

Resiliency in Ethnic Minority Families

Native and Immigrant American Families

Volume 1

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Contents

Contributors	xiii
Preface	xv
Acknowledgments	xvii

I. Overview and Theory

Chapter 1 Resiliency in Ethnic Families: A Conceptual Model for Predicting Family Adjustment and Adaptation	
<i>Hamilton I. McCubbin, Marilyn A. McCubbin Anne I. Thompson and Elizabeth A. Thompson..</i>	3
Chapter 2 Race, Ethnicity, Families and Education	
<i>Gary D. Sandefur</i>	49
Chapter 3 Factors Promoting Marital Resilience Among Interracial Couples	
<i>Anna Y. Chan and Elaine Wehington.....</i>	71

II. Native Americans

II a. Native Hawaiians	
Chapter 4 Native Hawaiian (Kanaka Maoli) Culture, Mind, and Well-Being	
<i>Anthony J. Marsella, Jill Mokihana Oliveira, Carol Milani Plummer and Kamama'opono M. Crabbe</i>	93
Chapter 5 Vulnerability and Resiliency in Native Hawaiian Families Under Stress	
<i>Elizabeth A. Thompson, Hamilton I. McCubbin Anne I. Thompson and Kelly M. Elser</i>	114
Chapter 6 Native Sovereignty: A Strategy for Hawaiian Family Survival	
<i>Hauunani-Kay Trask</i>	134

Native Hawaiian (*Kanaka Maoli*) Culture, Mind, and Well-Being¹

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The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the relationship between Native Hawaiian (*kanaka maoli* or "the true people") culture, mind, and physical/psychological well-being. To accurately grasp the complex relationships among these variables, it is essential to understand the tragic history of the Native Hawaiian people and their current efforts to restore and rebuild their heritage and way of life. The Native Hawaiian people are today struggling to reestablish themselves as a sovereign nation following more than two centuries of colonial exploitation and abuse that decimated their population and destroyed their culture.²

Ultimately, their physical and psychological well-being must be understood within the context of the destructive political, social, and economic forces that led to their demoralization, powerlessness, and near decimation. These once proud people, whose ancestors had lived in Hawai'i for more than a thousand years, became strangers in their own land in less than a century following contact with Europeans, and in the process, they became victims of countless physical, psychological, and social pathologies, even as they fought desperately for dignity and survival.

In the history of the Native Hawaiian people are etched fundamental principles regarding the relationship between sociopolitical forces and human health and well-being. In the history of the Native Hawaiian people are etched irrefutable facts

which testify that human health and well-being are first and foremost sociopolitical challenges.

The Land

The Hawaiian Archipelago is comprised of shoals, reefs, and more than 132 islands formed by volcanic activity that began at the floor of the Pacific Ocean. The largest islands are Kauai, Niihau, Oahu, Maui, Molokai, Lanai, Kaho'olawe, and Hawaii. Over the passage of millions of years, they became a lush tropical paradise of flora and fauna that thrived in the isolation provided by their great distance from others lands and peoples (Nordyke, 1989).

The beauty of the Hawaiian Islands is legendary and continues to be so today in spite of development. In 1866, Mark Twain, the American writer and an early visitor to Hawaii, noted:

... the Sandwich Islands—to this day the peacefullest, restfullest, sunniest, balmiest, dreamiest haven of refuge for a worn and weary spirit the surface of the earth can offer.... There they lie, the divine islands, forever shining in the sun, forever smiling out of the sparkling sea, with its soft motling drifting cloud shadows and vagrant cat's paws of wind, forever inviting you (Frear, 1947, Quoted in Nordyke, 1989, p. xix).

Even today, amidst excessive population growth and industrialization, the Hawaiian Islands remain one of the most beautiful lands on earth, a tropical paradise that continues to fulfill idyllic dreams of tranquility and respite from the burdens of the world. This was the land to which the Native Hawaiian people first came. This was the land that was to offer them an endless bounty and an enviable harmony with nature and the spiritual world. This was also the land that would witness the continuing saga of the Native Hawaiian people's cultural growth, cultural demise, and current cultural resurgence and renewal.

The People

The question of who is a Native Hawaiian has been a topic of perennial debate, and many different criteria have been used in an effort to establish a meaningful definition. The 1959 Statehood Admissions Act defines a Native Hawaiian person as "Any descendant of the aboriginal peoples inhabiting the Hawaiian Islands in 1778." Thus, according to this definition, anyone having

any quantum of ancestral Hawaiian blood can be considered a Native Hawaiian.

