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Ho'omana'o: A Cultural Framework for Reminiscence Interventions with Native Hawaiian Elders

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This paper presents a case for conducting reminiscence and life review work with older adults of Native Hawaiian descent (*kupuna*) and suggests ways in which this work may be done in a manner that is sensitive to and harmonious with Native Hawaiian cultural beliefs. Reminiscence interventions may be of particular benefit to *kupuna* because Native Hawaiians have disproportionately poor mental and physical health compared to the general population. Specific features of the Hawaiian culture, such as linguistic recognition of the reconstructive nature of memory, and a tradition of oral transmission of knowledge, also suggest that reminiscence interventions are a good fit. Relevant aspects of Native Hawaiian history and culture are then reviewed to create specific suggestions for culturally competent reminiscence work with *kupuna* and for future research with other indigenous and minority populations.

Personal stories of Native Hawaiian elders are often used as resources for knowledge of various aspects of Hawai`i and the Pacific, including cultural traditions and preservation (Ford, 2015; Mokuau & Browne, 1994; Patria, 2014), ecological practices (McMillen, Ticktin, & Springer, 2016), linguistic phenomena (Smead, 2013), and the interpretation or reinterpretation of historical events (Kodama-Nishimoto, Nishimoto, & Oshiro, 2009; UH Manoa Center for Oral History, 2010; Walker, 2008). Despite the contributions of their life stories to this body of knowledge, very little consideration has been given to impact of storytelling on those who tell the stories. This is unfortunate because the Hawaiian culture has a strong oral tradition of transmission of knowledge, and reminiscence interventions may have a particularly robust impact on individuals from such cultures (Cappeliez, 2013). In addition, scholars have called for studies of the effects of reminiscence interventions on ethnic minority populations (Webster, Bohlmeijer, & Westerhof, 2010; Westerhof, & Bohlmeijer, 2014). The purpose of this paper is to present a case for conducting reminiscence and life review work with older adults of Native Hawaiian descent and to suggest ways in which this work may be done in a manner that is sensitive to and harmonious with Native Hawaiian cultural beliefs. Although examples are presented within the Native Hawaiian worldview, the basic framework for considering other cultures may be used for researchers and professionals who work with special populations.

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Culturally Appropriate Reminiscence in the Context of the Literature

It is important to place this call for culturally appropriate reminiscence interventions within the field. The scholarly field of reminiscence and life review is relatively young, beginning with Robert Butler's (1963) assertion that life review was an important and beneficial aspect of late adulthood. However, the scope of this literature has grown considerably over the past half-century and encompasses looking at the past from various points in the lifespan, with a variety of modes and in diverse contexts.

Webster et al.'s (2010) heuristic model of reminiscence provides a suitable framework for the present discussion. It proposes that the reminiscence process consists of triggers, modes, contexts, moderators, functions, and outcomes for both practice and research. *Triggers* refer to whether reminiscence is spontaneous or elicited by something in the environment. Our discussion of reminiscence interventions centers upon elicited reminiscence. *Modes* refer to whether reminiscence is private or shared. Our focus is on shared reminiscence, interpersonally in larger groups. *Contexts* refer to settings. Because institutionalization of older adults is rare in the Native Hawaiian population (Browne, Mokuau, Lana, Kim, Higuchi, & Braun, 2014) reminiscence work is done in family and community settings. *Moderators* refer to demographic and personality characteristics. Ethnicity is central to this discussion, but the benefits of these practices with older adults are also emphasized. *Functions* refer to

the underlying purpose of reminiscence. Different functions relate to different outcomes. These are relevant and will be discussed below. Webster et al.'s (2010) model concludes with outcomes. Our discussion focuses on practice outcomes. When research is discussed, it refers to outcomes research, or research on the efficacy of reminiscence interventions on outcomes.

