Ka Loina Kāne: Changes in Station, Changes in Health

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Since the time of contact with Western cultures, the expression of social roles for Kanaka Maoli men has undergone radical changes. Native Hawaiian men now occupy the most distressing health and social status descriptors, and many traditional ways for promoting spiritual and physical health have been lost. These losses constitute a condition of cultural trauma. This article outlines a theoretical structure of cultural trauma and how it relates to Hawaiian men. It also introduces a process of cultural healing that may counter the downward spiral of morbidity and mortality among contemporary Kanaka Maoli men. A restoration of culturally centered values, enacted through cultural education and deep practice, is needed to restore Hawaiian men—and their families—to a fuller expression of culturally authentic self.

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> This was a great people at the beginning. It filled the
> Hawaiian group. A people with clean body, large-limbed and
> strong, a little less than the lion in strength, long-lived on the
> earth. A lovable people, amiable, kindhearted, hospitable to
> strangers.... Such is the character of the Hawaiian people.
> —Keauokalani (1974, p. 74)

In 1778, when European explorers first arrived on the shores of *Ka Pae ʻĀina*, the precontact term for modern-day Hawaiʻi, they found a vigorous society and a healthy indigenous population (Stannard, 1989). In their physical well-being the *Kānaka Maoli*[1] living in the islands embodied almost an Aristotelian ideal of physiological health and beauty. The vibrancy of their physical condition was echoed by the elevated state of development of their intellectual and material property. Drawings and eyewitness text from these first expeditions show a vibrant people, living in beautiful communities, bounded by agricultural and fishing industries supporting a large population (Handy & Handy, 1972; Hiroa, 1964; Stannard, 1989).

In just over 100 years of contact between cultures, changes more devastating than could be imagined were to take an immeasurable toll on the Kānaka Maoli: 90% of the population die; the religious structure that has sustained the community for hundreds of generations is erased by a local elite and replaced by a foreign system of beliefs; the approach to government used for thousands of years is replaced by an alien form of government put in place at the point of a gun held by the hands of a major world power; and the indigenous forms of economy that have brought sustainable but equitable prosperity to the community are wiped away, all within the span of a single century. Is it hard to imagine that the survivors of a trauma event of this magnitude would be rocked to their core and would show effects from this insult for generations to come?

Kanaka Maoli Men's Health

> These Indians, in general, are above the middle size, strong,
> and well made, and of dark copper colour, and are, on the
> whole, a fine handsome set of people.
>
> —Beaglehole (1999, p. 1158)

The descendants of the Kānaka Maoli, modern-day Native Hawaiians cannot make claims to health status like that described by Beaglehole and his peers. Most especially, the health status indicators for Native Hawaiian men today are a dire recitation of poor health statistics and social failure. Native Hawaiian men are disproportionately represented in almost all areas of risk for increased morbidity and early mortality (Office of Hawaiian Affairs, 2006b). Although census data indicate that Native Hawaiians are a growing segment of the population (Office of Hawaiian Affairs, 2006a), what is not shown is just how much those same people suffer from the aftermath of cultural trauma events that echo from the arrival of Cook in 1778 to the present time. For Native Hawaiian males, this burden of trauma has been especially exacting. The statistical "bottom line" for health may be found in how long a person is expected to live, and in this instance Native Hawaiian males are the clear losers. On average, a Native Hawaiian will die at an average age of 74 years, 6 years earlier than the average for all other populations (Hawai'i Health Information Corporation, n.d.). Some estimates of the early mortality faced by Native Hawaiians place this number far younger—68.2 years (Economic Momentum Corporation, n.d.).

Making informed academic interpretations about the substance and meaning of Kanaka Maoli cultural history is an important responsibility. In this article, we introduce research from a community development perspective to expand and refine current information available on Hawaiian well-being. This article outlines a theoretical structure of cultural trauma and how it relates to Hawaiian men. We also introduce a process of cultural healing that may counter the downward spiral of morbidity and mortality among contemporary Kanaka Maoli men.

