CURRENT USE OF

A HAWAIIAN PROBLEM SOLVING PRACTICE:

HO'OPONOPONO

by

Victoria Shook

prepared by

The Sub-Regional Child Welfare Training Center
School of Social Work
University of Hawaii

with funding assistance from

The Region 9 Child Welfare Training Center
School of Social Welfare
University of California, Los Angeles

and

The Region 9 Child Abuse and Neglect Resource Center
Hawaii Area Center
Kapiolani Children's Medical Center

Table of Contents

Forward iii

Acknowledgements. iv

Page

Chapter 1: Introduction

Toward Culturally Appropriate Services 2

The Individual and Cultural Change 4

Preview of Other Chapters. 8

Chapter Notes. 9

Chapter 2: The Practice of Ho'oponopono and Related Background Material

Defining Hawaiian. 10

Family and Socialization 12

Social Order 14

Re-emergence of Ho'oponopono 16

A Description of Ho'oponopono. 20

Chapter Notes. 24

Chapter 3: Methodology

Research Design. 26

Overview of Case Studies 30

Chapter Notes. 35

Chapter 4: Individual Case Studies

Virginia Wahler. 37

Robert Padua 42

Jean Baker 46

Joseph Whitney 51

Paul Ellis 56

Keola Espiritu 62

Kalau Souza. 69

Lani Espiritu. 75

Chapter Notes. 85

Page

Chapter 5: Variations in Ho'oponopono

Variations in the Process of Ho'oponopono 87
Two Social Workers' Model of Ho'oponopono 100
Chapter Notes 107

Chapter 6: Conclusions

Summary and Conclusions 108
Implication for Further Study 113
Chapter Notes 117

Appendices

A - Examples of Culture-Based Mental Health Programs. 118
B - Sample Interview Guide. 125

References 134

Forward

This study arose out of the growing interest and concern of human service providers for more definitive findings in the rise of cross cultural counseling in child welfare. This concern and appeal was heard by the directors of the Region 9 Centers of Child Welfare Training and Child Abuse and Neglect. The idea that societies in the Pacific developed strategies and methods for coping with social issues within the context of each of those societies stimulated further the need for documented resources that could aid in the training of practitioners working with children and their families.

We hope the information in this study will be helpful to practitioners in child welfare as well as those who work with families and other minority groups. "Beginning where the client is" is basic in social work. Therefore, let us hope that our minds will be open to other culture's ways and challenge us to look for alternatives that are more culturally relevant.

Aloha,

Lynette Paglinawan, Coordinator

Sub-Regional Child Welfare Training
Center Region 9

Barbara Yamashita, Coordinator

Hawaii Office
Region 9 Child Abuse and Neglect
Resource Center

July 31, 1981
Honolulu, Hawaii

Acknowledgements

This study would not have been possible without the generosity of the people I talked with and interviewed. My deepest appreciation and respect is extended to these individuals. Many others have enriched this research by lending personal support and encouragement, and although I thank them all, there are a few in particular I wish to acknowledge: Joyce Winn for her gift of Nana I Ke Kumu and inspirational faith; Lynette Paglinawan for providing the opportunity to engage in exhilarating discussions and for being both teacher and friend; Richard Brislin for lending a critical eye to help clarify the research design and writing; Tom Maretzki for thought provoking queries and suggestions; Barbara Yamashita and Shelley Asao for bolstering me with coffee, doughnuts and reassurance. Others who lent academic guidance include Stan Harms, Gerry Dykstra and Sarah King. For invaluable clerical and support services, thanks to Mary Lau and Hisae Tachi. And finally to all my dear family, friends and acquaintences, who in their innocence asked "What is ho'oponopono" and got an answer that was enthusiastic but far more than they wanted to know, I thank-you for your patience and understanding.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

A rich body of knowledge about the physical, emotional and spiritual well-being of an individual in relationship to family, community and environment has existed in the Hawaiian culture for centuries. One of the specific practices is a complex system for maintaining harmonious relationships and resolving conflict within the extended family called ho'oponopono, which means "setting to right" (Pukui, Haertig, & Lee, 1972; p. 60). Within the last ten years this concept has become popularized and a number of individuals, including child welfare practitioners have attempted to use this traditional family concept and practice. The purpose of this study is to illustrate how some individuals on Oahu have adapted ho'oponopono for use in their social agency and, in some cases their private consultation services. It is likely that there are many variations in the description and practice of ho'oponopono. This study focuses on the diffusion of the practice described by Mary Kawena Pukui (Pukui, et. al., 1972). In addition to providing details on the variations of current ho'oponopono use, the study will outline a model of ho'oponopono used by two individuals in the study who are trained in social work and have the most extensive experience of using ho'oponopono of all contemprary practitioners.

There are two issues underlying the purpose of this study that need to be briefly explored in order to put the research into a broader context. The first illustrates how this innovation is related to a national trend in the human services encouraging the use of alternative program strategies to meet the needs of minority groups. The second issue investigates some basic notions about the process of cultural change so that the reader may better understand the various points of view of individuals in this study about the use of ho'oponopono today.

TOWARD CULTURALLY APPROPRIATE SERVICES:

A number of professionals have recognized that ethnic groups have not received adequate and/or appropriate mental health and social welfare services in the past, particularly in locales that serve a substantial non-white, non-middle class population. This recognition extends to human services including social work and education. Since this project is specifically aimed at child welfare workers, the literature cited encompasses the broad area of "mental health and social welfare." These headings serve as a general umbrella under which more specific fields such as child welfare and child protective services fit.

A number of mental health professionals have recognized that ethnic groups have not received adequate and/or appropriate services in the past (Atkinson, Morten & Sue, 1979; Marsella, 1980; Pande, 1968; Pedersen, 1979; Sue & Sue, 1977; Sue & McKinney, 1977; Torrey, 1972). The 1978 President's Commission on Mental Health Task Reports also named racism as the most pervasive mental health problem (Vol. III, p. 786).[1] The reports also suggest that many mental health programs have been responsible for latently underscoring racism by favoring methods and procedures suited for a largely white, middle class clientele.

Marsella (1980), Pedersen (1979) and Torrey (1972) all point out that most mental health models today are based on a medical model of health and illness that has been derived from Western philosophical traditions that place a premium on rational, scientific thought. They suggest that alternative programs include more "holistic" approaches that do not separate physical, emotional and spiritual factors in health and illness. This latter approach may be the predominant mode of cultural healing outside the United States and Western Europe.

Some of the same researchers and others have recommended that mental health programs utilize existing natural helping systems that may already function in the community (Frank, 1971; Higginbotham, 1976; S. Sue, 1978; Speck & Ruevini, 1969) and indigenous methods of helping and healing (Pederen, 1980; Marsella, 1980; Tseng & Hsu, 1979; Torrey, 1972). Ho'oponopono has been cited as an example of an indigenous helping system by Tseng and McDermott (1975, p. 382) and Pedersen (1979, p. 88).

Furthermore, a few authors (Atkinson, Morten and Sue, 1979; and Higginbotham, 1979) have recommended outlines for assessing cultural groups' needs, definitions, and expectations of mental health services. Models derived from such assessments would theoretically be more culturally sensitive than the majority of service models that do not take cultural variables into account. And conceivably, programs derived from culturally-designed models would be viewed as legitimate by the community, inasmuch as they reflected some of the values, beliefs and practices of the group. In turn, this legitimization could lead to an increased awareness and utilization of services.

Other authors offer advice for working with specific ethnic groups including Native Americans (Lewis & Ho, 1979; Trimble,1976; Youngman & Sadongei, 1979), Blacks (Bryson & Bard, 1979); Asians (Sue, D. & Sue, S., 1979; Brown, Stein, Huang & Harris, 1973), and Hispanics (Abad, Ramos & Boyce, 1974; Christensen, 1979; Ruiz & Padilla, 1979; Gonzales, 1976). Unfortunately, there is far less literature detailing actual programs developed, implemented, and evaluated from such suggestions.[2]

Perhaps the case of ho'oponopono is distinct from any other mental health innovation for two reasons. First, although it was traditionally used within the family setting, it has now been used in a wide variety of settings with non-related people. Secondly, it is intriguing that its use has extended

beyond the Hawaiian community and is being led by and used with individuals from many other ethnic backgrounds. What is it about this process that transcends cultural boundaries? The individuals who share their perceptions and experiences in this paper give some clues, although I suspect that a thorough treatment of this question will demand even more time and research.

THE INDIVIDUAL AND CULTURAL CHANGE:

Quite early in the research process I had to grapple with the community's reaction to the premise of the study—examining "adaptations" of ho'oponopono. One individual, who was approached to be interviewed on his use of the process declined to do so, in part because of his objection to the use of the word "adaptation." In his mind any departure from the form and context of ho'oponopono as taught by Mary Kawena Pukui (also referred in the paper as "Tutu" and "Kawena Pukui") was probably not ho'oponopono and should be called something else. This concern about preserving the integrity of the process was shared by almost all participants in the study, although definitions of what constituted that "integrity" varied. In my mind I began to refer to this as the "form versus essence" dilemma. It prompted me to look at the assumptions underpinning the study and to investigate more deeply into the nature of culture and cultural change—finding out how to determine the "boundaries" of cultural units. For example, a question that might be posed for this study in order to investigate the boundary of ho'oponopono is: "When do changes in ho'oponopono become significant enough to produce a qualitatively different practice?" My inquiry also led me to learn more about individuals' attitudes towards cultural change, particularly when that change is part of a revitalization movement. This is pertinent to this study because the popularization of ho'oponopono coincided with a general movement in Hawaii to unearth,

recognize and sustain Hawaiian cultural values, beliefs and practices. Some people have identified this movement as a period of Hawaiian rennaissance. Obviously, these are enormous queries in behavioral science which are beyond the scope of this paper. Yet, because the questions have permeated the research, albeit implicitly in most cases, it seems worthwhile to at least point out how they are related to the task at hand.

First, an almost a priori assumption in this study is that culture is a dynamic, complex and constantly changing process. Edward Tylor in 1874 gave what has become a classic definition of culture: "...a complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and other capabilities and habits acquired by man as member of society" (Tylor, p.1).[3] Tylor does not specify change as a feature of culture, perhaps because it is so fundamental to the concept. Change is implicit; it is the basic process involved in transmitting culture. Perhaps the omission of the dynamic quality of culture in definitions of culture help explain why some people perceive culture as a static collection of things and ideas.

Homer Barnett (1953) contributed enormously to the understanding of cultural change in his work Innovation: The Basis of Cultural Change. His definition of an innovation is "any thought, behavior or thing that is new because it is qualitatively different from existing forms" (p.7). Does the current use of ho'oponopono qualify as an innovation in this sense? We must look more closely at Barnett's work to understand why it does. "In one respect, old ideas that are revived or borrowed to meet a crisis must be classified as innovations. If they have been borrowed or taken out of other contexts of time and place, they must almost inevitably be modified to conform to existing modes and requirements"[4] (p. 81). All examples of ho'oponopono use in this study have been adapted at least to a new setting, and in many cases have also been used for audiences not originally envisioned.

CHAPTER NOTES

1. I recognize that the term "racism" has become overused and therefore wide ranging in connotation. In this usage, I believe that it most closely approximates the definition: the belief or practice that one or more groups of people are superior to other groups, with physical characteristics being the primary determinant of differentiation. A milder meaning of the term would include prejudicial attitudes and discriminatory treatment given by some groups to others due to factors such as ignorance and/or insensitivity. The differences targeted in this case might include cultural beliefs, values and practices as well as physical characteristics.

2. A brief description of programs designed for specific ethnic groups can be found in Appendix A. This is provided as a resource to agencies who might want to incorporate other strategies, in addition to ho'oponopono to their array of services.

3. For a more thorough review of this definition, see Tylor, 1874.

4. Underline is the author's emphasis.

5. An interesting place to begin such an investigation would be in a fascinating article by Peter Adler on "Beyond Cultural Identity: Reflection on Cultural & Multicultural Man" in Intercultural Communication: A Reader (Samovar & Porter, eds.). Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1976, pp. 326-377.

CHAPTER 2: THE PRACTICE OF HO'OPONOPONO

AND RELATED BACKGROUND MATERIAL

Innovations do not arise out of thin air. They are mental patterns that are created when two or more pre-existing mental configurations are recombined. The recombination process takes place in the mind of an individual and is constrained by the cultural, biological, psychological and environmental experiences of that person. To illustrate this in a general way, it can be said that each of the individuals in this study who decided to use ho'oponopono had a model or prototype of group problem-solving or helping interaction patterns in their mind. This familiar mental configuration may have helped them recognize ho'oponopono as a similar strategy that they could use in their work with groups.

The propensity of individuals to be innovative appears to be inherent in human nature, according to Anthony Wallace (1970). It is not as common for individuals to be accepting of innovations. According to Wallace, a number of variables affect whether or not innovations are adopted. The variables include: the nature of the innovation, the attributes of the individual or group advocating the change, and the personality and experiences of the individual contemplating the change. This study presents some of the attitudes of individuals toward various uses, both actual and potential of ho'oponopono. Although there may not be sufficient evidence in each case study to understand the attitudes fully, the reader should keep in mind that the attitudes are based on quite a complex interaction of variables, as Wallace suggests.

One of the variables that is a bit more open for examination is the degree to which the recent popularization of ho'oponopono is linked in people's minds with a more general rennaissance of Hawaiian cultural beliefs and practices. In fact, two of the individuals interviewed in this study believe that the work done reviving ho'oponopono may have been one of the initial sparks in this rennaissance movement. History of the United States and the developing nations

of the world in the 1960's and 1970's documents major changes in the role of minority groups in society. The term "minority groups" can refer to ethnicity, for example, any non-white group. It can also refer in a broader sense to factors such as powerlessness; i.e., women, the poor; or "not the norm"; i.e., tall, short, fat, skinny, old, young, meditator, Catholic, Jew, etc. Sociologists characterize these role shifts as revitalization movements and outline them in stages. Initially, the group is rooted in a steady state period where there is acceptance of the status quo. Then emergence of increased periods of dissonance and dissatisfaction leads to a rejection of the dominant group patterns and the embracing of the minority patterns, for example, in ethnic groups, a reawakening to the indigenous culture. Acceptance of a new reorganized steady state caps the process.

A number of other authors have characterized this process in slightly different ways. In more political terms, Hussein Bulham (1980) articulated a theory of "cultural in-betweenity" in which he named three stages that reflect the reactions of a group to domination by others: (1) Capitulation (to the dominant culture); (2) Revitalization (of the indigenous culture); (3) Radicalization (a new synthesis of both cultures (pp. 105-106). In the mental health and social welfare field, Atkinson Morten and Sue (1979) outlined an identity development model that not only listed the stages, but gave additional information about the attitudes that often accompany these stages, and recommendations to helpers about working with individuals in the various stages. Their Minority Identity Development Model has five stages: (1) Conformity (characterized by a preference for the dominant culture); (2) Dissonnance (when confusion and conflict reign); (3) Resistance and Immersion (rejection of the dominant culture and complete affirmation of the minority culture view); (4) Introspection (the search for individual autonomy and discomfort with complete adherence to the

minority stance); (5) Synergetic Articulation and Awareness Stage (an integration of personal and cultural identity allowing for individual flexibility and also rejection of any form of oppression of one group by another) (pp. 194-197).

The various reactions to the idea of "adapting ho'oponopono" may reflect a value orientation inherent in a particular stage of minority development. Although I am not familiar with any literature on the subject, it would certainly be interesting to propose corollary stages in the dominant culture corresponding to each stage in the minority culture in any revitalization movement. It would be interesting to further study how heightened social awareness of 'Hawaiiana" may have influenced the non-Hawaiians in this study to take up ho'oponopono, a practice that is outside their cultural repetoire. Speculation on this matter provides another lead to further research.[5]

The issues on the preceding pages raise many more questions than this study purports to consider, but they are the issues that subtly pervade the research and justly must be allowed to stand as a structural girder for the research details that follow.

PREVIEW OF OTHER CHAPTERS:

The rest of the study will be detailed in five additional chapters. Chapter 2 will provide the background of information necessary to put the practice of ho'oponopono into context. Topics will include: related Hawaiian values and beliefs, an outline of the recent evolution of the practice of ho'oponopono from 1963 to the present, and a basic description of ho'oponopono. Chapter 3 will describe the methodology and features of the study. The general case details of the eight individuals interviewed will be given. An examination of how these individuals have actually varied in their use of ho'oponopono will be presented in Chapter 4. The chapter on conclusions and implementations for further research will complete the paper.

In order to understand the significance of the current use of ho'oponopono on Oahu, it is necessary to see how it is related to the specific features, both traditional and modern of the Hawaiian culture. This perspective will give background information that is both cross-cultural and culture-specific. These two perspectives refer to an analytic framework known as "emics" and "etics". The terms, borrowed from linguistics, have become familiar parlance in anthropology and other cross-cultural disciplines. Emic refers to the within-culture point of view, while etic refers to generalizable constructs that can be used across cultures.[1] Any attempt at understanding the place of ho'oponopono within the Hawaiian-American cultural matrix must begin with describing some salient characteristics of "Hawaiian-ness." Full treatment of this topic is beyond the scope of this paper,[2] although it is possible to glean from available studies a configuration of values and practices, particularly about family and child rearing, that suggest complementarity with ho'oponopono. Contrary to many other Hawaiian practices, such as hula (dance), luaus (feasts), hanai (adoption) and other features that have had continuous use, the present use of ho'oponopono is a result of specific attempts during the last 18 years to revive it for social work practice. This is an interesting story that may be particularly helpful for other Pacific communities who are contemplating researching indigenous helping processes for possible use in child welfare practice. A brief reconstruction of the events in the re-emergence of ho'oponopono will be presented. Finally, the chapter will conclude with a basic definition of ho'oponopono with primary emphasis on describing the version of ho'oponopono that evolved in the above account.

DEFINING "HAWAIIAN":

In a multicultural society like Hawaii, there has been confusion over how to establish ethnic and cultural boundaries. How can "Hawaiian" be defined for

this study? At this time the number of pure Hawaiians is estimated to be quite small, at 7,574. The number of part-Hawaiians is much larger, at 167,180[3] which totals 19.9% of the state population. There are numerous problems in determining the prime cultural affiliation of individuals with mixed ancestry. There doesn't seem to be agreement among agencies in Hawaii on how ethnicity should be determined.[4] In his book on Hawaiian-American coping strategies, Howard (1974) presented a useful distinction between ethnic and cultural variables.

> "...'ethnic' patterns may be conceptually distinguished from 'cultural' patterns; the former are perpetrated by reinforcements given to them by persons external to the group, or category, while the latter, once learned, are self-sustaining. Thus, on one hand, a person may be legally defined as a Hawaiian even though he was raised by a Caucasian (or Filipino, or Chinese) family without ever having been exposed to Hawaiian cultural heritage... . On the other hand, an individual raised as a Hawaiian may be strongly influenced by Hawaiian cultural traditions even though ethnically defined as a haole or Japanese." (p. 91)

This study cites works that focus on a Hawaiian cultural pattern, which may, therefore, include beliefs, values and practices of persons of various ethnicities. In the works on "Hawaiians," however, it is assumed that the majority are ethnically at least part-Hawaiian.

Much of the traditional Hawaiian culture has been left behind and cannot be considered a defining feature of contemporary "Hawaiian-ness." Some examples of these past remnants include: the material culture of precontact Hawaii, which has been largely relegated to museum exhibits, and the language, one of the primary vehicles for transmitting culture, which is used by an ever diminishing number of people. Knowledge of traditional folk medicine which seems to be held primarily by the elder members of the community is another measure of Hawaiian identification (Howard, 1974). Today, the elders' knowledge and skills are being supplanted by Western practices as exposure to American ideas and practices becomes widespread.

What then is left? Despite the dramatic loss of the social organization of the ali'i (chief) system, the language, land, and many cultural traditions,

there does seem to be a recognizable pattern of social interaction, identified as "Hawaiian," or perhaps more accurately, Hawaiian-American. Some of the prominent, observable features include the use of "pidgin," a Hawaiian-Creole language, the continued importance of music, dance and singing at social gatherings, and, perhaps most important to this study, a preference for social interaction that stresses interpersonal harmony and avoidance of overt conflict.

Examining both the meaning of the Hawaiian family and the beliefs and practices that constitute a system of social order can illustrate how this complimentary emphasis on maintaining harmony/avoiding conflict operates. Once this foundation is laid, ho'oponopono as a Hawaiian method of resolving interpersonal conflict begins to rest securely.

FAMILY AND SOCIALIZATION:

The extended family in Hawaiian culture is the center of life. The word for family, 'ohana, is derived from the words 'oha, for taro and na, the designation for plural. The taro plant is linked with myths about the origin of people, as well as being the staple food of old. The meaning 'ohana, therefore, takes on metaphorical significance. Mary Kawena Pukui stated, "Members of the 'ohana, like taro shoots are all from the root" (Pukui, et. al., 1972, p. 166). It is also:

> "a sense of unity, shared involvement and shared responsibility. It is mutual interdependence and mutual help. It is emotional support, given and received. It is solidarity and cohesiveness. It is love-often; it is loyalty-always. It is all this, encompassed by the joined links of blood relationship." (p. 161)

Children have an important role in the family and are desired by most adults. Hanai or "adoption," is a frequent practice. In a study of a Hawaiian Homelands community on the leeward coast of Oahu, Gallimore, Boggs and Jordan (1974) reported that 30% of the families had children other than their own

living in the house. The authors also listed two common reasons given by informants for the taking of a child in a hanai relationship: (1) a woman unable to bear a child; or (2) an older woman with older children desiring and infant. Infants are generally indulged and are often the focus of attention in the family. Because of this value and the practice of hanai, high rates of illegitimacy are not a cause for concern in the Hawaiian community. Once children are brought into the world, they are to be cared for and loved.(Young, 1980).

As the infant becomes a toddler, a shift in attention occurs. The child is no longer indulged and is expected to begin assuming family responsibilities. Older siblings are involved in caring for the younger children. Thus, the maturation process fosters interdependence and increased opportunity to exercise adult-type roles by working and contributing to the family's economic and social welfare.

The family's structure is characterized by benevolent authoritarianism. Elders, the kupuna, are respected for their wisdom and experience and are often the teachers of the children. The following sayings illustrate the revered place of kupuna in the family.

> "Oi ka 'aka 'a na maka." (While the eyes are still open.) This admonishes young people to learn from the old people while they are still alive ("eyes still open").
>
> "Make no ke kalo a ola i ka." (The taro may die but lives on its young offshoots.) (Handy & Pukui, 1972, pp. 179-180).

