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The Re-Imagining of Rapa Nui Traditional Healing Arts: Explorations of Narrative Identity, Mimesis, and the Public Sphere

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THE RE-IMAGINING OF RAPA NUI TRADITIONAL HEALING ARTS: EXPLORATIONS OF NARRATIVE IDENTITY, MIMESIS, AND THE PUBLIC SPHERE

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Dissertation Abstract

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Research Topic

In Rapa Nui is undergoing a cultural development crisis. This transition mixed with the ever-increasing popularity of tourism and global media has raised awareness of identity and culture within the Rapa Nui society. The present inquiry explores one aspect of their societal healing arts that is in the midst of re-exploration and re-imagination: their traditional medicinal practices or *hervias tradicionales* and the potential for the findings to help shape the lives of the Rapa Nui in their society.

Theory and Protocol

This research is grounded in critical hermeneutics and follows an interpretive approach to field research and data analysis (Herda 1999).

Research Categories

Three primary critical hermeneutic concepts drawn from the theoretical works of Paul Ricoeur (*mimesis* and narrative identity) and Jürgen Habermas (public sphere) provide the research categories for this inquiry.

Findings

The complexity faced on Rapa Nui is of developmental influences on the culture—Polynesian ways-of-life contrasting with Chilean structure and values.

1. **The Arts of Traditional Healing are Becoming Lost Arts.** Western medicine is frequently used in conjunction with traditional healing depending on the urgency of the situation. Regardless of use, the healing arts along with their traditional

songs, dances, and language define the Rapa Nui identity, values, and culture. This is a priority among elders who view the younger generation lacking the drive in “being Rapa Nui.”

2. **There is a Lack of Communication between Islanders and Mainland Chileans.** This is notable in the issues of land tenure-ship, appropriation of funding and policies, and with the preservation of the arts and culture. The government infrastructure needs to be effective in bridging the cultures through the actions of meaningful conversations that are beneficial to the needs and wants of the community.
3. **Islanders and Mainland Chileans Need to Develop Cooperatively a Rapa Nui Education Curriculum that Reflects the History, Politics and Culture.** There is need to grow cultural educational programs that can add value in raising awareness and understanding between the developed and developer. This curriculum should be extended towards the migrant and immigrant populations coming to Rapa Nui for employment and their domestic counterparts.

This dissertation, written under the direction of the candidate's dissertation committee and approved by the members of the committee, has been presented to and accepted by the Faculty of the School of Education in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education. The content and research methodologies presented in this work represent the work of the candidate alone.

James B. Joves	February 27, 2013
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This research would not have been made possible without the faith, belief, and tireless efforts of my advisor and mentor, Dr. Ellen Herda. Her teachings of critical hermeneutics has allowed me to appropriate new meaning into my understanding of development practices as relating to identity and society. To Dr. Dan McPherson, his input into shaping my dissertation is invaluable. To Dr. Laleh Shahideh, whose book on The Power of Iranian Narratives (2004) gave me insights into conducting the conversation. The pilot study for this research was driven by the incredible energy of Dr. Maria Palmo, whose doctoral research into Uganda arts, allowed me to appropriate new meaning into the traditional healing arts.

Lastly, I want to give thanks to my family for their continual and loving support in my never-ending pursuit of learning.

The entire formation of our life-world through the construction of an ethical order, as well as the development of religious and cultural traditions, can be traced back to the ultimate miracle of language. This does not consist in the ability to signal to one another, in order to regulate the behavior of the species, but in the ability to form a particular language community and thereby a common world. What is new is the ability to listen to one another, the capacity to attend to another human being. Herein consists the universal dimension of hermeneutics, a dimension which encompasses and supports all our reason and thought.

Hans-Georg Gadamer (1996:166-167)

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CHAPTER ONE: RESEARCH ISSUE, BACKGROUND, AND SIGNIFICANCE

> We live on the one hand, in an environment which has been increasingly transformed by science and which we scarcely dare to term 'nature' any more, and, on the other, in a society which has itself been wholly shaped by the scientific culture of modernity (Gadamer 1996:104).

Introduction

For the past 120 years Rapa Nui (Easter Island), a small Polynesian island, has been under the Chilean flag. Over the years, the islanders have been denied their lands, language, and the practice of their cultural traditions, including their healing arts. In literature, the islanders and language are referred to as Rapa Nui or Rapanui (Churchill 1912; Makihara and Schieffelin 2007; Métraux 1971). Within the past 40 years, the Rapa Nui have begun to experience lessened Chilean-imposed constraints. This limited increase in freedom has provided the opportunity for the Rapa Nui to re-imagine, re-explore, and voice their rights for their culture and identity (Delsing 2010:2).

For the people of Rapa Nui, exploration and practice of their traditional healing arts could result in discourse of perspectives that integrate their history, language, culture, and identity. The leadership knowledge of Rapa Nui traditional healing can be found in two main community areas. The first area is at *El Centro de Adultivos Mejor* (The Center for the Better Adults), which is a community center for senior citizens to socialize, eat prepared foods, and enjoy recreational activities such as meditation and yoga. Many of the adults at this center practice traditional healing and participate at the Center of Healing in their main hospital. The second community area is at The Center for Healing and Spirituality located within Rapa Nui's only medical hospital. This healing center brings together Rapa Nui healers and Chilean westernized-medical doctors to give patients the options to be healed with traditional remedies or western medicine. This

center is supported by a community forum of healers to ensure traditional practices are sound and Rapa Nui healing is promoted.

My research collaborated with the Rapa Nui leaders known as *Koros* (male elders) and *Nuas* (female elders) in the exploration of their traditional healing practices, which are an integral part of their culture. My research inquiry collected data concerning their remembered history, and the spiritual, physical, and social reasons that the Rapa Nui believe their past is critical to the viability and vitality of their current culture. Moreover, from these conversations, I hope to work with the Rapa Nui in designing policy plans to submit to the Chilean government to further the appropriate inclusion of this island culture into the mainstream of the 21st century, while retaining and practicing the traditions the Rapa Nui deem important.

The theoretical framework for this inquiry is critical hermeneutics. The following research categories, which serve as directives for this inquiry, are drawn from the philosophical works of Paul Ricoeur (1990; 1994) and Jürgen Habermas (2001).

1. *Mimesis*: What insights do the participants have into their past, future, and present in relation to the healing arts?

2. Narrative Identity: How do the stories told about themselves and their healing arts inform their identity?

3. Public Sphere: How can a public forum be created whereby the Rapa Nui can come to new understandings about who they are today in light of their traditions; and through what processes can social policies be created and acted on that create a social space for the authenticity of their culture to be acknowledged and respected?

This inquiry into Rapa Nui is framed from the historical to the modern day context that leads to the research issue. This Chapter discusses the Background of Research Issue. Exploring further into the Background of Research Issue, Rapa Nui and

the Healing Arts and The Healing Arts Today in Rapa Nui will be reviewed. Lastly, the final section explores the Significance of the Issue.

Background of Research Issue

The practice of healing, the science and arts of medicine or herbal remedies, is integral in-and-throughout every society and civilization, and has provided the basis for the development and use of western medicine in the late 19th and early 20th centuries throughout Europe and the United States of America (Griggs 1997:11-13). Traditional healing arts, folk medicine, non-westernized and non-conventional approaches to healing are still practiced around the world. In terms of classifying these practices in Western society, they are called traditional healing because this practice is not part of the core medical sphere of practice common in academic medical institutions (Griggs 1997:345).

In healing arts societies, the practice of traditional medicine is holistic, as it often involves a spiritual component in addition to the physical/chemical/medicinal approach to healing. Barbara Griggs (1997:99) reports that in many cultures "the practice of traditional healing places the mind, body, and spirit as inseparable, a union, in addition to the notion that their surroundings such as plants, animals, trees, have life – a spirit." This notion of a connection between mind, body, spirit, and the surrounding resources plays a vital role in how the individual relates to the community, and further, how the healing arts can connect myriad facets of the community together in ways that result in a sustainable livelihood for a majority, if not all, of the people. In many cultures, the healing arts in a community encompass song, dance, spirituality, and material medicine, which, in turn, play a strong role in the healing process. One of the primary ways a

developing community can become sustainable is through maintaining optimum health among the members with respect to cultural practices (Wing 1998).

Rapa Nui and the Healing Arts

The Rapa Nui, throughout the years of Chilean domination, has held onto three important aspects in their society: song, dance, and spirituality within the context of their oral language as celebrated through festivals and community events (Miki Makihara 2005a:125). They have done so in the absence of their resources: land and water access which are necessary in order to practice their traditions. Presently, the Rapa Nui have gained access to some land and waterways which were once restricted to them, thus placing the Rapa Nui in a position to put into play the re-imagining of cultural healing arts (Personal Communication, Mahina Rapu, December 31, 2011). The fight for their rights to practice traditions central to their culture has been, and continues to be, a struggle.

For the first 70 years of Chilean control until the mid-1960s, song and dance were primarily kept to the family unit and practiced in seclusion. This was the case because the Chilean government suppressed much of the cultural expression of the Rapa Nui by restricting them to a 1,000 hectares living area (7% of their land) (Makihara 2005a:122). This restriction for the people created disconnections between their land and waters that were necessary for religious, medicinal, and cultural purposes (Delsing 2010:3). Without access to their sacred lands and waterways used to obtain resources for material traditional medicine, the people of Rapa Nui were forced to adapt to the practices used by mainland Chile. Without these physical resources, retention of traditional knowledge was passed on orally, as best as it could, be from one generation to the next (Personal

Communication, Mahina Rapu, December 31, 2011). Prior to regaining access to their lands and waterways from the Chilean government, the Rapa Nui held on to cultural knowledge and practices through use of story-telling, songs, and dances, which in recent times has gained importance to their modern cultural value system.

The act of story-telling helped the Rapa Nui keep alive their language in cultural songs, dances, and history. Through the retention of their language, they were able to develop a grammar book and dictionary in the late 1970s and early 1980s (Personal Communication, Bob Weber, June 19, 2012). For many years, Rapa Nui was spoken primarily within the household as Spanish was the primary language used in the education system (Makihara 2005a; 2005c). However, beginning in the 1970s (Delsing 2010:10), the knowledge of the native tongue began diminishing because of the introduction of Spanish television, primarily children's media, shown on the island.

Maria Delsing (2010:9) reports that the majority of people under 45 are not fluent in their native tongue, thus widening the gap and knowledge of the cultural aspects of society that includes the healing arts. The importance of language retention plays a critical role in understanding the healing arts today. Moreover, it points to the importance of the older generations, who still remember the traditional practices in retaining the history of the community through oral traditions.

The Healing Arts Today in Rapa Nui

Today the Rapa Nui have an opportunity to re-explore and re-imagine the healing arts through the Center for Healing that was created for the purpose of developing therapeutic remedies for the mind, body, and soul (Personal Communication, Mahina Rapu, December 31, 2011). The leadership of the center for the healing arts is comprised

of Rapa Nui Koro or Nua healers and Chilean western-based doctors. The Rapa Nui healers have oral traditions and retention of the native tongue that will be shared among each other and recorded for cultural prosperity and practice. Mahina Rapu plays a major role in the development of this healing center.

At the 2012 Easter Island Conference held in Santa Rosa, California, Dr. Valentina Fajreldin at the University of Chile, Santiago, (Fajreldin 2010: 191-197) investigated the challenges and issues facing the bioethics of healthcare in Chile, in which indigenous populations such as Rapa Nui do not receive adequate and effective healthcare. In addition, Fajreldin and Monica Weisner (2003:46) points out the need to "address local cultural practices making healing personal and natural." The society of Rapa Nui is now at a threshold of being brought to the attention of the world's eye on civil rights and independence.

Significance of the Study

This research is significant because it may lead to new understandings of organizational and community change, especially with the current issues surrounding Rapa Nui civil rights and cultural identity. An analysis of the Rapa Nui culture and healing arts may open new understandings that will be useful in the development and implementation of policies that address current health and spirituality needs of this community. In light of the limited literature on traditional healing arts, this research with the Rapa Nui may shed light on appropriate ways to work with other indigenous populations who face similar challenges.

Summary

In summary, the modern world of Rapa Nui is in a current and ongoing state of change. Within the past 50 years, Rapa Nuians have been granted citizenship, have redeveloped their language and grammar, and have gained the right to practice their songs, dances, and spirituality through annual festivals like the Tapati. Beginning in 2010, the Rapa Nui started exploring their traditional healing methodologies due to the development of The Center for Healing and Spirituality within the Hanga Roa hospital. The next Chapter provides a context for a deeper understanding of the Rapa Nui. The background of this island country focuses on ancient history, archeological importance and today's economy and education**.**

CHAPTER TWO: BACKGROUND OF RAPA NUI

Introduction

For centuries, Easter Island, Isla de Pascua, or as referred to by the indigenous people, Rapa Nui, has captivated the imagination of anthropologists, ecologists, historians, and tourists, as to the historical study of the island and the immense stone statues called *moai*. Rapa Nui history is replete with epidemics, civil war, slavery,

Figure 1. World Map Showing Location of Rapa Nui

http://www.nemesis.bloguen.com/lfp-easter-island-world-map.shtml

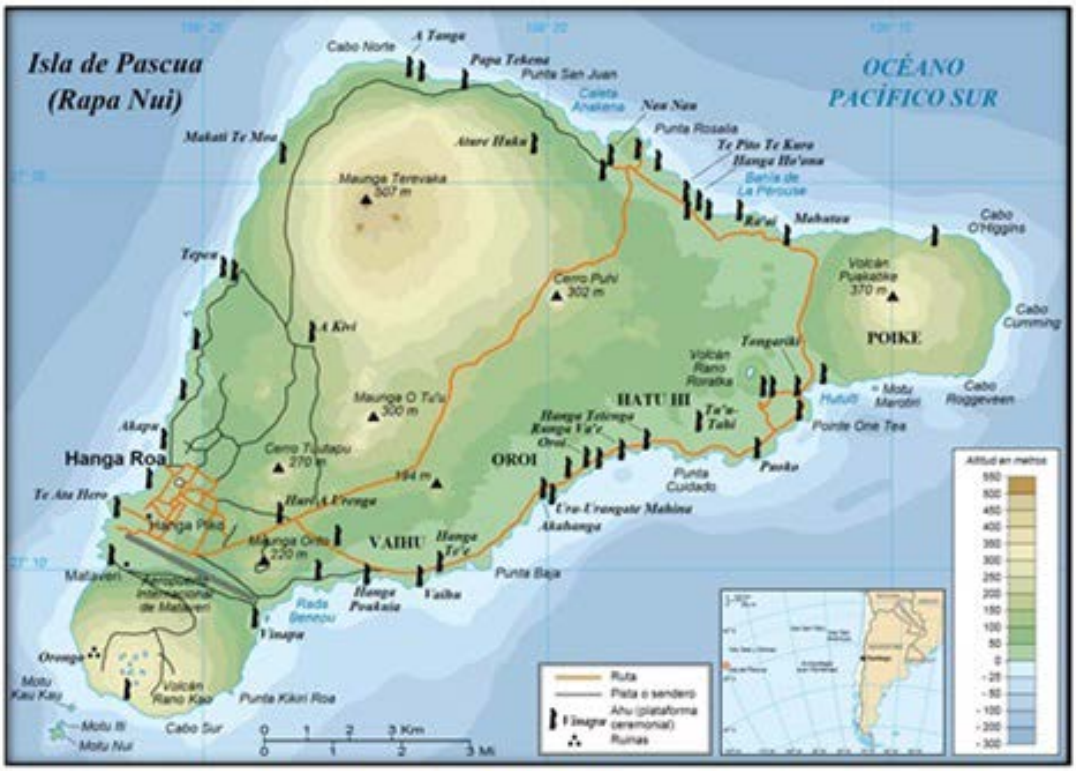
colonialism, and ecological collapse. The devastating effects of slave raids on the island brought the island's population to near extinction in the late 19th century (Makihara 2005b). In recent years, the island's legacy of mystery has created a booming tourist industry. Aside from the mysteries of the island and tourism, this Polynesian island's geographical location is at the most eastern corner of the South Pacific (see Figure 1). This Chapter explores Rapa Nui's Geography and History of Rapa Nui. Exploring

further into Rapa Nui's history, European Discovery and Chilean Annexation, Cultural Reclamation in the 21st Century, and Traditional Medicine in Rapa Nui will be reviewed.

Geography

Rapa Nui is a small, isolated island located in the South Pacific. Measuring 63 square miles, this triangle shaped island, roughly the size of a small city, (Figure 2) is

Figure 2: Map of Rapa Nui showing Major Locations



(http://permaculturetokyo.blogspot.com/2011/02/we-cant-get-there-from-here.html)

two-thousand miles away from Chile and 1,500 miles away from the nearest Polynesian island (Métraux 2003). Unlike the traditional picturesque island view of palm trees, jungles, long sandy beaches, and coral reefs one might see in Hawai'i, Tahiti, or Fiji, Rapa Nui is virtually treeless, barren, and has a coastline of cliffs. Alfred Métraux (2003), one of the island's early anthropologists, described the island's coastline as

reminiscent of the coasts of Norway and Sweden with rocky high cliffs and turbulent waters. Given the barren landscape, small land mass, and isolated location of Rapa Nui, mass scale manufacturing or agricultural exports are not an economic driving factor. As Delsing (2010:16) notes, "most of the land outside Hanga Roa (main town) had lost political and economic value for the Rapanui after Chilean colonization." However, the land's history with the giant stone moais on their support structures called *ahu* (stone foundations) (see Figure 3) protecting the coasts, has given way for new avenues of economic interests.

Figure 3: Moais and the Ahu Stone Platforms

Photo by James Joves

Joshua Pollard et.al,(2010) notes, archaeologists, anthropologists, and ecologists, to name a few, have taken stake for the past hundred years to study the mysteries of this

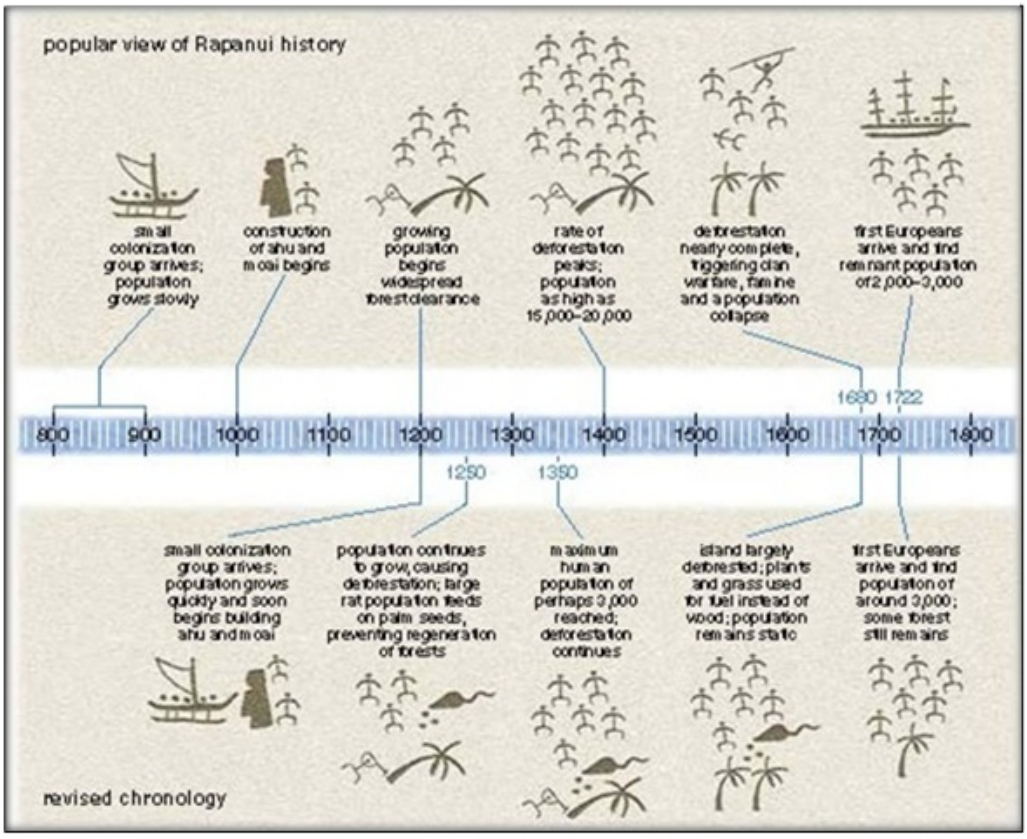
once great Polynesian civilization that thrived with limited resources, creating an economic boom which today has direct relevance to current sustainability issues such as overpopulation, pollution, health and disease, and food chain management. Rapa Nui's geographical location plays an important role in its story-telling from its legendary founding to today.

