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The Safe Futures Initiative at Chief Leschi Schools: A School-Based Tribal Response to Alcohol-Drug Abuse, Violence-Gang Violence, and Crime on an Urban Reservation

GEORGE M. GUILMET, DAVID L. WHITED, NORM DORPAT, CHERLYN PIJANOWSKI

INTRODUCTION

This article will first describe the Puyallup Reservation in Tacoma-Pierce County, Washington, focusing on its urban context and the demographics of the multitribal community it serves. The authors will then consider the Chief Leschi Schools system (pre-K through 12) in historic perspective and in its contemporary form. The community and family risk factors associated with the escalating problem of alcohol/drug abuse and violence/youth violence in the surrounding urban community and within the Puyallup Reservation will be discussed. The

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impact of the broader urban alcohol/drug abuse and violence on Chief Leschi Schools and its children and families will then be analyzed. The tribal programmatic response to this situation and particularly the development and the evolution of the prevention programs, Positive Reinforcement in Drug Education (PRIDE) and Puyallups Against Violence (PAV) will be discussed. These programs were designed to provide positive alternative activities to American Indian and Alaska Native students and the general multitribal community. The current design of the alcohol-drug-violence-gang prevention program (Safe Futures) and the future goals and plans for this program will then be reviewed. Special attention will be placed on reviewing the risk factors and protective factors targeted for intervention through the Safe Futures Program. Finally, the relevance of this project to a selected sample of the research literature will be discussed. This article is based on an analysis of historic data and a set of interviews with school staff, prevention staff, and general Puyallup tribal employees.

THE PUYALLUP INDIAN RESERVATION

Let us consider the Puyallup Indian Reservation in Tacoma/Pierce County, Washington (the target area for the Safe Futures Initiative), focusing on its urban context and the demographics of the multitribal community it serves.¹ The Puyallup Reservation is the most urbanized reservation within Washington state. Reservation boundaries, which encompass 18,061 acres, include a major portion of the city of Tacoma and also include portions of Fife, Milton, and the city of Puyallup. Tribal headquarters border Tacoma's Empowerment Zone.² Puyallup tribal social, health, and educational programs annually provide services to more than 15,000 Native Americans, many of whom live within Tacoma's Empowerment Zone. Approximately 81,000 people of multiple ethnicities live within the reservation boundaries. Of this number, approximately 15 percent are members of identified racial/ethnic minorities. The Bureau of Indian Affairs data for 1993 identified 5,048 Native Americans age zero to sixteen years as living on or adjacent to the Puyallup Reservation. The BIA records seventeen and eighteen-year-olds as adults in their figure. By extrapolating from the data for zero to fifteen-year-olds, we estimate that a total of 5,650 youth zero to eighteen-years-old live on or near the Puyallup Reservation.

Due to the suspect practice of allotting land to individual tribal members, subsequent land auctions and sales, and the growth of the city of Tacoma, most of the Puyallup Reservation, 95 percent, is non-Indian owned.³ According to the 1980 United States Census, the Puyallup Reservation's total population was 25,188 individuals. Only 856 of these, 3.4 percent, were identified as Indian, the lowest percentage of Indians on any Washington reservation. The number of Puyallup Indians enrolled in the tribe in 1989 was 1,075, with most residing on or near the reservation. The total number of Indians and Alaska Natives in Pierce County was 5,919 individuals according to the 1980 United States Census. The 1990 United States Census reported 8,344 American Indian and Alaska Natives residing in Pierce County.⁴

Due to an active enrollment campaign, the completion of the largest Indian land claim settlement in history with local non-Indian governments and residents within reservation boundaries, and a recent surge in economic development, tribal enrollments have increased dramatically.⁵ The current tribal enrollment is about 2,200 members.

Thus, the Puyallup are embedded in an unusual social situation.⁶ They are a reservation community interspersed in the middle of a city, in fact four cities. Individuals face both the problems experienced by urban Indians and many of the problems typical of reservations: a very high unemployment rate, a median family income lower and less stable than that of the non-Indian population, severe housing problems, high alcohol and drug abuse rates, low educational attainment, and a reservoir of health problems due to the impact of long-term poverty.

In addition, child neglect, child abuse, and family dissolution are major social problems. Some residual difficulties in child rearing may be traced to the boarding school era, which deprived parents and grandparents of the present generation of exposure to traditional child-rearing skills. Compounded with reemerging issues of identity and alienation, the situation for urban Indian families is fragile and at times relatively powerless.

Many Puyallup families are deprived of the extended family networks, the shared cultural tradition, and shared worldview present within a rural reservation community. Thus, Puyallup families live in the middle of an alien majority culture and may feel alienated from Indian culture as well. Because of the erosion of the land base, even extended families who maintain contact find housing that is separated from other family

members, unlike the situation on rural reservations. Thus, the members of individual households are often forced to employ the social resources that the majority society has created to take the place of kinship. While Puyallups do have their own set of non-kin resources, in many cases they must depend on outsiders, precisely those people that tradition, history, and experience have taught them not to trust.

The Puyallup Tribal Health Authority makes available health and social services to all qualified American Indians and Alaska Natives in Pierce County and even some from bordering counties.⁷ Because they have moved to this area from home localities, many of these individuals may feel alienated from the Indian culture native to this area as well. Their extended families and culture base are often on reservations quite distant from the Puyallup tribe. Even when individuals or households follow extended family members to the city, their networking systems suffer greatly from the inroads of the majority culture because households within the family tend to find housing which is separated geographically from other members of the family, in contrast to reservation situations.⁸

A 1981 study compared the socioeconomic conditions on five Indian reservations in Washington State.⁹ In contrast to the Indians on or near the four rural reservations, Indians residing on or near the Puyallup Reservation had access to many more job opportunities. However, the Indian people in this greater Tacoma area had almost as high an unemployment rate (51 percent) as those associated with two of the rural reservations. Further, of those Tacoma area Indians who were employed, an incredible 75 percent earned an income below 5,000 dollars. The percentages of employed who earned less than 5,000 dollars in the four rural areas were far less: Colville (19 percent), Lummi (16 percent), Makah (34 percent), and Quinault (49 percent). Also, 73 percent of the clients of the Puyallup Child Welfare Services reported public assistance as their income source, the five-project client average being 36 percent.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs Labor Force Reports for August 1986 placed the American Indian and Alaska Native unemployment rate for Pierce County at an alarming 66 percent. Further, 57 percent of this labor force continued to seek gainful employment, though the economic conditions within this county will probably not change for them. Only 9 percent of this labor force ceased to seek work because of disappointment. The December 1995 BIA Indian Service Population &

Labor Force Report showed an increase in unemployment levels to 69 percent.¹⁰ Of those employed, nearly 80 percent were earning less than 9,048 dollars a year. Of those unemployed, more than 22 percent were not actively seeking work.