Other Hawaiians have argued that only certain proportions of blood should define Native Hawaiian status (e.g., 50%). The debate is endless. However, one thing is clear—the issue of who is a Native Hawaiian must go beyond blood quanta to ethnic identity and the support and endorsement of traditional customs and practices if the Hawaiian people are to flourish and survive as a distinct cultural group.

Today, Native Hawaiian people occupy both poles of the socioeconomic and social status spectrum. For the first time in history, the Governor of the State of Hawaii has Hawaiian blood. A growing number of wealthy and influential professional and business leaders also have Native Hawaiian ancestry. Yet, the vast majority of Native Hawaiians continue to languish at the lower end of the social strata, handicapped by centuries of exploitation, abuse, and racism.

Based on health surveillance statistics, the State of Hawaii's population consists of more than 942,564 residents, excluding military members and dependents (Honolulu Star Bulletin & Advertiser, January 5, 1992, p. B-1). Of this number, it is estimated that there are approximately 202,134 mixed-blood Native Hawaiians and 9,344 pure-blood Native Hawaiians (less than 1% of the state's population). However, the 1990 federal census indicates that there are approximately 156,812 Native Hawaiians, rather than 211,478, since many Native Hawaiians failed to identify themselves as having Hawaiian ancestry.

In addition to the population that resides in the State of Hawaii, the 1990 federal census reported that 99,269 people across the mainland United States identified themselves as having Hawaiian blood (Fernandez, 1993). If one combines these totals (211,478 in Hawaii plus 99,269 out-of-state) there are an estimated 310,747 people of Native Hawaiian ancestry residing in the United States. The majority have less than 50% Hawaiian blood.

A more recent estimate of the Native Hawaiian population according to blood quantum distribution was offered by Mike (1993). This report suggested that there are fewer than 5,000 pure Hawaiian-blood (*pihā Kanaka Maoli*) people remaining. Other percentage groupings included 19,200 three-quarters to full, 64,800 one-half to three-quarters, 93,600 one-quarter to one-half, and 52,800 less than one-quarter. Truly, the Native Hawaiian bloodline and the Native Hawaiian culture are highly vulnerable.

Some Historical Considerations

The Arrival of the *Kanaka Maoli*

It is believed that the Native Hawaiian (*Kanaka Maoli*) people came to the Hawaiian Islands more than 2,000 years ago. They sailed northward thousands of miles in doubled-hulled open canoes from the Marquesas, Tahiti, and/or the Society Islands (i.e., Polynesia) navigating by the stars, the winds, and the currents, in a voyage that exceeded the distances and dangers of any comparable Western European voyage of the time (e.g., Emory, 1959; Nordyke, 1989; Stannard, 1989).

For centuries, this migration apparently continued in both directions, until the population of the Hawaiian Islands may have come to exceed 875,000 people (see Stannard, 1989), and the Hawaiian cultural traditions had become strong and well established. It is believed that migration and contact between the people of Hawai'i and the islands of their origin ceased sometime around the twelfth century, and that all subsequent growth in population occurred internally (Nordyke, 1989).

The early history of the Native Hawaiian people is largely unwritten, although 19th century newspapers offered numerous historical accounts by Native Hawaiians. However, much of what is known is derived from chants, genealogies, legends, and some early 19th century writing from royalty (*ali'i*), such as King David Kalakaua (1836–1891) (Kalakaua, 1888). One of the most important of all myths is the creation genealogy chant—the *Kumulipo* (Johnson, 1981). Although there is speculation that other groups of people had early contact with the Hawaiian Islands (e.g., shipwrecked Japanese sailors, lost Spanish Galleons), there is no substantive evidence that any other people beyond the original Hawaiian people and possibly some other Polynesian people ever visited or contacted the Hawaiian Islands prior to 1778. A number of scholarly books on Hawaiian social and political history have been written by contemporary historians and are recommended to the interested reader (e.g., Dawes, 1974; Fuchs, 1961; Kame'elehiniwa, 1992; Kuykendall, 1938, 1953, 1967; Rayson, 1984; Stannard, 1989; Trask, 1993).

While the pre-contact population of Hawaii has been the topic of considerable debate, ranging from estimates of 200,000 to 875,000 (see Nordyke, 1989; Stannard, 1989), there is no disagreement that following the first contact with Western people in 1778,

the Native Hawaiian population sharply declined, due to communicable diseases, infertility, high infant mortality, emigration, war, intermarriage, the adoption of tobacco and alcohol, and, some say, despair.