Children learn household tasks through observation and experience. They learn to be unobtrusive, since to do otherwise is to risk rebuff and punishment. They may seek help and approval from adults, but in a subtle manner that does not intrude. Rewards and punishments in the family are often meted out to a group of children rather than to an individual. This fosters what Gallimore

et. al. (1974) have named as one of the two primary strategies used by children to get along in the family; sibling cooperation. The other strategy is avoidance of confrontation with adults.

All these socialization practices underscore a predominant value pattern of affiliation. The Hawaiian language has many words that express this value. Pukui, Elbert & Mookini (1975) defined commonly used words such as laulima (cooperation; group of people working together...") and kokua ("help; cooperation") which reinforce the idea of cooperation and interdependence. Generosity, hospitality, sharing and reciprocity are also valued. Successful development of a person in the Hawaiian culture thus requires that the individual cultivates an accurate ability to perceive other people's needs, often without being asked. This is a behavior that helps cement the relationships of the 'ohana and the community.

SOCIAL ORDER:

A philosophical look at Hawaiian concepts would unearth a profound belief in a universe that operates on principles of harmonious relationships. Mossman and Wahilani (1976) explain:

> "There is a natural and harmonious order to the entire universe. The three major forces are the God(s), nature and man. The Hawaiian of old realized that it was necessary that these forces be kept in 'harmony' and that they were all in some way interrelated."

Evidence of the importance of this triad of relationships can be seen in the social values and beliefs that affect the selection of strategies and practices used to maintain social order.

First, spiritual concerns pervade much of Hawaiian interaction and ceremony. The recent popularity of traditional hula has brought back a strong spiritual element in dance. Blessings of work endeavors, social gatherings and openings and closings of ceremonies are commonplace. Both Paglinawan

(1980) and Mossman and Wahilani assert that Christian values coexist with a deep respect for the ancient gods.[5]

The love of nature is also apparent today in the popular phrase "Aloha 'Aina" (love of the land). There has been a resurgence of Makahiki festivals in recent years, both with a secular, community fund-raising emphasis and a spiritual theme. These celebrations are normally held in the fall and are a tribute to Lono, the Hawaiian god of agriculture. Another example of the centrality of nature in Hawaiian experience is the state motto: "Ua mau ke ea o ka 'aina i ka pono." (The life of the land is preserved in righteousness.)

Finally, the importance of harmony in relationship can perhaps best be summed up in the many attributes of the word aloha. This often used Hawaiian word expresses love, is a greeting and a farewell. But more subtly, it suggests the highly valued character traits of generosity, friendliness, patience and productivity. The spirit of aloha carries with it an understanding that the ability to soothe and prevent conflicts, shame and other disruptive occurrences is important, and that if the harmony has been disrupted, one should have the courage to ask for and give forgiveness.

A fascinating study of how many of these facets of Hawaiian philosophy manifest themselves in the ideology of contemporary Hawaiians was done by Karen Ito (1978). Her anthropological study of urban Hawaiians women elaborated on a concept she termed "retributive comeback." She suggested that the women had a belief in negative sanctions of illness or misfortune to themselves or kin if they acted, felt or thought in a negative way towards another person. The concept hihia describes this state of entangled relationships. In order to ameliorate this negative state of affairs, the individuals must seek to restore balance and harmony through self-scrutiny, admission of wrong-doing, asking forgiveness and making restitution where possible. If the individual is

unable to ask forgiveness, then changing one's way, or enlisting the help of a spiritual ally may suffice. Here, then, is an example of the belief in the interrelatedness of kin, ancestors and the natural world. This belief in retribution, and the accompanying remedy of self scrutiny, confession and forgiveness strongly parallel the underlying beliefs and overt practice in ho'oponopono. Perhaps the presence of this "symbolic conscience" as Ito calls it, in contemporary Hawaiians, is one of the things that makes ho'oponopono a timely and functional remedy for Hawaiians today.

RE-EMERGENCE OF HO'OPONOPONO:

Although variations of ho'oponopono have been in existence before the coming of the Europeans, the practice had fallen in popular use quite dramatically by the mid-1900's. Those elements of the process that were influenced by Hawaiian religious practices and beliefs were most subject to abandonment. Some of the remaining modifications of ho'oponopono retained the essential purpose of problem-solving, but were greatly simplified. One such practice that incorporated Christian values was opening the Bible and pointing to a passage that might give insight and guidance to a troubled individual or group. Ho'oponopono could also mean getting the family together to talk out problems, or to seek forgiveness for a transgression. However, it was not until the publication of Nana I Ke Kumu in 1972, that a detailed process of ho'oponopono, with case examples, was available to the general public.

The story that follows reconstructs a fascinating odyssey of questioning and sharing among a group of social workers, a Hawaiiana expert and a psychiatrist that enabled ho'oponopono to be transformed from a little known and understood practice to one that is now available to many.

In 1963, a young social worker, Keola Espiritu,[6] who worked at the Queen Liliuokalani Children's Center (hereafter known as L.T.), was given a case[7]

involving a seriously delinquent boy and his mother. This case had previously been through seven agencies. It had been a difficult case because it involved certain cultural beliefs and practices that previous case workers had not been able to work with nor understand. Keola had been given the case by the director of L.T. because of his keen interest in Hawaiiana.

While uncovering the issues in the case, Keola learned that the mother attributed the cause of the boy's problems to a curse that had been on him since birth. The curse was the result of a promise the mother made to her dying mother, that had later been broken. She had promised never to marry a divorced person and had subsequently done so.

The repercussions of this broken promise were realized shortly after her son's birth. When the baby was born, he was unnaturally still, not crying or moving. The mother fasted (ho'okeai) in order to divine the nature of the problem. During the fast she had an insight that linked the baby's lack of movement to her broken promise. After this realization the baby began to respond more normally. Some years later the father died, leaving his widow and son behind. The son had become delinquent as an adolescent, and by the time Keola entered the case he lamented that the boy was "flirting with death." Evidence of this included two encounters with the police. In one instance the boy pulled an unloaded 45 caliber gun on a police officer; in another he challenged 15 officers to a karate duel.

The case presented quite a dilemma for the social worker, who although raised in rural Oahu, had received professional training based on a Western cultural orientation.

> "How in the hell am I gonna deal with this kind of cultural stuff? If you ask me as a native Hawaiian, I would know. I would run to a grandparent or somebody for help." (K.E. interview).

When Keola shared this concern with this supervisor he was given the okay to contact Mary Kawena Pukui ("Tutu"), the woman who later became one of the authors of Nana I Ke Kumu. He approached Tutu Pukui and requested her assistance so that the agency could learn how to help this and other Hawaiian families "the Hawaiian way."

Tutu consented and together with a psychiatrist, psychologist and social worker began meeting on a weekly basis as "the Culture Committee." Consultation with a psychiatrist/psychologist team was an established part of social work practice, but the addition of a cultural resource person was a unique departure, particularly in the early 1960's. The L.T. staff involved in this new committee soon realized that sensitizing the workers to cultural beliefs and practices should be a primary goal of their work, particularly since they were a Hawaiian agency dealing with Hawaiian clients.

The process that Keola and the others engaged in to articulate the cultural concepts was not a didactic one. Instead case material was brought to the Committee whereupon Tutu could "talk story" about related beliefs and practices. The key to understanding the complexity and depth of meaning in a concept was in asking questions about the concept in "ten thousand different ways." Through this method Keola was able to understand the nature of the problem, its cultural context and all of the ramifications. Also, using this process over the years led to the compilation of a considerable body of information about Hawaiian beliefs and practices that were pertinent to people in the helping professions.

In terms of understanding the particular case Keola presented, the group explored concepts like ohana (family), ho'okeai (fasting); ho'ohiki (promises), the consequences of breaking a promise and finally, the methods of resolving problems. It was in this area of uncovering the traditional remedies that the

subject of ho'oponopono came to light.

Tutu talked about a form of ho'oponopono that she had used all her life and that had been used by her family in Ka'u, Hawaii.[8] It was an understanding of ho'oponopono based on practical experience. During the Cultural Committee meetings, as concepts of ho'oponopono were explored by examining situations that Tutu and others presented, it was possible to draw parallels in Western concepts and practices. The psychiatrist, Dr. Haertig, made invaluable contributions in this regard.

It was Kawena Pukui's method that Keola used with the woman and her son to help them understand and resolve their problems. They were also helped in untangling the mixture of Hawaiian and Christian beliefs that had compounded the issues. The intervention resulted in a positive outcome. According to Keola, the boy was able to finish high school and make it in society.

The excitement generated by the possibility of similarly beneficial outcomes in other cases, as well as the enormous amount of learning that was taking place in the weekly meetings prompted L.T. to publish a book based on the Culture Committee's labor of seven years. The book, Nana I Ke Kumu, Vol. I & II, was designed to be a "source book of Hawaiian cultural practices, concepts and beliefs which illustrates the wisdom and dignity contained in the cultural roots of every Hawaiian child" (1972, p. vii). Volume I, published in 1972, concentrated on "interpretative definitions of specific customs," while Volume II, published in 1979, dealt with "larger concepts and basic emotions" (1979, p. x).

Some years after the Committee began, L.T. decided to more formally test the practice of ho'oponopono in the social work setting. A Hawaiian social worker was hired to do a one-year research project using ho'oponopono with Hawaiian families. The result of this project was a report called

Ho'oponopono Project II (Paglinawan, 1972), which detailed the cases of three families. During this project, the author further refined and articulated the problem-solving process and clarified issues that needed further study.[9]

The description of ho'oponopono that follows is based primarily on these two sources of information. This is the same resource material that was potentially available to the individuals in this study who have adopted the practice of ho'oponopono. All interviewed persons acknowledged Nana I Ke Kumu as a primary source on the subject.

A DESCRIPTION OF HO'OPONOPONO:

Ho'oponopono is a method for restoring harmony that was traditionally used within the extended family. According to Pukui, it literally means "setting to right...to restore and maintain good relationships among family, and family and supernatural powers" (1972, p. 60). The metaphor of a tangled net has been used to illustrate how problems within a family affect not only persons directly involved, but everyone in the family. The family is a complex net of relationships, and any disturbance in one part of the net will pull other parts. This metaphor coincides with the Hawaiian philosophy of the inter-relatedness of all things.

The family conference was traditionally led by a senior family member, or if necessary, by a respected outsider, such as a kahuna lapa'au (medical person). The problem-solving process is a complex and potentially lengthy one that includes prayer, statement of the problem, discussion, confession of wrong-doing, restitution when necessary, forgiveness and release. The following Hawaiian concepts outline the conditions and the steps that make up ho'oponopono.

Ho'oponopono is opened with pule, which is prayer conducted to ask God (or the aumakua—ancient Hawaiian family gods) for assistance and blessing in this problem-solving endeavor. It is usually led by the senior person who is conducting the session. Reliance on spiritual assistance heightens and strengthens the emotional commitment of the participants. Prayer lays the foundation for sincerity and truthfulness, which are necessary conditions to be maintained throughout the process.

In this beginning phase there is a period of identifying the general problem known as kukulu kumuhana. This phrase has two additional meanings that are part of ho'oponopono. Kukulu kumuhana is the pooling of the emotional and spiritual strengths for a shared purpose, the solving of the family's problem. It also refers to the leader's effort to reach out to a person who is resisting the ho'oponopono process in hopes that this will enable the person to participate. During this initial phase, the procedures for the process are also outlined in order to reacquaint all participants with it.

At this point, with the proper climate set, the leader zeros in on the specific problem. The hala, or transgression is stated. Hala also implies that the perpetrator and the person wronged are bound together in a relationship of negative entanglement, called hihia. This recognition facilitates the process of mahiki, which is peeling away the layers of the problem, as if it were an onion.

Due to the nature of hihia, most problems have many dimensions: initial hurt, reactions, further misunderstandings and so forth until a complex knot of issues have evolved. It is the leader's responsibility to choose one of these problems and work it through with the family. With one part resolved, the group can peel away another layer of trouble and work through it until the family relationships are truly clear again.

The discussion of the problem is led and channeled by the leader. This intermediary function keeps individuals from directly confronting one another, a situation that could lead to further emotional outburst and misunderstanding. The Hawaiians of old felt that discouraging escalation of emotional demonstrations was conducive to problem resolution. Each participant who has been affected by the problem, in some way directly or indirectly, is asked to share their feelings, or mana'o. The emphasis is on self scrutiny and, when participants share, they are encouraged to do so honestly, openly and in a way that avoids blame and recrimination. If in the course of the discussion tempers do begin to flare, the leader may declare a cooling-off period of silence, called ho'omalu. This enables the family to reflect once again on the purpose of the process.

When the discussion is complete, the mihi takes place. This is the sincere confession of wrong-doing and the seeking of forgiveness. It is expected that forgiveness be given whenever asked.[10] If restitution is necessary then the terms of it are arranged.

Closely related to mihi is kala, or untying of the negative entanglements. Both the person who has confessed and the person who has forgiven are expected to kala the problem. This mutual release is an essential part of the process and true ho'oponopono cannot be completed without it. The kala indicated that the conflicts and hurts have been let go and cut-off (oki).

The pani is the closing phase and may include a summary of what has taken place and, importantly, a reaffirmation of the family's strength and positive bond. The problem that has been worked out is declared closed, never to be brought up again. If other layers of the problem need to be worked out, the final pani is postponed. Sometimes ho'oponopono may take many sessions. Each session does have a pani on what was resolved and includes a final prayer,

pule ho'opau. Traditionally, after the sessions, the family and leader share a snack or a meal to which all have contributed, thus demonstrating the commitment and bond of all who participated.

CHAPTER NOTES

1. An example of an etic category would be "conflict resolution strategies," whereas "ho'oponopono" would be an emic construct. For further discussion of the issue of emics and etics in cross-cultural research, see Lonner (1979) and Berry (1980).

2. For more detailed information on traditional family life, see The Polynesian Family System in Ka'u, Hawaii by Handy and Pukui (1972). A description of Hawaiian beliefs and practices more directly related to contemporary mental health and social welfare issues is found in Nana I Ke Kumu by Pukui, Haertig & Lee (Vol. I & II); 1972 and 1979). Another current resource on the Hawaiian can be found in People and Cultures of Hawaii: A Psycho-cultural Profile by McDermott, Tseng & Maretzki, 1980.

3. These figures are from the 1980 State of Hawaii Data Book of Statistical Abstracts as reported in 1979 by the Department of Health's Hawaii Health Surveillance Program. The 1980 census figures are not in yet, but it is estimated by officials at the Department of Planning and Economic Development that the total state population is 964,624 which is up from the 880,051 figure currently used. How the 1980 census will alter specific ethnic composition figures is not yet known.

4. Recently I worked on a grant proposal that attempted to resolve the dilemma of getting reliable ethnic categories. The principal investigator reported that there was little concensus among agencies in Honolulu about methods for determining ethnicity. The Police Department uses verbal self-definition and the Department of Education relies on a 14-choice form to elicit "dominant ethnic background." However, the reliance on self-definition seems to be gaining ground.

5. These gods include the aumakua (ancestor gods and spirits) and the more impersonal gods, akua, such as Kane, the creator; Lono, god of agriculture; Ku, god of war and Kanaloa, the ocean god: (Pukui, Haertig & Lee, 1972, pp. 23 & 25.)

6. This is a pseudonym for one of the individuals who is presented later in the paper as a case study.

7. For fuller details see "Ho'oponopono: A Way to Set Things to Right," The Sunday Star Bulletin and Advertiser, July 18, 1971, p. B-8.

8. It is likely that ho'oponopono, as well as other Hawaiian folk traditions, has remained in practice in family traditions in communities throughout the islands, even though it has lacked social visibility and prominence. It is also interesting that the recent move towards popularization originated by individuals who were not already using ho'oponopono.

9. The questions raised in the project are some of the primary issues being examined in this paper. The author had asked: "Can ho'oponopono be done by a non-Hawaiian? Is it transferable? Can it be used effectively in one-parent situations or in no-parent situations? Can it be used in community organization work with communities? Can it be used with non-Hawaiians?" (pp. 109-110).

The answer to all these questions is "yes," in that it has been used in all of these contexts. However, the question of measuring relative effectiveness in various settings remains for further study.

10. Pukui (1972) reported that retribution from the aumakua would befall an individual who did not forgive when asked (p. 74).

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

The following chapter will have two main purposes. The first will be to describe the research design of the study, including the participants, methods and how the material gathered was analyzed. The second purpose will be to introduce the case studies of the eight primary participants of the research. General information about the individuals will be compared in order to perceive the sample as a whole. This will be followed in Chapter IV by a more detailed description of each individual which includes their general attitudes about the meaning and use of ho'oponopono.

RESEARCH DESIGN:

Participants. The primary criteria for being included in this study was that the individual had to have had recent experience leading ho'oponopono sessions as a part of their work. Eight individuals who were asked to participate consented, and one other declined.

The reason given as to why the latter individual did not want to take part in the study was related to his objection of the premise of "adaptation" that is implied in the study. It was his belief that being a part of the study might be seen by others as a tacit sanction of the various uses of ho'oponopono described. He had many reservations about the variations because they might not do justice to the form and essence of traditional ho'oponopono practice.

Names of other individuals who had experience using ho'oponopono came to my attention, but I felt that the selected sample was a sufficient representation of the predominant use of ho'oponopono in work settings on Oahu.

In addition to the eight individuals interviewed for the case studies, numerous discussions were held with other individuals knowledgeable about the subject who were most helpful in clarifying issues and sharing their insights on the subject.[1] Their contributions have been integrated into the form and content of the paper.

Method. The primary method of gathering information from the eight individuals was the unstructured or open-ended interview. The value of intensive, or unstructured interviewing in descriptive studies of social interaction has been outlined by Lofland (1971 and 1976), Bogdan and Taylor (1975) and Spradley and McCurdy (1972) based on the experience of sociologists and anthropologists in their field research. Some of the benefits of this type of method include the researchers enhanced opportunity to: 1) engage in face-to-face interaction, which is the most comprehensive way to know another person and/or situation, 2) gain a perspective from the subjects' point of view and receive information in the subject's own terms; 3) explore concepts in great detail; 4) examine the contradictions and paradoxes that are a part of a person's experience, and 5) assign human meaning to a situation which could provide the context and background for later statistical studies of a more generalizable nature. The following paragraphs describe the process used in this study to prepare for and conduct the interviews, and to analyze the materials from them.

Prior to contacting the individuals for the interview, an interview guide was prepared. The major purpose of this guide was to prepare the interviewer by providing a check-list of major topics that should be covered in the interview. Two Hawaiians who are acknowledged as experts on Hawaiian concepts related to mental health, including ho'oponopono, assisted in constructing the guide. With their help, important topical components, especially those cultural assumptions most likely to be hidden form the scrutiny of a non-Hawaiian, were included in the guide. A rationale for this type of pre-interview work is provided by Hunt (1964) who concluded that interviewers need to be intelligent and well-informed about the interview topic prior to the interview. Other authors Pareek and Venkateswara Rao (1980), have written about the "authenticity" of

responses in interviews and found that the likelihood of effective cross-cultural interviews is greatly enhanced when the interviewer is well acquainted with the interview topics. A copy of the interview guide that was prepared and used in this study is found in Appendix B. More information on how it was actually used in the interviews will be given later in the section.

The next step in the process was to begin contacting individuals for participation in the study. I began with five specific individuals who had used ho'oponopono. In addition, I had the names of two agencies in the community who were reputed to use ho'oponopono. Contacts made with individuals in these agencies resulted in getting the names of the three people who would complete my sample.[2]

At least one preliminary meeting was set up with each individual to explain the purpose of the study, to explain the structure of the interview and to set up an appointment for the interview. This meeting took place with all but one participant. Because of an extremely busy schedule he could not fit in this additional meeting, so the first part of his interview was spent covering the preliminary information.

The interviews took place in a variety of settings. The most common was the place of work of the participants. One interview took place at my place of work and one other was conducted at a participant's home. Generally, two hours were set aside for the interview but in actuality they ranged in time from 1½ hours to 3½ hours, including the greeting and farewell phases.

Each interview was tape-recorded. In seven cases the participant responded to open-ended queries about their experiences using ho'oponopono --i.e. what it means, how they came to use it and any personal comments about its use. One participant felt this was too unstructured for her and asked if we could use the interview guide to structure the interview, which we did.

In all the other cases after the open-ended part of the interview, I followed up with questions from the interview guide. In some cases although the material on the guide had already been covered, the topic was brought up again in summary fashion. This gave the participant an opportunity to elaborate on the subject if inspired to do so. In other instances topics on the guide were new to the participants and gave them a chance to look at their experience of ho'oponopono from a novel perspective. Since most of the topics in the guide were in rough form, the participants' responses were invaluable in helping me to clarify and specify useful and articulate ways of expressing the topic. In that way the guide took on a somewhat "organic" and evolving form which gave me clues as to what the salient features for analysis would be. Each taped interview was reviewed and extensive notes were taken on each, including much verbatim material.

Additional notes were kept on all contacts with participants prior, during and after the interviews and recorded in a field notebook. Reconstructions of conversations, methodological observations, analytic notes and personal reactions to the interviews were included in this record. Participation-observation was also done in one program where two of the participants worked and used ho'oponopono. Notes on this experience were also taken.

These two sources, the interview notes and the field notes made up a set of working notes that were coded and analyzed. The categories of analysis were suggested from three sources. The first source was a set of questions that I had formulated when I began the research.

1) What were the reasons that the individual decided to use ho'oponopono?
2) How did the individual learn to use the practice?
3) Were there guidelines in operation that were used to determine how and under what circumstances ho'oponopono was to be used? If yes, what were they

4) What were the perceived changes that occurred in ho'oponopono as a result of its use in a non-traditional setting?

5) What is the individual's evaluation of the efficacy of ho'oponopono?

6) What difficulties were encountered by using the practice and what are the recommendations to others who might want to use it?

Another source of specific categories was the interview guide topics. Specific information on the details of the process of ho'oponopono itself emerged here. Finally, during the process of reviewing the working notes, new empirical categories were suggested.[3] The specific model of ho'oponopono presented in Chapter V was constructed from the working notes on two participants, as well as additional conferences with one participant. The conferences, which were not taped, were designed to check the reliability of the information in the notes and analysis, as well as to elaborate on particular details of the ho'oponopono process that might be useful for social workers.

OVERVIEW OF CASE STUDIES:

General Background Information. It is interesting to examine some of the general characteristics of the eight individuals in this study to see what their similarities and differences are as a group.