Scholars have distinguished among three types of reminiscence interventions: simple reminiscence, life review, and life review therapy (Westerhof & Bohlmeijer, 2014; Westerhof, Bohlmeijer, & Webster, 2010). *Simple reminiscence* is the sharing of autobiographic stories and is most appropriate for older adults without mental health issues. *Life Review* is a more structured process, usually conducted by trained professionals and focused on enhancing mastery and meaning in life. *Life Review Therapy* is conducted by highly specialized mental health counselors and is appropriate for those with severe mental health problems, such as anxiety and depression. The present discussion of cultural adaptations is appropriate for all three types of interventions but does not specifically address basic research on reminiscence and memory, which are a conceptually separate issue. In terms of Webster et al.'s (2010) model, of greatest interest are increases of positive outcomes, such as personal growth and development (Cappeliez, 2013), and the decrease of negative outcomes such as unresolved conflicts and depression.

Benefits of Reminiscence and Life Review for Understudied Populations

Relatively recent literature on reminiscence interventions has shown that, overall, they have a positive effect on the mental health of older adults. However, this effect appears to vary by function, outcome, and type of intervention. Cappeliez and O'Rourke (2006) examined the specific influence of different functions of reminiscence on the mental and physical health of older adults using a three-factor solution to Webster's Reminiscence Function Scale (RFS; 1997). The Self-Negative factor, composed of Intimacy Maintenance, Boredom Reduction, and Bitterness Revival functions, was related to poor health outcomes. The Self-Positive factor, composed of Problem Solving, Identity, and Death Preparation functions, was related to positive health outcomes. The Prosocial factor, composed of Teach/Inform and Conversation functions, was not related to health outcomes. However, other studies have shown that the functions included in the Prosocial Reminiscence factor are related to happiness (Westerhof et al., 2010). Pinquart and Forstmeier's (2012) meta-analysis examined the types of outcomes affected by reminiscence interventions and noted that the largest improvements were found for ego-integrity and depression, followed by purpose in life, death preparation, mastery, mental health, positive wellbeing, social integration and cognitive performance. This same analysis also found that life review therapies were more effective in reducing depressive symptoms than simple reminiscence or life review. Thus, reminiscence interventions may be beneficial for older adults, but careful consideration must be given to the type of intervention, the targeted outcome, and the function that the intervention is designed to elicit.

Consideration must also be given to the moderators discussed in Webster et al.'s (2010) model above, particularly age and ethnicity. With regard to age, the functions of teaching, intimacy maintenance, and death preparation appear to be more common in older, than younger, adults (Webster, et al., 2010). With regard to ethnicity, very little work has been done in non-White samples. The handful of intervention studies conducted in samples of older African American adults suggests that the effect of reminiscence on mental health varies by reminiscence function (Shellman, Ennis, & Bailey-Addison, 2011), and that some reminiscence interventions have the potential to reduce depressive symptoms in that population (Shellman, Mokel, & Hewitt, 2009). In addition, the factor structure of the RFS in Black (Shellman & Zhang, 2014; Washington, 2009) and Latino (Washington, 2009) samples appears to be similar to that found in White samples. Despite these similarities, evidence also suggests that ethnic groups may vary in their likelihood to engage in specific reminiscence functions. Blacks have been found to score higher on the RFS factors of Teach/Inform and Identity than Whites (Norman, Harris, and Webster, 2001; as cited in Webster et al., 2010). Other differences have been reported based on political history and cohort experiences (Nile, & Van Bergen, 2015; O'Rourke, Carmel, Chaudhury, Polchenko, & Bachner, 2013). Alea and Wang (2015) assert that, because memory is based in "values and mnemonic practices," (p. 3), understanding cultural practices is critical to understanding how the past is used in daily life. Thus a basic knowledge of Native Hawaiian culture is essential to reminiscence work in the Native Hawaiian population.

Reminiscence and Life Review May Be of Particular Benefit to Kupuna

Understanding the characteristics of the current population of Native Hawaiian *kupuna,* older adults, "the wise ones who paved the way" (Kaomea, 2001, p. 37), is important to intervention work. There are approximately 1.4 million individuals who identify as Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander (either alone or in combination with other races) in the Unites States (US Census, 2015). Unlike other Native American groups in the United States and the First Nations in Canada, Native Hawaiians do not have their own formal government or significant areas of land (Langlas, 2006). Only slightly over one-quarter (366,000) of this population lives in Hawai`i, another one-quarter (340,000) lives in California (US Census, 2015). The remaining individuals are "widely disbursed from their ancestral communities" (Langlas, 2006), with the

next greatest concentrations in Washington State, New York, and Texas (Hixson, Hepler, & Kim, 2012). A little over 10% of this population is aged 65 years or older (US Census, 2015).

