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Kelley M. Withy, Wayde Lee, Ralph F. Renger
University of Hawaii, John A. Burns School of Medicine, HI, USA
Kahua Ola Hou Substance Abuse Treatment Center, HI, USA
University of Arizona, Mel and Enid Zuckerman College of Public Health, AZ, USA

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A Practical Framework for Evaluating a Culturally Tailored Adolescent Substance Abuse Treatment Programme in Molokai, Hawaii

Kelley M. Withy\textsuperscript{a}, Wayde Lee\textsuperscript{b} & Ralph F. Renger\textsuperscript{c}

\textsuperscript{a}John A. Burns School of Medicine, University of Hawaii, HI, USA; \textsuperscript{b}Kahua Ola Hou Substance Abuse Treatment Center, HI, USA & \textsuperscript{c}Mel and Enid Zuckerman College of Public Health, University of Arizona, AZ, USA

Objective. Successful substance abuse treatment requires many changes in behavior, attitude and skills. Culturally tailored approaches to substance abuse treatment have shown initial success, but are not yet accepted as best practice models. In order to document programme effectiveness of a new culturally tailored substance abuse treatment programme on the rural island of Molokai, Hawaii, the authors worked to develop a multi-level evaluation plan to measure behavior changes occurring after participation in activities targeting identified causes of substance abuse in the population of interest.

Methods. The authors compiled interview results to develop a map of identified causes of substance abuse in the community studied. Strategic planning then identified the specific activities aimed at impacting identified root causes. A literature review was performed to document the effectiveness of such activities. An evaluation plan was developed to measure programme impact on antecedent conditions contributing to substance use in this community.

Results. Prioritized causes of substance abuse in the target group included low self esteem, lack of self identity and life plan, and limited communication and conflict resolution skills. Activities targeting these conditions included cultural activities, group counseling, and individual counseling. Literature to support the benefit of addressing
these factors was uncovered, and evaluation methodology was developed to measure changes in behaviors, attitudes, and practices, as a measure of programme success.

**Discussion.** While programme evaluation data is still being collected, the authors have demonstrated a sound foundation for programme activities, and designed methodology for collecting meaningful data to measure programme effectiveness at changing important root causes of substance abuse in a rural Native Hawaiian community.

**Keywords:** Substance Abuse Treatment; Cultural Tailoring; Evaluation; Root Cause Analysis

**Introduction**

Substance use is one of the most dangerous challenges facing adolescents in the US today. It is associated with high suicide rates (Yuen *et al.* 1996), increased risk of violence (Austin 2004), child abuse (Bays 1990), unemployment (Siegal *et al.* 1996), school truancy (Hallfors *et al.* 2002), as well as medical conditions, such as addiction, heart disease and stroke (National Institute of Drug Abuse 2005). When surveyed about illicit drug usage, 51.1% of 12th graders in the US admit to having used an illicit substance in their lifetime, and 4% of students nationwide admit to having used crystal methamphetamine or ‘ice’ (Johnston *et al.* 2004).

In the State of Hawaii, the overall data are similar, with 46.9% of 12th graders having used an illicit substance in their lifetime, and 4.2% having used methamphetamine (Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration 2002). However, students of Native Hawaiian ethnicity have higher rates of drug usage, with 60% of students having used an illicit drug, and 5.6% having used crystal methamphetamine by 12th grade (Pearson 2003). Due to the increased rates of substance use in this group, curricula have been developed based on and addressing Native Hawaiian spiritual principles in the hope that it will be more effective than standard treatment.

Native Hawaiians, like the Maori, Alaska Natives, and many other cultures worldwide, are an indigenous population that experienced forced assimilation by foreign conquerors, and are still recovering from the subsequent suppression of cultural and spiritual practices. The violation of selfhood experienced by disenfranchised populations has been related to poor health and social development (Aboriginal Corrections Policy Unit 2002). Brave Heart (2003) describes how the ‘historical trauma’ of disenfranchised populations is related to many self-destructive and emotional problems, and may increase substance abuse. Waitzfelder *et al.* (1998) describe cultural alienation as one of the factors contributing to substance abuse in Hawaii.