The 1980 census demonstrated that for American Indians and Alaska Natives in Pierce County the economic situation had not improved significantly from 1970. In fact, there was a marked increase in the percentage of Indian families living below poverty level: 27.9 percent in 1980 as compared to 24.6 percent in 1970. Over 20 percent of Indian families had incomes of less than 5,000 dollars, compared with 5.7 percent of white families, 11.4 percent of black families, 12.5 percent for Asian and Pacific Islander families, and 10.4 percent for families of Spanish origin. The 1990 census reported that nearly 21 percent of American Indian families in Pierce County were earning incomes below poverty level.¹¹

As measured by the 1980 U.S. Census, American Indians and Alaska Natives in the Puyallup tribal community not only suffered higher levels of poverty than their neighbors, but did not fare well when compared with the American Indians and Alaska Natives of Washington state as a whole, or with the American Indians and Alaskan Natives of surrounding congressional districts. Fully 19.4 percent of the American Indian and Alaska Native families residing in the congressional district in which most of the Puyallup tribal community is located reported incomes of less than 5,000 dollars; the state average for the same group show 15.9 percent. The statewide figures for American Indian and Alaska Native families being a median income of 14,703 dollars (24.5 percent greater than for the Puyallup service area) and a mean income of 17,797 dollars (20.4 percent greater than for the Puyallup service area). Within the state 24.8 percent of the American Indian and Alaska Native population were reported as living below poverty level; within the congressional district in which most of the Puyallup tribal community is located, 28.9 percent of the same group lived below poverty level.

The 1980 census assists in defining some of the stresses faced by American Indian and Alaska Native households. The 1980 census reported that nearly 28 percent of Pierce County's Indian families were headed by females with no husband present; within the Puyallup Reservation nearly 45 percent of the Indian families are headed by females with no husband present. The median income reported for families of female house-

holders with no husband present within the Puyallup Reservation was reported at 5,667 dollars in the 1980 census, per capita income being a mere 3,308 dollars. These income levels approached the minimal support monies provided by welfare through Aid to Families with Dependent Children. These families were caught in an unfortunate cycle in which day care was too expensive to afford, so work or further education were impractical, and they had to depend on the welfare system of the dominant society. The 1990 census reported that per capita income for American Indian and Alaska Natives residing in Pierce County had risen to 8,802, dollars while at the same time the percentage of families headed by females with no husband present had risen to 30.2 percent.¹²

Given this disadvantaged status, it is reasonable to expect a high incidence of health, mental health, and social problems among this group. Disadvantaged minorities experience higher rates of mortality, suicide, suicide attempts, infant mortality, restricted activity days, bed days, disabilities, and admissions to mental hospitals. There is a high positive correlation between low income and self-reported low health status of disadvantaged minorities.¹³ The economic malaise of the American Indian and Alaska Native population in the greater Tacoma area, and the lack of change in this status between 1970 and 1980, traced a bleak prospect for a significant increase in economic status in the near future. Unfortunately, the 1990 United States Census demonstrated only a slight decrease in levels of poverty as noted above. It is among the disheartened, long-term poor of the Puyallup tribal community that we can expect the continued high incidence of domestic and sociopsychological problems.

Most members of the Puyallup tribal community with middle and higher incomes either work with or for the tribe, or are self-employed under license or sponsorship of the tribe. Included in the former are secretaries, technicians, and managers, and in the latter, smoke shop owners and bingo operators. Fishermen are also self-employed and licensed by the tribe but earn marginal seasoned incomes. Given the huge economic expansion and employment opportunities offered by the development of tribal enterprises, we look forward to a much brighter future for Puyallup tribal members and the broader Native community the tribe serves. By April of 1996, the tribal government employed 120 individuals (55 percent Puyallup tribal members, overall 75 percent Native Americans); the trib-

al Bingo Palace employed 150 (35 percent Puyallup tribal members, overall 80 percent Native Americans); the Puyallup Tribal Health Authority employed 170 (18 percent Puyallup tribal members, overall 70 percent Native Americans); Chief Leschi Schools employed 216 (22 percent Puyallup tribal members, overall 54 percent Native Americans); Puyallup International (Chinook Landing Marina and other economic enterprises) employed fifteen (53 percent Puyallup tribal members, overall 73 percent Native Americans).¹⁴ The opening of the new Chief Leschi Schools facility in fall of 1996 and the corresponding rapid increase in student enrollment added many new job opportunities. Overall employment in the school increased to 286 staff (22 percent Puyallup tribal members, overall 63 percent Native Americans).¹⁵ Perhaps most significantly, the 1997 opening of the Emerald Queen River Boat Casino in Tacoma promises to make the tribe one of the largest employers in Pierce County, Washington. Employment in the casino is expected to increase from the current five hundred to more than one thousand.¹⁶ It is estimated that 50 percent of these employees will be Native Americans. With the expansion of the casino, along with other tribal enterprises, the Puyallup tribe will be one of the top ten employers in Pierce County.

While Puyallup tribal members maintain many traditional values and symbols, especially with regard to subsistence activities such as fishing, shellfishing, hunting, and berry gathering, their aboriginal culture has been profoundly changed. Only a few elders can speak Puyallup with any degree of skill, and fewer younger people are fluent enough to continue the tradition. However, the Chief Leschi Schools system is attempting to make children familiar with their language and culture through a Twelshootseed language program taught both in the main campus and the Safe Futures Community School. Traditional dance, singing, and visual arts are a mainstay of Chief Leschi's curriculum for cultural preservation and revitalization. The Safe Futures Community School's monthly powwows draw many participants from the surrounding community and nearby reservations.

Further, several other powwows and ceremonies are held in Tacoma and on nearby reservations, reinforcing tribal identity. More specifically, the Puyallup tribe hosts an annual powwow to commemorate and celebrate the return of the Old Cushman Hospital site to the tribe. The sponsorship of this event represents a large tribal investment (time, energy, and

dollars) and has some attributes of the potlatch, especially through the giveaway of large quantities of salmon and other foods. Its initiation marked a major progress point in tribal revitalization. Other ceremonial events include the First Salmon Ceremony and participation in the First Circle Canoe Journey among multiple Northwest Coast tribes.