There are both physical and mental health disparities between Native Hawaiians and the greater population. Native Hawaiians are more likely to die from cardiovascular disease than all other major ethnic groups in Hawai`i. These deaths also occur at a younger average age than the rest of the population. As might be expected, the Native Hawaiian population also rates higher than the general population on risk factors for cardiovascular disease such as hypertension, diabetes, obesity, and low education level (Asian and Pacific Islander American Health Forum, 2010). Because samples with chronic physical illness appear to derive greater benefit from reminiscence interventions than those without (Pinquart & Forstmeier, 2012), such interventions might dispro-portionally benefit Native Hawaiians. The mental health of Native Hawaiian older adults is understudied; however, evidence suggests that they may have higher rates of depression than older adults of other races (Braun, Kim, Ka`opua, Mokuau, & Browne, 2014). Reminiscence interventions, specifically life review therapy, may benefit *kupuna* due to the finding that these interventions have been associated with larger improvements in mental health symptoms in depressed, than non-depressed, samples (Pinquart & Forstmeier, 2012).

In addition to health characteristics, parallels between the definitions of reminiscence among Hawaiian language sources and those in the reminiscence literature suggest that interventions would be particularly effective for *kupuna.* The Hawaiian language is holistic and complex. Words draw meaning from surrounding words and social contexts and are inseparable from culture (Hopkins, 1992). Therefore, it is difficult to capture intricacies of Hawaiian thought with the English language (Native Hawaiian Education Council, 2002). Additionally, because the language developed concurrently on different islands of the Hawaiian archipelago, many words are place-specific and have diverse meanings. There are several Hawaiian-English dictionaries in practical use (Ulukau, 2004), with the most accepted being the *Hawaiian Dictionary* by Pukui and Elbert (1986). Nonetheless, the Hawaiian word(s) used for *reminiscence* capture many of the underlying processes contained in the Western reminiscence literature. Appendix A contains a glossary of native Hawaiian terms.

The closest word to *reminiscence* is *ho'omana'o*[1], which is most commonly defined as *to remember* (Pukui & Elbert, 1966). Some translators use the word in the phrase to mean *anniversary,* as in *Ha`oli Ho'omana'o*, *Happy Anniversary* (Disney Parks Blog, 2016). Defintions for *ho'omana'o* also include to remember, recall, commemorate, reflect deeply on, meditate, cause a thought, call to mind, and cause to consider (Ulukau, 2004). These definitions suggest that the Native Hawaiian language reflects both the spontaneity and reflective nature of reminiscence noted by modern Western scholars (Webster et al., 2010). Consideration of the root word of *Ho'omana'o*, *mana'o,* may also be useful. *Mana'o* may be defined as to think, estimate, anticipate, expect, and suppose (Pukui & Elbert, 1966). Ancillary definitions include: idea, plan, device, purpose, counsel, and stratagem (Ulukau, 2004). This root word is also used to in phrases that specify different types of thought: *Ho'oka'ina mana'o* (to sequence ideas), *Mākau ho'oholo mana'o* (decision-making skill), *Mākau ho'omohala mana'o* (productive-thinking skill) and *Nīnau ho'omohala mana'o*, (open-ended question) (Ulukau, 2004). The notions of *ho'omana'o* and *mana'o* in the Hawaiian language parallel notions of reminiscence put forth by modern theorists and practitioners. Reminisence "is a dynamic, not a static, process, which brings the past into the present and reconstructs a newer version of the memories recalled" (Gibson, 2010, p. 31). "Individuals are able to actively work with the remembered events of their lives to create, renovate, and reconstruct a life story over time" (Bluck & Liao, 2013, p. 7). Thus, the Native Hawaiian worldview, as expressed through its language, captures the essence of the assumption that recall of the past serves a functional purpose in current life, beyond the simple recall of memories (Bluck & Alea, 2009). The nature of these memories (i.e., spontaneous or recalled) would depend upon the linguistic and social contexts within which the word, *ho'omana'o,* was used.