Included in the group are four men and four women ranging in age from 28 to "between 60 and 65." Three of the participants named their ethnicity as Hawaiian, or part-Hawaiian. There are also four Caucasians and one Filipino. At this point the group seems quite heterogenous.

However, one of the interesting similarities that became apparent as the interviews proceeded was the similarity in background training. Seven out of the eight individuals had previous training and/or education in areas that are generally concerned with "human relations." Included in this category are experience in counseling, transactional analysis, communication, group process,

humanistic education, Gestalt, peer counseling, parent effectiveness training, encounter, human relations, and social work. The eighth person, although not formally trained in human relations, had the job of counselor, as a para-professional. This commonality may be indicative of a number of things: Possibly it may show that persons with this type of background are attracted to ho'oponopono; perhaps they find an affinity with it based on underlying values and processes in "human relations" that are similar to ho'oponopono. It may also indicate that a background of human relations training is a prerequisite to being able to use the complex process of ho'oponopono. Some of the participants themselves thought this was true.

The seven who had "human relations" experience also had at least a bachelor's degree. Five had master's degrees and one had a doctoral degree. The para-professional mentioned earlier had some college experience but less than a bachelor's. This tendency toward advanced educational degrees amy also have some bearing on the decision to use ho'oponopono. There is a relationship between having an advanced degree and the tendency towards being cosmopolitan, or nonprovincial. Rogers and Shoemaker (1971) have pointed out that cosmopolite individuals are more likely to be both aware of innovations and prone to adopt innovations earlier than others (p. 108 & 189).

Another dimension of the participants that is worth examining is the nature of their experience using ho'oponopono, including the way they learned to use the process, their breadth of experience using it, including the range of settings they have used it in. Three of the individuals participated in discussions with Mary Kawena Pukui on the traditional use of ho'oponopono. These individuals are also ethnically part-Hawaiian. All the others learned primarily from Nana I Ke Kumu, the book that came out of the Queen Liliuokalani Children's Center Culture Committee discussions. A few individuals had also

heard presentations about ho'oponopono but Nana I Ke Kumu is still relied upon as the primary resource.

Not surprisingly the three individuals who were on the Culture Committee have used parts of ho'oponopono or the complete process over the longest period of time, in one instance since 1963. Two out of this group have also had the most extensive experience using the process in various settings from working with Hawaiian families to working with non-related, non-Hawaiian groups. They are also the individuals whose model of ho'oponopono appears in Chapter V. The other five individuals have used ho'oponopono primarily within the context of their job. Three of the individuals used ho'oponopono over a several year period during a summer outdoor educational program, while the other two individuals used it on a daily basis with young men in a drug abuse program over a 2½ year period.

It is important to keep those factors of background training, ethnicity, how ho'oponopono was learned, and breadth of experience using ho'oponopono in mind when reading the individual case studies. Variations in the ability to articulate the process, attitudes towards its use and recommendations for others will certainly be affected by some of these factors. This study does not draw any particular conclusion as to the relationship of any of the factors to the information received during the interviews, but some tentative ideas may emerge as the individual case studies are thoroughly examined.

A final component of general information on the participants that warrants examination concerns the relationship of each with the interviewer. I had considerably different relationships with each of the participants. I have worked closely with three participants for over a 1-2 year period. I had met and spoken with two other participants about the project a few times before its inception. I met the remaining three individuals shortly before the

interviews specifically to request their participation in the project. I realize that this variation may have a bearing on a number of issues including 1) the amount of information shared during the interview, 2) the degree to which I understood the information shared, 3) the quality of information given, particularly the degree to which problems and concerns about ho'oponopono might be shared. Again, however, though I realize these issues need to be stated, I am not prepared to draw conclusions about a direct link between my relationship with the individuals and the results of the interview. One of the ways I adjusted for the variation was to take more time with individuals I didn't know in order to establish a comfortable relationship. I accomplished this via phone conversations and the preliminary meeting. Another way I check reliability was to cross-check information among individuals who had worked with one another or who had used ho'oponopono in the same program or setting. Participants were also given an opportunity to review their case study in order to check the accuracy and interpretation of the findings.

Each of the participants mentioned in the case studies have been given a pseudonym to protect their identity. The agency's program description will also be omitted. Because the agencies and individuals associated with the use of ho'oponopono are few, it is possible that readers of this study may recognize them. All participants in the study are aware of this possibility and have no serious objections to it.

The following chart (Figure 1) lists the names I gave the participants and provides a summary of some of the general characteristics discussed earlier. Prior training in human relations is noted. Highest educational degree received, ethnicity and sex are given. Also listed is the breadth of experience. This factor is ordered as high, medium or low depending upon the amount of experience using ho'oponopono reported and the number of various contexts in which they

have used the process. The relationship with the interviewer factor is also ordered as high involvement, medium involvement and low involvement to coincide with the amount of contact with the participant prior to the interview.

Figure 1

General Characteristics of Participants

	Sex	Ethn.	Prior Trng in Human Rel.	Highest Educ. Degree	Breadth of Exp. Using Ho	Relationship with Interviewer
1. Virginia Wahler	F	Cauc.	X	MA	Medium	High involvement
2. Robert Padua	M	Fil.		HS dip.	Low	High involvement
3. Jean Baker	F	Cauc.	X	MS	Medium	Low involvement
4. Joseph Whitney	M	Cauc.	X	BA	Medium	Low involvement
5. Paul Ellis	M	Cauc.	X	Ph.D.	Low	Low involvement
6. Keola Espiritu	M	Haw.	X	MSW	High	Medium involvement
7. Kalau Souza	F	Haw.	X	MSW	Low	Medium involvement
8. Lani Espiritu	F	Haw.	X	MSW	High	High involvement

CHAPTER NOTES

1. I would particularly like to thank Grace Oness, David Lucas and Charles Nakoa of Queen Liliuokalani Children's Center, Dr. Tom Maretzki of the University of Hawaii and Dr. Richard Brislin of the East-West Center.

2. As I mentioned earlier other names of individuals were suggested to me, but because of time limitations I could not include them in the sample. After consultation with a number of individuals on the issue of determining a sufficient sample I felt satisfied with keeping the total at eight.

3. This latter source is recommended by Glaser and Strauss (1967) in their work discussing the use of "grounded theory" building in the social sciences.

CHAPTER 4: INDIVIDUAL CASE STUDIES

Each of the eight participants will be considered individually in this section. The purpose is to give the reader a general picture of each individuals' experience using ho'oponopono.

The first part of each case study, context of use, will begin with a small amount of personal information. This part will also present information on the audience ho'oponopono was used with, and any other information about the setting that seems pertinent. In some of the examples the use of ho'oponopono was a regular part of an ongoing program. In these instances the program will be described so it is possible to see how ho'oponopono fit with other features of the program.

The second part of each case study will concentrate on comments that reflect each individuals' attitudes about ho'oponopono. The topics covered here will refer to six areas of question.

1) How did the individual learn about ho'oponopono?
2) What does the person believe is the purpose of the practice?
3) What is their personal assessment of its impact?
4) What adaptations of the process have been made and what are their attitudes about adaptation.
5) What problems or barriers were encountered using the process?
6) What issues arose while using ho'oponopono that might lead to useful recommendations for others considering using the process?

Quoted material used in this section is taken from the notes from the taped interviews. All interviews took place during the period of time January through March, 1981.

Virginia Wahler - Age: 55:

Context of Use. Virginia has resided in Hawaii since 1973 and has a background in education. She is an extremely warm and energetic woman whose training includes counseling, primarily transactional analysis, and communication/human relations. Creativity and communication are two long-standing personal interests which she weaves into whatever she is doing. In the last few years Virginia lists "spiritual development" as a primary personal goal.

In her work in Hawaii she has concentrated on designing and implementing programs for young people who are in danger of becoming seriously delinquent and alienated. For the past three years she has had the opportunity to bring her dream program for a "positive youth development model" into function. Funded by a national drug abuse agency the program was designed as a 3-year action research project with two primary goals: 1) studying the effects of multiple drug abuse on male adolescents, and 2) exploring the effects of an innovative residential treatment approach that utilizes a camp setting and emphasizes education, the environment and culture, and enhancing self concept through positive interaction and successful experiences.

The program brought four groups, of approximately fifteen boys each, to a residential camp setting for a six-month period of treatment. The in-residence period is followed by a five-month in-community follow-up period, and another five-month period in the community without supervision. A variety of test measures are given at the inception and/or completion of each phase and are compared with the results of selected control groups.

In managing the program, Virginia was guided by the two questions she teaches the boys to ask when making decisions: "Will it work" (i.e. get the desired result) and 'Does it honor everyone involved?" Virginia states that role of ho'oponopono in the program has been as "a primary spiritual element,

as well as our major therapeutic counseling tool." It also is a vehicle for emphasizing Hawaiian cultural traditions, a major value in the program. Virginia uses it with both the boys and the camp staff.

Comments about Ho'oponopono. Virginia knew a little about ho'oponopono, but it really made an impact upon her when she heard a presentation on the process by another individual in the case study, Keola Espiritu.[1] At this point Virginia reports she began"to explore ho'oponopono for me—for how I could use it." Later, while she was writing the drug abuse project she read Nana I Ke Kumu, Vol. I and learned more specifically about ho'oponopono.

"As I see it Nana I Ke Kumu defined it as it was originally, as it is intended to be, and how it works."

And she believes the purpose stated in the book is best: "setting things to right... because we teach so much about balance or harmony. Our body, mind, emotions spirit need to be in balance. That's what I call being 'together'. And they (the boys) are not 'together' when they come to us -- inside themselves. So we work on all four sides of man...And ho'oponopono is a process for putting things to right, back in balance, within the individual, and within their 'ohana'".

Ho'oponopono is used to solve problems that have come up in the group as well as to reaffirm positive individual and group behavior. Because it is used on a daily basis, it helps cement the relations of the group and becomes a preventive tool. It is a time during the day that the boys can share things like:

"'I had a good day...I like this...We had good fun doing this...Things going good...No problem...We had a problem, but we settled it before we got here'".

The outcome of doing the process everyday is that after a few months the boys begin to use ho'oponopono informally among themselves during the day to resolve minor problems that arise. Unfortunately, after the boys leave the six-month residential portion of the project and are back in the community, they do not have much opportunity to continue using ho'oponopono. Follow-up care which is provided for five more months in the community, included ho'oponopono sessions with some but not all the groups. Virginia was disappointed that it wasn't as strong a feature of after-care as she had hoped. Program evaluations have also indicated that very few boys take their experience of using ho'oponopono back to their families. A notable exception is one Hawaiian boy who has shared the practice with this family and has taught his friends.

According to Virginia's evaluation at this phase of the project, about 85% of the approximately 50 boys who have resided at the camp have done very well. She feels that ho'oponopono is one of the main causes of the success. Toward the end of our interview she said somewhat humorously, "I would hate to think (laughter), of trying to do this program, even with everything else, but without ho'oponopono!"

In terms of the program's use of ho'oponopono, Virginia realizes that there have been departures from what was outlined in Nana I Ke Kumu. She states that the version of ho'oponopono that came out of Nana I Ke Kumu that was taught by Keola Espiritu "feels the best and this is the one we've used." She is grateful to have the book as a resource for its clear and precise definition, although for use in the program they have used ho'oponopono in a more general way.

"Because there isn't always a problem, which means an injurer and an injured caught in hihia, the net. We don't go through all the steps every time, which Robert[2] probably shared with you. We only go through all the steps when there is an injurer and an injured."

Another change reflected her questioning about who could take the role of haku, or leader. Initially Virginia had Hawaiian individuals from the community lead the sessions, but after a few months when outside resource people became less available, she decided that she and her camp counselors would lead it. It was then she realized that the strength was in the process itself and not the person. This was quite a hurdle because she earlier had doubts about whether or not a non-Hawaiian could lead ho'oponopono.

When Virginia was asked what difficulties she encountered using ho'oponopono, she replied "I don't recall any!" However, at other points in the interview she did mention a few items of concern. She recalled some other counselors had been resistant to using ho'oponopono without training. Also she saw her "haole-ness" as a potential problem initially but the problem didn't seem to materialize "I became 'Mama Virginia'". As far as understanding the concepts in the process she said that "restitution" was a difficult concept for some counselors to grasp. Since our society is so oriented to crime and punishment she believes that some counselors tended to equate restitution with punishment.

One issue that surfaced in talking with Virginia included the possibility of using ho'oponopono with cultural groups other than Hawaiians. Virginia expressed strong belief in the possible applicability of ho'oponopono with non-Hawaiian cultural groups. In her program most of the boys were "local," i.e. had grown up in Hawaii, and many were ethnically part-Hawaiian. Even those who were not of Hawaiian ethnic background shared some degree of Hawaiian cultural identification. However, she believes that ho'oponopono would be particularly transferable to other ethnic groups, such as Native Americans and Chicanos, who are going through cultural identity struggles. Equivalent concepts exist in all cultures and appropriate and corresponding terms could be used instead of the Hawaiian ones but the complex process and steps would

be kept intact because they are "therapeutically sound." Interestingly she also believes the process would be most difficult with haoles. She states, "At least ones acculturated to 'left brain' cognitive values. I see ho'oponopono as a 'right brain' activity - more meditative and even mystical in how it works."

In addition, Virginia believes that variation in the style of leadership in ho'oponopono is alright. She said that the relationship of the leader with the group is perhaps most crucial. Access to supportive, authentic resource people was an implied recommendation to anyone thinking of using the process.

Robert Padua - Age: 34:

Context of Use. Robert was born and raised in Hawaii, and has strong ties with his own Filipino ("Malayan") heritage. His father is renowned on Oahu as a master in a Filipino martial art, one in which Robert is also considered well-trained. He is the head-counselor for Virginia Wahler's residential treatment program. His background is distinct from the other individual's interviewed, not only by virtue of his ethnic background, but also educationally. Although he has not completed college, Virginia has an enormous amount of confidence in Robert's ability to act as camp manager as well as head counselor. The boys at camp respond positively to this man who teaches them primarily by being a positive model of a person who espouses the simple joys of life and who can be equally strong or sensitive when appropriate. He perceives himself to be effective because he has a great deal of spiritual faith. Because of this he believes he is a channel for powers greater than his own. This spiritual element is a plus that he thinks counselors with M.A. degrees often lack.

Comments About Ho'oponopono. Whereas Virginia is the overall program director and has many tasks that keep her busy in her office, Robert's position as head counselor means that he lives at camp with the boys. Oftentimes this has included weekends. His role includes maintaining the positive tone of the program's goals. Included in the activities is a daily ho'oponopono session that he leads. Robert first witnessed versions of ho'oponopono led by Hawaiian resource people from the community. He acknowledges that he learned a lot from these individuals, but also realized that what he saw wasn't really his "way" and he had doubts about its' effectiveness. When Virginia made the decision that she and the camp counselors would begin leading the sessions, she taught Robert and the other counselors. The version of ho'oponopono they learned was

from Nana I Ke Kumu. During the interview Robert reached for his wallet and drew out a small, business-like card on which the basic steps and conditions of ho'oponopono were neatly typed. Robert said he used it for teaching the boys and as a reminder for himself if he forgot the Hawaiian terms.

Robert sees the basic purpose of ho'oponopono as "problem-solving."

"I don't know how other people hold their ho'oponopono, but our boys all came here because they had problems. And ho'oponopono is one of the tools to solve their problems...I don't know...I hate to say it, but some people are devilish. There's a devil in them,...And it just overcomes them. It's like being possessed. And ho'oponopono knows this and ho'oponopono senses this and eliminates it. But the hard thing is, did we do the right thing? Cause our main purpose is to solve problems, not to throw away problems."

Robert agreed with Virginia that ho'oponopono is useful for both small and large problems. Some of the simple problems that might arise in a session would deal with "getting up in the morning, setting the table and being on time." During a session with these concerns the boys would often make agreements to help one another keep on schedule, or follow through on the assigned task. Some of the larger problems included running away from camp, conflict with camp staff not associated with their program and physical violence among the boys. About some of the outcomes in these sessions, Robert said, "I used to call it small miracles because - the change in the boys - not the boys, but the leaders. The so-called negative leaders...they were so much turned around. Much softer. No shrug in the shoulders."

With each treatment group Robert saw major changes by the fourth month and said of these changes, "I knew it was ho'oponopono constantly being used." "I think that's the fuse...I think that's the main ingredient to the changing of the boys."

Some of the specific changes that Robert attributes to ho'oponopono are related to relationships and values. By doing the process everyday "you become closer, as a family, an ohana. And it becomes natural...It's just a thing that becomes love. It becomes family. You want to - I mean, I feel that the boys look forward for it."

Later in the interview Robert reiterated this point. "When you do it constantly, you form a relationhip. And this family-type relationship brings out the honesty in the individual...and in the circle, the ho'oponopono circle. If there is fallacy, or false, somehow...it eliminates. It's a process of elimination too."

Although Robert frequently spoke glowingly of the changes in the boys and largely attributed them to ho'oponopono, he did admit that it's very difficult to judge how much long term change has been achieved.

"You try to tell yourself that you did right. But did we really do right?... It could have been 1% or 10% that could have been saved...but how can we judge that? So I see that ho'oponopono eliminates, but yet, we don't know if the person really has been saved."

As mentioned earlier Robert felt skeptical at first about whether or not ho'oponopono was effective. He was able to see the value of the process only after using it on a daily basis and developing a leadership style that was comfortable for him. Several adaptations have been made. Robert does not always use the steps as outlined because he felt that structure didn't work. The boys were all taught the Hawaiian terms for the steps and concepts, but in the daily sessions Robert used English terms instead. Another departure was that the discussions were less formal, which means that they weren't channeled. Robert admits, "we've made a lot of short-cuts." His main goal was to have a process that emphasized truthfulness and clear communication. He said that in

the six-month period the boys are in camp"there isn't enough time for workshops and study that would give them the 'true way of ho'oponopono,' so ho'oponopono to me is—I really don't know the real truth. All I know is the way we tell it.... Like the song 'we did it our way'...and we'll be criticized. And it shouldn't be that way. The Hawaiians will say...'step-by-step'...,but I don't know. We just felt the spirit."

Few difficulties in using ho'oponopono were mentioned by Robert. In reference to people outside the program, he was aware of some resistance to using the process. He saw this primarily as a fear of truth, closeness and change. Another quite separate barrier occurred with a non-local boy who was in the program. He "didn't last" and left the program because the cultural changes were too dramatic. Like Virginia, Robert concludes there would be difficulty using ho'oponopono with non-local boys.

A definite theme throughout the talks with Robert was his personal conviction of the positive value of ho'oponopono. He affirmed that if he ever has a family of his own he will use the process. It is a process that makes him feel better about himself and others and in his enthusiasm on the subject, he stated, "That's the way the world should be—a big ho'oponopono!" Perhaps the key element in the process for him is the spiritual. When the spiritual part is felt by the participants Robert believes the process works.

Robert's first reaction to a question asking for recommendations to others was a frank "I really don't know." A minute later he was able to say that, "It takes a lot of time. You know, to do ho'oponopono, yeah, it will work... if you want to learn—hold it as a workshop type, yearly... But if you want to get results..."

Jean Baker - Age: 30:

Context of Use. Jean came to Hawaii about five years ago from the mid-western region of the U.S. Her education and training have focused on "experiential education" which promotes outdoor experiences like hiking, rock-climbing and canoeing as a way to enhance physical, emotional and intellectual growth. Another related area of interest has been in humanistic education and counseling. Jean has also had training in Gestalt, peer counseling and parent education programs. Some of the personal values that Jean shared during the interview included freedom, the importance of family, individuality, independence and improving relationships with friends.

Presently Jean is the program director for a "school" that provides an opportunity for a wilderness experience in Hawaii. The school's slogan is "You're Better Than You Think You Are." This slogan challenges individuals to explore their potential more fully by undertaking a 4 to 24 day wilderness course. The course challenges span many dimensions including the physical, emotional, spiritual and intellectual and are hoped to result in an encounter that facilitates a starting point, turning point or point of reaffirmation in the lives of the participants.

One of the things that distinguishes this program from others like it elsewhere, is the emphasis on emotional growth and positive, caring group relations. The program uses the concept ohana to describe the group of approximately ten individuals who make the wilderness journey. During the interview I asked Jean to describe how important ho'oponopono is in the program.

"Our school is dedicated to teaching skills and it's also dedicated to maintaining its relation with the environment, which is Hawaii, which is Hawaiian. So it's essential that we're teaching the ethnobotany; that we're teaching the history, the legends, that we're teaching about the Hawaiian

sky and the geology, and everything around you that's Hawaiian. Everything that we teach has a Hawaiian focus on it. Because that's where we are... And in that same respect, ho'oponopono is...a vital part of our program. It just links it all together. It makes us whole. It makes it all make sense that...we don't have to go out and borrow some Swedish kind of problem-solving to work with Hawaiian people."

Within the context of the wilderness courses, ho'oponopono is taught to the participants, both to educate them about this Hawaiian practice and to make it an available tool for group problem solving while in the program. It has also been used with the staff during instructor training and orientation time.

Comments About Ho'oponopono. Jean learned about ho'oponopono by reading Nana I Ke Kumu. The book was circulated among the program staff and sparked discussions about how the process might be used in the wilderness courses. Once they decided to use it, a few people from the community, who were experts in "Hawaiiana," were invited to come to a staff training. This gave the program staff an opportunity to learn more about ho'oponopono as well as to check out the reaction of the program's intended use of the practice with some community leaders. Part of the regular staff training also focuses on communication skills and group process, which Jean sees as groundwork for competent use of ho'oponopono.

To Jean, the literal translation of ho'oponopono, "to make right" sums up the meaning. Furthermore, she sees it as a way "to deal with any kind of problems or conflicts that come up in a group setting." Like Virginia and Robert, she also sees ho'oponopono being used in a more general, reinforcing way. "We'll often do a lot of positive things to help keep the energy high. To acknowledge people's contributions. To validate their roles."

Jean emphasized the value of doing ho'oponopono when small problems arise, rather than waiting for large conflicts. In this way if the little probems are

handled well, then the participants experience feelings of success associated with the process and are more likely to request it when another problem arises.

As program director, part of Jean's responsibilities include meeting with each participant after the course is over to get a sense of what impact the course had on them. She asks whether or not they did ho'oponopono and "did it do any good?" Although Jean has never recorded any of the specific responses, she does have a general conclusion about them.

"People come away from the course being able to express themselves a lot better. Knowing that they can do it—they can solve problems just like they can climb to the top of a mountain. That it isn't so frightening anymore to talk about a problem. And I don't think they can go away and lead a ho'oponopono or that they miss it, but I think that they do miss the more intimate, the more genuine talk about their feelings. And I think in that respect, it's very successful."