Cultural Trauma Syndrome

To more fully understand the challenges faced by modern Native Hawaiians, one needs to compare their circumstance with the state of affairs faced by other cultures affected by social and cultural aggression. Sadly, no matter their racial origins or place of residence, the health statistics for disenfranchised cultural populations are comparable across the United States (National Heart, Lung, and Blood Institute, n.d.). Similarities in negative health status indicators may support an assumption that neither environment nor genetics are the likely singular factors driving these declines in well-being (Brave Heart, 2001). The move from a general naming of the idea of insults based in the perception of cultural trauma to the formulation of a hypothesis that would assist in the identification of this psychosocial dynamic began in the 1990s, with formulations like Brave Heart's (2001) "historical trauma," Duran's (2006) "soul wounding," and Leary's (2005) "post traumatic slave syndrome" (see also Hicks-Ray, 2004). Searching for additional perspectives to explain these circumstances, Cook, Withy, Tarallo-Jensen, and Berry (2005) proposed a culturally driven model for describing the development of poor health in these populations—*cultural trauma syndrome.* This condition is recognized by an interdependent set of social and cultural patterns. As an operant social change theory, it accounts for people born into particular cultural groupings and others, though they may not share a genetic link to the history of a cultural faction, whose personal identity is inextricably tied to the specified group. This hypothesis adds defining texture to the discourse on culture and health in an attempt to clarify the ground for future research efforts. The following are five defining characteristics by which cultural trauma syndrome may be recognized (Cook et al., 2005):

1. This sociocultural injury is a process of cultural genocide, targeting cosmology, epistemology, pedagogy, and social structures for repression.

2. Continuous attacks on indigenous social norms bring breakdowns in long-established cultural social structures; lack of social continuity results in misunderstandings of precontact social norms and slows postmodern cultural renewal.

3. Trauma-related events and perceptions of their importance and intensity do not necessarily have temporal continuity across the generations of a cultural community.

4. In the later stages of traumatization, sources for cultural injury may come from within as well as from outside the boundaries of a defined cultural group.

5. Incidents of traumatization have intergenerational transference and are given renewed vigor by postmodern expressions of cultural wounding.

Cultural trauma syndrome can be recognized by a pattern of circumstances evident in the cultural group. Because this is a cultural disorder, individual, family, and community patterns of dysfunction may be present (see Appendix).

Cultural trauma syndrome manifests itself in a variety of ways. Small but distinct differences are evident for cultures showing variations in social history. The ways people are removed from their cultural identity, practices, and values have implications for how their course of recovery needs to proceed. While not an all-inclusive description for how all people from any one cultural group are tied to their cultural history in the United States, the following are six key cultural trauma variation categories guiding our study:

1. Populations that were taken to a foreign land as slaves and were stripped of all association with their root culture (i.e., African American)

2. High-context cultural populations that were conquered and removed from their ancestral lands (i.e., Native Americans)

3. High-context cultural populations that were conquered but allowed to remain on or near ancestral lands, but with no traditional rights to access, ownership, or control (i.e., Native Hawaiians, Native Alaskans)

4. Populations that immigrated to another country, voluntarily
    or otherwise, and were pressured to assimilate with the new
    dominant culture (i.e., European Americans)

5. Populations that immigrated to another country but were
    allowed to maintain enclaves of cultural associations with
    others from their home culture, even in the face of other
    disenfranchising forces from the dominant host culture
    (i.e., Irish Americans, Chinese Americans, Japanese Americans,
    Polish Americans, Muslims, Latinos, etc.)

6. Populations from governments under the financial, political, or
    military protection of the United States, while sovereign, that
    are largely dependent on financial assistance offered them for
    sustainability (i.e., Puerto Ricans, Micronesian Islanders, American
    Sāmoans, etc.)

Addressing the challenge of cultural trauma is a complex matter. Any person or group of people identifying with the social and cultural history of a disenfranchised culture is at risk for being affected by the abuse offered to the generations of that culture. Even more poorly understood is how people of mixed cultural origins are influenced by the complex of social histories they bring together in their diverse heritage. For Native Hawaiian men of mixed cultural heritage, it may be difficult to determine exactly the level of influence each of these cultures brings to their lifestyle and health choices. What is understood is that the resolution of the health and social impacts of cultural trauma for Hawaiian men will call for the combined efforts of people from both inside and outside the culture, all under the leadership of members of the affected community. When gender is factored into the descriptive illustration of cultural harm, new dynamics and shadings of the problem and the course for eventual resolution may become more apparent.