Tuberculosis, syphilis, gonorrhea, small pox, measles, whooping cough, mumps, cholera, influenza, and alcoholism were rampant. Infant mortality was extraordinarily high, as was infertility due to scarring of female reproductive organs from venereal disease. Reports indicate that more than 15,000 Native Hawaiian people died in a single small pox epidemic in 1853 (e.g., Nordyke, 1989).

The lowest point in the population decline of the Native Hawaiian people was reached in 1876 when only 53,900 Native Hawaiian people were reported to be living in the Kingdom of Hawai'i. Assuming a compromise figure of 500,000 Native Hawaiians in 1778 (an estimate somewhere between the proposed extremes of 200,000 and 875,000), the first one hundred years following contact resulted in a 90% population decline (e.g., Nordyke, 1989). Is it any wonder that some Native Hawaiian people speak of their history as genocide and as a horror (see Stannard, 1989, 1992)?

The Arrival of Captain James Cook

On January 18, 1778, Captain James Cook, an English sea captain, arrived in the Hawaiian Islands in his tall-masted sailing boats, HMS Resolution and HMS Discovery. This was the Native Hawaiian people's first contact with Europeans and European culture. In the finest tradition of the imperialistic ethic of the times, Captain Cook named the islands he had "discovered" the Sandwich Islands, in honor of his patron and sponsor, John Montagu, the Earl of Sandwich.

The Native Hawaiians at first thought that Cook might be a God (e.g., *Lono*, the God of Agriculture), and offered him extravagant hospitality and welcome. However, within the span of a year, it soon became clear to the Native Hawaiians that Cook was not a god, but rather a harbinger of their destructive destiny and demise. On a subsequent visit in 1779, Cook was killed in a battle at Kealahakua Bay on the Island of Hawai'i. But the die had been cast, and the future of the Native Hawaiian people and culture was to be filled with tragedy.

Missionaries and Businessmen

Contact with Cook was soon followed by contact with other Western groups including whalers, missionaries, and businessmen, all of whom exploited the wealth and beauty of the land and people. The first missionaries arrived on March 21, 1820, from New England. They came to spread Christianity and ended up taking over much of the land and assuming much of the power. In the process of seeking converts and saving souls, they undermined the very tenets and foundations of the ancient Hawaiian people, destroying their will and spirit.

Within decades following contact, the Native Hawaiian people and culture had been overrun by Western religious, military and commercial interests. A way of life that had thrived for centuries was destroyed by disease, demoralization, and violent death. The Native Hawaiian people watched in despair and confusion as their proud past was denigrated by missionaries, exploited by business interests, and suppressed by colonial political interests.

King David Kalakaua, the last King of the Hawaiian people, watched in vain as his people and their culture declined. In 1888, King Kalakaua allegedly wrote:

In the midst of evidences of prosperity and advancement it is but too apparent that the natives are steadily decreasing in numbers and gradually losing their hold upon the fair land of their fathers. Within a century they have dwindled from four hundred thousand healthy and happy children of nature, without care and without want, to a little more than a tenth of that number of landless, hopeless victims to the greed and vices of civilization. They are slowly sinking under the restraints and burdens of their surroundings, and will in time succumb to social and political conditions foreign to their natures and poisonous to their blood.... finally their voices will be heard no more forever (Kalakaua, 1888, p. 64-65; Quoted in Nordyke, 1989, p. 27).

It is important not to overly romanticize the Native Hawaiian culture prior to European contact. There were, as is the case for all cultures, many practices that were less than admirable by contemporary standards. It has been said that the Native Hawaiians practiced ritual human sacrifice, although some have questioned the accuracy of these statements (see Kame'eleihiwa, 1992). Further, like many Western nations, their societal governance was often very authoritarian and class-structured, leaving little opportunity for disagreement or conflict with those in power. Wars

among the various sub-kingdoms did occur, and violent death in battle was not unknown. Yet, even as these cultural elements are noted, it is clear the Native Hawaiians enjoyed a relatively peaceful and bountiful existence, especially when contrasted to the tragic events that followed contact with Europeans. (e.g., Dawes, 1974, Kame'eleihiwa, 1992).

The Overthrow of the Monarchy

Perhaps the most tragic event in the history of the Native Hawaiian people was the overthrow of the Hawaiian Monarchy by a group of American businessmen on January 17, 1893. In the years following Captain Cook's arrival, hundreds of foreign people came to Hawaii's shores in search of wealth, power, and adventure. As we have already noted, the social and health consequences for the Native Hawaiian people were disastrous and the population declined. Yet, the struggle for survival continued and the Native Hawaiians established a monarchy in 1795 under the leadership of King Kamehameha I (1758-1819).