History of Rapa Nui

According to oral legend, settlers arrived from the west led by Hoto Matu'a who was the island's first *ariki* (chief) (Makihara 2005b:1985; Englert 2004). Research by Terry Hunt and Carl Lipo (2008) points towards an indigenous settlement date of 1200CE. Within a 500 year timeframe of settlement, until 1722, the Rapa Nui developed a complex civilization that conceived and erected the moai soon after settlement with estimates of the population nearing 3,000 by the 14th century (Hunt 2006:418). Conversely in 2009, archaeologists on Rapa Nui (moeVarua 2012: 2-5) led by John Fenley, Mark Horrocks, Troy Baisden, and David Feek, place the earliest settlement on Rapa Nui about 180 CE based on agricultural evidence. Makihara notes (2005b:1987) that the production of the moai, population growth, internal strife, and limiting resources soon gave way to the challenges and issues of natural resources overexploitation. Hunt's (2006) research challenges the old paradigm of a society whose population growth and overexploitation of natural resources contributed to the collapse of the society. According to the new paradigm, Hunt proposes that the introduction of rats into Rapa Nui hindered the regeneration of viable forests and ecosystems. Hunt's graphic (see Figure 4) of the Rapa Nui Population timeline shows the old versus new paradigm of Rapa Nui chronology. The collapse of the society may have led to upheaval in the infrastructure of

society influencing cultural life. Through this upheaval, a new sociopolitical system

Figure 4. Rapa Nui Population Chronology



(Hunt 2006: 412-419)

emerged, unlike the traditional Polynesian chiefdom, called the Birdman (*tangata manu*) Cult which placed power (*mana*) through the winner of a competition, giving rise to a warrior class (Makihara 2005b:1986-1987). During the 500 year timeframe since settling, it is unknown if the Rapa Nui had any contact with other Polynesian or South American people groups. At the beginning of the 18th century European navigation saw its first glimpse of Rapa Nui.

European Discovery and Chilean Annexation

The 1722 European discovery of the island by the Dutch explorer, Jacob Roggeveen, on Easter Sunday marked a pivotal point with outsider contact for the Rapa Nui. Over the next 80 years, Rapa Nui endured infrequent visits of ships porting to the island, totaling about two weeks of contact for the exchange of goods and services with outsiders (McCall 1994; Pollard et.al, 2010:567). Over the next 60 years, until 1861, there were less than 100 ships porting for only a day or two, because Rapa Nui did not have an adequate port, access to fresh water or livestock, and the lack of natural harbors for anchoring (Pollard et.al, 2010:567). The mid 1860s was a devastating time for the Rapa Nui. Peruvian slave raiders abducted or recruited up to 1,500 of these islanders, many of whom perished under the harsh conditions. Those who survived the return trip often brought back with them smallpox to the remaining island population, which diminished to 110 survivors in 1877 and led to the collapse of the existing social organization and loss of cultural knowledge, rituals, and oral traditions (Makihara 2005b:1988). To further the cultural loss, the missionaries of the 1860s led a Christianity conversion which eroded the retention of the indigenous writing script called *rongorongo* and rituals of the Birdman Cult (Makihara 2005b:1988). In 1888, the island was then annexed to Chile which delegated rights to the "Easter Island Exploitation Company" to convert the island into a sheep farm from 1895-1955. This exploitation of the Rapa Nui forced all remaining people to live strictly within the boundaries of Hanga Roa, their main village. Additionally, they were stripped of their rights and adequate living conditions for nearly 60 years (Makihara 2005b:1988).

Cultural Reclamation in the 21st Century

The mid-1960s brought civil disobedience on the island from Alfonso Rapu, a Rapa Nui teacher who was trained on mainland Chile. His activism led to the end of the decade long Chilean Navy rule and created government administrative offices, the recognition of civil rights as Chilean citizens, and the election of Rapa Nui's first mayor. Over the next thirty years, the Rapa Nui society was integrated into the national and global economic community. The integration of the Rapa Nui into Chilean society led to

Figure 5: A Snapshot of the Tapati Festival

(http://1.bp.blogspot.com/_CIsoibMPSjQ/TxloDmXjDrI/AAAAAAAAAJM/8HI3ZHZU9E/s1600/tapati-rapa-nui-lebaroudeur.jpg

intermarriage between the Chilean mainlanders and islanders, resulting in language shifts and acculturation that gave the Rapa Nui opportunities to engage in the development of heritage tourism, restoration projects, and cultural and identity revival (Makihara 2005b:1988). An annual aspect to celebrating Rapa Nui culture is the Tapati (week)

festival (see Figure 5) which showcases song, dance, music, and foods from oral traditions and innovations of the community (Delsing 2010:7).

Language, an important aspect of cultural identity, was greatly affected by the integration shift. Delsing (2010:9) notes that speaking Rapa Nui was forbidden in both the public and private sphere. The introduction of television on the island, most notably popular children's television shows of the mid-70s, further reinforced the move towards Spanish as the primary language of the island. This event gradually affected the Rapa Nui speakers on the island. Today, fewer than 6% of all children under the age of ten speak Rapa Nui (Delsing 2010:9). However, a cultural resurgence in the 1990s and early 2000s, due to government programs and international interests, has helped to revive the language of Rapa Nui in the mainstream.

In the past thirty years, the Rapa Nui used their language knowledge to develop and publish their indigenous grammar and dictionary tools (Delsing 2010:14) which, in turn, added a cultural value to their identity. This reintroduction added substantial weight to the annual festival, the Tapati, which has been held since the 1960s, bringing a new understanding to the words and meaning of the songs and dances exhibited during the festival. Another aspect of revival is the Rapa Nui population. Just over 120 years ago, the population of Rapa Nui was only 110 individuals (Makihara 2005b:1988). Today, the Rapa Nui population is about six thousand based on the 2012 Chilean census data (INE 2012) with roughly 60% being Rapa Nui.

Traditional Medicine on Rapa Nui

Traditional medicine on Rapa Nui, according to the literature reviewed in Chapter Three, is limited in scope and volume. Early anthropologists through their observations

were able to record many of the rites and healing practices from passed on oral traditions and from those practices that were still active during the early days of colonization. William Thomson (1891), Kathleen Routledge (1919), and William Churchill (1912), were some of the early explorers on Rapa Nui to document early traditions and practices after the annexation of the island to Chile in 1888. The first claim to record a compilation of medicinal plants on Rapa Nui was by David Holdsworth (1992). At the Easter Island Conference in July 2012 in Santa Rosa, California, one of the first and few papers on healthcare on Rapa Nui was presented by Valentina Fajreldin (2010; Fajreldin and Weisner 2003) discusses the current issues of healthcare on the island and the need for cultural practices to be included in local healthcare.

There are several limiting factors involved in the recession and usage of traditional medicine on Rapa Nui. First and foremost, the people of Rapa Nui were forced to reside on seven percent of the island land mass centered around Hanga Roa until the late 1960s (Makihara 2005a:122). This reduction of mobility suspended any resources needed for the development and practice of traditional healing arts. In addition to the physical access of medicinal necessities, the land and waters are under Chilean sovereignty, which clashes with Rapa Nui ideology. Delsing (2010:3) notes, "This concept [sovereignty] clashes with the Polynesian concept of *kaiŋa*, the intimate relationship the people feel with their land and the inalienability of this land." This kaiŋa, connected with the resources, holds an important part of Rapa Nui healing and spirituality as seen in other Polynesian cultures.

Healing arts or traditional medicine can encompass song, dance, spirituality, and physical medicine, as in most Polynesian cultures. Today, the Rapa Nui have put into

action a center for the exploration of healing and spirituality. The people of Rapa Nui have a long history full of growth and accomplishments, as well as civil war, slavery, and dehumanizing conditions. At this present time, they have an opportunity to re-explore their culture to include re-learning their indigenous language, reclaiming their lands and their healing arts.

Summary

Rapa Nui is a small, isolated island in the Pacific Ocean. Colonized by Polynesians about 800 years ago, this island's population grew to a mass size of about 3,000 within several hundred years while constructing the large stone statues called moais. As the population grew, overuse of the land and resources became apparent and caused a shift in the sociopolitical power of the island towards a warrior class, instead of the clan-based chief hierarchy found predominately in Polynesia (Makihara 2005b:1987). The first meeting with non-Polynesians, beginning in 1722 with Dutch explorer Jacob Roggeveen, was a turning point for the Rapa Nui. No longer isolated, the Rapa Nui were now faced with external entities exploiting their lands and people up through the annexation of the Rapa Nui to Chile in 1888. For the next 70 years since annexation, the Rapa Nui, stripped of rights and citizenship, held on to their cultural values under a Chilean flag and government until the 1960s when Rapa Nui solidarity led the way to a civil revolution. For the next 40 years, the Rapa Nui gained the momentum to re-explore their past and create the forums needed to envision a future as a people, as an identity. In Chapter Three, the Review of Literature, I address the healing arts on Rapa Nui and the notion of traditional medicine from the large concept of healing to applications with the Pacific cultures and that of Rapa Nui.

CHAPTER THREE: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

The healing arts literature is a body of work that encompasses disciplines spanning song, dance, spirituality, storytelling, and physical medicine. The first section of this Chapter discusses the Concepts of Healing Arts, including its meaning to the individual and the community. Exploring further into the healing arts, the concepts of Rituals and the ritual process are reviewed. The second section discusses the Pacific Islands and Healing Arts, and then relates the arts across island cultures in Connecting Mind, Body, Soul, and Kaiŋa. Lastly, the third section discusses the Healing Arts of Rapa Nui and connection of Language with traditional medicine.

The Concept of Healing Arts

The concept of healing arts, traditional medicine, and folk healing is the concept described by Donna Wing (1998:144) as a "set of beliefs that has a shared social dimension." Wing (1988:144) further describes the healing arts system as "what people do when they are ill, as compared with what they should do as determined by a set of social standards." This definition of folk medicine or traditional healing arts creates the divide between Western prescribed medicines that follows a strict formal scientific process. Wing further points out those modern, western medicinal methods have been integrated into caregiving (Wing 1998:144). Wing's description of traditional medicine or folk medicine is the underlying principle of a set of beliefs that is passed on through an artistic and spiritual practice, holding together "over time and space and are rooted in tradition" and "pass the test of explanatory competence" (Wing 1998:144). The healing arts within a community are orally self-corrected as knowledge is gained through the

healing process: to modify an existing tradition or belief, or to strengthen current understanding (O'Conner 1995; Wing 1998). The healer in the healing arts is an artistic leader in the community. Maria Palmo, whose research in Uganda arts (2010:27) notes, "The artist is recognized by others as a leader without having been assigned the role. It is their way of being with others and their contribution to community that legitimizes their role as leader."

In the Western medicinal approach, there has been great thought about the integration of culture worldviews into care-giving and healing. Madeleine Leininger's theory (1991:44; 2002:189-192) on Diversity and Universality Culture Care, which like traditional healing, proposes underlying structures of care where actions and decisions use culturally based ways and knowledge to provide meaningful and satisfying holistic care to individuals, groups or institutions. This approach in Westernized care giving adds meaning, depth, and clarity to the healing process. In the healing process, there can be a set of beliefs that follow a ritual, a process that journeys the sick through a holistic approach guided by beliefs.

Rituals

The aspect of a ritual within the healing arts is usually associated with a process that initiates, perpetuates, and concludes a healing process where the treated and healer share together the belief system. Anthropologist Victor Turner (1995), whose work on African rituals covers a gamut of ritualistic observations from coming-of-age to healing, points out that the rites and rituals associated with these states focus on the person as a whole—mind, body, and soul, in relation to the community and surroundings. Wing (1998:145) notes that in Western-oriented health care there is a separation of the body

from the mind and soul, as opposed to traditional healing where healing and spirituality are one. This is an important part of rituals in traditional healing where the concepts of harmony, balance, motion, colors, symbols, family, and community can be integrated within the healing process. These concepts are shared by many societies and culture groups around the world. In the Pacific Islands these concepts, and the connection between an individual and the land and waters, are important factors within the healing process.

The Pacific Islands and Healing Arts

The Pacific Islands have a rich history of culture that expands to Polynesia, Micronesia, and Melanesia. The traditions found in Pacific cultures have similar shared practices with neighboring islands and people groups. These practices have an inverse commonality as related to distance between the people groups; the shorter the travel, the higher degree of similarity in practices and traditions (Campbell 1996:14).

In addition, Campbell (1996:14) notes the similarities found in linguistics and language terminology. For instance, Pacific Islanders have a concept in language and thought regarding the word usage of *mana* and *tapu*, meaning "power" and "taboo," respectively. These ideas are shared across the many people groups of the Pacific Islands (Campbell 1996:17). The word mana has distinct functions: to show authority, explain concepts of the world, and give the beholder of mana sacred power that can match or question the actions of the gods (Campbell 1996:17). The word tapu has a respective approach across the people groups as a social control, creating order and meaning behind social norms, rituals, and practices such as healing (Campbell 1996:17).

The above concepts not only govern social and political structure within the cultural group, they also give meaning to the healing arts and spirituality found in many traditional societies. As noted above, the notion of spirituality and healing are inseparable to many people groups who practice traditional healing. Peter Lawrence's work (1970:294-295) describes the Ngaing people group (Papua New Guinea) who developed complex rituals with myths, song, connection to the waters and land, and symbolism in religious practices for the dead and those in need of healing. Lawrence (1970: 295) cites a ritual to bring back a recently passed loved one to protect the lands: "they perform ritual to ensure that Yabuling (land guardians) and the deity of the pool (water) will send back the spirits of the dead patri-clan members, who at the same time they invoke to follow them (religious procession) to the settlements."

The arts used in the healing arts have the power to "blind" to take away pain or distract, as the patient focuses their attention to the words, songs, physical objects, or colors used in the healing process. Dan and Kathleen Ingersoll's work (2013:3) describes that Rapa Nui art can be "blinding", to take the viewer away from their own troubles and shift focus to an external source in a ritual for healing. They further (2013:3) explain in an example with Navajo sandpaintings in ritualistic healing, "It's not about technology or art but about the power of knowledge, thought, words, mythic symbols, and the efficacy of the ritual itself to restore harmony and balance to a person or group. As the ritual unfolds, the sandpainting grows in depth and morphs, helping to tell stories and to merge past and present." The patient in the healing process becomes one with the healer, the ritual, and process.

The connection between spirituality and healing is a common theme across the Pacific Island people groups. The practice of healing draws into spirituality and healing the use of song, dance, medicinal plants, myths, symbols, mana, and tapu to create synergy among the individual, the land, waters, and community.

Connecting Mind, Body, Soul, and Kaiŋa

On Rapa Nui, as well as other Polynesian islands, there exists a connection among the individual, the land, and waters. This connection plays a strong role in their belief system in a social construct as well as in the healing arts. Delsing (2010) describes the Polynesian concept of kaiŋa, as an "intimate" connection between the people and their land and waters. This kaiŋa, to have a relationship with the island's resources, holds an important role in Rapa Nui healing arts.

Healing Arts on Rapa Nui

The healing arts, in terms of traditional medicine and practices for treatment and alleviation of illness in Rapa Nui, are not subjects that have been discussed at any length or in detail over the past 120 years. Most literature about Rapa Nui focuses on archaeology, stone statues called moai, explorations on environmental impacts, and prehistory. Information about traditional medicine can be found in early ethnographic studies. The anthropological works of Kathleen Routledge (1919), Métraux (1971), and William Thomson (1891), document some oral traditions noting the healing arts post-annexation to Chile. Prior to the annexation, there were no records found on the healing arts in Rapa Nui. The next section is a review of any known literature sources directed towards traditional medicine and towards the healing arts, as relating to song, dance, and spirituality.

The anthropologists cited above wrote about the resources used by the Rapa Nui to cure or alleviate disease states or ailments. Many of the records from these earlier anthropologists were derived through observation. Thomson (1891:471) notes, "Several of the plants indigenous to the island were considered a valuable remedy for certain ailments, but the chief therapeutic art of the native practitioner was the pretended exercise of powers of divination." Thomson shows the connection between spirituality and the use of mana for the healing process. Mana, as discussed above in History of Rapa Nui, referred to a sense of personal power. In this section, mana pertains to a healing process. Mana, in general, is a common thread among many of the people groups in Pacific Island culture.

Métraux's (1955) work suggests that within any ritual, healing or not, there is an understanding that exists beyond the scope of what is visualized or heard. Métraux (1955:32) writes, "it is in this state of mind that [possession] can be accepted at the same time by him who undergoes it and by him who sees in it the authentic manifestation of the divine presence." Métraux (1957:143) notes, "the ivi-atua [good ancestor spirit] seized the sick man's clothes, ran out of the hut, and cast spirit [bad spirit] and clothing into the flames nearby. He then returned to his patient and informed him that he was finally cured." Métraux, who studied and lived in Rapa Nui, observed the relationship between the divine [spirit] and healing; similar observations were recorded by Thomson.

Métraux (1971:160) follows the relationship between medicinal plants used in the healing process and its relationship as a food source, a concept of kaiŋa, when observing, "Kavakava-atua, a fern, is mentioned among the plants which grew as products of a king's power. The natives used it as a medicine and occasionally as food." The concept

of kaiŋa, a connection to the land [waters] is a strong theme within Rapa Nui. To further this concept Thomson (1891:470) notes, “rocks in certain localities were believed to be under spirit taboo, and persons who walked over them were punished with sore feet. The leaves of several harmless plants were regarded as prophylactic against disease. Stones were buried beneath the doorways of houses to guard against evil influences.” The early work by Métraux (1971) and Thomson (1891) captured a distinct sense of the Island’s healing process as one that incorporates myth and kaiŋa as important factors in Rapa Nui folk medicine.

Routledge (1919) was one of the first explorers of the Island to extensively document oral stories from the tribal elders relating to their legends, origins, and Birdman Cult. Routledge observed many wooden figurines on the island which represented ancestors, gods, or animals, that had supernatural powers used in rituals or as memorials. JoAnne Van Tilburg (1994), an anthropologist, further explores the concepts of healing through the use of archaeological symbols and carvings found in stone or wooden statues on Rapa Nui.

The practice of the healing arts on Rapa Nui in current times has been addressed in recent years by Valentina Fajreldin and Monica Weisner (2003; Fajrelding 2010). Fajreldin in her research has investigated the bioethics of healthcare among indigenous populations such as the Rapa Nui.

In reviewing the literature, there does not seem to be a traditional medicine canon for Rapa Nui. Traditional medicine used among the Rapa Nui is noted in the Museo Sociedad Fonck's publication (1988) which attests, “a lot of these methods are no longer practiced due to outside contact [Chilean] and the introduction of Modern Medicine,

which has been pushing aside Traditional Medicine. But, regardless, the people of Rapa Nui have recognized the value and efficiency of Traditional Medicine." In the Rapa Nui's own bi-monthly publication called, *Moe Varua De Rapa Nui*, "the living spirit of Rapa Nui," which addresses several varying topics on Rapa Nui culture reflected in a recent issue (Ryn 2012:1-4) on the ancestral ways of using herbal remedies and rituals in healing. Ryn (2012:2) notes, "medical care (in current times) was done by certain Koros and Nuas; the wise elderly people who inherited the spiritual methods of restoring equilibrium."

The gathered information for the medicinal arts seems to be limited in scope by sheer interest in the shadows of the larger literature of Rapa Nui culture, as stated earlier, which focuses on archaeology and prehistory of the island. In the study of healing arts, language plays a central role in rituals or songs.

Language

A key importance to an oral society is the capacity to speak and retain the language—especially important in understanding the healing arts and conveying in native tongue the resources and understanding of traditional medicine. With Chile enforcing a Spanish culture on the island for many years, anthropologist, Maria Delsing (2010:9) indicates "the unequal status of Rapanui and Spanish has changed over the years, and the Rapanui language has become an important marker of contemporary Rapanui identity." She further goes on to say "that speaking Rapanui on the island was discouraged, even forbidden, and Spanish was emphasized."

Delsing's finding points towards the understanding that oral traditions, such as for traditional medicine, will be maintained by those who can still speak and understand the

Rapanui language. Delsing observes (2010:9) that "most Rapa Nui older than forty-five years or thereabouts speak Rapanui with each other, while most young people communicate in Spanish." Delsing (2010) notes that, in order to preserve traditional knowledge and storytelling, cultural research should observe individuals over 45 who may have retention of cultural stories in the native tongue. Makihara (2005c) describes the transformation shift and changes of the island's language base from Rapa Nui to Spanish over the past four decades, with more children speaking Spanish and developing a breed language of Rapa Nui and Spanish.

The importance of this finding in literature is to justify that the "living" medicinal traditions are housed in two ways: either in the oral traditions by those who know the language and possess the historical understanding of those medicinal therapies; or they are housed in ethnographic studies that have noted the resources and accompanying beliefs, stories, or rituals associated with the healing process.

The People of Rapa Nui over the past decade have placed a strong emphasis in the development of cultural centers to raise awareness of language and culture, especially from the elders of the island. A joint MINEDUC-UNESCO project (2001) places emphasis on a Master Plan to develop centers on Rapa Nui for the purpose of attaining cultural values, norms, and practices for future generations and to expand the literature knowledge of Rapa Nui.