Kuleana—The Realm of Men's Responsibility

To more fully comprehend the challenges facing Native Hawaiian and *Hawai'i Maoli*[2] men in this modern age, it is necessary to have an understanding of their precontact realm of responsibility. Linguistic rendition testifies to the fact that, before the abolishment of the indigenous religious structure in 1819, the primary issue for a Kanaka Maoli male seeking to maintain his status as an upright person would have been the cultivation and protection of his *'ano*, the seed of moral integrity (Andrews, 2003; Handy, 1971). This essence was the spark of divinity residing within any *maoli* (true) person. A celestial characteristic is inherent to the indigenous self-identity held by all maoli people of the Pacific region. The 'ano was a quality that precontact Kānaka Maoli, both women and men, fostered through religious rituals and proper and fitting behavior at all times.

The way to realization for one's 'ano was through strict observance of the *'Ihi Kapu*, the system of sacred statutes. This system of consecrated laws enabled a people to live in harmony with one another, with nature, and with the spiritual realm of their ancestors (Valeri, 1985). Living in accord with this system of laws was what defined a person as maoli—as true and genuine. The Kanaka Maoli males held a position of social and religious leadership for specific responsibilities of the 'Ihi Kapu. From conducting major state rituals to small daily observances for deities under his care, the Kanaka Maoli male's social role was central to maintenance of the *kapu* (marked) aspects of the society (Handy, 1971). If one's sacred responsibility to the kapu became polluted, the individual would become, in effect, spiritually blind. The kapu was a central control over hygiene, environmental policy, land tenure, family concerns, almost every aspect of healthy social and personal functioning. Both genders carried special responsibilities. It was the male's *kuleana* (honored responsibility) to serve as a shield between the community and harm—temporal and spiritual. Almost every area of exclusive social responsibility tied to Kanaka Maoli men was lost in the colonial period.[3] In our encounters with Native Hawaiian men, we have become familiar with the many ways these men feel their loss of traditional social responsibilities. This loss, as well as the accompanying cultural confusion, has disoriented them and appears to contribute to a decline in personal identity as a Hawaiian, and specifically as a Hawaiian male. This cultural wounding appears to have left many adrift from the healthy cultural ways of living that would foster well-being in their minds, bodies, and spirits (Kamakau, 1968; Kame'eleihiwa, 1992).

Religion and Government

Until 1819 and the abrogation of the traditional system of religion by a small ruling elite and the arrival of Calvinist missionaries in 1820, Kanaka Maoli men carried the bulk of the responsibility for religious and secular leadership in their society (Dudley, 1990). Religious leadership was intertwined with other social responsibilities involved with economy, diplomacy, and the rule of government. Kanaka Maoli society did not fit the strict definition of a theocracy; the rule of government was not held by an elite group of priests. It was, however, clearly a religion-centered system of government whereby the *aliʻi nui,* the principal leaders, mediated the interchange between the celestial and terrestrial realms, the mundane and the divine worlds, all orchestrated by the *kahuna nui*, the primary priest (Malo, 1971; Valeri, 1985). The kahuna nui was set in place to make sure that thousands of years of sacred laws were upheld and that the aliʻi under their charge followed the code of behavior required by the ʻIhi Kapu. Proper observation of an annual schedule of religious ritual and responsibilities was integral to the functioning of the society. Some observations were less grand; each day in the *Hale Mua*, the men's eating house, a small image of Lono with a gourd attached was kept where an offering of food was deposited (Valeri, 1985). The men shared their daily meal with the Elemental Aspect of Lono. By being given the ceremonial first bite or "first fruits" of the day, Lono was made manifest in the physical realm. The annual progress of social and community events was bounded by a series of local and state rituals designed to keep the society on a proper course of development. Temporal and spiritual authority worked in cooperation to bring about healthy and prosperous conditions in this and the metaphysical worlds (Handy, 1971).

