practices manifested in healthy attitudes and aspirations (Taurua & Taurua, 1986). Therefore, the function of mauri is to provide, balance and sustain life, informing and improving functioning for all those connected, a relational bond. And, as such, mauri reflects our levels of flourishing, within ourselves and other relationships (Durie, 2015).

Henare stated that *tapu* is closely related to mana and mauri, defined as a spiritual notion. It is a sacred element inherent to all things engendering varying degrees of respect, awe, admiration, and fear (2001). By respecting and protecting tapu the risk of trauma, imbalance, and disharmony is minimised; phenomena that attack the mauri, known as patu mauri and cause the separation of the wairua from the tinana and mauri (Murray, 2019) (see chapter 6, p.28).

Wairua (spiritual aspect) and *tinana* (physical aspect) are then inextricably connected to the *mauri* (Valentine, 2009), and are significant when exploring the processing of intergenerational trauma. Tate (2002) believed their bond (defined onwards as the tripartite) in its natural and unaffected state is harmonious, with each playing a part to uphold a cosmological balance. Tate (2012) further stated when exercised the *wairua* (understood as a protective force) keeps the *mauri* and *tinana* safe.

Wilson (2020) discussed the *tinana* as the physical aspect of the tripartite that houses psychological and emotional components of the Self used in explicitly expressing experience. Henare (2001) explained that the tripartite, conceptualised as the experience of the individual Self, is a part of a collective and cosmological Self that represents the connection of Māori to *ira tangata* to *ira atua*. Within this connection *mauri* is transmitted, transformed, and explains the compounding and transmission of intergenerational trauma that impacts the tripartite (Murray, 2019).

States of *mauri*.

Therefore, the influence of trauma of the tripartite evokes changes in the condition of the *mauri* state. Durie (2017) noted that *mauri* is influenced and amendable to relational experiences and events, malleable and susceptible to internal and external forces (Penehira, 2019). Each condition of *mauri* can be contextualised, traced, and analysed according to the circumstance and interpretation (Henare, 2001). By viewing *mauri* through various states, practical applications are elucidated (Spiller & Stockdale, 2012), such as navigating physical and spiritual responses that signal discord or growth potentials when processing intergenerational trauma. Therefore, *mauri* is not only reactive to experience with *mauri* states also manifesting in various ways depending on the interpretation of the experiencer (see Pohatu 2011).

Figure 2 depicts the above process, illustrating the lineage of cosmology, ontology, and epistemology and their connection to *mauri*, *wairua* and *tinana*, and the manifestation of *mauri* states.

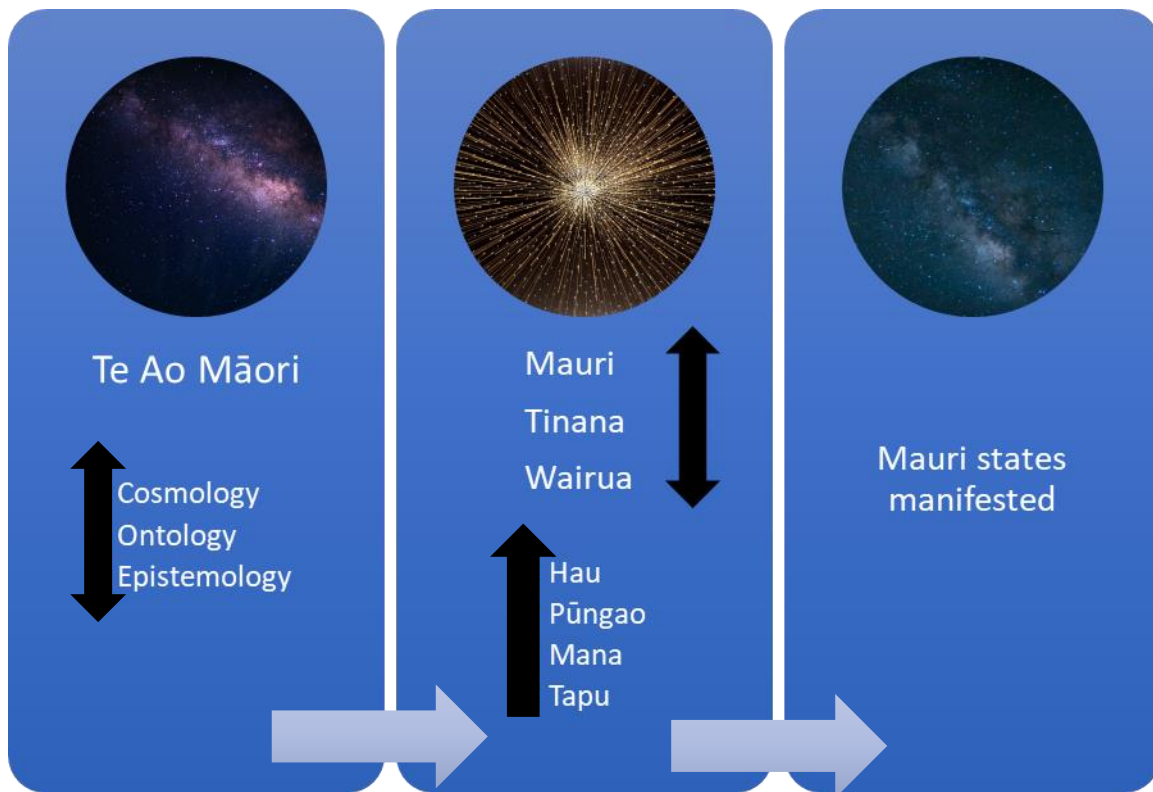


Figure 2

Relationship of Knowledge, Experience, and Interpretation from a Māori Perspective.

✚ He kupu whakamutunga (Chapter summary).

Cosmological narratives have a foundational role in the conceptualisation of mauri. Whilst, mauri has theoretical underpinnings, its functional applications are witnessed through its utility in informing and guiding experience. The connection of mauri to its interrelated notions builds an extensive network of rationalisation, providing strategies to recognise and maintain wellbeing during experiences such as the processing of intergenerational trauma. The next chapter explores the conceptualisation of trauma through assessment and classification, identifying characteristics from the literature. It is followed by a discussion pertaining to intergenerational trauma transmission, issues of awareness, and the forms and functions that present with direct and indirect transmission types.

Te wāhanga tuarima (Chapter 5).

Conceptualising trauma.

The conceptualisation of experience plays a significant role in sensemaking and meaning-making processes that impact the interpretation of trauma (LePera, 2021). Conceptualisations guide expectations of what is considered normative, the degree of likely variation, and appropriate responses, particularly when experiences do not coalesce with current understandings. Major psychological conceptualisations are predominantly drawn from theories, epistemological and ontological beliefs related to reality that exist within time and milieu (Smith, 2012). Generated from this knowledge are etiologies, methodologies and methods used to engage with experience.

Assessment of trauma.

Conceptualisation thus informs how we assess, describe, define, understand, and treat experiences by suggesting identifiable markers that characterise interpretation. If interpretations of trauma realities are significantly denied, oppressed, or marginalised the processing of the experience becomes aversive or at best ameliorates only the 'supported' symptoms (Wirihana & Smith, 2014). Therefore, characteristics of phenomena should align with the interpretation of the experiencer, and such interpretations should be supported conceptually. This proposal is significant to wāhine Māori who descend from a culture that has very different conceptualisations of intergenerational trauma and trauma processing than what is predominantly understood within Western psychology (Brave Heart, 2000; Brave Heart-Jordan, 1985; Duran, 2006; Pihama et al., 2017). It is then imperative that when examining trauma and specific trauma types such as intergenerational trauma, cultural conceptualisations are legitimately explored and considered as beneficial to processing and an integrative experience.

The conceptual difference between Western psychological assessment and treatment and Māori conceptualisations of trauma grounded in Mātauranga are believed by Adamson et al. (2006) to have led to inaccurate or inappropriate assessment of Māori with

misinterpretation, misdiagnosis, and maltreatment eventuating. Further, while widely documented, intergenerational trauma does not feature as a diagnosable experience within the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM), creating a void that impacts clinical assessments and therapeutic interventions, particularly with Indigenous people(s).

However, the DSM-5 does define specific trauma as the “exposure to actual or threatened death, serious injury, or sexual violence” (American Psychiatric Association, 2013, p. 271). This definition goes further to include additional qualifiers of “bearing witness to a traumatic event, having a close family member or friend who has experienced a traumatic event, or experiencing repeated aversive exposure to the event” (Wirihana & Smith, 2014, p.2). These definitions denote trauma as primarily an individual experience, where actual traumatic events have been experienced or directly witnessed, producing significant clinical recognisable and justifiable effects, or within *close* relational proximity to an individual.

Increased diagnostic utility is said to be provided when using clear and succinct investigative criteria found within the DSM-5. However, Wirihana and Smith (2014) question the applicability of defining trauma so narrowly, believing that it fails to account for wider, broader, insidious, and systemic contributors of trauma, and more specifically collective historical trauma that predisposes and maintains long-term chronic and complex trauma, such as intergenerational trauma. Pokhrel and Herzog (2014) suggest the narrow definition of trauma reflects a lack of critical cultural appreciation of the effects of assimilative colonial practices that have significantly impacted the etiology and the accumulation of trauma for Indigenous people(s) throughout the world.

Consequently, the assessment and treatment of symptomology relating to intergenerational trauma are identified through clinical considerations; where the clinician exercises clinical judgement about the client’s presenting case (Saddock et al., 2012). Such a process is problematic for several reasons, the first being that Indigenous and Māori conceptualisations of intergenerational trauma are not explicitly taught within clinical psychology. Secondly, nor are issues that directly relate to socio-historical, socio-political and socio-cultural intersections, which influence the various manifestations of intergenerational trauma, particularly for wāhine Māori. This may prejudice the clinician's ability to recognise the expression of intergenerational trauma within wāhine Māori and increases the likelihood that treatment will merely ameliorate symptoms, as opposed to addressing the root cause in

a transformational and healing manner (Isobel et al., 2019). Pihama et al. (2016) critically discussed these concerns noting that patriarchal Western beliefs invalidate the value and worth of wāhine Māori, driven by colonising practices symptomatically manifests as anxiety, depression, addiction, Self-harm, sexual and lateral violence. Consequently, when wāhine Māori present with psychological issues within a clinical setting, informed assessment pertaining to intergenerational trauma should be paramount as to not reinforce marginalising practices that are re-traumatising.

Differential classifications.

Historical trauma is defined as “cumulative emotional and psychological wounding over the lifespan and across generations, emanating from massive group trauma experienced as a traumatic event or series of events that have occurred within a historical context” (Wirihana & Smith, 2012, p. 198). These events can be experienced individually or by a group of people who share a common identity (Walters et al., 2011). The collective historical trauma proposed as contributing to the intergenerational trauma of Māori is founded on the extreme and prolonged hurt, anguish, death, despair, oppression, and loss experienced as colonisation (Wirihana & Smith, 2012).

Consequently, the collective historical trauma experienced by Māori and the subsequent degrees of acceptance and accountability by the New Zealand Crown has led to disenfranchised grief and issues of legitimacy related to HTR. The illegitimatising of HTR results in “intrapsychic functioning that inhibits the experience and expression of the grief affect, that is, sadness, anger and shame” (Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998, p. 67). The lack of recognition of HTR significantly inhibits healthy and adaptive grieving processes needed to resolve historical trauma and interrupt the transmission of intergenerational trauma.

Intergenerational trauma is considered a *relational trauma*, with conflicting signals characterising attachment (Amos et al., 2011). Schore and Schore (2007) stated that this type of trauma usually has its genesis within familial environments and is attachment specific, impacting the parent-child attachment relationship. However, O’Neill (2018) believed that

such definitions must be expanded to reflect varying family structures and attachment bonds across the world and contemporary society.

Expanding the definition of relational trauma also considers wider systemic issues that oppress Indigenous cultural practices (Atkinson, 2013), deplete Indigenous resources and languages (Smith, 2012), promote internalised narratives of hate, suffering, and hopelessness reconstructed as lateral violence (Ruwhiu, 1999) that downstream result in unresolved historical trauma responses (Brave Heart, 2000). The layering of trauma in this manner has led to complex presentations and multiple concurrent mental health issues for wāhine Māori. As such, *complex trauma* is considered significantly related to intergenerational trauma due to the accumulation of traumatic experiences that accompanies attachment and relational trauma presentations (Giladi & Bell, 2013; Stevens et al., 2015).

Given the preceding terms *intergenerational trauma* is defined within this thesis as unresolved collective historical trauma and their responses, transmitted intergenerationally, with subsequent generations experiencing the traumatic effects of the original trauma indirectly or directly. Further, intergenerational trauma is primarily experienced within familial relationships where attachment characterised by safety and security is disrupted due to HTR. However, the interplay of external socio-political factors is considered significant in the genesis and maintenance of intergenerational trauma for wāhine Māori. Intergenerational trauma is hereafter considered temporal, transferable, interrelated, and having significant negative impacts upon individuals across the lifespan, including a predisposition to further, more complex trauma.

Exploring transmission.

The transmission of historical unresolved trauma has become a distinctive characteristic of intergenerational trauma (Isobel et al., 2019). Weingarten (2004) stated transmission is complex, occurring generationally with compounding effects presenting in various trauma responses and coping mechanisms that influence awareness and transmission type.

Awareness of transmission.

The awareness of intergenerational trauma transmission is described by O'Neill (2018) as insidious and systemic. Insidious, as the original historical trauma falls outside of the current experience of the present generations, yet the trauma responses are still felt, manifesting in a variety of ways (Pouwhare, 2020). Systemic, as it permeates all facets of life from an array of internal and external sources (O'Neill, 2018). The combination of these two effects results in the partial or complete loss of conscious awareness about the original traumatic experience(s) for subsequent generations (Tafoya & Bel Vecchino, 1996). O'Neill (2018) believed that levels of awareness are related to the nature of the original event, circumstance and support, interpretation and consequently the ability to process the event(s).

The nature of the original event is an important consideration, with the degree of severity increasing the likelihood of psychological reactions such as dissociation (Brothers, 2014). In these cases, protective psychological responses are elicited, and the effected is less likely to remember specifics about the event, resulting in less awareness and complex transmission responses (Amos et al., 2011). Further, the levels of support received during and after trauma are essential to adaptive processing (Atkinson, 2013). If the voice of the experiencer is silenced, and their experience invalidated, they are less likely to share this experience with others (O'Neill, 2018).

Consequently, the information available is limited to their own internal psychological and emotional resources that can be undermined by grief and distress (Brothers, 2014). Pre-existing resiliency and risk factors also contribute to the amount of psychological and emotional resources that are available (Bombay et al., 2009). Processing intergenerational trauma alone can cause difficulties within family systems, as coping strategies are misinterpreted, with the original source of the trauma unknown or inaccessible (Brave Heart-Jordan et al., 1988). Interpersonal relationships suffer, further straining the processing of trauma and increasing the likelihood of trauma responses being transmitted (O'Neill, 2018). Therefore, isolated communication about the original trauma and trauma responses impact adaptive processing and transmission intergenerationally.

Personal and systemic factors are also pivotal in the awareness and recognition of trauma transmission. O’Neill (2018) suggested the age, background, co-existing historical events, personality, emotional disposition, and emotional intelligence all play a role in the transmission of trauma. Smith (2019) also offered supplementary moderating factors, including levels of wairuatanga and cultural identification. This leads to additional issues of cultural conscious awareness as a barrier to Indigenous people(s) recognising, accepting and utilising ancestral practices that support the processing of trauma (Cromer et al., 2018). This qualification is significant as Wirihana and Smith (2004) identified whakapapa kōrero; a knowledge transmitting and sensemaking method, as useful in processing trauma by reframing trauma narratives and transmitting adaptive trauma processing practices.

The interruption of knowledge transmission that explained and guided the interpretation of trauma experiences are consciousness-raising issues, constraining efforts to fully process intergenerational trauma in culturally appropriate and culturally meaningful ways (Goldsmith et al., 2004). Consequently, a continuum of knowing and thereafter understanding, exists for Māori when accessing tupuna knowledges (Valentine, 2020). This continuum represents the various understandings of the Self and interconnected relationships that must be considered when examining the processing of intergenerational trauma of wāhine Māori, and the utilisation of tupuna knowledge such as mauri states.

Direct and indirect transmission.

Intergenerational trauma consists of two transmission types: direct and indirect transmission (Kellermann, 2001). Weiss and Weiss (2000) explained *direct transmission* as a living aspect of trauma, embodied as if it were their own, directly experienced within their own lives. Symptoms of trauma often present in the next generation as a result of hearing their parents or others discuss their experiences of trauma in detail (Hyland, 2007). The direct communication of trauma can be intentional, with parents and caregivers wanting to teach and protect their family, or as a result of individuals processing their own trauma and sharing explicit details and feelings around these (Weiss & Weiss, 2000).

Hyland (2007) further stipulated that communicating historical trauma narratives in an unqualified manner, with little or no context, with other generations not privy to these conditions, elicited trauma responses; with an increase in fear and anxiety as if experienced first-hand. Rowland-Klein and Dunlop (2001) share the need for this type of communication to be developmentally appropriate and disclosed in a safe space to aid the preparedness of the next generation. Therefore, to reduce HTR responses elicited through direct communication about intergenerational trauma, the appropriate steps must be taken before disclosure. The degree of preparedness will be dependent on a range of factors such as age, life experience, cultural and familial support networks, with these influencing how information is processed, integrated, and responded to.

Indirect transmission corresponds to the communication of trauma experiences intergenerationally through close contact or growing up with a family member(s) who displayed the effects of unresolved trauma (Hyland, 2007). The effects of unresolved trauma impair an individual's ability to feel safe, secure, and nurtured, often characterised clinically as mood, behaviour, and interpersonal issues (Iyengar et al., 2014). As a result, the effects of the original trauma become traumatic for those with an intimate relationship(s) to the experiencer, increasing the risk of complex trauma transmission (Watanabe, 2002).