Puyallups hold a wide range of standard Western religious beliefs, and some are members of the four current subsets of the Shaker religion. The Shaker religion is a truly unique Indian Christian religion, first appearing among the Indians of the southern Puget Sound in 1881 or 1882.¹⁷ The Shaker religion, which supports spiritual healing, is a blend of Christianity and aboriginal shamanistic beliefs and practices. Members of the church have been called upon to perform cleansing ceremonies in the Puyallup tribe's programs and facilities. It was sanctioned by white authorities because it assimilated many Christian concepts, but has no connection with the Christian Shakers of the Atlantic states. Precontact beliefs persist in the form of rituals and healing ceremonies in the Longhouse tradition.¹⁸

CHIEF LESCHI SCHOOLS

We now wish to consider the Chief Leschi Schools system (pre-K through 12) in historic perspective and in its contemporary form. Prior to the establishment of Chief Leschi School, there was little opportunity for Native American students to be educated with their peers in a culturally and educationally enriched environment. Native American students, and the resources necessary to respond to their unique needs and abilities, were scattered in schools on or near the Puyallup Reservation. Most Native American youth live in urban areas that are located throughout Pierce County. Approximately 169,000 school-age children currently reside in these areas. Of that total, only 2,900 (1.7 percent) are Native American.¹⁹ The Puyallup Reservation portion of Pierce County encompasses all or part of four different public school systems. Additional school systems are located in other parts of Pierce County. These public schools sponsor Indian education programs that receive specialized funding (Title IX) averaging less than 150 dollars per pupil per year. This dilution of resources and programs targeted for Native American youth, and the sparseness of the Native American student population in the public schools, have contributed to iden-

tified risk factors, particularly low neighborhood attachment and community disorganization.

Chief Leschi has emerged as a culturally based educational alternative for Native American youth on and near the reservation. The school now serves approximately 1,200 youth, most of whom reside within Pierce County. Given the demographic data presented above, we estimate that at least one-third of Native American school-age youth residing in the county attend Chief Leschi Schools. Chief Leschi currently has waiting lists for many of its program offerings. The school has evolved to its present form as a multi-campus system of educational and social service programs in less than twenty years. During this period, key events have highlighted changes in leadership and vision which have resulted in the school's current status as an award-winning alternative for Native American families. These milestones are:

- The school was originally established as the "Hawthorne School" by the Puyallup tribe in 1978.
- The Hawthorne School was relocated to the tribal headquarters in 1979 as the new Chief Leschi School, and was designated as a K-12 tribal school by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.
- The impact of high-needs youth on the new school with limited resources and inadequate administrative leadership led to threat of closure by the BIA in 1983. School enrollment was less than 100 pupils.
- A new superintendent was hired in 1985. Youth outreach programs, curriculum improvements, and prevention and intervention programs such as PRIDE were implemented. Yearly enrollment increases began to average more than twenty-five percent per year.
- The improvements in programs, curriculum, and prevention and intervention efforts (such as PRIDE) led to the receipt of many awards including the National Drug Free School award in 1989.²⁰
- Chief Leschi's secondary school campus was condemned by the BIA for use for educational purposes in 1989. The secondary school relocated to a rented facility. Requests to the BIA for a new school facility were initiated.

- The Puyallup Tribal Council which had been acting as the school board, established the school as a separate entity and established a separate Chief Leschi School Board in October 1991.
- The Puyallups Against Violence Program (PAV) was established in 1993.
- An independent school charter of incorporation was reaffirmed by the Puyallup Tribal Council in January of 1994. This incorporation was further modified to clarify the status of the school as a separate, independent Indian organization protected by sovereign immunity from suit in February 1994.
- Chief Leschi School, Inc. was granted 501(c)(3) tax-exempt status by the Internal Revenue Service, March 29, 1996.
- The new Chief Leschi School pre-K-12 campus was completed and occupied in the fall of 1996.
- A formal interlocal agreement with the Puyallup Public School system was established in 1996. As part of the Puyallup Public School system, Chief Leschi aligns curriculum and standards with Washington state requirements.
- The Puyallups Against Violence program became part of the comprehensive Safe Futures Community School in 1997.

By the fall of 1996, K through 12 enrollment on the main campus was 909: More than 93 percent of the student population was American Indian or Alaska Native, nearly 5 percent white, and less than 1 percent Black, Asian, or Hispanic.²¹ In excess of fifty-five recognized tribes are represented among the student body. They are typically urban American Indians and Alaska Natives not raised in rural reservation settings, and are a subpopulation of the Puyallup tribal community as a whole. However, students travel to Chief Leschi from both the Muckleshoot Reservation in King County to the north and from the Nisqually Reservation in Thurston County to the south. The Transportation Department reports that daily bus

routes cover more than 7,700 miles in transporting students to and from the school.

Securing the funds for the new school facility required intensive efforts at the local and national level. The new school facility reflects Native American culture and values. The schools are built around a circle, a round of Mother Earth, representing the connection of her people, the seasons, the four directions, and the worlds of plants, animals, birds, and fish. The campus is organized around east/west and north/south axes. The elementary school is at the east axis, while the high school lies to the west.

Native American students can now attend school with their peers in a state-of-the-art facility which houses educational programs that are second to none. Students have direct involvement in and attachment to positive peer and adult role models. Curriculum and teaching methods are culturally relevant and responsive to appropriate learning styles. Supportive social and health services are linked to individual student needs.

Chief Leschi is fiscally responsible for a budget of nearly 13 million dollars annually. Chief Leschi currently manages thirty-six grants and contracts, including a U.S. Department of Labor School-to-Work implementation grant. Chief Leschi receives funding from the tribal council, the BIA, and a variety of federal agencies and private foundations. Chief Leschi also receives state of Washington funds for its Goals 2000, Early Childhood, and Readiness-to-Learn programs.

Nontraditional K-12 programming includes:

- Family and Child Education Program (FACE): This program is a family literacy program that serves children 0-5 and their parents. The program implements four components: early childhood, parent and child time, parenting skills, and adult education in two settings: the home and in a center provided by the school.
- Early Childhood Education and Assistance Program (ECEAP): This is a state-funded program modeled after the federally funded Head Start Program. Like Head Start, ECEAP has four integrated components: parent involvement, education, health, and social services. The program serves in excess of seventy three- and four-year-old children and their families.