Within this document (MINEDUC-UNESCO 2001), the language exists to ensure stories, antidotes, spiritual songs and dances are lived from the development of a repository center (MINEDUC-UNESCO 2001:17-18) that can "incorporate the elderly—guardians of a substantial accumulation of cultural information and bearers of Rapa Nui

values, as well as experts in a diversity of crafts and ancestral practices – into the educational space and its activities." Furthermore, the Rapa Nui master plan (MINEDUC-UNESCO 2001:26) has development efforts for the Spirit:

> The supernatural force (mana) that characterizes Rapa Nui as a thought process (*man'u*) that arrives promptly (mana) and may leave spontaneously (*manana*), is capable of influencing (*manava hopohopo*) someone just through being present in the person's mind (*manatu*), and can become a source of life (manava/womb) just by being prompt (mana), like the water that begets life (*manavai*) but, should it not be used for good deeds, it can also become a source of confusion (*miramira*). The Educational Village will use the ancestral wisdom (*maramara*) imbedded in such a supernatural force (mana), to promote meditation and reflection as practices that should be present in our daily activities, in our use of objects, and in our human relations, infusing everything with an added dimension.

The Center of the Spirit, in conjunction with the stories of healing and spirituality, can create going forward, a new sense of literature for Rapa Nui and add to the collection of the healing arts of the Pacific Islands.

Summary

Literature on the healing arts found on Rapa Nui is extremely limited. The early works of Thomson (1891) and Routledge (1919) report observations from the early part of the 20th century. Métraux's (1971) works on Rapa Nui covers the mid-twentieth century and adds depth to the earlier anthropological works. In more recent times, Makihara's (2005a; 2005b; 2005c) research on the Rapa Nui language points out the sense of urgency in keeping oral traditions alive in the native tongue.

However, to increase the foundation for literature growth, the Chilean government in 2001, with the help of UNESCO, put into play an education reform plan for Rapa Nui. This plan governs the development and exploration of the Rapa Nui language and grammar to ensure that future generations can retain the knowledge of their forefathers. In future years, as the indigenous people of Rapa Nui create and build their

identity and traditional cultural values, the body of literature on the healing arts, traditional medicine, will more than likely increase and add to current understandings.

In Chapter Four Research Theory and Protocol, I expand on the research categories and discuss the pilot study. Chapter Four provides the introduction and background into the research categories and relates the research protocol with the theme of this study.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH THEORY AND PROTOCOL

Introduction

In the following sections, I illustrate the theoretical concepts of Mimesis, Narrative Identity, and Public Sphere. Following the theoretical concepts, I explain the Research Protocol, Research Categories and Questions, Data Collection, Language Medium, Data Analysis, Research Site Entrée, Research Study Timeline, and Research Conversation Participants. Lastly, I discuss my Research Pilot Project, Background of Conversation Participant, Data Presentation and Analysis of the theoretical categories of Mimesis, Identity, and Public Sphere. I summarize the Pilot Project with a section on Implications, my Reflection on the Pilot Project, and the Background of Researcher.

The research into Rapa Nui's healing arts is based on interpretive inquiry using critical hermeneutic theory as a framework. Critical hermeneutics provides the necessary base for interpreting actions taken by individuals, as individuals, and as communities, in order to reach a new understanding through interpretation, challenging prejudgments, and creating new paradigms. Ellen Herda (1999:82) writes, "the process is not characterized as consensus-building, such as that which happens in political debate where conflicting interests are compromised, but rather as discourse that involves engagement and transformations." Critical hermeneutics is transformative; action created through understanding and imagination. The categories of mimesis, identity, and public sphere provide a research foundation for this study to explore the relationship of cultural healing arts as related to the individual and the community.

Research Category One: Mimesis

Mimesis is a concept within narrative identity theory (Ricoeur 1994) that directs attention to understanding time and space of the past, future, and present from a narrative viewpoint. Ricoeur (1984:52) notes, "time becomes human to the extent that it is articulated through a narrative mode, and narrative attains its full meaning when it becomes a condition of temporal existence." In other words, mimesis can capture how a person puts their ideas, thoughts, stories, future wishes, and actions of the present into a continuum that is connected and in constant interplay with itself: past, future, and present.

Ricoeur (1990) introduces the idea of mimesis as $mimesis_1$ (past events, a prefiguration)—what can you remember about past events; $mimesis_3$ (a future imagined, a refiguration)—what can you envision about future events, and $mimesis_2$ (present, a configuration into action)—what are actions of an individual at present. These concepts are in constant narrative flux with each other, remembering the past, imagining what to do next, and living a present of action. Ricoeur (1990:76) explains "an analysis that does not stop interpreting in terms of each other the temporal form inherent in experience and the narrative structure...we should see a <healthy circle> in which the arguments advanced about each side of the problem aid one another." In other words, the way in which we remember the past, think about the future, and act in the present, all influence one's identity.

Research Category Two: Narrative Identity

Personal identity is temporal in nature; a person's life experiences and their interactions with others help shape their identity. Personal identity reflects two areas according to Ricoeur (1994), *idem* and *ipse.* Idem (Ricoeur 1994:116-118) is a sameness

of one's personality, a permanence in time that reflects a static identity that never changes an individual's norms, long-standing values, and actions reflective of an individual's character. Personal identity having sameness to one's self also has an ipse, a relation of self to the other.

Ipse is a reflection of the self with the recognition of the other—a state of flux, always changing. Ricoeur (1994:121-122) notes that ipse is the individual traits and habits that are recognized by the other in relation to and description of an individual. The relation of idem and ipse, between the sameness of the self and the self in relation to the other, create the identity of a person—a narrative identity.

Narrative identity is the play, a medium, between idem and ipse, a back and forth relationship between character and the act of promising (Ricoeur 1994:118). Narrative identity is in constant refiguration with idem and ipse. Ricoeur (1994) uses the term "promise" to describe how an individual responds to the other with "holding one's word." Through the act of promises, the character of the self creates a communicative rapport, a relation, with the other. Narrative identity is brought out by a narrative that constructs a story of an individual, which in turn, expresses the identity of the character (Ricoeur 1994:147-148). The story of an individual is also part of a public space needed for concerted community work.

Research Category Three: Public Sphere

The concept of the public sphere is brought forth from Habermas (2001), who proposes that ideas and concepts can arise as part of public meetings and sessions where people in forum have the right to speak their minds without consequences and without jurisdiction. This forum of thoughts then brews the ideas and concepts into a narrative

that can be released into public space where innovative thoughts and actions may influence mainstream society. This concept arose from the bourgeois society where a forum of individuals from different walks of life could come together and discuss, at will, their ideas, thoughts, and concepts, to be shared, to nurture, and to be de/constructed critically, without interference. Habermas (2001:55-56) notes the "fully developed bourgeois public sphere was based on the fictitious identity of the two roles assumed by the privatized individuals who came together to form a public: the role of the property owners and the role of human beings pure and simple." In other words, the public sphere is a place where people come together and voice opinions that coalesce into collective discourse.

The public sphere is important to this research, primarily because the mode of action for exploring the healing arts is through a community coming together to narrate their understanding of traditional medicine among peers. Laleh Shahideh (2004:15) notes that "traditions are narratives without an end. Modernity cannot change history, but it can give new meanings to traditions." As this community develops their base stories of healing traditions in the modern context, they may be able to narrate their understanding, their meanings, to the larger Rapa Nui community.

Summary of Theoretical Constructs

The concepts selected are to present an understanding of the story, a story that has not been told in a public forum throughout the history of Rapa Nui. The concepts of mimesis and narrative identity from Ricoeur's work and of the public sphere discussed by Habermas give voice to individuals in a forum, a chance for many of the local Rapa Nui leaders to tell their personal stories of traditional medicinal practices.

Research Protocol

My research project into the healing arts of Rapa Nui follows a participatory research protocol (Herda 1999) using critical hermeneutics as guidance for inquiry. The participatory protocol allows participants and researcher to collaborate in conversation, allowing for new understandings and new paradigms that may emerge from the conversation data. Herda (1999:93) suggests that the researcher, along with the locals in the research process strive to be "inclusive—to disclose a world of our participants and ourselves." Herda (1999:93) points out that "a hermeneutic researcher understands that we live in a world that is already familiar to us and to the participants." This research process allows both the researcher and participant to work collaboratively on the data generation that, in turn, creates a text for analysis. For this study, I use the research categories of mimesis, narrative identity, and public sphere to guide the conversations in an attempt to understand the influences of the healing arts in the lives of the Rapanui as individuals and as a community.

Research Categories and Questions

The research categories for this study are "derived from the literature, one's own interests, one's life experiences, or a combination" (Herda 1999:96). The categories I chose are based on the critical nature of exploring healing arts through storytelling. These categories guide the overall inquiry as well as data collection and analysis.

Questions related to the research categories are used to guide the conversations of the participants in order to understand and interpret meaning behind the generated data of the conversation. The meaning of the data, the text, creates the opportunity for both the

speaker and hearer to come to new understanding. Herda (1999:108) posits, "asking a question opens up possibilities of meaning and, importantly, what is meaningful then becomes part of one's own thinking on the issue." The importance of the researcher to engage actively the conversational text allows their involvement and promotes an openness for a deeper understanding of the research inquiry. This understanding from the research can hopefully reveal and add to the limited data sources on Rapa Nui healing arts.

Mimesis

Mimesis can capture how a person lives with ideas, thoughts, stories, future wishes, and actions of the present, and projects them into a constant interplay between reflection and imagination. The participants' narrative of the healing arts could influence the collective concepts of healing and help promote deeper understandings of the healing arts through conversations based on the following questions:

1. Please tell me about your experiences or exposures in using traditional healing.
2. Tell me about how your ancestors used traditional medicine.
3. What are you doing now with the healing arts?
4. What do you imagine about your future in using the healing arts?
5. What insights do the participants have on their past, future, and present in relation to the healing arts?

Identity

Considerations of identity among the Rapa Nui have for many years been over-shadowed by the control of the Chilean government. In the past 40 to 50 years, a cultural awakening, including questions of identity, has been developing on this island. The following questions were designed to promote discussions on who the Rapa Nui are:

1. How do you see yourself and your family in the history of the Rapa Nui community?
2. The healing arts are important in your culture and community. How do you

see yourself relating to the healing arts community?
3. Could you tell me some of the traditional stories of healing and spirituality and how they have influenced your life and a sense of who you are**?**
4. From a leadership perspective, what role do you see the healing arts stories play in the future of the Rapa Nui community?

Public Sphere

Rapa Nui's cultural awakening marks the significance of the public sphere concept set forth by Habermas (2001), who proposes that ideas and concepts can arise as part of public meetings. The questions below are designed to help Rapa Nui leaders and others recognize the importance of publicly discussing traditional medicine as a central aspect of their community.

1. How do members of your community discuss and resolve important issues? What role do leaders play in such discussions?
2. How are ideas shared and discussed in the healing arts community?
3. How do you relate the healing art ideas to people outside of the group? Outside of Rapa Nui?
4. How can a public forum be created whereby the Rapa Nui can come to new understandings about who they are today in light of their traditions?
5. How can social policies be created and acted upon?

The proposed questions above are used to create a series of conversations during which the researcher and participants can recognize and encourage discussions on the current cultural awakening among the Rapa Nui. Moreover, from these conversations, new interpretations and ideas may came forth to support actions toward appropriate policy design.

Data Collection

Data collection of my inquiry used audio and video recordings. The transcriptions of these recorded conversations created the text used for analysis in this research study. Herda (1999:97) remarks, "the transcription is a text—the fixation of our conversation in writing." Data collection began with the acceptance of a letter of invitation that I gave to

potential participants (see Appendix A: Letter of Invitation). The conversation was transcribed and given to the participant for reflection on the text, providing corrections or changes, along with a participant thank you letter (**s**ee Appendix B**:** Participant Thank You Letter).

For the researcher, the data collection does not happen only in conversation, but also through the keeping of a journal. Herda (1999:98) writes, "this document [journal] is the life-source of the data collection process for in it goes the hopes, fears, questions, ideas, humor, observations, and comments of the researcher." For this study, I created a journal to record my own meanings and personal reflections of my experiences throughout the research process. My hopes were that by keeping a journal, I could add value to data collection and analysis.

Language Medium

I am fluent in English and have moderate Spanish speaking and writing skills. The primary spoken language of the people of Rapa Nui is Spanish, followed by the indigenous tongue of Rapa Nui. The people of Rapa Nui have some English speaking skills. My conversations were in either English or Spanish.

Data Analysis

The text of transcribed conversations creates the distance for the researcher from the data. Through this distance, the researcher can reflect on the data and analyze the text using critical hermeneutic theory. Herda (1999:98) instructs, "in data analysis the researcher appropriates a proposed world from the text." Ricoeur (1990:53) further describes text as something that "must be unfolded, no longer towards its author but towards its imminent sense and towards the world which it opens up and discloses." The

text of the conversation opens up new possibilities of understanding and challenges existing paradigms. Herda (1999:98) continues, "implications in such research are often two-fold: the researcher sees the world differently than before the research, and implications are manifest for looking at the everyday problems differently."

Data analysis followed the protocol that Herda (1999:98-99) sets forth:

- Transcribe the audio or video recordings of research participants;
- Identify significant conversational quotes to develop themes and place quotes in identified research categories;
- Bring meaning to the themes by using significant quotes, observational data, and researcher's journal;
- Examine the themes using critical hermeneutics as a theoretical framework;
- Provide when appropriate, the opportunity to further conversation with the participants in the development of the text;
- Discuss the research issue at the level of critical hermeneutics;
- Shape implications from the analysis of the text that have meaning in providing new ways of understanding and direction of the research study.

This data analysis process ultimately relies on both the participants' ideas and reflections on the transcribed conversations and the researcher's creation of a world opened by the interpretation of the text.

Research Sites

El Centro Por Los Adultivos Mejor, Rapa Nui, Chile

Figure 6: The Center for Better Adults
Photo by James Joves

The Elders Center, known as the Center for Better Adults or *El Centro Por Los Adultivos Mejor* is located in Rapa Nui, Chile. The Center was founded 1999 (See Figure 6: The Center for Better Adults) and

has played a role with the community in providing food and activities for the elders of the community. The elders known as Koros (male) or Nuas (female) come to this Center on a daily basis. The word Koro or Nua is a Rapa Nui word which is used as a sign of respect for older adults. Some services outside of the daily food service are massage or physical therapy, yoga and meditation, and psychology/psychiatric counseling. The Center employs four full-time workers to cook, clean, and accomplish all necessary functions for the Center. The Center is under the governance of the local municipal government located in the main town of Hanga Roa.

Inside the Center are several key items representing the culture of Rapa Nui: the Rapa Nui flag hangs on the wall flanked by wooden icons; there are pictures of living and deceased Koros and Nuas (See Figure 7: Section of a Photo Wall), and there is a ceremonial altar for remembering their religion and their loved ones. This altar is used on a daily basis for prayer. From my observations, several patrons of the Center would be in prayer prior to the daily food services. The Center not only provides food for patrons but caters a food delivery service to those who are physically or mentally challenged.

Figure 7: Section of a Photo Wall
Photo by James Joves

Hospital Hanga Roa, Rapa Nui, Chile

The hospital of Hanga Roa is currently under construction with a multi-million dollar renovation and modernization effort to expand medical services. The new section

of the hospital is built adjacent to the old hospital of Hanga Roa (See Figure 8: Hanga Roa Hospital). The hospital includes *El Centro Para Medicinas Traditionales* or The Center for Traditional Medicine. This Center started in 2010 and brings together in practice and forum, Rapa Nui healers and Chilean medical doctors. Through my participant conversations, I found that the Center is administered by Chilean doctors and staff. In practice, Rapa Nui healers are supposed to work side-by-side with the Chilean doctors. The application and process of healing using western or traditional remedies is administered through a community forum where healers in the community voice their knowledge to the Chilean administration as to which remedies can be used.

Figure 8: Hanga Roa Hospital
Photo from http://www.merahirapanui.org/

Hanga Roa, Rapa Nui, Chile

The main town of Hanga Roa has a downtown covering two to three city blocks. On the main street there are shops and restaurants which have increased in number over the years to accommodate the rise in tourism to the island. Within the confines of Hanga Roa, there are staple amenities such as a marina, lodging, the library, several

Figure 9: Kaimana Inn
Photo by James Joves

food markets, the main and only Catholic Church, the hospital, and The Center for Better Adults (The Elders Center). One of the restaurants I frequented was The Kaimana Inn and Hotel. The Kaimana Inn (See Figure 9: Kaimana Inn) was one of the few places that had wireless internet connection. Even though the connection was reminiscence of the internet speeds from the early 1990s, it was better than no-connection for communicating outside of Rapa Nui. The Rapa-Nui parliament (See Figure 10: Parliament) which houses

Figure 10: Parliament
Photo By James Joves
The sign reads, "For International Information, Rapa Nui wants to leave the sovereignty of Chile.

meetings for independence or other local issues is located meters away from the old Chilean Naval base. Signs of anti-colonialism decorate some windows of the parliament with indigenous land maps and protest signs propped indoors ready to be used at a moments noticed.

Entrée to the Research Sites

I conducted my research in Rapa Nui, Chile in June 2012. I held conversations with a Rapa Nui nua, Mahina Rapu, who invited me to join her in Rapa Nui to conduct

my research, since August of 2011. She was not able to be on Rapa Nui during my stay there. However, Mahina's connections on the island allowed me to volunteer at the Center for Better Adults during my research. At the Center, I was introduced to many Koros and Nuas who were interested in my study and my heartfelt need to understand, learn, and record their stories, their history, and their culture through video and audio.

I was the first person to volunteer at the Center for research purposes. Through these conversations (discussed below), I was able to express my interests in the research topic and the people of Rapa Nui. (A complete list of participants is included in Appendix C: List of Participants in Rapa Nui)

Research Study Timeline

I conducted my pilot research study in the fall of 2011. This pilot study was followed with field research in June 2012 on the island of Rapa Nui (Easter Island). The final draft of my dissertation including data analysis was submitted in the spring of 2013.

Research Conversation Participants

The Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (IRBPHS) at the University of San Francisco (USF) approved my proposal on March 29, 2012. My IRBPHS approval number is 12-047 (See Appendix D: IRBPHS Approval).

My research included 14 participants comprised of representatives from El Centro de Adultivos Mejor, Hospital Hanga Roa, and residents of Hanga Roa. Photographs taken by me of my participants and short biographies are included below.

Figure 11: Digna Atan Chavez
Photo by James Joves

Digna Atán Chavez

Digna is one of the patrons at The Center for Better Adults. She is a user of traditional and western medicine. She has several medical conditions for which she would rather choose western approaches for treatment.

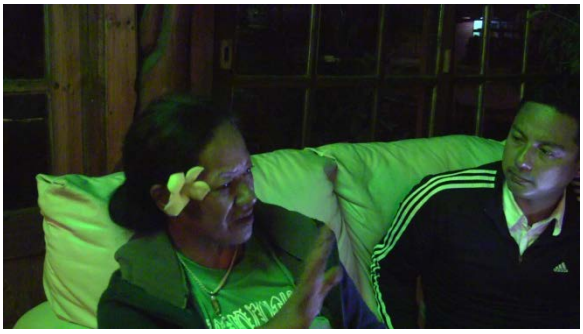


Figure 12: Rubelinda Pakarati Araki
Photo by James Joves

Rubelinda Pakarati Araki

Rubelinda "Rube" is one of the managers of their family's restaurant called Kaimana Inn. Rube was generous in her time and story-telling about her childhood, Rapa Nui medicinal rituals, and the local culture.

Figure 13: Juan Hotus Ika
Photo by James Joves

Juan Hotus Ika

Juan is one of the patrons at the Center for Better Adults. He was always excited to see me at the Center and looks forward to my return. He can recall vividly the use of the healing arts as a child.

Figure 14: Alberto Hotus
Photo by James Joves

Alberto Hotus

Alberto was one of the former governors of Rapa Nui. He has tremendous knowledge of the island from history to politics. He is one of the few surviving members of the elders' council.

Figure 15: Maria Elena Hotus Hotus
Photo by James Joves

Maria Elena Hotus Hotus

Maria is a volunteer at the hospital. She is a firm believer in traditional medicine, as she would call, *hervias tradicionales* or traditional herbs. At the age of 67, she is formally finishing her 8th grade education.

Figure 16: Maria Teresa Ika Pakarati
Photo by James Joves

Maria Teresa Ika Pakarati

Maria is one of the patrons at the Center for Better Adults. Her family operates a restaurant and cultural center nearby. She believes that the path of the future rests on the vision and determination of the youth.

Figure 17: Victor Acuna Vargas
Photo by James Joves

Victor Acuna Vargas

Victor is one of the patrons of the Center for Better Adults. He has great stories of the Rapa Nui history from his longstanding relationship within the Rapa Nui community.