In using ho'oponopono in the courses Jean recognizes that there have been some alterations. The course instructors reassure the participants that a traditional possible outcome, mō ka piko, will not be used. This phrase refers to severing a relationship which could occur when a serious offense has threatened the continued harmony of the family. Harboring a grudge and being unwilling to forgive to another person could precipitate the drastic measure of mō ka piko. Jean believes that this has no place in their program.

Another departure is that the discussion is ordinarily not channeled through the leader. The leader would step in if anger surfaced that blocked problem resolution. In this case the leader's job would be to help re-establish a calm atmosphere and help the group understand "that they don't have to be controlled by what they're feeling. To remind them of their aloha that they have. And that they can solve problems." The leader might then step in to facilitate the discussion and speak with one person at a time.

The pani, or closing phase of the session does not always include a snack or meal which is another change. Instead Jean might suggest that everyone take a swim in the ocean or spend some time alone for a few minutes.

Generally, Jean seemed to favor the continued use of ho'oponopono, not just in their program but wherever it might be useful. She realizes that some people have a fear of using it and is able to project what some of their objections might be.

"'We can't use ho'oponopono because the problem's not big enough! Or 'Because I'm not Hawaiian'...or 'Because we don't do it by the letter of the law, so it's not ho'oponopono.'" Jean's reaction to such objections are, "I personally don't buy it. I think it's an incredible and very sophisticated process and it's something that you can share with people. And that it will help the history live on. By using it, not by not using it... Not by putting it in a closet until the Hawaiian race is restored, or something...because, that's not likely."

This feeling of Jean's is related to something that she sees as a major barrier in the use of ho'oponopono; namely, the tendency for people to treat it as "bigger than life." Jean says "It is just life. That it's just taking care of problems. And...that's an everyday thing. And...when you do it, that your life is richer. I think that's a very key thing for people to understand."

An overly reverential attitude towards the process can create a resistance towards using it. Jean believes resistance may be due to a person's lack of confidence, knowledge and skills. Her program attempts to overcome this barrier by supporting the inexperienced leader by teaming them up on the course with an instructor who is more skilled. Fear of dealing with anger may be another inhibitor for an instructor. Jean believes dealing with anger is the most difficult issue in ho'oponopono. However, she expressed confidence in a

variety of strategies within ho'oponopono that could be used to deal with the anger, including getting rid of it by expressing verbally or calling a ho'omalu and taking the angry individual aside to allow him or her to ventilate the anger away from the group.

Jean mentioned some minor problem areas that are mostly related to doing ho'oponopono within the context of a wilderness journey. For example, instructors need to tune in to the energy level of the group and to avoid convening a session when the group is exhausted from a day of arduous hiking. Timing is also crucial. Instructors should make sure that sessions don't prevent the group from being at its scheduled course destination. These are practical matters that are very important in this particular setting.

When asked if she had any recommendations for those who might want to use ho'oponopono, Jean gave a reply that summed up many of her earlier concerns.

"Just to do it. Don't let it be bigger than life. Let it be a usable thing. Give it away to people to be something that they can use. Don't hoard it."

Joseph Whitney - Age: 28:

Context of Use. Although Joseph was born on the mainland, he moved to Hawaii when he was an infant. According to some people that's pretty close to kama'aina, or native born status. He has traveled quite a bit in Asia and considers living in other cultures as one of his training experiences. Joseph got his bachelor's degree in two disciplines, English and Psychology and has followed that with training and employment in counseling and experiencial education. Other training has been in humanistic psychology, "group work" and communication. While talking with Joseph, I got the impression that he seeks challenging experiences and is particularly interested to see what other cultures and traditions have to teach him. He spoke of values that embraced a hope for a world of trust, openness, "transparent communication", love and a belief in the interdependence of all things.

At the time of the interview Joseph had just returned from a trip and was preparing to embark on another. His experience using ho'oponopono had been in the wilderness school, working with Jean Baker and others. He worked a few summers with the school as an instructor, and facilitated ho'oponopono sessions with course participants and the staff.

In addition to using ho'oponopono with groups here in Hawaii, Joseph has used it in two other wilderness-type courses on the Mainland. The groups in both courses consisted of delinquent adolescent males, one predominately of blacks from Pennsylvania and the other of mostly upper-class whites from Southern California. He is the only individual in the case studies who has used ho'oponopono outside of Hawaii.

Comments About Ho'oponopono. Joseph first encountered the concept of ho'oponopono while doing volunteer work with prisoners. The way they explained it to him was "everyone pulling together," which reminded Joseph of laulima

(cooperation). Early in 1978 Joseph attended a humanistic psychology conference and met one of the instructors of the wilderness school, which eventually led to a job with the organization. When he first began working, his understanding of ho'oponopono was quite vague. "It was just this mystical group process that made everything alright when there was a group problem....Then I read Nana I Ke Kumu. And that's where I got my understanding of it."

During the interview Joseph stated that the purpose of ho'oponopono was "for resolving any conflict that involves the group, not for a conflict between two people." He uses it mostly as an intervention measure, but says it could be considered preventive in that it keeps problems from getting larger.

Joseph has used a variety of other group processing strategies but prefers to use ho'oponopono.

"I'm in favor of ho'oponopono above other group processes I'm aware of, because it seems to me that other group processes can be included in ho'oponopono. (V.S. "Can you give me some examples of things ho'oponopono has that other group methods don't?") "The prayer maybe...The solemn group agreement of 'do you accept me as a leader? We're gonna stay with one layer of the onion.' The agreement that 'we won't enter into this unless everyone has the spirit of truth...At the end of this ho'oponopono there's ho'omalu on everything. Silence. It's dead. We won't talk about it anymore.' I really appreciate that."

As his experience using the process increased, Joseph's attitude toward it changed. He realized that ho'oponopono is not a cure-all, that there are some problems that cannot be resolved in the process, particularly organizational problems. However, even after this sobering realization, Joseph

asserts that he prefers to use ho'oponopono even when the outcome is not likely to be ideal. In the Hawaii wilderness program he thought "it was very appropriate, as a forum. As a well-structured thing that guided the group process along certain lines that I see as real valuable." He believes that most of the participants have a "very positive" attitude about it. "I've had students say 'This is incredible...I wish we had more.'" More confirmation of its value came from some parents of a course participant who excalimed to Joseph "'What's this ho'oponopono? My son comes back and all of a sudden he wants the family to sit down together and talk. What is this?'"

When Joseph used ho'oponopono with the black young men he found it to be incredibly difficult, primarily because there was so little trust in the group. Yet even after this frustrating experience one of the toughest kids came up to Joseph after the course and said "Hey, I really owe you," which in this setting may be roughly translated as "you're my friend."

Joseph adheres to most of the steps in ho'oponopono that were outlined In Nana I Ke Kumu. One of the areas where there is divergence is in the discussion phase. He allows discussion directly between participants, although as a leader he does channel a lot of it. Another variation was the use of co-leaders when a staff ho'oponopono was held. The series of sessions in this case lasted for three days, which would have made it very fatiguing and complex for one person to facilitate alone. When using the process on the mainland Joseph approached the use of ho'oponopono differently. With the kids from Pennsylvania he spent time "talking story" about Hawaiian culture and legends and included an explanation of ho'oponopono. When the boys showed an interest he suggested they might use it sometime. When he finally did lead a ho'oponopono session with them he didn't use the Hawaiian terms which had little meaning to the boys. To these institution-wise boys

the process was simply a variation of what they might sarcastically refer to as "group". Joseph made very little mention of his personal attitudes towards adaptations of ho'oponopono as being positive or negative. As a result of his experience with the mainland groups though, he said it takes some experimentation to know when the group is ready for it, since Joseph sees a relationship between a high level of trust in the group and positive outcomes.

In addition to problems with low trust, Joseph found that poor listening skills, inability to recognize and express feelings and lack of appreciation of other group members were factors that could interfere with getting a desired resolution in ho'oponopono.

Perhaps the major change in Joseph's expectations about outcomes in ho'oponopono came during the marathon staff session he co-led. During the session some of the concerns individuals expressed involved organizational policies and procedures. Joseph has serious doubts about whether or not ho'oponopono should be used with these kind of problems, since in most cases the management has considerably more power to make the decisions than the staff. He perceived other problems in the staff ho'oponopono including unclear group expectations of what was to be resolved, unclear roles of the participants, who also had authority within the organization, and value differences among participants. The length of the marathon-type sessions led to what Joseph called "personal burn-out" due to having too much "emotional intensity." He also said he had the feeling that even after three days the issues were not really resolved and that the sessions should have had some follow-up. In this situation Joseph concluded that ho'oponopono had been used inappropriately.

His experiences led him to begin assessing groups to determine which

would have necessary conditions for ho'oponopono. He now thinks that ho'oponopono may not be effective in organizations with a hierarchical structure to resolve business matters. It may still be useful for interpersonal difficulties and airing feelings in an organization. Another group that Joseph would hesitate using the process with is psychiatric patients. He also warned about being wary of "people who want to do group all the time." Sometimes conflict is not interpersonal and can be remedied in other ways. Other suggestions included making sure the ho'oponopono setting was comfortable and that people were not unduly tired. Not being bound by a time limit was also mentioned, as a favorable condition. Finally, he stated that leading ho'oponopono is a skill that requires a "non-judgemental attitude, (being) real warm and real accepting, assertive....being aware of own energy level." Joseph finds it helpful to spend time alone prior to leading a session in order to prepare himself.

Joseph's response to the question about suggestions to people who are considering using ho'oponopono was:

"If you've only heard about it, sit in on half a dozen first. Be pretty clear when you're gonna do it...Summon up all the aloha and all the support you can, from wherever you get it. And, just don't be afraid, I mean, just go past it. Cause it's a really scary thing to lead one. And, I would say too, don't - don't get caught up in 'was it a good or bad ho'oponopono?' I think they're all worthy ho'oponoponos."

Joseph did have one other strongly held belief he wanted to share about ho'oponopono.

"I think, for me, one of the most wonderful aspects about it, is that it's so connected with, say, with these islands, with this culture. That it comes out of such an interconnectedness....And it can teach a lot besides communication ...and I think that's real necessary these days."

Paul Ellis - Age: 36:

Context of Use. Paul, who was raised in Chicago, has lived in Hawaii for about ten years. He seems to be an intense, hard-working person with a playful sense of humor, as characterized by his proclamation of his ethnicity as a "green-eyed devil."

His educational interests have been in "social theory" and "conflict." He has had training in human relations including encounter group models and for awhile worked with a national group that provided training for business and educational organizations.

Although he has a Ph.D. in Sociology, he claims that he is most at home outdoors. "I feel very connected with....the natural world....that's where I feel most in place."

His love of the natural environment was combined with his work while he was an instructor for the wilderness program, written about in the last two case studies. Jean, Joseph and Paul all worked in this organization together for a few summers.

Presently, Paul is the executive director for a burgeoning center in the community set up to mediate disputes. This center is designed to offer an alternative to litigation for individuals in the community who would prefer to settle disagreements outside of a court of law. A brochure for the center includes the word ho'oponopono on the front. This use of this concept is designed to draw a parallel between the aims of mediation and the practice of ho'oponopono. In another section of the brochure is an explanation that the opening of the center "brings to Hawaii a new way of resolving disputes but at the same time it is also a return to an old way; the traditional Hawaiian way of ho'oponopono; a way of resolving disputes by talking them out in the family or extended family setting in the spirit of ohana and aloha."

Although the concept ho'oponopono may set a Hawaiian tone for mediation the process itself has not been used to settle disputes, with one or two exceptions. Most of the interview with Joseph was based on his use of ho'oponopono while he worked in the wilderness program. But, some of his ideas and recommendations about potential uses for ho'oponopono come out of his new work in dispute settlement.

Comments About Ho'oponopono. As with the other wilderness course instructors, Paul's major introduction to ho'oponopono came when he began to work for the program, since leading them was a part of an instructor's responsibility. The instructors are all given a manual which includes a brief description of the practice that is adapted from Nana I Ke Kumu. The description provided is essentially a list of terms and their definitions.

During the interview, Paul distinguished the purposes of ho'oponopono in the past and in the present. He believed that in the past it was "the very core of keeping an 'ohana together." Today he sees it as "a method by which people deepen relationships." He sees a similarity between how ho'oponopono was used in the past and how it is used in the wilderness courses today. "When you have a group that constituted itself as an 'ohana and would be traveling through the wilderness for 24 days, you really became kind of a family." Joseph also perceived two other dimensions of ho'oponopono during the sessions with the staff.

"Some times they (the sessions) were used as a way of trying to clarify... interpersonal issues and some...of the sessions were kind of focusing on particular individuals who were experiencing alot of pain...Both dimensions I saw...sort of a therapeutic dimension, and the other was sort-of the problem-solving...That's one of the things that struck me about it - was the power of it. That it could do both of those kinds of things. That it was sort of a

combination of a psychotherapy plus a social problem-solving mechanism that I've never seen anyplace else...And I've never experienced it with so much intensity. And I...have a little experience with some counseling strategies and that kind of thing, so I was swept up into this and very much enchanted with it and it became kind of...the portal, the doorway for me to look into Hawaiian culture with alot more depth than I had at that time."

Paul also made the distinction that ho'oponopono is used for group difficulties rather than individual ones. He could see that its function could be intervention or, if used regularly, prevention.

One of the key factors that Paul sees in determining the effectiveness of ho'oponopono is the degree to which the group is related. In the wilderness courses he believes the participants are related by a common experience." So I think ho'oponopono was very appropriate for this. Because it was an ohana, not by blood but by...the very virtue of experience. They were a family for 24 days. For better or for worse, they were related to one another."

Like Joseph, Paul came to the conclusion that there were limitations to the use of the process.

"I think one of the...misunderstandings that alot of people (in the wilderness course) got into was that...ho'oponopono could do miracles in terms of kind of taking some organizational problems that were in existence and changing those. And I think what's been learned...is that...there was kind of a belief that ho'oponopono could do almost anything. You know any kind of problem - bring it on...we'll solve it. We could get the prisoners out of Iran if we could just get a chance to sit them down! What I realized also is that ho'oponopono had limitations. That you...could address interpersonal

problems with it and resolve those kinds of things, but that there were kinda class problems-I don't know how to describe it - organizational problems and power problems that couldn't be resolved through ho'oponopono."

These limitations have not diminished Paul's enthusiasm for the process. He cited examples of positive changes in youngsters on the courses after sessions, even when the group hadn't been able to go through a formal resolution process. Also, he is presently examining it to see what might be applicable in mediation.

Paul was able to specify a few parts of the process that had changed from the traditional way. He wasn't able to always get the participants to express a formal apology. Also, instead of channelling the discussion, he tried to encourage participants to talk directly to one another. Sometimes, rather than preventing emotional outbursts or interruptions, he would let them occur.

"You've got to let people have their dispute...People are there to have a fight and what you're trying to do is provide some management of the fight. You're not there to squelch it and squash it."

When things do appear to be getting out of hand, Paul does use the cooling-off time, ho'omalu both in ho'oponopono sessions and in mediation.

Generally Paul seemed to favor making ho'oponopono accessible for families and groups.

"I don't pretend that what we do is the way it was done a hundred years ago. But then again I don't know if anyone's pretending that these days. It's sort of transmuted. It's adapted. It's taken new shape. It's a real protean concept anyway that should evolve in its own direction."

Later during the interview we were discussing various reactions in the community to the adaptations of ho'oponopono and wondering who should make

those judgements. He responded, "Well, I don't think anybody should. I mean, I don't think anybody can...Even Kawena...I take it as a source... See it's such a living thing for me. I mean I really think it's such a neat, living thing that can be used and should be tried in lots of different ways and I'm gonna continue to do that." As mentioned earlier, Paul looks at ho'oponopono to see what he can learn that will help mediation be more effective. He believes mediation and ho'oponopono have similar objectives. "To heal relationships. To take relationships that are strained, for whatever reason, and to begin uncovering the various layers of guck and gunk and garbage that is there, and to peel some of that stuff back and try and heal. Heal the relationships...Like doctors heal the body, in meditation you heal the soul, and in mediation you're healing...relationships between people, so that the outcome potentially is very similar."

Paul mentioned that he used ho'oponopono with two cases at the mediation center. One instance involved a divorced Hawaiian couple who needed to work out the husband's visitation rights. Rather than using the process in its entirety, Paul invoked the spirit of ho'oponopono which gave the discussions that followed a serious quality in terms familiar and meaningful to the couple. Another time he used it with a young Hawaiian couple and it didn't work. They didn't know what the concept was so it had no special significance. In the future Paul is anxious to explore the possible use of ho'oponopono with child custody cases.

Paul appears to be cautious about using ho'oponopono in mediation. One of the dilemmas about adapting the process lies in its spiritual element. Paul sees the practice as being more secular today than in the past, yet also acknowledges that the spiritual element is crucial. He believes that the haku should have firm spiritual beliefs. When he looks at mediation and ho'oponopono he sees a qualitative difference in the two.

"That's one of the differences between mediation and ho'oponopono. I just realized...that mediation is very much of a tool, and the question ultimately is 'does it work' or 'does it not work.' Ho'oponopono in my mind is a tool, but it's also a philosophy...so I've kinda got ho'oponopono on a slightly different level."

The following paragraph briefly mentions problems Paul encountered with using ho'oponopono. Many of them have been mentioned earlier.

Paul thinks that certain groups of people may not hve a sufficient degree of interdependence to use ho'oponopono with. He listed some examples he thought would be inappropriate: a city council, people who just work together, or people who are not from or familiar with Hawaii. An example given for the latter was "blacks from Chicago." He believes organizational problems do not lend themselves to resolution via ho'oponopono. He also warned of "ho'oponopono junkies," or those people who love to be involved in group process to an extreme. Another potential problem could arise if the leader was a haole and the group was Hawaiian. Once this situation came up for a friend of Paul's. The group was highly suspicious of the leader, but eventually accepted him. Paul also told of a situation where an individual wanted ho'oponopono, but the others weren't ready. "The spirit wasn't right." When this happens, Paul waits and schedules it when the timing is right for the whole group.

Paul's suggestions to anyone who might use ho'oponopono in the future included reading everything one could on the subject and talking to as many resource as possible. Additional advice was "Get clear on why you want to do it and what your're gonna do with it."

Keola Espiritu - Age: 44:

Context of Use. Keola is a central figure in this study. He appeared in Chapter Two as the young social worker whose work with a case involving Hawaiian illness put into motion a series of events that led to the formation of the Culture Committee and eventually the publication of Nana I Ke Kumu.

Keola was born in Hawaii of Hawaiian-Filipino parentage, although it seems his socialization was primarily Hawaiian. The family's home was in a rural area of windward Oahu. In college Keola was keenly interested in anthropology, which gave him a scientific basis for understanding culture and complemented his experience of being brought up in a household that had strong Hawaiian cultural beliefs and practices. He also obtained a master's degree in social work. His first job as a social worker was with a Hawaiian agency. Later he embarked on a public service career. He has also continued to expand his knowledge about Hawaiian culture, has served on a commission for historic preservation and is renowned as a Hawaiiana expert. Keola takes great personal pride and enjoyment in his family. On weekends he can often be found working and playing with family and friends, whether it be singing, fishing or hiking in the hills behind his house.

Keola's use of ho'oponopono has been a result of his personal interest in the process and has not been under the auspices of any particular program. Because of this, Keola has extensive experience in using ho'oponopono in a variety of contexts. In addition to using the process in a social work context with Hawaiian families, he has used in the following settings: with a community group hui (club) he belongs to, with employees in his office, with a crew of a boating expedition, with couples or families of various ethnic backgrounds and with his own family. The problems dealt with in the sessions ranged widely and included land and housing disputes, personal crisis,

unsatisfactory employee relations, lack of trust among group members, ramifications of psychiatric difficulties and the normal host of marital and family upsets.

Comments About Ho'oponopono. Since the section on "Re-emergence of Ho'oponopono" in chapter two explains how Keola learned about ho'oponopono it will not be repeated here. Suffice it to say as a reminder that Keola's primary source of information was from Mary Kawena Pukui, who is the author of the version of ho'oponopono presented in this paper.

Keola articulated what he believed were three aspects of ho'oponopono: the diagnostic, remedial and preventive. These three aspects also form a sequence of possible outcomes of ho'oponopono. The first gives a group the opportunity to air out feelings and identify the problem so that everyone knows where the responsibilities lie. If the group is not ready or willing to proceed through the resolution phase of the process, then the ho'oponopono could be labeled "diagnostic." Keola believes this is a legitimate and worthwhile outcome. The second aspect is remedial, and occurs when the problem is identified and the group proceeds to rectify the situation through forgiveness and restitution. The ideal outcome is preventive. Sessions can be called preventive when the group holds ho'oponopono on a regular basis even when there are not obvious problems. Keola acknowledged he has done this with his family.

"We've done it. And we do it in the sense of saying 'Hey...let's get together for —' you sense something's going on, but nobody's saying anything and something's amiss. 'Hey, let's get together and let's talk—talk story.' And in that talking story you find out that there are problems. So it's preventive in the sense that it hasn't blown up sky high, but it's there."

Aside from articulating the three uses of ho'oponopono, Keola had another idea about the purpose. He believes that one of the aims in the process is to get people to act in a responsible way.

"One of the values of ho'oponopono is to get people to behave in a adult, mature way. O.K., when I say 'mature', I mean age-appropriate. Because in so doing, by them being in control, then they'll be responsible for what they're saying. But if the immaturity comes through, then 'I'm not gonna be responsible for what I'm saying,' and that creates problems."

Like some of the other individuals in the case studies, Keola favors use of ho'oponopono as his method of choice when working with groups. "Because I've found it works." Keola shared another reason he feels most comfortable using the process. "I've found out too, that if you use it you can always check yourself. Where you went astray, or where the group went astray. Because there's a...set process, and the process will elicit—It's like a flow chart. A flow chart that if it's 'yes', this is what you do. If it's 'no', this is what you do. And I find...that people are readily able to participate because it's concrete to them. They can repeat it... So hopefully after your're through with the process they pretty much can do it themselves. Or are willing to try. So I find that from experience-wise, I find it's a good, good learning experience for the group itself, as well as for the therapist. It becomes...easier too."

Keola uses behavioral assessment to determine what the outcome of the sessions have been. In the case with the delinquent boy mentioned in Chapter two, the boys' return to finish school was a positive indication. In another case where he and his wife led sessions involving a man with a history of hospitalization for occasional psychotic episodes the positive assessment was based on the fact that in the years since the sessions, the man has not been hospitalized.

