

Duwamish Indian Modern Community

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19 January 1998

Technical Report submitted to the Duwamish Tribal Council, Renton, WA.

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Introduction

A modern community study of any indigenous people is ultimately an examination of acculturation. Acculturation is the process of culture change which is a consequence of direct and continuous contact between cultural groups. As such, it is important to recognize that acculturation is not simply the experience of an unacknowledged tribe, such as the Duwamish, it is the experience of all American Indian peoples regardless of their federal standing. (For numerous examples, see Davis, 1994.)

Early models conceptualized acculturation as a simple linear process which ultimately ended in the rather ambiguous category of modernity. This type of model presented the interval between "traditional culture" and "modernity" as a continuum on which a cultural group was located. In the case of native peoples, the basic assumption was that contact over time with an encroaching dominant culture would result in the native group moving along the continuum until it passed a point where it became more modern than traditional; that is, it became more like the dominant culture than its aboriginal past. Once beyond this point the members of the native group were considered assimilated and no longer representative of their original culture. Unfortunately the application of this model is all too common today, with proponents "treating acculturation exclusively as assimilation" (Berry, 1980, p. 9). Today's arguments that the Duwamish people are no more than assimilated descendants of an Indian tribe originate from this simple linear model.

Research from the past two decades has demonstrated the inadequacy of the linear model, and consequently the inadequacy of a process which attempts to locate a cultural group on that linear continuum. Models today recognize that acculturation is multidimensional, multivariate, and multiple endpoint in nature (e.g., Berry, 1980a; 1980b; Padilla, 1980; Trimble, 1989; Weinreich, 1988); situationally variable (e.g., Thomas, 1989; Trimble, 1989); and variable over time (e.g., Olmedo, 1979).

Multidimensional Model of Acculturation

In recognition of the complexity of acculturation processes, Berry's well researched model will be used to provide a framework in which to analyze and interpret the Duwamish modern community (e.g., Berry & Kim, 1988). Berry's comprehensive model delineates a variety of categories of variables: 1) Phases of acculturation, 2) types of acculturating group, 3) nature of larger society, 4) modes of acculturation, 5) endpoints or goals of change, 6) sociocultural characteristics of acculturating group, and 7) psychological characteristics of acculturating individual.

Phases of acculturation. Berry's phases of acculturation include the precontact period; contact, when the groups meet and cultural and behavioral exchange and change begin to occur; conflict, when the pressures build on the non-dominant group to change its way of life; crisis, when conflict comes to a head and resolution is required; and adaptation, when group relations are stabilized to some degree, although conflict and crisis may again arise.

Types of acculturating group. Berry proposes three dimensions to describe acculturating groups. The first dimension relates to the freedom of choice a group has in

making contact with another culture. Is the contact voluntary or forced? The second dimension relates to mobility of the group. Is the group mobile or sedentary? The third dimension relates to the temporal nature of the cultural contact. Is the contact long term or temporary? From these dimensions, five types of acculturating groups can be defined; these include ethnic groups, immigrants, sojourners, refugees, and native peoples.

Nature of larger society. Berry presents three factors in describing the nature of the dominant society. The first of these is the actual cultural diversity extant, and the associated dominant attitudes expressed toward cultural diversity. The second is the existence of policies designed to include or exclude acculturating groups from full participation in the larger society. The third is the reason for the culture contact from the point of view of the dominant society.

Modes of acculturation. Arguing that acculturation is not synonymous with assimilation, Berry presents acculturation as an adaptation process designed to decrease conflict between cultural groups. He argues that four modes of acculturation exist, and that they are defined according to two dimensions. The first dimension relates to ethnic distinctiveness, and the second to inter-ethnic contact. Figure 1 following describes these relationships.

		Value Distinct Ethnic Identity and Characteristics	
		Yes	No
Value Inter-ethnic contact	Yes	Integration	Assimilation
	No	Separation	Deculturation

Figure 1. Modes of Acculturation (adapted from Berry & Kim, 1988)

The valuing of both a distinct ethnic identity and inter-group contact defines the Integration mode of acculturation. Not valuing a distinct ethnic identity while valuing inter-group contact defines the Assimilation mode of acculturation. Valuing a distinct ethnic identity and not entering into inter-group interaction defines the Separation mode of acculturation. Finally, the loss of ethnic identity coupled with alienation from larger society defines the Deculturation mode of acculturation.

When the dominant society's degree of tolerance for cultural diversity is taken into account (i.e., as operationalized by the cultural group's degree of freedom to choose options within society), an even greater variety of acculturation modes can be distinguished (Berry, 1980a). This is diagrammed in Figure 2.

		Modes of Acculturation			
		Integration	Assimilation	Separation	Deculturation
Societal Degree of Tolerance	Low	Plural	Pressure Cooker	Segregation	Ethnocide
	High	Multicultural	Melting Pot	Withdrawal	Marginality

Figure 2. Acculturation and Societal Degree of Tolerance for Cultural Diversity

When cultural groups retain their identity and participate in a larger society, a plural society exists. If that society values cultural diversity, then it is known as a multicultural society. When cultural groups assimilate freely into the larger society, it is a melting pot acculturating process. When they are coerced to assimilate, a pressure cooker acculturating process occurs. Withdrawal describes acculturation when a cultural group chooses to separate from the larger society, and when that separation is forced and enforced by the dominant society, it is considered segregation. Finally, some stabilized forms of

deculturation exist among marginal groups, although it is unlikely that they ever chose such a status. When that deculturation is imposed by the dominant society, it is a form of ethnocide.

Multiple endpoints in acculturation. Three alternative goals of change are particularly relevant to the present study. Berry and his colleagues isolated the goals of continuity, change, and synthesis in their research among the James Bay Cree Indians of Canada (Berry, 1984; Berry, Trimble, & Olmedo, 1986). Continuity is evident in the persistence of traditional ways (i.e., ways prior to Euroamerican contact); however, such ways are not its only manifestation. Continuity is also evident in a cultural group which is no longer traditional, but whose goals emphasize a "more characteristic" ethnic way of living. Change represents attempts to become more like the dominant culture, while synthesis is an attempt to select the best of both worlds.

Application of Multidimensional Model to the Duwamish Tribe

The Duwamish Indians of 1998 are the cultural and political continuation of the aboriginal Duwamish (Tollefson, 1989; 1995). The Duwamish are a native people. Their contact with the Euroamerican culture was involuntary, although relatively less violent as compared to the experiences of other tribes in the region (Ruby & Brown, 1981). They were sedentary. That is, their land base before Euroamerican contact was well established and their associated aboriginal economy was very successful. Their lands and culture were encroached upon by an increasingly dominant white society.

The Duwamish people clearly have experienced all phases of acculturation, with a variety of cycles of contact, conflict, crisis, and adaptation over the past centuries. These

cycles predated the Euroamerican contact period of the early 1800's, with contact between the Duwamish and other Salish speaking tribes of western Washington regions. The cycles continued throughout the early Euroamerican contact period, first with explorers, followed by trappers and traders, and eventually with the major encroachments of white settlers and the subsequent violent displacement of the Tribe in the mid 1800's. With unacceptable and inadequate reservation assignments, no off-reservation land base, and the particularly devastating effects of urbanization on Duwamish aboriginal ecoculture,¹ the Duwamish people were unable to maintain their aboriginal economy, and were forced to enter into the mainstream economy of the dominant culture to survive (Tollefson, 1987; 1992). This form of adaptation continues today.

The Duwamish along with other Native American peoples have experienced a variety of attitudes and policies from the dominant culture. These included calls for annihilation during the so-called "Indian Wars" of the middle 1800's, and attempts at segregation on reservations during the mid to late 1800's. During the first half of the 1900's the Duwamish experienced a pressure cooker form of assimilation. In the early years of this period Duwamish cultural distinctiveness was not only discouraged, it was outlawed (e.g., potlatch ceremonies). In the later years of this period an attempt was made to legislatively terminate the Duwamish Tribe through the Western Washington Termination Bill of 1953; however, this legislation was never introduced. Regardless of the Duwamish's treaty status and its continuous political organization, the B.I.A. without statutory authority administratively treated the Duwamish Tribe as if it had been terminated

¹ That is, the linkages of ecological and sociopolitical contexts with cultural and psychosocial variables (see Segall, Dasen, Berry, and Poortinga, 1990).

on the grounds that it no longer existed as a culturally distinct group (Tollefson, 1987)². According to the B.I.A. the Duwamish had assimilated.