However, major critiques regarding these theories of intergenerational trauma transmission have emanated from Indigenous research, debating the narrow conceptualisation of the terms *close* and *relational* that are often represented through the nuclear family, disagreeing with the impetus towards such constrained transmission pathways (Brave Heart-Jordan, 1985). Trauma transmission extends beyond the parent-child attachment relationship (Brave Heart-Jordan et al., 1988). The transmission of trauma also exists within other significant relationships that are not solely familial based and exist within a wider historical socio-political milieu (Social Justice Report, 2008).

Ricks (1985) believed education and social norms also impact relational bonds within a variety of socio-cultural contexts. Smith (2012) has exhaustively analysed the impact of social institutions in producing societal norms through education that perpetuate intergenerational trauma using invalidating and oppressive practices. These practices focus on one-sided narratives pertaining to the effects of colonisation, loss of cultural autonomy and self-sufficiency in achieving wellbeing for Māori. As a result, impacting the processing and

transmission of a significant collective trauma experience. Figure 3 abridges the process explicated above, illustrating the transmission (trauma and mauri) for wāhine Māori.

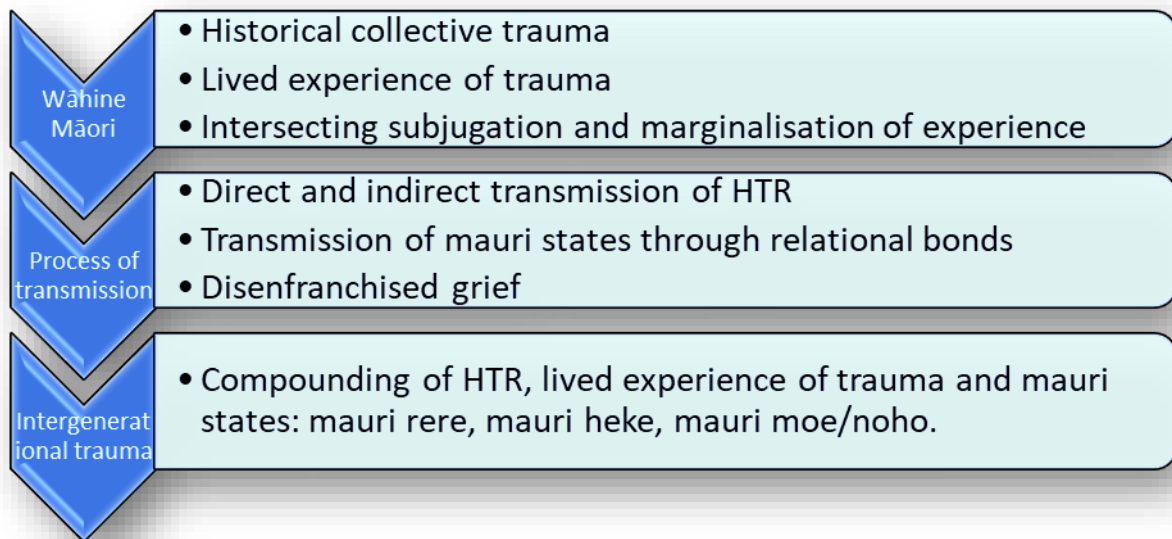


Figure 3

Process of Intergenerational Trauma and Mauri States Reactions for Wāhine Māori

✚ He kupu whakamutunga (Chapter summary).

The assessment of trauma and intergenerational trauma is debated, with Indigenous research quipping that trauma classifications privilege Western notions and values (homogeneity and patriarchy). Such a skew is said to influence definable characteristics or descriptive markers used to categorise experience impacting the interpretation of trauma. Therefore, the interpretation of the original trauma and external factors such as familial and socio-cultural resources and support creates a continuum of awareness. These factors impact the types of transmission used and the functionality they serve to experience. Chapter 6 presents a precolonial narrative to conceptualise Māori interpretations of intergenerational trauma and related contextualising factors.

Te wāhanga tuaono (Chapter 6).

Precolonial conceptualisations of pāmamae (trauma).

To provide a more nuanced view of intergenerational trauma processing by wāhine Māori, a precolonial Māori narrative is provided. Precolonial Māori conceptualisations of trauma were understood as experiences of struggle, anguish and life challenges that necessitated transformation (Smith, 2019). This frame informed perceptions and the processing of trauma by facilitating learning strategies passed laterally and intergenerationally. Smith (2019) concurred, stating that trauma was a potentiator of growth, and provides opportunities to draw on courage, strength, compassion, and perspective, increasing resilience and Mātauranga. However, for these qualities to be utilised the processing and integration of trauma must occur and be sensical to the individual (Brothers, 2014). If sensical integration is not achieved the mauri is impacted negatively (Murray, 2019). Therefore, trauma processing can be interpreted as transformational and enhancing, or damaging and depleting to the mauri.

Pāmamae and mauri.

Pāmamae is considered a patu ngākau (deep soul wound) that not only has physical, emotional, and psychological effects, but also spiritual consequences within experience and on the life. (Pihama et al., 2017) Valentine (2009) stated that life contains the tripartite of mauri, wairua and tinana- considered interconnected and interdependent; equally affected by the other parts and influential to experience. As such, trauma is said to affect all aspects of the tripartite and how an individual experiences life through the Self.

The Tohunga Pineaha Murray (2019) stated when trauma occurs, the wairua is forced from the body, which weakens the mauri by unbalancing the tripartite impacting experience and disrupts the relationship with the Self. Thereafter, the individual becomes susceptible to further trauma and reactive mauri states changes that effects other interconnected relationships.

Figure 4 depicts the relationship described by Murray illustrating the Self conceptualised as the tripartite and the misalignment process that occurs when trauma is experienced. Followed by the mauri states that predominate traumatic experiences, based on their explicit and implicit characteristics (Pohatu, 2011).

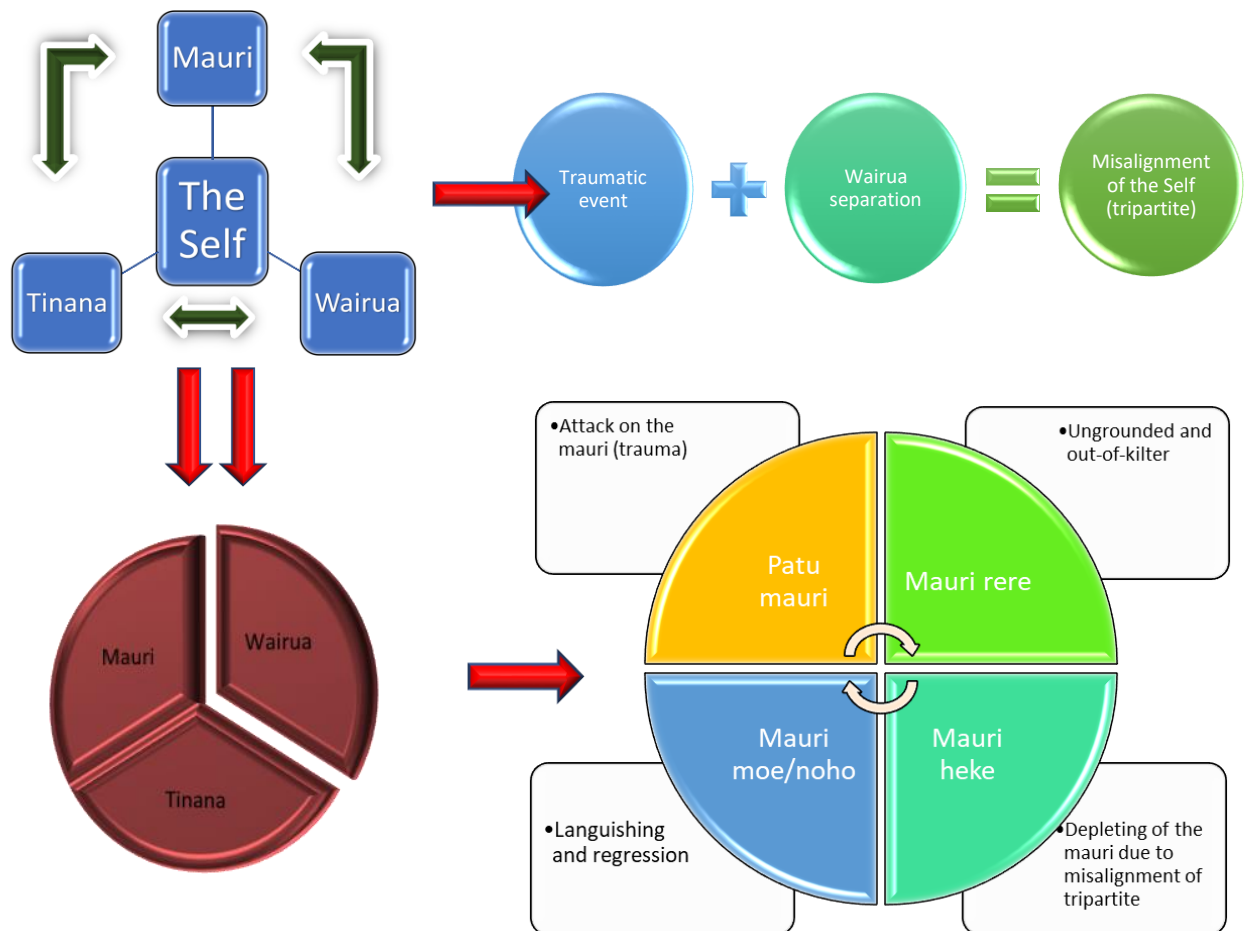


Figure 4

Flowchart of the Relationship Between Mauri (Self) and Trauma (Precolonial)

The identification of mauri changes after a traumatic event were historically the domain of Tohunga (Moon, 2013). Tohunga were skilled in reading and understanding experiences that impacted the mauri and the processes needed to restore the tripartite (Smith, 2019). The reading and assessment of such cues, known as tohu, guided Tohunga in

providing the appropriate care and solutions needed to process the traumatic experience (Panapa, 2020). Additionally, precolonial Māori society encouraged individuals to practice and participate in reading their own internal and external cues related to the tripartite (Wilson, 2020). For instance, Pohatu (2011) stated that changes in the kare ā-roto (emotions) are signs that characterise particular mauri states and inform assessment. These tohu can be used to intentionally respond to mauri states and evoke needed mauri states given an experience.

Consequently, through a precolonial narrative, trauma is understood as patu ngākau at an individual level of experience that results in patu mauri (see chapter 4, p.14). If the trauma experience and misaligned tripartite are left unresolved/unbalanced further transgressions against tapu (transmission of trauma) can result, increasing the likelihood mauri is further negatively impacted (transmission of mauri reactions) (Smith, 2019). If such relational experiences become patterned, a cycle of mauri reactions and trauma responses permeates across experience (historical and lived) resulting in intergenerational trauma, as depicted by figure 5.

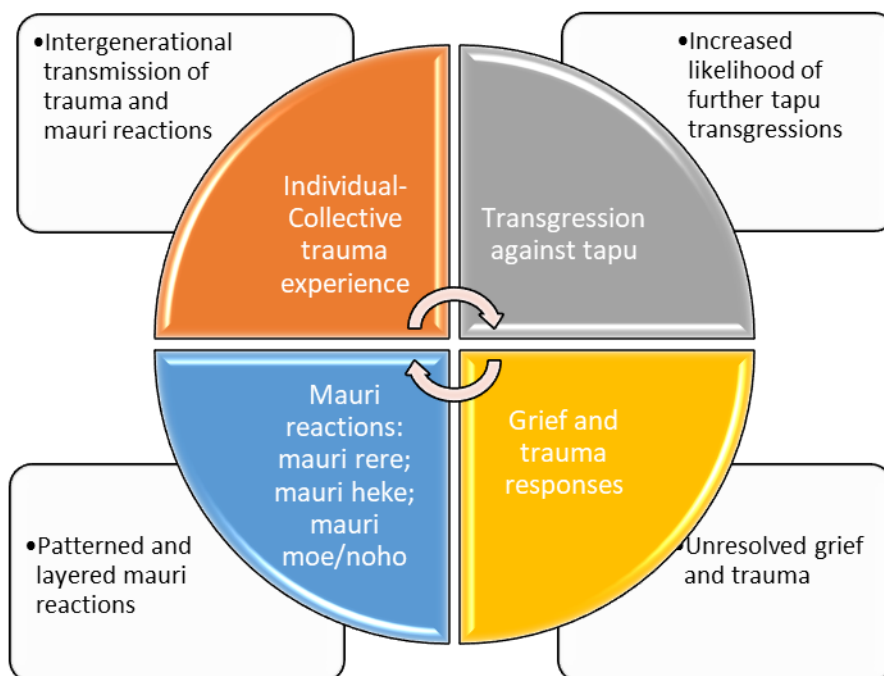


Figure 5

Diagrammatic Illustration of Trauma Transmission and the Relationship to Mauri

Processes of cultural imperialism.

Cultural imperialism through the vehicle of colonisation has had, and continues to have, a significant impact on the context in which grief and trauma is processed by wāhine Māori (Simmonds, 2011). This impact is heavily related to the loss of Mātauranga such as mauri that prioritises the interpretation of trauma experiences and the processing needs of wāhine Māori. Smith explored the effects of cultural imperialism in this context, stating that “imperialism frames the Indigenous experience” (2012, p. 20), with colonising practices fastidiously examining Indigenous people(s), reporting, and purporting truths about the Indigenous experience that only augment imperialist beliefs and values. This process perpetuates Western norms and beliefs about the effects of colonisation, predetermining the parameters of grief and trauma through controlling the method, duration, and validity of their expression. Such control of experience undermines indigeneity and negatively influences cultural knowledge and wellbeing systems (Wesley-Esquimaux & Smolewski, 2004).

Therefore, access to the necessary internal and external resources for Indigenous peoples within contemporary society can be a barrier to initiating or continuing trauma processing (Isobel et al., 2019). The *historical trauma theory* confirms such circumstances, critically analysing historical trauma responses and their relationship to context and socio-political milieu. George et al. stated situating trauma responses in their context demystifies the actions of wāhine Māori, reducing stereotypical and individualised assumptions regarding processing. Further, placing intergenerational trauma into wider context connects the whakapapa of trauma to its source (Sadler, 2014), and enables self-determined solutions to trauma processing for wāhine Māori.

 He kupu whakamutunga (Chapter summary).

Precolonial conceptualisations of trauma were shown to be driven by overall wellbeing, attending to trauma and intergenerational trauma in a holistic, proactive, and integrative manner. Pāmamae and mauri were explored analysing the effect and processing rationale held within Te Ao Māori. Further, examining how issues of cultural imperialism

constrains and invalidate trauma processing grounded in Mātauranga. The next chapter analyses ways forward given these issues, exploring processing pathways that prioritise the needs of wāhine Māori and the relationship mauri has to this experience. Healing trajectories are discussed given methods of expressing trauma, grief, forgiveness and resolving conflict.

Te wāhanga tuawhitu (Chapter 7).

Processing intergenerational trauma.

Ideologies of how to process trauma, specifically intergenerational trauma, are well contested (LePera, 2021). O'Neill (2018) believed that multiple pathways exist when processing intergenerational trauma, particularly through Indigenous ideologies. Pihama et al. (2017) explored culturally appropriate wellbeing pathways for Māori, many relevant to intergenerational trauma processing, through the (re)connection to Māori belief and value systems. For instance, the processing of intergenerational trauma and integration of traumatic experiences is understood as a pathway to wellbeing when grounded in Mātauranga, with the experiencer guided and protected by mauri ora principles, a natural antagonist to trauma (Murray, 2019). This notion aligns with Edwards (2009), who stated that the Indigenous beliefs and practices pertaining to trauma processing are based on healing epistememes that are highly responsive to the needs of their people.

Likewise, LePera (2021) espoused the processing of trauma must be meaningful to the individual, with the sensical integration of experience occurring holistically, including spiritual and physical components. Te Waati (2020) stated this process begins with mauri access points of the whatumanawa (mind), manawa (heart), and pūmanawa (intuitive skills), initiated through breath-work and karakia that connect the Self to experience. This is an important part of processing, as varying levels of dissociation often characterise trauma experiences, with the separation and compartmentalisation of experience occurring (Brothers, 2014). LePera (2021) spoke to the need to release trauma housed within the body as a crucial holistic element in trauma processing. Through a Māori worldview, this process must involve the tripartite; recalibrating the tinana, mauri and wairua energies impacted by trauma (Wilson, 2020).

Pūkatokato (Grief)

Historical unprocessed trauma and unresolved grief are identified as key characteristics of intergenerational trauma (Duran, 2006). Both are also theorised to

negatively impact mauri (Smith, 2019). Precolonial Māori grieving ideologies recognised this relationship and provided the means to express emotions and process grief (Wirihana & Smith, 2014). Marsh et al. (2015) also stated that Indigenous beliefs and values actively encouraged the expression of grief. Grief and the external expression of feelings associated with trauma are conceptualised as a part of the healing process (Smith, 2019). Therefore, the expression of grief was culturally accepted, considered normative to the processing of trauma, and thought of as beneficial in preventing unresolved trauma that shifted the mauri.

Methods of expressing grief associated with trauma.

Methods of expressing grief caused by trauma are found within pūrākau (narratives) where individuals sit in Te Pō, reflecting in wānanga on their respective loss(es), being present with their emotions (Wilson, 2020). Smith (2019) supported this discussion stating that individuals process grief and trauma by moving through Te Pō, Te whai Ao and Te Ao Mārama, with each realm enabling the processing of experience and the pursuit of integration and enlightenment. Wirihana (2012) also stated that pūrākau and whakapapa kōrero are adaptive methods in expressing emotions such as anger, numbness, flightiness, and sadness associated to grief and trauma.