- **School to Work Program:** School to work is a new way of thinking about the common goal of preparing young people for their ultimate entry into the work force. This program makes certain that students experience the workplace as an active learning environment, and also ensures that young people come to understand how what they learn is related to what they earn.
- **Service Learning Program:** In this program young people learn and develop skills through active participation in thoughtfully organized service experiences which meet actual community needs. While the “community” may be the school, the surrounding community, or the natural environment, the experiences are integrated into the school curriculum, provide service to others, and involve a community-based organization.
- **Teen Parenting:** This program allows teen parents to continue their education within the normal school setting. Individualized instruction is provided towards high school or GED completion. Young parents not only continue their normal education, but also learn improved parenting and home management skills. Child care is provided in an onsite nursery.

ALCOHOL-DRUG ABUSE AND VIOLENCE-YOUTH VIOLENCE

The gangs have infiltrated our grade, middle and high schools and threaten the integrity of law enforcement on the Reservation. Over 80 Tribal youth wearing gang paraphernalia and showing gang signs attended the recent funeral of a member slain in a gang drive-by shooting. *Three (3) of our youth have been murdered and four seriously maimed during the last year.* In November 1993, twenty-one (21) recognized and affiliated gangs operated adjacent to and within the Reservation boundaries.²²

We now wish to focus on the community and family risk factors which contribute to the escalating problem of alcohol-drug abuse and violence-youth violence in the surrounding urban community and within the Puyallup Reservation. We will first describe the planning and risk assessment process which led to the Safe Futures Initiative.

The Planning Process

In 1994 Chief Leschi Schools and the PAV Partnership conducted an assessment of community risk and protective factors to determine areas of greatest need. Three sources of information were used for this assessment. The first source is from Chief Leschi student and parent surveys, as well as substance abuse, violence, and gang prevention workshops in which participants were asked to brainstorm and prioritize community issues, concerns, and challenges. The second source is from surveys and assessments conducted by tribal and nontribal social service and juvenile justice agencies for the allocation of resources. These include the Puyallup Tribal and Pierce County Health Authorities, Pierce County Health and Safety Network, Pierce County Juvenile Court, Puyallup Tribal Court, and Tribal and State Child Protective Services. The third source is census data from the BIA, the city of Tacoma, and Pierce County.

The assessment process included an internal evaluation of Puyallup tribal community strengths and weaknesses and an external evaluation of the strengths and weaknesses in greater Pierce County. Both processes are based on the Communities That Care model.²³ Because tribal agencies provide services to Native American youth and families living throughout Pierce County, the tribe and PAV Community Schools Partnership have conducted both internal and external assessments. As a part of the internal community assessment process, the Puyallup Tribal Safe Futures planning group was formed in August 1995 with subcommittees focusing on gangs, graduated sanctions (increased consequences directly related to increased severity or repetitiveness of rule violations), and mental health. In December 1994, the Puyallup tribe conducted a violence prevention workshop in collaboration with the Center for Substance Abuse Prevention. The workshop was a catalyst which created an ongoing group called the Puyallup Alliance Coalition. This coalition in turn sponsored a community violence prevention workshop attended by fifty-six community members in April 1995. Alcohol (80.8 percent) and the availability of illegal drugs (69.2 percent) were rated by participants as being significant problems contributing to gangs and violence. In July 1996 a two-day training session entitled "Combating Gangs on the Rez" was held, which included a panel of former and current gang members.

Through the community assessment process, Chief Leschi Schools and the PAV Partnership identified areas of greatest need and recommended several prevention program enhancements to address those needs. The areas of greatest need within the community domain are programs and services that adequately address transiency, community disorganization, and economic deprivation. Few mechanisms exist to facilitate peer networks and create a sense of community attachment, especially within the target neighborhoods which are high crime areas. The tribal tenants organization is new, and its leaders are not yet trained to organize the community to combat crime, violence, and delinquency. Too few programs exist to create economic opportunities. Youth need employable skills, hands-on experience, and opportunities to earn money. Within the family domain, few of the existing tribal programs teach good family management strategies, parenting skills, and positive discipline techniques. No programs exist for parents of middle and high school students, for example. No existing programs teach anger management and conflict resolution skills.

In the school domain, the areas of greatest need were programs that addressed early and persistent antisocial behavior, early academic failure, and lack of commitment to school. Teaching staff needed staff development opportunities to learn how to use the K-12 PRIDE curriculum, and how to teach social resistance skills, conflict resolution, and anger management using developmentally based curricula. Opportunities for adolescent children to interact with positive role models in the community are limited and are not routinely structured. Programs that connect classroom learning with the "real world" needed to be extended to the after-school program. Students need to be actively engaged in directing their own education. School and after-school programs need to turn "defeated learners" into self-motivated learners.

In the individual/peer domain, the following risk factors are insufficiently addressed: alienation and rebelliousness, friends who engage in a problem behavior, favorable attitudes toward the problem behavior, and early initiation of the problem behavior. There were insufficient opportunities for students to be engaged in meaningful constructive activities with adults and with their peers. Chief Leschi had a fairly homogeneous student population. Students do what they know. There were not enough opportunities for students to experience new and different environments. In addition, there was a lack of

opportunities for students to build refusal and positive leadership skills, and to learn to exercise autonomous judgment.

Data on the multiple risk factors associated with drug abuse, truancy, and violence illustrate the extent of need for the coordinated programmatic responses described following the risk summary. Statistical and perceptual data gathered from public and private agencies and community residents will be reported within the community, family, school, and individual/peer domains.²⁴

Community Risk Factors

Extreme Economic Deprivation: Tribal headquarters are located in East Tacoma—one of the most impoverished and violent sections of the metropolitan area. The highest poverty rates exist in East Tacoma's Salishan neighborhood (79 percent) and the northeast corner of the Hilltop (61 percent)—which are areas of special emphasis for our Safe Futures program. The 1990 census reported the median annual income for Native American families as 8,872 dollars. A larger number of Native American children under the age of four years live in poverty than any other reported racial/ethnic group. Within the city of Tacoma, 100 percent of Native American children age zero to five years old residing with a single female head of household live in poverty; 72 percent of Native American youth under seventeen years old live in poverty if residing with a female head of household. Households headed by a single female account for 38.4 percent of all Native American households.²⁵ In Pierce County, more than 47 percent of Native American children age zero to four years live in poverty—the highest rate among all ethnic groups.²⁶ During the 1995-96 school year, 95 percent of all Chief Leschi students qualified for free or reduced cost lunches. The 1990 census reported unemployment among Native Americans in Pierce County at 12 percent, nearly double that of the general population, and 1993 BIA labor force statistics report an unemployment rate of over 60 percent for Native Americans within the Puyallup Reservation.²⁷

Transitions and Mobility: Poverty contributes to low levels of home ownership and high transiency. In the Salishan neighborhood located south of the reservation, 99.6 percent of the homes are renter-occupied. The city of Tacoma is an Empowerment Zone; within this targeted area only one of every four households own their homes. The percentage of

boarded-up houses in the zone is 2.6 percent of the housing stock, which is ten times greater than the state and national averages. Eighteen percent of the units in the southern portion of downtown units are boarded up.²⁸ The 1990 census reports that more than half of all Pierce County families move every five years or less. We conclude that transitions and mobility affect the Native American population to a larger extent than the general population because of extreme poverty and the pattern of families living with members of their extended family.