In contrast to the position of the B.I.A., the Duwamish Tribe has not assimilated into mainstream society. From the time the Duwamish were forced to enter into the economy of the dominant culture, they have adapted through the integration mode of acculturation. That is, tribal members steadfastly have retained their ethnic identity and maintained tribal authority. In addition, the Duwamish demonstrate synthesis and continuity in their goals of change. That is, in their acculturation process they have retained important elements of Duwamish culture while accepting elements from the dominant culture, and they have emphasized a "more characteristic" Duwamish way of living. These are evidenced in their social interactions and in the persistence of their ethnic identity. Both will be addressed in the data and discussion following.

Methods

Study 1: Tribal Leadership

Content analytic techniques (see Babbie, 1989; Brislin, 1980) were applied to a variety of verbal data collected from fourteen present or past tribal council members. Three sets of data were collected in 1991 as autobiographical sketches of Duwamish leaders. These composed a subset of six such sketches which were submitted to the B.I.A. in 1991 as additional supporting documentation for federal acknowledgment.³ Nine sets of data were collected by Dr. Eugene Wiggins (Xetup of the Cowlitz Indians) in 1996 through

² See Beckham (1987) for a similar analysis of B.I.A. relations with the Cowlitz and Chinook Indian Tribes, also of the Pacific Northwest.

semi-structured interview techniques (see Pareek & Rao, 1980). Finally, two additional sets of data were collected in 1997. These were written responses to the same interview questions, which guided Dr. Wiggins' work the year before. With the exception of the 1997 sets of data, the Duwamish leaders in this study were not responding to equivalent questions or content areas. Consequently, tallying responses across the fourteen participants was not always possible, since not all participants addressed all content categories. This methodological issue certainly confounds interpretation, and it likely leads to understatement. For example, it can only be reported that eight of the fourteen Duwamish leaders stated that they visit the graves of deceased Duwamish relatives; however, this does not necessarily imply that the remaining six leaders do not participate in such activity. It simply means that they did not address the issue in their responses.

Study 2: General Tribal Membership

This second study evaluates data collected in four separate surveys conducted over a ten year period. The first survey was conducted in 1987 by an American Indian consultant and focused primarily on socioeconomic issues (Hansen, 1987). Hansen attempted to survey 104 enrolled Duwamish Indians. 54 responded for a response rate of about 52%. The second survey was conducted in conjunction with the Hansen (1987) study and focused on social, political, and cultural issues (Tollefson, 1987, pp. 308-317). In this study 49 of 104 enrolled Duwamish Indians responded for a response rate of about 47%. The third survey was conducted in 1994-95 by a team of social scientists, and also focused on social, political, and cultural issues (Tollefson, Abbott, & Wiggins, 1996).

³ The remaining three sets of sketches were collected on individuals who also participated in the more extensive 1996 interview study. These 1991 autobiographical data were combined with the 1996 interview

Tollefson et al. distributed 297 surveys to enrolled Duwamish Indians 18 years of age and older, who resided within a radius of 75 miles of the tribal office. 192 responded for a response rate of 65%. The fourth study was conducted by the Small Tribes Organization of Western Washington (STOWW) in 1996 and was focused on family demographics and tribal activities, priorities, and government (Roe, Lenius, & Bennett, 1998). 215 Duwamish households were contacted; 111 responded for a response rate of 52%.

Undoubtedly the samples in these four studies overlapped. Also, it was not possible to ascertain how representative these samples were of the larger Duwamish membership. On the other hand, the range of response rates across the four studies is well within the expectations for interpretable survey research, with the Tollefson et al. (1996) rate of 65% quite praiseworthy (see Miller, 1983; Warwick & Lininger, 1975). Likewise, the Roe et al. (1998) study included 111 households, many of which included a number of enrolled Duwamish Indians; in fact, the range was from one to seven Duwamish persons within each household. Thus, the 111 responses likely represent two to three times that number of Duwamish individuals. With these two recent studies in particular, it is fairly likely that they provide reasonable representations of the active membership of the Tribe.

Results

Study 1: Tribal Leadership

The content analyses of the fourteen present or former tribal council members will be discussed in terms of ethnic identity, cultural continuity, social networks, and tribal participation. Direct quotes will be provided to illustrate findings under discussion.

data in the present analyses.

Whenever multiple quotes are used to explicate a finding, each quote will originate from a different tribal council member.

Ethnic identity. All fourteen of the participants identified strongly with their Duwamish ethnicity. Many spoke of the irrevocability of this identity and their pride in it.

...being an Indian to me means being proud of who I am and accepting my differences from other people as being a positive thing and not something to be ashamed of or denied. I choose to be an Indian because that is who I am. I cannot pretend to be something I am not. It is not important to me to blend in and not be noticed. I believe everyone has something to contribute to life. It is also my feeling that God created all men equal. I don't believe that it is written anywhere that one color is better than another, and I can safely assume that God did not make us different so that we could dislike it and be ashamed.

...I'm Indian at heart. I really do feel Indian in my heart. I'm very proud of this part of my heritage as I am proud of other parts of my heritage. But there is something very rich, very special about being Indian. And I love the people that I know who are also of Indian heritage so much. I have had such a positive experience. It has just enhanced the pride I have for my own heritage.

Some noted the cost of such an identity, and yet they were not dissuaded from openly proclaiming their Duwamish tribal affiliation.

I mean I feel that I am Duwamish, I wouldn't want to be with any other tribe. I take a lot of heat from other people of other tribes who don't even acknowledge that we do exist. We're always constantly defending our right as Duwamish people and that's fine with me, I don't mind having to put up with that or not having the same sort of perks that other tribes have...

They told me that the first thing I would have to do would be to take on Muckleshoot membership. I thought about that for a while and very consciously decided that that wasn't something I could do. If I was going to be able to qualify for money from any kind of Native American or Indian funding source, that it would have to be through the Duwamish. So I declined that although they sent me all of the forms. They encouraged me to join the Muckleshoots. I just couldn't do it. It's just not something I could do.

Thirteen of the participants stated that this strong Duwamish identity had been with them most, if not all of their lives, and ten noted that it was through older generations of their family that their experience of the Duwamish culture was passed on.

Yes there was. I have always looked on myself as Duwamish and never hid the fact from anybody. All my friends know I was Duwamish all through life.

It's always been very important to my family that my grandfather was the one who has been involved with the tribe when I was very young. My grandfather has been the one to instill why it is important to be, to think of yourself as Duwamish. I remember him talking to me when I was about five or six years old. He always told me to be very proud who I was. Also to be very careful of who you tell that to. But to be very proud of who you were. You are Duwamish. Nobody could ever tell you that you weren't. I've always taken that to heart about my grandfather.

...all my life I felt that I was Duwamish. And I have known I'm Duwamish. I had relied upon other members of my family. My father, his brothers and sisters to maintain identity. My aunt Ruth was, what you'd probably consider, a matriarch in my family. And she carried that torch for the rest of us, and we all rallied around it.

Cultural continuity. All fourteen participants described Duwamish cultural activities in which they participated. Most of them participated in the activities with Duwamish family members or other Duwamish Indians beyond the boundaries of their extended families. The types of activities were myriad and are listed in Table 1. The total frequency far exceeds the sample size, since many participated in multiple activities.

I'm also involved with the Native American arts, drum making, and rattle making. Me and _____, another tribal member, have given classes to the tribe on drum making and rattle making. At our last tribal meeting we set up an invite for all the people who do not live around here. If they'd like, me and _____ would come to their house if they would get a gathering together and teach drum making and rattle making.

I am now carving a ten foot totem pole for my mother, and have carved bowls, rattles, masks and boxes.

After dinner I would crawl up into an uncle's lap and listen to stories in both Indian and English as the wood crackled, popped, and hissed in the iron pot belly stove. Finally I would fall asleep and be carried to a soft quiet place to sleep for the rest of the evening. Sometimes I would be awakened briefly by the chanting over the (Shaker) church. These were some of the sounds, the smells, the comforts of my Indian childhood. There was laughter, singing, story-telling and living off the land.

Over the years I have heard many Indian stories told to me by my family and other Indian friends as I was growing up. Now as an adult I share these stories. The Duwamish language was spoken by my Dad, aunts, uncles, and other Indian friends.