This monarchy continued for almost one hundred years under the leadership of such notable Native Hawaiian figures as King David Kalakaua (1836-1891), who ascended to the throne of the Hawaiian monarchy in 1874. Upon his death, he was followed to the throne by Queen Lili'uokalani (1838-1917) who was crowned on January 29, 1891. The years of the monarchy were difficult for Native Hawaiians as their land was taken away and they were disregarded by the incoming foreigners (see Kame'eleihiwa, 1992, for a more detailed and moving account of this period). The monarchy represented the last and best hope that somehow the Native Hawaiian people could reestablish themselves and reassert their identity. But, even here tragedy would prevail. On January 17, 1893, Queen Lili'uokalani and the Hawaiian Monarchy were overthrown by a group of American businessmen and government officials under the leadership of Lorrin Thurston (1858-1931). With the approval and consent of representatives of the American government in Washington, D.C., the annexationists assumed power and formed a provisional government.

Annexation of the Kingdom of Hawaii

In the following months, debates regarding the future of the Hawaiian Islands flourished, and at one point President Grover Cleve-

land actually withdrew the annexationists' request and considered restoring Queen Lili'uokalani to the throne. The struggle between the annexationists and the American government continued. Finally, in a show of force and discontent, the annexationists put down a Native Hawaiian rebellion to restore the Queen and tried and convicted her for treason on January 7, 1895. She was sentenced to five years in jail (she actually served 21 months) in an act designed to humiliate her and her people.

The world was changing for the United States. Like its European counterparts, the United States' imperialistic impulses and actions were becoming commonplace. The Spanish-American War convinced the American government of Hawaii's strategic location and commercial value, and on July 7, 1898, the President William McKinley signed the annexation resolution, and Hawaii became a territory of the United States without a vote of the Native Hawaiians. On August 12, 1898, the Hawaiian flag was lowered and the American flag was raised over Iolani Palace. On June 14, 1900, the Territory of Hawaii was established and commercial and political exploitation of the Native Hawaiian continued unabated.

Both prior to annexation and in the decades that followed, thousands of foreign workers of Chinese, European, Filipino, Korean, Japanese, and Puerto Rican ethnicity migrated to Hawaii to work the plantations as sugar became king of the Hawaiian Islands' economy. The Hawaiians were forgotten. While some intermarried with white business men and missionaries, creating a small elite class, most became impoverished and destitute.

Today, little remains of the ancient ways of the Native Hawaiian people, in spite of a growing cultural renaissance sparked by the interests of young Hawaiians in their past identity. The commercialized versions of their food, dress, dance, and music support Hawaii's tourist industry, although these commercialized versions bear little resemblance to the ancient customs of their once glorious past. But a Hawaiian renaissance is in the making, and there is a strong movement for sovereignty that promises to restore Native Hawaiian political control over their land, and with it, the dignity, power, identity, and self-determination the Native Hawaiians have been denied.

Native Hawaiian Culture, Mind, and Well-Being

There are many excellent publications on Native Hawaiian culture, mind, and human behavior (e.g., Gallimore, Boggs, & Jordan, 1974; Howard, 1974; Ito, 1987; Kanahole, 1986; Marsella et al., 1985; Pukui, 1983; Pukui, Haertig, & Lee, 1972, 1979; Takeuchi et al., 1987; Trask & Trask, 1988; Young, 1980). Pukui, Haertig, and Lee's (1972) publication, *Nana I Ke Kumu* (Look to the Source) is a particularly valuable resource. While these articles and books differ in their focus, a review of their contents yields a useful conceptual perspective for understanding the complex relationships between Native Hawaiian culture, mind, and well-being.

Psychic Unity

To understand the Native Hawaiian mind, one must put aside Eurocentric notions of selfhood and personhood and adopt a contextual perspective in which person, family (*'ohana*), nature (*'aina* = land, *kai* = water, *makani* = wind), and spiritual world (*'uhane, akua, 'aumakua, kupua*) are inter-connected and inter-dependent. They are one, and this oneness is experienced by Native Hawaiians as a psychic unity. That is to say, the consciousness that is felt by the Native Hawaiian is not that which is characteristic of a separate, autonomous detached being, but rather one that is united and inseparable from the larger social, natural, and spiritual forces of the world—there is a felt, palpable, experienced sense of psychic unity and cosmological attachment.