The political mandate of the colonial European and American movement was accompanied by a corresponding command for religious dominance in the newly claimed territories. The competition between Protestant and Catholic religio-political forces was played out in Hawaiʻi as it was in other parts of the Pacific region. Despite the fact that the first recorded baptism of a Native Hawaiian was in 1819 by a Catholic priest (Feher, 1969; Grant & Bennett, 2000), it was the Protestant sects that were the most influential in early efforts to convert the island population to Christianity. In 1820, several months after orders declaring the *heiau* (temples) be torn down, Calvinist missionaries landed on the island of Hawaiʻi and were granted permission to preach and proselytize. Acceptance of the religious message

of these first missionaries was assured wide acceptance when key aliʻi took up their cause (Kameʻeleihiwa, 1992). The need for a religious base in a culture that had always paired religious and secular power was a critical gap left by the abrogation of the native religion. The coincidental arrival of Protestant missionaries filled this critical gap for the ruling elite and their agenda for consolidating rule. Unfortunately, certain aspects of Protestant philosophy and dogma led Kanaka Maoli men further from their traditional place of personal *mana* (spiritual enablement), one grounded in observing proper relationships with their ancestors.

The first Protestant wave breaking on the shores of Hawaiʻi was led by members of New England Calvinist missionary sects. Calvinism is set up on three basic principles (Bowker, 1997), the first two of which resonated with the Kanaka Maoli vision of creation while the third provided a crashing blow to the emerging Native Hawaiian image of self:

1. *Supremacy of scripture as the sole rule of faith and practice*. The Kānaka Maoli held to their religious traditions as passed down through a rigid and precise tradition of oral transmission. These oral traditions were watched over by Hale Nauā, a social institution founded by the Maui Island Aliʻi Nui Haho in the 11th century to contain the genealogies, history, and protocols of the nation (Malo, 1971). Shifting from this rigid oral tradition to the clarity and precision offered by printed text is an intellectual shift the Kānaka Maoli made with speed and ease.

2. *An authority confirmed by the inward witness of the Holy Spirit*. The Kānaka Maoli affirmed the authenticity of this inward witness by noting its correspondence with their *wailua*—the soul cluster; the *ʻuhane*—the conscious soul that speaks; the *ʻunihipili*—the subconscious soul that clings; and the *ʻaumakua*—the superconscious parent that hovers (Handy, 1971). The wailua, seen in pragmatic effects, was affirmed by the outcomes it brought into the world.

3. *Men and women were inherently sinful, lost in iniquity, and could only be delivered by the Bible's message.* Kanaka Maoli cosmology has no concept that paralleled the Christian idea of "original sin." The proposal that a child was born *hewa*, profaned by sin from birth, was a new and sad reality to accept. Because the Kānaka Maoli did, however, believe in redemption through acts, the presence of the Bible as a means for release from sin was a powerful tool wielded by the missionaries for controlling the behavior of the locals, keeping the "savage" soul and self in line with social ideals they endorsed.

Warfare

It is a sad fact that, throughout world history, there has been close alignment between the aims of political forces and religion. The common outcome of the desire for power and authority in these realms has led to a long history of wars being conducted in the name of religion. Religion also serves to bring solace and purpose to the combatants who undertake what is clearly an abhorrent task on behalf of the society. War and the role of warrior are most usually assigned to the men of any particular culture. The intersection between religious and war responsibilities is vital to understand, for this is a setting where the values of a culture are easily discerned.

Although designed and initiated by them, men were not always the sole purveyors of war; Kanaka Maoli women did sometimes accompany their men into battle, sometimes in a combat support role, and at times as combatants with their own traditions of war-fighting. As is true for most societies, however, Kanaka Maoli men carried the lion's share of responsibility for entering the profaning realm of bloodshed. Until the era of final conquest by Kamehameha Paiʻea in the late-18th century, war-making in Hawaiʻi was a highly ritualized affair. Realizing early on the impact the taking of life brought to the evolution of the wailua, great care was taken to contain the stain of violence unleashed by battle (Kamakau, 1968). Aside from the care of the wailua, noncombatants, food-growing areas, and religious sites were noted and cared for in prebattle negotiations (Kamakau, 1968). It was important not only to be victorious in battle but also to be *pono*—principled and moral. Because all Kanaka Maoli activities took on both temporal and spiritual responsibilities, it would be possible to win the earthly battle and lose the moral war. For example, at the end of his massive campaign of interisland war, Kamehameha Paiʻea took up a series of civil engineering projects, building temples, fishponds,

and agricultural fields. These projects and the rituals that accompanied them were designed, in part, to expiate the burden of spiritual contamination built up during his campaign of conquest (Kamakau, 1968).