Cultural Practice	Frequency
Pow-wows	5
Potlatches	5
Smoke house ceremonies	1
Indian storytelling	6
Carving (e.g., canoe, masks, story pole)	5
Indian dancing	5
Making baskets	2
Making drums	2
Making beaded jewelry	2
Performing Indian music	1
Indian ceremonial dress	1
Paddling dugout canoe	1
Fishing and clamming	9
Hunting	3
Berry picking	7
Preparing Indian food (e.g., fry bread, game, salmon)	11

Table 1. Participation in Cultural Activities

All fourteen of the participants described the importance of elders in their families and in the tribe. They often described how they were raised to respect their elders, hearken to their stories, and follow their examples.

The most important lessons I learned from my family and Native American friends were that the Great Spirit is the one true giver of life, to respect and revere my elders, and to listen and learn from them. These lessons are administered to me by many elders that I meet and associate with even to this day.

[Elders are] very important, so they can pass on information needed to pass on whatever history of [the] tribe. Also if possible, to teach younger generation of culture and especially the arts of bead work, basket weaving, carving, blessings, etc.

I think highly of all tribal elders, as I've been taught to respect my elders. I also think you can become an elder before your time by carrying on the culture and tradition that has been forgotten.

Seven of the participants discussed the importance of the Duwamish remaining on or returning to the location of their aboriginal land. As one stated, "... it is important to stay here because this is home."

So we're pretty close to the Duwamish where they started out at. We're not too far [from] where they documented a winter village. This was just blocks away on the Black River, which doesn't exist today. So we're pretty close right in God's country, Duwamish country.

... the Renton area is aboriginal to our tribe and we always known that we should have been here. We had many discussions within our meetings that we needed to move back to our aboriginal area. And we eventually did...move back to Renton we feel very happy here. We like to have our meetings here, if at all possible. And we like for our tribal members to come to Renton and meet here. This is where we feel we should be.

These leaders felt strongly about the importance of passing on Duwamish history and culture to next generations. They recognized this as a responsibility of both the family and the tribe.

For my children I want them to know they're Duwamish. And I want them to know that they are recognized, as a principle with me now. I want them to carry on that Duwamish honor or respect for themselves.

The value of respecting elders, and the belief that one should be proud of his or her heritage is what I feel is important enough to pass on to my children. The Indian custom I feel is important is knowing how to make good fried bread and picking blackberries in the summer time (my grandma was famous for this tradition), and attending traditional Indian gatherings whenever possible.

Finally, seven of the respondents noted their participation in elements of American Indian spirituality. These elements included living in harmony with all God's creation (i.e., *all my relatives*), power of spirit creatures (see Tollefson, 1987, pp. 88-91), and many different types of traditional ceremonies.

Through all of my relatives, who were Duwamish, I was exposed to the Indian way of looking at my universe. Of course, my mother had the greatest influence on me whether she wanted it or not. In my soul I embraced all that was Indian. I have a saying, "Mother Earth – You are me – I am you – and we are one." The values I learned from my Indian ancestors are many and totally ingrained into my whole being. Resourcefulness, a gentleness toward the world, a respect for all living things. I learned annual cycles of living with nature and the bountiful resources to be harvested in season. I was trained to stop, look and listen to the richness of my environment. The fields and woods and all that lived there had the capacity to keep me filled and content for hours on end. One must avoid wastefulness and thoughtlessness toward nature. There is no need to step on that ant or beetle, slash the vegetation, fish or hunt for the sport. Elders are to be respected and cherished for their wisdom and guidance. Their medicines, stories and areas of expertise were developed, refined and handed down from generation to generation. Radiate your energy outward. Humor was a necessary element of the whole. I was taught to live in harmony and cooperation with the elements of the universe not in

opposition. To be open to the wonderous gifts of the universe, but learn the basic laws so as not to jeopardize self and others. I was taught that I am not superior to any other living organism. Simply stated, my right to exist is not superior to a cedar tree, a wolf, or a salmon.

My contentment is found with nature, being out in the woods with the animals and trees thinking about the Indian people of the past, the way they lived and the things done to them by the white people. I believe on the power of the Eagle and the power of the Raven and all other natural spirits of the land.

Social networks. Clearly the dominant social networks described by these participants were within their extended Duwamish families. As discussed earlier, ten participants stated that their Duwamish identity was formed through the influence of older family members. Thirteen mentioned attending regular family gatherings, and most of these also noted that it was at such family gatherings that communication regarding tribal issues and business occurred. Eight stated that they currently attend tribal meetings with family members, and nine stated that they did so as children. Finally, eight regularly visited grave sites of relatives.

Upon entering the homes of relatives, my mother greeted them in their native Duwamish tongue. And I could smell the odors of woodsmoke, dried salmon and herbs, and the lanolin from sheep's wool and leather for moccasins, it was so heady and delightful. The atmosphere was relaxing and supportive. I was held, hugged, and chattered to in Duwamish, and I can remember feeling so safe and protected and perhaps a little spoiled by my relatives whom I missed between visits.

We also frequently travelled long distances to visit and socialize with relatives and friends, both Native American and white, in Western and Eastern Washington. Many stories were told at these gatherings, many relating to our culture.

Beyond family boundaries, five of these participants discussed the importance of serving the needs of individual tribal members, as well as the tribe as a whole. One particularly poignant example involved the efforts of the tribal chair.

When my grandmother was probably during her last year of life, wasn't very well, being she had cancer of the stomach. We knew she was going to die and she had always been low income since she had retired from all of the different types of work she had done to try and keep food on the table for her and my grandfather. And they would always been minimum wage paid jobs, so she didn't have the pension. And so she lived on social security and it was low income. The tribe would come and bring her fish and government surplus butter. I remember being so impressed that someone was coming and helping without a lot of red tape involved or anything. And then when she was very sick and ready to die, _____ would come, the chair of our tribe would come and visit and would bring fish. But I just remember her coming and visiting and providing that company for my grandmother. My grandmother loved _____ [the tribal chair].

Beyond the Duwamish tribe, seven participants described significant relationships to other Indian peoples, such as the Suquamish, Snohomish, Muckleshoot, and Puyallup. These connections often were through relatives or friends. Also, seven respondents described participation in pan-Indian events, such as Pow-wows.

Tribal participation. Tribal business and politics were generally presented by these participants as the domain of the extended family. As discussed earlier, communication about tribal issues most often occurred at family gatherings. Six of the participants acknowledged that it was important to have their extended family involved in tribal governance. A few noted that participation in tribal governance was facilitated through informal nominations by family members; others noted that their choice to volunteer time and energy was encouraged by family members.

97% of stated priorities for the tribe were contained within only five categories.

Table 2 describes these, as well as their frequencies. As before, the total frequency exceeds the sample size because many participants raised multiple priority areas.

Tribal Priorities	Frequency
Federal Recognition	9
Increase active membership	8
Cultural center/museum	7
Establish a land base	5
Build a long house	3

Table 2. Tribal Priorities

In discussing the role and value of federal recognition for the Duwamish tribe, a great variety of benefits were described. Only its role in preserving the tribe's culture and heritage received more than 50% acknowledgment by the participants. Three participants also added that even if federal recognition were never achieved, the Duwamish tribe would live on. The various benefits are summarized in Table 3.

Benefits Provided	Frequency
Preserve culture and heritage	8
Provide a land base	5
Protect fishing rights	3
Strengthen tribal identity	3
Increased honor and respect for tribe by others	3
Facilitate economic development	1
Free up tribe for other concerns	1
Increase ability of tribe to care for its members	1

Table 3. Expected benefits from federal recognition

Recognition to me is so important because we are a tribe, we are a great nation, and the thing is, I just want the people to know who we were. If nothing else, I want the fact that they were a good people. They never warred on anybody. They never hurt anybody. I just think it's terrible that we can't say what and we know who the Duwamish people were.

We could then have, be without a lot of red tape and people saying we can't talk to you because you're not recognized. We won't ever have the humiliation again. I think that's such a slap in my great, great grandmothers face. I become very offended when I hear stories about that happening. I don't want to see any of my decedents feel that kind of humiliation.

I place a great deal of importance on preserving tribal history, customs, and values. In fact this is [the] basic interest I have in supporting tribal recognition! And it is a priority for me, and what I hope to work towards, preserving and learning whatever I can.