Harmony (*Lokahi*) and Balance/Purity (*Pono*)

The life force that makes for this unity is called *mana*. It is a spiritual force and power that is felt as energy, vitality, and strength. When the *mana* is present and strong, the person feels a special sense of well-being drawn from the harmony and resonance across the family, nature, and spiritual levels. Harmony (*Lokahi*) is an important concept in the Native Hawaiian way. It is a state to be actively pursued in all realms of action and experience. A person knows when harmony (*lokahi*) is present because they experience a special state of well-being characterized by the presence of energy and vitality. Thus, harmony (*lokahi*) and life force (*mana*) are interdependent, and in their presence, person, family, nature, and spirit are one—unity.

Native Hawaiians are encouraged, through cultural socialization practices, to strive for a state of balance and purity that is closely related to the unity of person, family, nature, and spiritual world. This is a state that is called *pono* or sometimes, *ma'ema'e*. This experiential state has profound implications for physical and psychological health and well-being. When this state is present, there is optimal health and well-being, and the person feels strong and in harmony (*loka'hi*) with their world. It is clear that the Native Hawaiians were aware of the concept of holistic health long before Western peoples. They understood that mind and body are inextricably linked, and that disease is a function of imbalance and disharmony.

There are a number of things that the Native Hawaiian people can do to create and maintain harmony (*loka'hi*), and ultimately, balance and purity (*pono* and *ma'ema'e*). At the familial and community level, this is accomplished by fitting in, helping others, and working for the group over selfish aims. At the nature level, this is done by conservation and protection of the land. And at the spiritual level, this is achieved through reverence and respect for the Gods through rituals and prayer (*pule*).

Caring for and Preserving the Natural World

This idealized construction of the Native Hawaiian normative identity highlights the importance that is assigned to the spiritual dimension of human experience. Life is to be lived with daily awe, reverence, and respect; there is a close attachment to nature. Everything has its own "personality" and can be talked to and interacted with as if it were human, including rocks, trees, animals, and mountains. Places of special beauty are considered to have a special identity of their own and often have a myth or legend describing their creation.

There are no distinctions between the animate and inanimate world. All things contain the same spiritual life force. There is continuity. While there are evil forces in the world that need to be propitiated, they can be handled or kept at bay if a person lives with proper sanctity and respect for the multitude of Gods and spirits that animate and are the natural world.

The Social Formation of the Kanaka Maoli

The social formation of the Native Hawaiian (*Kanaka Maoli*) people was built around the family, royalty, and the spiritual world (e.g., Handy & Pukui, 1972). The family structure was organized according to the following hierarchy:

- Ke Akua* (God)
- 'Aumakua* (Family Guardian Gods)
- Kupuna* (Family Elders)
- Makua* (Parents)
- Opio* (Children)
- Moopuna* (Grandchildren)

The family structure was, in turn, part of a larger social structure that included royalty and other social sectors:

- Ke Akua* (God)
- Alii Nui* (Kings and High Nobles)
- Kahunu Nui* (High Priests)
- Alii* (Lesser Royalty)
- Kahunu* (Specialized Professions and Trades)
- Makainai* (Common People)
- Kauwa* (Servants)

The social structure was well organized and widely known and accepted. Taboo (*kapu*) systems linked to social and spiritual sanctions and punishments kept the social structures strong among the Native Hawaiians. However, when confronted with Christian missionaries, businessmen, and new forms of social organization based on Western ideas of governance and family relations, the traditional ways yielded to the pressures to conform to new ways. The traditional culture could not accommodate the conflicts in values, beliefs, and practices, and cultural disintegration began to occur with all of its pernicious consequences for health and well-being.

Behavior, Mind, and Health and Disease

All individual behavior and societal actions in the Native Hawaiian (*Kanaka Maoli*) culture are directed toward the creation and maintenance of harmony among the different levels of being (i.e., person, family, nature, spirit). By behaving a particular way, one's *mana* is continued and/or enhanced. This way is the "spiritual" way. There is a spiritual guardian that looks after each person.

This guardian is called an 'aumakua. It is a spiritual ancestral god and protector. For this reason, Native Hawaiians respect their ancestors because an offense can lead to punishment and evil.

Through accident or misbehavior, the connections between the person and/or family and the 'aumakua can be broken with resulting illness, discord, and misfortune. This can occur because of violations of kapu (or taboo), non-negotiable rules and guidelines about proper behavior. The kapu or taboo rules can be learned from elders (kupuna) and healers (kahuna). There are scores of taboos covering virtually all aspects of life including eating, fishing, hunting, menstruation, intercourse, funerals, clothing, and so forth.