More important than restoring the more mundane aspects of everyday life after the ravages of war, the male Kanaka Maoli society engaged in meticulous practices before and during wartime through specific ceremonial practices that would safeguard them from spiritual pollution. In these rituals the elemental portion of the wailua, called 'uhane, was suspended and placed in safekeeping in rituals enacted at the heiau luakini po'o kanaka, where rituals not only opened the season of *kau wela* (summer, hot season) of Kūnuiākea but also consecrated the war effort (Handy, 1971; Valeri, 1985). After battle, in the Hale O Papa, the women's shrine dedicated to the divine female principle, Haumea (Papa), Kahuna Mo'o Kū, of the followers of the elemental principle, Kūnuiākea, would conduct a ceremony by which the warriors would be ritually reborn through the women of the *'ōiwi* or clan (Valeri, 1985). Safeguarded from the stain of conflict, this ceremony reclaimed the warrior's 'uhane from its respite. While the male priests of the Mo'o Kū orchestrated this elegant ceremony, it was through the sacred female that Kanaka Maoli warriors were reborn to their civil earthly self. If the belief is assumed that the 'unihipili and the 'uhane compose the wailua, after the ritual the 'unihipili would have then been reunited with the 'uhane, given a new life, a fresh start, repeating the warrior's first birth, *Kā i mua*, into the physical world.

Once the indigenous religion was removed in 1819, the spiritual maintenance that allowed men to redeem themselves from transgressions against the 'Ihi Kapu, and those laws designed to contain wartime defilements, vanished from public view. No longer did the warriors have a place to go to make themselves safe in the conduct of their vocation. Rituals that united spirit to soul were done away with and the *pu'uhonua*, sanctuaries and places of refuge that allowed the Kānaka Maoli to expiate the transgressions of the kapu, were left without the requisite spiritual foundation to be effective for the people. Kanaka Maoli men now had no foundation of traditional cultural supports to deal with the stain of war and the emotions of anger and violence that might well up in them. The loss of constraint provided by the 'Ihi Kapu meant that all forms of public and domestic violence now could only be resolved through corporal or social punishment. Once the indigenous religion was dismantled, gone forever were the traditional systems of healing education that required men engaged in violence, whether war or domestic, to show through the formal procedures of their precontact ancestors that they could be trusted to

once again enter civil society. All that was left to address male violence were jails and even more death—a legacy of judgment that continues today with Native Hawaiian men being overrepresented in prison populations (Office of Hawaiian Affairs, 2006c).

Other Social Losses

In addition to the loss of the supporting structure of the 'Ihi Kapu, almost every other formation required for healthy identity was also changed in traumatic ways for the Kanaka Maoli community. In less than 100 years, an estimated 90% of the precontact Native Hawaiian population died. The Kanaka Maoli approach to education based on oral transmission between a master of knowledge, *kahuna*, and a selected disciple was supplanted by Western text-based knowledge. The customs of Kanaka Maoli mating rituals of careful alignments of sacred genea-logical relationships became marriages of economic convenience. Some Western traders married Hawaiian women for the social benefits they might provide. These benefits included the opportunity to become citizens of the kingdom, which then allowed these immigrants to purchase and sell lands. The collaborations of families arising from shared social and genetic histories were replaced by arrange-ments of economic advantage. Once the Federal Hawaiian Homes Commission Act was made into law in the 1920s, many of the descendents of these unions were legally disenfranchised from their identity as Native Hawaiians, because they did not meet the regulatory requirement that they be of 50% Native Hawaiian blood quantum. Marriages that at one time were sought because they provided distinct economic advantages now served to distance people of insufficient blood quantum from their island-based cultural heritage. The Kanaka Maoli approach to communal wealth, a system that tied religious and social development to the production of shared prosperity, was supplanted by Western capitalism, a system that reduced economic benefit primarily to the shareholders of the corporate entity. Finally, in this same short span of history, Native Hawaiians were asked to adapt their sense of community leadership from a ruling ali'i born with a divine mandate to care for the lands and people to a constitutional republic founded on democratic prin-ciples that "all men were created equal." Unfortunately, as the historical record clearly demonstrates, once American and European interests forcibly took over the government of the islands in 1893, Native Hawaiians and their indigenous culture were consistently treated as less than equal in almost every social arena (Cooper & Daws, 1990; Kame'eleihiwa, 1992; Wood, 1999).