Research has shown that cultural factors are considered by many to impact recovery. Hurawai *et al.* (2000) found that cultural identity and pride were felt to be important factors in the recovery/healing process for Maori substance abusers in
New Zealand. Native Americans described factors important in substance abuse recovery as: feeling cared for, spiritual experience, insight, making a commitment, empowerment/self-esteem, releasing emotional pain, remorse, reconnecting to traditional values, forgiveness, relief, safety and gratitude (Edwards 2003). Foulks and Pena (1995) studied the literature on ethnicity and psychotherapy in African American populations, and concluded that a culturally responsive psychotherapeutic approach needs to include ethnic consciousness and self esteem building. Resnicow et al. (2000) describe the need to incorporate not just cultural, but social, historical, environmental and psychological forces in tailoring substance abuse treatment to a particular group.

Existing culturally tailored substance abuse programmes have demonstrated benefits to patients. Williams et al. (2006) describe increased rates of attracting and maintaining clients with a holistic community integrated programme for Aboriginal residents of Southern Australia. Fisher et al. (1996) found that the implementation of a culturally sensitive approach to substance abuse increased the time that incarcerated Alaska Native residents stayed in treatment. Gossage et al. (2003) studied the impact of sweat lodge ceremonies for incarcerated Native American alcohol abusers, and found that participants decreased their average alcohol intake from 6.7 to 5.3 drinks per drinking session, with a pre and post intervention design. Cervantes (2003) found that a culturally focused substance abuse treatment programme increased drug knowledge and decreased mean past 30-day substance use in Hispanic women.

General strategies adapted for culturally specific use have also demonstrated benefits. Gil et al. (2004) measured the short term impact of a brief motivational cognitive behavioral intervention and guided self-change on Latino and African American juvenile offenders, and found that US-born Hispanics with higher ethnic pride and ethnic orientation had better short term post treatment (average 10.9 weeks) results for number of alcoholic drinks consumed. Maharajh and Bhugra (1993) found that family therapy decreased alcohol use in Caribbean men at one year after treatment. Williams et al. (2006) describe the ‘Way Out’ Programme that has had success through community partnerships, holistic view of treatment, and multifaceted treatment interventions, including opioid substitution in indigenous individuals in Southern Australia. Cultural approaches, therefore, show success in decreasing substance use and warrant further study.

In Hawaii, a group of concerned citizens—recovered substance users and healthcare workers on the rural Island of Moloka’i—created a culturally tailored substance abuse prevention curriculum to assist in decreasing the use of illicit substances. The curriculum is based on 21 Hawaiian spiritual and cultural values, including communication, co-operation, conflict resolution, honesty, purity, patience, encouragement, generosity and retribution, as presented in Figure 1.

The curriculum has been used as the basis for prevention training in local schools for more than a decade with preliminary positive findings of preventing substance abuse (Kim 2005), and is the basis for a three-week residential adolescent substance
abuse treatment programme introduced at the start of 2005. Preliminary results of this treatment programme, called Kahua Ola Hou, or ‘New Beginnings of Life’, show a 4% recidivism rate for crystal methamphetamine use, an extremely dangerous drug in this community. However, no formal evaluation has been carried out to assess other aspects of programme effectiveness.

Without demonstrated programme success, culturally tailored programmes are less likely to be accepted as evidence based or best practice models of care. Not being recognized as such could prevent funding for and use of programmes that may have a significant benefit to individuals in underserved groups. Therefore, the authors of this paper describe a three-step process used to develop a comprehensive evaluation plan for assessing treatment effectiveness that is based on:

**Figure 1** Twenty one principles of Pono curriculum.

Without demonstrated programme success, culturally tailored programmes are less likely to be accepted as evidence based or best practice models of care. Not being recognized as such could prevent funding for and use of programmes that may have a significant benefit to individuals in underserved groups. Therefore, the authors of this paper describe a three-step process used to develop a comprehensive evaluation plan for assessing treatment effectiveness that is based on:
1. Working with the core staff to identify the antecedent conditions responsible for high substance abuse rates in the area, and match programme activities with underlying rationale.
2. Conducting a literature review to determine whether past research demonstrates an impact of the proposed activity on the target condition.
3. Designing an evaluation programme to measure programme impact on the antecedent conditions identified through this process.