Study 2: General Tribal Membership

Similar to the study of tribal leadership, this study of general tribal membership will be presented in terms of ethnic identity, cultural continuity, social networks, and tribal participation. This is an analysis of common, dominant trends found in the four surveys. A more comprehensive and detailed examination of these data sets can be found by consulting the respective articles or manuscripts. Although this is an attempt to compile findings across the four surveys, it should be noted that in both the Hansen (1987) and STOWW (Roe et al., 1998) surveys, only a few items address content relevant to this compilation. Consequently, not all analyses following will present data from all four sources.

Ethnic identity.⁴ Only two items from the Hansen (1987) survey are relevant to this category. To the item "With which tribe (if any) do you routinely identify yourself?", 94.4% responded "Duwamish," 3.7% responded "Other tribe," and one participant did not respond. To the item "Do you consider yourself?", 33.3% responded "Indian," 48.1% responded "Part Indian," and 18.5% responded "Of Indian heritage or descent."

On a similar set of items in the Tollefson (1987) study, 59% of the Duwamish participants considered themselves to be "a distinct Indian group with its own way of thinking and feeling," 39% considered themselves to be an "American sub-group with Indian history," and only one participant (i.e., 2%) identified with "a group of Indian descendants who think and feel like whites." Two additional sets of identity-related items assessed experiences as an American Indian and family upbringing. These are described in Tables 4 and 5.

Experiences	yes	no
I have been discriminated against for being Indian	24%	76%
I have a deep feeling within me that I am Duwamish	82%	18%
I am invited to attend Indian weddings or funerals	45%	55%
I know some Indian stories and songs	31%	69%
Duwamish better represents my heritage than any other Tribe	70%	30%
Some of my classmates or other people considered me to be an Indian	69%	31%

Table 4. Experiences in life (Tollefson, 1987)

Family experience	yes	no
My family told me of my Indian heritage	86%	14%
My family taught me to be proud of being Duwamish	86%	14%
My family warned me that if I revealed my Indian identity in public, I might be teased	10%	90%
My family taught me some Duwamish customs	37%	63%
My family had Indian artifacts around our home	51%	49%
My family frequently ate Indian food	69%	31%

Table 5. Family upbringing (Tollefson, 1987)

Data from all sources indicate that these participants strongly identified as Duwamish in ethnicity, and they strongly identified as American Indian. Only a very small minority considered themselves to be no more than of Indian heritage or descent. In line with these strong identifications, the vast majority of these participants felt pride in who they were and from whom they descended. Most of those who addressed the duration of their Duwamish ethnic identity claimed that it was a salient part of themselves for most if not all their lives, that it was their families which nurtured their identity and ethnic self esteem, and that others outside the Tribe were aware that they were American Indians.

Ethnic boundary maintenance also was evident among these Duwamish Indians. In a 1993 survey of tribal leaders (discussed in Tollefson, 1995), in the Tollefson et al. (1996) survey, and in the interview data for those who addressed such matters, most respondents felt strongly that membership in the Duwamish Tribe should be limited to those with Duwamish ancestry. The response was more mixed in regards to the status of spouses of Duwamish Indians.

⁴ No items on the STOWW survey addressed ethnic identity.

Cultural continuity. The Hansen (1987) survey reported that 16.7% of respondents participated in traditional Indian ceremonies or Pow-wows. No other Hansen data were relevant to this category.

Tollefson (1987; Tollefson et al., 1996) applied equivalent sets of items in his two surveys to assess cultural values and practices. The general trends in the two sets of data appear quite similar. These comparative data are displayed in Tables 6 and 7.

Cultural values	% Response					
	Year	No Importance	Some Importance	Average Importance	Above Average Importance	High Importance
		1	2	3	4	5
Commitment to Duwamish way of life	1987	8.0	8.0	38.0	15.0	30.0
	1996	3.3	13.6	23.9	27.2	32.1
Knowledge of Duwamish culture	1987	0.0	2.0	17.0	38.0	44.0
	1996	2.7	11.4	19.5	28.1	38.4
Attendance at Duwamish gatherings	1987	19.0	15.0	29.0	17.0	21.0
	1996	10.5	26.0	30.9	16.0	16.6
Physical features; e.g., skin color	1987	51.0	16.0	20.0	7.0	7.0
	1996	41.3	17.4	27.7	7.6	6.0
Trace Duwamish ancestry	1987	0.0	2.0	16.0	33.0	48.0
	1996	1.6	3.8	14.5	27.4	52.7
Existence of Tribal government	1987	4.0	4.0	21.0	23.0	47.0
	1996	4.4	9.3	21.9	25.1	39.3
Preference for Indian food	1987	6.0	13.0	28.0	15.0	39.0
	1996	12.4	10.8	21.5	22.6	32.8
Respect for all living creatures	1987	0.0	0.0	10.0	12.0	77.0
	1996	1.1	2.7	7.0	26.7	62.6
Passing on culture to next generation	1987	4.0	0.0	10.0	15.0	71.0
	1996	1.1	6.0	13.7	28.4	50.8
Preference for traditional crafts	1987	2.0	12.0	29.0	23.0	33.0
	1996	8.2	19.6	24.5	26.6	21.1

Table 6. Importance of cultural values in 1987 and 1996 (Tollefson, 1987; Tollefson et al., 1996)

Symbol	Mean Ratings	
	1987	1996
Respect for all creatures	4.8	4.5
Passing Duwamish culture to future generations	4.6	4.2
Knowledge of Duwamish culture	4.3	3.9*
Tracing descent to a Duwamish ancestor	4.3	4.3*
Existence of a tribal organization	4.2	3.9
Preference for American Indian food	3.9	3.5
Preference for traditional crafts; e.g. baskets, carvings, beading	3.8	3.3
Commitment to Duwamish way of life	3.7	3.7*
Attendance at Duwamish gatherings	3.2	3.0
Physical characteristics; e.g., skin color	2.6	2.2

Table 7. Hierarchy of Duwamish tribal symbols (Tollefson, 1987; Tollefson et al., 1996)

*Change in rank order between 1987 and 1996

Although there were slight drops in magnitude of the mean ratings between the 1987 and 1996 surveys, the order of the hierarchies remained quite similar. The symbols related to Duwamish spiritual, cultural, or group values remained higher than those related to physical, material, or individual values. Most noteworthy, the mean rating for "Commitment to Duwamish way of life" remained constant in magnitude; however, it moved up in the hierarchy surpassing two individual preference values. In both surveys, with the exception of physical characteristics, all cultural symbols were rated of average importance, above average importance, or high importance.

Three items on the STOWW survey were relevant to cultural continuity. They were "Protecting sacred or cultural sites," "Sponsoring cultural or spiritual activities and events," and "Developing a tribal center" (see Table 14 below). This third item was

considered relevant to cultural continuity, since past discussions linked the proposed tribal center with a long house and a museum for cultural education and display of cultural artifacts.

The distribution of responses to these STOWW items reached statistical significance in each case, with the greater frequencies in the higher priority ends of the rating scales. On a scale of one to ten, over 50% of the participants ranked "Protecting sacred or cultural sites" as first, second, or third in priority. No other item was ranked this highly. On both "Sponsoring cultural or spiritual activities and events," and "Developing a tribal center," over 50% of the participants ranked the items as first, second, third, or fourth in priority.

All relevant data support a strong commitment by these participants to Duwamish culture, ancestry, and the passing on of Duwamish ways to future generations. From those who addressed cultural practices, a great variety emerged—from hunting, fishing, and gathering to carving and basket making to traditional storytelling to racing cedar dugout canoes. The evaluations of cultural symbols reflected an American Indian value system, and clearly distinguished these Duwamish Indians from non-Indian populations.

Elements of Native American spirituality were evident in the interview and autobiographical data, and emerged very strongly in the survey data through the attitudes of respect, care, and personal relationship with all God's creation. In addition the high priority these participants gave to protecting sacred or cultural sites is consonant with a sense of continuing communion with their ancestors and the land (see Brown, 1976; Lame Deer & Erdoes, 1972; Momaday, 1976; Toelken, 1976).

Social networks. In the Hansen (1987) survey two items were relevant to this category. The items were "During the past year, have you participated in any of the following?" and "If you are less involved in such activities these days than, say, ten years ago, what is the reason?" Tables 8 and 9 describe the data from these items.