When kapu are violated or when there is behavior that acts against the harmony of the system, the harmonious energy (lokaahi/mana) necessary for psychic unity is lost and illness, disease, suffering, or death are possible. Within this context, any act that destroys or interferes with the social/spiritual order can result in negative consequences.

Among the behaviors that can lead to a breakdown in harmony and loss of mana are hate (ina'ina), jealousy (ili), rudeness (maha'a), being noseey (niele), bearing a grudge (ho'omauhala), bragging (ha'anui), showing off (ho'oi'o), breaking promises (hua'olelo), speaking bitter thoughts (waha'awa), stealing, fighting, and hostile (mahu) behavior. In addition to offensive and anti-social behavior, loss of mana and harmony can occur because of an offended ghost (lapu), natural spirit (kupua), spirit guardian ('aumakua), ancestor/elder (kupuna), or because of prayers for death (ana'ana) or a curse (amai).

Under these conditions, illness, misfortune, and death can arise, including insanity or craziness (pupule). The Native Hawaiian language has many words for the various forms of insanity and mental derangement (see Marsella et al., 1985, for an extensive glossary of mental health terms that were prepared by members of the *E Ola Mau* Mental Health Task Force). Some important terms include the following:

1. 'a 'a: Panic stricken; made dumb by anger and fury
2. 'a aia: Demented
3. 'a ala'ioa: Wild, uncontrolled
4. hehena: Insane, lunatic, crazy
5. ho'ohewahewa: Deranged (not as strong as hehena or pupule)
6. kaunaha: Sad, heavily burdened
7. kuloa: Idiotic

8. loha: Sullen, spiritlessness
9. lu'ulu'u: Heavily burdened, sorrowful, troubled
10. ma'ina loko: Sickness from within (caused by misdeeds, family troubles)
11. ma'ina waho: Sickness from outside (evil forces, external cause)
12. ohewa: Delirious, incoherent, drunk
13. opulepule: Moronic, imbecilic
14. pupule: Crazy, insane, wild, uncontrolled
15. uluahewa: Crazy, sometimes due to evil spirit
16. uluhia: Possessed by evil spirits
17. uluhua: Irritated, vexed, annoyed
18. uluku: Disturbed, agitated, nervous
19. 'uhane noho: Possessed by a spirit
20. wela: Angry (hot)

Restoring the Social Order and Well-Being

To restore harmony and health, one can act with kindness, caring, and responsibility toward family, nature and society. A mature Native Hawaiian (*kanaka makua*) should manifest humility (*ha'aha'a*), politeness and kindness (*olu'olu*), helpfulness (*kokua*), and acceptance, hospitality, and love (*aloha*). These behaviors are the goals of successful childrearing. All of these behaviors are directed toward preserving social order and cohesion.

Behaviors that interfere with social order and cohesion can lead to illness and disease, and even death. By behaving in ways that are socially responsible, one can expect that others will behave in the same way—reciprocity is achieved. Reciprocity provides the glue that holds the community together. I help you, you help me, and everyone is happy. This is the Native Hawaiian way.

The Native Hawaiian Healing Arts (*La'au Kaha*)

If harmony and balance are disturbed, and illness, disease, and misfortune occur, there are many Native Hawaiian treatments that can restore well-being (see particularly Pukui, Handy, & Livermore, 1934). These include physical interventions such as herbal treat-

ments, purification baths (*kapu kai*), massage (*lomi lomi*), special diets, and fasting, all or some of which can be prescribed by a healer or "doctor" (*kahuna lapa'au*).

In addition, the healer (*kahuna*) can also prescribe psychological and spiritual healing methods such as confession and apology (*mihi*), dream interpretation (*moe 'uhane*), clairvoyance (*hihi'o*), prayer (*pule ho'onoa*), transfer of thought (*Ho 'ulu ia*), possession (*noho*), water blessings (*pi kai*) and spirit mediumship (*haka*). Through these methods, advice may be offered and divine intervention can occur. Sometimes there are special rituals such as exorcism of evil spirits possessing someone. After praying over the possessed person, a family member or a *kahuna* could say "Ho'i noa 'ai i kou kahu" (Go back and destroy your keeper!) (see Greenwell, 1958; Pukui, Haertig, & Lee, 1972).

Ho'opono'ono: Family and Group Therapy

One of the powerful methods of therapy is called *ho'opono'ono*, a form of family and group therapy in which troubled social relationships can be repaired through the process of talking out and sharing negative feelings and conflicts. *Ho'opono'ono*, or "making right" through discussion, prayer, and forgiveness is usually led by an elder (*kupuna*) or healer (*kahuna*), who directs the family members in the group process to tell the truth.