Methods

Subjects

Face to face interviews were performed with a convenience sampling of 13 invested community members: the director of the Kahua Ola Hou programme; two recovered drug users from the community who are now counselors at the programme; two healthcare providers; two community members; and five high school students (two of whom admit to using crystal methamphetamine). Each interview lasted approximately 30 minutes. Each interview began with the question, ‘Why do kids use drugs?’ The information was solicited via sequential discovery, with the individual pressed to continue the answer through a single thought stream for each reason until no additional explanation could be offered. The endpoint in the inquiry was reached when the subject could no longer offer additional reasons within that thought stream. Once the endpoint was reached, the interviewer returned to a condition one step closer to the antecedent condition statement (Why do kids use drugs?) and again asked, ‘why’ until there were no additional reasons forthcoming (Renger et al. 2002). Concordance of answers was reached after 13 interviews, at which time the primary author combined like answers to create a map representing all of the explanations offered.

Subsequently, a one-day strategic planning session was held for all eight members of the staff of the Kahua Ola Hou Substance Abuse Treatment programme, facilitated by the primary author. This group included the three programme creators, two of whom are actively involved in running the programme and the five part and full time programme counselors. Historic recounting and imaging activities were used with the group to develop the mission and vision statements for the programme. Subsequently, the logic model interview compilation map described previously was reviewed by the group. The group was asked to comment on the accuracy of relationships between causes and whether other important causes were missing from the map that was compiled. Refinement and additional combining of causes was performed through group consensus. In addition, the group was tasked with identifying the causes (or boxes) that could most likely be impacted by the Kahua Ola Hou Programme.

The participants of the strategic planning session then identified and clearly described the activities employed in the programme, and how the activities related to
the underlying rationale of the programme. Finally, the group then brainstormed feasible methods for programme evaluation that would target the specific activities represented in the logic model map. During the strategic planning session, the programme staff reviewed existing evaluation measures and generated ideas for programme evaluation, targeting the specific conditions of intended impact. These were summarized by the facilitator and sent to the group for revision and approval.

Finally, to build an evidence-based framework for the activities employed in the Kahua Ola Hou programme, five literature databases were searched for English language peer-reviewed articles that included the terms ‘substance abuse and treatment and cultural’ and ‘substance abuse and treatment and adolescent and evaluation’. The databases searched were: Academic Search Premier, Cumulative Index to Nursing and Allied Health Literature, Health Source Nursing/Academic Edition, PubMed MEDLINE and Social Sciences Citation Index. There were no date restrictions applied. Terms excluded were: ‘prevention’, ‘HIV’, ‘tobacco’, ‘screening’, and ‘suicide’. Articles found in the medical literature that described the impact of activities similar to those employed by the Kahua Ola Hou programme were identified to create a table of activities employed and literature-based support for these activities (Table 1).

**Results**

The results of interviews conducted and the one-day strategic planning session resulted in the graphic representation of the factors impacting substance abuse on the Island of Molokai (Figure 2), with the shaded boxes representing the causes prioritized for programme impact. These areas included lack of: direction, self identity, self confidence, self worth, understanding of real causes of their actions, rules and structure, a cultural and spiritual base and communication and conflict resolution skills.

The primary programme activities utilized to impact patients included providing a safe structured environment for group counseling and team activities; living the 21 programme principles at the rate of one a day to increase self confidence, cultural pride, and understanding of spiritual and cultural principles; providing individual counseling to examine causes of actions and build healthy plans for the future; teaching communication and conflict resolution skills to rebuild the family and community relationship; and learning the risks of substance use (not identified as a root cause, but felt to be important by programme staff).