Low Neighborhood Attachment and Community Disorganization: The economic conditions in this area are associated with high rates of crime and drug activity—all of which account for the neighborhoods in and near the reservation having a reputation of violent activity. In recent years Tacoma was ranked fifth in the nation for rates of violent crimes. It reported the highest crime rates in the state, and was the third most violent city on the West Coast, trailing Los Angeles and Oakland. Nationwide, the city of Tacoma has been ranked among the top ten most violent cities of its size.²⁹ The Puget Sound Council of Governments documented the following increases in crime during the past years: 45 percent increase in violent crimes, 64 percent increase in thefts, 19 percent increase in burglary, 29 percent increase in rape, 46 percent increase in assaults, and 126 percent increase in drug-related crimes. The rate of serious and violent crimes and simple assaults involving juvenile offenders steadily increased between 1990 and 1993, while the rate of crimes and assaults involving adults did not change significantly. Between 1990 and 1993 the rate of youth (ten to seventeen years old) arrests for serious and violent crimes increased from 1.5 per 1,000 to 2.4 per 1,000; the rate for simple assaults doubled from 3.3 per 1,000 to 6.6 per 1,000.³⁰ However, this trend has reversed within the city of Tacoma. In the first nine months of 1995 the arrests of juveniles dropped 30 percent.³¹ Tacoma showed an 8.5 percent decrease in overall crime between 1994 and 1995; unfortunately, it appears that the crime rates in the balance of Pierce County have increased by 6.6 percent during the same period. However, the decrease in crime is offset by a disturbing increase in drug-related deaths.³² The number of drug-related deaths in Pierce County attributed to overdoses grew from twenty-eight in 1993 to fifty-five in 1995, a 96.4 percent increase.³³

The tribe and its surrounding community have been hard hit by criminal activity.³⁴ However, faced with budget cuts, the city of Tacoma reduced the rate of services to the Portland

Avenue area—the major thoroughfare of East Tacoma located near the tribal headquarters. At the same time, the Tacoma Police Department removed its satellite station, which was located near the Puyallup tribal headquarters. Consequently, drug dealing, prostitution, and violent crime have increased in the area, while gang activity has expanded exponentially in recent years in and around the reservation. Currently, there are twenty-five known gangs in the Tacoma area—three are located within the reservation boundaries: Mexican Posse, Crips, and Bloods. Chief Leschi Middle and High Schools documented 196 gang-related incidents during the 1993-94 school year: Twelve of seventy-six (15.8 percent) middle school students were identified as gang members, and eight more were suspected; forty-four of 105 (41.9 percent) high school students were identified as gang members, and fifteen more were suspected. According to a past Puyallup tribal juvenile officer, two drive-by shootings within the reservation boundaries were reported daily during 1993. A 1993 Puyallup tribal council resolution stated that “gang infiltration into Chief Leschi’s Elementary, Middle and High School threaten the integrity of the law enforcement on the reservation.” Given the degree of gang involvement, it is not surprising that cases on the reservation involving juvenile offenders escalated 300 percent, according to recent statistics from the Puyallup tribal court.

Native American youth do not fare well in the Pierce County Juvenile Court System.³⁵ Native Americans account for only 1.79 percent of the total Pierce County population ages zero to seventeen. However, they account for 3.3 percent of the cases referred to Pierce County Juvenile Court, and represent 4.2 percent of the Pierce County detention population. Statewide, Native American youth represent .74 percent of the total youth population as reported by the 1990 United States Census; however, they were 6.1 percent of the total population incarcerated in state-operated juvenile rehabilitation facilities on June 30, 1994. This is in excess of eight times their representation in the general population. Statewide, 41.4 percent of juvenile cases are referred to diversion, 74.9 percent of all cases referred to diversion programming complete it, while 22.6 percent do not or refuse. Of Native American cases referred to diversion last year, 70.6 percent completed, while 27 percent did not or refused. Within Pierce County, 44.4 percent of Native American cases are referred to diversion; of these only 54.7 percent complete it, while 41.5 percent fail.

Family Risk Factors

Family Management Problems: The frequency of child abuse and neglect is a compelling barometer of family risk factors. The Pierce County Network (a state-mandated planning entity) reported a rate of 35.8 percent child abuse and neglect cases per 1,000 children age zero to seventeen years old in Pierce County for 1993.³⁶ Puyallup Tribal Children's Services received 164 referrals for investigation during calendar year 1995.³⁷ In ninety-six of these cases, or 58 percent, substance abuse was involved.

Family Conflict: Perceived increases in the frequency of domestic violence on the reservation led to the formation of a domestic violence workshop and victims support group this past year. During the 1995-96 school year, teachers referred fifty-three elementary age students and their families to the school outreach worker for follow-up social services.³⁸ Of this number, more than 50 percent of the referrals were violence related.

Teenage Pregnancy: In Pierce County, 6.5 percent of all teenage women ages twelve to seventeen years old got pregnant in 1993, compared to the state's average of 5.5 percent.³⁹ The 1991-1995 average age-specific birth rates for females (ten to nineteen years of age) was higher (by 10.4 percent) for Pierce County (all races) than for Washington state as a whole; it was also higher (by 10.2 percent) for Pierce County Native American females than for Native American females in the state as a whole.⁴⁰ For all races the Washington state rate was 24.9/1000; the Pierce County rate was 27.5/1000. For Native Americans the Washington state rate was 43.1/1000; the Pierce County rate was 47.5/1000. The rate for Pierce County Native American youth was 90.8 percent greater than that for all races in Washington state; it was 72.7 percent greater than the rate for Pierce County female youth of all races.

Number of Single Parent Families: Among Pierce County's 1,965 Native American families in 1990, 1,214, or 62 percent, were married couple families.⁴¹ The number of families maintained by female householders with no husband present was 593, or 30 percent. Approximately 8 percent were families maintained by male householders with no spouse present.