The term *ho'opono'ono* is derived from the words *ho'o*, meaning "to cause" and *pono*, meaning "proper, balanced, moral, righteous." Through a combination of prayer, discussion, confession, repentance, and forgiveness, the good family and community relationships could be restored and *lokahi* could be achieved.

Haertig (see Pukui, Haertig, & Lee, 1972) stated:

Ho'opono'ono requires the telling of all the essential material, no matter how painful this may be. No matter if what is told pains others. The point is that the telling must not be done in vindictive ways or with any desire to hurt. Nothing essential must be held back. Actions and errors of omission or commission pertinent to the problem must be totally revealed (Pukui, Haertig, & Lee, 1972, p. 73).

There are a number of stages in the *ho'opono'ono* process:

(1) *Pule Wehe*—Opening prayer (*pule*) and identification of the problem (*kukulu kumu'hana*); (2) *Wehewehe*—Period of discussion in which problems are handled one at a time or peeled away (*ma'iki*) and the various transgressions (*hala*) and painful emotions that

hinder change (*hihia*) are resolved; (3) This is followed by a period of forgiveness, apology, and repentance (*mihi*) and a letting go of ill feelings (*kala*) and a psychological severing or cutting off of the events that caused the problems (*oki*); (4) The *ho'opono'ono* ceremony is closed with a prayer (*pule ho'opau*) and sometimes various acts of purification and offerings (*pani*) (see Shook, 1985 for greater detail about *ho'opono'ono*).

Summary of Views on Health and Well-Being

In summary, Native Hawaiian views on health and well-being are very holistic in that they emanate from the basic assumption that there is a felt sense of psychic unity that emerges from the harmonious interdependency of person, family, nature, and spiritual forces via the life force and power called *mana*. For the Native Hawaiian, any or all actions, intentional or unintentional, that result in the destruction of harmony among the different levels of being can result in illness, misfortune, or death. Behavior is supposed to preserve harmony in the social, natural and spiritual orders. Inappropriate and negative social behaviors can upset the harmony, as can black magic and other evil practices such as sorcery.

Healing can be focused on physical, psychological, and/or spiritual levels, but in all instances, healing is directed toward the re-establishment of harmony in the social, natural, and spiritual levels. In these respects, Native Hawaiian health and healing concepts and practices are highly sophisticated and knowledgeable with regard to mind-body-behavior relationships.

The Health and Mental Health Status of Native Hawaiian People

Regardless of the index or indicator used, Native Hawaiian people are either at the top or close to the top of every category of medical disease, social pathology, psychological maladaptation, and economic and social welfare (e.g., Blaisdell, 1993; Blaisdell et al., 1985; Goebert & Kanoa, 1992; Hammond, 1988; Marcella, et al., 1985; Native Hawaiian Educational Assessment Project, 1983; Papa O Lokahi, 1987; Takeuchi, et al., 1987; United States Congress, 1987; White & Landis, 1982). Based on a concatenation of findings from the above references, the following conclusions can be reached:

Physical and Medical Health

1. Native Hawaiian people exceed the State of Hawaii and the United States rates for lung cancer for men and women, breast cancer for women, and uterine cancer for women.
 2. Native Hawaiian people have the highest rates in the State of Hawaii for cancer deaths, diabetes, high blood pressure, gout, bronchitis, asthma, emphysema, and obesity.
 3. Native Hawaiians exceed the average mortality rates for all races in the United States, adjusted for age/sex per 100,000 population for infectious diseases (26.4 versus 13), diabetes (29 versus 9.8), stroke (46.1 versus 35.1), cancer 183.8 versus 132), and heart disease (273 versus 189).
 4. Native Hawaiian people have the shortest life expectancy in the State of Hawaii.
 5. Native Hawaiian people have rates of higher infant mortality, congenital diseases, and sudden infant death syndrome than other groups in the State of Hawaii.
 6. Native Hawaiian preschoolers have diet deficiencies in calcium, riboflavin, and Vitamins A and C.
 7. Native Hawaiian people have one of the highest crude injury death rates among all people in the State of Hawaii (61.7/100,000).
- Social Pathologies**
1. Native Hawaiian people comprise 40% of the State of Hawaii's prison inmates.
 2. Native Hawaiian people have the highest rates of smoking and the second highest rate of chronic alcoholism in the State of Hawaii.
 3. Native Hawaiian young women have the highest rates of teenage pregnancy and unmarried pregnancies in the State of Hawaii.