Figure 18: Biehere Haoa Pakarati
Photo by James Joves

Biehere Haoa Pakarati

Biehere is a college educated archaeologist who works with JoAnne Van Tilburg's Moai Restoration Group in Rapa Nui. Biehere is Rapa Nui and believes in the importance of retaining cultural knowledge.

Figure 19: Clara Alarcon Pakarati
Photo by James Joves

Clara Alarcon Pakarati

Clara is one of the movement leaders for independence with her organization. She is a believer and protector of Rapa Nui traditions and values.

Figure 20: Graciela
Photo by James Joves

Graciela Hucbe Atán

Graciela is one of the patrons at the Center. She is an expert in traditional medicine and believes that the cultural ways of healing should be part of mainstream practice in the future.

Figure 21: Sergio Rapu
Photo by James Joves

Sergio Rapu

Sergio Rapu was one of the governors of Rapa Nui. He is considered one of the most influential Rapa Nui because of his knowledge of the language and his ability to converse with the community in public space.

Figure 22: Ana Lola Tuki
Photo by James Joves

Ana Lola Tuki

Ana Lola Tuki is the head of the Tuki clan and is the mother of my pilot study participant, Mahina Rapu Tuki. She is very knowledgeable on the Rapa Nui healing ways, including the spiritual *kai-kai*, a string story-telling ritual.

Bob and Nancy Weber

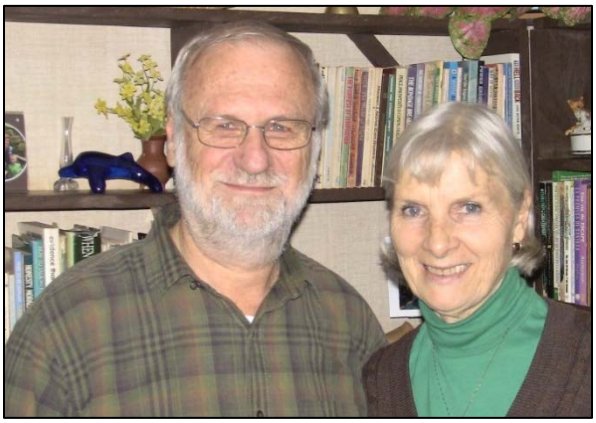


Figure 23: Bob and Nancy Weber
Photo by James Joves

Bob and his wife Nancy are linguists in Rapa Nui with their faith-based organization. They have been residents in Rapa Nui for over 35 years. They are an integral part of the community and developed the first language training tools in the 1970s and early 1980s. They are currently translating the Judeo-Christian bible to Rapa Nui.

Erika Atán Pakarati

Figure 24: Erika Atan Pakarati
Photo by James Joves

Erika is a worker at the Center for Better Adults. She was my guide in Rapa Nui. Her relatives created my souvenir moai statues.

Research Pilot Project

Introduction

I carried out a pilot study in fall of 2011 that served as a field testing project where I engaged a participant, Mahina Rapu Tuki, in conversation using guiding questions to direct the generation of data used for analysis. In the following sections, I provide the Background of Conversation Participant, Data Collection and Analysis as

related to my research categories of mimesis, narrative identity, and public sphere. Lastly, I discuss Implications and Reflection on the Pilot Project.

Background of Conversation Participant

In preparation for my research on traditional medicine practices of Rapa Nui, I wanted to first review local Polynesian cultural groups in the San Francisco Bay. In my research, I was surprised to find a Polynesian group that was promoting a non-violent protest in San Francisco, March 2011, called Free Rapa Nui Day of Action. This protest was in response to the Chilean government seizing local land in Rapa Nui. I learned from the Internet that Fuifuilupe Niumeitolu, a doctoral student at the University of California, Berkeley, was the head of this Polynesian group. I contacted Mr. Niumeitolu, who, after hearing of my interest in Rapa Nui, was kind enough to introduce me to Dallas Teo from Stanford University, who, in turn, forwarded to me Mahina Rapa Tuki's contact information. Upon being introduced to Mahina, several emails and conversations have taken place (see Appendix E: Supporting Communications). I invited Mahina to participate in my pilot study. She kindly consented.

Mahina Rapu Tuki, a Rapanui, was an ideal candidate for my initial conversation on my research topic. Mahina studied medical practices in Paris as a young adult. She was involved with clinical work until she realized how much corruption and greed was present at the expense of patients. She decided to leave for-profit employment and has, ever since, worked with local people groups and civil rights groups from Alaska, Canada, Africa, women's groups in Latin America, and in her native home of Rapa Nui.

As an activist, Mahina is a participant in civil and human rights movements. She was a speaker at the above-mentioned Free Rapa Nui Day of Action in March 2011.

Please see (Figure 25) that depicts Mahina on the right and a demonstrator, on the left, protesting against Chilean government violence toward local Rapa Nui.

Figure 25: Mahina Rapu Tuki

(http://maliamovement.files.wordpress.com/2011/03/r1-02797-0020.jpg)

In Rapa Nui, Mahina seems to be a main contact for medical issues and building public forums to voice opinions and support networks in the cultural awakening and revitalization of the healing arts. Mahina is connected to the United States by family living in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Hawai'i. Mahina's importance to this study is three fold: primarily, she and her community are in the process of exploring the medicinal arts of Rapa Nui; secondly, she is an active leader within the community; and lastly, Mahina and I share similar interests in the healing arts.

In my email exchange with Dallas and Fuifuilupe, I learned that Mahina is someone who has earned respect and trust among the Rapa Nui community both in the

United States and in Rapa Nui. I did not have a face-to-face meeting with Mahina during our conversation for my Pilot Study. Our conversation was held via telephone; I was in San Francisco and she was in Rapa Nui. The physical distance in our phone conversation caused a lag time that allowed each of us to actively become both hearer and speaker. Our conversation was full of intrigue and joy with the knowledge that we were both speaking about a topic dear to our hearts.

It was not until several months later in December of 2011 that I finally met Mahina. That meeting, which is not presented as part of my pilot study, was an opportunity for us to challenge our prejudgments about one another and come to new understandings. At first, she was under the impression that I might exploit the knowledge of the traditional healing arts in Rapa Nui. This suspicion was due to previous contacts from pharmaceutical companies asking her for information about the medicinal Rapa Nui therapies. At the end of a four and a half hour conversation, we learned to value each other for our mutual interests in traditional healing practices. This conversation, during which time she plied me with tea and sweets, took place in the home of her daughter who lives in San Francisco.

Data Presentation and Analysis

My telephone conversation for the pilot study was an enlightening and remarkable experience. For several months, we played phone and email tag in order to establish a mutually convenient time for a conversation. After several telephone call attempts to her extended family, I was able to speak to Mahina directly. The conversation (see Appendix F: Conversation Transcript), lasted about 45 minutes during which time we exchanged information about each other and she was willing to discuss my questions. At some

points in the conversation I could tell she was hesitant to delve deeply into the topic at hand. However, the communication was very informative, and I was able to make an important contact for my research. Mahina expressed interest in how I might help the healing arts project in Rapa Nui. Once I conveyed my background in traditional medicine, Mahina was able to tell me about the importance of medicine, of "healing," to the Rapa Nui community. The next section presents the conversation as related to the research categories (see Appendix G: Conversation Category Coding).

Mimesis

The Ricoeurian concept of mimesis (Ricoeur 1990) is about a person's understanding of the past, the future, and the action of the present. These dimensions of time are in constant flux, connecting and influencing each other.

Mahina noted, "traditional medicine is part of us; it is part of our land, our waters, and our spirit. It connects our songs, our beliefs, our rituals to heal the person." This statement points out that there is a remembrance, a connection between the healing arts and the land/waters of Rapa Nui at a spiritual, healing level. Mahina further expresses, "our people are spiritual—we are connected to our land and waters—this is our spirit—this is what brings us together—our respect." In a mimetic framework, Mahina reflected upon the past, about her culture and their spiritual beliefs that connect mind, body, and soul.

In remembering the past, Mahina's worries of exploitation are a concern. In Mahina's prefiguration of the past, the subject of medicine is a personal chord as Mahina is a clinician by background. She is worried about outside companies exploiting her people or any medicines derived from their lands. In terms of an imagined future,

Mahina (and others) want a fair compensation to the people of Rapa Nui. This is her imagined future: "if they did support us [Chilean Government/Pharmaceutical Companies], we can move forward, we can have more beliefs for our future—the money can support education, can support local help and healing for us—to put money in the areas that can support what is important to us." This relates to her imagined future; if there is monetary support, those funds can help with education—in this case, traditional medicine. She further goes on and states that "those products from their [our] land and that money should belong to the people, it is theirs." Mahina wants a future for her people to be financially fair and equitable.

In discussing the possibility of being exploited in the coming year by outside sources, she further goes on to say, "for many years we have been dealing with people colonizing our people—land. [Really], for the past 120 years we have been dealing with the Chilean government and striving and fighting for the rights of our people. There is so much healing for our people and the Chileans too - but our rights our healing... We are fighting for our rights as Rapanui, as people who want to move [forward] to heal." Mahina brings a sense of the past and future that conform with her wishes for the community to heal the emotional wounds that have prevented the society from moving forward.

In terms of traditional medicine, Mahina relates the knowledge and understanding from the elders: "our people over 50 remember and [retain] our knowledge to educate and pass that knowledge to the younger people. This is respect—shows respects to our clanship, our masters, and our builders. It is our strengths of this knowledge [in education] that gives us our spirituality, our respect for our people, culture, and lands."

She further shares, “I am putting together this group this year, soon, to document all this work for traditional medicine, to pass this knowledge to the younger people and to share this knowledge with our people, for the future—to educate to share. We have only the elders to tell the story of how we use it—it is exciting.” Mahina’s vision is to (culturally) influence the next generation with the wisdom of the elders. This sense of action was a common thread throughout my conversation.

My mimetic understanding of my conversation with Mahina is that there is significant cultural healing in play with her and her community resulting from the scars of the Chilean government and the exploitation of international corporations. However, she is hopeful. She has hopes that Rapa Nui people can influence Chilean political bodies at all levels to help preserve Rapa Nui culture and identity.

Identity

As a person, Mahina’s identity is shaped by her actions within the Rapa Nui community. She is a person who spends most of her time helping others—fighting for their dreams and their hopes. Mahina’s mimetic past sees her people being exploited and from this exploitation, a defensive wall has been created to keep outsiders from peering into the mysteries of their culture. In relation to the other, Mahina is someone whose character has the ability to sooth others—using her skills as a healer, a mother, and as a believer in Rapa Nui healing arts.

As I look at my transcript conversation with Mahina, her narrative identity appears dynamic with her stories that reveal aspects of her character as a healer—looking for forgiveness and to be forgiven, seeing hopes in the Rapa Nui people as individuals and as a community where their voices can be heard.

Public Sphere

Mahina's vision of traditional medicine will take place among a group, a community where individuals come together to voice their stories and their understanding of what traditional medicine means. This understanding will be shared among others in the community in order to achieve a collective understanding that can contribute to the healing of Rapa Nui as well as contribute to the creation of a Healing Arts Center.

Mahina questions, "I am putting (starting) a group of people together this year, you can maybe help me?" Then she goes on to say: "For traditional medicine, to document and write down our practices and how we do this, how this is part of our culture, our spirituality, our people—and how all this traditional medicine brings us together as a people as a culture." According to Habermas's (2001) idea of the public sphere, this community group in Mahina's vision can bring their stories in a forum that is free from any impositions that the local government politics may have. As these stories unfold, any underlying issues will surface in the public sphere. Habermas (2001:88) states, "if ideologies are not only manifestations of the socially necessary consciousness in its essential falsity, if there is an aspect to them that can lay a claim to truth inasmuch as it transcends the status quo in utopian fashion, even if only for purposes of justification, then ideology exists at all only from this period on." This is supported by Mahina's statement, "this is struggle for us—to recoup our pay from [companies] [pharmaceuticals] that take away from our land and don't give back anything. The government makes the deal with them and we do not see any benefits no matter how much we fight for our rights, they [government] are not listening." For Habermas (2001),

this is an important ideology, an important truth behind this new community that Mahina wishes to bring forth. I feel that the hope for this community is to ensure the integrity and safety of their stories. Mahina reflects, “it is our concerns, our hopes to be connected to what is rightfully ours. It is our birth right to our lands; it is our connection and practices for our spirituality, for our culture.”

The analysis of Mahina's transcript puts into the world a vision of hope to bring a continuum of exploration of traditional medicine storytelling that can be passed on to future generations. The difficulties faced in this public forum will be from authorities wanting to exploit the Rapa Nui for financial or personal gain. These challenges may, perhaps, give impetus to the Rapa Nui to unite and promote their civil rights.

Implications

The pilot study revealed several implications for change in community leadership, fiscal policies, and civil rights with regards to traditional medicine in the arching view of healing arts. Community leadership has its roots in Rapa Nui from the early 1960s and continues today with the world pressures placed on Chile for the civil rights of the citizens of Rapa Nui. This struggle pertains to the freedom to practice their culture, to reclaim their lands and to become an independent nation. As reflected in our conversation, Mahina strongly feels that the time is now for the citizens to act in solidarity for their rights as a people group. To address the topic of traditional medicine in an international forum could place Mahina and others at a leadership level that will bind and bridge the medicinal past to the future. I believe that the exploration of traditional medicine will contribute knowledge and understanding of Rapa Nui's healing arts. It is anticipated that this knowledge and understanding, based on this research, will

become available to the international health community. The revival of traditional medicine may open doors for a new and supportive fiscal and civil policies designed to appropriately serve the Rapa Nui.

Fiscal and civil policies dedicated to the Rapa Nui could meet in the political arena attended by Chilean government representatives. This type of meeting would represent a change in the thinking of the Chilean government. In the past, drugs produced from discoveries in Rapa Nui, such as Rapamycin, financially benefited mainland Chile, but not the Rapa Nui. During the conversation with Mahina, she strongly suggested that fiscal change is needed in Rapa Nui. Traditional medicine may bring about new clinical data necessary for Rapa Nui leadership to address possible economic gains from research, development, and licensing of medicinal therapies.

Lastly, civil rights on Rapa Nui have improved since the end of the 19th century. Only in the past 50 years, the people of Rapa Nui have become citizens. Even with citizenship, they still struggle for freedom to reclaim their ancestral land and resources from the Chilean government. The land and waters of Rapa Nui are tied to the identity and spirituality of the people— resources that may be needed to understand indigenous healing arts. Implications from the research of traditional medicine could have an influence towards civil rights of land ownership and access.

The conversation with Mahina provided significant insight on the centrality traditional medicine should have in the Rapa Nui culture. The Rapa Nui community healing center that she imagines could be a source of traditional knowledge reclaimed through stories that capture the hearts and minds of all Chileans and those in world-wide organizations that support traditional health initiatives.

Reflections on the Pilot Project

My conversation with Mahina revealed her perspective which explained the trepidation she felt in speaking with me when she learned that I work at an academic health center in San Francisco. In time, Mahina has come to a new understanding of who I am in relation to her and Rapa Nui, a non-exploiter. Upon knowing who I am and the kind of interests I have in Rapa Nui, she extended an invitation for me to come to Rapa Nui. The invitation to come to Rapa Nui was a most important result of the pilot study.

The three categories of mimesis, narrative identity, and public sphere used in this pilot study served well this initial inquiry into the healing arts of Rapa Nui. My research questions helped guide the conversation, which was more an interview than a conversation. However, I felt the questions were appropriate and would provide direction to the research.

Overall, I was highly appreciative of the conversation with Mahina and came away with even more enthusiasm than I had when I started this project. I believed that there was infinitely more to explore and discover in my journey with this study as I increased my understandings of the Rapa Nui culture, especially the relationships of the healing arts with the people, their land and waters, and community.

Background of Researcher

The re-telling and re-imagining of the medicinal arts on Rapa Nui has a two-fold importance to me: the stories add weight to my background understanding of traditional medicine, and also support my interests in the preservation and histories of local medicinal knowledge. For years, I have worked in plant genetics with an objective to

genetically create plant-derived products for the consumer markets, which led me to a field of research called nutraceuticals. Nutraceutical products are, in general, plant-derived products that have medicinal effects and are not approved by the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) of the United States. My colleague and I launched a nutraceutical company in 2003 that imported plant extracts from a developing country. A percentage of profits were to be given to the local population to preserve their lands and culture. With this research study, there is an opportunity to revisit a subject that is professionally meaningful to me. The exploration of rituals and spirituality related to the healing arts is also of personal interest to me.

Summary

Traditional medicine has existed since the dawn of time as mankind was able to place the role of healing and healer into their culture. On Rapa Nui, the healing arts were stunted by culture, land, and water restrictions forced by the Chilean government in order to control the population. In spite of the restrictions, early anthropologists on Rapa Nui were able to observe and record many of healing practices used by the people.

In order to explore traditional healing practices today, there have been several key milestones that were achieved in the past 50 years to make this possible in the public sphere. These are the remembrance of song and dance through the use of a public event called the Tapati, the publishing of the Rapa Nui dictionary and grammar book, citizenship of the people, and lastly, outside funding to support the infrastructure for cultural sustainability.

This pilot study confirmed my interest in the research topic. Further, this study validated the research category selections. Upon the completion of the pilot study, I

sensed that the most important aspect of this inquiry would be collecting narratives found in each conversation, which, in turn, would reveal the critical importance of the healing arts in the lives of the Rapa Nui.

Following the pilot study, I was able to conduct research on Rapa Nui in June 2012. The research participants of Rapa Nui contributed to my pre-understanding of Rapa Nui culture prior to the trip, creating new understandings through my experiences gained from working at the Center for Better Adults as well as gaining experience in conducting field work. Chapter Five presents the data findings as related to themed areas of exploration.

CHAPTER FIVE: DATA PRESENTATION

> Rapanui, a tiny islet, is almost over the verge of a distant sea, the scanty stepmother-home of less than a battalion of humankind far sundered from the folk of its own race. That would be enough in itself to attract the attention of the student of the unconsidered backwaters and eddies of the currents of human progress. Once attracted, the attention is chained by the problems offered by this remote and arid speck of land (Churchill 1912: 1).

Introduction

The translation and transcription of audio and video data into written text became a language to interpret and understand the participant conversations of Rapa Nui. These transcribed texts open up a narration allowing the possibilities of these stories to unfold meaning. Herda (1999: 128) posits, "The text opens up a world of possibilities. However, these possibilities only come out of a discipline of sorts—one that reflects the researcher giving order to conversation events and historical episodes by retelling and recounting what has been." In Herda's (2010) work with the Mlabri people group of Southeast Asia, Herda posits that, "Narrative identity is not a seamless identity, and it is possible for many plots to emerge from the same set of incidents (not appropriately called the same *events*). It is always possible to weave different plots about our lives in an exchange of roles between history and fiction." Narratives interweave to create plots that contribute towards a narrative identity of the person, the people, and the community.

To continue with the understanding of translation and understanding, Richard Kearney (2007:150-151) posits, "The work of translation might thus be said to carry a double duty: to expropriate oneself from oneself as one appropriates the other to oneself. In other words, we are called to make our language put on the stranger's clothes at the same time as we invite the stranger to step into the fabric of our own speech."

My journey to Rapa Nui in June of 2012 was prefaced with excitement and curiosity of this Polynesian society whose culture is filled with myths and beliefs that extend back to their ancestral roots of Hotu Ma'tua, their first ariki. My knowledge and understanding of their culture was based on the data analyzed from my pilot study participant, Mahina Rapu Tuki, and subsequent conversations with her in the following months after the pilot study. Mahina stressed the importance of understanding the native language and history before embarking on my research journey. My understanding of the culture prior to my trip was one of complexity; Rapa Nui individuals and the community at-large are facing the influences of political and civil strife and modernization from global interconnectedness in mediums such as the internet and cellular communications, as well as from television shows and the printed press.

These influences have been instrumental in defining the Rapa Nui society over the past 40 years and will continue to define them into the future. The greatest cultural change was introduced to Rapa Nui within the past decade with increasing tourism and daily airline traffic. The influences from tourism have affected Rapa Nui cuisine, clothing, and behavior, sparking a change to their needs and wants of western opportunities.

As my research trip approached, I eagerly waited to converse and understand first-hand the individual and societal values and beliefs through a participatory methodology lens. For example, the Rapa Nui concept of kaiŋa, their connection between the individual with their land and waters, is a strongly held belief in Rapa Nui and in most Polynesian societies (Delsing 2010:3). What does the modern day context of kaiŋa mean to the Rapa Nui whose land has been taken away? Language, a medium to

have discourse, is bilingual on Rapa Nui, allowing both Spanish and Rapa Nui to be spoken. How does language influence the healing arts? In Rapa Nui, the context of how much an individual can speak the native language seems to play a strong role in their personal and community identity.

In my conversation with Mahina, she mentioned several people and places on the island to visit and contact, such as: former Governor Sergio Rapu, Mayor Luz Sazzo, Ana Lola Tuki (Mahina's mother and matriarch of the Tuki clan), the *nuas* and *koros* at El Centro de Adultos Mejor, and the workers at the Hanga Roa Hospital. Mahina stressed that to maintain an open mind to the culture is to understand the society by reading the history, current issues, and understanding language basics.