Nikora et al. (2010) described instances where “spontaneously composing farewell orations and enduring chants” (p. 401) were powerful expressions of grief, loss, and trauma. Mōteatea were thus used to express emotional journeys through stories of the past, often describing aspects of grief and the process taken to make sense of such experiences (Hata, 2012). Other externalisations of grief have also been suggested as prominent in Te Ao Māori such as overt weeping, crying, and yelling (Wirihana & Smith, 2014). These social practices encourage emotional expression and stabilise emotional regulation in a culturally supported fashion through the notion of *tuku aroha*, where the releasing of emotions reflects the mana and tapu of the person, experience, or event in a purposeful and sensical manner (Kinred, 2020). Therefore, emotional expression of this kind coupled with trauma processing encourages individuals to be present and responsive to their psychological, emotional, physical, and spiritual needs in a culturally sanctioned manner (Gabel, 2019). Expressing grief

and trauma through culturally safe methods creates psychological and spiritual shifts that can be immensely healing (Cavino, 2019).

However, issues related to the expression of grief and trauma exist and have been theorised through phenomena such as *disenfranchised grief*. Disenfranchised grief occurs when emotional expression is limited or constrained, and culturally appropriate behaviours cannot be openly acknowledged or publicly mourned (Doka, 1989). Brave Heart and DeBruyn (1998) critically analysed *historical disenfranchised grief* and intergenerational trauma, noting that the consequence of disenfranchised grief produced “an intensification of normative emotional reactions such as anger, guilt, sadness, and helplessness...(with) the absence of rituals to facilitate the grieving process severely limit(ing) the resolution of the grief” (p. 67). Pine (1989) spoke to the importance of emotional displays with social and familial support in reaffirming interpretations of traumatic experiences that include loss and grief. Conversely, Kaufman attributed negative relational experiences associated with the inability to express grief through cultural methods, as the pain and shame of the loss of interconnected sacredness within oneself and one’s community. Further stating that associated feelings of vulnerability, hopelessness, inferiority, and issues of Self and cultural identity are prominent (1985). Therefore, such feelings of grief must be alleviated during the processing of intergenerational trauma.

Murunga hara (Forgiveness).

Williamson and Gonzalez (2007) found that forgiveness was a significant practice that reduced internal and external conflict generated by traumatic experiences and improved wellbeing. Precolonial Māori beliefs and practices such as hohou rongo (conflict-resolution process) utilised similar theories, astute in relating the impact of grief to intergenerational trauma, with a significant focus on reducing internal and external conflict that arose from a lack of forgiveness and resolution (Smith, 2019). However, forgiveness becomes complicated when experienced in an oppressive environment (Legaree et al., 2007). In oppressive environments, the exacerbation of trauma is likely with key factors that facilitate forgiveness like recognition and consequence, not easily obtainable and actively suppressed. Rata et al. (2008) concurred stating that the establishment of wrongdoing, acceptance, and

responsibility for the transgression, promising not to commit the act again and some form of compensation, encourages forgiveness.

Here-in-lies the issue in fostering forgiveness for wāhine Māori regarding their relationship with intergenerational trauma and collective historical trauma, as these experiences have been prioritised poorly by consecutive political powers. Such a position opposes the high priority needed by wāhine Māori to process socio-historical aspects of their grief and conflict embedded within intergenerational trauma. This difference has resulted in a lack of congruency suggested as essential by Rata and colleagues. Therefore, encouraging alternative sensemaking that fosters personally derived forgiveness may prove more beneficial to overall trauma processing for wāhine Māori. Smith (2012) implored this notion of autonomy, advocating for forgiveness on Māori terms as most beneficial to trauma processing and healing.

He kupu whakamutunga (Chapter summary).

The processing of intergenerational trauma is complex, as it includes elements of collective historical trauma and lived experience. As such, multiple processing pathways exist and therefore can also be constrained by internal and external factors. The need to process trauma and resolve grief were explicated through emotional expression and emotional regulatory practices that are beneficial to navigating reactive mauri changes. Further, the importance of forgiveness was discussed finding that historical and personal influences are necessary considerations when processing intergenerational trauma. Chapter 8 discusses the methodological processes considered and undertaken, as well as introducing the wāhine Māori participants and contextualising their processing journeys.

Te wāhanga tuawaru (Chapter 8).

Methodology.

The exploration of the relationship between mauri and the processing of intergenerational trauma by wāhine Māori is firmly situated within Indigenous psychologies, grounded in Mātauranga, kaupapa Māori and mana wāhine theories. Consequently, the voices and knowledge of the wāhine Māori are from their own frame of reference, including their own ecological, historical, philosophical, and spiritual contexts (Pihama et al., 2014). Further, the knowledge and lived experiences that inform this research were critically interpreted and analysed by a wahine Māori researcher. This position encouraged reflexivity and cultural accountability (Gemmell, 2013). The rationale for this subjective positioning is drawn from the underlying premise that psychological principles are not universal (Pihama, 2001). The variance exhibited between and within culture(s) is considered vitally important in understanding particular psychologies of Indigenous people(s) (Henry & Pene, 2005). Therefore, this research project encourages the use of Indigenous experts and knowledge holders. Kwaymullina argued this stance stating that there is "a vast body of Indigenous knowledge held by Indigenous peoples outside of the academy that is as valid as those in the West" (2006, p.441). Thus, the processes and practices undertaken throughout this thesis are unapologetically, courageously, and proudly Māori, affirming the experience and knowledge of wāhine Māori.

Kaupapa Māori Research.

Henry and Pene (2005) espoused the significance and relevance kaupapa Māori research (KMR) has when exploring and analysing intimate and sacred concepts for Māori; "kaupapa Māori emphasises interdependence and spirituality as fundamental components of intellectual endeavour and knowledge construction, and is implicitly founded on collective consciousness, and historical and cultural concepts" (p.6). On this premise, KMR is accessible to all Māori and encourages the participation of Māori in growing collective understandings of individual interrelated experience.

KMR therefore provided the opportunity to strengthen the bond between existing KMR and the knowledge held within lived experiences of wāhine Māori. Such connection is used to build, refute, challenge, and grow indigeneity and Māori psychology, endorsing critical discussions about the best interests of Māori. Equally, KMR does not deny the rights of any people(s) to their philosophical traditions, culture, or language, rather it intentionally promotes indigeneity by addressing issues of universality and Ethnocentrism that have influenced research with Māori.

Such a philosophy is crucial when protecting the sacredness of wāhine Māori and their narratives that span over the past, present, and future, including whānau, cultural histories and perspectives about tapu elements of life such as trauma, grief, healing, mauri and wairuatanga. The need to uphold these experiences through this research was paramount and additional care was taken to ensure the needs and interests of wāhine Māori were balanced appropriately.

[Mana wahine theory.](#)

Mana wahine can be described as a collection of ideas and ways of doing research intended to examine and critically discuss issues important to wāhine Māori (Irwin, 1992). In this vein, mana wahine has been described as a type of Māori feminism and an extension of kaupapa Māori theory (Simmonds, 2011). These leanings support intersectionality that was needed to explicate points of value that coalesced within the experience of the wāhine Māori, influencing their normality and perception of reality when processing intergenerational trauma informed by mauri states. Utilising the mana wahine theory validated issues such as these and their impact on wāhine Māori, by affirming that multiple interpretations of experience are credible. Therefore, the importance of mana wahine is found in the opportunities it provides wāhine Māori, a chance to have their *herstories* heard, privileging all the diverse and complex experiences within their lives.

Consequently, this thesis attempts to provide the space, place, and time for the wāhine Māori participants to share their lived experiences. Such processes are an opportunity to demonstrate the value of our difference through collaborative work, representing what

our world is and means to us. “*We are different, and those differences count*” (Johnston & Pihama, 1995, p. 85, italics in original). In accepting our difference and the value of those differences, we can deconstruct and reconstruct discourses pertaining to wāhine Māori.

Consequently, KMR and the mana wahine theory align, with both prioritising experiences, beliefs, values, and knowledge(s) significant to wāhine Māori and are conducive to the theoretical frame, aims and research question posed within this thesis.

Qualitative method.

A qualitative method was chosen as it permits a naturalistic and interpretive approach to the research process (Hughes, 2003), encouraging engagement through observational deductions, impressions, and evidential quotes (Tolich & Davidson, 1999). Therefore, the experience shared by the wāhine Māori can be seen, felt, and understood as purposeful engagement in their worlds and as a discourse drawing together diverse experiences (Gemmell, 2013), to understand the interpretation of mauri states during the processing of intergenerational trauma. Therefore, intentionally addressing issues of marginalisation by promoting inclusivity.

Interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) has similar commitments to prioritising and legitimising sensemaking of individuals with substantial verbatim excerpts used to gain insight into phenomena (Reid et al, 2014). IPA also states that additional layers of analysis be used to explicate more generalised themes found to permeate across all participant experiences to support or advocate difference through an inductive approach (Reid et al., 2005). Similar principles are found within KMR and mana wahine theory with their emancipatory and self-determining stances. Therefore, IPA like KMR and the mana wahine theory are orientated towards capturing and exploring the meanings people(s) assign to their experiences and was deemed appropriate to this thesis by prioritising and affirming the interpretations of trauma processing made by the wāhine Māori.

Relatedly, it is acknowledged that IPA has a strongly individual focus and there is a possibility that this aspect is felt to be incongruent with KMR recognised as a movement that addresses collective issues and experiences of Māori. However, this thesis does not consider

the two mutually exclusive, with the desire to prioritise the individual experiences of the wāhine Māori as equally as important and necessary to collective cultural and socio-political issues. Both positions are believed to showcase the use and investment of Māori knowledge into Māori culture and research. Pihama (2001) reflects this belief, stating that whilst the movement is together as Māori, our experiences and thereafter the use of KMR is open to variation.

Such a lens acknowledges the interconnected ideologies found within Te Ao Māori as individuals participate collaboratively, adding to the greater whole. IPA, KMR and mana wahine utilised in this manner enabled the movement and navigation between individual and collective experience, with individual interpretations shared and transformed within a greater knowledge system (Hikuroa et al, 2011). Such rationale also aligned with the topic of mauri and intergenerational trauma as relational and interconnected, where the wāhine Māori narratives are specific to their own processing yet are also informed and informative to other wāhine Māori and Māori as a collective.

Therefore, whilst IPA initially focuses on distinct or idiographic features of the wāhine Māori, the opportunity to examine overarching psychological processing themes and subthemes across a collective experience was had.

Tikanga matatika (Ethical considerations).

Safeguarding the participants, researcher and the research process were imperative to this thesis (Pipi et al., 2000). The wāhine Māori and their contributions were actively acknowledged and protected when developing a greater understanding of their experience. Tika (correct) and pono (truth) ideologies were considered as key driving forces, where the experiences of the wāhine Māori were affirmed as meaningful and a valid part of their processing journey. Therefore, the Mātauranga gained through these experiences and their interpretations were sensical and justified. Interviews were guided by KMR principles represented as the use of local tikanga (protocol) and kawa (specific protocol); karakia were used to start and end interviews, a pōhiri (ritual of encounter) reflected the kawa of local

hapū (subtribes), whakapapa connections were used to ground the research relationship, and histories were shared about the lands that connected the participants and the researcher.

The use of tikanga and kawa was a collaborative process and the wāhine Māori were encouraged to share and participate. Lastly, due to the intimate nature of the research and the possibility of triggering trauma responses, the wāhine Māori were provided with the option to access further counselling services should they need. Further, I attuned myself to their needs and responded appropriately grounded in counselling practices, psychological knowledge, and empathy. This practice entailed active listening, being visibly present during the recollections of traumatic and emotive experiences and providing empathetic words and body language. The wāhine Māori were also informed that they were able to take breaks or end the interview at any time, upholding respectful and transparent boundaries. Kai (food) was provided to whakanoa (lift tapu), and a koha (gift) was given in appreciation of their time and courage.

[Collecting the narratives.](#)

The use of face-to-face narrative collection was advocated by Lee (2009) when participating in KMR with wāhine Māori, stating that the methodology fosters time and space for wāhine Māori to be seen and heard. Accordingly, participant narratives were collected in the physical presence of the researcher, facilitated by semi-structured interviews that were 90-120 minutes long. Questions pertaining to the processing of intergenerational trauma, the presence of mauri throughout processing, and how identifying as wāhine Māori was perceived as influential to these experiences were posed. Interviews were voice recorded and transcribed by the researcher. Direct quotes were taken from the transcriptions and used to centre analysis.

Due to the nature of the topics being discussed, it was also deemed fit to make additional observational impressions and deductions (Tolich & Davidson, 1999). Therefore, when conducting the interviews the mauri states were identified holistically (physically, psychologically, and spiritually) and informed by the work of Pohatu (2011) on assessment and evaluation of mauri states (see chapter 4), through the method of

whakawhānaungatanga (process of establishing relationships), and the subjective positioning of the researcher. Holistic observation of this kind recognises the significance the Self (observing changes in the tripartite of mauri, wairua and tinana) has from a Māori perspective. Henare (2001) stated that this interconnection is pivotal to understanding experience for Māori. In praxis, notes were taken regarding changes in voice intonation, facial expression and eye contact, postural changes, patterned language responses such as long pauses or stuttering and the degree of felt (dis)connectedness or defensiveness, and the whakapapa (narrative connection) of these changes (proximal and distal).

Ko wai ngā wāhine Māori kaiwhakaurunga? (Participant descriptors).

IPA challenges traditional linear relationships between the number of participants and the value of research when collecting 'data', suggesting that three participants is an ideal number for Masters theses (Smith et al., 2009). This number considers the consistency of the population and their lived experience of similar phenomena. However, Clarke (2010) disagreed, stating that 4-10 is optimal in order to provide enough insight into conducting qualitative research for students. Giving these points, in addition to the length and emotive content of the interviews, four wāhine Māori participants were recruited.

The participants all identified as wāhine, and as Māori. Moreover, all indicated the lived experience of intergenerational trauma and processing trauma. The wāhine Māori resided within the Far North district of Aotearoa (New Zealand) and have whakapapa links to this region. Their ages ranged from 32 to 38 years old, with all participating in varying degrees of paid and unpaid wellbeing/education orientated work within their whānau and the wider community.

Pseudonyms protect the identities of the participants due to the intimate nature of the experiences discussed. The chosen pseudonyms hold significant mana and tapu representing wāhine Māori who were catalysts of change within their respective communities, befitting homage to the wāhine Māori participants and their trauma processing journeys. Table 1 provides participant descriptors that personalise the wāhine Māori and contextualise their lived experience of processing intergenerational trauma.

Table 1

Wāhine Māori Participant Personal Descriptors

Whangatauatia	Te Ruawai	Hinemoana	Waimirangi
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mid-thirties. • Mother of 1. • Father passed away suddenly. • Large extended whānau. • Participates in a multitude of wellbeing and Mātauranga activities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Early thirties. • Mother of 3. • 'Second mum' passed away suddenly. • From a blended whānau-raised within many different whānau homes. • Growing her connection to Te Ao Māori. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Early thirties. • Mother of 3. • Parents seperated. • Brother completed mate whakamomori (suicide). • Heavily involved in health, wellbeing and wāhine Māori orientated work. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Late thirties. • Mother of 3. • Raised closely with grandmother and was raised with a strong Māori cultural identity. • Lived overseas, seperated from partner and now has returned to her ūkaipō.

 He kupu whakamutunga (Chapter summary).

The experiences of the wāhine Māori, the phenomena of mauri and the processing of intergenerational trauma were addressed through KMR values. Research from this perspective prioritises the interpretation of experiences through a Māori world view. An additional layer was added to this lens through the utilisation of the mana wahine theory, enabling the lived experiences of wāhine Māori to be heard and seen under their own pretence. Therefore, growing and supporting theories about the lives and the issues that are important to wāhine Māori. There is no uniformed way of achieving this, however the qualitative method of data collection and analysis were rationalised as congruent with the aims and research question. Ethical considerations were discussed, followed by participant information to contextualise, and personalise the processing journeys made by the wāhine Māori. Chapter 9 explores the findings presented across two levels, an initial interpretation that focuses on the idiosyncratic experiences of the wāhine Māori used to develop the major processing themes and interconnected subthemes. Followed by an in-depth interpretive analysis that explores the function of the identified mauri states utilised by the wāhine Māori during the processing of intergenerational trauma.

Te wāhanga tuaiwa (Chapter 9).

Findings and preliminary interpretation.

An initial layer of analysis derived directly from verbatim quotes is now presented. Preliminary interpretations made by the researcher are proximal to the participants sensemaking whilst developing the phenomenological narrative (Reid et al, 2014). Therefore, the ground-up analysis closely represented the participant's interpretations of their experience. Further insight into the findings identified four major processing themes and are defined as *whakarōpū*, representing sensemaking regarding mauri and intergenerational trauma processing. The subthemes are defined as *kaupapa āpiti* and elucidate specific elements connected to the major themes and are reflective of idiosyncratic nuances found within the experiences of the wāhine Māori.

Whakarōpū tuatahi (Major processing theme 1):

Rationalising the experience of processing intergenerational trauma.

Attempts to rationalise intergenerational trauma was a constant across all participants, with the wāhine expressing the need to understand and integrate their processing experiences. This process was aided by growing awareness (subtheme 1: Mātauranga), embodying pūrākau (subtheme 2: pūrākau), reading and assessing internal and external cues (subtheme 3: tohu), conceptualising mauri as a holistic wellbeing frame (subtheme 4: mauri as a proactive and protective strategy), and leaning into challenges that caused intrapsychic conflict (subtheme 5: meaningful learning experiences). The utilisation of these practices underpinned their trauma processing and explicated *how* the wāhine Māori shifted their mauri states throughout the processing of intergenerational trauma.

Kaupapa āpiti tuatahi (Subtheme 1): Mātauranga.