At the time of the sessions themselves Keola relies on his own feelings to determine whether or not sincere and deep resolution has taken place. During the resolution phase when individuals ask for forgiveness and release it is likely that emotions of depth will be shown. If this does not occur it would signal Keola that the problems have not been uncovered and discussed fully enough. The next step would then be to return to the discussion phase of the process until the issues have truely been cleared and all participants show their readiness to move through forgiveness and release.

One of the first parts of the process that Keola realized would need to be modified was the prayer. Traditionally prayers would be offered to the aumakua, four major gods or the multiple gods. Today he has substituted "powers that be" for the gods and believes that it is in keeping with the essence that was traditionally intended.

When Keola first began to use ho'oponopono, he saw it as a method that should be used only with Hawaiians who are related. Later he branched out and used it with other ethnic groups and unrelated people. When using it today he does not make assumptions about the degree to which the group understands or values the Hawaiian terms or formal ritual of the process, even if the group is Hawaiian. He uses English terms when that seems appropriate. "The reason for this is that in any treatment process where communication is important, then the communication has to be in the language everybody will understand."

The role of the haku, or leader, is something that Keola has altered to fit various situations also. In one instance, when he was with a group of friends from his hui, another individual became embroiled in a conflict and became uncomfortably vulnerable in the process. Keola and a few others in the hui who were social workers familiar with ho'oponopono began to use

ho'oponopono-type strategies to alleviate the person's stress, but in a way so that a formal haku was not identified. In working with other groups, particularly couples with marital problems, Keola shares the role of the haku with his wife.[3] When Keola has worked with a family over a period of time and they have become familiar with the process, he finds himself playing a less active role as leader. Eventually the haku role is turned over to a person in the family and Keola functions more as a resource person.

Keola identified another modification during the time of mihi, kala and oki stage. Traditionally all discussions were channeled through the leader, even during the forgiveness and release stage. However, Keola has found that this is often a time when positive expressions of concern, such as hugging and kissing, as well as heartfelt apologies, are likely to occur and so he encourages these expressions to be communicated directly from one individual to another, rather than to be channeled through the leader.

Since Keola's experience using ho'oponopono with various groups has been satisfying he sees a potential for it being used more widely.

"In terms of use, Lani (his wife) and I have always maintained--take away the Hawaiian terminology, use the English and you find it's not as strange or as weird. As a matter of fact, it makes good mental health practice...That with non-Hawaiians it could be utilized. And, that people - if they understood it - would be able to engage."

Keola has heard about people in the community who are using ho'oponopono in programs and he is supportive of their attempts.

"The position we take though is 'If it works, it works!'...whether or not they're following the same procedure that Tutu Pukui has outlined - a set format or not. The main thing is the problem and there's a resolution of that problem. And if the resolution of the problem sticks and all the

parties feel that they've accomplished something and they can abide by the decision, then -."

Keola mentioned a few concerns about problems that could arise using ho'oponopono. He said that the use of drugs and or alcohol by participants can thwart problem resolution and therefore advises against proceeding under these conditions. It is also important for the leader to be in control of the situation.

"It has to be a situation where there is minimum interference." This includes excessive noise and potential disruption by persons who are not involved directly in the ho'oponopono, but are present on the outskirts. He recommends that those individuals should not be in the vicinity.

Suggestions by Keola to others who might want to use ho'oponopono reinforced concerns mentioned elsewhere. He is anxious for the practice to be more widely used. Unfortunately he perceives a lack of adequate resources for people who are interested.

"I think there needs to be more and more of this kind of discussion. Comparison of notes of people that are doing it. And to see...what kind of impact it had on what kind of problems they've had. And how they are moving."

He again gives credit to those individuals who've gone ahead and tried to use the practice.

"So in terms of people getting involved—my hat's off to 'em. True, there's gonna be problems.... There's no such thing as ho'oponopono without any problems. But the point is...they do it and they're open for learning. I think the problem is...can someone be there as a resource to kinda explain. That's where I find the problem."

This wish for greater utilization of ho'oponopono is especially strong

when Keola reflects on the reluctance of Hawaiians, who know the process, to use it. One of the last remarks of the interview sums up his feeling. With a paradoxical expression of frustration and encouragement Keola said, "So now, Move! (laughter) - Hele on!"

Kalau Souza - Age: early 60's:

Context of Use. Kalau was born and raised in Hawaii and is ethnically part-Hawaiian. Throughout the interviews she told rich stories about her family, friends and work that demonstrated considerable knowledge about Hawaiian beliefs and practices.

She has a graduate degree in social work and is professionally viewed as knowledgeable about Hawaiian culture. At present Kalau rarely works directly with families, so most of her use of ho'oponopono took place a few years ago. She has used the complete process with only a few Hawaiian families, although she feels her natural style of working with families is very akin to ho'oponopono. In the agency where she works Kalau said that a few other social workers may approach the use of ho'oponopono similarly by "using certain parts of the concept...as we worked. Some of it might have been unconscious...and then as we got more skilled, using the whole thing." She also acknowledged that her training in social work has been helpful in using the process and understanding the concepts.

Comments About Ho'oponopono. Kalau's primary source of information about ho'oponopono was directly from Mary Kawena Pukui. As she learned more about ho'oponopono from other resources she realized that not everyone shared the same definitions.

"You can talk to other Hawaiians and they will say 'we do ho'oponopono.' And it is a simple straightening out of maybe a disagreement between two people, or two relatives, or two kids. And....it ends very often with each apologizing for the pilikia. And each agreeing to make restitution, or correction, or whatever else has to be done...And I guess that's one simple form of ho'oponopono. So it's straightening out of anything that lies between two people."

Kalau believes that "the goal for the Hawaiian is to have his family operating as a unit in harmony." So her perception of the purpose of ho'oponopono is that it's the mechanism for striving toward that goal.

"I would say ho'oponopono irons out difficulties in the family so that it can be a cooperative unit. This requirement of harmony was essential to our people's survival. Hence in any kind of endeavor - whether fishing, working the taro patch, building a house or in the mountains. The family in their laboring could not be distracted by family worries as this could cause accidents with serious results."

Ho'oponopono can be used in a preventive way, to keep problems from getting larger, or as an intervention method when there is an acute problem. Aside from the goal of maintaining family unity Kalau can see how it could be useful as a way for a troubled couple to honestly look at their relationship to determine whether or not they should stay together. In cases where ho'oponopono might lead to a couple's decision to end their marriage the process could be a helpful forum for making agreements about what their behavior will be towards one another in the future.

Kalau basically thinks ho'oponopono "would work for anyone who was interested and wanted to use the practice....But it requires a commitment. To sit through it and sincerely participate." It is in this area of commitment that Kalau seemed to have questions about using ho'oponopono today. She wonders if changes in the cultural beliefs and practices, particularly as they affect the family, make it more difficult to use the practice.

"The problem I've found in working with it in today's world is that so often the kids have basketball. Another kid...he's just found a job...And ...you know there's just always some other kind of priority."

So before making a decision to use ho'oponopono with a family, Kalau would usually spend a great deal of time developing a relationship with the group, "to get their recognition of their having a problem and wanting to work on it." They're not ready to move into anything like ho'oponopono until they have enough understanding of the concept and trust built." If the necessary trust had developed and the family had made the necessary agreements to meet then Kalau would proceed. If the family could not reach an agreement to proceed with formal ho'oponopono that might indicate that another leader would be more compatible, or it could simply mean that the family is not ready to resolve the problem. Even after initiating formal ho'oponopono Kalau believes it is important to continue nurturing a close relationship with the family. Kalau emphasized this numerous times and gave examples of how she would build the relationship. One way was to make phone calls to the family in between sessions just to say hello and see how they're doing. Another way was to gently ease into the discussion of the problem whenever a problem-solving session began.

"I always used a warm-up period too, you know, where...you get caught up on news of the family and how things are. And...that's what I call the warm-up. It's not to get into any of the problem situation, but to kinda feel like—like you know one another again...There's been an absence, a lack of contact, perhaps. And...you don't go directly into things. So, to me, that's a very important part of the process, called kukulu-kumuhana."

One of the dilemmas Kalau sees in using ho'oponopono with various groups is that the value orientations may be very different. As mentioned earlier, Kalau feels that group/family unity is a primary purpose for the traditional Hawaiian family who uses ho'oponopono. However, today some Hawaiian families have embraced "western type" value orientation that stresses the individual. Kalau personally has found it more difficult to assess the outcome of ho'oponopono with families who have many non-Hawaiian ways.

"I tried using it with a Hawaiian family that was very westernly oriented, and - I don't know what was going on in their minds during the process...It still came out with—it seemed to me everybody looking after their own territory and not really thinking of the total."

When I asked Kalau if she thought that a primary group orientation was an important prerequisite value for people participating in ho'oponopono she replied:

"Oh no!...Well, I think—that's why I have such a hard time putting ho'oponopono with someone who's so 'western' oriented."

Kalau's adaptation of ho'oponopono differs from the other individuals in the case studies in that she has used the process solely with families identified as Hawaiian. When asked if she used all the steps of the process as outlined in Nana I Ke Kumu she replied, "Well they don't flow like that. No." The first time she used ho'oponopono it emerged rather spontaneously while working with a mother and her daughter. Later she used the process with the whole family more formally and used large pieces of paper with the steps outlined as a visual aid to educate the family about the process. The only other adaptation specifically mentioned was that she sometimes uses parts of the process rather than the complete form. Kalau has not used the process in a wide variety of contexts and did not specifically state her attitudes towards the various adaptations. She acknowledges that there are many similarities between concepts in ho'oponopono and concepts from 'western' mental health practices. However, she seems to have some unresolved questions about how appropriate ho'oponopono is for non-Hawaiians. One of the reasons is because she perceives so many differences in values. The other is that she has had no experience with ho'oponopono being applied to "Western" families.

"Actually the mahiki part is something you do as a western practitioner,

which is unpeeling of the onion. Or finding out what the problem is. What the layers are. You know it's not so different...But, I think...the values that the Hawaiians have—the sincerity, the commitment are all...very essential to the whole thing."

The major difficulties that Kalau sees in using ho'oponopono today have to do with using it with families whose values and practices are greatly different than the traditional Hawaiian ones that are woven into ho'oponopono.

Kalau gave a few examples. In the past when a problem was solved a ho'omalu was called. "Those problems are supposed to be pau (finished). You don't give it the dignity of life by repeating it." This puts a lid on further discussions of the topic: But today Kalau is not sure that the power of pau is as valued even when requested by an elder. Another difficulty is that many families have a mixture of Hawaiian and "western" values that need to be untangled, because the value mix can cause a breakdown of communication and understanding. This may also make it difficult to maintain the order and control that is necessary in ho'oponopono. Perhaps the problem that Kalau found most vexing when working with families was the difficulty of getting them all together at one time. When a family member is missing, it seems that the group gets stuck, since it turns out that they invariably need the missing person's input.

"It tells you that in the book. That you cannot...Without that person you'll always find that the blocks...So for that person not to be included is like excluding him, you see? He misses the, the repartee, if you want... And he misses his fair share. And the more you have of that, then the more you're shoving him out...You notice I said 'you're.' You're shoving him out ...In a sense he's trying to get away from it all, but you're also participating."

It seemed to me that the primary issue that Kalau raised during the interview had to do with seeing ho'oponopono very much as a practice that highlights and reinforces Hawaiian values and practices. Therefore in a society that is rapidly changing, where Hawaiians and others mix and alter their cultural practices, it raises questions about what the purpose of ho'oponopono is and with whom it can be used. Kalau thinks it can be used with non-Hawaiians, "But to me, you know, our values are so different, in a way...At least my understanding for the Hawaiians—the goal would be to try and keep...the family together. And to try and understand how the family functions...Which is...the working together, always working together."

Lani Espiritu - Age: 42:

Context of Use. Lani is another central figure in this study. Keola Espiritu is her husband and she was involved in the Culture Committee as well.

Lani was born and raised on Oahu and is part-Hawaiian. Her family had strong Hawaiian traditions and as she grew up she participated in activities like traditional hula. This training in hula reinforced many Hawaiian beliefs and values that later assisted her to understand and utilize ho'oponopono. Lani also loves to sing and play the ukulele and has done so professionally.

When her master's degree in social work was completed she went to work for a Hawaiian social welfare agency. In addition to doing direct casework with families, Lani's professional activities have included teaching at the community college and university, doing research, acting as cultural consultant for many programs and coordinating a Pacific Island social work project.

Like Keola, Lani beams when she speaks of her family. She's especially proud that her children are showing great pride and interest in their Hawaiian heritage and are now demonstrating their skills in gathering food, fishing and making preparations for family luaus. One of the children has even led family ho'oponopono sessions.

Lani is probably the most experienced leader of ho'oponopono in Hawaii. She has used it with a wide range of groups, although initially with Hawaiian families only. Later as she began to resolve some of her doubts about its applicability for other groups she began to experiment. She has used ho'oponopono with non-Hawaiians and unrelated groups including her co-workers at an agency, her students and a group of three families. At times, her job responsibilities specified that she use ho'oponopono with Hawaiian families. In other instances she used it upon request by individuals and families.

Comments About Ho'oponopono. Lani first learned of ho'oponopono through the work of the Culture Committee. Tutu Pukui's explanation of the process "intrigued" her. "Because basically for me it was ringing bells...along the kind of things that I had done with my folks but had never had a label for. It was the kind of process—where...we could talk about anything and everything. So things...spilled out. And you would always feel that there would be a sense of closure of having gotten your questions answered and directions given."

At the time when Lani was learning from Kawena Pukui she also was working on a case which involved many "Hawaiian" mental health issues. The mother in this family had repeated dreams of her deceased grandmother. The grandmother had led many ho'oponopono sessions when she was alive. When Lani heard about this she saw an opportunity to apply the practice of ho'oponopono. She told the woman "'I don't know how to do it...We may have to do it in a style that is different from grandma's. So, are you willing to try?...We can learn together.'" This was a breakthrough for Lani and was the first step in learning a process about which she is now quite knowledgeable.

Later when she did a project[4] designed to test out the use of ho'oponopono with Hawaiian families over a one-year period, she utilized a consultation system, comprising of a psychiatrist and culture resource person, that allowed her to increase her understanding. This culture consultancy was especially important.

"I could make a case presentation and really focus on me the practitioner, me the worker. Get help in regards to where I am. Where my belief system is. Where my biases are. At the same time get a perspective on the dynamics of what was happening...the pros for this kind of approach are tremendous for someone who is trying to do something new."

Lani also set up an advisory board made up of university, private and public agency professionals who helped her become more cognizant of the actual treatment process she was utilizing. Her skill developed through experience, "On the job training...with me trying it out, coming back, checking it out, doing it, coming back. That constant kind of thing."

Lani has been able to specify three purposes for which ho'oponopono can be done. "One is that it gives you a good assessment of the people, in the situation...an idea of the complexity of the situation itself. An idea as to who's involved, at what level. What their behavior patterns are. Who is bounded into a problem and who is ready to move...Second it's also corrective. Where a situation needs to be modified. Where there needs to be a remedial action. Ho'oponopono provides a method by which people can resolve problems and move in new directions. And these generally make for happy endings...The third purpose is one of the preventive nature...Prevention is being able to utilize whatever skills and abilities you have so that it can prevent further breakdown of the family. It prevents more serious complications and compounding of problem areas. It doesn't mean that ho'oponopono wipes out all problems...it just means that it can prevent further disruption, further seriousness of the problem."

Throughout the interview Lani expressed such overwhelming enthusiasm for ho'oponopono that I asked her on what the enthusiasm was based.

"Oh I'm definitely convinced. I've seen the results with other families. And I've seen dramatic changes." Lani, like a few other individuals in the case studies has concluded that ho'oponopono is her method of choice when doing group problem solving. She described some of the specific changes in families and individuals. In the case with the woman who had the dreams, after one and a half years the woman was able to discontinue medication

treatment. The woman's mental health worker reported to Lani that there was significant improvement which resulted in a termination with the mental health clinic. Lani first recognized the potential of ho'oponopono as a preventive process when the father in a family she had worked with for many months began to exert his skills as a leader and problem-solver in his community. Although he was not aware that he was using ho'oponopono, he had in fact transferred his experiences of ho'oponopono with his family to his involvement in the community. With another couple the problem was 15 years of marital difficulties. In a single marathon-like ho'oponopono they were able to get back to some of the original problems that had festered all those years. The outcome was a decision not to divorce. They were able to have a few years of an improved marriage before the husband died.

Lani and her husband once led a ho'oponopono with two families in addition to their own. The session was held because two boys from the other families had burglarized the Espiritu home. 75% of the stolen items were returned before the ho'oponopono, and after the session the boys made further restitution by doing yard work. Lani was especially pleased with the outcome in this situation: "With the two youngsters, it just allowed for more of the positive vibrations to come together. And I see that as a happy ending. The harmony restored...There is increased and improved interpersonal relationships between the parties. And there's a deeper sense of 'I care for you and you care for me cause we're gonna look after each other.'"

Not all the cases have ended with story-book happy endings, but Lani believes that should not be the only expectation of ho'oponopono anyway. The aim is to identify the problem and move towards a resolution. Even

the traditional Hawaiians had the mechanism of mo ka piko or moku ka piko (severing the relationship) as an alternative when harmonious relationships could not be re-established. Presently Lani and Keola are working with a non-Hawaiian couple who are moving toward dissolution of their marriage.

"I think it illustrates in this case how the outcome might not be ideal. I think in this case it would illustrate that one can sever the structural ties of a relationship, but that through ho'oponopono you can still maintain dignity and worth of the other individual,...without being hostile. And as we're going through these sessions I see this as a possibility..."

Lani gave one other example of using ho'oponopono with a group that was unable to go through reconciliation. It was with a large group of thirty unrelated people. The group didn't want to proceed through the mihi kala and oki because they had doubts about some individuals' sincerity. As a result part of the group boycotted the next session. Lani and Keola then explained to the remaining individuals that it was impossible to proceed. The ho'oponopono in this instance had been able to give them a complete picture of the problem and its dynamics.

Lani feels that she has benefited greatly from the challenges of using ho'oponopono with the varied groups. "In the process of confronting and making these decisions, I think it's developed me even more...Ho'oponopono forced me to come to grips with what I am, who I am, what I can do, what I want to do."

She also recounted the benefits of using ho'oponopono with her family. One of her children is now able to lead the sessions and is looked up to as a natural leader among her friends, siblings and cousins.

When Lani first began using ho'oponopono, she understood it as a process

that should be used only with Hawaiians who were related and that it should be led by a Hawaiian. Gradually she found herself moving beyond these requirements and realized that it could work with non-Hawaiians, unrelated groups and led by a non-Hawaiian. As her confidence and understanding of the process grew she also began making modifications in the form but always with an eye on maintaining what she believed was the essence of ho'oponopono.

The following paragraphs describe Lani's modifications of the method. Perhaps some of the first changes were attitudinal ones. Aside form the issue of Hawaiian vs. non-Hawaiian, related vs. unrelated, she realized that assessment and prevention were two worthy purposes of ho'oponopono in addition to the widely accepted one, problem resolution. Lani also deviated by not always using the Hawaiian terms or formal ritual if she didn't think it had special meaning for the group. I asked if she would continue to call it ho'oponopono in these cases and she replied, "I have no need to call it ho'oponopono."

A number of other adaptations involve the role of haku. Lani and Keola have found that using co-leaders was often very effective, particularly in a marital case where individuals might feel more comfortable speaking to a person of the same sex. Also, in at least two situations Lani was haku even though she was involved in the problem. In both cases she believed that she was able to present her feelings on the problem without jeopardizing the essential facilitative function of the leader.

Two other changes are related to the role of haku and to a value Lani holds about expressing emotions. Traditionally, ho'oponopono discouraged acting out any emotions especially negative ones. Lani believes that allowing individuals to express positive emotions can be helpful. During the

forgiveness stage, the mihi, kala and oki, Lani allows participants to talk directly to one another, rather than through her. Like Keola, she finds that when groups are familiar with the process of ho'oponopono and abide by the general procedures, she is likely to encourage the participants to take more responsibility for the process. "I see myself being active initially, so they get a sense of ho'oponopono, and weaving myself out with less participation."

Another issue arose out of Lani's understanding of ho'omalu, which includes the rules for confidentiality in the group. One day in culture consultation at the Hawaiian agency, the psychiatrist asked Lani why she didn't call ho'omalu after every session. She replied, "'It makes...alot of sense [for] families [in] ho'oponopono [to] have a sense of resolution. They know the process. Why prevent them from discussing it? It's positive. In my mind I'm clear-it's when there's a potential for the negative entanglements to be produced, that that's what ho'oponopono tries to prevent.'"

After talking about these changes Lani exclaimed, "You know what? I'm beginning to realize (laughter) that some parts of ho'oponopono are really Lani Espiritu style!"

When Lani talked about problems or barriers using ho'oponopono some were related to the difficulty of learning the process and being able to feel confident as a leader. Before she decided to do the year-long ho'oponopono project she went through a process of "checking out" both personally and culturally to determine whether there were any factors in her background that might suggest she was unsuited to lead ho'oponopono. Going through this process was an important step for Lani. She recounted a story of getting a cultural validation for her work not only from her living relatives but from her ancestors through a message by the family

aumakua. The message was revealed while Lani's mother was in an involuntary trance, or noho (possession). Lani thinks that the inability of some people to find a way to validate or legitimize themselves as ho'oponopono leaders can be a barrier to its use. She thinks this may explain why many people who know how to do ho'oponopono do not use it.

When Lani was first using the process she would sometimes get stuck and not know how to proceed in the traditional manner. Rather than allow this to interfere with the therapeutic process she would switch back and forth to "western" intervention methods. Later she would bring these matters to her consultation group or advisory committee to help her see how the ho'oponopono steps could have dealt with the situation.

Another problem area has to do with the relationships among the group members and the level of trust.

"It (ho'oponopono) requires honesty, openness, being able to put things above board. If a person cannot...be interdependent and extend themselves, then it's only a one-sided affair and you don't have the makings of ho'oponopono. That to me is a critical point. If I find that people have the ability to do this, but for some reason something has interfered with the basic sense of trust, I'd be willing to go along and risk it and say 'Trust me. Because I'm there...I have the controls necessary to make it out so that everybody is treated with dignity, respect and fairness.'"