Few modern societies have experienced shifts in social structure as dramatic as those forced upon the Hawaiian society starting with the arrival of European explorers in 1778. Similar to the experiences of other disenfranchised populations, the list of tortuous changes to local social support structures cast many Native Hawaiian men adrift and left them with no clear social role to fulfill in sustaining their families through the change required by Western colonialism as it spread through their island's cultural milieu (Duran & Duran, 1995). With the loss of their native religion and the massive changes to almost every social sphere, from government to economic practice, the elaborate complex of cultural and spiritual supports required to afford a person the skills needed to form a clear and coherent expression of social culture was unavailable to many Native Hawaiian men and remained unavailable for several generations.

Accommodating for losses and changes due to the influx of colonial power was not something the ali'i took into account when adopting new technologies and cultural values offered by the West. These leaders were not alone in their naiveté; the process of community grieving for changes to long-held social and cultural traditions is not well understood even in today's world. How people come to some level of accommodation to new forms of social standards and practices was not a concern for Native Hawaiian or Western leaders as they instituted massive changes in the social norms in the 19th and 20th centuries. The many ways these changes influenced the island's society probably could not have been foreseen. Perspective on how the Kanaka Maoli worldview was changed and the demands these alterations made on the resident population is something modern community activists can take into account in their cultural restoration endeavors.

Cultural Healing

The last 230 years have been some of the darkest times in recorded history for the Kānaka Maoli (Stannard, 1989), a period of social and cultural darkness for these people (Kanahele, 1986). Another way to look at this period of social change, however, is that it has also been a time for the true strength of the Kanaka Maoli character to show its usefulness in the context of the world cultural setting. Historically, the Kānaka Maoli have always adapted, changing their worldly circumstance as needed to assure their survival and prosperity as a people and as a culture

(Kuykendall, 1968). Skills that served their ancestors in bringing environmental prosperity to barren island ecosystems may now be brought to bear to bring this time of death and decrease to a close. In essence, the Native Hawaiian people have moved from a time of *lawe ola*, death without conscience, to one of *malu ola*, the traditions that safeguard life (Kanahele, 1986).

Bringing forth an ethic centered in the concept of malu ola points toward a clear need to focus on the larger picture of cultural healing, extending beyond the crisis of the moment and looking for sustainable and positive ways of living for the cultural community. In terms of Kanaka Maoli life, this would mean moving from the lifestyle choices of lawe ola to those of malu ola. The lifestyle of lawe ola would be one in which decisions decrease a person's or group's aliveness. In the list of indicators of cultural trauma syndrome, there is a critical point of analysis labeling certain negative lifestyle behaviors a state of "suicide by lifestyle." Examples of lawe ola are common: people who know themselves to be obese and yet who choose not to exercise or eat a proper diet, people who decry the cost of transportation but continue to drive single-passenger cars, people who despair the violence in their community but buy violent video games for their children, people who practice religions based on God's love but spend their time condemning others who do not believe as they do; all these are examples of lawe ola choices.

The contrast to this is malu ola, those choices that increase the likelihood of aliveness and prosperity for the individual or the community. Examples of this approach to life also abound: the single mother who decides to go back to school to get herself off welfare, people with diabetes who decide to change their eating and exercise habits to reduce their dependence on insulin, the government official who declines a short-term political gain to do what is right for the greater good of the community; all these are examples of potential expressions of malu ola.

What this point of advice places before those engaged in the work of cultural healing is that they look to sustainable ways of promoting malu ola as an emergent community value. Not an activity of self-righteousness, it is instead an effort to encourage people, in small and large ways, to look to things they can do to promote the well-being and health of themselves and their community. This work not only focuses on the particular realm of the specific cultural community but also addresses the cross-cultural aspects of communities living with acceptance and tolerance of differences.