Utilising Mātauranga was rationalised as beneficial to the processing of intergenerational trauma. The wāhine Māori shared their sensemaking processes and practices behind their choices when searching for Mātauranga that critically integrated their experience(s) throughout trauma processing. Mātauranga was understood as empowering and liberating.

Whangatauatia

"Ummm, it feels like a pattern, it feels like fear, it feels like anxiety, and then it feels like love and power. Because you actually get power from um, educating yourself and standing in your mauri, and that can be power from an angle of giving power back to yourself".

Whangatauatia rationalised the importance of Mātauranga in growing her awareness of the patterned trauma that characterises intergenerational trauma and mauri responses. Consequently, learning to trust her own intuition by gaining awareness and making empowered decisions, such experiences were interpreted as beneficial to processing.

Te Ruawai

"Um (long pause) how I look at it is, what can happen in our lives growing up and our whānau I guess normalising it. But then actually stepping out into the world and meeting other families and being like aw, it's not actually normal".

Te Ruawai questioned the normality of her previous experiences in contrast to new experiences with other whānau. The importance of gaining Mātauranga through these lived experiences was used to rationalise the conflict she felt about her reality. The long pause could also be inferred as reprocessing or an attempt to reorganise beliefs about the

experience of intergenerational trauma across various contexts, as conflict can arise when experience and knowledge are incongruent, influencing processing and integration.

Hinemoana

"It feels like many things, um, but the first thing or word that comes to me is whakapapa. When I started learning about it in my studies...that's when I was first exposed to it and that really made sense to me".

Whakapapa is used in conjunction with Mātauranga as an analytic tool and a sensemaking strategy, it enables the conceptualiser to generate clear patterns and discernible elements (people and events) that are interconnected and interdependent. This connection was important to Hinemoana and aided the conceptualisation of her experience in a sensical manner. Her studies also provided confirmation of what she had been feeling, an additional frame to make sense of her experience of intergenerational trauma.

Waimirangi

"Intergenerational trauma for me is the actual disconnection from wairua with the body. Um, the disconnection in life-force, with Taiao, how Taiao is actually suffering a lot for the makeshift of man, of humankind, um it takes me back to stories of our atua who are significant in these spaces of intergenerational trauma".

Waimirangi interpreted her experience of intergenerational trauma as the disconnection of the tripartite of the tinana, mauri, wairua, and their intimate connection to Te Taiao and the cosmos. She acknowledged that these actions, consequences, and solutions are perpetual and apart of Te Ao Hurihuri (the everchanging world), occurring as far back in

our whakapapa to ngā atua Māori. Knowledge transmission of this kind supported the rationalisation of processing intergenerational trauma for Waimirangi.

Kaupapa āpiti tuarua (Subtheme 2): Mātauranga wāhine: Pūrākau.

The use and investment into Mātauranga wāhine encourage the wāhine Māori to develop their own nuanced perspectives when processing intergenerational trauma. They also recognised that the experience of being wāhine Māori created additional challenges, but also strengths that could be utilised to benefit sensemaking.

Whangatauatia

"So yep that is my journey, with my nana being fluent in te reo Māori and starting the first kohanga reo up here, and her being my tangata rongonui. It is about understanding okay where did the things I enjoy in life come from and how did I see a woman to be? Someone who was respected a lot. How do I see that kind of character and what would I wanna show my son, our tamariki?"

Pūrākau are used to share and transmit ideas, beliefs, and sensemaking. Whangatauatia drew on pūrākau about her nana that shared her pūkenga (skills) to ignite her own pūmanawa. A sensical approach in reigniting the achievements and strengths found within her whakapapa, rationalising Mātauranga wāhine as an instructional guide within her trauma processing.

Te Ruawai

"So I guess one part of our trauma, my trauma um, (is) actually my mum's trauma...peaking order, the big sister was the light of her dad's eye and then the son was the light of the mum's eyes. So where does that leave the other three? The younger two didn't really care, but she (mum) did! And then she had me and all my sibling's; she always wanted to instil fairness".

Te Ruawai rationalised her experience of intergenerational trauma as the connection to her mother's trauma. The example of fairness was used to understand her mother's choices that now informs hers. Te Ruawai recognised the importance of this knowledge, and why certain behaviours were strategized against, making meaningful sense of the patterned responses across the generations.

Hinemoana

"My grandmother had massive trauma with her teeth. Her father was extremely abusive to her, my Māori grandmother who was of the generation where they would be struck if they were to speak Māori, but her father spoke fluent Te reo Māori...that whole stripping of her Māoridom".

Hinemoana rationalised intergenerational trauma within her whānau through a pūrākau about her grandmother and the lateral violence she experienced. Lateral violence is a HTR and intergenerational trauma effect that was connected to her great grandfathers' experience of losing his cultural identity producing grief, frustration, and anger. Pūrākau connect the past, present, and future providing contextual discourses about experience. Hinemoana utilised this characteristic to generate her own Mātauranga wāhine, drawing meaningful conclusions about her experience of intergenerational trauma and its connection to the experiences of her whānau.

Waimirirangi

"Nanny Aroha was actually my grandfather aunty and so they were ostracised...and to stop that from happening again we have every seventh birthday together, so we know who each other are, so that doesn't repeat. So, having this instilled in me from my whānau, that we carry that tradition and those practices on".

This pūrākau rationalised Mātauranga wāhine and its significance in protecting against the transmission of trauma. The pūrākau provided Mātauranga and whakapapa kōrero from the nanny of Waimirirangi rationalised as preventing and protecting against an event that caused whānau rupture and grief. Therefore, proactively attempting to reduce the likelihood of intergenerational trauma and patu ngākau (deep soul wound).

Kaupapa āpiti tuatoru (Subtheme 3): Tohu: Signs.

The assessment and evaluative use of tohu was identified within the rationalising process of the wāhine Māori. Strong elements of wairuatanga grounded sensemaking with tohu being used to inform and guide the understanding and processing of intergenerational trauma.

Whangatauatia

"I am going to be specific with what occasions I am going to allow for that, this could be like tohu. Like my dad (passed over) could come through and be like hey you need to see how your brother or your sister, or go and have a chat with mum...and sure enough, there is a message there".

The reading of tohu or signs are a significant belief grounded in wairuatanga for Māori. Tohu were employed to navigate the environment and relationships. Whangatauatia acknowledged her use of tohu when engaging with her whānau. The usage was rationalised as an intentional strategy to keep herself safe when processing intergenerational trauma, utilising the protection of the wairua and to stay connected with her whānau in times of need.

Te Ruawai

“The biggest (tohu) for me personally was mum’s passing. Giving a bit more value to life and kinda let me be still (pause) and take time to assess life as it is, what it was before and after mum”.

In endeavouring to describe the loss of her mother Te Ruawai interpreted the experience as a tohu, rationalising that perspective and time were needed to process the loss of her mum and how this triggered the need to look at important issues within her whānau. This interpretation often becomes evident when significant trauma occurs, encouraging reflexion and the re-evaluation of life aspects with a focused assessment of the processes that have led to that point.

Hinemoana

“Something that I am very conscious of is looking for tohu, but um especially in that space and time it was definitely a transformational time”.

Conscious awareness and intentionally reading tohu demonstrate a commitment to sensemaking, particularly during the processing of intergenerational trauma where massive amounts of change and disruption occur. Looking for tohu is an adaptive approach to receiving information and assessing risk, as well as reciprocally transmitting knowledge and

sharing experiences. Hinemoana rationalised the transformational aspect of this time and the conscious use of *tohu* as an empowering notion.

Waimirirangi

"You know travelling those dark spaces, and you never know if you are going to come back. Um, like one of my guides who was travelling with me, she comes from what we call the intellectual being realms. She was always there with me, but not so much as a guide but as a reminder, to keep me connected; that thinnest line of thread...that would ground me to the cosmos".

Our interconnection to the cosmos as Māori engenders purpose and a sense of hope. Waimirirangi interpreted the connection between *ira atua* and *ira tangata*, and the *mauri* that flows through this pathway as important in keeping her grounded to this world when processing intergenerational trauma with her grief and trauma pronounced.

Kaupapa āpiti tuawha (Subtheme 4): *Mauri as a proactive and protective strategy.*

As the wāhine Māori advanced in their rationalising of intergenerational trauma *mauri* became a significant proactive and protective strategy. *Mauri* was understood as integral to keeping the wāhine Māori (and other relational bonds) safe. Further, the use of *mauri* states became intentional with the wāhine Māori working to maintain the tripartite when processing and integrating more strenuous aspects of their experience.

Whangatautia

"So how I protect and ensure that my mauri will be intact when engaging and disengaging with certain spaces and certain people is to have narrative talks with myself regularly".

Whangatautia showed concern in keeping her mauri safe. She understood the significance and susceptibility of the mauri to be impacted upon by others, especially during times of vulnerability and change. It was sensible for her to intentionally protect her mauri, using her knowledge of its interconnectivity to consistently address the narratives handed down to her and internalised through intergenerational trauma.

Te Ruawai

"I had just learned about mauri, um the meaning of it that I was taught was from the hongis...it's very important, to not only feed it but also actually push it out to others to feed them, so it's give and take".

Te Ruawai rationalised the importance of mauri through the hongis and manaakitanga. Speaking to the need to intentionally maintain relationships with the Self and others through sharing and receiving mauri. Further, that these practices proactively nourish the life force.

Hinemoana

"It's whakapapa, it's the passing on of or the exchange of mauri, if we don't take responsibility for healing and looking after our own mauri we are going to pass that on to the people that we share space with".

Hinemoana identified the importance of mauri and the conditions in which mauri is altered. The changeability of mauri was of particular concern to her processing experience. She rationalised the need to proactively look after her mauri when sharing intimate spaces, as not to transmit or influence another's mauri negatively.

Waimirirangi

"My mauri was distorted; it was like it had exploded to the point where I couldn't control it. And all the uglies had come out, like hate and I didn't want my whānau to see that side of me".

Waimirirangi described the intense feelings that can be generated when an experience is interpreted as a threat to the mauri, causing it to become unsettled and volatile; mauri rere. Intergenerational trauma responses can cause the wairua to leave the body to protect itself; the forced separation causes the mauri to become altered or in this case, described as distorted and explosive. Waimirirangi rationalised that this state was not healthy, not wanting her whānau to experience her mauri in that state.

Kaupapa āpiti tuarima (Subtheme 5): Meaningful learning experiences.

Meaningful learning experiences were rationalised as developing more intimate aspects of sensemaking. These experiences were explained by the wāhine Māori as less about

acquiring knowledge and more connected to growing skills that strengthened their sense of Self and their connection to their whānau and whakapapa.

Whangatauatia

"Yip I got my certificates, I am still pursuing what they left for us...but now coming into my thirties I've realised there are many sources of information, I'm feeling like this is what I'm here to do".

Investing in learning experiences was significantly meaningful to Whangatauatia as she interpreted this as a strategy in addressing the issues of intergenerational trauma by pursuing the legacy of her tupuna. Education was the favoured method of Whangatauatia. However, she also came to recognise that there are many sources of information useful in processing intergenerational trauma and living purposefully.

Te Ruawai

"I guess the biggest thing was learning to be a present mum again, that has encouraged my mauri deeply, getting to know them, work alongside them, to research their potential, not only potential but their dreams, our dreams".

Te Ruawai strengthening her whānaungatanga and manaakitanga with her children was a meaningful learning experience crucially important in processing intergenerational trauma. She was growing her mauri connections to herself and her children.

Hinemoana

"I started learning about it (intergenerational trauma) in my studies as a social worker...that degree was like a personal development thing more than anything else. Um, before that, I was somewhat aware, but I didn't know there was an actual name for it and that there was a theory behind it".

Education is often rationalised as important when increasing awareness of intergenerational trauma. However, for Hinemoana education about intergenerational trauma was also personally meaningful helping to grow and integrate her lived experience, giving her experience a name and theory she could relate to.

Waimirangi

"There were times when I was a little one, where she (grandmother) would chant, or karakia. Unconsciously, not knowing what she was actually doing, was keeping me safe from Te Ao Huna".

Waimirangi made sense of her intrinsic knowing rationalised as the influential role her grandmother played in keeping her mauri safe. She learnt through osmosis, observation, wairuatanga, and wānanga. This esoteric knowledge was woven into every aspect of her interactions with her grandmother.

Whakarōpū tuarua (Major processing theme 2):

Factors associated with resolving historical grief and trauma responses.

The second major processing theme explored five factors that were associated with resolving historical grief and trauma responses implicated in the compounding of trauma and complexity of experience associated with intergenerational trauma.

The use of thoughtful and intentional routine (subtheme 1: adaptive ritualised behaviours), healthy and safe boundaries (subtheme 2: rāhui), forgiveness (subtheme 3: murunga hara), participating within a common-interest group (subtheme 4: kaupapa whānau) and critical self-reflection (subtheme 5: wānanga) were all found to be significant interconnected factors that promoted conflict-resolution strategies key in resolving grief and situating trauma responses. These strategies were deemed beneficial to the processing of intergenerational trauma through the sensical integration of collective historical experience and lived experience.

Kaupapa āpiti tuatahi (Subtheme 1): Adaptive ritualised behaviour.

Adaptive ritualised behaviour was used by the wāhine Māori to regulate mauri reactions evoked when resolving aspects of collective historical trauma. These practices were holistic and grounded the wāhine Māori as they attempted to integrate the tripartite and reconnect to historical elements of grief and trauma experienced by their whānau and Māori as a people.

Whangatauatia

"I get up, and I exercise, I'll walk, I'll do a bit of meditation, I'll do some affirmations or breathing so that I can get attuned with what messages need to come to me. And where my attention needs to go. I get up, I go hard, and I whakatau (settle) myself- that gratitude about being above earth".

The creation of personal kawa, described here as ritualised daily activities, are relevant to resolving historical grief and trauma responses by reducing or actively managing mauri rere. These activities engender mauri tau, lowering stress levels through mindfulness and the connection to the body and wairua. This process is conducive to psychological, emotional,

and spiritual integration needed when processing historical aspects of intergenerational trauma within current experience.

Te Ruawai

"I guess a little bit of structure for your life; waking up and getting ready, ya know it's those little things you do every day, pushes you through".

Creating structure within her life was important to Te Ruawai. It was a method that combated the uncertainty experienced when exploring historical grief and trauma responses. Further, purposeful, and intentional activities ground feelings of aimlessness and disempowerment that can manifest as disenfranchised or delayed effects of grief that impeded the processing of trauma.

Hinemoana

"Healthy body, just a good basic diet, fruit and vege and just living. The mauri you take into your body. I'm so massive on living foods, if you wanna live and feel alive then we need to be eating living foods. Um (pause) and using Taiao, definitely Tangaroa, the beach, grounding um, breathwork. I'm very conscious of breathwork. It's all interconnected".

Adaptive ritualised practices when used holistically aid mauri ora. Hinemoana illustrated the importance of replenishing the mauri and its hoa haere; tinana and wairua to achieve mauri ora. She drew on the mauri of other places, spaces, and objects when revisiting historical aspects of collective trauma where the control over experience is restricted, causing instability and emotional dysregulation.

Waimirirangi

"I wanna instil what I know into my mokopuna. I want them to have a twenty-year te reo strategy plan. I want them to be right up in kura...I'm going to raise my mokopuna in our ūkaipō".

The significance of planning and being proactive in the lives of her mokopuna is a desire of Waimirirangi; to instil kaupapa Māori into their lives. She sees this as a way to heal forward and resolve the historical grief caused by the traumatic loss of Māori cultural practices. The ritualised behaviours of Waimirirangi were considered aspirational at multiple levels, across various contexts and time, utilising key principles of Māori culture, such as te reo Māori, kura kaupapa Māori, and the ūkaipō.

Kaupapa āpiti tuarua (Subtheme 2): Rāhui (Boundaries).

Rāhui was utilised by the wāhine Māori as a form of boundary setting that exercised control over the interrelated notions of mauri, namely pūngao and hau. The wāhine Māori acknowledged that HTR must be progressively worked on with the establishment of boundaries keeping their mauri safe during this process.

Whangatautia

"Sitting on this table instead of that table at the marae because this table serves and always keeps your vibrations, but on this side of the table is your whānau who are colonised and disconnected, said with love. What kind of kōrero am I going to have on this side of the table?"

Whangatautia interpreted her experience of intergenerational trauma as partly conditioned on other whānau relationships. She recognised that these experiences are

interpreted differently by others, resulting in various thoughts, feelings, and behaviours that impact mauri within and between parties. Rāhui or boundary setting, allowed Whangatautia to continue processing her experience of intergenerational trauma, whilst recognising the effects of historical grief and trauma in others, interpreted as systemic disconnection.

Te Ruawai

"It's obviously a Self-thing, it's no good me knowing, they need to know. I guess it was an acceptance thing, knowing what I'm actually in control of and not in control of. I'm in control of my environment, and the safety and the lives of my children. So that was actually my drive to be like I don't want this bullshit happening around them and standing in my mana, I guess".

An understanding of the Self, others, environment, and context is interpreted as important, with Te Ruawai critically examining the interpretations of her experiences and the differing boundaries within her relationships. She takes responsibility for her experiences and proclaims her stand strongly in holding herself accountable to provide clear boundaries and safe experiences for her children. This stance has encouraged the transmitting of healthy and adaptive responses when addressing historical grief and trauma, seen as the transmission of healing practices.

Hinemoana

"It's personally massive, understanding that it's probably not even their trauma that they're carrying, but also really an advocate for taking responsibility of your healing. So, we might not be responsible for the trauma, but we are 100% responsible for the healing".

Hinemoana came to understand that the experience of historical grief and unresolved trauma can be unintentionally passed on to others and expressed her empathy. However, she

also espoused the importance of being personally responsible and accountable for processing trauma experiences to protect against further instances of trauma transmission.

Waimirirangi

“Everyone was a magnet to me, and that's kei te pai. But what that did create was carrying the burden of other whānau members and their trauma! Obviously, people see me and say you need to look after you and your kids first. But it's so hard to not be a part of the whati (break/disturbance), or the drama, it was so hard to see my people not knowing what to do...When your mauri is being compromised like that then you need to check yourself”.