There are certain other factors that might indicate the use of ho'oponopono would not be suitable. If the participants are using drugs or alcohol, Lani would advise against proceeding. Or if the participants have a very business-like relationship, for example: a landlord and a tenant, they may not feel sufficiently interdependent to follow through the entire ho'oponopono process. Finally, any time participants hesitate to proceed that is an indication that an area of concern has not been adequately dealt with.

When Lani and I discussed other potential audiences for ho'oponopono she was able to suggest that it would be helpful with a family who has a foster child. Often times there are difficulties in adjustment for both child and new family and ho'oponopono can be a therapeutic counseling method right in the home. Lani said "it gives kids a sense of what family living is all about."

Perhaps Lani's main concern right now involves getting more individuals trained to do ho'oponopono. This has become a personal goal, something she would like to be involved with in the future. She feels that what has been written about, or presented in lectures is not enough.

"My commitment goes beyond that...To get people who will provide services to families who want it and need it...To make it a living contributions." When I first asked Lani what specific suggestions she had for others she laughingly replied "Oh that's a toughie. I was hoping you'd find the answer for that!" But almost immediately thereafter she was able to specify a list that emphasized the personal qualities and competencies of the ho'oponopono leader.

"O.K. For those who want to use it my feelings are— they have to have skills. Good helping skills, of relating, of communicating. To me that's basic. They've got to be able to display the kind of personality that puts forth a sense of security, and of trust, and in command. Yet warmth. Yet a firmness that's going to demand form the system, 'I want work. That it's not an easy thing...' Commitment of the person. Also to do their own studying about beliefs and practices, above and beyond what one might get from learning ho'oponopono...That to me would be critical because the families might come up with...some other areas of spiritualism...And no matter how you view the subject, it's the client's belief system. And

that you've gotta deal with. You've gotta weave in."

"So it's not only being sure of oneself and your abilities to do, or to be helpful. And not only to get the training to use and understand the method of ho'oponopono, but also going beyond that—where the process becomes a motivating factor for you to set up challenges so that you can build upon what's already started. And if they can get to that point where they're saying, 'I've done it with a family, I wonder if I can do it with a group of non-related people?'-That's the kind of enthusiasm, that's the kind of openness I'd like...'you know, I didn't do this so well. And I'm not certain. And I wanna find out about it. Can you sit down and have a discussion about it?' The openness to discuss. To look at alternative ways. The willingness to risk!...[and say] 'Gee. I don't know too much about that...Maybe you can tell me about it.' Being able to do that because it rises from a surety, a confidence about oneself.

"...I also recognize that [more knowledge, flexible attitudes and refined skills] comes with experience. I wasn't like this when I first started. When I started I said, 'Only with Hawaiians. Only with families and with a Hawaiian worker.' And at this point I'm saying, 'Baloney.' It's not limited to that! But I couldn't say that then. But now I can. I can feel it and operate it."

CHAPTER NOTES

1. See Chapter II, section on "Re-emergence of Ho'oponopono" for related story on Keola Espiritu. More information on him will be presented in a later case study.

2. Robert Padua's view follows in another case study.

3. Keola's wife Lani was also interviewed. Hers is the last case.

4. Fuller details of this project could be found in "Family Therapy, Hawaiian Style...," The Honolulu Advertiser, Monday, July 30, 1973, p. C-1.

CHAPTER 5: VARIATIONS IN HO'OPONOPONO

CHAPTER NOTES

1. Wonderful exceptions can be found in Kopp's (1976) The Naked Therapist, which makes refreshing and reassuring reading.

The last chapter gave a general overview of the use of ho'oponopono and the attitudes towards its use as presented by eight individuals who were interviewed for this study. In this chapter the two-fold purpose is to examine some of the ways these individuals varied their actual practice of ho'oponopono, and to outline a complete model of ho'oponopono that is used by two individuals who have had extensive experience with the process.

Before proceeding in this examination it is helpful to keep a few thoughts in mind. First, the nature of this paper is to describe how ho'oponopono has been adapted. In this paper adaptation implies degrees of variability as illustrated in the last chapter where ho'oponopono has been used in various settings and audiences. All of the examples departed in some way from the traditional pattern. Secondly, because each individual had a unique experience with the process, the differing opinions about the modifications will be cited. The opinions or comments covered such topics as: the purpose of ho'oponopono, how they learned about it, their assessment of the practice, barriers in its use, and suggestions or recommendations for others to consider. There seems to be areas of agreement in attitudes but rather than analyze the degree of similarity I prefer to allow the subtle differences to remain within the portrait of the person's experience. In descriptive studies there is value in letting an individual's own words stand alone and in context without a great deal of distillation or generalization. However, during the course of the study a number of areas of differentiation rather consistently popped up regarding how the process was used. Further analysis of these topics can be fruitful because it may give hints about how ho'oponopono may be likely to evolve and change in the future. These areas are also points that beg further clarification and discussion, perhaps among the current practitioners of

ho'oponopono. If ho'oponopono is to remain a practice that has recognizable traits, then there will need to be a minimum consistency in the practice. When a significant segment of the society agrees that a particular configuration of traits constitutes the practice of ho'oponopono, this may increase the likelihood of its continued or increased use. Whereas, if the future trend is toward further individualization then the resulting divergence will destroy the impact of ho'oponopono as a problem-solving process rooted in the Hawaiian cultural experience.

Another thing to consider is that the interactive nature of any therapeutic process accounts for a degree of variability. At least three operating factors make up the interaction: the therapist (including style and skill), the problem (including the situation and setting) and the client (including personality attitudes, etc.).[2] There is a certain dilemma in trying to ascertain which variations described by the individuals are due to situational factors and which are actually a serious departure from the essence of ho'oponopono as a specific, recognizable cultural phenomenon. The following variations are some that I believe are on the cutting edge of this issue.

VARIATIONS IN THE PROCESS OF HO'OPONOPONO

The variations will be categorized under four headings that correspond to the general sequence of steps in ho'oponopono: 1) Opening phase, which includes assessment and preparation of participants through the formal statement of the problem; 2) Discussion phase, which includes all discussions that lead toward identification of the problem and the ensuing ramifications; 3) Resolution phase, when the confession, forgiveness and release occurs and restitution is set if necessary, and 4) Closing phase,

which includes the summary and closing ritual.

Preparation Phase. The four topics to be discussed under this heading include client preparation, assessment, use of terms and opening ritual. Analysis of the collective case studies yielded the conclusion that preparation of clients varies both in amount and method. The division seemed to coincide with the occupation of the leaders. The three social workers, Keola, Kalau and Lani all elaborated on the importance of doing alot of preparation prior to beginning ho'oponopono. Kalau in particular stressed the need for developing a trusting relationship with the family. The next step would be to explain the steps of ho'oponopono and make whatever agreements the group believes necessary. Once agreements are made then they would proceed. Both Lani and Kalau said they would continue to remind the participants what was happening at each stage of ho'oponopono until they were thoroughly familiar with it. The other leaders from the drug treatment program and the wilderness program didn't do quite the same kind of preparation. The participants in these programs are involved in many activities which build relationships, of which ho'oponopono is only one. They all stressed teaching the groups about ho'oponopono prior to using it. The wilderness course instructors explain it on the second day of the course and let the students know it's available to them thereafter when needed. Robert, from the drug program, said that the boys are formally taught the process but more importantly learn through the experience of using it on a daily basis.

Related to participant preparation is the assessment of a group to determine whether or not use of ho'oponopono would be beneficial. Again the variations divided along the same lines as above. For the three social workers this assessment is an important part of their work, since

the relationship with clients is voluntary, whereas for the others, use of ho'oponopono is a regular part of their program. If a person signs up for the program, they will do ho'oponopono. All individuals in this study did however make a distinction between ho'oponopono attendance which was mandatory and personal sharing, which was voluntary.

One of the issues that I tried to get information on during the interviews was whether or not the individuals believed that certain values were prerequisites to the use of ho'oponopono. In other words, does the leader assess the group to determine whether or not certain values are held by the group members as a precondition to using ho'oponopono? For the most part this was a muddy spot in the interviews as I began to realize the difficulty of distinguishing between prerequisite values in participants and implicit values in the process. Some of the values I inquired about were: interdependence, concern for the group, ability to express feelings, truthfulness, sincerity, patience, a belief in retribution, spirituality, high group trust and importance of ethno-cultural commonalities. Most individuals in the study were able to affirm that these qualities were sometimes present prior to the sessions and developed during the sessions, but there was no real agreement about the importance of any one or cluster of values that was particularly crucial. All individuals were able to mention groundrules, such as those specified in Nana I Ke Kumu[3], as being a part of the preparation but I found no example of a leader halting the process because a particular value was lacking in the group. I still have a sense that the issue of value congruence between client and method is an important one and if in the future individuals explore the use of ho'oponopono with other cultural groups then this kind of pre-assessment may be crucial.

During the preparation each leader had to decide whether or not to use the Hawaiian terms to explain the process. This was a practice that also varied. The wilderness program individuals, Jean, Joseph and Paul all used the formal terms.[4] This practice fit with program's goal to teach participants pertinent Hawaiian cultural facts. Other individuals in the study varied their use of terms depending upon the situation. While teaching the process to the boys, Virginia and Robert used the formal terms but in the daily sessions they didn't use very many and would substitute English equivalents. They did persist in the term pule, which they believed was a more acceptable term to the boys than "prayer." It seemed that Keola, Kalau and Lani used the Hawaiian terms if they were working with more traditional Hawaiian people and English terms with others.

The formal opening and closing of ho'oponopono traditonally included a pule to the Hawaiian spiritual forces, or Christian God or both. The adaptation of this spiritual element to the various settings in this study has been a somewhat sensitive issue. In most cases the opening pule is at least a time for setting a tone of seriousness for the work to follow. The three social workers have used the term "powers that be" in place of reference to specific gods. Virginia Wahler also feels comfortable with that term. She also said the pule is "pulling in the strength of the source." For Robert it is "asking for spiritual strength." Virginia and Robert's program is federally funded therefore they are restricted from making a specific denominational reference. In the wilderness school where the term pule is used, the form is individualized. Jean said her pule is usually addressed to the "universal spirits or to the people in the group and the aloha....that's in the energy here." For Joseph the prayer was a built-in part of the process and he sometimes invoked "gods

or spirits." Other times he did a sensory awareness or relaxation narrative. Paul said his prayer would be "usually asking....for some strength and commitment and guidance....and affirming the place we're in."

The closing pule was differentiated from the opening pule in most of the interviews. For Lani and Paul this closing ritual was a summary of what had taken place, as well as a reaffirmation of positive group relations. Virginia, Jean, and Joseph all made specific reference to it as a statement of thanks. And Kalau and Keola did not specify details about the closing pule.

Not all participants agreed on how central the spiritual focus was to ho'oponopono. Virginia and Robert emphasized spirituality as being the key ingredients of the process. Robert said, "The basis is the spirit....That's the key to making it work." Paul believed similarly. "I think the power of ho'oponopono lies in the....spiritual qualities it embraces." Because of this Paul has difficulty figuring out how to translate this quality for use in a more secular setting like mediation. Keola stated that the spiritual belief of a participant plays a central role because "it lends dignity to the process" and reminds participants that "the implications are much greater than you and I can understand." Lani mentioned "belief in something" is important for participants but did not stress it as strongly as some of the others. Kalau doesn't think that the spiritual value of ho'oponopono poses a difficulty. "Well in today's world where so many people are kind of putting religion back into their lives, I don't know that that would be such a big problem." Jean emphasized the spiritual beliefs in ho'oponopono from more of a historical perspective. Joseph does use the pule and thinks spirituality is an important factor for the haku, but doesn't think it's essential for

others. "I don't suppose....you have to have these spiritual beliefs for it to work as a psychotherapy."

There is other evidence that the spiritual tone of ho'oponopono may be a controversial issue. In an article for counselors about ho'oponopono use in a public high school on the island of Hawaii, Nishihara (1978) said he omitted the pule and spiritual references altogether. I spoke with a social worker who was contemplating using ho'oponopono but had not yet reconciled with himself how he would do the pule, or deal with a spiritual element. Coming to terms with this would necessitate both self scrutiny and clarification of his own spiritual beliefs and ways of expressing them, as well as finding a way to assess a family's spiritual beliefs and practices. This issue could be a barrier for individuals who otherwise have the knowledge and skills necessary to lead ho'oponopono.

Problem Identification Phase. The role of the haku, or leader is fairly consistent for most individuals in the case studies. The leader facilitates the process, identifies the problem area, listens to others, clarifies and generally maintains a controlled and safe atmosphere that encourages honest and sincere expressions by the participants. One of the other ground rules stated in Nana I Ke Kumu is that the haku is a person who is not involved in the hihia. This allows them to be impartial and open during the process. However, one of the people interviewed, Lani, told of two accounts of leading sessions when she was a central part of the problem. When Lani was relating one of the examples, I asked her if she had felt any conflict in the role. She replied, "No:...my sense as a helper over-rode that."

Another departure from the traditional role of the leader was shared

by Lani and Keola. When they have worked with a family over a period of time they try and sense the family's readiness to assume a leadership role. If a husband or wife seems ready, then Lani and Keola begin to play a less active part. Keola said, "In that process we're there more.... as resource persons....Alot of times we're there just to help them check out whether they're on the right track or not." Eventually this would lead to ending their involvement completely. Lani and Keola were the only persons interviewed who had done this.

Nana I Ke Kumu also stated that the haku has the responsibility of channeling all the discussion. That means that all participants speak directly to the leader, who may then ask for clarification or may relay a concern or message to another group member. This is in contrast to most "Western" therapy where individuals are encouraged to speak directly to one another. Among the individuals interviewed there was a wide range of deviation from the practice of channeling all discussion.

Two of the individuals, Virginia and Kalau seemed to generally follow the original guideline. Kalau specified that talking only to the leader was a rule that the family had to agree to follow. "Those rules, I think, are very important. Especially the one where there's communication....only through the leader." She reasoned that this keeps a lid on the angry emotions which allows the participants to communicate more effectively.

Lani and Keola adhere basically to the guideline and traditional reasoning as well, but make an exception at one part of the process. During the mihi, kala and oki when positive signs of forgiveness, caring and love are apt to be expressed, they allow the participants to deal with one another directly. Keola said he believes this modification "lends to the process." This also coincides with what Lani sees as the role of the

haku—"to prevent further hihia from occurring and to become the facilitator for these positive elements to move through."

The remaining four individuals had a preference for encouraging the participants to talk directly to each other. Talking through the leader would be enforced only when the communication became blocked. Joseph leaned more towards the control and channeling part of the continuum. Robert preferred an informal type discussion with the group. Paul tried to get individuals to talk to one another and only mediated if it got out of hand. Jean agreed with Paul's view and saw the haku more as a person who regulated the flow of conversation.

When tempers flare, or interruptions or other disruptions occur in the discussion Nana I Ke Kumu specified that a ho'omalu should be called. This is known as a cooling off period, a time for reflection on what has just transpired and a chance to be reminded of the group's essential purpose of problem-solving. All the individuals interviewed admitted that they had used this strategy, although they had different guidelines about when it should be used. The differences in policy seem related to the person's view about how anger should be handled. The traditional Hawaiian view was that the expression of negative emotions, such as anger, does not serve a useful purpose. It only creates further hihia or compounding of the problem. This contrasts with some schools of "Western" therapy and counseling where the expression of anger is seen as potentially having a positive, freeing, cathartic effect. The emphasis in this orientation seems to be on the individual, whereas in ho'oponopono the focus is more on the group relationships.

One participant, who in practice preferred to allow the anger to surface rather than call ho'omalu, realized that this was not usual

ho'oponopono procedure and asked not to be quoted. Because there is such a small sample in this study, on this one issue I will not identify any of the other people's points of view, which will insure the confidentiality requested by this one individual.

Another person had a similar view believing that interruptions and other outbursts can be a way to uncover the problems more directly. A philosophy expressed by still another individual espoused the positive value in allowing individuals to both verbally express and act out angry feelings. But within the context of a ho'oponopono session, this leader would most likely call a ho'omalu if this occurred. During the ho'omalu, the leader might then take this person aside and help them release their anger in a physical way, so not to harm themselves or others. Tension-releasing exercises, strenuous physical activities or other creative alternatives were mentioned as ways of ventilating the angry feelings. Once that had been done the person could rejoin the group and talk about his or her feelings in a more calm fashion.

The other individuals interviewed didn't say much about this matter. A few of them emphasized the importance of maintaining control on the communication so that negative comments or behaviors were generally not allowed.

A final issue about the role of the leader emerged during the interview. It involved the amount and kind of questioning the leader does during the sessions. In Nana I Ke Kumu, emphasis is placed on individual participants scrutinizing their own "conduct, attitudes and emotions." (Pukui, p. 62) Yet certainly in ho'oponopono sessions that involved complex problems the degree of the resolution would be related to the degree of depth and thoroughness that the leader was able to encourage during

the discussions.

Not all individuals made direct comments about this matter. Three people said that they thought in-depth questioning or probing was part of the haku's responsibility. Another three were hesitant and gave more conditional responses. It is possible that the amount of questioning each person does in practice may not vary much from the others. If I used the word "probing" as a synonym for "questioning" in the interview some people shied away from an affirmative answer. It may be that for them the word "probing" had a negative, intrusive connotation.

A range of comments on this topic follows, beginning with those three individuals who affirmed that they did alot of questioning and ending with the three who gave more conditional responses. I asked Paul "How much questioning do you do?" and he replied, "Oh, alot of probing and clarifying questions." Lani was asked about "questioning or probing" and she said she allows participants to share whatever they're ready to share. However, "If I feel that they're not giving me the kind of depth that's required....my task is to initiate those questions and to get the response from them." She also sees it as her responsibility to check out their feelings to determine whether or not they're unduly uncomfortable. Her tactics may include varying deep questioning with more surface questioning and returning to the depth again when the person is more comfortable. Lani used the term wehewehe to distinguish the type of therapeutic discussion that gets more to the core of things from other, more superficial discussions. When I asked Keola "how much questioning, probing" he answered, "The leader does alot. As a matter of fact the leader does alot of clarification, asking more specific questions." Keola believes that when he asks questions of one person, this compells all the others in the

group to examine themselves also. Leader's questions can also be particularly helpful when a person is feeling stuck. In contrast, Robert voiced much caution in questioning individuals or digging deeper. "That's a very delicate situation. I use my own judgement if I'm going to cut into it." He senses that the boys he works with are "battered up inside" so he asks for "spiritual strength and guidance" to determine the extent of his questioning. Robert said that most of the time he does not probe and lets the boys come out with it themselves. Virginia works with the same boys and pretty much agreed with Robert about "questioning and probing." Virginia tries to emphasize to the boys that they can all be leaders and that they don't need alot of "counseling-type skills and insights." They need to "simply follow the process, the process heals.... So, we don't probe." The one exception might occur early in the course when the boys are still learning the process and forming relationships. At this stage some of the boys might pick on another who is not able to adequately speak for himself. This would prompt Virginia to protect that boy by questioning the others for him. In summing up this topic though, Virginia returned the focus to the need for each boy to assume responsibility for himself. "A boy must know that to receive, he must ask. And he must trust the process."

Resolution Phase, This part of the ho'oponopono process did not always take place, according to some participants. Although traditionally there was always the possibility that a group would not be willing or able to proceed with a resolution to the problems discussed, when this did occur it was a grave matter with serious consequences. The individual or individuals were said to be ho'omauhala (holding fast the problem;

holding a grudge). Failure to forgive could precipitate repercussions from the spiritual world as well from the family through ostracization, or mō ka piko (severing family ties).

The belief in this kind of retribution is not as strong today, nor in many cases is people's allegiance to the group as binding, which may account for some individual's deletion of the resolution phase. Some leaders mentioned holding ho'oponopono sessions without an expectation of problem resolution. Two quite different examples of this were presented in the interviews. Virginia mentioned one example of using ho'oponopono as a preventive session: a forum for the boys to come together at the end of the day to share how things were going. In this situation if during the opening discussion no problem emerges everyone shares whatever they choose and then the process ends with a pule. The other example was given by Lani and Keola. They both had come to the conclusion that using ho'oponopono as a diagnostic or assessment tool is very worthwhile and complete. They think it is most ideal when the group is able to move through the forgiveness stage so that harmony can truly be restored, but if that is not possible then just identifying the problem thoroughly is sufficient. After thorough discussion in this type of situation they proceed to the closing phase.

The complete resolution phase concerns how the confession, forgiveness and release takes place in many cases. In the past the haku played a central part in the mihi, kala and oki by mediating the articulated apologies. The haku's role has become less crucial in this area, as was discussed in the previous section. At least six of the leaders Lani, Keola, Joseph, Paul, Jean and Robert prefer to allow the group members to deal directly with one another during this phase. Sometimes the mihi,

kala and oki is specific and articulated, meaning the act of transgression is named and the apology and forgiveness stated. In other cases the process is more nonverbal. Robert said that the boys display forgiveness in a "natural" way. "They stand up, grab each other, drop some tears, laugh." Lani and Keola also look for various nonverbal signs such as hugging, caring looks and kissing as a sign that the resolution is sincere and deep.

Closing Phase. All ho'oponopono sessions have some closing statements or ritual. The specific form and content varies, but all leaders include a pule. This is usually a prayer of thanks or appreciation and sometimes includes a summary of what has transpired. In addition to the pule, or sometimes contained within it additional remarks were made. Kalau said that this could be a time for the family to make plans for the future. Jean uses this time to remind the group that the problems resolved are now pau (finished). A ho'omalu is put on them, so they would not be discussed further. Lani made a distinction in the use of this kind of ho'omalu. The family or group can discuss the matter afterwards as long as it is not the kind of discussion that could create further hihia.

The pani, sharing a snack or meal after a session, is not always used by the people interviewed. Sometimes playing, swimming or quiet time is used on the wilderness courses. According to Keola the pani is the actual closure of the process. Keola gave his view why food was the symbol used in the closure...."Food is important. And in food, when your natural juices are moving, one tends to be much more in the mood to share in fellowship, able to relax....When you have a full stomach, one feels alot better....So I think it lends to the process."

TWO SOCIAL WORKERS' MODEL OF HO'OPONOPONO:

The model of ho'oponopono presented here is an outline of the process used by Lani and Keola Espiritu. It may be seen as a form of ho'oponopono that synthesizes the traditional process as taught by Mary Kawena Pukui with the skills and insights from the field of social work. Both Lani and Keola are ethnically part-Hawaiian and believe that their personal experiences of Hawaiian values and practices enhance their understanding of ho'oponopono. Although they strongly identify themselves as Hawaiians, they also perceive ho'oponopono as a process that has applicability with other groups. Earlier Keola was quoted as saying "it makes good mental health practice."