Mental Health

4. Native Hawaiian people have the second highest rate of child abuse and neglect in the State of Hawaii. Only Samoans show a higher rate.
 5. Native Hawaiian people have the highest rates of arrest and prison sentencing in the State of Hawaii.
 6. Native Hawaiian youth have the highest rates of school absenteeism, school drop-outs, and juvenile delinquency in the State of Hawaii. Less than 50% of Native Hawaiian people hold a high school diploma, and Native Hawaiians comprise less than 5% of the college students enrolled at the University of Hawaii of Manoa.
 7. Native Hawaiian students score below parity in reading and math national norms on standardized achievement tests.
 8. Native Hawaiian juveniles have the highest rates of arrest for forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, motor vehicle theft, weapons, prostitution, arson, and drug trafficking.
1. Native Hawaiian people have the highest rates of anti-social behavior, assaultive acts, and family and school problems among admissions to the State Mental Health facilities.
 2. Native Hawaiian people have the highest rate of suicide in the State of Hawaii. The rate is especially high for young men and the elderly. They also have the highest male to female suicide rate in the State (5:1).
 3. Native Hawaiian people suffer from high rates of demoralization, alienation, and low self-esteem. Studies of depression and other related disorders have been conducted, but limitations in their research design and methods make it difficult to arrive at accurate figures for these disorders. Nevertheless, it is widely agreed among mental health officials that demoralization is high and quality of life is low for Native Hawaiians.

4. Native Hawaiians have had the highest rate of mental retardation in the state system.

Economic and Social Welfare

1. Native Hawaiian people have one of the lowest income levels in the State of Hawaii. More than 66% of the Native Hawaiian people have annual gross family income levels of less than \$40,000.
2. Native Hawaiian people have disproportionately higher rates of welfare utilization and social services.
3. Native Hawaiian people had a per capita income of \$7,740 per year in 1986 (See Takenuchi, et al, 1987) while non-Hawaiians had a per capita income of more than \$10,100. Most of the jobs held by Native Hawaiians were in the service and labor industries.

Some Closing Thoughts

This litany of facts regarding the current physical, psychological, and social well-being of the Native Hawaiian people clearly highlights the tragic state of affairs that has evolved in the years following the near-demise of the Native Hawaiian culture. There is little need for complex theories to account for these results. The answer resides in the social and economic condition of contemporary Hawaii. In the one hundred years since the Hawaiian Monarchy (*Onipaa*) was toppled, the Native Hawaiian people have suffered severe cultural disintegration and social stress with resulting consequences for their health and well-being.

If one uses the indices of cultural disintegration advanced by Alexander Leighton (1959), the internationally known social psychiatrist, Native Hawaiian society constitutes a classic example of the health and social consequences of cultural breakdown and deterioration. These indices include few and weak leaders, poor communication networks, a history of social and natural disasters, high migration rates, a breakdown in religious and philosophical systems, and poverty. In the presence of these conditions, Leighton suggested, societies will experience cultural disintegration, characterized by high crime, broken homes, alienation, high rates of mental disorders, social deviancy, and physical disease.

The Native Hawaiian people and culture are today at a historical crossroads in which the decisions they make as individuals and as a people will have important consequences for their continued survival and existence. The discontinuities between the lifestyles and values of the traditional Native Hawaiian way and the demands of contemporary Western life are a formidable challenge. Technological and industrial society values materialism, competition, individual autonomy, mastery, and self-sufficiency, oftentimes at the expense of traditional Native Hawaiian spiritual and collectivistic values and lifestyles. The traditional Native Hawaiian way sought harmony among personal, familial, natural, and spiritual domains while the Western way is openly and unabashedly confrontive and discordant in the pursuit of change and unlimited opportunity.

The pursuit of sovereignty by a growing number of Native Hawaiian people may be the only viable pathway for the survival of a culture that is dialectically opposed to Western life in virtually every cultural form and practice. New leaders, many of them women, are emerging who are proud of their heritage and committed to a new Native Hawaiian identity and consciousness. The newly formed School of Hawaiian Studies at the University of Hawaii at Manoa has become a mecca for young Hawaiian students.

With sovereignty it may be possible to reestablish a new identity that can be source of pride, dignity, and confidence. These can serve as a counterpoint to the destructive historical and cultural forces that came close to ending the Native Hawaiian people and culture. Though the last two centuries in Native Hawaiian history can only be described as tragic, there is reason to believe the future will witness a resurgence and rebirth of Native Hawaiian culture, and with it a reduction in the physical, psychological, and social disorders that have characterized the Native Hawaiian past.

Notes

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2. Due to printing limitations, some diacritical marks in the Native Hawaiian language cannot be reproduced here.

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