A Brief Primer on Native Hawaiian History and Culture

Knowledge of Native Hawaiian history and values is critically important for the design and implementations of interventions in this population because individual life stories are embedded in sociocultural norms and values (Webster et al., 2010). McCubbin & Marsella (2009) note that the history of the Native Hawaiian peoples is best understood by thinking about two historical periods, before and after colonization, officially marked by 1899, the year that the United States annexed the former kingdom of Hawai`i.

Precolonization and Cultural Origins

The first Hawaiians were settlers from the Kahiki/Marquesas Islands to the island of Hawai`i in about 100 A.D. Their history has been passed down by *kupuna* through *mo`olelo*, oral stories, tales or myths (Patria, 2014), transmitted by both males and females. Native Hawaiians lived in units based loosely on families, or

[1] Hawaiian pronunciation generally uses short vowels unless indicated by a macron (short bar) over the vowel. The `okina (backward apostrophe) indicates a glottal stop (pause).

`ohana* (Handy and Pukui, 1998) that shared wedges of land ranging from mountains to sea, called *ahupu`aha. *Ahupu`aha* were supervised and organized by *ali`i*, or chiefs. Societal order was maintained by a series of *kapu*, prohibitions, and *ho`o`ponopono*, the process of making interpersonal relationships correct and right (Brinson & Fisher, 1999). The people communally fished and farmed *lo'i* (taro fields); goods and services were shared (Hope & Hope, 2003).

As this communal lifestyle suggests, the traditional Hawaiian view of the self was relational—to the land, the gods, and other people (Braun et al., 2004; Brinson & Fisher, 1999; McCubbin, 2006). McCubbin and Marsella (2009) portray the Hawaiian worldview as a series of concentric circles. The person is located in the center, embedded in other forces. The person is directly surrounded by *`ohana*, or family. However, the Hawaiian construct of family differs from the Western construct. *'Ohana* members are bound by blood, affection, partnership/marriage and adoption (Handy & Pukui, 1998). The practice of *hanai*, life-long and binding adoption, still exists today (Yancura & Greenwood, 2013). *'Ohana* may even include family members of friends (McCubbin & Marsella, 2009). The circle that surrounds *'ohana* represents the natural world from which humans are inseparable. The outermost circle represents the spiritual domain. It includes *ke akua*, god, goddess, spirit, and *'aumakua,* family gods, guardian spirits, deified ancestors (Handy & Pukui, 1998). The Pukui and Elbert (1986) dictionary lists the physical forms of *`aumakua* as different for various islands and neighborhoods. For example, *`aumakua* are believed to take the form of sharks on all islands except Hawai`i island, and owls on some neighborhoods on O'ahu (Manoa) and Hawai`i (Puu). The word *`aumakua* may also mean to offer grace before eating, offering yet another example of the elemental relationships among humans, nature, and gods/ancestors.

Further indications of the complexity of inter-relationships in the Hawaiian worldview come from the notions of *mana* and *lokahi,* which bind human, natural, and spiritual worlds. *Mana* is the life energy found in all living things, *lokahi* refers to harmony among them. Such behaviors as hate, jealousy, rudeness, being nosy, bearing a grudge, showing off, breaking promises, and speaking bitter thoughts, run counter to *lōkahi*, and thus weaken *mana* by destroying the social fabric (McCubbin & Marsella, 2009). Further values that strengthen social ties are *laulima*, cooperation, and *kōkua,* helping, which are central to Native Hawaiian Culture and further reinforce the importance of social ties (Mokuau, 2011). With these values in place, the population flourished for nearly two millennia, spreading from the island of Hawai`i to the other Hawaiian Islands. Population estimates range between 400,000 to 875,000 individuals by the mid-18th century (Browne et al., 2009; McCubbin & Marsella, 2009).