Activities	% Response*
Duwamish Tribal Meetings	31.5%
Duwamish Tribal elections	24.1%
Gatherings of Duwamish relatives	31.5%
Marriages or funerals of Duwamish relatives	14.8%
Traditional Indian ceremonies or Pow wows	16.7%
Indian (Shaker) church services	3.7%
Other Indian gatherings (e.g., Indian bingo, salmon bakes)	16.7%

Table 8. Activities participated in the past year (Hansen, 1987)

*Data totals more than 100% due to multiple responses

Reasons	% Response
Too far to travel	20.4%
Family responsibilities at home	18.5%
Employment responsibilities	18.5%
Less interested	9.3%
Other	18.5%
Missing Data	14.8%

Table 9. Reasons for lessened involvement (Hansen, 1987)

Tollefson assessed social networks by addressing interactions among Duwamish persons both within and outside extended families. A series of four questions from 1987 and one question from 1996 are displayed in Table 10.

How recently have you discussed Duwamish tribal affairs with another person? (Tollefson, 1987)		
	Number	Percent
Within last three months	35	71.4
Within the last year	11	22.4
Within the last five years	1	2.0
Within the last ten years	2	4.1
Never	0	0
With how many Duwamish nuclear families, outside your extended family, have you had meaningful interactions in the past ten years? (Tollefson, 1987)		
	Number	Percent
One to two	16	48.5
Three to four	10	30.3
Five to six	2	6.1
Seven to eight	1	3.0
Nine to ten	1	3.0
Eleven or more	3	9.1
I interact with other members of the Duwamish Tribe: (Tollefson, 1987)		
	Number	Percent
On a monthly basis	7	15.2
On a yearly basis	9	19.6
From time to time as needed	23	47.9
Never interact with other members of the tribe	7	15.2
I interact with my group of extended relatives: (Tollefson, 1987)		
	Number	Percent
On a weekly basis	20	41.7
On a monthly basis	15	31.2
On a yearly basis	7	14.6
Not applicable to my situation	6	12.5
Contact with historic treaty family (Tollefson et al., 1996)		
	Number	Percent
Weekly	61	33.9
Monthly	43	23.9
Yearly	37	20.6
Not applicable	39	21.7

Table 10. Social interactions within the Duwamish Tribe

On the STOWW survey, the item "Increasing communication with members" was relevant to social networks (see Table 14 below). The distribution of responses was

statistically significant, with the frequencies aggregating in the higher priority ranks. Over 50% of participants rated this as first, second, third, or fourth in priority.

These data indicated that regular interaction occurred among some Duwamish tribal members who were not kin, and beyond tribal boundaries among other American Indian people; however, these did not characterize the predominant social exchanges within the tribe. Clearly the primary social networks were within Duwamish extended families. This is not surprising, since such is in line with aboriginal practices, and with tribal survival strategies during the post treaty period (Tollefson, 1992). The Tollefson surveys indicated that a substantial majority of extended family gatherings occurred weekly or at least monthly. Also, contact with a historic treaty family appeared particularly important.

Substantial communication about the Tribe occurs at family gatherings. Attendance at tribal meetings is often in the company of family members, as has been case for many generations. Duwamish culture and identity are passed on within the family, children are taught to respect their elders within the family, and ethnic self esteem is nurtured within the family.

Tribal participation. As described above, Hansen (1987) reported that 31.5% of his respondents attended tribal meetings, and 24.1% participated in tribal elections. This latter figure is similar to Tollefson et al. (1996), who found that 27.3% of their respondents participated in tribal elections. Hansen (1987) also found that for those respondents who had decreased their tribal participation, over 90% did so for reasons other than a lessened interest.

Tollefson (1987; Tollefson et al., 1996) assessed respondents' contacts with the Tribal Office in both his surveys. These data are displayed in Table 11.

How many times have you contacted the Duwamish Tribe office in the past ten years? (Tollefson, 1987)		
	Number	Percent
One to two	15	32.6
Three to four	6	13.0
Five to six	3	6.5
Seven to eight	1	2.2
Nine to ten	4	8.7
Eleven or more	17	40.0
How often have you contacted or been contacted by the Duwamish Tribal Office? (Tollefson, 1996)		
	Number	Percent
Weekly	3	1.6
Monthly	29	15.8
Quarterly	83	45.1
Yearly	53	28.8
Never	16	8.7

Table 11. Contacts with the Tribal Office

A number of items on the STOWW survey were relevant to tribal participation. 61% (n=65) of those who responded to the item on Duwamish Tribal meetings, indicated that they had attended at least one; 39% indicated that they had not. 95% (n=84) of those who responded to the item on the Tribal Council indicated that they were satisfied with its functioning; 5% indicated that they were not. 68% (n=71) of those who responded to the item on the Tribal Constitution indicated that they were familiar with it; 32% indicated that they were not.

The Hansen (1987) data indicated that about one-third of the participants had attended a tribal meeting within the past year. If the period of inquiry was extended beyond one year, then the STOWW data indicated up to about 60% had participated. Although over 50% of the Tollefson 1987 and 1996 participants evaluated tribal meetings as average to high in importance, there does appear to be some ambivalence here. On the other hand, there appears to be strong support for some form of formal tribal government,

and a very large majority of those queried on the STOWW survey indicated satisfaction with the Tribal Council.

Hansen (1987) assessed tribal priorities through an item which asked, "Which of the following cultural goals do you think are the most important for the Duwamish people?" Table 12 displays the responses.

Goals	% Response*
Cultural and Historical Education for Tribal Members	57.4%
Documenting and Publishing More Tribal History	57.4%
Preserving Duwamish Artifacts and Artwork	53.7%
Preserving the Duwamish Language	27.8%
All of the above	1.9%

Table 12. Most important cultural goals for tribe (Hansen, 1987)

*Data totals more than 100% due to multiple responses

Concerns	Number	Percent
Federal Recognition	83	43.9
Tribal Land Base	27	14.3
Preserving Duwamish Culture	24	12.7
Educational Opportunities	19	10.1
Learning Tribal History	19	10.1
Understanding Duwamish Heritage	18	9.5
Acquisition of Hunting and Fishing Rights	18	9.5
Access To Tribal Information	17	9.0
Indian Rights for Tribal Members	17	9.0
Availability of Medical and Dental Services	15	8.0
Building A Cultural Center	14	7.4
Welfare Services	14	7.4

Table 13. Important Duwamish tribal concerns (Tollefson et al., 1996)

Similarly, Tollefson et al. (1996) through open-response items solicited their respondents' most important tribal concerns. The responses were content analyzed and arranged into 25 categories. These are listed in Table 13 on the previous page. Finally, a number of items dealing with tribal priorities were also included in the STOWW survey. The responses are summarized in Table 14.

Activities	Statistical Characteristics				
	Range	n	Mean	Median	X ²
Sponsoring cultural or spiritual activities and events	1-10	93	4.4	4.0	p=.004
Increasing Communication with Members	1-9	89	4.1	4.0	p=.006
Protecting Sacred or Cultural Sites	1-9	92	3.7	3.0	p=.000
Enlarging The Tribal Land Base	1-10	86	5.3	6.0	p=.159
Developing a Tribal Center	1-9	95	4.0	4.0	p=.016
Providing Educational or Employment Assistance	1-10	96	4.1	3.5	p=.000
Pursuing Tribal Economic Development	1-9	89	4.6	4.0	p=.027
Providing Health Services	1-9	88	5.1	5.5	p=.000
Encouraging Political Activity	1-10	85	7.2	9.0	p=.000
Other	1-10	24	7.4	9.5	

Table 14. Tribe's top priorities (1 to 10; 1 as highest priority) (Roe et al., 1998)

The top three priorities mentioned in the interview and autobiographical data were (1) federal recognition, (2) increased active participation of the membership, and (3) a cultural center. The Hansen (1987) survey used a limited, closed response item to assess goals, and thus artificially constrained the variety of responses. Recognizing this, the top two goals in the Hansen study both related to preserving Duwamish culture and history. In the Tollefson et al. (1996) study the three top concerns of the tribe were (1) federal

recognition, (2) a land base, and (3) preserving the Duwamish culture. The STOWW top three priorities were (1) protecting sacred or cultural sites, (2) educational and employment assistance, and then a cluster in third place which included a tribal center, increased communication, cultural or spiritual activities, and tribal economic development.