IMPACT ON CHIEF LESCHI SCHOOLS

Let us consider the impact of the broader urban alcohol/drug abuse and violence on Chief Leschi Schools and its children and families.

School Risk Factors

Persistent Antisocial Behavior in Early Adolescence: Four measures of antisocial behavior are: (1) rates of discipline referrals, (2) gang involvement, (3) school violence, and (4) guns in school. Chief Leschi's 1993-94 year-end report for grades 7-12 indicate a high number of negative student behaviors. There were 3,498 recorded behavioral incidents for a student population of two hundred and a staff of thirty. Of this number, twenty were drug-related incidents. The frequency of gang-related incidents was reported above. Antisocial behavior is a problem in surrounding public schools as well.⁴² For example, the Tacoma School District reported that school violence increased from 160 incidents in 1986 to more than 275 in 1993. The number of reported firearms in Tacoma schools increased from 119 in 1987 to over 450 in 1994.

Academic Failure: Delinquency and dropping out of school are related to academic failure. Native Americans have the lowest academic success rates as measured by eighth-grade mathematics skills.⁴³ At Chief Leschi, standardized achievement test scores (CAT) indicate that many students are failing this measure of academic success.⁴⁴ Although the scores have increased over the last three years in each subject area for every grade level, Chief Leschi students overall still have lower than average scores in math, language, and reading.

Lack of Commitment to School: Two indicators for lack of academic commitment are absences from school and dropout rates. School staff reported that of the 190 students located in tribal housing, 40 percent were absent eighteen days or more and 30 percent had absences of thirty-six or more (1994). School policy states that more than twenty-one absences can result in loss of credit or failure. Early academic failure can lead to students dropping out of school. During the 1991-1992 school year, Native Americans had the highest dropout rate (13.86 percent) of any ethnic group in Washington state.⁴⁵

Individual and Peer Group Risk Factors

Early Initiation of the Problem Behavior: Elementary school children have been courted by gang members from the middle and high schools, according to reports from Chief Leschi staff. There is one known case of a preschooler being courted. Many

Chief Leschi students have engaged in substance abuse and gang behavior at an early age.

Alienation: High rates of suicide among Native American youth indicate high levels of anomie. Nationally, the suicide rate for Native American youth is significantly higher than for non-Natives.⁴⁶ Between 1989 and 1991, the suicide rate for Native Americans fifteen to twenty-four years of age was 37.5, as compared to 13.2 for all races and 14.0 for the white population. During this period, the Indian male rate was at its highest—over 52.0 deaths per 100,000 population for age groups fifteen through thirty-four.

THE PUYALLUP TRIBAL PROGRAMMATIC RESPONSE

The tribal programmatic response to the above described risk factors and particularly the development and the evolution of the prevention programs Positive Reinforcement in Drug Education (PRIDE) and Puyallups Against Violence (PAV) will be discussed. These programs were designed to provide positive alternative activities to American Indian and Alaska Native students and the general multitribal community.

Positive Reinforcement in Drug Education

Goals and Philosophy: The PRIDE curriculum is a lead program to which other school efforts and programs are tied.⁴⁷ It is one important component of the overall and holistically conceived intervention and prevention strategy implemented by the Puyallup tribe. Viewing substance abuse as one of the major risk factors for poor mental health, lack of school achievement, and student violence, the underlying concept is to develop a primary support mechanism and drug and alcohol abuse prevention program for students. The school marries this comprehensive drug and alcohol abuse education program with a strict program of on-campus enforcement. Enforcement policies permit staff to search students if there is reasonable cause to believe they possess prohibited substances. With prior notice school-wide searches are also conducted; however, these searches may occur without notice if reasonable cause exists to believe that drugs and alcohol are on campus or are being used on campus. Drug-sniffing dogs are periodically used in these searches in order to search for drugs and drug paraphernalia in

lockers and other school facilities. The high school principal proudly stated in a recent newspaper interview, "We have a zero tolerance policy. . . . We provide a drug free zone. We have seen our attendance quadruple. We have no vandalism now. And we have students asking us for counseling services which we provide."⁴⁸

The PRIDE curriculum, written by Chief Leschi staff members in the mid-to-late 1980s in conjunction with the Continuing Education and Substance Abuse Counselor Training Programs at Pierce College, is the cornerstone of its substance abuse prevention program. The PRIDE curriculum includes specific course designs on such issues as life skills, emotions, body awareness, drug identification, friendship, drugs and culture, values, and goal setting. These topics are organized and presented as lesson plans for specific age groups. PRIDE is more than just a curriculum. PRIDE is a comprehensive plan that integrates multiple efforts within the tribal community to address the substance abuse issue. It is an education curriculum that stresses the importance of self-esteem and the school's role in building a positive self-awareness free of substance abuse.

The PRIDE curriculum is divided into two major components: the "Life Skills" and "Drug, Alcohol Information" sections. In the Life Skills section the skills are arranged in a manner that is developmentally appropriate and also related to the developmental risk factors. A major component to the curriculum is the contention that if schools can minimize appropriate aggressive behavior at early ages, the chances of future chemical abuse or dependence and suicide ideation diminishes. Thus, the skills designated for K through 3 focus on "requesting help" skills which can assist a young person to request assistance or encourage participation with peers in a more prosocial manner.

During the years in which the PRIDE program has been developed there has been a remarkable turnaround in the attitude of the students, staff, and the community towards the school. The impression of the school, as expressed in the past by most community members, was that Chief Leschi was a school designed for students who could not "make it" in the non-Indian school system. The current administration over the past several years has radically altered this image as reflected in increasing student enrollment. Much of this effort was accomplished with little money and much effort on the part of school staff.

No matter what the ideals and the ideal situations described within the overall strategy, prevention programming must be supported by adequate funding for staff positions and training. To a large extent the efforts of the Chief Leschi Schools have been limited by the lack of adequate funding to support staff positions to implement the program, to acquire adequate support materials, to support specialized chemical dependency training for key staff, and to support the specialized interventions and treatments required to provide crisis and long-term support and intervention services for students and family members.

Puyallups Against Violence

Chief Leschi Schools of the Puyallup tribe has aggressively and creatively responded to the conditions that contribute to drug abuse, violence, and truancy. Chief Leschi's attempt to create and bolster protective factors is exemplified in the Puyallups Against Violence (PAV) Partnership—a broad-based partnership formed in 1993 that consisted of youth, their parents, and a broad range of tribal and nontribal governmental entities, businesses, public and private social service agencies, and a variety of community-based organizations. Chief Leschi secured memoranda of agreement with fourteen community partners.