Postcolonization Macrohistorical Influences

This history of the Hawaiian people changed dramatically with Western contact and the arrival of Captain Cook in 1778, whose men introduced syphilis and gonorrhea to the islands. Over the next century, waves of sailors and immigrants would introduce smallpox, Hansen's disease (leprosy), cholera, and other diseases (Hope & Hope, 2003). It is estimated that these diseases killed up to 90% of the Native Hawaiian population (McCubbin & Marsella, 2009). Contact with the Western world brought additional changes. The whaling industry was established in 1819, and Western missionaries arrived in 1820. These missionaries banned Native Hawaiian cultural practices as 'pagan' and, along with Western businessmen, took ownership of the land and economy of the islands. A cadre of American businessmen overthrew the Hawaiian Monarchy in 1893 and Hawai'i became a territory of the United States five years later. Shortly after this, the U.S. established military bases on the island of Oahu, accelerating the Westernization/Americanization of the islands. During this time Native Hawaiian culture was suppressed, and many Native Hawaiians began to buy into notions of their own 'inferiority' (McCubbin & Marsella, 2009). Despite this devastation of population and culture, there were still signs of resilience. Powerful Native Hawaiians established endowments to offset some of these harms to the people (Browne, Mokuau, & Braun, 2009). These trusts continued throughout the 20th century and to this day.

The oldest currently living cohorts of *kupuna* were born between the years of 1915 and 1945 (Browne, et al., 2009). Native Hawaiians born in this cohort experienced the Great Depression and World War I as territorial citizens of the U.S. They also experienced the creation of a homesteading program for the purpose of "rehabilitation" of the Native Hawaiian people with the passing of the Hawaiian Homelands Commission Act (DHHL, 2016) by the US congress in 1922. But this reparative governmental gesture was countered by two subsequent events over the next decade, the U.S. military bombing and destruction of Kaho'olawe, a small and sacred island off the coast of Maui (McCubbin & Marsella, 2009) and the internationally publicized Massie Affair that reflected and created racial tensions on Oahu (Stannard, 2005).[2] In 1941, Pearl Harbor was bombed and the State was under Martial Law until 1945 (Browne et al., 2009).

The lifestyles of Native Hawaiians rapidly changed once more over the next few decades. Individuals born between the years of 1945 and 1975 are currently between

[2] A Native Hawaiian young man was accused of raping the White wife of a U.S. military officer. Despite a great deal of evidence that he was innocent, the trial was contentious and a mistrial was declared. The mother of the female victim killed the Native Hawaiian man and was tried for his murder. Although convicted by a jury, she was pardoned by the Governor just hours after her sentencing.

the ages of approximately 40 to 70 years. The post-war economic boom and the growth in airline travel led to an increased number of visitors and new residents in the Hawaiian territory. Hawai`i became the 50th state in the United States in 1959 and served as a base for Vietnam War from 1964-75 (McCubbin & Marsella, 2009). The 1970's marked the so-called Hawaiian Renaissance, which brought increased interest in traditional Hawaiian *mele*, song, and *hula,* dance (Browne et al., 2009). Native Hawaiians were included by the U.S. Congress in American Indian/Alaskan Native legislation, which allowed for financial and educational opportunities in 1972. Two years later, the Polynesian Voyaging society built a canoe and sailed it from Oahu to Tahiti and the Marquesas islands by traditional navigation methods. This vessel, *Hokule'a*, came to symbolize a resurgence of Native Hawaiian Pride, diminshed cultural stigma, and helped increase economic power (McCubbin & Marsella, 2009). However, a modern diet and the high cost of living in Hawai`i has contributed to high rates of stress, obesity, and diabetes among Native Hawaiians from this birth cohort (Browne, et al., 2009).

Like all histories, the history of the *Kanaka Ma`oli* (Hawaiian People) is socially constructed from a variety of perspectives (Kana`iaupuni, 2005). As an indigenous culture, the Native Hawaiian worldview is difficult for non-Hawaiians to comprehend (Braun, Browne, Ka'opua, Kim, & Mokuau, 2014). With regards to reminiscence interventions, the most important point to keep in mind is that these beliefs and events influenced individual histories of older adults and are relevant to their personal identities as Native Hawaiian *kupuna*.

Suggestions for Culturally Competent Reminiscence Work with Kupuna

This very basic information about Native Hawaiian culture and history provides only a minimal foundation for reminiscence intervention work in this population. Reminiscence work in one's own culture can be quite complex (Haight & Haight, 2007). Cross-cultural work adds another layer of complexity. The following list provides suggestions for culturally competent reminiscence work with *kupuna*.