Two particularly salient themes appear to emerge from these findings: (1) achieving Federal recognition and (2) practicing and preserving Duwamish culture. Although no essential relationship exists between these themes, one does appear to support the other. That is, federal recognition is not necessary for Duwamish culture to survive, nor are the Duwamish people remaining together simply to gain material benefit from recognition, as has been claimed by the federal government.⁵ On the other hand, federal recognition was seen by many participants as likely to facilitate the preservation of culture and heritage, strengthen tribal identity, increase honor and respect for the Duwamish of today and of past generations, and so on.

Discussion

Duwamish Indians as modern community

A classic work on community with substantial influence in the social sciences is Ferdinand Tonnies' Community and Society, first published in 1889 (see Loomis, 1957 for a translated and edited edition). Tonnies described human relationships as a typology with two main categories: gemeinschaft (community) and gesellschaft (society). Gemeinschaft relationships are characterized as intimate and affectionate, among like-minded people who understand each other, and who "remain and dwell together and organize their common

life" (Loomis, 1957, p. 48). *Gesellschaft* in contrast, refers to relationships which are either imaginary (e.g., living close to someone with whom no interaction occurs), or artificial or mechanical (i.e., a temporary alliance among persons to accomplish an objective, but the alliance is primarily a transaction, and the objective is perceived by each individual as personal gain, not a gain for the group).

Unfortunately, Tonnies' emphasis on locality reflects the historical time of his writing, and hinders our understanding of community in modern society.

Territorially based interaction represents only one pattern of community, a pattern that [has become] less and less evident over the course of American history. A preoccupation with territory thus ultimately confuses our understanding of community (Bender, 1978, p. 6).

On the other hand, elements in Tonnies' concepts of *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft* do have application today. Particularly helpful is Tonnies' comparison of "unity" in the two. He argued that *gesellschaft* superficially resembled *gemeinschaft*, in that persons in both cases can live and dwell together peacefully.

However, in the *Gemeinschaft* they remain essentially united in spite of all separating factors, whereas in the *Gesellschaft* they are essentially separated in spite of all uniting factors (Loomis, 1957, p. 65).

Tonnies' "essentially united" is well represented in contemporary definitions of community. The example adopted for the purpose of this analysis is provided by Bender (1978). He defines community as a network of social relations marked by mutuality and emotional bonds; which include a limited number of people in restricted social [emphasis

⁵ For example, in 1965 the Department of the Interior inappropriately charged that "This [Duwamish] organization was formed for the principal purpose of prosecuting claims against the United States" (Tollefson,

mine] space or network, who have mutual access to one another, who share understandings and sense of obligation, and who also may find themselves in conflict with one another at times. This definition is basically *gemeinschaft*; however, mutual access to one another does not require (although it certainly can include) dwelling in close proximity to one another.

The Duwamish participants in the studies under consideration exist in *gemeinschaft*. They are representatives of a modern community of Indians. Their community is an end in itself; it does not simply exist to serve an instrumental purpose (e.g., to achieve federal acknowledgment) (Bender, 1978, pp. 8 - 9). Most participants informally interact with members of the tribe outside of formal tribal meetings, particularly within their extended families. They share an informal sense of obligation to one another as tribal members in their friendships and family ties, and they share a formal sense of obligation to one another as tribal members in their acceptance of tribal authority in tribal matters.

As a small child I remember going to Indian gatherings, playing with other Indian children. During my life I have attended many Indian activities, such as Spiritual, Potlatch, Pow-wow, Name Giving, Fishing, Re-claiming, Blessing, and Burial Ceremonies with each having their own special meaning. At no other time am I so at peace and full of life as when I am with my Indian people. The Duwamish Tribe has meant a lot to me from the time I knew I was Duwamish. It is very important to me that the tribe does not die and that it comes back strong, and for all people to know we are still Duwamish Indian people here walking the paths of our ancestors.

The noted social scholar Robert Nisbet characterized the archetype of community to be the family (e.g., Nisbet, 1953). In the case of the Duwamish, this is not simply a useful metaphor for their social relationships, it is also an accurate concrete description of their

social relationships. Family ties permeate the social world of the Duwamish. Most know their personal family lineage. Many attend tribal meetings with family members and have done so for generations. Many attend other formal gatherings of family members who are Duwamish, such as funerals and weddings, and many informally socialize with Duwamish who are family. Most came to know of their Duwamish roots and cultural heritage through teaching and socialization within the family context.

The Duwamish participants in the present study are modern American Indians; they are not fully assimilated "anglos" who are descendants of Indians. They demonstrate an integration mode of acculturation, in that they have maintained distinct ethnic identities while participating in the dominant society. Their federally unacknowledged status has been irrelevant to their Duwamish Indian identity. Most have identified themselves to themselves and others as American Indian for their entire lives.

These participants demonstrate continuity and synthesis in their endpoints of acculturation. Continuity is evident in their "characteristic Duwamish" attitude and behavior toward a personal natural world, American Indian cultural symbols, and in their participation in a variety of cultural practices. Synthesis is evident in their retaining elements of Native Spirituality, while many are also committed at a variety of levels to forms of Christianity. In general these elements are in regard to the sacredness of all creation and traditional ceremonies.

...my life has been one of feeling a oneness with Mother Earth and loving the outdoors and it's inhabitants. I believe the Native American way of living and believing in all things in life is a more realistic and truer picture and understanding of the Creator's purpose, than our white brothers. It is for these reasons that I choose to be Native American. My desire is that I be seen and remembered as a Native American and that upon my death, that I am buried in the traditional manner of my Native American grandfathers.

The aboriginal Duwamish Tribe and the Duwamish Tribe of today have been composed of persons in extended families who share a common set of values, beliefs and symbols; that is, they share a "cultural core" (Tollefson, 1987, p. 314). This cultural core has been instrumental in counteracting societal forces to assimilate. It has been instrumental in the evolution of the Duwamish from an aboriginal society to a modern community of American Indians. It has been central to the Duwamish experience of *gemeinschaft*.

Acculturation is not synonymous with assimilation. This was demonstrated about fifteen years ago among a Native Canadian tribe in an event of great speed and magnitude. A massive hydroelectric project was constructed on the hunting and trapping territory of the Cree Indian people of northern Quebec. Berry and his colleagues were able to follow their dramatically accelerated acculturation process. In spite of the tremendous intrusion into their way of life, the Cree were able to maintain their identity and values and positive relations with the larger society. Their mode of acculturation was integration, and their goals of change were primarily synthesis and change (Berry, 1984). Berry argued that within a multicultural society such as Canada, the Cree pattern of acculturation was adaptive.

On the basis of this study of cultural contact in the Cree area, it is apparent that as a people, and as individuals, the Cree have not been wiped out, as so many initially feared. In the face of massive intrusion (forced contact) that is more at the economic, technical and political level than at the personal level, the Cree have managed to avoid the two extreme reactions of rejection or assimilation. From an initial position of partial segregation,

they have taken the integration route, which is consistent both with current policy and associated with the avoidance of stress and marginality (Berry, 1984, p. 25).

Berry also hypothesized that patterns emphasizing assimilation and change would be more likely adaptive in a unicultural society. That in a multicultural society, the loss of ethnic identity and values should not be the price required for entrance into the economy and technology of the larger society.

Similar to the Cree, the Duwamish's 150 years of acculturation also demonstrate the adaptive advantage of integration in a multicultural society. As has been presented in this compilation of a number of studies, the Duwamish have not been forced to assimilate. They have maintained their identity and values and positive group relations in the larger society,⁶ although perhaps less so with that society's government.

I also believe that the tribe has come too far to rollover and die. We can't give up because the white man will surely have won the war he began so many years ago and if this happens my ancestors will have died in vain.

⁶ In a more recent review Berry (1994) noted that in at least 30 studies, the integration mode of acculturation was consistently associated with better indices of mental health. Assimilation and separation followed, with marginalization associated with the poorest indices. Correlations between integration and mental health ran from +.3 to +.4, while they ran from -.3 to -.4 for marginalization and mental health.