The PAV Partnership had three goals: build linkages, challenge and engage youth, and develop a positive cultural climate. PAV's staff and prevention activities were funded by the Puyallup Tribal Trust Board until fiscal year 1995. The tribal trust board discontinued funding when PAV expanded its service population from Puyallup tribal members to members of any Native American tribe who reside on or near the Puyallup Reservation. Currently, only 40 to 45 percent of PAV and Chief Leschi Schools' service population are members of the Puyallup tribe, while the remaining percentage is made up of members of approximately fifty-five different tribes.

Utilizing resources from the partnership, PAV created an initial continuum of care for at-risk youth and their families with emphasis on prevention strategies. The Puyallups Against Violence (PAV) program was created to provide after-school and weekend alternatives for youth. This programming included after school tutoring, GED and high school completion pro-

grams, cultural activities (including classes in the Puyallup language, arts and crafts), family recreational activities and excursions, young men's and women's support groups, the operation of an open gym and a teen drop-in center at night during the weekdays, and violence prevention outreach and case management. PAV also organized a countywide Native American Youth Council involving youth from surrounding public schools. Further, PAV organized and provided staff support for large communitywide events including a monthly powwow at the Chief Leschi Schools.

In 1995, Chief Leschi Schools decided to absorb the PAV program rather than let it die. Chief Leschi did this because of PAV's perceived effectiveness at youth outreach and reducing risk behaviors by providing a wide variety of after-school activities. The multitude of risk factors and the extremity of resultant risk behaviors overwhelmed Chief Leschi's ability to build protective factors. Compounding this, cuts in BIA funding to Indian schools during the 1995-96 school year reduced Chief Leschi's general operating budget about 8.7 percent, and precluded Chief Leschi Schools from enhancing the PAV program and PRIDE curriculum. This situation also prevented Chief Leschi from conducting a rigorous program evaluation to measure the outcomes of its prevention strategies, and from providing the staff development training that is necessary for teachers to effectively teach youth social influence resistance skills.

However, school attendance, gang-related incidence, and substance abuse incidence data indicate a strong positive improvement in attendance and student behavior since the initiation of the PAV program. We recognize that these changes may be influenced by other factors such as improved socioeconomic conditions among the tribal community and an overall reduction in youth violence and criminality among the general population. Nevertheless, the impact of the PAV activities and its coordination with the cadre of main campus programming may be contributors to improved attendance rates in the high school, reduced per capita prevalence of gang-related incidents, and reduced per capita prevalence of alcohol and drug-abuse incidents.⁴⁹ Between the 1994-95 and the 1995-96 school years, the high-school attendance rate improved from 74 to 84 percent, a 13.5 percent improvement. Between 1993-94 and 1995-96 the rate of gang-related incidents was reduced from 1.02 to .27 per student, a 73.5 percent reduction. Between 1993-

94 and 1995-96 the rate of substance abuse-related incidents decreased from .10 to .05 per student, a 50 percent reduction.

SAFE FUTURES

The current design of the alcohol-drug-violence-gang prevention program (Safe Futures) and the future goals and plans for this program will be reviewed. Special attention will be placed on reviewing the risk factors and protective factors targeted for intervention through the Safe Futures Program.

Chief Leschi planners and administrators realized that enhancing the existing PAV and PRIDE programs, and providing rigorous staff development in prevention skills, would increase access to positive alternative activities and develop the individual resiliency needed for students to overcome the multitude of risk factors so that they may learn, grow, and become healthy adults. It was expected that ongoing program enhancements would reduce drug abuse, retrieve disheartened dropout students, decrease incidents of violent and aggressive behaviors in the school and community, and increase preparedness and effectiveness of Chief Leschi and PAV staff members who work with children and families who come from poor, high crime, and violent environments with high rates of alcohol and substance abuse.

In 1995, Chief Leschi collaborated with members of community-based organizations to develop a Safe Futures proposal submitted to the U.S. Department of Justice's Office of Juvenile Justice Delinquency Prevention. Although it was not selected for funding, the proposal was one of the finalists. In the process of developing the Safe Futures proposal Chief Leschi formed tribal task forces on gangs, graduated sanctions, and mental health, as well as a program oversight panel and core management team. The program oversight panel includes twenty-one program directors of social, health, and mental health programs; police; prosecution; courts; probation; corrections; parole; schools; youth employment; community-based agencies; and grassroots organizations. The directors represented are Puyallups Against Violence; Chief Leschi Schools; the Elders, Tribal Court, Tribal Council, Tribal Police, Planning Office, and Treatment Center of the Puyallup Tribe; Puyallup International, Inc.; Good Samaritan Mental Health; Open Ear Safe Streets; Puyallups Alliance Coalition (PAC); Children's

Services; Private Industry Council; Puget Sound Educational Service District; NE Tacoma Residents Organization; Native Youth Enterprises; Kwawachee Mental Health; Pierce County Juvenile Court; and Puget Sound Educational Service District.

The priorities of the Safe Futures Program are designed around the Safe and Drug-Free Schools Program of the United States Department of Education, which has provided a significant amount of its funding for: (1) infusing research-based knowledge about “what works” into the design, development, and implementation of school-based strategies to prevent drug use among youth; (2) preventing truancy and addressing the needs of youth who are out of the education mainstream; and (3) preventing violence and aggressive, intimidating, or other disruptive behavior arising from bullying, sexual harassment, or other causes.

Intervention Strategies

Beginning in the fall of 1996, the Safe Futures Program established coexisting multiple strategies designed to prevent and intervene in criminal activity, violence, substance abuse, and truancy in the Puyallup tribal community and to provide enhanced or expanded existing intervention efforts. These efforts were guided by the overriding goal of enhancing Chief Leschi Schools’ efforts to prevent substance abuse, truancy, and violence within the formal school system and in the surrounding Indian community.