1. *Be aware of your own position*. Over the past three centuries, Native Hawaiians have experienced colonization, poverty, and stigma perpetuated by western cultures. Remnants of this history can make it difficult for those from other cultures to be accepted by Native Hawaiians and/or to truly understand the Native Hawaiian experience. Braun, Browne, Ka'opua, Kim, & Mokuau, (2014) recommend that work with indigenous elders should only be done by indigenous scholars. However, this is not always possible, particularly when the intervention requires advanced knowledge of theories relevant to reminiscence work and, in some cases, clinical training in psychology or social work. It is highly recommended that interventions be designed and implemented with input from a Native Hawaiian consultant or collaborator.
2. *Reconsider definitions of age and race*. The question of "Who is Native Hawaiian?" is not as straightforward as is seems. Extensive interracial marriages and partnerships have resulted in an overwhelming percentage (~60%) of Native Hawaiians being of mixed race (McCubbin & Marsella, 2009). However, many part-Hawaiians who identify as Native Hawaiian were raised in families with Native Hawaiian ethnic schema (McCubbin, 2007). This also includes *hanai* (adopted) families. The issue of age should also be considered. Life expectancies for Native Hawaiian men and women may be up to 10 years less than their Asian peers and 4 years less than their White peers (Asian Pacific Islander Health Forum, 2010). This, combined with high rates of chronic disease in the Native Hawaiian population suggest that chronological age might not be the best indicator of *kupuna* status. Interventions with this population should consider using social indicators of age, such as grandparenthood or retirement status, rather than chronological age.
3. *Use appropriate ways of communicating*. The importance of relationships in Native Hawaiian culture points out the necessity of *pono* (rightness, correctness, politeness) and harmonious relationships. People engaged in common tasks should be humble to indicate respect for the group (Duponte, Martin, Mokuau, & Paginawan, 2010). Recommendations for health practitioners working with Native Hawaiians include: not being rushed for time, not interpreting lack of eye contact as lack of respect, and being conscious that words have power (Hope & Hope, 2003). Langlas (2006) suggests bringing a small food gift to meetings.
4. *Be prepared for potentially negative events*. The notion that reminiscence interventions may bring up potentially negative events is not a new one. In fact, working through negative events is central to some types of interventions (Gibson, 2010; Haight & Haight, 2007). It goes without saying that all reminiscence interventions should include plans and appropriate referrals for participants' experience of negative events. However, *kupuna* may also be suffering from historical trauma and minority stress, resulting from systematic discrimination and marginalization by a dominant culture (Browne, et al., 2014). Individuals working within this population must be sensitive to these issues.
5. *Consider interventions that include families and groups*. Birren and Svensson (2013) discussed the potential benefit to families being involved in older adults' reminiscence work. This benefit depends upon pre-existing family dynamics, but the interpersonal orientation of Native Hawaiian culture suggests that family and group reminiscence work may be beneficial for *kupuna*. In a qualitative study on the effects of group reminiscence, Korte, Drossaert, Westerhof, & Bohlmeijer (2014) found that that group reminiscence

was facilitated by 'experiencing a sense of belonging' and 'being able to help others. These factors are expressed in important Native Hawaiian values of *laulima* (cooperation) and *kokua* (assistance).

6. *Consider both macro- and microhistorical contexts, but don't get caught up in "ancient history."* It may be very useful for participants to include both macro (e.g., wars, Statehood) and micro (e.g., birth of a child, gentrification of a neighborhood) historical events in reminiscence interventions. But it is also important for those facilitating those events to accept them as part of participants' lived experiences, not as facilitators' stereotyped experience of them. For example, an older adult may have fond memories of being part of a *hula halau* (dance group). This may suggest 'glamor' to the facilitator and 'spirituality' to the older adult. Linnekin (1983) writes that the concept of tradition is socially constructed, and thus may mean different things to different people.

Conclusion

Native Hawaiian *kupuna* are documentarians of a unique and rapidly changing culture. This paper sought to present a case for using reminiscence interventions with them, and to explore how this work might be done in a culturally appropriate manner. At its most basic level, the process of reminiscence is compatible with fundamental Native Hawaiian beliefs. The adaptive function of reminiscence rests upon the notion of autobiographical memory as a reconstructive process (Bluck & Alea, 2009). This concept is compatible with Hawaiian thought and language, as evidenced by a linguistic interpretation of the Hawaiian word for reminiscence, *ho`omana`o.* Furthermore, certain aspects of Hawaiian culture indicate that reminiscence is a welcome and appropriate process in late life, in particular the tradition of older adults transmitting cultural knowledge through oral chants and stories.