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- 1986 Consultant to Iona College. Evaluation research on viability of additional baccalaureate degree granting institution in Jamaica. Ocho Rios, Jamaica.
- 1986 Scholar in Residence
Center for Global Education, Augsburg College, Minneapolis, MN.
- 1977-88 Instructor, Assistant, Associate Professor
Department of Psychology, Bethel College, St. Paul, MN.
- 1977 Research Associate
Office of Research in Medical Education, University of Washington Medical School, Seattle, WA.
- 1975-77 Teaching Assistant/Research Assistant
Measurement Area, Educational Psychology, University of Washington, Seattle, WA.
- 1975-76 Clinical Assistant
Neonatal Intensive Care Follow-up Clinic, Clinical Training Unit, Child Development and Mental Retardation Center, University of Washington, Seattle, WA.
- 1974-75 Teacher/Intern
Preparation of Personnel in the Education of the Severely Handicapped. Lake Washington Special Education Center, Kirkland, WA. Funded by Bureau for Education of the Handicapped. Grant #67-5435.
- 1973-74 Educator/Researcher
Research and Application of Instructional Materials Development. Experimental Education Unit, Child Development and Mental Retardation Center, University of Washington, Seattle, WA. Funded by National Institute of Education: Project #572247, Grant #OEG-0-70-3916 (607).
- 1970-73 Animal Trainer (Applied Operant Conditioning)
Training Department, Sea World of San Diego, Inc., San Diego, CA.

PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

American Association of University Professors
 American Psychological Association
 Division 48: Peace Psychology
 American Conference for Irish Studies
 Ethnic Studies Network, International Program for Conflict Resolution and Ethnicity, University of Ulster, Northern Ireland, and United Nations University
 International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology

ACADEMIC HONORS, AWARDS

1996	Ivy Honorary <i>Top Prof</i> Recipient Seattle Pacific University
1994	Senior Fellowship British Council
1993	Professor of the Year Seattle Pacific University
1997, 1996, 1995, 1993 1991, 1989	Faculty Research Grants Seattle Pacific University
1990	Water Faculty Award for Meritorious Scholarship Seattle Pacific University
1988, 1989	Academic Renewal Grant Seattle Pacific University
1988	Pew Trust Faculty Incentive Grant for International Study--Philippines
1987	Distinguished Faculty Award for Service Bethel College
1985	Alumni Faculty Grant Bethel College
1985, 1983 1981, 1979	Faculty Development Grants Bethel College
1973	Honors at Graduation University of California at San Diego
1969	Honors at Entrance University of California at San Diego
1969	University of Southern California
1969	Life Membership Award California Scholarship Federation

PUBLICATIONS

SELECTED PROFESSIONAL PAPERS, SYMPOSIA

- Roe, M. D. (1998, August). The reproduction of ethnic identity and ethnic memories in a Native American people: The Cowlitz Indians of southwestern Washington state. In E. Cairns (Chair), *The role of memories in ethnic conflict*. Symposium to be conducted at the 24th International Congress of Applied Psychology, San Francisco, CA, U.S.A.
- Roe, M. D. (1997, July). *Conflict and peacemaking between a North American aboriginal people and the United States Government: The case of the Cowlitz Indians*. Paper to be presented at the Fifth International Symposium on the Contributions of Psychology to Peace. Sponsored by the Committee for the Psychological Study of Peace, International Union of Psychological Science, University of Melbourne, Australia.
- Roe, M. D. (1997, July). *Ethnic memories and the eruption of new political violence in Northern Ireland*. Paper to be presented at the Fifth International Symposium on the Contributions of Psychology to Peace. Sponsored by the Committee for the Psychological Study of Peace, International Union of Psychological Science, University of Melbourne, Australia.

SELECTED PROFESSIONAL PAPERS, SYMPOSIA (cont.)

- Roe, M. D., Pegg, W., Hodges, K., & Trimm, R. A. (1997, April). *Selective ethnic memories and forgiveness of political violence in Northern Ireland*. Paper to be presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Conference for Irish Studies, Albany, NY.
- Roe, M. D., Pegg, W., & Hodges, K. (1995, June). Reconciling ethnic memories in settings of political violence: Youth in Northern Ireland. In C. de la Rey (Chair), *The role of memories in conflict*. Symposium conducted at the Fourth International Symposium on the Contributions of Psychology to Peace. Sponsored by the Committee for the Psychological Study of Peace, International Union of Psychological Science, Cape Town, South Africa.
- Roe, M. D. (1994, September). *Cowlitz Indian ethnic identity and continuity: 150 years of conflict with the government of the United States*. Paper presented in the Ethnicity and Conflict session of Conflict and Mental Health, Annual Conference of the European Regional Council of the World Federation for Mental Health, Belfast, Northern Ireland.
- Roe, M. D. (1994, July). Children and political violence: A response with extended examples from Northern Ireland. In M. Wessels (Chair), *Impacts of war on children: Cultural contexts and implications for effective interventions*. Symposium conducted at the 23rd International Congress of Applied Psychology, Madrid, Spain.
- Roe, M. D., & Cairns, E. (1994, May). *The role of religious identity in personal and community resilience to political violence: Cases of Enniskillen in Northern Ireland and Barangay Guangan in the Philippines*. Paper presented at the International Conference on Religion and Conflict, sponsored by the United Nations University and the University of Ulster, Armagh, Northern Ireland.
- Roe, M. D. (1993, August). Cultural contexts of children in war settings: Childhood as social status. In *Children, families, and war*. Symposium conducted at the Third International Symposium on the Contributions of Psychology to Peace. Sponsored by the Committee for the Psychological Study of Peace, International Union of Psychological Science, Virginia, U. S. A.
- Roe, M. D. (1993, August). Psychological and social resilience to political violence: Role of faith communities. In M. D. Roe (Chair), *Religious identity and community in adaptation and maladaptation to political violence*. Symposium conducted at the 101st Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.
- Roe, M. D. (1992, June). Children in armed conflict settings: Reconceptualizing psychosocial development. In N. Toner (Chair), *Children and political violence*. Symposium conducted at the First International Conference of the Ethnic Studies Network, Centre for the Study of Conflict, University of Ulster, Northern Ireland, in association with the United Nations University.
- Roe, M. D. (1992, June). Collective efficacy in settings of armed conflict: Responses of faith communities. In D. Horowitz (Chair), *Examining community violence in ethnically divided societies*. Symposium conducted at the First International Conference of the Ethnic Studies Network, Centre for the Study of Conflict, University of Ulster, Northern Ireland, in association with the United Nations University.
- Roe, M. D. (1991, August). Intervention in settings of armed conflict and violent displacement: A response. In M. D. Roe (Chair), *Children and families in armed conflict and violent displacement*. Symposium conducted at the 99th Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, San Francisco, CA.

SELECTED PROFESSIONAL PAPERS, SYMPOSIA (cont.)

- Roe, M. D., & Lenon, M. (1991, March). *Tribal identity and continuity among a Pacific Northwest displaced people: The Cowlitz Indian Tribe*. Paper presented at the Nineteenth Annual Conference of the National Association for Ethnic Studies, Pomona, CA.
- Roe, M. D. (1989, October). *Children's responses to violent displacement: Salvadoran and Filipino case materials*. Paper presented at the 12th National Third World Studies Conference, University of Nebraska, Omaha, NB.
- Roe, M. D. (1989, March). *Psychosocial contexts in children's responses to armed conflict*. Plenary address in International Humanitarian Law: Children as Victims of Armed Conflict. Conference sponsored by American and Canadian Red Cross and Henry Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington, Seattle, WA.
- Roe, M. D. (1989, February). *Filipino evacuees in the Philippines (with comments on Filipino values)*. Paper presented at the 4th Annual Pacific Northwest Social Science Conference, Seattle, WA.
- Roe, M. D. (1988, November). Role of community development in psychosocial adjustment of Central American refugees: Local church as agent. In H. C. Schreck (Chair), *The local church: A focus of community development*. Symposium conducted at the 87th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Phoenix, AZ.
- Roe, M. D. (1987, August). *Religion, terror, and control of the displaced in El Salvador*. Paper presented at the 95th Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, New York, NY.
- Roe, M. D. (1986, October). *Central American refugees in the United States: Psychosocial adaptation*. Paper presented at the 9th National Third World Studies Conference, University of Nebraska, Omaha, NB.
- Roe, M. D. (1985, October). *Personality development among refugee children in Central America: Drawings of self and family as windows*. Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Minnesota Association for the Education of Young Children, Bloomington, MN.
- Roe, M. D. (1985, October). *Refugee sanctuary for Central Americans: Agenda and Efficacy*. Paper presented at the 8th National Third World Studies Conference, University of Nebraska, Omaha, NB.
- Roe, M. D. (1985, October). *Human development and nuclear threat: An update*. Invited paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Minnesota Association for the Education of Young Children, Bloomington, MN.
- Roe, M. D. (1984, November). *Human behavior and genetic engineering: A response to Anderson's "Genetic Engineering and the Future of Humanity"*. Invited paper presented at the meeting of the American Scientific Affiliation, North Central Section, St. Paul, MN.
- Roe, M. D., Nielson, K. B., Nielson, N., Plemel, C. F., & Nelson, J. (1984, October). *Religious orthodoxy and development toward feminism: Understanding personal stories*. Paper presented at the conference, Women and Men: Connecting Research and Experience, University of Wisconsin, La Crosse, WI.
- Roe, M. D. (1983, November). *Developmental effects of living under the threat of nuclear destruction*. Paper presented at the Educators for Social Responsibility conference, Peace Education: A Day of Dialogue, St. Paul, MN.