The narratives collected and transcribed disclosed an understanding of Rapa Nui healing traditions with regards to my guiding questions relating to my research categories of mimesis, narrative identity, and the public sphere. As the conversations unfolded, a narrative to reflect those categories, I found that the text from my transcriptions was deeply rooted within their history; the healing arts are much more than medicinal remedies, rituals, song and dance, and spirituality. Healing is about the whole person, a holistic approach that sees healing as a reflection of the world around them. Modernization, cultural changes, sustaining language, and the value of the land and waters, indeed have influenced the meaning of healing and spirituality in the modern context.

I believe the Rapa Nui feel the wants and needs to be comfortable in the changing world. Their desires to hold and pass on cultural beliefs and values are met with heavy western media influences that affect the younger generation who seem interested but are

not taking action to have programs initiated. The presentation of data will reflect three thematic areas that touch upon the research categories. The presented themes are: the kaiŋa of the people, the value in sustaining oral history, and the changing tides of culture as relating to governmental bodies and politics.

The Kaiŋa of the People

It was clear night showcasing the stars of the southern sky as I stepped out of the plane onto Rapa Nui soil. It was 4am. There was a sense of solitude and tranquility as I walked a fair distance in the crisp air towards the main terminal. The dim lights of Mataveri airport accentuated iconic Rapa Nui artwork on the main walkway to the only terminal, only to be lit up by the flashing camera lights of my fellow passengers. The artwork was of figures found in Rapa Nui culture, the birdman, moai, rongo-rongo script, and native plants—graphics that symbolically tie a community to their ancestral lands as a reminder of their narrative history.

During the course of my stay on Rapa Nui, I was frequently asked what ethnicity I am from the Rapa Nui locals. "Are you Chilean? Are you Rapa Nui?" I would tell them that I am American and my family is from the Philippines – the Philippine Islands, Polynesia. When they heard those words, I could sense a different perspective in their approach to converse. I believe that my participants understood me as a fellow "islander" whose history of the land, the kaiŋa, a connection, may be similar to theirs. One of my participants, Dr. Sergio Rapu, Rapa Nui's first governor and the younger brother of Alfonso Rapu, who led the revolution in the mid-1960s, shared his narrative of importance of kaiŋa as a reflection of his roots to the land of his ancestors in the context of traditional medicine.

> Kaiŋa comes from kai, kai means to eat, to have food—is the act of eating. Throughout Polynesia, land is small, and therefore the value is much higher, therefore so is the element of (productivity). So why I talk about the land in knowing about traditional medicine is because if you look into the culture some elements have weight in terms of claiming identity—for here it is the land. Even today, we are having problems here and I'm sure elsewhere and the changing conditions of the land use, and land value, let the people move forward and say, "Wait a minute, the land we used to not care much, but today I care more because the value of modern life is telling me that piece of property is worth it for me to survive on." What was used to be for planting sweet potato is now used to build a hotel and therefore a kilo or a pound of sweet potato that cost 2 dollars, a square meter of a land costs millions. So, anyway, it's not a question of simple identity, it's about changing the value of the land that allows me, the native people, to look forward and think to what things can I hold on to survive. On language alone, I challenge those who cannot speak English, Spanish, or French, whatever. Or the nitty-gritty of the stuff that the survivalists call material goods— the stuff we step on, work with, and are connected to. So, I claim that back. So what is my way of claiming is by saying I was born here. This is my kaiŋa. It came from generations just like I used to connect to the statues of the ancestors, so is the property that I claim back…What has not changed is that plot, that soil, the closeness to the ocean or inland. That has not changed. This is mine.

In our conversation, Dr. Rapu related the word, kaiŋa, a connectedness to the land and water, towards his spiritually connection with his ancestral roots and revaluing the word in a modern sense: land rights and economic value. The value of land in Rapa Nui is an important issue. First, most of the land in Rapa Nui is under the park services, protecting the land for the betterment of tourism and restoration. Secondly, most Rapa Nui reside within the confines of the Hanga Roa city limits. These confines have been in place for over a 100 years when the island was annexed to a private corporation as a sheep farm. Thus, ancestral family lands allocated within the park territorial lines may not be economically productive unlike the main street storefronts or beachfront hotels.

Within my conversations, the importance of kaiŋa seemed to have a two-fold meaning in Rapa Nui identity: first, as a philosophical connection of being part of the land— a connectedness that has a spiritual and healing component to one's identity. This

component is knowing your soil, knowing the land of which your family has rooted, and the land that can give life to feed, heal, and provide shelter. Secondly, kaiŋa represents an economic tangible term associated with agricultural production, tourism, or redevelopment. This modernization of a deeply rooted Rapa Nui word is now a powerful tool that can add strength for the rights towards land tenure-ship. Dr. Rapu said:

> Land tenure is a very power aspect of culture where the relationship among people is measured by the connection with their own land—how they use the land or steward their rights on the use of their land. Some family or some member of the family can be highly respected because they control the rights to that land. This is a different kind of rights. This is different than modern life where people write fix laws and rigid mechanisms to say who has access to that land.

The idea of having rigid mechanisms to claim land ownership is a western ideal that has caused clashes with traditional Polynesian values and system of beliefs. In December of 2010 (Young 2011a:1; 2011b:190), clashes over land tenure with Chilean police made news on the international scale, producing global civil rights protests. On the other hand, the aspect of kaiŋa is not a western term, but a Polynesian one. Dr. Rapu further explained the tension on the island from misunderstanding of island history or process of land recovery. Dr. Rapu explained:

> Why do we have to accept a law from 1933 to say all of Rapa Nui belongs to the government? Somebody just wrote it. It's like me going to Washington DC and saying, 'I like this place, let me write this down. This is my property.' Some 10 generations later, some Americans will say, 'You know, we used to live here, my grandfather owned this before they moved away.' So that is happening now. Okay, so each one claims the legality and the rights. Look, in 1933, the government was mean to take away the land from the Rapa Nui, but if you look into it further into the history, you will realize that the government was not mean to do that. There was a private man here in Chile who wanted to register the whole island his. And the government at that time said, 'Hey wait a minute, if someone is going to own it, it should be the government.' It's not because the government is a person or private entity, it because it wants to be maternalistic and protect the living and remaining Rapa Nui population. Thank God for that. And now the government is returning the land over. It's

> not saying, here is it, sell the moai away, it is saying, 'Wait a minute, who needs land, we will give you 5 hectares.' This process has been going on for a long time. So, in the beginning the immediate reaction is 'This is insane, the government came in here and took our land.' If you think carefully and review the history, you will realize that the government help saved the land so it can be returned to the Rapa Nui people properly. So that's what is going on up to today.

The historical struggles of the land are as important as the spiritual and healing connectedness of the land in kaiŋa. Kaiŋa does not always have to have a modern value as discussed earlier. In one of my conversations, kaiŋa represented a buoy, a grounded hook to your past, a channel, allowing individuals to remember history while "channeling" their curiosity to explore new experiences. Similar to Ricoeur's (1984) concept of mimesis—understand the past, imagine a future, and live in the present, kaiŋa can be that hermeneutic circle allowing individuals to reflect, think ahead, and explore. For example, in the context of understanding cultural changes and modernization on the island, Maria Teresa Ika Pakarati, a nua, at the Center for Better Adults explained:

> The island's people are always ready and wanting to know more, to be better. When we want to know, we have to remember the past and know the connection to the land in order for us to live presently and understand the world around. We feel that the outside [global media] is our connection to learn more about ourselves and the world. Otherwise, how can we know of the world if we are not grounded? To know more is significant for us and this situation [cultural change] is new for us.

Maria explained this concept because to heal oneself in times of change, it is better to be rooted in a base that is strong, such as their history of the land. The land gives life, plants and animals that are used in traditional healing. The land brings a sense of belonging and completeness to one's identity. Maria further said:

> Rapa Nui, my father's side is from Tahiti, we came here long, long ago. We are part of the land, this land makes us Rapa Nui...our dream is for the total understanding of being in this land.

It remains clear from my conversations that Rapa Nui identity is not only tied to cultural elements like the healing arts. Their identity is strongly tied to the concept of kaiŋa—interconnectedness between the individual and the environment. The meaning has been reinterpreted to mean more than the spiritual and healing intimacy. The relationship of kaiŋa carries weight in promoting modern day economic and legal value to the land as well as a communication channel to learn, explore, and grown within the world by being anchored to historic roots. The historic roots in Rapa Nui have been seen through storytelling within the family.

Sustaining Oral History

Traditional healing on Rapa Nui is a broad cultural practice that encompasses medicinal remedies, songs, dances, rituals, and spirituality. Even though most Rapa Nui are of Catholic faith, many of the adults still retain in their family a member who has knowledge of the cultural healing practices. In Rapa Nui history, much of the healing arts were substantially lost in the mid-19th century as the slave raids and disease brought the population down to 111 people on the island. The remaining individuals on the island, and the few Rapa Nui that returned to the island, maintained and passed forward what little knowledge remained of the physical medicinal remedies. Over the years, non-native plants from the Chilean mainland or from other Polynesian islands were being used for general healing practices, along with Rapa Nui traditions. Healing practices that were not in need of physical plant-based medicine, such as reciting spiritual songs, continued through the act of storytelling between generations. Through my conversations, I learned that other Polynesians immigrants brought with them their healing practices, which were integrated into Rapa Nui society. From my narratives, I

learned that language is an important medium for passing down traditional healing as well as identifying oneself as a Rapa Nui.

Maria Elena Hotus, 67 years old, is a nua at the Center for Adultos Mejor and a volunteer at the Hanga Roa hospital. She never finished elementary school but is now finishing the 7th and 8th grade equivalent of middle school. She told me several stories of when her mother would use traditional medicine, or as she calls it, medicinal herbs, because medicine is made by scientists and medicinal herbs are used by traditional healers.

Maria recalls a time when her mother was paralyzed and the healers used grated herbs:

> My mom had this done here at this hospital with a doctor who was here. My mother was ended up paralyzed and two years bed bound not being able to move. So the doctor spoke to a nua and she pulled out these herbs, grated it, cooked it, and put it on top of my mother while the herbs were nice and warm. She put it all over her body with words in Rapa Nui. She repeated this three times and my mother regained some movement. She began to move her neck, her arm and her feet. But this was sudden, it took her a long time to recover and heal.

When I asked Maria if it is important to speak in the native tongue for traditional Rapa Nui healing, she was proud to say that it is important to know and retain that language. However, for everyday practice and to move ahead in the modern world, it is wiser to learn Spanish. Maria said:

> It is important to know Rapa Nui [with healing] but it is not more important. It is important to maintain the native tongue for me but in reality, the Spanish language is more important for academia and for children's future. I study at night but it is hard. I can understand when I go to school but I do not speak good Spanish. In schools they don't speak Rapa Nui so we have to learn Spanish. This will facilitate studying. Without schooling, there is no work. Without Spanish today, you are no one. Right?

Biehere Haoa Pakarati Tuki is a young woman in her 30s. She is Rapa Nui and currently works for Dr. JoAnne VanTilburg's Moai Restoration Project. Her mother was an influential Rapa Nui educator who pushed for immersion programs on the island. Biehere, on the subject of language and traditional healing, reflected:

> We are losing our identity. We are losing our language. The Rapa Nui language can only really be used here on Rapa Nui. Nowadays, parents are not interested in speaking Rapa Nui. They would rather speak in Spanish or English because they believe that would be good for the children's future. This is how we lose our identity. We don't know how to talk to the old people to learn about legends of the island, history of the island, or how to prepare traditional medicine.

I sense from my conversations that the Rapa Nui language is important to know in order to carry on traditional ways. However, since the island culture is heavily influenced by mainland Chile, it is important to know other languages, such as Spanish or English, that can help an individual and their family survive in a global economy. Dr. Sergio Rapu, one of the leading experts in the Rapa Nui language, commented:

> The Rapa Nui culture is quickly fading away especially those aspects we do not put into practice. If we do not speak the language we will lose it to Spanish. There is no demand for the language to be used except for the pride of maintaining our identity which to me is not enough. We should be proud to speak our language and other languages because publically it would be helpful.

Using language to carry on traditions is a practice that most Rapa Nui can agree upon. The difficulty in that is knowing that most individuals under 45 can't speak the Rapa Nui language (Delsing 2010:9). Dr. Rapu commented on the loss of language by saying, "So, it's sad to think the likelihood of the future that our language will be a hobby. Many aspects of our culture will be hobbies. It will just be a part of our lives."

Sustaining oral traditions to pass on folklore, medicinal remedies, spiritual rituals, and the language itself, is an important issue facing Rapa Nui culture. The

difficulties reflected in my narratives view language as a medium to enhance economic and social placement in an ever changing world. To the Rapa Nui, Spanish and English are key languages to understand in order to survive. Rapa Nui, a language that can only truly be spoken on the island, has an intangible value, a value that directs an individual to a Polynesian identity.

The Changing Tides of Culture

The Rapa Nui culture is changing at a rapid pace. The Chilean government has been funding construction projects on the island, such as increasing the size and technologies of the Hanga Roa hospital. The other projects on the island are to expand and modernize the harbor and marina areas for tourism and commerce. As I walked along the rocky cliff paths of Rapa Nui, I observed lots of Chilean workers on construction jobs, particularly by the main Hanga Roa marina where I would surf on a daily basis. The landscape is changing to accommodate growth. A recent New York Times article (Romero 2012:1) suggests that over half of the island's population is now from the Chilean mainland. These are people seeking employment at one of the world's most remote and isolated places. Romero's (2012:1) articles notes that, "privileges like subsidized housing that have been extended to some mainland Chileans, competition for jobs in the lucrative tourism trade and the mainland's control over the island's affairs." The increase presence from mainland Chile in addition to external media have a tremendous influence on the island's culture from foods, way-of-life, and traditions such as practicing the healing arts.

During my participant conversations, I would ask questions concerning the need to learn more about traditional healing in the community. My questions would ask about

the involvement of the local and national government wanting to be involved in island's support and maintenance of traditional culture. Prior to my arrival on Rapa Nui, I conversed with my pilot study participant, Mahina Rapu Tuki, on the development of the Healing and Spiritual Arts Center at the Hanga Roa Hospital. To my knowledge at the time, the Center was benefiting from egalitarian forums that would bring Rapa Nui healers and Chilean physicians in a forum to discuss treatment options that could be suggested to patients.

Seeing this as an opportunity to better my research data, I requested an appointment. For several days I waited for a response from the administrative staff at the Hospital, and from the Mayor's office to help out in my inquiry about Chile's stance and efforts on the traditional healing and cultural maintenance. I received no gratifying response, direction, help, nor any appropriate answers to acknowledge their interests in cultural preservation.

One of the main Rapa Nui cultural traditions has been the annual Tapati festival held annually in February which showcases Rapa Nui traditions from song and dance, food, healing arts, and rituals. This festival, along with weekly kari-kari dance shows, is pointing towards Rapa Nui culture being showcased and put on display simply as reminders for the Rapa Nui and as entertainment for tourists.

One of my questions in understanding traditional healing was to understand the phrase, "Ser Rapa Nui" or "Being Rapa Nui." Biehere Tuki and I sat down at a restaurant I frequented there very often called the Kaimana Inn. It was a beautiful afternoon when Biehere walked in to greet relatives and pass out invitations to her birthday party. Politely, I asked Biehere to converse with me about her thoughts on Rapa

Nui healing, ideas of identity, memories, desires, and the action of any public and private forums. She is part of the Moai Restoration Project; she has an understanding of what it means to protect the land and heritage of her culture. Biehere spoke about what it means to be Rapa Nui:

> To be Rapa Nui means is to be of a culture that you know how to speak, how to dance, how to cook, know your [medicinal] plants, the roots, and the colors. If you are a fisherman, you know what time to catch the fish. Not whatever time. You know when and how. You know to how to paint your body with the dots, how to tattoo, how to sing a kai-kai, you how to carve a rongo-rongo, how to carve a moai, but first, you must know how to speak Rapa Nui.

The language as discussed in the earlier section is important in the wake of cultural change. Language supports and strengthens one's own identity and fulfills a sense of belonging to community.

In many of my conversations, I noted that the government does not want to put efforts in exploring traditional values such as the healing arts. Some of my conversation participants still point the way towards a misunderstanding of culture by the Chilean government with words like, "They do not understand our culture" or "They don't care about our culture."

Many of the older Rapa Nui view the government at a local and national level as doing the best they can to ease the tensions between the islanders and Chilean mainlanders. The older Rapa Nui remembers the times when the revolution, fighting for citizenship, and fighting for minimum infrastructure was the apex of Rapa Nui protests. Maria Elena Hotus recalled:

> I don't know how to thank the government for everything they have done and continue to do for the island. Listen, the island didn't used to be this way, we lacked water, electricity, we had nothing. Nothing. Now we have TVs, computers, a modern hospital. The government has brought us good things on

> several occasions. Rapa Nui has water, roads, schools, many things. I am very grateful for the government.

Maria further describes the need for the Chilean government and local Rapa Nui government to truly understand that supporting each other is a necessity for the future.

> They [Rapa Nui] need the government otherwise one will eat the other; they will eat each other alive. They will begin to fight and there will be no end. We need the laws to protect each other, you need laws. I know the government representatives sometimes are harsh and have done certain things but we need them on the island because otherwise we would have no laws. They'll kill each other, we need a government. We are free, we are not slaves. So what liberty must we fight for? We are not slaves. What liberty must we fight for exactly? There is no slavery here. There is no slavery here. People work and earn a living just like everywhere else in the world.

The Rapa Nui who are not the nuas or koros on the island, such as people under 40 years of age, are faced with the challenges of modernization in other ways. They have been subjected in greater number to the influences of media, material goods, and western culture opportunities. These opportunities are reflected in traveling abroad for holiday, employment, and academic learning, opportunities that the nuas or koros did not have before.

These influences have changed the nature and behavior of the family unit. Bob Weber, who has been on Rapa Nui since the 1970s, and his wife Nancy, are linguists who have mastered the Rapa Nui language and have seen the changes on the island. As one of the only non-Rapa Nui, non-Chilean, residents, Bob considered:

> The Rapa Nui have become very materialistic. It's unfortunate. The family used to spend more time together having more cohesion. They used to host people like they were family. Now, everyone and everybody are out to get as much as they can [money] in any way they can.
>
> .

This material influence on the culture will be more difficult to change as the value of land increases and the economics of tourism are capitalized on by the Rapa Nui –

bettering their lifestyle with wants and needs. However, there seems to be a silver lining on the horizon. Biehere commented to me that the youth are interested in the retention of culture, but the means to help them are not readily available. The youth fear that as the older generation passes away, the remaining adults are not well equipped to pass along language, oral traditions, and Rapa Nui folklore. Bob Weber spoke of an "indigenous spring" arising around the world. He said:

> In recent decades, there's this whole indigenous spring from all around the world happening. There's tremendous amount of invention here. It's not the koros and nuas doing it. It's the young people who lost it all. They are desperately are trying to recreate bring it all back. There's an awful lot of what they are trying to do. Theses indigenous people get together with each other, in these congresses, all over the world like Brazil and everywhere. They learn from each other, and pretty soon they are all telling the same stories, "This is us, this is a traditional us." Well, no, it's not. I heard this somewhere else before.

The difficulty lies in recreating a tradition that can be appropriated at the level of a unique identity for a culture—a tradition that can carry merit and significance. If the youth are interested in maintaining the culture, then where is the support of the local and national government to channel efforts in assisting young adults with comprehensive learning guides to their Rapa Nui culture? I believe the issues are with the basic misunderstanding of culture because the detailed history of the island is not taught within the schools. It seems to be the belief of many individuals that once the detailed history of the island is known and shared across all age groups on both cultural fronts of Rapa Nui and Chile, there can be a better understanding of each other, thus, leading to relationships that can build community strength and partnerships. The Rapa Nui population is a mixed ethnic group. Over the years, the Rapa Nui have intermarried with Chileans, Europeans, Asians, and Pacific Islanders. The amount of pure Rapa Nui blood on the island is very

small. The cultural divide among the Rapa Nui and Chileans nationals should not be an issue. Dr. Rapu pointed out that knowing history can be influential in creating compatibility. Dr. Rapu contended:

> If I am Rapa Nui and a Chile national, I can have a cultural identity and it doesn't mean I am an anti-national. If you are a Cherokee, it does not mean you are not American. So I am Rapa Nui, I am Chilean. It is not incompatible. It is compatible culturally. It is because we are not taught the history of the island in the schools. The schools must learn the history of this island to avoid unnecessary conflict.

The importance of this issue seems to point towards the lack of well-rounded teaching in the education system. Teaching the history of the island from multiple perspectives may reduce cultural assumptions and prejudices and give confidence to express concerns without anger. Dr. Rapu brought up a scenario where adequate history teaching is needed in these changing times.