There are two primary reasons that their particular model of ho'oponopono as opposed to another model is presented here. First, of all the people interviewed, Lani and Keola have the most extensive experience using the practice, both in number of years and in variety of contexts. Secondly, because they are social workers, their particular conceptual framework may be the most useful to family and child welfare practitioners, the primary audience of this study.

Although the general model can be credited to both Lani and Keola, it was predominantly Lani who worked with me to formulate the outline. The sessions with her on this subject took place in April, 1981.

The model describes four phases of using ho'oponopono with families or groups. These are the same phases—preparation, problem identification, resolution and closing—that were used in the previous section. The outline gives the Hawaiian terms for the steps and a brief conceptual equivalent of each of them. The case study material in Chapter III presented their general attitudes about the process and is not repeated

here. The reader may want to refer to those sections again. Two important points that were presented there do need to be reiterated here. The first is that Lani and Keola articulated three purposes or uses of ho'oponopono: problem assessment (or diagnosis), correction (or remediation) of problem and prevention of problem escalation. The outcome of any of these, particularly the corrective or remedial, can be either an enhancement of group functioning and cohesiveness or can be a decision to sever a relationship in the group, as exemplified by a decision for a couple to separate or divorce. The second issue repeated here is that Lani and Keola have expanded their use of ho'oponopono beyond working with Hawaiian families. The model here has been used with non-Hawaiians and with groups of non-related individuals.

Preparation Phase. The beginning of the process includes the preparation of the group for participation in ho'oponopono, the opening statement or prayer, and the general statement of the problem.

Ideally the preparation time with the group includes making an assessment about the family/group's beliefs and values. Lani specified five areas she examines: 1) the extent of belief in retribution, which may be related to the individuals' willingness to forgive and release; 2) whether or not there is a positive attitude towards change as a part of the problem-solving process; 3) the degree of understanding of how conflict creates entanglements with others; 4) the degree to which participants understand and can maintain confidentiality; and 5) the degree to which the group values of cooperation, trust and interconnectedness, which are implicit in ho'oponopono are held. An assessment of the level of understanding of these issues gives Lani a better idea of how

much instruction and further preparation she will need to do with the family or group, before entering into ho'oponopono. When the process itself is described to the group Lani explains each concept and its rationale fully. She also gives examples of the consequences of not following the steps and procedures as explained. Once the group has been oriented they are asked if they wish to proceed. If there are objections the procedure calls for kukulu-kumuhana (individual counseling) with those individuals to do further preparation. The process may stop here if the resistance is not resolved, otherwise, the formal ho'oponopono begins.

The pule or opening prayer sets a tone of seriousness for the group work to follow. Lani and Keola use "powers that be" in their prayer, or may use other invocations depending upon the beliefs and practices of the group. The general problem that precipitated the ho'oponopono is then stated. This is another form of kukulu-kumuhana.

Discussion Phase. This phase is usually the most lengthly since it involves all the discussions necessary to uncover the core problem. The term for this process is mahiki, which refers to identifying and the working through of one specific problem at a time. This process may be repeated many times when there are many complex layers to the problem. Each time the mahiki is done it should lead to a clear identification of an initial transgression, or hala, the working through of layers is on the negative repercussions that were felt in the group's network of relationships as a result of the hala. This entangling web of adverse relationships is the hihia. Each hihia needs to be untangled through the resolution phase forgiveness, release and severance before discussion

begins a new on another hihia.

During the discussion the participants and the leader have distinct roles. The participants are expected to engage in self-scrutiny in order to clearly discern their part in the problem. The emphasis is on honesty and expressing one's own feelings and perspectives. Open communication, which includes good listening as well as expressing one's own view is encouraged. The leader generally controls the flow of communication and personally channels most of the communication. Lani uses the term wehewehe to describe the kind of in-depth questioning that the leader does. The purpose of this questioning is to clarify and uncover the issues in the problem. Another important responsibility of the leader is to constantly monitor the verbal and nonverbal communication of the participants. This means that the leader focuses not only on the content of what happened in the past, but on the process of how the interaction is proceeding in the present. The goal is to nurture a sense of mutual understanding of the problem both cognitively and emotionally. The leader also provides safeguards for the group by preventing emotional outbursts in addition to channeling the discussion. If tempers begin to flare a ho'omalu or reflective period of cooling off is called. Participants are then directed to consider what had happened to prompt the outburst as well as to regain their sense of purpose and good will.

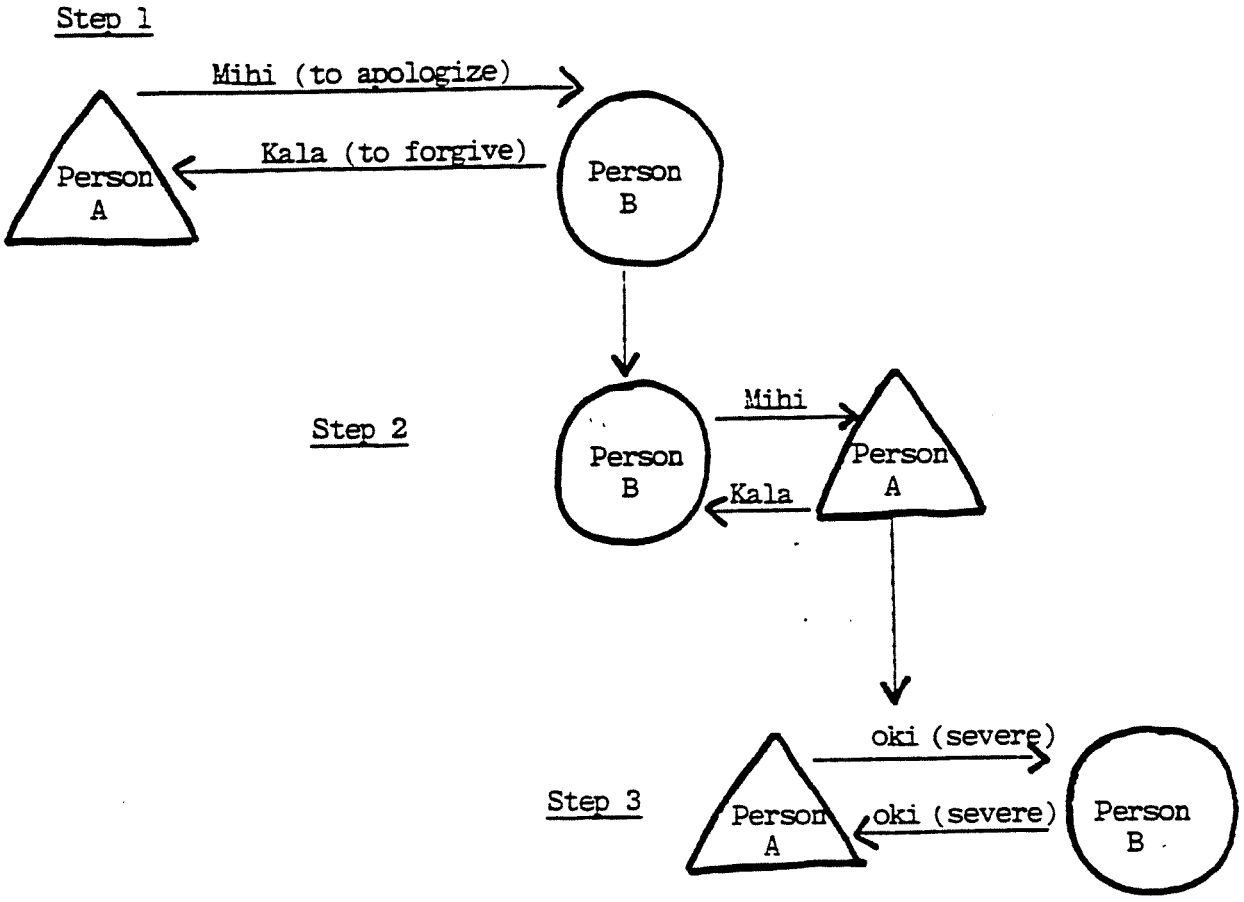
Once the discussion has led to a clear understanding of each of the hihia and hala, the leader checks to see if the group is ready to move on to a resolution. If one or more individuals are not ready the leader has a number of alternatives. A ho'omalu can be called on that particular problem until the individuals have had some time to work through whatever resistance they have. In the meantime the group can go on to another layer

of the problem. Unwillingness to forgive can also indicate that the problem has not been discussed or articulated clearly enough. The procedure in this situation is to return to kukulu-kumuhana (problem identification) and mahiki (discussion). Kukulu-kumuhana can also mean working with a person individually to overcome the resistance. In some situations the group may come to a true impasse which makes resolution unlikely or impossible. The ho'oponopono may have to proceed directly to the closing with a summary of what had been diagnosed as the problem and entanglements. This is an example of a ho'oponopono that has been successful to the extent only as an assessment of identifying the persons in a problem situation. Mō ka piko or moku ka piko, unable to forgive or severing a relationship, is also a possibility when a group or person has failed to come to resolution. However, in many cases these alternatives are not necessary and the group affirms their readiness to proceed.

Resolution Phase. This part of the process includes mutual requests for forgiveness and release and severance of all the hurt associated with the problem. Restitution may also be discussed and set and the problem is declared closed, pending payment of the restitution.

The mihi, kala, and oki (confession and forgiveness, release and severance), is actually a multi-step process that occurs between each pair of people involved in the hihia. Each person must separately admit their wrong doing and be forgiven by the other involved. After each person has done this they can then mutually let go and cut-off the negative entanglements that have bound them together. The following diagram (Figure 2) outlines this transaction between two individuals.

Figure 2. Transaction of Resolution



Lani and Keola allow the individuals to communicate directly to one another at this point. However, the leader is still checking each step for indications that there is a genuine expression by each person. One way to do this is to look for congruence in the verbal and nonverbal messages communicated.

If during the earlier discussion the need for restitution was mentioned then the group has to decide what the nature of the reparations will be. In some instances the final severance of the problem will not be complete until the restitution has been made. Once these agreements have been made and the mihi kala and oki have taken place, the leader declares the problem closed.

This final ho'omalu includes instructions to the group not to engage in any further discussion of the problem that might create negative repercussions. Positive, group affirming discussion is allowed after the session.

If the group has other problems to be resolved then the process returns to the kukulu-kumuhana and mahiki. If it is time for the particular session to close or if the whole treatment process is finished then the group proceeds to the closing steps.

Closing Phase. The general structure of this part is the same whether it is a closing for a session or a series of sessions in a whole treatment process. The content of the summary and closing ritual reflects what has transpired and the degree of bond and shared experience of the group.

The pule ho'opau, or closing prayer, is primarily one of thanks. There is a summary of what has been resolved and accomplished and an affirmation of the positive individual and/or group functioning. There may also be statements indicating areas the group will work on in the future or future plans as indication by the group.

The pani formally closes the problem solving sessions. At this time the leader and group share a snack or meal together. Lani believes that the leader should also contribute part of the snack. This is a transition time for the group to re-enter more normal patterns of interaction, to relax and enjoy one another.

CHAPTER NOTES

1. See Cottle (1977) for his book that illustrates the value of this type of study.

2. It is possible to analyze these factors in even more complex ways. For example, Marsella (1980) has suggested a model for looking at the dynamics within a single individual that occur to produce a behavior. They include the biological factors (interaction of heredity and psychological make-up) and environmental factors (interaction of environment and culture) which interact in a particular situation to create a behavior.

3. Some of the essential conditions of ho'oponopono listed include self scrutiny, truthfulness and sincerity (Pukui, et al., 1972, p. 62)

4. One exception was when Joseph used ho'oponopono outside of Hawaii.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS

In the preceding chapters material was presented to illustrate how eight individuals have used ho'oponopono in a work setting. Specific conclusions were drawn throughout the chapters and other questions were raised. This final chapter will summarize important conclusions that have already been drawn, state a few others and present some of the issues that have implications for further study.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS:

Ho'oponopono As An Alternative Mental Health Strategy. One of the underlying and more generalizable issues in this study is related to the recent trend in the United States and elsewhere in developing alternative mental health services, particularly ones that have specific cultural relevance. This study suggested that the re-emergence of ho'oponopono, was due largely to the work of the Queen Liliuokalani Children's Center. The popularity of their book, Nana I Ke Kumu indicates that there is local interest in providing such alternatives for Hawaiian people. Another study Paglinawan (1972) concluded that social workers could use ho'oponopono with Hawaiian families. What is unique about the use of ho'oponopono as presented in this study is that the majority of people interviewed are also using the process in a totally innovative context: with non-Hawaiians and with groups of people who are not related. Another innovation is that the leaders themselves are not necessarily Hawaiian. This leads me to conclude that there is something in ho'oponopono that has a transcultural appeal. Some of the features that have been named as having special attraction, in addition to the obvious cultural specificity in terms and concepts, include: the high degree of explicitness in procedures and roles; the inclusion of forgiveness and release; the spiritual element; the conceptualization of relationship entanglements that proceed from problems; and the high degree

of control and risk management that the process affords both the leader and participants.

Audiences. One of the important issues that the individuals did not agree on concerned what kind of audience ho'oponopono should be used with. Some participants views changed over time as they went from use with families to other non-related groups. Many other considerations were mentioned. Some thought its use should be limited to "local" or island residents, while others thought it had a broader appeal. A few thought it was inappropriate for groups who had business-like relationships, while others had used it in precisely that situation. Two people successfully used ho'oponopono with a man who was known to have psychiatric problems, while another person believed this was not advisable. Some people strive to make sure that the group has certain values and beliefs before proceeding while to others this is not necessary. Clearly there is no agreement on this matter. It is difficult on the basis of this study to determine the basis for the participants reasons. In some cases experience may have prompted the stance, while others may have relied on their feelings or ideas about a suitable audience.

Background Similarities of Ho'oponopono Leaders. An unexpected discovery coming out of the research was that most of the people interviewed had similar training and education. I chose the term "human relations" to classify the commonality. This finding, which was presented in Chapter III, could possibly be explained as coincidental due to the small sample, or it could indicate that "human relations" is a particular type of value/skill orientation within the helping profession that compliments ho'oponopono. It might also suggest that the kinds of skills developed in "human relations"-type

training provide a basis for the use of ho'oponopono. Certainly further study in this area would be fruitful in getting clues about who might be likely to adopt ho'oponopono in the future, or in designing a competency-based training model for potential ho'oponopono leaders.

Two Approaches to Initially Using Ho'oponopono. It appears from this study that leaders began using either parts of ho'oponopono and adding more as they felt comfortable doing so, or adopting the whole system at once. Although in the former situation the leader is probably not doing ho'oponopono until most of the parts are included, this approach may have implications for child welfare workers who want to learn to use ho'oponopono. If a person did not feel comfortable using the complete process at once, the "partial" approach could be an approach aiding the development of a thorough understanding of each component in ho'oponopono. This alternative might also involve fewer risks than adopting the complete process at once.

Ho'oponopono Within a Program Setting. Almost all the participants had used ho'oponopono within a program or agency setting that had a strong commitment to recognizing and reinforcing local cultural traditions. Two of the programs, the wilderness school and the residential drug abuse treatment program, integrated cultural experiences, values and practices into their "curriculum." Ho'oponopono was just one of the aspects of this emphasis on Hawaiian culture. This information may again indicate that agencies or programs that have already made a commitment to the inclusion of cultural components will be more likely to adopt ho'oponopono. The opportunity is for training and support would likely enhance the possibility, as was suggested in some of the interviews.

Future Variations of Ho'oponopono. Chapter 5 elaborated on the parts of the process that showed the most variation. It seems that those features of ho'oponopono that are most distinctively Hawaiian are those that are most subject to change, either through deletion or adaptation. One example is in the use of the pule or prayer. Generally American culture is a secular one that keeps spirituality confined to specific contexts, therapy not being one of them. However, with the trend in "holistic healing" and its emphasis on including the physical emotional and spiritual elements of wellbeing, the more traditional spiritual focus of ho'oponopono may survive.

Another area of wide divergence is the channeling of discussion and use of ho'omalu (cooling off period). Traditionally Hawaiians believed that uncontrolled expression of emotions in ho'oponopono exacerbated the problem and created more hihia (entanglements). Therefore, channeling the discussion was a mechanism that diminished that likelihood. If that control failed a ho'omalu could be used to regain equanimity. Tseng and Hsu (1979) have asserted that therapy can provide a "time-out" from normal cultural behavior and expectations. It may be that the controls in ho'oponopono acted as a balance in a society that more generally valued expression of emotions and gregariousness. In contrast, American culture puts a high premium on direct communication and controlling emotional displays, particularly fear, sadness and grief in day-to-day interaction. Therefore in therapy clients are often encouraged to express these emotions and to confront others in a direct way when in a group situation. The differences in value orientation between Hawaiian and American culture may account for the differences in use of those related parts in ho'oponopono.

One final procedure that is subject to alteration is the mihi, kala and oki (confession, forgiveness and release), again due, I believe, to different

and changing values. As Mary Kawena Pukui pointed out, in the past individuals were obligated to forgive when asked and any breach of this convention was a grave matter that could incur repercussion from both the family and from ancestral spirits (1972, p. 74). Karen Ito's study (1978) indicated that this belief in retribution is still held by urban Hawaiian women today. Lani Espiritu thinks that this belief may not be as strong as in the past, which means that individuals may not feel as motivated to forgive.

There is great irony in the conclusion that the distinctively Hawaiian features of ho'oponopono are those that are most vulnerable to change since these same features are the very ones that many individuals say attracts them to this practice. How these cross-currents in the evolution of ho'oponopono will be resolved is still an open question.

Essence of Ho'oponopono. One of my personal interests in this study was to see if there was general agreement on what the core or essence of ho'oponopono was, despite the variations. At this point I cannot say I found a phrase or expression that summed up this matter. I did learn that the expression of anything "essential" is always very personal and couched in words and gestures that have individual meaning. In one of the more frivolous moments of an interview I asked Paul Ellis to define "spiritual," since it occurred to me that I had been assuming that I shared a similar meaning with him and the others. After Paul gave me an incredulous look and laugh he paraphrased a story about Louis Armstrong: "You know Louis was asked 'What is jazz?' and he replied 'If you gotta ask about it, you ain't got it.'" Jazz, spirituality and essence of ho'oponopono - they all defy uniform characterization and yet most people can recognize the qualities when they are present.

A few of the people in this study shared their personal expression of the essence of ho'oponopono. I hope the reader will be able to catch glimmers of the essence of ho'oponopono in these words and draw their own conclusions.

Jean Baker succintly states, "The essence of ho'oponopono — I think — is aloha. That has to be there. And I guess that's manifested in a willingness to contribute some kind of commitment." For Joseph Whitney, the key is "Trust," and for Keola Espiritu, it's "Communication."

Kalau Souza eloquently summed up her feelings about ho'oponopono when she said: "I think the values Hawaiians have - the sincerity, the commitment to family, commitment to the group - these are all...very essential to the whole thing. There's no 'I'm committed but.' It's 'I'm committed.' Period."

Later in the interview she elaborated, "It's all these things that are so important ot the Hawaiian...His God. His feeling of family. The importance of the group. That they're all important to his survival. The commitment to one another. The concern. The real sort of caring...The belief that everything is reciprocal - What you dish out, you get back. Those are all part and parcel of it...When you come here and say you're hurting, you're full up to here...[one can respond] 'I know you're suffering...and I, as a part of this family don't want to see you suffer...and if I can help relieve it in any way, I want to '...I think...it express what aloha is...It's the real meaning of aloha."

IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY:

Some of the areas that need to be explored further were suggested in the immediately preceding pages, and will be elaborated upon here. Other issues mentioned involve specific implications for training child and family practitioners to use ho'oponopono with families or other groups. The

discussion will begin with these more specific issues.

Training. Since there seemed to be similar orientations, both in training and education among most individuals in the study, the question arises, are these orientations acturally prerequisites to the contemporary use of ho'oponopono? This question is especially pertinant for individuals who have not grown up in a home that emphasized traditional Hawaiian values, which is likely to include most prospective ho'oponopono leaders. More succinctly, does the leader have to have a particular personal value orientation is order to lead ho'oponopono? And, what degree of training and skills/competencies are necessary?

Transfer to Client System. A few leaders mentioned that after working with some groups over a period of time some participants not only learned the practice of ho'oponopono for themselves, but were able to apply it in a different setting on their own. In all cases this was a spontaneous occurence that both surprised and pleased the original leader. Is it possible that with more deliberate effort this transference of ho'oponopono to the client system could become a realistic outcome of working with a group or family? Perhaps a more in-depth study of those cases where spontaneous transference occurred would yield a set of factors that could be duplicated with other groups in order to increase the likelihood of transference.

Case Follow-Up. Determining how to measure therapeutic outcomes is a controversial issue. No longitudinal study has been made to formally follow-up a group or family that has used ho'oponopono to see if positive changes were maintained. It would also be interesting to design a controlled study where fairly similar cases were treated over a period of time, one with conventional family therapy and one with ho'oponopono to compare outcomes.

Even though such studies are time-consuming, complex and expensive it seems an important area to research, particularly if non-Western approaches to therapy are ever to gain a semblance of parity with Western approaches in terms of recognition, acceptance, and use.

Unsuccessful Uses of Ho'oponopono. Effective use of ho'oponopono will be further clarified when individuals who have used it without "success" (self-defined), share their stories. Unfortunately, but understandably, it is the rare therapist who is able and willing to share his or her "failures."[1] Another interesting note is that a few people have had education and/or training in ho'oponopono, were told by the trainers that they were competent, and yet did not follow-through and use the practice. What were the reasons to use?

Trans-cultural Issues. There needs to be further study on the apparent trans-cultural use of ho'oponopono. One avenue of exploration is to study the non-Hawaiian individuals to determine what kind of person is likely to use a therapeutic strategy that is outside of their cultural repetoire of practices. Another related issue is that of determining what, if any, are the therapeutic universals in ho'oponopono. A number of authors including Frank (1961, 1971), and Torrey (1972) have outlined what they believe are universal elements in therapy. Draguns (1975) asserts that this subject is fraught with complex problems but is worthwhile nevertheless. A more thorough study of the practice of ho'oponopono through a comparative, cross-cultural perspective may provide valuable insights for those who are interested in understanding basic principles about assisting people to establish harmonious interpersonal and social relationships.

Furthermore, exploration of all the issues mentioned will do much to

take the study of the practice ho'oponopono beyond description to an assessment of its possible use as an alternative way for professionals to help families and other groups.