Thinking about reminiscence in the context of the Native Hawaiian culture also provides some information on the types of intervention and the modes of delivery that may be effective in this population. Given the relational view of the Hawaiian self, one might expect that the teach/inform function of reminiscence might be salient for *kupuna*, as it appears to be for other indigenous cultures (Nile & Bergen, 2015). For example, Yancura (2012) found that Native Hawaiian grandparents were more likely than other grandparents to endorse 'passing along cultural values' as a reason for raising their grandchildren, which suggests differences in the value placed on the teach/inform function among cultural groups. It is also possible that intimacy maintenance, a function usually associated with negative outcomes in White samples (Cappeliez, O'Rourke, & Chaudhury, 2005), might actually be related to positive outcomes for *kupuna.* The Native Hawaiian worldview includes intimate connections among human, natural, and spiritual worlds. Because death is viewed as a gateway to the spiritual world, maintaining connections with an individual who has crossed to that world might be a natural and positive process for *kupuna.* Thus, appropriately designed reminiscence interventions should be lead to positive outcomes on health and well-being for *kupuna.*

Contextualizing reminiscence interventions within cultural frameworks also gives rise to the intriguing proposition that these interventions might be used to ameliorate cultural trauma. Therapeutic frameworks that focus on the cultural strengths of the Hawaiian People (e.g., social cooperation, environmental sustainability) and their recent history (e.g., Hawaiian Renaissance and US government reparation) may help heal this trauma. Work by Braun et al., (2014) suggest that person- and community-centered interventions might be effective because they center on the perspectives of the indigenous elders, rather than those constructed by Eurocentric investigators.

Suggestions for Future Research and Practice

Scholars have called for studies that examine how individual difference variables, alone or in interactive combinations, influence reminiscence outcomes (Webster et al., 2010). This paper offers some ideas for how these studies might be designed. Specific hypotheses might involve the relative strengths of various reminiscence functions in diverse cultural groups. It would also be interesting to compare the effect of reminiscence outcomes on various cohorts. For example, reminiscence interventions that include questions of cultural identity might be associated with different outcomes for *kupuna* who came of age before—and after—the Hawaiian renaissance in the early 1970's. Another possible line of inquiry might be to determine if reminiscence interventions are effective at reducing cultural trauma. The majority of reminiscence research and practice to date has explored health and well-being variables, future studies might expand their outcomes to specifically address trauma experience by minority populations.

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Appendix

Glossary of Native Hawaiian Terms

Hawaiian Word	Meaning (s)
ahupu`aha,	wedges of land that ranged from the mountains to the sea.
ʻāi	eat
ali`i	chiefs
ʻāina	land, earth
ʻaumakua	family gods, guardian spirits, deified ancestors
Halau	large, numerous; much
hanai	life-long and binding adoption
ho`o`ponopono	the process of making interpersonal relationships correct and right
hoʻomanaʻo	to remember, recall, commemorate, reflect deeply on, meditate, cause a thought, call to mind, cause to consider
Hula	a hula dancer; to dance the hula (there are many types of *hula*)
kapu	prohibitions
ke akua	god, goddess, spirit
Kokua	help, aid, assistance, relief, assistant, associate, deputy, helper; counselor
kupuna	older adults
laulima	cooperation, joint action; group of people working together; community food patch; to work together, cooperate
loʻi	taro fields
lokahi	unity, agreement, accord, unison, harmony; agreed, in unity
makani	wind, spirit
mana	power, authority; authorization, privilege; miraculous, divinely powerful, spiritual
manaʻo	think, estimate, anticipate, expect, suppose, idea, plan, device, purpose, counsel, stratagem
Mele	song, anthem, or chant of any kind; poem, poetry; to sing, chant
mo`olelo	oral stories, tales, myths, newspaper article
`ohana	family, relative, kin group, related
wai	water, liquids discharged from the body