Waimirirangi highlighted the challenges and struggles of boundaries within whānau. She felt conflicted about maintaining her mauri, as well the mauri of her whānau being depleted or stagnated, due to unresolved trauma and historical grief. Her personal attributes drew her whānau to her healing as they sought guidance for their own.

Kaupapa āpiti tuatoru (Subtheme 3): Murunga hara (Forgiveness).

Murunga hara is conceptualised as forgiveness and related to the resolving of historical grief and trauma and promoted by the wāhine Māori in their processing of intergenerational trauma. The quotes shared explore the ways in which this practice was exercised and how mauri states were implicated.

Whangatauatia

"I felt kinda torn between two worlds...It's about reclaiming that mauri and that mana that makes you connected with your marae, connected with your maunga, connected with our tupuna. Um, that makes me sad, but then it makes me happy that they (whānau) are making small little efforts to continue to support their own whānau".

Attempts to resolve historical grief and trauma are challenging due to multiple interpretations of the same phenomenon. Such interpretations are informed by and produce differing beliefs about intergenerational trauma. For Whangatauatia, her values and beliefs were focused on whānaungatanga, wairuatanga and reclaiming her indigeneity. However, she felt conflicted and upset that her whānau were not able to feel that connection. Her forgiveness was grounded in the belief that her whānau are following their own processing pathway.

Te Ruawai

"The big one that helped me, they match: love and forgiveness. You don't just forgive the trauma you have to actually love and forgive on yourself. I guess to heal and keep moving forward, not necessarily forgetting it. You know the saying forgive but never forget".

Forgiveness for Te Ruawai focused on loving through her experiences, known as mahana- a hoa haere, that revitalises the mauri. This interpretation of intergenerational trauma helped process historical grief that permeated her whānau system. A balanced perspective was central to her sensemaking strategy.

Hinemoana

"When you learn about intergenerational trauma, you're like aw my god. And now I have so much love for my dad, even though he is still addicted to drugs and alcohol I just see the good... that healed my hate and resent towards my dad, I was able to understand all of it, and so that was super healing".

Conscious awareness was pivotal to the forgiveness Hinemoana experienced, coming to understand that her patu ngākau was related to her father's response to historical grief and trauma. This knowledge was grounding and awakened the desire to resolve further trauma transmission, explained as her healing her resentment and hate towards her dad.

Waimirangi

"I could have been that mum who kept them away, but who am I? That's not my right. I'm like check yourself, you can't tell them that they can't see their grandparents".

Perspective enabled a sense of peace and forgiveness for Waimirangi. She questioned what was being transmitted to her children, deciding to do things differently than what had taken place historically, to reduce the risk of additional trauma and grief.

Kaupapa āpiti tuawha (Subtheme 4): Kaupapa whānau (Common interest group).

Kaupapa whānau were acknowledged as crucial in supporting the processing of intergenerational trauma and developing healthy relationships with others. These skills were then generalised towards developing a healthy relationship with the Self.

Whangatauatia

"I reach out to people whom I engage with in early mornings, whether it be exercise, a walk. I engage with certain women for clarity, recommendations, tips and their ability to (help) me get new sources that can educate me on that particular day, cause I'm feeling a certain something".

Having the support of others was an essential aspect of the processing experience for Whangatauatia. Including this form of group participation as a part of her daily activities was affirming and provided guidance when looking to resolve past grief and trauma. There was also a specific need to set the tone for her day with any insight deemed necessary to settle her mauri.

Te Ruawai

"Being home and being surrounded by dad, broth, baby sis. In the sense of really wanting to learn Te reo Māori, that helps my mauri".

Language is important to the sensemaking processes, as it enables the communication of a worldview. For Te Ruawai, having a support system of likeminded others enhanced her desire to learn te reo Māori as a pathway to resolve the historical trauma and grief of losing her native tongue. This process invigorated her mauri.

Hinemoana

"If I didn't have my health and wellness business and that community it would have been shit. It exposed me to this community of mentors. And mentors are massive, something that is a must when you are healing aye. You gotta have mentors who have been there that can give you the blueprint. That was really empowering".

For Hinemoana, having her values respected and guided by others with similar interests was empowering. Trauma and grief can create issues of safety and security that impacts identity and engagement in healthy relationships. However, the premise of kaupapa whānau is to encourage the tuakana-teina (more experienced-less so) relationship developed on trust, with Hinemoana drawing on this characteristic during her process of immense change and uncertainty.

Waimirangi

"I drew away from my whānau coz they are like the hardest critics ever... (I) said to them imma just go and hang with my hoodlum gangster mates for a month (laughs). They may not tow-the-line every time, but at the end of the day they are the only ones I can turn to. They aren't going to judge me, cause they have been through all of this, what I'm going through".

The experience of Waimirangi illustrated the variance in experience and values that can occur within whānau, particularly across generations who were raised in different socio-cultural and historical contexts. Such difference leads to experiential variations that cause conflict, impacting the ability to resolve grief that can be re-traumatising and unsettling to the mauri. In this case, the historical grief response exhibited by the whānau of Waimirangi was perceived as judgement. Waimirangi felt more understood by her kaupapa whānau who were perceived as empathetic to her experience.

Kaupapa āpiti tuarima (Subtheme 5): Wānanga (Reflexivity).

Wānanga was an instrumental practice of reflexivity. The wāhine Māori examined their experiences of intergenerational trauma and the impact this has had on the tripartite (primarily mauri), whilst also engaging in reflexion about HTR and grief. Wānanga enabled the wāhine Māori to gain perspectives used to create their own sensemaking practices about the effects of collective historical trauma on the Self (lived experiences of intergenerational trauma).

Whangatauatia

"I'll do a bit of meditation with myself; I'll do some affirmations. That's why I don't overdo it with my intense Self hence I only choose specific times for engaging".

Mauri oho and mauri rere predominate experiences of awareness and insight, such as making sense of collective historical grief and trauma. Whangatauatia was able to identify the changes in her mauri states elicited by aspects of her trauma processing, and the impact this had on her engagement with others. She practiced wānanga through meditation aided by narrative affirmations, increasing her responsiveness and sensitivity to her mauri, managing her processing needs.

Te Ruawai

"Reformed me in my new mauri, going back to the dreams and touching on shedding that light and that reminder in the space of sadness and darkness to actually rebuild a purpose that was already there. It was spoken to the universe, um but you can't see that when you're moping, and you're surrounded by loss".

Te Ruawai described her experience as a transition from darkness to light. Traditionally conceptualised as wānanga where one sits in Te Pō and invoking the elements of Te Kore-unlimited potential, to actualise dreams in Te Ao Mārama. Te Ruawai drew on the mauri from each realm in her own time, cautioning not to stay too long in the grief and trauma. She interpreted this as a way to resolve historical issues and move forward in a transformational manner.

Hinemoana

"When we moved up here, we went through this massive spiritual journey, we weren't working, we got a good amount of money from our business being sold. When you clear that time away, you are able to just watch and see".

With the focus diverted away from making money to survive, space and time facilitated wānanga for Hinemoana. Phrases such as clearing-time-away also denote degrees of cloudiness created by busyness, blocking pūngao and pathways to resolve and understand grief caused by historical trauma. Thus, the circumstances in which wānanga take place are also crucial in achieving more profound levels of intergenerational trauma processing.

Waimirangi

"Yeah, how I protect myself when I feel like I'm getting down and out, I head straight to the water even if it's sitting there in the moment with my head in the water, or like shoot up into the bush, kick back, go hunting".

Wānanga is a place to locate the Self and reaffirm protective elements that can be triggered when attempting to resolve historical trauma and grief. Water and Te Taiao are often used to promote mauri tau. Hunting was also interpreted as a method of releasing the build-up of pūngao and a way to connect to the whenua (land) when retracing and learning about historical collective trauma. For Waimirangi, interpreting her experience and the

experience of her tupuna was triggering. However, she knew how to protect her mauri during this process and did so regularly through wānanga.

Whakarōpū tuatoru (Major processing theme 3):

Alternative explanatory models.

Alternative explanatory models were also utilised by the wāhine Māori in processing their experience of intergenerational trauma. These alternative frames created the space to reinterpret their experiences by challenging patterned homeostasis (subtheme 1: wero ki te whānau) and framing trauma processing within empowered narratives (subtheme 2: reframing experience with a transformational focus).

Kaupapa āpiti tuatahi (Subtheme 1): Wero ki te whānau: Challenging homeostasis within whānau.

Wero ki te whānau espoused the challenging of familiar homeostasis and patterned trauma responses that characterise intergenerational trauma. This practice was conducive with holding an alternative explanatory model of trauma processing, particularly relational trauma. The wāhine Māori challenged and worked intimately with their whānau to address and propose methods of restoring and rejuvenating the mauri impacted by layered trauma.

Whangatauatia

“Um, it felt like absent-mindedness, like when you look back on it, not acknowledging it (the) patterns within your mothers, aunties, uncles, older cousins or siblings, and you look at that, and you go aw okay, yeh! No! That's not right, but we are still sabotaging till the cows come home! So, how are we going to get more clarity on making a change? Being truthful in what value looks like regarding (and) respecting mauri, our past tupuna, and what they kept intact, cause it all got depleted by colonisation”.

Whangatauatia demonstrated strong levels of reality checking, courageously calling out unhealthy patterns of re-traumatisation being transmitted intergenerationally. She espoused the need to make changes based on mauri ora principles as an alternative to the homeostasis that perpetuates levels of dissociation and misalignment of the tripartite, blocking the processing of intergenerational trauma.

Te Ruawai

"A lot of conflict came from not agreeing and being torn. I'm living here, and I help pay for everything, but my voice isn't valid. Where during that process, it was beautiful to unite with a sister and a dad. It strengthened us, to unite in that way, putting something in place to try and minimise it to not happen again".

Te Ruawai used the example of whānau discord to demonstrate how the challenging of whānau homeostasis can be executed in a way that upholds the tapu of all involved. This practice was strengthened by the mana Te Ruawai had brought to the household through her manaakitanga. It was important to her to communicate what she needed and what she saw as beneficial to the collective mauri of the whānau. Uniting on a new kaupapa was a practical way to transmit alternative patterns and to understand their mauri experiences.

Hinemoana

"When I compare myself to my sister, and you know when you grow up with siblings and we all experience the same thing differently, she had a lot of resentment to my mother and then I had it to my dad".

Hinemoana identified the importance of interconnected experiences related to the processing of intergenerational trauma, noting that such experiences are not the same for every individual or whānau situation. Whilst, commonalities do exist, various interpretations

of experience are held. This perspective provided the opportunity to encourage multiple narratives and to challenge the homeostasis produced from intergenerational trauma.

Waimirirangi

"I think the biggest challenge for me is (pause) my whānau (pause) not ready to accept things".

Holding an alternative explanatory model was perceived as marginalising by Waimirirangi. Her whānau challenged her style of processing intergenerational trauma. Particularly as her methods fell beyond the norms, beliefs, and values currently held within the whānau; evidenced in her discourse with repeated pauses as she recounted her experience questioning the rightfulness of her interpretation.

Kaupapa āpiti tuarua (Subtheme 2): Reframing experience with a transformational focus.

A clear healing trajectory was identified as the wāhine Māori discussed the progression of their trauma processing, gradually reframing their experience(s) of intergenerational trauma from an empowered position. This subtheme as a process was mana-enhancing and tapu restoring, with strong narratives that promoted the capacity of the tripartite to intuitively attempt to realign. Further, that the healing of the Self was connected to healing of others, a mauri relational bond.

Whangatauatia

"That healing for myself, that's the journey I am on. Reclaiming that mana! I only feel that that's right for the tamariki, for us, for what we are role modelling to them. What we wanna leave behind!?"

The importance of transmitting intergenerational healing was of major concern of Whangatauatia. She asserted her claim to heal and embodied the mana that the process produced. This claim was not only for herself but her whānau role modelling a different journey.

Te Ruawai

"That tolerance of not caring to the point where it would stop me. Um, it's a weapon too. It's built into our hearts".

Strong elements of empowerment and mana emanated within Te Ruawai, reframing her processing of intergenerational trauma as a weapon that was transformational and conceptualised as an inherent skill. Te Ruawai exercised courage in the face of adversity created through intergenerational trauma, to fortify her processing during times of uncertainty or fear.

Hinemoana

"I've always considered myself as really good at Self-healing. Because even like with all the domestic violence um losing my brother to suicide, all of that shit (pause) I Self-healed. I never went to any counsellors; I never had any external stuff it was all Self-healing".

The value of identifying as a Self-healer helped Hinemoana to redefine her experiences. This identity affirmed and strengthened her own pathway to healing, decreasing the need for external validation regarding her experience with trauma. Thus, healing was on her own terms from her own frame, and her process represents the constant reconnection to her authentic Self and the rebalancing of the tripartite.

Waimirangi

"I just like to sit in it, let it soak into you, and then work through the healing".

Waimirangi took the direct approach and chose to sit and deeply resonate with her experience, leaning into the discomfort. This process reframed her perspective of healing as she took her time to think, feel, and be present, encouraging herself to reconnect with her grief and trauma. Therefore, Waimirangi actively called her wairua back to the tripartite and worked to realign the Self.

Whakarōpū tuawha (Major processing theme four):

Developing a strong identity as mana wāhine.

The fourth theme that permeated the experiences of the wāhine Māori pertained to the development of a strong identity as mana wāhine. This process entailed aligning their

values (subtheme 1: whanonga pono) and applying these within their lives (subtheme 2: asserting tino rangatiratanga). Although, how this was implemented varied, the overarching psychological processing reflected the desire to process intergenerational trauma and transmit healing through the vehicle of mana wāhine.

Kaupapa āpiti tuatahi (Subtheme 1): Whanonga pono: Values.

The establishment and promotion of values was the first subtheme related to the identification as mana wāhine. The wāhine Māori discussed their identity as the connection to the tripartite, as well as their connection to whakapapa Māori that is recognised as the relationship to ira tangata-ira atua. Values were interpreted as a way to guide processing and signal to others where the wāhine Māori stood regarding their mana, tapu and mauri.

Whangatautia

"That's another realisation for me as I continued my journey, ensuring that my son engages in spaces that are wānanga based, taking him back to his identity and purpose here. And his purpose here is to stand in his native tongue on his marae and to know that is a strength, and that helps you throughout life".

Whangatautia saw her experience of processing intergenerational trauma as a journey in which her values have grown. The solidification of her values was instrumental in developing her current identity as mana wāhine. This identification grounding her processing practices and the transmission of knowledge to her son, as his first ūkaipō. The values mana wāhine evoked in Whangatautia were interpreted as a strength benefiting her trauma processing that were transferable across various aspects of her life.

Te Ruawai

"I feel like it was known, but I suppressed it because I wasn't really around it to shed light on it. I had to dig deeper and go back to that past and look at where it was coming from to help me understand, to let it unfold over and over again. But then to make my stand to say this is not right".

Developing a strong connection to the Self as a mana wahine was of high importance to Te Ruawai. However, the identification as a mana wahine often comes under attack, with subjugation prevalent within many lived experiences of wāhine Māori. None more so than intergenerational trauma, where the layering of trauma intersects with the discrimination and marginalisation of Māori women. Bringing these aspects to the light affirmed that trauma lives in the darkness, Te Pō. The need to search and explore these aspects meant that Te Ruawai had to be certain of her values as to not lose herself, to make her stand strongly and authentically.

Hinemoana

"If we heal the mama, we heal the whānau! If we support her, uplift her, empower her, and strengthen her narrative, then we can heal whānau, we can heal communities. If it's anything to do with wāhine Māori I'm backing it, I'm sharing about it; I'm promoting it".

Wāhine Māori are the backbone of our whānau, and Hinemoana believed that this experience needed to be supported and valued. The embodiment of mana wāhine was thus extremely important in fuelling her passion for processing her own experiences of intergenerational trauma. By doing so and living to her values, she acted as a taurira (example) for other wāhine Māori.

Waimirirangi

"I want them (mokopuna) to be brought up in Kura. My children were born in Australia, came here, put them straight in full immersion Māori, and they were all-good".

Waimirirangi connected her values as wāhine Māori to her responsibilities as a knowledge transmitter, leader, and healer. Although her final statement seemed nonchalant, it illustrated her faith and commitment to her children, mokopuna, and further the values that underpin the development of resilience that characterise mana wāhine.

Kaupapa āpiti tuarua (Subtheme 2): Asserting tino rangatiratanga.

The assertion of tino rangatiratanga was promoted by the wāhine Māori as intrinsic mana derived from their whakapapa to Māreikura (noble woman/female spiritual order) and mauri. Further, these skills were also earned through their ability to process intergenerational trauma. The wāhine Māori insisted that these qualities emanate from within but can be challenged. However, the challenges the wāhine faced were also interpreted as an opportunity to gain experience and if asserted from an empowered position also had the potential to benefit others.

Whangatauatia

"I'm old enough now to step into that (mana wahine) and to be able to be staunch".

The assertion of tino rangatiratanga was significant to the processing of intergenerational trauma for Whangatauatia who derived her mana from standing up and out as a wahine Māori, to be mauri tu, living by her values. The need to be of age or have earned

respect and power was connected to this assertion, having developed enough mana, lived experience and wisdom.

Te Ruawai

"I guess that drive was always there, to be better as a female. To be proud of being a woman and what women can do...standing in my mana making firm decisions not just for myself and for my children but for my surroundings, so not having it, I guess I created it, the sense of rules".

The pūngao stimulated by reclaiming and asserting the Self as a mana wahine fortified and drove processing for Te Ruawai. She recognised the need to create an environment that provided tools and opportunities to whakamana (strengthen) herself and assert her tino rangatiratanga, noting that this was newly created. Further, that there are rules to asserting the Self, suggesting that under certain circumstances her experience was affected by different rules that undermined mana wahine.