> I have this history book when I was appointed governor. A week later, I have the community facing me, telling me that the Chilean government stole our lands. Then I asked one of the leaders to whom I lend the book to about the whole history. I asked him, 'Could you explain to the people, why in 1933, the island was registered to the government. Why after 16 years of feud with the private man who wanted to register that island for himself?' Well, because of politics, he couldn't explain. So, I explained to the public that was there and everybody understood. The government is you and me. It is no one in particular. They will return the land back because you say to return.

The Rapa Nui have always expressed their need to be vocal. Through their councils and parliament, Rapa Nui voices can partake in the island's affairs. The question is whether these efforts are good enough. The Rapa Nui still fight for the retention of Polynesian values of a good life which is part of Rapa Nui society. Maria Pakarati said:

> My mom and my uncle ask always ask this [philosophical] question to me about our leaders. 'Look, don't you have the heart to express to the Rapa Nui people our sorrows?' These are important words for me that take place here on the island. A person here at the societal top can do good things and make changes. They should because I like to live a good life for me and the things that make a difference is good for the culture and the good life. Those

> changes at the top will need to be made by the new, younger people to create a better Rapa Nui in the future.

The elders of the island have mixed feeling about the youths of the island in caring about their traditional culture like traditional healing. Some elders feel that the youth are lost in modernization, which has been shown through the lack of values and beliefs that were once held within the family unit. While other elders like Maria Pakarati feel that the youths will be okay as long as they are well anchored to their family roots. They can act and make the changes necessary for a better life on Rapa Nui.

The Rapa Nui society, as viewed from the context of change with their political bodies, is still seen as a dipolar relationship where the struggle with understanding each other is from lack of history from both ends of the equation. The suggested context to learn why traditions are valuable should be addressed by looking at other Polynesian societies that have undergone similar changes in the prior decades. The analysis of those societies should point towards a discourse that the Rapa Nui can have with their Chilean counterparts on how to learn from historical challenges in maintaining culture in the face of modernization and change.

My Rapa Nui experiences provided a wealth of information that pushed the boundaries of the modern-day meaning of the healing arts. The healing arts are much more than the traditional frame of having plant remedies and rituals. The healing arts truly encompass the total aperture of being Rapa Nui.

Summary

My observations and conversations with the Rapa Nui unfolded themes that are introduced in Chapter Five with regards to the healing arts of Rapa Nui. The themes that emerged were (1) the intimate relationship with the land and waters through the aspect of

kaiŋa, (2) the sustainability and meaning of oral traditions, and (3) the changing tides of culture as related to the relationship with governmental bodies and modernization. All my participants shared the commonality of maintaining traditions in the face of change and the sadness of loss when values and beliefs are no longer cared for when convenience and importance have changed meanings. The loss of carrying a conversation in the native tongue, as if it were the only language in the world to know, will became a reality with language, the healing arts, and traditional rituals becoming just amusements in the future.

These narratives presented a view that the healings arts are an important aspect of who they are as a people of Rapa Nui. The healing arts are not just a prescriptive, western view, on fixing an individual in a hospital setting. The healings arts encompasses all aspects of the society—a well-being, holistic view that healing and spirituality are connected everywhere from medicinal therapies, song and dance, to economic valuation of the land, to understanding and being understood as a culture, to retention of oral language, and building and maintaining relationships in order live in the present.

Chapter Six is an analysis of the data through the hermeneutic lenses of mimesis, narrative identity, and the public sphere. This analysis brings forth new understandings of these themes. Mimesis is analyzed to understand healing arts as related to an individual's past experiences, dreams and desires for the future, and how the healing arts are used presently.

The next section in Chapter Six addresses narrative identity of the individual fostering new understanding of their relations with others and towards themselves. The

last section in Chapter Six addresses the healing arts as related to the governmental and public understanding.

CHAPTER SIX: DATA ANALYSIS

> In this, history is reminded of its indebtedness to people of the past. And in certain circumstances—in particular when the historian is confronted with the horrible, the extreme figure of the history of victims—the relation of debt is transformed into the duty never to forget (Ricoeur 1994: 164).

Introduction

The stories that unfolded in Chapter Five speak of Rapa Nui participant narratives that presented through conversation, a multi-faceted understanding that the healing arts are reflective of a total, holistic care, where healing is a state of mind, a state of identity, and a state of well-being politically and socially as a Rapa Nui and as a Chilean national. The Polynesian concept of kaiŋa (as indicated in the previous Chapter) —the intimate relationship of the people with their lands and waters, created the background needed to understand that healing and care are interwoven within their society from their healing therapies, their feelings and beliefs of land tenure, their relationship among one another regardless of Chilean or Rapa Nui descent, to the value of language, and lastly, the meaning of "to be Rapa Nui." It is important to understand this concept because its influence can mediate healthy action towards modernization and development on Rapa Nui that is ethical for all stakeholders.

The conversations I had with my participants, coupled with my observations and understandings from reflection during my research, offered new ideas to create communication bridges that can be understood across Rapa Nui. In order to create an effective bridge for active communication for the hearer and listener, there must be existing knowledge and understanding of experiences to create the plot necessary for action. Herda (2006:21-22) notes:

> A narrative can bridge differences among people and can also house changes in a specific individual. Narrative allows us to construct our own unique identity based on our experiences, and through what we project and anticipate. Through the creation of a plot people invoke a dynamic process that provides a way to imagine new possibilities for themselves in their current lives. If the people in the development act--both the developer and the local--do not share the same story to a significant extent, they could easily work at cross-purposes.

The dynamic process that is created may allow for just action in facilitating objectives and goals for the Rapa Nui and Chilean counterparts in accomplishing cultural change. During the Rapa Nui conference in July 2012 in Santa Rosa, California, I was able to have the opportunity to meet with long-standing Rapa Nui researchers. One of the individuals I met was Sergio Mata'u Rapu, a filmmaker and the son of Dr. Sergio Rapu, Rapa Nui's former governor. I discussed with him some of my findings in the context of cultural dissent among his fellow islanders. My exchange of thoughts with him was to find a way to create and develop communication that is well rounded, touching upon the histories of individuals and the society to create meaningful ways to relate change and opinions in the public space. As Ricoeur (1984:78) posits:

> The complete event [discourse] is not only that someone speaks and addresses himself to an interlocutor, it is also the speaker's ambition to bring a new experience to language and share it with someone else. It is this experience, in turn, that has the world for its horizon.

The idea of developing a learning guide to assist in understanding the meaning of cultural change was exciting in the context of critical hermeneutics. Within the community, the act of bringing individuals together through a learning guide can challenge their existing prejudices, create shared experiences, and bring voice to their individual horizons for new understandings.

The critical hermeneutic lens provided a means to understand the themes and narratives of Chapter Five. The hopes are to create meaning from the analysis that can lead to the development of models for teaching and sustaining oral traditions such as the healing arts within a society. The research categories of mimesis (Ricoeur 1984), narrative identity (Ricoeur 1994), and the public sphere (Habermas 2001), are essential in societies where cultural change is happening at different speeds and are not properly synchronizing or being understood in a timely manner by the individual or society at-large. As Chapter Five pointed out, examples, such as not having the right amount of information, in terms of history, language, or a common meaning, can result in violence, prejudices, and the lack of cooperation.

The following themes unfolded from my data analysis: (1) understanding participant's mimesis is required for the development of learning models and programs that can respect past experiences and create pathways needed for action in achieving future objectives, (2) understanding narrative identity as in the words, "to be Rapa Nui," can provide a base for anchoring and rooting individuals to maintain their connection with Rapa Nui identity during the course of change, and (3) the public sphere must provide the appropriate means to listen, hear, and communicate action.

Mimesis

The narrative form from Ricoeur (1984:76) describes the circle of mimesis as an imagined future, past recollections, and actions of the present where "the manifest circularity of every analysis of narrative, an analysis that does not stop interpreting in terms of each other the temporal form inherent in experience and the narrative structure." The act of mimesis for an individual can create for that individual a sense of belonging

from the memories of their childhood or past experiences. In Chapter Five, some examples of remembering the past unfolded in narratives describing medicinals therapies, understanding one's experiences in being part of the land, and importance of traditions. The experiences of individuals are connected temporally to one another—experiences of the past connect to imagined future experiences as well as to experiencing the present. Ricoeur (1984:3) posits:

> Time becomes human time to the extent that it is organized after the manner of a narrative: narrative, in turn, is meaningful to the extent that it portrays the features of temporal experience.

Maria Elena Hotus, a volunteer at the Hanga Roa Hospitcal described her own mimetic circle, temporal experiences, through the actions of finishing middle school by acknowledging her hurtful childhood memories of attending primary school. Through her difficult past experiences in primary school, she imagined a refigured future of finishing school, which she is accomplishing through her present day actions opening (Ricoeur 1984:64) "the kingdom of as if." Maria explained:

> Children would get hit by teachers back in those days, the teachers would hit because the children were rebellious. We are of another race. I used to get in trouble a lot in math class. When I think about math I start to cry because I don't know how to respond. This would happen as a child in math class and the teacher would send me home, 'Go home and cry and don't return' she would say. So I would return at night to go to school, so I couldn't return to school because I lived in the countryside, rural area, and at night it was difficult to get to school due to the rain and darkness. So now, I'm in school and it is harder because there are other classes, they have computers now and they did not have that when I was in school. So I am currently in 7 and 8 grade again. I have two more years left. With my age [67 years old], well, it is never late to finish.

From Maria's statement, it is important to understand that Rapa Nui society did not have adequate citizen benefits or a public works infrastructure during Maria's

childhood years. The lack of adequate living and social systems gave Maria the encouragement to define her "kingdom of as if" through refiguration of the imagination.

The conceptual idea of mimesis (Ricoeur 1984) is important in building successful development plans or putting together programs to sustain cultural beliefs and values. It provides a "kingdom of as if"—the ability to bring together the imagination of individuals towards a goal—a goal that is constantly evolving through interpretation and understanding within the mimetic circle. Acknowledging the past histories of individuals allows them to have a voice, a belonging to the success of a given project or change process. On Rapa Nui, the voice of discontent from the islander's general saying of "the Chileans do not know us" or "they do not know our culture" can be alleviated through action and appropriation of mimetic experiences.

Allowing individuals to share experiences among one another, especially of their historical prefigured past, can allow for individuals to challenge their existing horizons and ultimately lead to a new understanding and horizon to move forward with the possibility of refiguring a shared future. Dr. Sergio Rapu, mentioned that their island history may not be recognized, understood, or communicated in their own educational system across Rapa Nui can have a substantial influence in shaping misconceptions by both the Rapa Nui and Chileans, leading to violence, non-cooperation, and further dissemination of misinformation and beliefs. The past history, no matter how much violence or grief that has been subjected to an individual, must be released and shared with the public in order for interpretation and understanding to occur. Ricoeur (1984:11) posits:

> By entrusting to memory the fate of things past, and to expectation that of things to come, we can include memory and expectation in an extended and

> dialectical present which itself is none of the terms rejected previously: neither the past, nor the future, nor the pointlike present, nor even the passing of the present

The sharing of experiences among individuals can allow for the commonality of shared experiences in a term Ricoeur (1996:7) called, "founding events." Ricoeur (1996:8) continues, "This ability to recount the founding events of our national history in different ways is reinforced by the exchange of cultural memories." These events can form the basis of collective memory for a group of people.

Mimesis is an important concept from Ricoeur because it allows for a full-circle of experienced history, to-be imagined future, and present day actions, to be interpreted by an individual. This concept allows individuals to shape interactions with others and provides a guide for their actions. Mimesis is a process for an individual. Its actions can be instrumental to the narrative identity. The next section provides the analysis of narrative identity.

Narrative Identity

The narrative identity of "being Rapa Nui" brings a strong sense of pride to many of my participants. The act of knowing they "are" Rapa Nui is part of their narrative identity. Ricoeur (1994:122) notes, "the identity of character expresses a certain adherence of the "what?" to the "who?" Character is truly the "what" of the "who."…Here it is a question of the overlapping of the "who" by the "what," which slips from the question "Who am I?" back to the question "What am I?" This exchange of "who" and "what" can be read from Clara Pakarati's understanding:

> That is why our culture was lost, in order to have culture you need to have what constitutes it; dance, music, everything that is a life, a society. The medicine was lost; we lost that knowledge, like when we lost our written language. If you want me to answer your questions and tell you how I feel or

> what it means to me to be Rapa Nui, it means everything. Now what does that everything mean? In my veins run knowledge based on genetics and it allows me to know things that I haven't learned. I believe in the genetic transmitting of information and I have seen this in me and I am Rapa Nui. I feel like the Rapa Nui are very evolved. Without going to the university or schools, our children are born with a certain light. That is why being Rapa Nui is the most important thing that could have happened to me.

Ricoeur's narrative identity (1994) is a dialectic between their idem and their ipse. The idem identity is called sameness—a part of the individual that remains constant and recognizable over time. The ipse identity or self-hood is temporal, changing over time due to its interaction with others and the living environment around.

In Clara Pakarati's narrative above, her sameness, her idem, is just being "Rapa Nui" by birthright. Her selfhood is defined by years of feeling oppressed by the constraints of her changing society towards the influences of modernization. In my discussion with her, Clara is a strong voice on the island for Rapa Nui civil rights. When her identity is viewed in light of the conceptual theme of kaiŋa, her intimate connection to the land is part of her ipse. Her selfhood is being spiritually connected to her history. She appropriates her connection in kaiŋa by saying "our children are born [on Rapa Nui soil] with a certain light."

This connection of kaiŋa is not appropriated by the Chileans since it is not a term that is part of their culture. Chileans, like most Western cultures, view land usage differently than the Polynesians. Land use and entitlement is determined by legally binding papers and laws determined by the ruling government. Dr. Sergio Rapu, conveyed that the majority of Rapa Nui will consciously retain a sense of kaiŋa concept; they will allow themselves to hold a sense of identity associated to core Polynesian roots

connecting the individual with their surroundings. This connection is part of their ipse, their selfhood. Dr. Rapu explained:

> This is my kaiŋa. It came from generations just like I used to connect to the statues of the ancestors, so is the property, I claim that back. What has not changed is that plot, that soil, the closeness to the ocean or inland. That has not changed. This is mine.

The Polynesian dialetic is hermeneutic in nature allowing for understanding that is not transcribed by written legal documents; they are shared common "living" concepts that foster mutual understanding between individuals and families and not by written laws. The sharing of cultural knowledge to build one's narrative identity has been possible for generations on Rapa Nui through the act of storytelling. Herda (2006:20-21) writes:

> Story-telling is universal among all peoples and holds the possibility to make concordant disparate events, horrific memories, and future hopes; in other words, to emplot and make sense of the contradictions.

The difficulty in these times has been recorded in my conversations. The changing face of Rapa Nui through development and the influences of modernization are affecting the transmission of cultural identity concepts that, for generations, have told the story of the people.

Language (Ricoeur 1994) is an important factor in the narrative identity. Language is a medium for discourse and action, allowing people to reflect, understand, and appropriate meaning from conversation. The Rapa Nui are facing their native language disappearing from the cultural base. Younger people do not speak the language fluently, which is causing disconnection in understanding the older generation of nuas and koros. Even though Spanish is commonly spoken, the retention and use of the native

language creates the relationship between the individual to their cultural past and concepts to allow for, "being Rapa Nui." Herda (1999:11-12) writes:

> To think of language as a tool or as structure limits our creativity and binds us to designated acts outside of our being and apart from our history. When we understand that language is an action that is the medium of our lives, we become connected to others in historical and current communities that have a future. Further, our being in the world is revealed historically in and through language as discourse – a concept in the hermeneutic tradition that implies a relationship with the other.

The relationship with Chile (being the Other) has been one of conflict for over 100 years. The Chilean government has shared their ideas and thoughts over the Rapa Nui situation. They are trying to help both sides understand the issues and the conversation. However, both groups need a common language. The issues as reflected in the narratives are from Polynesian and Spanish (Western) culture— understanding must happen in order for the two sides to move forward. Herda (2006:13) writes:

> Language is a carrier of our traditions and our hopes. All persons enter their world, their culture and their community with a call or pull toward something. We do not enter the world or the village with a neutral stance. Rather, we are always on the way toward something. When we approach a people with the idea to work together on social development, the first act is to attempt to understand the cultural direction in which the people live. We learn about our own living directives upon reflection and examination of ourselves in relationship to the people with whom we work.

Narrative identity on Rapa Nui is complex in nature. The Rapa Nui idem character identifies with the culture by way of namesake and through birthright and land tenure through the Polynesian concept of kaiŋa. The influences of development and modernization on the island are affecting the idem and ipse relationship, creating tension and causing conflicts in the individual and in relation to the other. Herda (2011:12) suggests:

> Over time, the stories of a project, a community, and/or a policy can contain both the past (reflection) and how the future (imagination) was appropriated in a way that made sense to the polity members as well as to the researcher or developer. Narrative identity provides a way to understand what needs to be retained, on one hand, in a person's life, the core aspects of the history and the culture which shape the character of both a person and his or her cultural community, and on the other hand, what new elements can be introduced into this life or community in such a way that the sameness—the character—is still intact.

The complexities of dialetic relationship can be alleviated through better understanding of the other in relation to the individual. The betterment of this understanding can be facilitated through discourse housed in forums and centers in public space.

The Public Sphere

After the annexation of Rapa Nui to Chile in the late 19th century, the island was protected from slave raids and pirating individuals. During the next 100 years, the original native population of 110 people grew to several thousand from the interbreeding of non-natives to the island. Some of my participants feel that the complete history of the island is not taught within their school system, which may result in ignorant behavior and public conflict between islanders and Chileans. This action calls for the creation of a (Habermas 2001) public space for learning history and relationships. Dr. Sergio Rapu explained:

> So thanks to Chile, for annexing us, we became part of the country and we were protected and then our people were born, mixed, and today, pure Rapa Nui, maybe 60 left. All of us today are chop-suey of blood....French, English, Chinese, Chilean, whatever. So why the people don't know of all this detail? It is because we are not taught the history of the island in the schools. The schools must learn the history of this island to avoid unnecessary conflict.

In the public domain, the Rapa Nui society has community forums to discuss among themselves and with Rapa Nui leadership about issues facing their society. From

the narratives, many participants discussed the lack of government interests in funding cultural preservation, such as traditional healing. This tension can be seen in the public locaton of the Hanga Roa Hospital between the Chilean medical community and Rapa Nui healers. This conflict has been voiced in the community where, in practice, the Center for healing is supposed to support both Western and traditional remedies as options for patients. Through conversations with my Rapa Nui participants, it appeared that the Chilean staff are, in general, hesistant to support the local healing ways. Even with Rapa Nui healers and Chilean doctors discussing and agreeing to healing options, Rapa Nui voices fall on deaf ears. The buidling of the new hospital with modern medical technology may have a political influence on the usage of traditional medicine. Maria Hotus comments:

> The people [Rapa Nui community] say the remedies work but it's a hot topic [traditional medicine] to discuss in public. The doctors say that it can be bad for the people and they don't have the need to use it [in practice] when you have [better] medicine. Why should the staff prepare for all this [medicine] and why waste their time. Who's going to prepare this?

This conflict over traditional healing and land tenure are just two of the situations on Rapa Nui that call into question the ability and opportunity for people to communicate fairly. Communication allows for the sharing of experiences that can move society and individuals to new levels of discourse and permits the appropriation of new horizons. Effective communication happens when language is common. Without a language commonality, a bridge to show meaning, there is no move towards practical understanding and the common good. Nancy Fraser (1993:112) writes about Habermas' public sphere as:

> The public sphere connoted an ideal of unrestricted rational discussion of public matters. The discussion was to be open and accessible to all, merely private interests were to be inadmissible, inequalities of status were to be bracketed, and discussants were to deliberate as peers. The result of such discussion would be public opinion in the strong sense of a consensus about the common good.

The act of storytelling, as described earlier in the public space, allows for reflection through the mimetic circle. Individuals can reflect and share freely, giving way to new horizons that can be appropriated in the narrative dialectic between the idem and ipse. However, in any forum, validity of the participants ensures that a common language can set precedence towards understanding. Seyla Berhabib (1992:87) writes:

> The public sphere comes into existence whenever and wherever all affected by general social and political norms of action engage in a practical discourse, evaluating their validity.

The validation of the individuals or group in discourse provides the legitimacy for proper discourse. On Rapa Nui, my participant narratives reflected all stakeholders are not recognizing and understanding the validity of each other, exercising the need for commonality in language. Habermas (1979:178) theorizes:

> Legitimacy means that there are good arguments for a political order's chain to be recognized as right and just; a legitimate order deserves recognition. This definition highlights the fact that legitimacy is a contestable validity claim; the stability of the order of domination (also) depends on its (as least) de facto recognition.