The literature review demonstrated support for specific Kahua Ola Hou activities, and this is represented next to the appropriate activities in Table 1. In addition to the articles described in the introduction, addressing culturally tailored programme effectiveness, the following additional articles were found that describe the effectiveness of activities relevant to the Kahua Ola Hou programme. Waldron and Kaminer (2004) demonstrated evidence for the efficacy of group therapy for adolescent substance abuse treatment. Fiorentine and Anglin (1996) found that
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Authors</th>
<th>Kahua Ola Hou Activity</th>
<th>Antecedent condition</th>
<th>What evidence demonstrates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fiorentine and Anglin (1996); Waldron and Kaminer (2004)</td>
<td>Provide safe structured environment for group counseling and activities</td>
<td>Lack of rules, structure, and role models</td>
<td>Group counseling is beneficial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foulks and Pena (1995); Fisher et al. (1996); Nielsen et al. (1996); Lawendowski (1998); Czuchry and Dansereau (2000); Hurawai et al. (2000); Cervantes (2003); Edwards (2003); Gossage et al. (2003)</td>
<td>Teach participants 21 cultural principles: cultural pride, self esteem</td>
<td>Lack of self worth, self identify, cultural values, spiritual grounding, self confidence, communication and conflict resolution skills</td>
<td>Self esteem increases programme success; cultural knowledge and identity improve success</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiorentine and Anglin (1996); Gil et al. (2004)</td>
<td>Participants will make a plan for healthy living through individual counseling</td>
<td>Lack of direction</td>
<td>One-on-one counseling and life skills training is beneficial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freidemann (1994); Nielsen et al. (1996); Gil et al. (2004)</td>
<td>Teach communication and conflict resolution skills to rebuild family relationship and community functioning</td>
<td>Lack of communication and conflict resolution skills</td>
<td>Life skills and family relations improve outcomes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
increasing the opportunity for group and individual counseling increases client participation in counseling, and elevates the overall effectiveness of outpatient drug treatment. Lawendowski (1998) found that motivational psychology and client-centered therapy improved recovery from addiction. Czuchry and Dansereau (2000) found that raising self esteem resulted in improved outcomes for treatment. Nielson et al. (1996) describe the effectiveness of a therapeutic community and work release programme that included self esteem building, self concept building, social skills, and vocational skills. Friedemann (1994) examined the congruence model for treatment of indigent substance abusers (the relationship of control and spirituality in family therapy setting), and found few relapses two to three months after treatment, and better family functioning after one month. Table 1 was created by pairing the methods found to be effective in the literature with Kahua Ola Hou activities.

During the strategic planning session, the programme staff generated ideas for programme evaluation, targeting the specific conditions of intended impact (shaded in Figure 2). Existing evaluation measures were included, as were new evaluation tools, to produce a picture of a thorough assessment of behavioral change, as judged by programme graduates, their family, their employers and their community. This evaluation includes completion rates, number of rules broken by week of programme,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Evaluation during programme</th>
<th>Post-programme evaluation</th>
<th>Data source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Provide safe structured environment for group counseling and activities</td>
<td>Documented change in number of rules broken from first week to third week of programme</td>
<td>Does graduate have stable living environment?</td>
<td>Graduate survey; family survey</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Do they have a curfew? If so, do they comply?</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Does graduate attend school or work?</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Has graduate been arrested? Does s/he feel safe in her living environment?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Teach participants 21 cultural principles: cultural pride, self esteem</td>
<td>Record of 21 principles in reflection journal</td>
<td>How many of the 21 principles can graduate name?</td>
<td>Graduate survey; parent survey; employer survey</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Parent/boss: Does graduate utilize 21 principles?</td>
<td></td>
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<td>School/work attendance and performance?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Participants will make a plan for healthy living through individual counseling</td>
<td>Development of wellness plan. Documentation of community service activities</td>
<td>Feedback from family/friends/community Conclusion with wellness plan</td>
<td>Feedback from family/friends/community Conclusion with wellness plan</td>
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<td></td>
<td>How does graduate deal with conflict?</td>
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<td>Teach communication and conflict resolution skills to rebuild family relationship and community functioning</td>
<td>Each graduate must lead at least one conflict resolution session</td>
<td>Does graduate have legal difficulties?</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>How does graduate get along with family and community?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Educate students about risks of substance use</td>
<td>Pre and post test of knowledge of risks</td>
<td>Attitude toward drug use</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Graduate survey</td>
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<tr>
<td>Activity</td>
<td>Evaluation during programme</td>
<td>Post-programme evaluation</td>
<td>Data source</td>
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<tr>
<td>General evaluation</td>
<td>Programme completion rates</td>
<td>Interviews described above will focus on these questions:</td>
<td>Graduate survey; parent survey; case</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Completion of programme components</td>
<td>Programme graduate interview:</td>
<td>worker feedback; drug testing (if</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Willingness to participate and communicate</td>
<td>Drug use, success in school/work, attitude toward prayer, practicing ho’o pono pono,</td>
<td>available)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>attitude toward drugs</td>
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<td>Community service, problems with the law, future plans</td>
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<td>Case manager interview: attitude, compliance with care plan, drug free community</td>
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<td>involvement</td>
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<td>Parent interview: attitude, communication skills, violence, attitude toward prayer,</td>
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<td>gratitude, community involvement, humility, sincerity, greeting parents, talking to</td>
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<td>parents, attendance at drug free events, drug rallies and youth groups</td>
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<td>Random drug testing</td>
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<td>General community factors</td>
<td>Referrals from clients and families</td>
<td>High school graduation rates</td>
<td>Statewide statistics; graduate survey;</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Crime rates</td>
<td>parent survey</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Arrests for drugs or violence</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Attendance and change in participation in after care programmes</td>
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change in attitude and communication skills, knowledge of drug risks (pre and post test), skills at conflict resolution, development of a wellness plan, and knowledge of the 21 principles, as represented by personal reflections written in journals. Interviews with graduates are to be performed at six weeks, six months, and annually for five years to determine use of illicit substances, work/school attendance, attitude toward drug use, and communication skills. Interviews will be conducted with the graduates’ families and community case managers at six weeks and at six months to validate changes seen in programme graduates. If funding is available, random drug testing will be conducted, however, with the evaluation protocol developed, more attention will be given to measuring the change in behavior leading to substance abuse as an indicator of programme success.