In the last quarter of the 20th century a new sense of Hawaiian culture began to emerge—an identity now called Hawai'i Maoli. Moving away from culture as a support for the tourist industry, some 40 years ago, Native Hawaiians began to explore the knowledge and wisdom of their ancestors as a way to address a need for cultural identity. One of the first successful efforts came in 1975 when the *Hōkūle'a*, the first contemporary double-hulled canoe built for long-distance ocean voyages using traditional navigation methods, was built. At present the building of canoes and revival of traditional navigation techniques has become a Pan-Pacific phenomenon, bringing hope for continued recovery of culture to indigenous peoples throughout the region. Following on from the massive amounts of information generated by the voyaging canoes, a companion effort to place Native Hawaiian knowledge and values at the center of education gained momentum (Kawakami, 2004; Meyer, 2003; Native Hawaiian Education Council, 2002). Another group emerged simultaneously with the Polynesian Voyaging Society: Hale Nauā III, Society of Hawaiian Arts, had their first fine arts exhibition on the very day the *Hōkūle'a* landed in Tahiti. Bringing to the forefront an esoteric awareness of the indigenous culture, these Native Hawaiian artists sought to create from a spiritual place, allowing for the energy to flow through a *piko*, the spiritual and physical umbilicus, the emotion and passion that still connected them to their cosmogonic ancestors. Building schools and institutions of higher learning centered in the Hawaiian language and culture found renewed vigor in the mid-1980s. These efforts show that political awareness paired with considered education and training can bring about substantive social reform.

The path of healing from the ravages of cultural trauma for Native Hawaiian men lies in education. It is no longer useful to use a social change model founded in a vision of people as deficient, in need of being fixed by an outside authority. A more empowering approach for cultural healing in the Maoli community needs to follow the liberatory principles of educators like Freire (1998) and Smith (2002); this becomes a path of knowledge that leads to the redevelopment of the *Loina Kāne*—the song of male origins, values and ideals found in the ancestral ways of the 'Ihi Kapu.

The overarching aim of any effort of cultural healing is to afford an individual or a community the opportunity to recognize their 'ano, their seed of moral integrity. These reconciliation and restoration efforts must provide verifiable and culturally centered means for increasing the substance of a person's honor and respectability.

For all the efforts made in the last few decades in cultural recovery by the Hawaiian community, the one element missing is revival of an indigenous approach to the Kanaka Maoli esoteric life. The Kanaka Maoli visualization of human reality included interplay of corporeal and spiritual elements (Handy, 1971). The physical needs of the body were paralleled with the psychic and spiritual needs. Native forms of rehabilitation included skills attuned to the needs of the body, mind, spirit, and the collective of the community (Shook, 1985). The Kānaka Maoli knew the importance of punishment and redemption as attendant means for addressing transgressions of community norms (Valeri, 1985). In some cases there was a concerted effort made to allow the individual an opportunity to make things right. Depending on the crime, prayers, sacrifices, and rituals of redemption could bring the transgressing individual back to a place of spiritual and temporal wholeness (Pukui, Haertig, & Lee, 1972). Places for these activities were the puʻuhonua, permanent sanctuaries that dotted the islands. The cultural importance of refuge and redemption was evident in the way the Kānaka Maoli were ensured access to puʻuhonua. For example, during battle, a specified location or a prominent person could be designated as puʻuhonua, providing warriors and noncombatants a place of refuge from the chaos of violence for those who could reach these precincts (Kamakau, 1968).

Native Hawaiian men have been traditionally overrepresented in the jails and prisons since their introduction in the 19th century. Sadly, in a continuation of this trend, while Native Hawaiians constitute about 20% of the general population, they represent 44% of the in-state prison population (Office of Hawaiian Affairs, 2002). Loss of rituals for redemption, as well as loss of locations where a person can redeem their sacred honor, makes jails all the more needful. Loss of *wahi pana*—sacred spaces, places, and times where a Hawaiʻi Maoli male can be trained in the ʻano of his ancestors, in the character and workings of a healthy human being—makes it unlikely that a person's behavior will rise any higher than that needed to avoid punishment. Since the arrival of Western religious and political ideals, the primary seat for this authority has been removed from the purview of the individual and the closely held community and given to the judgment of an externally located authority—judges and ministers.

For Hawai'i Maoli men to come to a satisfactory cultural vision of a healthy male role, they will first have to come to an accommodation with distractions introduced by Westernization. From the failure of the colonial effort to reshape the indigenous Maoli consciousness into some echo of itself, it is possible to say that this method is not the means the community should use to change the negative health and social indicators now describing the population of Hawaiian males.