Hinemoana

"To heal and grow, you have to be willing to get real fucking uncomfortable, there is no way of doing that shit comfortably".

This reflexion made by Hinemoana detailed the importance she placed on asserting tino rangatiratanga during the processing of intergenerational trauma as a mana wahine. Identifying that confronting trauma responses and patterns was uncomfortable, however believing that this was a necessary and an essential marker of her processing.

Waimirirangi

"Being wāhine, our blood says it all pretty much, and when you look back on mauri and life force it comes from hi, the essence of the energies, it's the cosmos".

The connection to esoteric knowledge and intrinsic value of mana wāhine was represented within this interpretation made by Waimirirangi, with the significance of whakapapa, mauri, energies, and the cosmos emerging. For Waimirirangi, the assertion of tino rangatiratanga during the processing of intergenerational trauma is a blood right given at birth through mauri and our connection to the cosmos through Hineahuone and Hinetitama. Therefore, mana wāhine, mauri and wāhine Māori are seen as inherently interconnected.

In-depth interpretative analysis

What follows is an additional level of analysis, “the desired objective to understand the experience from the perspective of the participant, and try to amplify it” (Alase, 2017, p.17). Therefore, research aim 1: *identify differing expressions of mauri within the processing of intergenerational trauma through exploring the lived experiences of wāhine Māori* is contextualised. Then, research aim 2: *how mauri states shift during the processing of intergenerational trauma* is critically interpreted.

Identified mauri states.

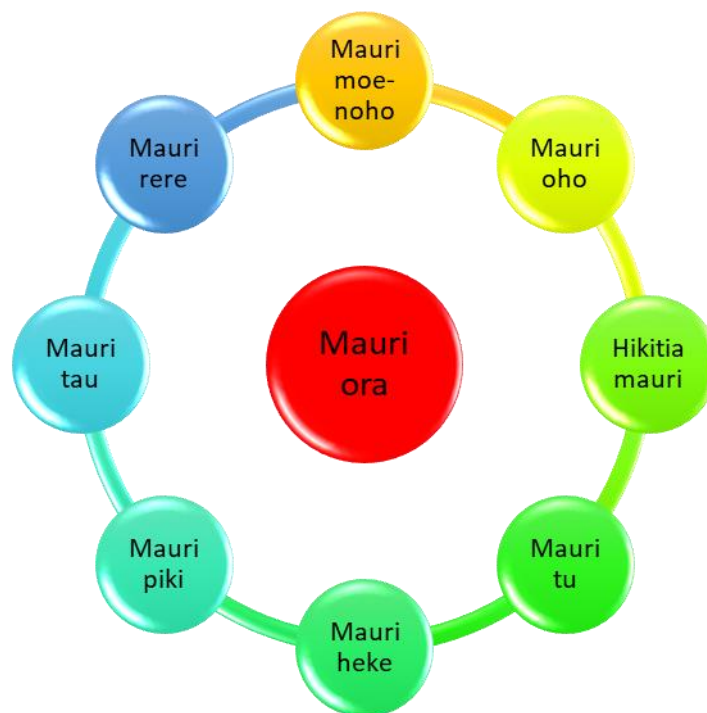


Figure 6

A Radical Cycle Depicting the Interconnection of Mauri States and Trauma Processing

Nine mauri states were identified: mauri moe/noho; mauri oho; mauri rere; mauri tau; mauri tu; mauri piki; mauri heke; hikitia mauri; mauri ora and are presented in figure 6. The

mauri states were found to be amendable and interconnected, shifting according to the interpretation of intergenerational trauma processing experienced by the wāhine Māori participants.

Increased awareness of the relationship between mauri and trauma processing is hypothesised to have led to elevated levels of attunement, aiding the assessment and responsivity to trauma processing needs. This effect was witnessed in the ability of the wāhine Māori to anticipate and thereafter evoke specific mauri states deemed beneficial to their trauma processing experience(s). As such, the integration of traumatic experiences increased and improved through lived experience, with the wāhine Māori attending to and processing multiple aspects of intergenerational trauma. The effectiveness of this type of trauma processing resulted in significant positive effects on processing capacities, alignment of the tripartite and mauri ora.

What follows is a functional analysis of the nine mauri states with each mauri state contextualised within the lived experience of processing intergenerational trauma as wāhine Māori. Therefore, reiterating the connection of episteme, the tripartite and mauri states within experience (srr chapter 4).

Mauri Moe/Noho

Mauri moe is often used interchangeably with mauri noho, considered an inactive state as well as a pre-active state. Pohatu (2011) discussed mauri moe/noho as untapped, limitless potential, unawareness, non-participation, and inactivity. This state is considered a space where latent potentials awaiting activation are generated or where the conscious pursuit for respectful and beneficial relationships begin. Mauri moe/noho was therefore found to occur during periods where the wāhine Māori were unaware HTR, trauma transmission and the effects of intergenerational trauma. As processing progressed, mauri moe/noho was also experienced as a state to wānanga, where the wāhine would practice reflexivity and take stock of their experience, re-evaluating their next steps in their

processing. Mauri moe/noho in these cases was differentiated to mauri tau as the wāhine were not in a state of peace or balance. Instead, the wāhine Māori interpreted mauri moe/noho as a break or pause in processing, sometimes enforced from circumstances outside of their control, rather than a state of mindful rest and rejuvenation.

Mauri Rere

Mauri rere is a state of volatility, flightiness, agitation, untethered and inability to ground the Self (Pohatu, 2011). When experienced as a reactive mauri state, it represents the presence of trauma and forced wairua separation (Murray, 2019). Mauri rere presented when the wāhine interpreted their processing as overwhelming, threatening, or where change had occurred rapidly and exceeded internal and external resources. However, mauri rere was also used intentionally to provoke change. The unbalancing of the tripartite (internal homeostasis) through the tinana (heavy physical exertion) triggered a mauri rere response that allowed access to aspects of wairuatanga in an intentional manner used to process and integrate trauma experiences (Te Waati, 2020).

Mauri Oho

Mauri oho is a proactive state where one is awoken from the state of mauri moe/noho encouraged by gaining new knowledges and understandings (Pohatu, 2011). The determinants of this awakening depend on personal characteristics, circumstance, and contextual factors such as time, issues, and relationships (Panapa, 2020). Mauri oho was associated with experiences of increasing awareness and enlightenment, particularly of collective historical trauma, grief and conflict faced by Māori/whānau and recognising patterned trauma responses. Mauri oho was also actively sought and seen as beneficial in

growing alternative narratives that developed personal interpretational frames related to identity and trauma processing.

Mauri Tau

Mauri tau describes the condition of the mauri when settled, grounded and in balanced alignment (tripartite) (Panapa, 2020). Mauri tau allows the mauri to rest and rejuvenate particularly after being in states such as rere or oho, which tend to exert large amounts of energy and are emotionally volatile (Morgan et al., 2013). Mauri tau facilitated the regulation of emotional responses during the processing tasks where mauri rere was predominant, encouraging the wāhine to reinterpret their experiences from a balanced perspective. Therefore, mauri tau practices promoted mindfulness that allowed the wāhine Māori a sense of peace and reprieve. However, due to the intentional challenging of patterned trauma responses that created intergenerational homeostasis (trauma processing attempts to address issues that misaligned the tripartite), the balance provided by mauri tau was consistently disrupted. Interestingly, as processing progressed, the presence of mauri tau increased, which was hypothesised as the rebalancing the tripartite (Murray, 2019).

Hikitia Mauri

Hikitia mauri is identified as practices, people and places that were helpful in supporting the transformation of mauri states, easing shifts from one state to another (Te Waati, 2020). Durie (2017) also has stipulated the crucial need for supportive and uplifting relationships in benefitting the mauri. Further, Brave Heart (2000) espoused that community cohesion and culturally inclusive activities promoted support within relational activities. For the wāhine Māori these activities and people included meaningful experiences, kaupapa whānau and rāhui.

Mauri Heke

Mauri heke is defined as the diminishing of vitality of the mauri brought about through pūngao exertion, although not fully reaching a state of mauri moe (Morgan et al., 2013). Mauri heke was associated with experiences that involved addressing patterned trauma responses, revisiting historical grievances and disenfranchised grief. Such experiences were initially interpreted as draining energy and resources. However, instances of mauri heke decreased as processing progressed, hypothesised as the result of increased resilience to triggers and processing layered trauma.

Mauri Piki

Mauri piki is understood as an increase in vitality of the mauri (Wilson, 2020). Here the mauri is enhanced, invigorated from a state of depletion or mauri heke (Morgan et al., 2013). The wāhine Māori utilised mauri piki by immersing themselves in experiences such as forgiveness, planning towards the future and goal setting that enabled direction, purposefulness, and empathy during trauma processing.

Mauri Tu

Mauri tu is related to upholding values. Pohatu (2011) described this state as exercising internal skills and attributes, or by participating in Self-development, collaborating with whānau, and engaging with hapū and iwi. Mauri tu was conceptualised as a stabilising state within the processing of intergenerational trauma, acting as a form of strength and

courage when attempts to re-establish homeostatic responses (mauri and trauma) were perceived. Therefore, mauri tu supported the wāhine in being steadfast in their processing of intergenerational trauma, particularly when challenged. Mauri tu was therefore crucial in reducing the movement into mauri heke, and mauri moe/noho unnecessarily. Consequently, no major regressive experiences were identified within the trauma processing of the wāhine Māori.

Mauri Ora

The processing of intergenerational trauma was seen to positively impact the movement towards mauri ora. Penehira (2019) explained this process as where the mauri is transformed by the infusion of life itself. Therefore, by increasing their responsiveness to the mauri states, processing and integrating their experiences of intergenerational trauma, the wāhine Māori moved further from mate (disease/death), the ill-effects attributed to intergenerational trauma (see chapter 1, p.2), and misalignment of the tripartite (see chapter 7, p.24) towards thriving. Durie discussed this relationship stating that mauri ora should be thought of as thriving, flourishing, and living well. This does not mean the absolute absence of trauma or grief, but that individuals will possess the capacity, resources, knowledge, and resilience to process such experiences in meaningful ways that aids overall wellbeing (2015).

The findings reiterated these effects, with the identified mauri states highlight issues within experience to signal needed shifts to attain mauri ora. Further, as the wāhine Māori processed their intergenerational trauma, clarity and informed decision making improved (Pohatu, 2004). Cromer et al. (2018) agreed, stating that clarity about experiences increases the likelihood that transformational action will occur when processing intergenerational trauma.

The strive towards mauri ora became a driving force for the wāhine Māori explicitly sharing the development of their use of holistic wellbeing ideologies drawn from Mātauranga, and their intentional desire for transformative action in their lives and the lives of their whānau. Consequently, the wāhine Māori sought to produce and invest in experiences that

would increase the likelihood of maintaining high levels of mauri ora during the processing of intergenerational trauma, interpreted as an active and continual process.

Intergenerational trauma processing.

The structure of this analysis will replicate that of the preliminary findings section presenting the whakarōpū themes: Rationalising the experience of processing intergenerational trauma and (subthemes 1-5); Factors associated with resolving historical grief and trauma and (subthemes 1-5); Alternative explanatory models and (subthemes 1-2); Developing a strong identity as mana wahine and (subthemes 1-2). The objective being to extensively explore how mauri states shifted during the processing of intergenerational trauma by the wāhine Māori participants.

Rationalising the experience of processing intergenerational trauma.



Rationalising the experience of processing intergenerational trauma presented early in analysis. The wāhine Māori actively sought to (re)interpret and (re)evaluate their experiences in a sensical manner creating meaning from their processing experience. However, it became apparent that other interrelated aspects were present when rationalising their experience(s). The first of which was Mātauranga.

Mātauranga was used to create and (re)define frameworks and theories about the experience of intergenerational trauma and mauri. Rationalisation moved beyond surface level understandings towards developing complex and extensive ideas that were then applied practically within lived experience. Such applied knowledge added meaning to the processing

experience by producing tangible feedback used in assessment by the wāhine Māori. Therefore, exploring their current knowledge assumptions encouraged the wāhine Māori to ask critical questions about their interpretation of intergenerational trauma and trauma processing. This strategy was beneficial in understanding their processing style, utilising indigeneity, contextualising unresolved grief, and trialling various knowledge transmission methods. The critical thinking gained by exploring their knowledge bases and addressing the impact this had on their sensemaking was considered empowering and enlightening, reflecting mauri oho.

Thereafter, the wāhine Māori developed their own Mātauranga concerning intergenerational trauma, trauma processing and the connection to mauri as a wellbeing ideology. The wāhine actively shared this integrative process within their respective whānau. *Pūrākau* about their whaea tupuna (female ancestor(s)) were interpreted as Mātauranga wāhine and as a method to navigate specific challenges experienced by identifying as wāhine Māori when processing intergenerational trauma. *Pūrākau* were also used to revisit whakapapa: family genealogy and the genealogy of their trauma(s). These knowledges, tools, and skills were informative and interpreted as respecting the lived experiences of their whaea. Moreover, protective of their future generations. Therefore, the continued adaption of the *pūrākau* was sensical and meaningful (Lawson-Te Aho, 2014), informing the processing of their lived experiences. Further, *pūrākau* supported behavioural changes within the wāhine Māori participants whānau and cycles of influence fostering mauri piki, mauri tu and hikitia mauri. Durie (2001) called such a notion as *setting kawa*, where individuals or whānau develop their own variations of tikanga that is reflective of their context and circumstance, grounded in values that support wellbeing.

The *reading of tohu* was utilised in assessing and re-evaluating aspects of the processing experience. Tohu were interpreted as more than just psychological reasoning and were experienced as deep, profound, and meaningful experiences that adaptively guided and protected the wāhine Māori during their processing, increasing the responsivity to mauri states. The development of tohu reading as a skill supports the notion that the wairua seeks to protect the tinana and mauri from trauma (Murray, 2019). Given the impact of historical trauma, it is considered adaptive for the wairua to be vigilant and astute in recognising signs consistent with previous experiences of trauma. Consequently, the wāhine Māori utilised

tohu to not only rationalise the past and their current experiences but also strategically, to better position future experiences and ease processing pressures. Tohu reading was practiced internally and externally, therefore was an evaluative strategy. In doing so, the wāhine proactively protected their mauri from unnecessary challenges and changes, increasing the predictability of certain aspects of their processing experience.

Protecting the mauri was significant, as compounding life stressors during the processing of intergenerational trauma meant an increased likelihood that the mauri would be strained and susceptible to depletion, experienced as mauri heke (Morgan et al., 2013). Accordingly, the wāhine Māori actively sought to reduce the negative impact of their own processing on others to maintain respectful healthy relationships and were selective about their engagement with those perceived as being less aware of this relationship. Consequently, *meaningful learning experiences* were interpreted as beneficial in supporting the relationship between the processing of intergenerational trauma and mauri. Opportunities that increased the understanding and awareness of both notions were highly sought after and recognised as personal development that served themselves and their whānau, past, present, and future. The wāhine identified critical thinking as advantageous in challenging their current understandings and reclaiming Indigenous knowledge perspectives as meaningful. Connective practices such as visiting Te Taiao, investing in whakawhānaungatanga and manaakitanga, were also found to produce experiences considered meaningful to trauma processing and mauri ora enhancing.

Factors associated with resolving historical grief and trauma responses.



The second major processing theme; *factors associated with resolving historical grief and trauma responses* was identified as significant, with the wāhine Māori developing effective strategies to attend to the interconnected aspects of collective historical trauma and their lived experiences of intergenerational trauma. The first factor, *adaptive ritualised behaviours*, instilled certainty during times of volatility, managing mauri rere with behaviours that promoted mauri tau. The grounding that ritualised behaviours provided enabled the wāhine Māori to process multiple layers of trauma; historical and lived, at a rapid pace without causing excessive levels of mauri rere or mauri heke, maintaining a sense of controlled momentum.

Trauma processing using this structure decreased the exertion of mauri and enabled the wāhine Māori to remain connected to their own identity when revisiting the lives of their tupuna (LePera, 2021). The adaptive ritualised behaviours extended beyond psychological and emotional responses to include physical, whānau, and cultural health, fostering the alignment of the tripartite that benefits mauri ora, and included setting daily intentions, meditation, regular exercise and learning te reo Māori. LePera (2021) also stated that utilising ritualised behaviours regularly is disruptive to subconscious patterning transmitted through families, evident in intergenerational trauma understood as mauri moe/noho. Consequently, the habitual use of mauri tau behaviours could be said to reverse-engineer the accumulation of historical grief and trauma responses, cultivating new healthier experiences.

Rāhui conceptualised as *the use of boundaries* reflected the connection between collective historical trauma, intergenerational trauma, and the impact on the mauri. It is here where boundaries of experience intersect through whakapapa (Sadler, 2014). The wāhine Māori responded, exercising the use of boundaries to keep their mauri safe, whilst recognising that past occurrences play a fundamental role in their current experience(s) and needed to be processed. It was also acknowledged by the wāhine Māori that mauri permeates relational environments, as such their children were of particular concern when revisiting and involving themselves in historical issues that had the potential to be triggering and shift mauri states. The ability to confront boundary issues with honesty supported reality-testing, with the wāhine Māori seeking personal clarity that engendered authentic connection to the Self and accountability within their processing. These interpretations of reality were challenged within their whānau, from society and by themselves. Each wāhine experienced the

challenges of rāhui differently, either expressed as mauri oho, mauri rere, and even at times mauri tau, by gaining peace through investing to their own sensemaking and practicing internal validation.