The recognition of the other in public space can create the backbone necessary for conversation to reveal and uncover issues that may be rooted in layers of prejudgments, anger, and mistrust. The act of validation through common language can orient individuals to achieve shared imagination. Seyla Benhabib (1992:78) writes on the subject of orientation:

> Such thought [transformation of public space] exercises dig under the rubble of history to recover those pearls of past experience, with their sedimented and hidden layers of meaning, so as to cull from them a story that can orient the mind in the future.

The difficulty in uncovering deeper meaning from the act of discourse is ensuring that the players are in constant recognition of the other, validating and legitimizing each other's claim to discourse in common language. The language that is often used in discourse contains the pain of experience, housed in a mimetic preconfigured past or in the dialectic of the ispe, in the recognition of the other. Seyla Benhabib (1992:78) explains:

> The diverse topographical locations become public spaces in that they become the sites of power, of common action coordinated through speech and persuasion. Violence can occur in private and public, but its language is essentially private because it is the language of pain.

Through public discourse that is free from governmental or political constraints, individuals who are validated and legitimate can move towards a common good using language that is understandable in meaning. In cultural change where the process-of-change is created from the act of modernization through infrastructure development or through the influences of the arts and media, upholding the common language for understanding can be difficult. The change process sometimes invokes historical experiences that are painful for individuals to express or understand meaning without proper recognition of the self or other. In many development cases, the act of development is usually one-sided and does not validate or legitimize the other, lacking care and interest in the well-being of the other. Herda (2006:13-14) clarifies:

> Questions that concern identity of oneself and of the other provide an opening in the development act that calls for researchers, developers, policy analysts and educators to consider their work a moral imperative that brings concern and care to the other. Persons who care for one another will more than likely

> engage in genuine conversations about issues facing them. Communication of this nature moves beyond idle chatter or interview protocol and provides an opportunity to talk about what has worked, what might work and what is working.

The assessment of development progress is as Herda (2006:13-14) notes, "Persons who care for one another will more than likely engage in genuine conversations about issues facing them." People can recognize legitimate concerns for well-being. The trust that develops from care places an understood notion to help each other in the success of the project or objective. In Rapa Nui where change can mean the death of cultural norms and traditions, genuine care must be received by both parties through mutual understanding. The benefit of trust in discourse can create ease-of-play; the conversation becomes natural, emotional, and genuine, validating that the language in common is for the common good. Herda (2006:14) writes:

> The play, or back-and-forth movement in conversation, arises out of a particular kind of relationship between speaker and hearer – one that is characterized by friendship and an orientation to reaching understanding, and by trust. It is through our understanding, rather than mere behavior or codified knowledge, that we move ourselves in relationship to others toward realistic social change.

Rapa Nui needs to move towards realistic social change. The development process on the island will continue to move forward but may not take into consideration the ideas and narratives of those affected by the process. This concern is alarming because the transformation of the land will influence the meaning of kaiŋa, changing its value before people are ready to understand and appropriate new meaning. This act of change is not culturally sustainable for the society and will only cause tension and conflict within the community infrastructure. Through the mimetic process, if development happens too fast without appropriate understanding of change, people may

not be able to imagine a future goal, as they will only be concerned about their present concerns and worries. On the other hand, when development is too slow, impatience may result in tensions to the development pathway—curbing objectives or creating alternative pathways. The challenge is to create a moving equilibrium between the act of development and the act of understanding. Herda (2011:4-5) states:

> Sustainable development does not take hold unless adults understand in their own meaning-making processes that which is introduced into their lives. Moreover, the introduction of anything new or different most often entails villagers imagining their own lives in new ways and in relationship with different others—yet retaining enough of their traditions not too feel totally at risk. This balancing act holds an essential tension that becomes a requisite for sustainable development.

In Rapa Nui, the conversation for a sustainable development is not heard across the community. There seems to be fragmentation in what people understand and what they actually know. One important measure in the development process is the act of teaching through creating coherence in information and assessment in their narratives. Herda (2011:4-5) further writes:

> It is a matter of explotting the new into their lives with a measure of understanding. If understanding is not at the helm of the adult learning process, the personal and collective narratives the villagers use to tell who they are will not cohere with the daily realities they face in development processes. Without coherence, in other words, emplotment, there is scant possibility for sustainability. The way in which adult learning is designed and carried out marks the way in which local people often are successfully integrated into a new way of life and new relationships.

The act of development is to learn—to learn to appreciate and appropriate key meanings of past traditions and beliefs while understanding the need to the change the present process. The learning process is a relationship that is sustainable within the culture before, during, and after major social changes. The reality faced by Rapa Nui and many other societies is the lack of care to put into play the resources for adult learning to

happen; no resources, no coherence. Without coherence in the relationship, there is no or very little room for individuals to have new understanding and meaning in their narrative identity. Herda writes of comfortable tension in the development act to shift segmented sedimented beliefs and traditions to innovation in appropriating new meanings while retaining the past. Herda (2011:10) writes:

> The development act, in different words—social change— comes about because people together bring forth a new world which contains enough of their present and past to retain the familiar while at the same time provides a safe cultural medium in which to risk a new future. This act is an interplay between the old and the new, between stability and innovation, between comfort and risk—a comfortable tension.

Summary

Chapter Six analyzes the themes from Chapter Five in the context of the research categories of mimesis, narrative identity, and the public sphere. The analysis of data presents the need for individual and public expression in creating legitimate discourse between the Rapa Nui and Chileans, for better understanding on island governance, maintenance of culture, and providing the means necessary for voices to be heard and understood in a forum that is considerate to Polynesian concepts and Chilean law. The next section discusses implications of the data as well as final reflections on the research project.

CHAPTER 7: RESEARCH FINDINGS, IMPLICATIONS, AND PERSONAL REFELCTIONS

> Forgiveness is a specific form of the revision of the past and, through it, of the specific narrative identities. On the other hand, the entanglement of life stories gives occasion for a revision which is neither solitary nor introspective of its own past, but rather a mutual revision in which we are able to see the most valuable yield of the exchange of memories. Forgiveness is also a specific form of that mutual revision, the most precious result of which is the liberation of promises of the past which have not been kept (Ricoeur 1996:9).

Introduction

My anthropological research reflected my exploration into the ancestral healing art traditions. As development and modernization is transforming this society at a rapid pace, these traditions are in danger of becoming simply amusements or forgotten art forms that will only reside in the narrative memories of books and in those still alive who can remember them. The Rapa Nui elders, the nuas and koros, are of a generation that practices and believes in the longevity of their stories, spoken tongue, songs and dances, their healing arts, and, most of all, what it means "to be Rapa Nui."

This final Chapter provides the Summary of Research as related to the research categories of Mimesis, Narrative Identity, and Public Sphere. This Chapter explores general Implications of the Research and Changing the Perspective. The Research Findings, Implications, and Proposed Actions are addressed. I provide suggestions for Further Research Studies and lastly, this Chapter concludes with a Personal Reflection on my research.

Summary of Research

The research into the exploration of the healing arts, or traditional medicine, provided the means to analyze the topic from different hermeneutical lenses. These areas

of exploration are mimesis, narrative identity, and public sphere. The healing arts at-large is a complex topic consisting of local medicinal plant knowledge, combined with spiritual beliefs that encompass dance, music, and song. In practice to remedy illness and disease, the healing arts require the use of local native and non-native plants, knowledge of the human body, and the spiritual relationship to the land and waters. This art form is shared knowledge passed on from generation to generation. Within each Rapa Nui clan, there are nua or koro family members who are the expert healers—cumulating a rich body of oral and practical knowledge that will eventually be passed on to the next generation.

The healing arts of Rapa Nui are not a widespread practice as it once was 60 years ago before the development of the Hanga Roa hospital by the Chilean Navy. Since the development of the hospital, traditional medicine has been offered as a remedy side-by-side with Western options. The Chilean government has funded hospital expansion to include up-to-date facilities offering modernized care to a population that has doubled-to-tripled in the past ten years to an estimated 6,000 people, with Chilean mainlanders comprising 60-70% of the population.

The slave raids and disease on Rapa Nui in the late 19th century left very little of the culture to the remaining 111 islanders on the island at the time of annexation. Over the next 100 years, the Rapa Nui explored and expanded their own native culture, as their population grew with immigration and intermarriages of the islanders with other Polynesians and their Chilean nationals.

The challenges today are not like the challenges of yesterday where citizenship and basic civil infrastructure were the talk of the public sphere. Today, society faces

development efforts to increase the economies of tourism and modernization to reflect the needs and wants of the West, a similar fate as their Polynesian cousins many years before from Tahiti, Hawaii, Fiji, Solomon, and Marshall Islands. Modernization and development on other Polynesian islands changed societal values and culture. In the wake of transformation, the native language and culture became the reservations of hobbyists and the affections of tourism. Healthcare and lifestyle diets changed, giving way to increases in high blood pressure, diabetes, and heart disease. In the area of the healing arts, the art and language used to practice healing became only a narrative in history books and within the memories of elders who can recall the practice from the storytelling.

Maintaining Rapa Nui culture, values, and beliefs is left to a younger generation that struggles with social and intercultural influences affecting their lifestyle choices. Maria Teresa Pakarati, my participant, said:

> The future of Rapa Nui culture is with the choices of the younger generation. It is up to them, not us, to define the future of Rapa Nui. The choices they face are greater than what we had.

The value of the Rapa Nui culture will be promoted through the narrative function of the younger generation that has the capacity to imagine the "kingdom of as if" in the face of the "new." Material goods and services that the West offers can cloud the mind of imagination and possibilities, destroying a "kingdom of as if" and limiting their accountability and responsibility towards a sustainable future.

The development on Rapa Nui is affecting all people, Chilean and Islanders. The causes for misunderstanding and misrepresentation as stated by most of my participants: "They [Chileans] don't understand us." This is a result of the lack of Rapa Nui voice in a

Chilean sphere that can allow for mimetic and narrative interpretation to orient all participants in the development process with each other. Herda, whose work in international development (2006: 29) speaks on the narrative subject in development, claims:

> As development practitioners, we invoke the mode of the 'kingdom of as if' (Ricoeur 1984:64), calling upon the power of 'us' and 'them' to project a world through narrative configuration that enables each to know who we are in relationship to the other. On the basis of such relationships, we work towards the creation of projects and policies which when carried out will give people enough hope to live 'as if' it is a worthwhile life. The creation and implementation of projects and policies are interpretive activities grounded in data and subsequent understandings that embrace the developer and those receiving the developer's attention, namely, the other in the development story.

The power of the mimetic narrative in voice allows for creativity and innovation in form of imagination, which coupled with the power of communicative action in conversation, orients a plane for interpretative understanding between people.

Mimetic Exploration in Rapa Nui Healing Arts

The research prompted the understanding that all Rapa Nui elders have had the experience to use and practice their traditional healing arts, even with a Western hospital present on the island. Their stories of healing reside in their narratives as children and early adults from the 1930s to 1970s. The medical act of healing is not only present in a plant derived compound but in their hymns and songs that call upon their ancestral varua, or spirits, to aid in the healing process. In their mimetic present, most of my elder participants still practice and use traditional healing over most medications prescribed by their local western-medical doctors at the hospital. They have expressed that traditional medicine is natural and has been used by and proven by their ancestors to aid in healing.

Western medication for most of my Rapa Nui participants invoked an unknown. This caused tension with their cultural values as a Rapa Nui identity.

The Rapa Nui Narrative Identity

The Rapa Nui narrative is rich in history and complex in the development process. Most of the Rapa Nui participants are of the third or fourth generation to be under a Chilean nationality, since the annexation of the island in 1888. The participants presented a narrative that conflicted with the Other [Chilean] for their rights and liberties in the 1960s. These participants have enjoyed their success with an infrastructure that can supply the basic needs for survival – water, shelter, and food. The struggle that was faced during their youth has a sounding sedimentation that rings for most: that the Chileans still do not understand their culture.

I found that the tension felt by most of my participants in their ipse identity was of the nature of their relationships between them and the Other—the Chilean. As the island's doors are presently opening to more Chileans flocking to the island for development work, increasing the population, the Rapa Nui are stumped by the lack of educating the Other about Rapa Nui identity. This lack of educating incoming Chileans with Rapa Nui history is causing issues with respect towards the island's cultural norms and values.

Being "Rapa Nui" for my participants is speaking the language. The language brings the narrative relationships closer to understanding the culture regardless of nationality. There have been non-Rapa Nui individuals who have the trust and respect of the islanders because of their mastery in Rapa Nui language. The lack of speaking and understanding the native language has raised trust issues with the Rapa Nui and their Chilean

government. For instance, Mayor Luz Zasso Paoa, cannot speak Rapa Nui fluently, unlike her predecessors. This has caused tension in most Rapa Nui, creating distrust in her relationships and intentions with the public on Rapa Nui affairs.

The Voice of the Rapa Nui

The Rapa Nui voice has created a bright and strong wave of support over the past 40 years, beginning with their struggle for basic civil rights in the 1960s. The course of change occurred in the mid-late 1990s when increases in tourism may have promoted the need to turn this small island into a tourist destination, spawning hotels, shops, restaurants, and entertainment for the curious traveler desiring to explore the archaeology of the moais and unravel the mysteries of this once blooming civilization.

The voice of the public sphere with the Rapa Nui is quickly disappearing with the elder generation fading away, leaving the voice of the Rapa Nui with a younger generation who, in general, can't speak the language fluently and who have had the luxury of growing up in a society that has a basic civil and living infrastructure, unlike their forefathers who fought so hard for those rights. The challenge for the youth is to understand the issues pertaining to Rapa Nui culture—to create meaning, accountability, and responsibility from those issues.

Changing the Perspective

The analysis of data overall speaks of the need to educate and communicate a Rapa Nui narrative for the community-at-large, regardless of nationality or ethnicity. It is apparent from my conversations that within the scope of development, the Rapa Nui narrative is not being heard or understood by the Chilean developers or among the Rapa Nui community. The need for adult education to bring voice to all participants is needed

for the longevity and sustainability of culture, as well as for project development where the orientation of participants to understand one another will add to the success of the project and relationships between the developers and developed.

Research Findings and Implications

Through the knowledge gained from my participant conversations, Rapa Nui's development crisis is influencing their cultural infrastructure which is affecting their traditions, values, communications, and education.

Finding One: The Arts of Traditional Healing are Becoming Lost Arts

My Rapa Nui conversation participants believe in the need to sustain and maintain their cultural beliefs and practices. The healing arts at-large are not practiced by everyone within the society. Western medicine has been used alongside traditional healing for the better part of the 20th century. The influences of Western medicine on their society through modern-day global media and the redevelopment of the Hanga Roa hospital has led towards the decrease use and knowledge of traditional arts.

Implication and Proposed Action

The implication of losing their arts has a direct affect on the retention of cultural knowledge. The nuas and koros of Rapa Nui fear that their youths are heavily influenced by media, the needs-and-wants of tourism, and opportunities abroad. As the elder generation is fading away, traditional healing along with oral history and traditions are falling upon a minority of people to understand, retain, and pass-on knowledge.

The proposed action is to create programs to allow for individuals and community groups to pass on their knowledge through channels like video and audio recordings. These recordings can be maintained by the local community where information can be

shared among the Rapa Nui, Chilean mainlanders, as well as, visiting tourists and researchers. By maintaining the healing arts, Rapa Nui identity can be sustained in "being Rapa Nui."

Finding Two: There is a Lack of Communication between Islanders and Mainland Chileans

The conversations with my participants have had the recurring theme of "They do not understand our culture." There seems to be a never-ending struggle on Rapa Nui to communicate effectively the needs, wants, and desires of both participant groups: Rapa Nui islanders and Chilean mainlanders. The struggle with communication on Rapa Nui has filtered into my own research into the healing arts as towards the Chilean attitudes with traditions.

Implication and Proposed Action

The lack and mis-communication between islanders and their Chilean infrastructure can lead towards violence, animosity, and resentfulness on island governance. Misrepresentation of information has led towards island violence in 2010 over land rights and mistrust into the island's governance over budgetary and resource management. The proposed action for Rapa Nui is to create more community forum groups to focus on current issues and long-term project planning. In addition, to utilize low-technology that is accessible to all islanders such as television to broadcast community and government information.

Finding Three: Islanders and Mainland Chileans Need to Develop Cooperatively a Rapa Nui Education Curriculum that Reflects the History, Politics, and Culture

From my conversations, there is need to develop programs that can add meaningful value in raising awareness, understanding, and influencing the decisions made by the developed and developer. My research data points towards the lack of understanding that exists between both the Rapa Nui and Chilean mainlanders over history, politics, and culture.

Implication and Proposed Action

The implication of this lack of information promotes the on-going struggle to understand one another's values, culture, and traditions. The proposed action to this plan is to create educational programs tailored to all stakeholders on the island and abroad. My conversations over this proposed action has been developed with Sergio Rapu, the son of Dr. Sergio Rapu, the former governor of Rapa Nui. Sergio is a filmmaker by education and training. He has produced and directed educational programs for domestic and global media. The proposed action plan is to use low-technology that is available to everyone on the island such as television to promote educational programming in the areas of history, politics, and culture.

The findings presented on Rapa Nui are just some of the awareness areas raised through my conversations. For the past twenty years, the face of Rapa Nui has changed dramatically with global and domestic influences affecting the community infrastructure. This transformation can be rewarding for both the developed and developer through educational and social programs that focus on meaningful conversations versus outcomes and objectives.

Suggestions for Further Research

This research opens the imagination for further studies in the areas of health and education. Published health care research (Finau, et.al. 1982; Kunitz 1994; Trowell et.al. 1981, and Vigneron 1989) on Polynesian islands that have undergone development and modernization suggests that the changes in lifestyle from a Polynesian-based diet to a Westernized approach has increased blood pressure, diabetes, and heart disease, among other illnesses.

Further research in Rapa Nui health care can explore current disease states and social and demographic influences on health. Based on my conversations with the participants, development on Rapa Nui is fairly young with major modernization projects only starting 15 to 20 years ago in the mid-1990s. During this timeframe, increased air traffic tourism of the late 20th century brought changes to their food supply chain and which may have influenced the consumption needs of the society. Future studies in health care can hopefully lead to the creation of preventative care programs for addressing these issues.

In the area of education as addressed in Finding Three, there are two subjects of interests: 1) the creation of an adult learning program to communicate Rapa Nui history and issues to the community-at-large, and 2) the creation of programs tailored to the sustainability of cultural values and beliefs that are facing post-modern Polynesian islands.

The creation of an adult learning program to communicate history and social issues for all islanders using low-technology, such as television, would benefit the need to share transparently, information that can foster a better understanding between all Chileans—Rapa Nui and Chilean mainlanders. Using television versus printed media would be key

to a successful orientation because the Rapa Nui narrative by historical design is of oral storytelling; where the meaning of voice orients the hearer and speaker. Since Spanish is known by all Chileans including Rapa Nui, the broadcast of this information can be in the national language of Spanish with Rapa Nui in a supporting role.

The second part of educational research would be in the creation of learning programs for the sustainability of culture. Many of my Rapa Nui participants have voiced the need for programs that can convey important cultural values and beliefs. In the Rapa Nui environment, the younger generation can use such programs in order to appropriate the needs and wants of their elders that reflect the important values and beliefs necessary for "being Rapa Nui." Alternatively, these cultural awareness programs can mature from the lessons of post-modern Polynesian societies and deliver hope between the developer and developed in the community.

Reflection of the Researcher

This research into the Rapa Nui healing arts opened new pathways for my understanding about the nature and meaning of change – the change process as reflected in development and what it means to a culture wanting to maintain and sustain one's identity through beliefs, norms, and values. Paul Ricoeur's (1985: 28) concept of sedimentation and innovation as relating to the process of change on Rapa Nui within the narrative function is a struggle that my participants want to address. Most of my conversations suggested feelings of loss, losing their culture to modern global influences. The narrative of the Rapa Nui rests in storytelling which shapes the values and beliefs of the Rapa Nui identity, giving life to an individual and their relationship to the land, the kaiŋa, and with the Other. The narrative function provides the means to address

sedimentation and innovation when the conversation is present for both the developer and developed, giving voice to all participants. Without the narrative of the Rapa Nui being present in conversation, the voice of the public or the individual can be lost or misunderstood, creating uneven relationships to relate, understand, or appropriate meaning. Paul Ricoeur (1985:28) states:

> We are the witnesses—and the artisans—of a certain death, that of the art of telling stories, from which proceeds the art of narrating in all its forms. Perhaps the novel too is in the process of dying as a form of narration. Nothing, in fact, prevents our excluding the possibility the cumulative experience that, at least in the cultural space of the West, provided a historically identifiable style might be dying today. The paradigms that were spoken of heretofore are themselves only the sedimented deposits of a tradition…it is necessary to have confidence in the call for concordance that today still structures the expectation of readers and to believe that new narrative forms, which we do not yet know how to name, are already being born, which will bear witness to the fact that the narrative function can still be metamorphosed, but not so as to die. For we have no idea of what a culture would be where no one any longer knew what it meant to narrate things.