SELECTED PROFESSIONAL PAPERS, SYMPOSIA (cont.)

- Roe, M. D., & McNeel, S. P. (1983, May). *Social implications of behavioral research on world hunger*. Paper presented at the 149th Annual Meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Detroit, MI.
- Roe, M. D., & Jaeger, F. M. (1982, October). *Malnutrition and mental retardation: Application of a synergistic model*. Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the American Association on Mental Deficiency, Region VIII, Winnipeg, Manitoba.
- Roe, M. D. (1982, June). *Queries into living responsibly with other of earth's creatures*. Paper presented at the AuSable Forum, AuSable Trails Institute of Environmental Studies, Mancelona, MI.
- Roe, M. D., & Rowe, J. K. (1979, April). *Assessment of sexism in religious educational materials*. Paper presented at the Conference of the Evangelical Women's Caucus of Minnesota, St. Paul, MN.
- Peckham, P. D., Wintz, J. C., & Roe, M. D. (1977, May). *The perception of test relevance: Characteristics of examinees and characteristics of items*. Paper presented at the Fifth Annual Pacific Northwest Educational Research and Evaluation Conference, Seattle, WA.
- Roe, M. D., & Chandler, L. (1976, May). *Behavioral problems: Prenatal implications*. Paper presented at the Fourth Annual Pacific Northwest Educational Research and Evaluation Conference, Seattle, WA.

SELECTED PROFESSIONAL ARTICLES, CHAPTERS

- Roe, M. D., Pegg, W., Hodges, K., & Trimm, R. A. (in press). Social identity, ethnic memories, and forgiving the other side in Northern Ireland. In J. Harrington and E. Mitchell (Eds.), *Northern Ireland*. Boston, MA: American Conference for Irish Studies and University of Massachusetts Press.
- Roe, M. D. (1998). *Duwamish Indian modern community*. Submitted to the Duwamish Tribal Council, Renton, WA. Document submitted to the Branch of Acknowledgement and Research, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of Interior, Washington, D.C.
- Roe, M. D., & Cairns, E. (1997). Adolescents and political violence: A case of Northern Ireland. In J. E. Nurmi (Editor), *Adolescents, cultures and conflicts: Growing up in Europe*. New York: Michigan State University Press and Garland Publishing.
- Roe, M. D. (1997). The psychological effects of war. In D. Benner & P. Hill (Eds.), *Baker Encyclopedia of Psychology*, 2nd Edition. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House.
- Roe, M. D. (1994). Children in armed conflict settings: Reconceptualizing psychosocial development. In V. Morgan (Ed.), *Conflict and change*. Tokyo: United Nations Press.
- Roe, M. D. (1994). Conquest and annexation of racial or ethnic groups. In F. N. Magill (Ed.), *Survey of social science: Sociology*. Pasadena, CA: Salem Press.
- Roe, M. D. (1994). Queries about protecting children in war settings. *Peace Psychology Bulletin*, 3(1), 12-18.

SELECTED PROFESSIONAL ARTICLES, CHAPTERS (cont.)

- Roe, M. D. (1994). Cowlitz (Indian Tribe). In M. B. Davis (Ed.), *Native America in the Twentieth Century: An Encyclopedia*. New York: Garland Publishing.
- Roe, M. D. (1993). Human responsibility and action scholarship: Social scientists as advocates. In M. Madzkowski & A. Ellis (Eds.), *Humanitarian values for Russian secondary schools*, volume 2. Moscow, Republic of Russia: International Center for Human Values.
- Roe, M. D. (1993). Developmental methodologies. In F. N. Magill (Ed.), *Survey of social science: Psychology*. Pasadena, CA: Salem Press.
- Roe, M. D. (1992). *Cowlitz modern community. Study 2: General tribal membership*. Submitted to the Cowlitz Tribal Council, Longview, WA. Document submitted to the Branch of Acknowledgement and Research, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of Interior, Washington, D.C.
- Roe, M. D. (1992). Displaced women in settings of continuing armed conflict. *Women and Therapy*, 13(1 & 2), 89-104. Also published in E. Cole, O. M. Espin, & E. D. Rothblum (Eds.), *Refugee women and their mental health: Shattered societies, shattered lives*. New York: Haworth Press, 1992.
- Roe, M. D. (1991). *Tribal identity and continuity in the Cowlitz modern community. Study 1: Cowlitz tribal leadership*. Submitted to the Cowlitz Tribal Council, Longview, WA. Document submitted to the Branch of Acknowledgement and Research, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of Interior, Washington, D. C.
- Roe, M. D. (1991). Psychosocial adaptation of Filipino *evacuees* in the Philippines. *National Social Science Journal* (Pacific Northwest Edition), II & III(5), 125-137.
- Roe, M. D. (1989). Forced displacement in the Philippines. *Links (Journal of the Central America Health Rights Network)*, 6(1), 8.
- Roe, M. D. (1989). Drawing on the future: Child drawings and refugee psychosocial health. *Links (Journal of the Central America Health Rights Network)*, 6(1), 6-7.
- Roe, M. D. (1987). Central American Refugees in the United States: Psychosocial adaptation. *Refugee Issues*, 3 (3), 21-30.
- Roe, M. D., Warner, C. F., & Erickson, S. (1986). A phenomenological exploration of feminism and Christian orthodoxy. *Journal of Psychology and Christianity*, 5 (1), 30-38.
- Roe, M. D. (1985). Life-span development.
- Roe, M. D. (1985). Prenatal development.
- Roe, M. D. (1985). Principles of psychological measurement.
- Roe, M. D. (1985). Psychosocial development. In D. B. Benner (Ed.), *Baker's encyclopedia of psychology*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House.
- Roe, M. D., & Sahlin, C. (1985). Creativity tests. In D. B. Benner (Ed.), *Baker's encyclopedia of psychology*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House.
- Edwall, G. E., & Roe, M. D. (1982). The development of sexuality: A perspective on issues and values. *Journal of Psychology and Christianity*, 1 (4), 23-29.

SELECTED PROFESSIONAL ARTICLES, CHAPTERS (cont.)

- Roe, M. D., & Prange, M. (1982). On quantifying the magnitude of sex-role endorsement. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, 46 (3), 300-303. Indexed in D. H. Olson & R. Markoff (Eds.), *Inventory of marriage and family literature*, Volume IX. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1983.
- Roe, M. D. & Lloyd-Dennis, D. L. (1981). Sex role stereotyping in religious curricula. *Christian Association for Psychological Studies Bulletin*, 7 (2), 14-17. (Now the *Journal of Psychology and Christianity*)
- Roe, M. D. (1981) Masculinity and femininity as separate dimensions of sex role attributes: Their characterization in early development. *Dissertation Abstracts International*, 42 (4a), 1557A. (University Microfilms No. 8121237).
- Chandler, L. S., & Roe, M. D. (1978). Behavioral and neurological comparisons of neonates born to mothers of differing social environments. *Child psychiatry and human development*, 8 (1), 25-30.
- Peckham, P. D., & Roe, M. D. (1977). The effects of frequent testing. *Journal of Research and Development in Education*, 10 (3), 40-50.