The use of boundaries and perspective-taking organically produced aspects of forgiveness. *Forgiveness* was intentional and actively participated in, grounded in mahana or empathy and compassion (see chapter 7, p.34). The process of forgiveness was not straightforward and unhindered, with moments of confliction occurring. Although, conflicting feelings were eventually superseded by the realisation that the more liberating approach was to forgive freely and willingly. The process of forgiveness was aided by accepting that others were at different stages of processing and thereafter impacted by the effects of intergenerational trauma differently (Pouwhare, 2020). Further, the wāhine Māori acknowledged that they were once in a similar place and that whilst forgiveness is often uncomfortable, it is beneficial to trauma processing (Rata, et al., 2008). Such attitudes characterise mauri tu, with the recognition of personal values and the respect for differing experiences.

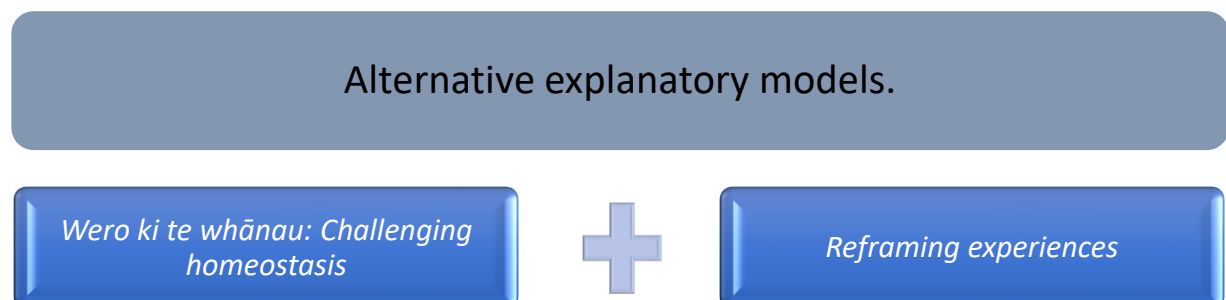
Having a *kaupapa whānau* or others who share similar values and ideologies was also considered a factor in resolving historical grief and unresolved trauma. Mead (2003) acknowledged that working collaboratively with others towards an agreed-upon kaupapa strengthened the mana and mauri, specifically hikitia mauri. The mentorship offered through kaupapa whānau was also mana-enhancing, utilising the tuakana-teina relationship. Henceforth, manaakitanga in this context, developed skills that inspired the wāhine to grow in areas where limitations were perceived to exist, addressing issues of mauri heke, growing mauri piki. These sentiments are similar to Beltrán and Begun (2014) who stated the importance of support from like-minded others when understanding the impact of historical trauma for Indigenous people(s), by providing safe and secure relationships conducive to processing complex relational trauma, such as intergenerational trauma.

The wāhine Māori actively sought safe and secure relationships to process their connection to historical grief and trauma. These relationships often were external to their immediate whānau, who had their own processing needs that were not easily accessible due to patterned unresolved grief and trauma responses. It is not to say that manaakitanga does not exist within these whānau, but rather that the dynamics of intergenerational trauma

manifest differently, triggering grief and trauma responses that can impede collaborative work (Pouwhare, 2020). However, where grief and trauma responses were identified within whānau, the wāhine Māori utilised hikitia mauri to model the skills they had learned within their kaupapa whānau, to work more effectively towards healthy whānau engagement.

Wānanga with the Self was an introspective tool that the wāhine interpreted as producing clarity, purpose, and internal strength throughout their processing, characterised as mauri moe/noho. This activity enabled the wāhine to prioritise their processing needs, taking time away from their usual responsibilities and the busyness of contemporary society that can obscure layered and complex trauma (Wilson, 2020). Perceived social pressures were seen by the wāhine Māori as hindering aspects of processing intergenerational trauma, causing the continual detachment and disconnection to experience. Therefore, wānanga was used as a form of resistance to social behaviours thought of as oppressive to the healing of wāhine Māori, and where the participants could intentionally respond to triggers that emerged when attempting to resolve historical trauma and unresolved grief.

Therefore, wānanga enabled the wāhine to be present and recognise how circumstances were influencing their interpretation of experiences. How this was practiced was diverse, nevertheless the function was similar, with the wāhine addressing their experiences unpacking the layered responses and working to resolve deeper levels of historical trauma and grief. Wānanga was also understood as a place of transience, with the time being spent gaining knowledge, tools, and perspective. Thus, the integration of experience and the movement towards mauri oho were the key factors in this aspect of processing.



Holding alternative explanatory models about the experience of intergenerational trauma was identified as the third major processing theme. This theme is believed to demonstrate higher degrees of integration where the wāhine began to synthesise their experiences. The wāhine Māori were shown to have developed alternative conceptualisations of their experience(s), by challenging intergenerational patterned responses and thereafter reframing their experiences of processing trauma.

When *challenging the homeostasis* that existed within their respective families, the wāhine Māori executed this aspect of processing dependant of their whānau dynamics, with differing historical and contextual elements present. Additionally, although attempts were made to address patterned responses at whānau levels directly, the most significant challenge to intergenerational homeostasis was at the individual level. The wāhine Māori interpreted this challenge as more effective and efficient when role-modelling alternative processing perspectives.

An interesting method utilised by the wāhine Māori in attending to homeostatic patterns was to challenge the mana of the patterned trauma responses whilst upholding the tapu of others. This was achieved by acknowledging the various interpretations of intergenerational trauma and the impact on lives as valid, however the need to address responses that do not serve the mauri of the whānau and its members. The mauri of the whānau was thus reshaped through practicing whakawhānaungatanga and investing in manaakitanga (Wirihana & Smith, 2012), based-on the premise that each whānau member has their own trauma processing needs that are also impacted relationally. Hence, both individual and whānau mauri were conceptualised as important aspects of processing intergenerational trauma.

The *reframing of experience* was another component key to creating alternative explanatory models, creating major shifts in how intergenerational trauma was conceptualised and internalised. A significant movement away from deficiency-based and oppressive conceptualisations of trauma and the Self were found, with the wāhine interpreting themselves as healing, Self-healers, and Self-determining. External validation surrounding their experiences of intergenerational trauma progressively minimised as they mobilised internal resources, creating space for more transformational thinking and being to occur. This strategy ignited the mauri by reducing interpretations that attacked the tapu and

mauri of the wāhine, and thereafter increased opportunities for the internalisation of mana-enhancing experiences (Huriwai & Baker, 2016). The wāhine Māori were thus able to whakamana themselves, acknowledging the validity of their trauma experiences, and in doing so formed healthier interpretations and responses.

Identification as mana wahine.

Whanonga pono: Values



Tino rangatiratanga: Self-determining

The identification as mana wahine was subsequently found to be significant. The wāhine Māori expressed a desire to embody positive characteristics and *values* of a Māreikura, mother, grandmother and pou (symbol of support), as they believed that these characteristics of mauri tu would benefit their processing and support their whānau. This sense of purposeful activity directed their processing and the transmitting of healing strategies (Lawson-Te Aho, 2013). Such values profoundly influenced the experiences of the wāhine Māori when nurturing healthy relationships. However, there were also instances where their values were contested, as they traversed socio-cultural landscapes that have been maintained generationally. The challenges were not only from external sources but also internalised narratives that would occasionally arise and were interpreted as restrictive to processing, inducing uncertainty and states of mauri rere.

Conscientisation of such characteristics within processing experience made it permissible for the wāhine to assert their own *tino rangatiratanga* and act in their own best interests. Evoking mauri tu increased their resolve to make firm decisions against commonly held beliefs perceived to subjugate their ability to be Self-determining (Gemmell, 2013). By growing their skills and capacity to manage such effects of intergenerational trauma, the wāhine Māori strengthened narratives of mana wahine and their capacity to achieve mauri ora.

He kupu whakamutunga (Chapter summary).

Chapter 9 presented the four major themes and the subsequent subthemes, with an initial layer of analysis contextualising the sensemaking process of the wāhine Māori, followed by a further in-depth examination of the identified mauri states, and how these mauri states shifted throughout the processing of intergenerational trauma. Chapter 10 provides a discussion of the results, as well as introduces the Mauri-Trauma Processing Framework. This is followed by a section on significance, implications, and limitations of this thesis. To conclude, a closing chapter summary is provided.

Te wāhanga tekau (Chapter 10).

Kōrerorero (Discussion).

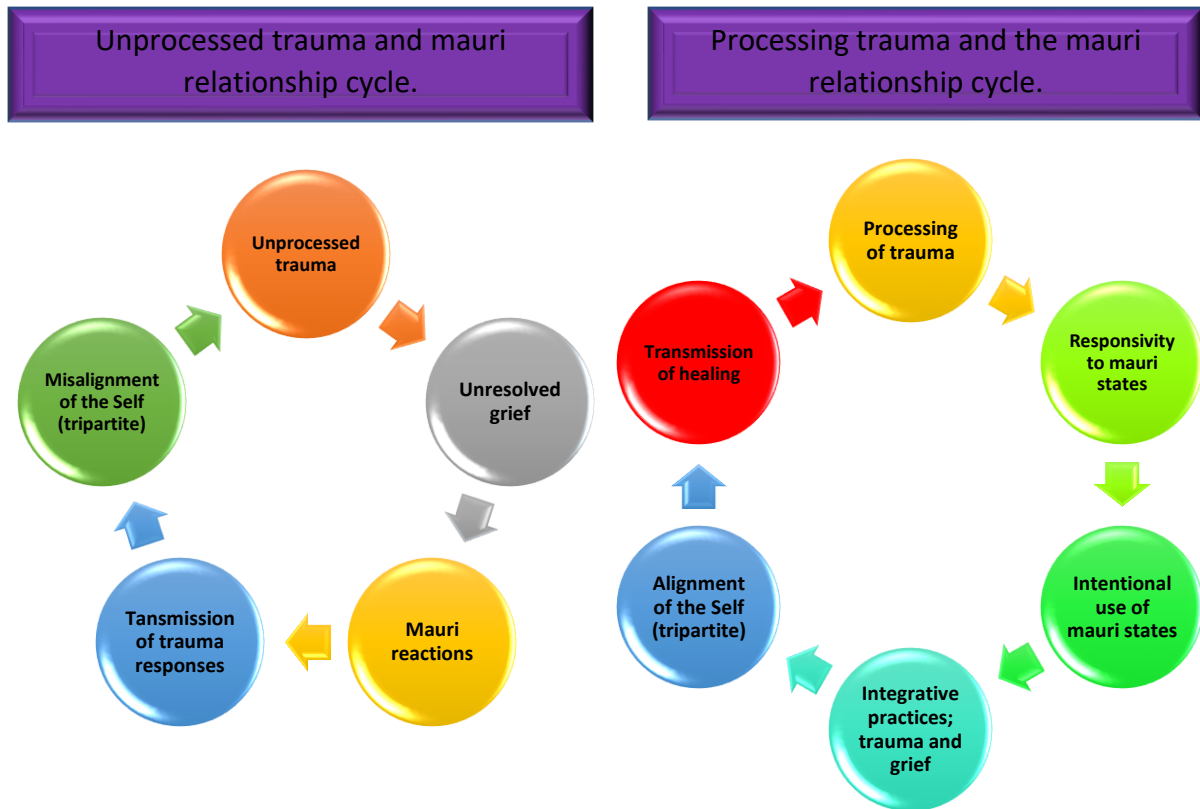


Figure 7

Cycles of Unprocessed Trauma and Mauri Relationship cycle vs Processing Trauma and Mauri Relationship.

Figure 7 depicts the cycle of unprocessed and processed intergenerational trauma from the findings. Key changes identified within the cycle of processing are responsivity to mauri states, intentional use of mauri states, integrative practices addressing trauma responses and resolving grief, the alignment of the tripartite and the transmission of healing practices. It is believed that by repetitively cycling and making needed adjustments to their trauma processing, the wāhine Māori progressively worked through layers of intergenerational trauma. Ultimately, reshaping their relationship with the trauma and the tripartite.

The *Mauri-Trauma Processing Framework* is conceptualised as a method of discussing the relationship between identified mauri states and the processing of intergenerational trauma generated from the findings, depicted in figure 8.

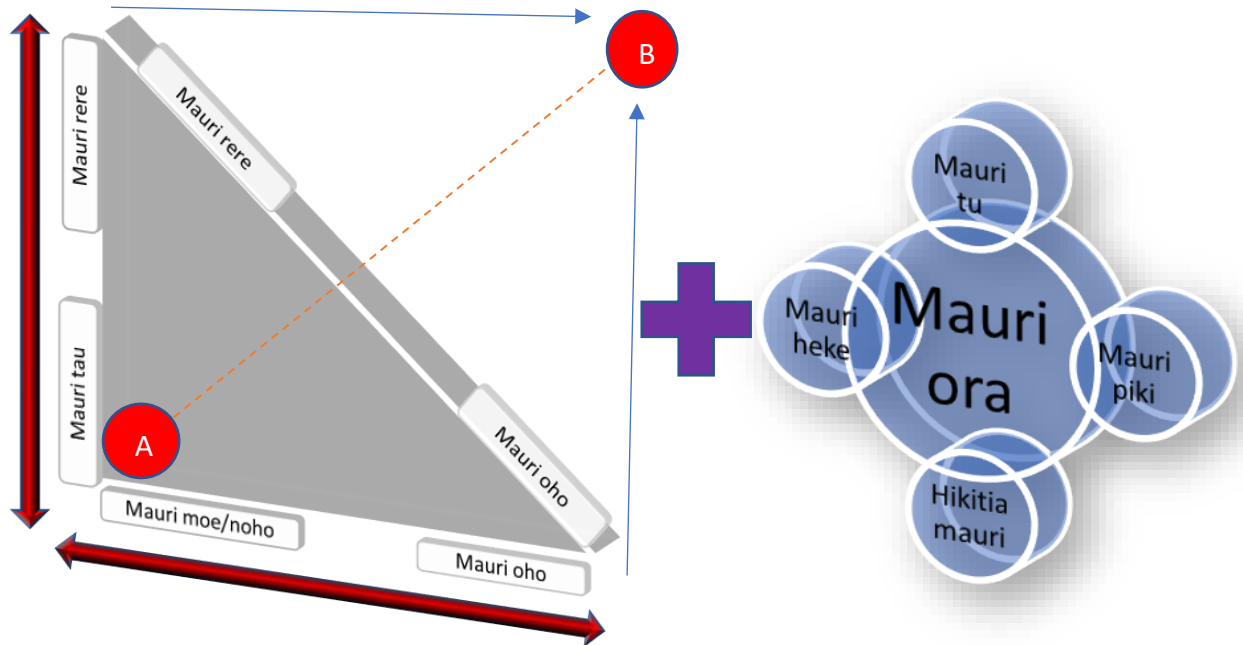
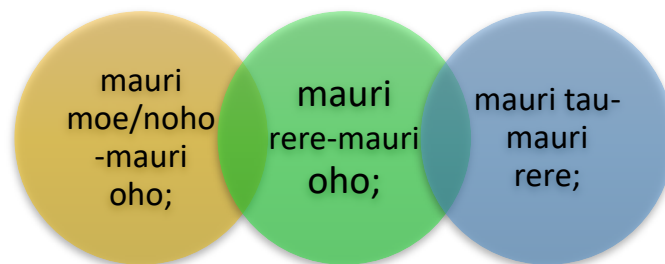


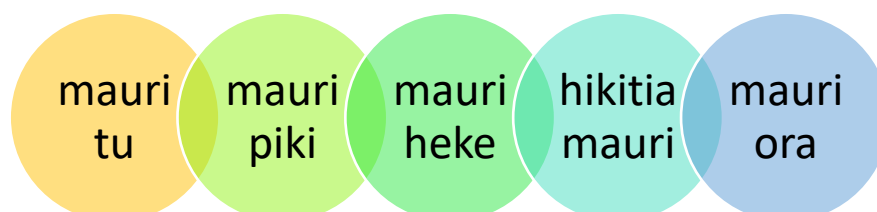
Figure 8

Diagram Depicting the Mauri-Trauma Processing Framework Derived from the Findings

The left aspect of figure 8 illustrates three continuums:



The right aspect of figure 8 illustrates the mauri states:



Mauri tu; mauri piki, mauri heke, hikitia mauri and mauri ora are all considered significant influencing factors, however, were not directly attributed to the specific act of processing intergenerational trauma. The points A and B represent minimal and maximum trauma processing/integration potentials respectively, with the relational aspects discussed below.

The relationship between *mauri moe/noho-mauri oho* was characterised as growing an awareness (mauri oho) of intergenerational trauma from a state of unknowingness (mauri moe/noho). Similarly, the movement between a state of stillness (mauri moe/noho) and increased participation in processing (mauri oho) are both considered to represent a continuum of conscious awareness and action needed to intentionally process intergenerational trauma. Pohatu (2011) stated that both interpretations of this continuum are a necessary part of trauma processing and reflects normative responses to trauma and grief. Therefore, the continuum is more accurately conceptualised as latent potential waiting to be processed, as opposed to pathology. The mechanisms of the *mauri moe/noho-mauri oho* continuum also reflects the impact of disenfranchised grief on intergenerational trauma processing, with the inability to access and resolve trauma compounded over lifetimes (Doka, 1989), and the importance of conscious awareness gained through revisiting and re-narrating HTR (Lawson Te-Aho, 2014).

The trauma processing relationship between *mauri oho-mauri rere* was characterised by increased levels of mauri oho equating to increased levels of mauri rere. For example, as mauri oho (conscious awareness about intergenerational trauma) increased, mauri rere (volatility) also increased. The wāhine Māori were found to intentionally elicit levels of mauri rere to stimulate discomfort within trauma processing, denoted as growth.

Fisher (1999) described this process (within therapeutic intervention) as triggering aspects of trauma to address responses, whilst tethering the client to their current reality-redressing security and growing Self competency when processing overwhelming past experiences. This was also explained as accessing dissociated experiences held within the subconscious through altered states of consciousness (Lynn, 2008), and discussed by Te Waati

(2020) as accessing levels of wairuatanga through takutaku or deep mediative states activated through the use of breath and focused attention, tinana aspects.