In my observations on Rapa Nui, I found the Ricoeur concept of narrative in sedimentation is a testament among my Rapa Nui participants in the preservation of their arts, language, and folklore that make up what it means to "be Rapa Nui." The elders of the society have undergone change but not like today where being interconnected to the world in media, consumer goods, and communication has a profound influence on one's sedimentation in identity. The influential interconnectedness is the challenge of innovation to one's identity, especially with the younger Rapa Nui generation. This challenge will test their values and ideas of "being a Rapa Nui." Herda's (2011:17-18) work with northern Burmese villages created a new path in healthcare, appropriating customary ritual and modern health care for the prevention of malaria. Herda writes:

> It can be argued that to change our traditions and come to new understandings requires a philosophical turn of thought, rather than merely a behavioral change.

> To use a mosquito net appears to be a simple change in behavior, but in our experience, such a behavior did not take hold because there was no change in understanding the purpose of the net, or to see the need to have the net become a part of daily life. Consequently, the objective became how to integrate different actions into daily life, and alternative understandings of healthcare into their worldview. Such changes would come to view in a new narrative about who they are—including the emplotment of these news ways of being into their identity that includes trusting relationships with the foreign other. Through a new story they had to be able to hold together the tension between old ways and new actions on a daily basis.

The challenge on Rapa Nui is the same: what development pathways can be created and sustained by the Rapa Nui people that can give the sense of being part of societal change while maintaining an identity of "I am Rapa Nui"?

Throughout my conversations on and off camera, I was deeply moved by the expressed need of the elders to preserve culture and create that same value system within the hearts of the younger generation. Maria Delsing, Miki Makihara, Valentina Fajreldin and other Rapa Nui researchers have already observed that language, one of the identifiable traits of "being Rapa Nui," is being lost to the younger generation. This generation will be faced with the challenges and hardships of the post-modern world as their island will be transformed into a tourist destination equipped with resorts, well-optioned restaurants catering local and international fare, waste management issues, and a call from the individual minority who still fight for independence and civil rights.

My personal challenge to the Rapa Nui, as reflected in the section of Further Studies, is to learn from their Polynesian cousins what areas of culture need to be sustainable for their livelihood? What are the current challenges facing other post-modern islanders? Can the Rapa Nui create activities needed to challenge the assumptions made by the Chilean developers, namely can they bring to the conversation the "kingdom of as if"?

The Rapa Nui voice is strong; from my conversations, the islanders can speak of the rights they need and address the challenges facing them as long as they have the appropriate history and information that is understandable and relevant. The island's lack of information flow from both the Chileans and Rapa Nui may be contributing to the tensions in misunderstanding and lack of cooperation between the two cultures in island projects and understandings of policies. The right information can allow the developer and developed to orient themselves to conversations that can allow for the creation of voice that understands accountability and responsibility for actions taken and to be taken.

The creation of a sustainable Rapa Nui culture needs to be in the forefront of the Rapa Nui elders' and youths' agendas. The voice of the youths was not explored in my research. However, as understood from the research conversations with Rapa Nui adults, they fear that the youths lack direction and commitment to reflect upon who they are. This calls for the help of elders, the nuas and koros, to advocate for those unable to speak. Herda (2006:28) writes:

> Advocacy often assumes the form of speaking and acting on behalf of the other, and there are times when we are called upon to do so. However, it is better to work together with local partners to help create conditions in which their own voice can be heard.

The Rapa Nui voice has been heard across the world with their issues over land and civil rights. That voice needs to grow from within, through the partnerships between Rapa Nui generations and a government that can listen without prejudices, for an understanding that can create a shared future with a sustainable culture promoting Rapa Nui values and beliefs within a Chilean government infrastructure. I believe that the Rapa Nui struggle of maintaining one's identity will be a topic of interest in years to come as their society is changing by the hands of modernization and development. I

would like to see the gift of storytelling among the Rapa Nui to continue. Storytelling is a source of their spoken past and of their unspoken future.

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Appendix A: Letter of Invitation and Research Questions

Date
Participant's Name and Address

Dear (Participant's Name)

Iorana! I am a doctoral student here at USF in the School of Education with an emphasis in Organization and Leadership. My research is focused on the exploration of the healing arts (traditional medicine and practices) of Rapa Nui. Rapa Nui is of interest because of the dynamic push from the people of Rapa Nui to reclaim and revitalize their history, culture, language, and presence in today's world. What I would like to understand from you in conversation is your own experiences and stories of the healing arts (song, dance, traditional medicine) from Rapa Nui. I would like to know how you think leaders can use the highlights of the Rapa Nui culture in their policy requests to the Chilean government to encourage the recognition and respect needed to live out more fully the Rapa Nui culture.

This research is grounded in interpretive theory and has a participatory orientation. In place of formal interviews or surveys, I engage voluntary participants in conversations using guiding questions directed toward one's experiences in understanding and applying traditional healing practices of Rapa Nui. In my participatory research approach, I am not necessarily looking for specific answers to specific questions, as in a standard interview format. Rather, my desire is to have a conversation about the topic in a more general and free flowing discussion. Some thoughts that would guide our conversation include:

1. Please tell me a about your memories as a child using traditional healing?
2. Tell me about how your ancestors used traditional medicine?
3. What are you doing now with the healing arts?
4. What do you imagine about your future in using the healing arts?
5. How do you see yourself in the Rapa Nui community?
6. How do you see yourself in this healing arts community?
7. How do the stories of healing and spirituality influence your sense of self?
8. How does this community relate to each other? What kinds of things do you see the community leaders do?
9. How are ideas shared and discussed in the healing arts community?
10. How do you relate the healing art ideas to people outside of the group? Outside of Rapa Nui?

The process of this conversation is about 45 minutes. With your permission, I will use a visual and voice recorders to capture our conversation. At any time you have the right to ask that the recorder be turned off. I will transcribe our conversation and will provide you

a copy of the transcript so that you can add, delete, or revise any comments you wish. This process is interactive. You have the opportunity to approve the final transcript. The transcript will serve as my data for analysis and will be included in my dissertation. Upon receipt of your approval, I will analyze the data. Please note that participation in this research, including all data collected, the names of individuals, and any affiliations, are not confidential. Before participating in the research, you will be required to sign a consent form. If you are willing to participate in this research, or if you have any questions about this study, please feel free to contact me. My number is 415.867.9446 (San Francisco) and james.joves@gmail.com. I am looking forward to hearing from you.

Much respect,
Maururu,

James

Appendix B: Participant Thank You Letter

Date

Dear (Participant's Name)

Thank you for meeting with me on ***DATE***, and for sharing your life experiences and insight regarding your memories on traditional medicine and the influence of the healing arts on your life. I value the opportunity to speak with you and thank you for your time.

Included in this letter is a hardcopy of our transcribed conversation for review. The transcript is a very important part of my research. I ask that you please review the transcript for accuracy and make any notations regarding changes, deletions, or additions you deem appropriate. I will contact you in the coming weeks to discuss your comments and notations. Once the review and editing process of the transcript has been finished, and upon your approval, I will use the revised transcript for my data analysis.

Again, thank you for participating in my research study. Your unique perspective about this topic is a valuable contribution to the research material I have collected. If you have any questions or concerns, please feel free to contact me at your convenience.

Sincerely,

James Joves
Research Doctoral Student
University of San Francisco
School of Education
Organization and Leadership Program
Email: james.joves@gmail.com
Phone: 415.867.9446

Appendix C: List of Participants in Rapa Nui

PARTICIPANTS FROM RAPA NUI (EASTER ISLAND), CHILE

Name	Occupation	Notes/Age
Mahina Rapu	Rapa Nui Leader, Clinician, Traditional Healer	She is an activist on Rapa Nui and working towards reinstating appropriate traditions for today's culture. 60+
Digna Atan Chavez	Unknown	60-80
Rubelinda Pakarati Araki	Restaurant Manager	50-60
Juan Hotus Ika	Unknown	80+
Alberto Hotus	Elder's Council	80+
Maria Elena Hotus Hotus	Volunteer Hospital	60-80
Maria Teresa Ika Pakarati	Restaurant Owner	60-80
Victor Acuna Vargas	Unknown	60-80
Biehere Haoa Pakarati	Researcher	Works w/ Joann VanTilberg 30-40
Clara Alarcon Pakarati	Unknown	30-40
Graciela	Unknown	60-80
Sergio Rapu	Former Governor	60-80
Ana Lola Tuki	Unknown	80+
Bob and Nancy Weber	Linguist	60-80
Erika Atan Pakarati	Works at the Center	30-40

Appendix D: IRBPHS Approval

IRB Application #12-047 - Approved

March 29, 2012

Dear Mr. Joves:

The Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (IRBPHS) at the University of San Francisco (USF) has reviewed your request for human subjects approval regarding your study.

Your application has been approved by the committee (IRBPHS #12-047). Please note the following:

1. Approval expires twelve (12) months from the dated noted above. At that time, if you are still in collecting data from human subjects, you must file a renewal application.

2. Any modifications to the research protocol or changes in instrumentation (including wording of items) must be communicated to the IRBPHS. Re-submission of an application may be required at that time.

3. Any adverse reactions or complications on the part of participants must be reported (in writing) to the IRBPHS within ten (10) working days.

If you have any questions, please contact the IRBPHS at (415) 422-6091.

On behalf of the IRBPHS committee, I wish you much success in your research.
Sincerely,

Terence Patterson, EdD, ABPP
Chair, Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects

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IRBPHS – University of San Francisco
Counseling Psychology Department
Education Building – Room 017
2130 Fulton Street
San Francisco, CA 94117-1080
(415) 422-6091 (Message)
(415) 422-5528 (Fax)
irbphs@usfca.edu

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http://www.usfca.edu/soe/students/irbphs/

Appendix E: Supporting Communications

From: mahina rapu [mailto:mahinaraputuki@yahoo.com]
Sent: Wednesday, June 22, 2011 1:05 PM
To: Joves, James
Subject: Re: Rapa Nui (James Joves UCSF/USF)
Aloha James,

Maururu for your interest in our culture,medecine and knowledge,I just arrived back to Rapa Nui and trying to pick up where I left out while away.Please call me at 011 56 32 2 551 800 anytime after 10 pm,then we will discuss your interest.or write me back at this address.

Iorana, mahina

--- On Mon, 6/20/11, Joves, James <JovesJ@pharmacy.ucsf.edu> wrote:
From: Joves, James <JovesJ@pharmacy.ucsf.edu>
Subject: Rapa Nui (James Joves UCSF/USF)
To: "mahinaraputuki@yahoo.com" <mahinaraputuki@yahoo.com>
Cc: "dallas.teo@gmail.com" <dallas.teo@gmail.com>, "fuifuilupe@berkeley.edu" <fuifuilupe@berkeley.edu>
Date: Monday, June 20, 2011, 3:08 PM
Hi (Auntie) Mahina,
I'm just trying resending this again to make sure you received it! I hope all is well!

James

From: Joves, James
Sent: Tuesday, June 07, 2011 3:15 PM
To: 'mahinaraputuki@yahoo.com'
Cc: 'dallas.teo@gmail.com'; 'fuifuilupe@berkeley.edu'
Subject: Rapa Nui (James Joves UCSF/USF)

(Auntie) Mahina,

'Iorana! Pe he korua? (I hope those were right!) My name is James Joves. You were recommended to me from Fui and Dallas (cc'd). They have been generous with their time and much gratitude. I work at UC San Francisco but I am doing my doctorate at the University of San Francisco in Education with focus on cultural healing (medicine). I was going to do my work at my native country, the Philippines, but healing traditions there has been washed away by 500 years of conquests and new world influence. So, I am looking towards Rapa Nui because there is a large push towards regaining, re-

cultivating their heritage and identity over the last 30-40 years. Fui mentioned that you are a Rapa Nui elder, with that there is a lot respect and knowledge that you have about your culture, your people, your traditions. I believe it is important that the world, educators, and healers (medicine), hear the stories and identities. Would you be willing to speak with me or at least direct me to other Rapa Nui?

Please, if you have questions, please ask.

Mauru-uru (Thank You)

James

From: Dallas Te'o [mailto:dallas.teo@gmail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, June 07, 2011 1:35 PM
To: Joves, James
Subject: Re: James Joves (UCSF / USF)

MALO (hello) James!

Here is Mahina's e-mail: mahinaraputuki@yahoo.com.

I do not feel comfortable sending out her phone number, so do get in touch with her regarding your research via e-mail, and she can decide to share more contact information with you.

I hope this message finds you well!

-Dallas

On Fri, Jun 3, 2011 at 1:56 PM, Joves, James <JovesJ@pharmacy.ucsf.edu> wrote:
Hi Dallas, this was originally bounced back from Stanford. I hope this email address works. Regards, James
See below.

-----Original Message-----
From: Joves, James
Sent: Friday, June 03, 2011 1:36 PM
To: 'fuifuilupe@berkeley.edu'
Cc: 'dteo@stanford.edu'
Subject: RE: James Joves (UCSF / USF)

Fui,

Thank you so much for the reply it means a lot as you know in research! I hope your work is also with people. Much luck in your deadlines. I've cc Dallas on this email string. Thank you, Fui.

@Dallas,
Dallas, I am doing work on Rapa Nui this coming year mainly on traditional healing practices (see string below). If you, Aunty Mahina, or anyone else can provide some time, I would love to have a conversation on Rapa Nui's healing practices from an Anthropological/Educational perspective. I believe these stories add impact to Rapa Nui but also other people who have been oppressed/hegemonized over the years. Since Rapa Nui has really started its identity process over the past 40 years from Chile, the experiences and narratives are fresh and have a greater meaning in public space.

Regards,
James

-----Original Message-----
From: Fuifuilupe Niumeitolu [mailto:fuifuilupe@berkeley.edu]
Sent: Friday, June 03, 2011 1:28 PM
To: Joves, James
Subject: Re: James Joves (UCSF / USF)

Hello James,

Hope this note finds you well. Your research is important work. I apologize because I am currently doing my PhD work and I have some deadlines that I have to comply to and hence I am unable to help you with your research. However, you can contact Dallas Teo. His name and e-mail was also included as a contact. Here is his stanford address but I know that he uses his gmail address more often but unfortuantely, I dont have it here with me. "Dallas Te'o" <dteo@stanford.edu>

. Dallas can give you the contact info for Aunty Mahina. She is a Rapa Nui elder and activist living in LA. Unfortunately, I dont have any of this info with me because I'm away doing research.

Also, I am unable to help you with info on Rapa Nui because I am Tongan American and my work and research is predominantly in Tongan American communities. Wish that I was of more help.

Wishing you all the best with your research

Fui

> Hi Fuifuilupe,
> My name is James Joves. I work at UCSF and am also a graduate student at
> USF doing work in Educational Anthropology. I saw your name listed on the
> rally action site and would love to talk with you about Rapa Nui. My
> research is looking into the traditional healing practices of Rapa Nui as
> the islander have started to explore and regain their identity over the
> past 30-40 years. My original work was going to be based on the
> Philippines (where I am from) but traditional medicine there is long gone
> after centuries of foreign/religious rule. I am planning to go to Rapa
> Nui this December to conduct preliminary work (unless I can find a
> suitable individuals here in SF bay area).
>
> Would you be willing to have a conversation with me?
>
> Thanks,
> James
>
>
>

Appendix F: Conversation Transcript

Email Summary
Mahina,
Iorana! Hi, I hope you are well! I am sorry it took me some time to transcribe our conversation but it is below. Please as I mention, any work I do with you or your people is a two-way street - we work together. Please take a look at the conversation below between us. You have every right to change, delete, and add to the conversation below. It is part of the research method - for both of us to collaborate. If you have any questions, let me know. I would like to follow up with you later. Many, many thanks!
Maururu,
James

22 August 2011 at ~8:30pm PST
3 - 4 Second delay in communication due to connection. Transcription (as best possible because of the delay) was done for the conversation

Introduction

James: Hola, como esta? Mahina, por favor? Es Jaime aqui.

Mahina: Jaime, James, como esta?

James: Mahina! Bien, usted?

Mahina: Good, good!

James: Se habla ingles?

Mahina; Yes, we can speak English.

James: Mahina, this is great! Great to speak with you! I am so happy that we finally connected. I am so sorry that we didn't connect before. Please tell your family that I am sorry for last I called. I think there was confusion for both of us.

Mahina: James, no worries. I am sorry I was not there. I had an emergency in town. A person collapse from a [heart attack?] and I needed to attend to [care for them]. I care for many people around the island with my work.

James: I see. I hope everyone is okay?

Mahina: Yes, everyone is okay.

James: Mahina, I want to make sure our conversation goes well. There seems to be a 3 second delay in response from the distance. Can you hear me well? I am taking notes on our conversation.

Mahina: Yes, that is fine. I can hear you well.

James: The delay is good then. At least we can fully be involved with the conversation.

Current Issues

Mahina: Yes, so, you are interested in Rapa? Do you know much about Rapanui? About our people, our culture?

James: Yes, I have read a lot of information about the island and history of the island; especially the changes that have occurred over the past 30-40 years with the government.

Mahina: Government, yes, for many years we have been dealing with people colonizing our people - land. [Really], for the past 120 years we have been dealing with the Chilean government and striving and fighting for the rights of our people. There is so much healing for our people and the Chileans too - but our rights our healing... We are fighting for our rights as Rapanui, as people who want to move [forward] to heal. This is struggle for us - to recoup our pay from [companies] [pharmaceuticals] that take away from our land and don't give back anything.

James: What do you mean?

Mahina: Do you know of Rapamycin?

James: Yes, it's a Neurological drug of some sort. I am not sure what it specifically does.

Mahina: As this, companies are using our Rapamycin to give to the world and we (Rapanui) are not seeing any money coming to us. The government makes the deal with them and we do not see any benefit(s) no matter how much we fight for our rights, they (goverment) are not listening. They (government) have done some good for us over the years but not to really listen to the people. Our people are spiritual - we are connected to our land and waters - this is our spirit - this is what brings us together - our respect. We want our rights to our lands - this gives us hope. It is our concerns, our hopes to be connected to what is rightfully ours. It is our birth right to our lands it is our connection and practices for our spirituality for our culture.

James: What are your hopes for the future?

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Mahina: James, Maururu, Thank you,

James: Maururu too, Mahina, Maururu. This means a lot to me. Thank you very much. Thank you. It might take some time to transcribe this between work and school. You will receive this. Okay, Maururu, Good Bye.

Mahina: Maururu, Good Bye.

END

Appendix G: Conversation Category Coding

Category Coding

Mimesis	**Mimesis**
Mimesis/Identity	**Mimesis/Identity**
Identity	**Identity**
Identity/Public Sphere	**Identity/Public Sphere**
Public Sphere	**Public Sphere**
Mimesis/Public Sphere	**Mimesis/Public Sphere**

Introduction

James: Hola, como esta? Mahina, por favor? Es Jaime aqui.

Mahina: Jaime, James, como esta?

James: Mahina! Bien, usted?

Mahina: Good, good!

James: Se habla ingles?

Mahina; Yes, we can speak English.

James: Mahina, this is great! Great to speak with you! I am so happy that we finally connected. I am so sorry that we didn't connect before. Please tell your family that I am sorry for last I called. I think there was confusion for both of us.

Mahina: James, no worries. I am sorry I was not there. I had an emergency in town. A person collapse from a [heart attack?] and I needed to attend to [care for them]. I care for many people around the island with my work.

James: I see. I hope everyone is okay?

Mahina: Yes, everyone is okay.

James: Mahina, I want to make sure our conversation goes well. There seems to be a 3 second delay in response from the distance. Can you hear me well? I am taking notes on our conversation.

Mahina: Yes, that is fine. I can hear you well.

James: The delay is good then. At least we can fully be involved with the conversation.

Current Issues

Mahina: Yes, so, you are interested in Rapa? Do you know much about Rapanui? About our people, our culture?

James: Yes, I have read a lot of information about the island and history of the island; especially the changes that have occurred over the past 30-40 years with the government.

Mahina: Government, yes, for many years we have been dealing with people colonizing our people - land. [Really], for the past 120 years we have been dealing with the Chilean government and striving and fighting for the rights of our people. There is so much healing for our people and the Chileans too - but our rights our healing... We are fighting for our rights as Rapanui, as people who want to move [forward] to heal. This is struggle for us - to recoup our pay from [companies] [pharmaceuticals] that take away from our land and don't give back anything.

James: What do you mean?

Mahina: Do you know of Rapamycin?

James: Yes, it's a Neurological drug of some sort. I am not sure what it specifically does.

Mahina: As this, companies are using our Rapamycin to give to the world and we (Rapanui) are not seeing any money coming to us. The government makes the deal with them and we do not see any benefit(s) no matter how much we fight for our rights, they (goverment) are not listening. They (government) have done some good for us over the years but not to really listen to the people. Our people are spiritual - we are connected to our land and waters - this is our spirit - this is what brings us together - our respect. We want our rights to our lands - this gives us hope. It is our concerns, our hopes to be connected to what is rightfully ours. It is our birth right to our lands it is our connection and practices for our spirituality for our culture.

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