Discussion

The treatment of substance abuse is multifactorial and includes behavior modification, emotional preparedness, life planning skills and personal acceptance of the need for change, as well as biological factors. Due to the high rates of substance abuse in indigenous populations, and the increased understanding of individual needs afforded through cultural awareness, the authors propose that cultural tailoring of programmes can increase success of treatment. However, in order to measure effectiveness in such a setting, appropriate programme evaluation should include measures of behavior change, attitude change, improved coping skills, and the ability to plan for the future to determine effectiveness.

The Kahua Ola Hou programme uses Native Hawaiian cultural and spiritual values in an attempt to increase self esteem, teach coping mechanisms, and help participants develop a healthy plan for living. While the initial evaluation of this programme was very positive, it only included self report of use of crystal methamphetamine. Counselors interviewing graduates also received reports by parents of Kahua Ola Hou patients describing the changed personalities of their children, their newfound ability to talk with them, and the graduates’ willingness to help others. Furthermore, Kahua Ola Hou counselors found that programme graduates expressed a new-found shame if they used illicit drugs. Although these are important programme findings and indicate programme success, due to the lack of evaluation infrastructure, there was no mechanism for documenting the change in behavior of participants after programme completion. However, with the revised evaluation procedures, the extent of change in behavior will be monitored as an indicator of programme impact (Table 2).

Study limitations include the small number of subjects and the isolated unique population studied. The causes of substance abuse examined and the methods for evaluation in this study may not be generalizable to other populations; however, the researchers hope that the methods for developing evaluation tools may be helpful to other treatment programmes. It must also be kept in mind that the evaluation structure developed will have to remain flexible in order to adjust to the changing socio-political climate. Another limitation of the current study is that the researchers
limited their area of influence to behavioral factors that programme planners felt could be impacted. Thus, while genetics was identified as a cause of youth using drugs, due to the process of prioritization, this was not addressed by programme activities. Therefore, the programme evaluation described in this article is limited to behavioral aspects of disease, and a separate evaluation methodology would be appropriate for researchers studying the biological and genetic causes of substance abuse.

By working with the counselors, community members and local graduates of recovery programmes, the authors were able to identify and prioritize the causes of substance abuse particular to the dominant culture of a rural area. By identifying the programme activities utilized to impact the prioritized causes and assessing the evidence supporting specific programme activities, the authors were able to develop an evaluation framework and a plan for evaluation that measures factors that represent steps along the way to abstinence. The evaluation described in this paper will provide a broad assessment of the effectiveness of this culturally tailored substance abuse treatment programme in a stepwise process by documenting behavior change in participants that are predictive of lower future substance use. The authors hope that this work will help expand the knowledge of cultural tailoring of programmes, and allow its application in other health care and substance abuse treatment settings.

Acknowledgements

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Note

[1] Illustration created by Abbie Napeahi, Anita Arce and Mona Dabilla for substance abuse prevention activities supported by Alu Like, Inc.

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