Examples of Culture-Based Mental Health Problems

The following examples are documented programs that have provided services to a particular ethnic group. The types of services vary from acupuncture to spiritualism with many conventional practices in between. Geographically they range the territorial U.S. from New York to Guam and represent both urban and rural settings. Most of the programs are relatively new and in an "embryonic" or demonstration stage. None of the sources had details of process or outcome evaluations of the programs. Three broad ethnic group categories will be covered here: Native American, Asian and Pacific American, and Hispanic.[1]

Native Americans. Examples of Indian mental health services demonstrate that a wide variety of approaches is being used. One, the Papago Psychology Service, was designed for a reservation tribe in a rural area of Arizona (Kahn, et.al., 1975). It seems to be unique in that it employs a predominately indigenous professional and paraprofessional staff, uses healers when indicated as appropriate by the staff and, most significantly, leaves policy-making and economic control in the hands of the tribe. Consultation with some of the non-Papago psychologists who helped design the program occurs only when the Papago staff deems it beneficial.

A program for urban Indians from more than a dozen different tribal backgrounds who reside in the San Francisco Bay area had to contend with the problems associated with the controversial relocation policy of the Federal Government in the 1960's (Fields, 1979). The program, called the Urban Indian Child Resource Center, is in Oakland and maintains an Intertribal Friendship House as a resource center and gathering place for educational activities and cultural celebrations. The Center has also

formed an Indian Family Support Network to be used when foster care for a child is needed and the tribal extended family may not be able to help.

Another therapeutic intervention used with Indian families is "network therapy." Attneave (1969) reported that a modification of group therapy which includes the significant members of a patient's personal network of family, friends and associates builds on the strengths of the extended family system.

Asian and Pacific Americans. Two examples of mental health services for Chinese-Americans are found in California, a state with a large Asian-American population.

A mental health center in Chinatown, San Francisco, combines acupuncture treatments with standard counseling for clients with chronic insomnia, somatic complaints and chronic schizophrenia when there has not been progress using other therapeutic interventions (Fields, 1979).

In Los Angeles, The California State Department of Mental Hygiene funded a community mental health center program which combines community development and organization with other mental health services to Chinese in the area (Brown, et. al., 1973). The central feature of the program is the "Chinatown Health Team," which uses trained paraprofessionals in the community to assist in getting early identification and referrals of mental health problems. This is a primary concern because of the under-representation of Asians using mental health services and the possiblity that they would manifest a greater degree of pathology than other groups when they finally sought treatment (Sue and McKinney, 1975).[2] Another goal of the program is to educate recent immigrants with the hopes of enhancing positive emotional functioning and acculturation.

On Guam, the Mental Health Center staff has an informal, reciprocal referral agreement with a Chamorro healer, a surahano, who uses massage, prayer, advice, herb ointments and tonics for the relief of ailments that do not respond to conventional treatment. This gentleman graciously acknowledges that doctors and mental health professionals are more effective than he in certain cases and advises his clients to use their services (McMakin, 1977).

Hispanics. Like Attneave, Vivian Garrison explored the use of network therapy. In her work with schizophrenic Puerto Rican women in New York City (1978), she not only tried to involve the patient's family, friends and others who might function in a supportive role, but she also on occasion made interventions to Puerto Rican spiritualists on behalf of her clients. The spiritualist, like the surahano on Guam and the tribal healer of the Papago, can be viewed as a natural helper in the community.

Abad, Ramos and Boyce (1974) described another program for Spanish-speaking people, particularly Puerto Ricans, in Connecticut. The Spanish Clinic began in 1972 and has a multidimensional approach. The walk-in clinic has a bilingual staff and trains paraprofessionals from the community. The program emphasizes community education and has worked closely with community leaders in order to gain credibility and support. There is interest in collaborating with indigenous faith healers who sometimes refer clients to the clinic. The article did not specify how a policy and procedure for collaboration might develop. The Clinic is also interested in assisting new families to the area by providing a neighborhood support network for them.

A program for urban Chicanos in Los Angeles is described by Karno and Morales (1976). This program emphasizes the "public health" model of

service (p. 239), concentrating much effort on providing consultive services to other agencies in the community to enable them to deal more effectively with Chicano clients. The program also uses bilingual staff who are based in a non-clinical looking, Spanish-styled building in a centrally located residential area in East Los Angeles. Crisis intervention and treatment are provided if needed.

SUMMARY OF APPROACHES USED

Most of the works cited described integrated service programs. Although each program is a unique configuration that deals with a specific ethnic group, many of the service strategies are similar. Three of the works (Attneave; Garrison; McMakin) described informal policies and strategies that have been used with an ethnic group rather than within a fully developed program. The following chart (Figure 3) illustrates the frequency of strategies used by the programs and the other less formal approaches. These latter cases will be separated on the chart and should be considered as somewhat distinct from the others, since many of the categories do not apply to them.

This chart illustrates a rough comparison of services and should not be taken as absolutely complete. The information was taken from the articles cited and therefore is limited by what was contained therein. It seems likely that the programs may have used strategies not specified. However, despite these limitations, the chart does present a graphic illustration of some of the approaches being used across the country.

Figure 3

Service Strategies

Strategies	Integrated Programs						Others			Total (II - 9)
	Papago Arizona	Indian-Oakland	Chinese-San Francisco	Chinese-Los Angeles	Puerto R. Conn.	Chicano-L.A.	Indian	Chamorro-Guam	Puerto R. New York C.	
Paraprof. staff	X	?		X	X	?				3-5
Bilingual Staff	Assumed				X	X				2-3
Refers to folk healers	X				Interested			X	X	3-4
Community control of policy and $	X									1
Maintains resource center		X								1
Uses support networks		X			X	X	X		X	4
Indigenous treatment available (on-site)			X							1
Consulting/ referrals to other agencies					X	X				3
Community leaders involved (support)	X				X	X				3
Has clinic with psychological services avail.	X		X	X	X	X				5

The comparison illustrates that the most frequently used strategy (5; N=9) is the conventional clinic with psychological services such as individual and group counseling and therapy.

The second group of popular strategies (4) are more innovative and include employing paraprofessional staff and using support networks in services.

Three strategies that were individually cited in three sources are: the willingness to refer clients to folk healers, providing consulting/ referral services to other agencies, and involving community leaders in order to gain support. The use of a bilingual staff was also listed in 2 and intimated by 1 other source. Listed only one time each are: giving the community economic and policy control, maintaining a resource center, and providing on-site indigenous treatment.

APPENDIX B

Sample Interview Guide*

*Note: The primary purpose of this guide was to insure that the interviewer had some specific knowledge about the subject prior to doing the interviews. The guide was not given to the respondents, nor, in most cases was it used to structure the interviews. It did act as a check list of items to be covered and as a guide to formulating effective probes of respondents' statements. The use of the guide changed over the course of the interviews as some categories were found not to be particularly useful.

NOTES

1. One omission in this survey is Blacks. There was little in the literature on programs specifically designed for Blacks. Perhaps the fact that Black Americans historically had their African heritage destroyed, there is little to be found in terms of strategies for mental health that are different from mainstream Caucasian Americans. Those Blacks from Puerto Rico or Caribbean Islands would be an acception and therefore some of the literature on Puerto Rican programs applies.

2. Data from the 1970 Hawaii Department of Health Statistical Report (cf. Sue, S. and H. McKinney, 1975) indicated that Chinese, Filipino and Japanese have extremely low first admission rates to mental hospitals. Sue and McKinney stated, "However, it is unlikely that epidemiologists would uncritically accept these comparisons as valid indicators of low rates of psychotherapy among Asians, particularly since subcultural values and hospital policies often influence the utilization of psychiatric facilities (p. 112)."

Ho'oponopono Interview

FACE SHEET

1. Name
2. Date
3. Place of interview
4. Sex 5. Age
6. Ethnicity (self-defined)
7. Education
8. Training (Social Work, Education, Counseling...)
9. Place of residence
10. Length of residence in Hawaii
11. Place where raised
12. Occupation
13. Religion
14. Personal/Family values

NOTES:

Ho'oponopono Interview

GUIDE

A. MEANING OF HO'OPONOPONO

1. Purpose (prevention? intervention?)

2. Participants

a) role of the leader

b) role of the others

c) group size

d) voluntary or mandatory participation?

3. Convening

a) who decides when ho'oponopono takes place?

b) what kind of decision is used (consensus, majority, one person?)

c) spontaneous/scheduled? or both?

4. Participant Preparation

a) are participants educated about ho'oponopono?

b) do participants contract or make agreements?

c) explanation of purpose, roles, expectations, procedures?

d) is confidentiality discussed?

5. Prerequisite beliefs and values (are there any? are they seen as important?)

a) Are ther meaningful interpersonal relationships among participants?

1) do the individuals live together?

2) are participants related?

3) do the participants do something together consistently that would result in a valued relationship?

b) Common values

1) interdependence

2) concern for group over individual

3) expressing feelings

4) truthfulness

5) sincerity

6) patience

c) Common beliefs

1) nature and effect of conflict (is there a recognition of loss if conflict not resolved? retribution?)

2) spiritual beliefs

d) Is there a high level of group trust?

e) Is there an awareness of the effect of an individual's actions on the group?

f) Are there ethnocultural commonalities in the group?

6. Beginning Phase

a) Prayer (silence, or opening statement for assistance?)

pule

b) General problem identification

kukulu kumuhana

c) Zeroing in on the specific problem

mahiki

hala

hihia

7. Resolution Phase

a) self scrutiny

b) questioning by the leader

c) sharing one's feelings (and who shares)

mana'o

d) all discussion channeled by the leader

e) leader prevents emotional outbursts

ho'omalu

f) confession of wrong-doing

mihi

g) forgiveness

kala

oki

h) recognition of grudge holding (and how dealt with)

ho'omauhala

i) restitution

8. Closing Phase

a) summary

b) reaffirmation of positive group relations

c) problem declared closed; reaffirmation that the hurt has been resolved

d) prayer

pule ho'opau

e) closing on the problem

pani

f) closing on the ho'oponopono sessions

final pani

g) sharing snack or meal (at end of each session and at final closing)

9. Other Notes

a) distinguish between single ho'oponopono sessions when an entire series of problems can be resolved in one time period and those complex conditions/ problems that require a series of sessions over a period of time.

b) the process of problem identification and resolution can repeat itself several times within one session before the closing.

10. How much time is allowed for sessions?

11. What is the emotional climate throughout?

B. DECISION TO ADOPT

1. Knowledge of it's use (individual and agency)

a) literature (books, magazines, newspapers)

b) formal presentation (school, workshop etc.)

c) informal, face-to-face

2. How did the leader acquire the skill of using ho'oponopono?

a) reading

b) training

c) observing

d) participating

3. How does it fit with other agency function/programs?

a) what's the purpose of the agency?

b) is its' use a policy decision or an agency practice?

4. How was the decision to adopt made?

a) individual or group decision?

b) what is the perceived purpose it serves in the agency?

c) were other alternative methods considered? (and what were they?)

C. ASSESSMENT

1. How does the agency/individual judge whether or not using ho'oponopono is meeting the desired goals and objectives?

a) are there:

1) documents/reports?

2) statistical measures?

b) if yes, what are the results (attach, if necessary)

2. Is it being used on a trial basis?

a) if yes:

1) why?

2) how long?

3. Is it part of a time-limited project? (i.e. private or government funding)

4. If it were to be discontinued, who would make the decision and on what basis?

5. What difficulties were encountered using it?

6. Did the agency or individual have access to a resource person to assist them in evaluating, or in helping to iron out any difficulties encountered?

7. What suggestions would be made to others who wanted to use it?

a) specific - ho'oponopono

b) general - recommendations about adopting/adapting indigenous practices

REFERENCES - BOOKS

Atkinson, D. Morten and D.W. Sue. Counseling American Minorities. Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Company, Publishers, 1979.

Barnett, Homer. Innovation: The Basis of Cultural Change. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1953.

Bogdan, Robert and A.J. Taylor. Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods: A Phenomenological Approach to the Social Science. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1975.

Cottle T.J. Private Lives, Public Accounts. Amherst, Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 1977.

"Family Therapy, Hawaiian Style...," The Honolulu Advertiser, Monday, July 30, 1973., p. C-1.

Gallimore, R., J. Boggs and C. Jordan. Culture, Behavior and Education: A Study of Hawaiian Americans. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1974.

Gallimore, R. and A. Howard. Studies in a Hawaiian Community: Na Makamaka o Nanakuli. Department of Anthropology, Honolulu: B.P. Bishop Museum, 1968.

Glaser, B. and A. Strauss. The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research. New York: Aldine Publishing Company, 1967.

Goodenough, W. Cooperation in Change. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1963.

Handy, E.S.C. and M.K. Pukui. The Polynesian Family System of Ka-'u Hawaii. Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1972.

"Ho'oponopono: A Way to Set Things Right," The Sunday Star-Bulletin and Advertiser, July 18, 1971, p. B-8.

Howard, Alan. Ain't No Big Thing:Coping Strategies in a Hawaiian-American Community. Honolulu: The University of Hawaii Press, 1974.

Kopp, S. The Naked Therapist. San Diego: Ed ITS, 1967.

Lofland, John. Analyzing Social Settings. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1971.

_____. Doing Social Life. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1976.

Pukui, M.K. and E.W. Haerting, and C. Lee. Nānā I Ke Kumu Vol I and II Honolulu:Hui Hanai, 1972 and 1979.

Rogers, E. and F. Shoemaker. Communication of Innovations: A Cross-Cultural Approach. New York: The Free Press, 1971.

Ruesch, J. and G. Bateson. Communication: The Social Matrix of Psychiatry. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1951.

Spradely, J. and D. McCurdy. The Cultural Experience: Ethnography in a Complex Society. Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1972.

Torrey, E.F. The Mind Game: Witchdoctors and Psychiatrists. New York: Emmerson Hall Publishers, Inc., 1972.

Tseng, W.S. and John McDermott and T. Maretzki. People and Cultures in Hawaii. Hawaii: Department of Psychiatry University of Hawaii 1974.

Tylor, Edward B. Primitive Culture. Vol I. New York, 1874.

Wallace, A. Culture and Personality (2nd. ed.) New York: Random House, 1970.

ARTICLES, PAMPHLETS

Abad, V. and J. Ramos and E. Boyce. "A Model for Delivery of Mental Health Services to Spanish-Speaking Minorities." In American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 44(4), 1974, pp. 584-95.

Attneave, C. "Therapy in Tribal Settings and Urban Network Interventions." In Family Process, 8(1969), pp. 192-210.

Berry, J. W. "Introduction to Methodology." In Handbook of Cross-Cultural Psychology, Vol 2, pp. 1-28. Triandis and Berry, eds. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1980.

Brown, T. and K. Stein, K. Huang, and D. Harris. "Mental Illness and the Role of Mental Health Facilities in Chinatown." In Asian American Psychological Perspectives, pp. 212-231. S. Sue and N. Wagner, eds. Palo Alto: Science and Behavior Books, 1973.

Bryson, S. and H. Bardo. "Race and the Counseling Process." In Counseling American Minorities, pp. 122-132. D. Atkinson, G. Morten and D.W. Sue, eds. Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Company Publishers, 1979.

Bulhan, H.A. "Dynamics of Cultural In-Betweenity: An Empirical Study." International Journal of Psychology (15) July, 1980, pp. 105-121.

Christensen, E.W. "Counseling Puerto Ricans: Some Cultural Considerations." In Counseling American Minorities, pp. 159-167. D. Atkinson, G. Morter and D.W. Sue, ed. Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Company Publishers, 1979.

Draguns J. "Resocialization into Culture: The Complexities of Taking a Worldwide View of Psychotherapy." In Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Learning, pp. 273-289. R. Brislin, S. Bochner, W. Lonner., eds. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1975.

Fields, S. "Mental Health and the Melting Pot," Innovations, 6:2, 1979.

Frank, Jerome. "Therapeutic Factors in Psychotherapy," American Journal of Psychotherapy, 25: 350-361, 1971.

Garrison, Vivian. "Support Systems of Schizophrenic and Nonschizophrenic Puerto Rican Migrant Women in New York City," Schizophrenic Bulletin 4(4) 561-569, 1978.

Gonzales, Elena. "The Role of Chicano Folk Beliefs and Practices in Mental Health." In Chicanos Social and Psychological Perspectives, pp. 236-281. C. Hernandez, M. Hang and N. Wagner, eds. St. Louis: C.V. Mosby Company, 1976.

Harper, F.D. "What Counselors Must Know About the Social Sciences of Black Americans." In Counseling American Men, pp. 113-121. Atkinson, Morten and Sue, eds. Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Company. 1979.

Higginbotham, Howard. "A Conceptual Model for the Delivery of Psychological Services," Topics in Culture Learning, Aug., 44-52, 1976.

_____. "Culture and Mental Health Services." In Perspectives of Cross-Cultural Psychology, pp. 307-332. A. Marsella, R. Tharp and T. Ciborowski, eds. New York: Academic Press, 1979.

Hunt, W. and W. Crane, J. Wahlke. "Interviewing Political Elites in Cross-Cultural Comparative Research," American Journal of Sociology, 70: 59-68, 1964.

Kahn, M. and C. Williams, E. Galvez, L. Lejero, R. Conrod and G. Goldstein. "The Pagago Psychology Service. A Community Mental Health Program On An American Indian Reservation," American Journal of Community Psychology, Vol. 3 No. 2 1975, pp. 81-97.

Karno, M. and A. Morales. "Community Mental Health Service for Mexican-Americans in a Methropolis." In Chicanos: Social and Psychological Perspectives, pp. 237-241. C. Hernandez, M. Hang ed. N. Wagner, eds. St. Louis: C.V. Mosby Company, 1976.

Kelly, J.G., L. Snowden and R. Munoy. "Social and Community Interventions," Annual Review of Psychology 28, 1977, pp. 323-361.

Kondo, A. "Morita Therapy," American Journal of Psychoanalysis. Vol. 13, 1953, p. 31-37.

Lewis, R. and M. Ho. "Social Work with Native Americans." In Counseling American Minorities, pp. 51-58. D. Atkinsons, G. Monten and D.W. Sue, eds. Dubuque, Iowa Wm. C. Brown Company Publishers, 1979.

Lonner, W.J. "Issues in Cross-Cultural Psychology." In Perspectives on Cross-Cultural Psychology, pp. 17-45. A. Marsella, R. Tharp and T. Ciborowski, eds. New York: Academic Press, 1979.

Maruyama, M. "Epistomology of Social Science Research: Exploration in In-Culture Researchers," Dialecties. 23: pp. 229-280.

Murase, T. "Naikan Therapy." In Culture-bound Syndrome, Ethnopsychiatry, and Alternate Therapies. W. Lebra, ed. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1976.

Nishihara, D.P. "Culture Counseling and Ho'oponopono: An Ancient Model in a Modern Context," Personnal and Guidance Journal. May, 1978, pp. 56-2.

Pande, S.K. "The Mystique of 'Western' Psychotherapy: An Eastern Interpretation," The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease, 1968, 425-432.

Pareek, U. and T. Venkateswara Rao. "Cross-Cultural Surveys and Interviewing." In Handbook of Cross-Cultural Psychology. Vol. II. Methodology, pp. 127-179. Triandis, and Berry, eds. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc. 1980.

Pedersen, Paul. "Non-Western Psychology: The Search for Alternatives." Perspectives on Cross-Cultural Psychology, pp. 77-98. Marsella, Tharp, Ciborowski, eds. New York: Academic Press, 1979.

Presidents Commission on Mental Health. Washington D.C. Superintendent of Documents, Vol. II and III Appendix. 1978.

Ruiz R. and A. Padilla. "Counseling Latinos." In Counseling American Minorities, pp. 169-187. D. Atkinson, G. Morten and D.W. Sue, eds. Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Company Publishers, 1979.

Speck, R. and V. Rueveni. "Network Therapy-A Developing Concept," Family Process, 8: 1969, pp. 182-191.

Sue, D.W. and S. Sue. "Barriers to Effective Cross-Cultural Counseling," Journal of Counseling Psychology, 24: 1977, pp. 420-429.

_____. "Counseling Chinese-Americans." In Counseling American Minorities, pp. 95-112. Atkinson, Morten and Sue eds. Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown. Company, 1979.

Sue, S. "Community Mental Health Service to Minority Groups: Some Optomism, Some Pessimism," American Psychologist, 32. 1977, pp. 616-624.

Sue, S. and H. McKinney. "Asian Americans in the Community Mental Health Care. System," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry. 45(1): 1975, pp. 111-118.

Trimble, Joseph E. "Value Difference Among American Indians: Concern for the Concerned Counselor.": In Counseling Across Culture, pp. 65-81. Pedersen, Lonner, Draguns, eds. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1976.

Tseng, W.S. and J. Hsu. "Culture and Psychotherapy." In Perspectives on Cross-Cultural Psychology, pp. 333-345. A. Marsella, R. Tharp and T. Ciborowski, eds. New York: Academic Press, 1979.

Tseng, W. and J. McDermott. "Psychotherapy: Historical Roots, Universal Elements and Cultural Variations," American Journal of Psychiatry. 132: 4, 1975, pp. 378-384.

Young, B. "The Hawaiians." Peoples and Cultures of Hawaii: A Psychocultural Profile, pp. 5-24. J. McDermott, W.S. Tseng and T.W. Maretzki, eds. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1980.

Youngman, G. and M. Sadongnie. "Counseling the American Indian Child." In Counseling American Minorities, pp. 59-62. D. Atkinson, G. Morten and D.W. Sue, eds. Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Company Publishers, 1979.

UNPUBLISHED

Ito, Karen Lee. "Symoblic Conscience: Illness Retribution Among Urban Hawaiian Women." Unpublished doctoral dissertation in Anthropology, 1978, UCLA.

McMakin, P. "The Suruhanos: Traditional Curers on The Island of Guam," MA Thesis, 1975, University of Guam.

Marsella, A.J. "Culture and Mental Health: Some Contributions of Cross-Cultural Research." A paper presented at the Conference on Cultural Aspects of Mental Health and Therapy. June 1980, Honolulu, Hawaii.

Mossman, M. and P. Wahilani. "Kulia I Ka Lokahi i Ke Ola!" A mimeo, 1975.

Paglinawan,L. "Ho'oponopono Project II" Report for the Queen Liliuokalani Children's Center. 1972, Honolulu, (unpublished document with limited circulation).

_____. from School of Social Work, University of Hawaii, Mimeos. 1980.

Sue, Stanley. "Toward a Strategy of Primary Prevention." A paper presented at the meeting of the Western Psychological Association. (April, 1978), San Francisco.