Such trauma processing is sensical given the discussion of Murray (2019) pertaining to the separation of the wairua from the tripartite as a consequence of trauma, with the reconnection to the wairua and the tinana imperative to processing experiences of trauma. For the wāhine Māori, this approach also meant accessing their whakapapa through mauri rere to process collective HTR, increasing their awareness through mauri oho. Therefore, accessing the wairua aspect of the Self through mauri rere was seen as comparable to accessing dissociated spaces within the subconscious when processing trauma, an interesting proposal that needs further exploration.

Emotional responses to the mauri relationship of *mauri oho-rere* were interpreted as anxiety and/or excitation. Over time, uncontrolled emotional responses or feelings of anxiety were seen to decrease by evoking mauri tau through grounding practices, improving emotional regulation and efficiency within processing.

It is theorised that prolonged and frequent experiences at either ends of the mauri continuum (point A: *mauri tau-mauri moe/noho*) and (point B: *mauri oho-mauri rere*) (see figure 8) are not beneficial to the processing of intergenerational trauma, with insufficient or excessive amounts of information predominating experience (Lynn, 2008). Further, prolonged experiences at the extreme end of both continuums is hypothesised to have inhibiting effects on the mauri ora or exacerbating tripartite responses that increase the likelihood of unsafe trauma processing. Murray (2019) believed that such uncontrolled trauma processing meant that experience(s) were less likely to be integrated or would provoke major distress that inhibits appropriate integration by triggering tinana and wairua reactions.

Therefore, the appropriate use of the continuum *mauri tau-mauri moe/noho* through practices such as wānanga and karakia are considered important to effective trauma processing (Mākiha, 2018). Wānanga in this regard is intentional deliberation, safeguarded through appropriate karakia or purposeful critical engagement (Te Waati, 2020), imperative in sensemaking and integrating traumatic experiences (Smith, 2019).

Additionally, mauri tu (stabilising effect), hikitia mauri (factors that support the mauri) mauri piki (invigoration) and mauri heke (depletion, regression) were found to impact the

interpretation of trauma processing capacities. For instance, growing indigeneity through culturally grounded values proposed as *mauri tu*, encouraged intentional decisions that prioritised the needs of the *wāhine Māori*, acting as a stabilising effect within trauma processing. Stabilisation utilising Indigenous sensemaking methods was found to be particularly important when attempting to process layered trauma found within intergenerational trauma (Atkinson, 2013). Such sensemaking also reflects Duran's (2006) work, which advocated Self-worth through collective values that created a stabilised connection to the Self and the Indigenous soul impacted through trauma.

Likewise, when practices that evoked *hikitia mauri* were utilised, the *wāhine Māori* were able to integrate higher levels of experience, supportive of Durie (2015) who discussed actualising Māori potential through healthy relationships, including the Self. Processing trauma and integrating traumatic experiences must be supported, externally as well as emanating from within (LePera, 2021). Further, the ability to strengthen oneself, characterised as *mauri piki* was found to be important in sustaining high levels of processing before the depleting effects of *mauri heke* were felt (Pohatu, 2011), improving resilience that prevented major regressive episodes. A similar process was found within the study by George et al. (2019), stating that *wāhine Māori* thrive and would uplift themselves when hope and purpose are present, aiding their trauma processing capacities when attending to intergenerational trauma.

The *mauri* states demonstrated significant interconnectivity and responsivity to the needs of the *wāhine Māori* during processing experience(s) with a harmonising effect noticeable, as one *mauri* state was used to counterbalance another. Again, although an equilibrium of sorts existed, it was not constant or unwavering, as the *wāhine Māori* disrupted this balance challenging themselves, others, and arguably greater socio-cultural forces by actively (re)processing their intergenerational trauma, pushing the parameters of their identity within many spaces (Cavino, 2019).

The relationship between *mauri* and the processing of intergenerational trauma did vary in degree and quality and is seen as idiosyncratic with personality, interpretation and integration of previous experiences, context, cultural competency, and social factors that impacted the conceptualisation and application of *mauri* states. Similar notions were identified by Brave Heart-Jordan (1988) when exploring processing methods and healing

trajectories of Indigenous people(s), noting issues of layered trauma impacting the context and circumstances of intergenerational trauma processing. Like so, the wāhine Māori were found to cycle through phases of knowledge acquisition, integration, and application and have begun to transmit these strategies to the next generation(s). These findings concur with Isobel et al.'s (2019) discussion, with many ways to interpret what is needed when processing intergenerational trauma.

Consequently, The Mauri-Trauma Processing Framework delivers an insightful perspective to how mauri states can be used to aid intergenerational trauma processing from a culturally informed and appropriate perspective. The findings that ground the framework are believed to be related to the success experienced by the wāhine Māori and encouraged the continuation of their trauma processing. Such an effect was particularly evident when distress was elevated, trauma responses triggered, intra-psychic and interpersonal relationships strained, and energy low. The sensemaking provided by the Mauri-Trauma Processing Framework therefore is believed to answer the research question by *informing and improving our understanding of the relationship between mauri and the processing of intergenerational trauma*.

Hiranga (Significance).

The findings of this research are significant to Indigenous psychologies, Māori psychology, the trauma field, KMR and mana wāhine research. Firstly, by supporting the significance of Indigenous epistemes, theories, and practices related to wellbeing and wellbeing related issues (Smith, 2012) and positioned within existing literature, conceptualises mauri as a living and fluid wellbeing ideology; adaptive, responsive and an interconnected network (Durie, 2015; Pohatu, 2011). Further, corroborating the use of culturally informed knowledge in processing intergenerational trauma (Quinn, 2019; Roy, 2015). Consequently, strengthening the rationale that Mātauranga and precolonial methods of processing trauma augmented by critical analysis of HTR is significant to trauma processing, particularly layered and complex trauma found within intergenerational trauma (Abrams, 1999; Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998; Pihama, 2017). Therefore, this thesis adds to the growing

body of Indigenous research and Māori psychology that affirms psychological sensemaking informed, guided, and developed through Mātauranga (Hikuroa et al., 2011). Mātauranga that is representative of the wisdom held within Māori ideologies and lived experience(s) of wāhine Māori (Jenkins & Pihama, 2001), and crucial to the interpretation and sensemaking needed in trauma processing (Cromer et al., 2018). Murray (2019) concurred, espousing the importance of affirming and normalising Mātauranga that acknowledges mauri as a crucial component of an integrative Self (tripartite) impacted by intergenerational trauma.

The findings are further significant as they echo the movement beyond subjugation and deficiency-based trauma narratives towards the intentional investment into the processing capabilities of wāhine Māori (Pihama, 2020). Equally, they add to whakapapa kōrero that promotes knowledge transmission germane with Māori worldviews and narratives that reflect the trauma processing needs of wāhine Māori (Simmonds, 2011).

Finally, the findings are significant in supporting the use of KMR and mana wāhine research that facilitate a broader scope of enquiry and enable the identification and exploration of Māori wellbeing notions like that of mauri states, and experiences that are of interest to Māori such as the processing of intergenerational trauma (Smith, 2012). Through these methodologies' significant changes in psychological, emotional, physical, whānau and wairua wellbeing were found that possibly would not have been accessible using other narrower epistemological and methodological means.

Ngā hīraunga (Implications).

Implications of this research relate to clinical practice and the development of diagnostic criteria used to inform assessment and specific therapeutic interventions for intergenerational trauma. Exploring the interpretation of intergenerational trauma through lived experiences provided a depth of nuanced and generalised themes that advance the way intergenerational trauma is conceptualised and understood. Additionally, the Mauri-Trauma Processing Framework as a therapeutic intervention could be used to inform, and guide trauma processing grounded in cultural knowledge and augmented by lived experience. The framework works to normalise experiences of trauma processing, offering explanations of

psychological, emotional, physical, wairua and whānau changes that manifest, impacting individual mauri states and other interrelated mauri relationships. Additionally, the research findings create an opportunity to explore the utility of the Mauri-Trauma Processing Framework with other trauma type(s), and Māori in general.

The implications of this research also extend further beyond clinical psychology and the trauma field, aligning with socio-cultural advocacy promoting the attendance to wider historical and socio-political issues that influence the experience of intergenerational trauma and processing trajectories. Therefore, the dissemination and generation of critical discussions at institutional levels such as within the government, education, healthcare, and social systems is equally as important to the processing of intergenerational trauma for Māori and other Indigenous people(s).

[Ngoikoretanga \(Limitations\).](#)

A suggested limitation of this research was the various levels of cultural knowledge, particularly pertaining to mauri. A distinct difference in awareness was observed, with intergenerational trauma more widely discussed and conceptualised than mauri states. The participants were able to apply and analyse their lives through the theory of intergenerational trauma with ease and in detail. The added capacity within this area meant that the topic of intergenerational trauma and its processing heavily dominated the interviews. Possible explanations for this occurrence are that the processing of intergenerational trauma is highly emotive and requires attention and sensitivity when discussed. Further, that to access the experience of intergenerational trauma, the wāhine had to work through layers of other compounded trauma, and that this takes considerable focus and time. The unaccounted dominance could be addressed by amending the interview questions more towards mauri, offsetting the stronger focus on intergenerational trauma. Or alternatively, the increased dissemination of research on mauri states in ways that are applicable to lived experience of wāhine Māori, could provide or be used to build a strong framework of understanding that is easily accessible. Lastly, with limited literature on mauri, conceptualising a theoretical framework within which the thesis could be situated, was made more challenging. However, the use of KMR and mana wāhine mitigated this effect to some extent.

✚ He kupu whakamutunga (Chapter summary).

The concluding chapter provided an extensive discussion summary analysing the findings. Discussion points examined the function of mauri states within the processing of intergenerational trauma by wāhine Māori. Idiosyncratic features were acknowledged as individualised sensemaking experiences, as well as more generalised features that demonstrated overarching psychological mechanisms of trauma processing for the wāhine Māori. A substantial number of influencing factors were discussed impacting the interpretation of trauma processing, with multiple layers of experience needing to be dissected. The Mauri-Trauma Processing Framework was discussed as a culturally appropriate method of examining trauma processing. The significance of this research for Indigenous psychologies, Māori psychology, Māori research and the trauma field were explored, followed by research and praxis implications. Limitations were critically addressed with methodological changes and future research suggestions considered as ways to attend to the issues.

Overall, it was concluded that the aims and research question were met and that the research is useful in improving the understanding of the relationship between mauri and the processing of intergenerational trauma.

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Appendix A.

Kuputaka (Glossary).

Aotearoa	New Zealand
Atua	Deity
Hapū	Sub-tribe, collection of whānau
Hau	Vitality of mauri
Hikitia mauri	To uplift the mauri
Hineahuone	First Māori woman
Hinetītama	The daughter of Tāne and Hineahuone
Hoā haere	Friend on a journey
Hohou rongo	Conflict resolution process
Io-matua-kore	Supreme being
Ira atua	Deity aspect
Ira tangata	Human aspect
Iwi	Tribe
Kai	Food
Karakia	Prayer
Kare-a-roto	Emotions
Kaupapa	Topic, agenda
Kaupapa whānau	Common interest group
Kawa	Customs within Marae, hapū and whānau (modern extension)-specific protocol.
Kohanga reo	Māori early childhood care
Kotahitanga	Together as one
Kupu	Word(s)
Maara kai	Garden
Mahana	Compassion, empathy

Mana	Strength, authority
Manaaki	Kindness, to support, to show respect
Manaakitanga	The process of showing respect, generosity, and care for others.
Manawa	Heart
Mātauranga	Knowledge (Māori)
Mātauranga wāhine	Knowledge (wāhine Māori)
Maunga	Mountain
Mauri	Life force, essence of life
Mauri heke	Languishing in mauri
Mauri moe	Depleted or resting mauri
Mauri oho	Awoken mauri
Mauri ora	Flourishing mauri
Mauri piki	Rising mauri
Mauri rere	Ungrounded mauri
Mauri tau	Grounded mauri
Mauri tu	Strong standing mauri
Mokopuna	Grandchildren
Mōteatea	Lament
Ngākau	Seat of affections
Pūngao	Energy
Noa	Common, normal
Noho puku	Abstain from eating
Pāmamae	Trauma
Patu mauri	Attack on the mauri
Patu ngākau	Attack on the heart, deep soul wound
Pōhiri	Ritual of encounter
Pono	Truth
Pou	Symbol of support

Puna	Spring, well
Pūrākau	Narratives
Rāhui	Boundaries, restrict
Rangiatea	A place in Hawaiki
Takutaku	Chant, Māori meditation
Tamariki	Children
Tangata	Person
Tangata rongonui	Special person
Taonga	Precious, gift
Tapu	Sacred
Tauira	Example
Te ao Hurihuri	Ever changing world
Te Ao Māori	Māori worldview
Te Ao Mārama	Realm of enlightenment
Te Kore	Realm of infinite potential
Te Pō	Realm of darkness
Te Taiao	The environment
Teina	Younger person, lesser experienced
Tekanga	Incorrect or inappropriate protocol
Tika	Correct
Tikanga	Correct or appropriate protocol
Tinana	Physical body
Tino rangatiratanga	Self-determination
Tohu	Sign
Tohunga	Ritual experts
Tuakana	Older person, experienced
Tuku aroha	Release love
Tupuna	Ancestor

Ūkaipō	Mother, source of sustenance
Wāhine Māori	Māori women
Wahine Māori	Māori woman
Wairua	Spirit
Wairuatanga	Spirituality
Wānanga	Deliberate
Whaea tupuna	Female ancestor
Whakanoa	To make common, remove tapu
Whakapapa	Genealogy/Layering
Whakapapa kōrero	Transmission of knowledge
Whakatau	To settle
Whakatupu uri	Off-spring
Whakawhānaungatanga	Process of establishing relationships
Whānau	Family
Whānaungatanga	Practice of family and making connections
Whare	House
Whati	Break/disturbance (once considered a bad omen)
Whenua	Land
Wiwi-wawa	To be scattered

Appendix B.

Ngā kupu whakamārama (Information sheet).

Mauri and the processing of intergenerational trauma by wāhine Māori.



Tēnā koutou katoa,

Ko Te Rarawa me Ngāpuhi nga iwi

Ko Wairoa me Ngati Korokoro ngā hapū

No Ahipara ahau

E noho ana ahau ki Paparore

Ko Hermione John taku ingoa

Ko wai au? Who am i?

My name is Hermione John, I am of Te Rarawa and Ngāpuhi descent and currently completing my Masters thesis exploring mauri, intergenerational trauma and wāhine Māori

He aha te kaupapa o tēnei rangahau? What is this research about?

This research is about wāhine Māori, intergenerational trauma and mauri. Intergenerational trauma is broadly defined as unresolved historical trauma or hara (violation of tapu) experienced at a collective level such as colonisation and at an individual-whānau level passed

down through whakapapa (biology). Intergenerational trauma can manifest differently within generations. For example, domestic violence and abuse, drug and alcohol misuse, neglect, poverty, disconnection to cultural identity, gang involvement and mental illness. The concept of mauri is of a vital essence found within living beings and implanted within relationships, places, spaces, objects and processes. This research investigates how intergenerational trauma and its effects might change our mauri states. I am interested in hearing how wāhine Māori process intergenerational trauma, and how their mauri might be affected by such experiences. The questions I will ask will explore what types of mauri present within the processing of intergenerational trauma and how this can happen, what lived experiences can transform mauri and why is this meaningful to the processing intergenerational trauma for wāhine Māori.

Ma wai ngā tāngata e whai wāhi tēnei rangahau? Who can take part in this research?

If you are 18 years and over, identify as a Māori woman and believe you have an awareness of your experience with intergenerational trauma and are willing to talk about this you can take part in this research. Due to the nature of the research topic some discomfort may occur. Every step will be taken to mitigate this potential effect. You will be given a list of available counselling services and the researcher will accommodate any time or space you need to feel safe and conformable. It is also advised that you have an emotional support system available to decrease any distress felt when sharing your experiences.

He aha āku mahi mā ngā kairangahau? What will I be asked to do?

You will be asked to have one interview with the researcher that will take between 90-120 minutes. The questions will discuss your story of working through intergenerational trauma. How this process made you feel, what things have happened, what you did about them and why these were important to your processing of intergenerational trauma.

A koha will be offered for your time and support. Kai will also be shared in the form of a cup of tea/coffee and biscuits at the end of the interview.

If you wish to receive a summary of the research results via email, post, or be a part of a discussion hui with other participants your contact details can be taken along with your preference.

He aha ōku mōtika? What are my rights as a participant?

If you decide to take part in this research, you can withdraw at any time and are free to ask any questions at any time regarding the research process. All information will be stored securely ensuring your confidentiality and will only be used for the purposes of this project.

He karanga whakamahana tenei ki a koe kia whai wāhi ki tenei rangahau.

You have been warmly invited to participate in this research.

Project Contacts

Participants are welcomed to contact the researcher and/or supervisor(s) if they have any questions about the project.

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Compulsory Statements

1. MUHEC APPLICATIONS

The following statement is compulsory and MUST be included:

Committee Approval Statement

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, Application 20/26. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Dr Gerald Harrison, Chair, Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, telephone 06 356 9099 x 83570, email humanethicsouthb@massey.ac.nz

Appendix C.

Patapatai (Interview questions).

1. What does intergenerational trauma feel like to you and what significance does it have in your life?
2. What does mauri feel like to you and what significance does it have in your life?
3. What are some significant experiences you believe increased your awareness of intergenerational trauma and mauri within your life? And how did you feel before this awareness, what was life, like beforehand?
4. How did you feel and respond to this increased awareness?
5. What are some key experiences or factors you believed helped the processing of intergenerational trauma?
6. How did you feel and respond to these experiences?
7. If you can, how would you describe your mauri (life essence) throughout this process? Are there any experiences where you have felt a significant shift or transformation in your being?
8. How do you believe your experience as a wāhine Māori has impacted the way to feel and deal with intergenerational trauma?