To meet the pains of cultural trauma with resolutions that do not replicate their energies, the effort of cultural recovery must not be an adversarial undertaking. The solution to the circumstance of Hawai'i Maoli males cannot be an either-or enterprise. There is no need for these men to try to be either a precontact Kanaka Maoli or a fully assimilated Westerner. The Kanaka Maoli legacy to the world community may likely come from its ability to adapt to rising circumstances and prosper. The resolution of the present circumstance of cultural trauma cannot subscribe to a rigid plan. Remediation of this trauma will pair insight with fortitude. The way to health for Hawai'i Maoli men lies in molding the best of cultural education and healing to suit the needs of individuals and their communities. Echoing this call for remaining adaptable when charting a course for cultural healing, after 25 years of study, the Canadian government came to the conclusion (Aboriginal Corrections Policy Unit, 2002, p. 12): "healing means moving beyond hurt, pain, disease, and dysfunction to establishing new patterns of living that produce sustainable well-being."

Conclusion

The community of Hawai'i Maoli men will need to embark on a further voyage of discovery, this time seeking the horizons for a place of wholeness rather than of new lands. For this place to be sustainable, it will have to find a way to assist them in bridging precontact values, beliefs, and practices over to the present era. This will not be a project of assimilation into the Western culture nor will it be a return to the pure ways of their forefathers, but it will be something drawing from

the best each has to offer—bringing into being a new cultural figure, the Hawai'i Maoli. And, because the Kanaka Maoli culture is one of entwined masculine and feminine powers, for this journey to be lasting it will have to include the needs of the women of this community as well as its men.

Sustainable well-being is the goal. The time for the unending loss of life and vitality from the last 230 years—losses to the land, people, and culture—must now come to an end. Replacing the systems of conflict and indoctrination inherent to the colonial mind-set must be Maoli systems, structures that honor the deep truth that arises from respect between cultures. Native Hawaiian men must once more be allowed the respect to renew their alignment with Loina Kāne—their song of origin.

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Notes

1   The designation *Kanaka Maoli* is used to identify members of the indigenous population in what is known today as Hawaiʻi from precontact to 1819 when the aboriginal religion was dismantled. The designation Native Hawaiian designates all persons descended from this group from 1819 to the present.

2   The designation *Hawaiʻi Maoli* refers to those modern persons seeking to instill their present behaviors with precontact Maoli values as opposed to Western colonial values.

3   The term *colonial* period will designate the period starting with the arrival of the English explorer Capt. James Cook in 1778 to the present.

Appendix
Adaptive Behaviors for Populations Living in Disenfranchisement

Offered below is a catalog of counterproductive, adaptive behaviors we observed in accounts of research reports, journal articles, and social assessments provided by public and private agencies and in direct experience of populations living with some level of disenfranchisement from their indigenous cultural worldview.

Individual Adaptations

Low self-esteem

Cannot maintain intimate, mutually constructive relationships

Cannot trust or be trusted

Cannot persevere when difficulties arise

Cannot function as a constructive parental role model

Cannot function as a constructive and productive spousal model

Cannot hold a steady job—nonassertive

Cannot leave behind harmful habits leading to, in essence, a condition of "suicide-by-lifestyle"

Cannot curb individual violent nature in part because of the presence of intergenerational patterns of violence

Lack of reverence for self

Family Adaptations

The family serves as a generator of dysfunction

Patterns of addiction and abuse are passed on as family norms

The family is no longer able to provide the foundation for healthy individual or community life patterns

The family perpetuates connections to traumas of previous generations—validation for generating feelings of revenge and vendetta are ingrained

Lack of reverence for family—past, present, or future

Community Adaptations

Rampant backbiting and internal strife

Internal separation of cultural identity—traditionals versus moderns;
esoteric versus exoteric

A tendency to pull down the good work of anyone who rises to serve the community

Political corruption and abuse of leadership responsibilities

Lack of accountability and transparency in government

Chronic inability to unite and work together to solve shared, critical human problems

Widespread suspicion and mistrust between people and cultural subgroups

Competition and "turf wars" between programs

A general disengagement from community affairs by most people

A climate of fear and intimidation surrounding those who hold power—indigenous
and nonindigenous

A general lack of progress and success in community initiatives

Lack of reverence for the past and emerging collective culture of the community