The Chief Leschi Schools Safe Futures Initiative instituted the following enhancements and/or program continuations to the PRIDE curriculum and PAV prevention programs. They enhanced the effectiveness of the PRIDE curriculum by revising it and integrating its programming with the newly adopted essential learning standards. Following its revision, they trained teachers in its implementation at all grade levels. They conducted an intensive series of teacher trainings to increase teacher effectiveness in dealing with violence and substance abuse through increased skill in implementing social learning strategies with students across grade levels. They installed a Natural Helpers Program within the Chief Leschi Schools, training fourteen seventh through twelfth grade students and three counseling staff to support ongoing Natural Helpers activities. They trained existing PAV (now called Safe Futures

Community School and Safe Futures Community Outreach Program) staff in the delivery of Parenting Plus and Positive Indian Parenting services, and they offer these services to parents and students of the Puyallup tribal community. They expanded the educational capacity of the Safe Futures Community School GED/high school completion/tutoring program to year-round service delivery and established a Washington state accredited alternative night school. The Safe Futures Community School staff was augmented to include a dropout retrieval/truancy prevention case manager who provides home visits, counseling, and referral to truants and students at risk of dropping out of the Chief Leschi Schools. They continued to provide recreational, cultural, educational, and social service support services to a minimum of 250 Native American youth monthly through the Safe Futures Community Outreach Program. Further, since neither the PRIDE Program nor the Safe Futures Program had been formally evaluated, they established a rigorous pre- and post-assessment by an outside evaluator to document the efforts and assess the effectiveness of these enhancements.

Evaluation Activities

The outcome evaluation has included both qualitative and quantitative components. Guilmet, one of the authors and the contracted outside evaluator, conducted a series of interviews with Chief Leschi Schools administration and teaching staff, Safe Futures Community School and Safe Futures Community Outreach Program staff, students, and parents. Four different sets of interviews were conducted since the initiation of the two-year project. The first interviews were completed during fall 1996 as near as possible prior to implementing the enhancements. Three other sets of interviews were completed during the second, third, and final quarters of the project's life. Quantitative data of three types were collected. The first data set included school attendance, achievement, and negative behavior incidents from school records. Baseline data from the school year prior to program enhancements were compared with school data from the two years of project operation. The second data set was based upon a battery of substance abuse surveys and surveys for assessment of other prevention-related variables among fourth through twelfth grade students pro-

vided by the Tri-Ethnic Center for Prevention Research, Department of Psychology, Colorado State University. These surveys were administered four times through the life of the project, once prior to implementation of proposed enhancements, once at the end of the 1996-97 academic year, and at the beginning and the end of the 1997-98 academic year. Instructions to the teachers for administration of the surveys were provided by the Tri-Ethnic Center. The Center processed and analyzed completed surveys. A complete report of the survey results, by grade, was provided after each survey. These reports included comparative data on a national student population of all ethnicities. The entire Chief Leschi fourth through twelfth grade student population was surveyed. The third set of data included records of the Safe Futures Community School and Safe Futures Community Outreach Program service provision.

RELEVANCE TO RESEARCH

We wish to conclude this discussion by summarizing the relevance of the Chief Leschi Safe Futures Initiative to a select set of the ongoing research literature. Native Americans and Native Alaskans experience an alcohol-related death rate four times higher than the rate for the general population.⁵⁰ Children of alcoholics have a threefold to fourfold increased risk for developing this disorder.⁵¹ Persons who abuse alcohol are more likely to abuse other drugs.⁵² American Indian and Alaskan Native children are at extremely high risk for substance abuse. Difficulty in achievement, antisocial behavior during childhood, poor school performance, greater truancy, greater incidence of dropping out, and aggressive/violent behavior have been found to predict heavy alcohol use.⁵³

Rates of alcohol abuse are higher if an individual is unable to develop alternative and more adaptive ways of coping with immediate situational demands.⁵⁴ Membership in structured, goal-directed peer groups that do not abuse alcohol may protect teenagers against adolescent substance abuse.⁵⁵ Attachment/bonding and increased intellectual or cultural pursuits have been related to decreased risk of substance abuse.⁵⁶ Suitable preventive interventions should identify multiple risk factors whenever possible,⁵⁷ and interventions should focus on reducing risks in several domains.⁵⁸ Targeting malleable, or modifiable, risk factors is crucial to the success of pre-

vention efforts.⁵⁹ After-school programs providing opportunities for active learning and practice of cognitive, interpersonal, and problem-solving skills to children from economically deprived backgrounds contribute to the development of social competence and reduce problem behaviors.⁶⁰ Children today appear to be at greatest risk for the initiation of substance abuse and delinquent behaviors from ages twelve to fifteen.⁶¹ School curricula focusing on enhancing social competence, providing social influence resistance training, and promoting norms against substance abuse have been shown to reduce the onset and prevalence of substance abuse in early adolescence.⁶² There is some evidence that the use of peer leaders from the student population to share in the teaching of the substance abuse prevention curriculum is more effective than teacher-led programming.⁶³ Multicomponent communitywide programs featuring a combination of school curriculum and community-based programming and including parents and community members are reported to reduce multiple drug-use behaviors.⁶⁴

Successful preventive interventions depend heavily upon the context in which they are delivered; they must be culturally competent.⁶⁵ Effective research in the area of prevention must be married with indigenous efforts, particularly those mounted by indigenous leaders of minority communities. The infusion of local knowledge permits social validation and increases participation. Recognizing social networks, natural helpers, and the existing resources and strengths of ethnic minority communities reduces social distance that often separates the participant and the intervener, minimizes cultural incompetence, and increases the likelihood that skills, knowledge, and services will be delivered past the funding of the program.⁶⁶

While a collaborative research atmosphere is generally preferable in research, it is essential when working with Indian populations. . . . Nothing is more guaranteed to produce controversy in cross-cultural research than the use of measures that are developed and standardized on one population and then uncritically used in another ethnic or cultural group.⁶⁷

The Chief Leschi Schools' prevention-based Positive Reinforcement In Drug Education (PRIDE) curriculum was instituted in 1988. It was designed and written by school staff, with the involvement of the local tribal community, teaching staff, and the tribal council. It has been reported as an effective multidimensional prevention program.⁶⁸ President Bush pre-

sented Chief Leschi Schools with the National Drug Free School Award in 1989 based upon the PRIDE curriculum. However, this curriculum had not been updated and aligned with Chief Leschi's Student Essential Academic Learning Requirements, and because of significant staff increases as enrollment grew, many teachers lacked training in its implementation. The effectiveness of PRIDE's prevention efforts had never been evaluated through pre- and post-testing. The community-based Puyallups Against Violence (PAV) program was an outreach and after-school arm of Chief Leschi's broad-based prevention programming offering recreational, cultural, educational, and social service support to students, parents, and community members. PAV offered the consistent alternatives to chemical dependency and violence described by Gregory.⁶⁹ However, this program had not been formally evaluated. The revitalization of values and behaviors inherent in Indian culture that are reinforced by the PRIDE and PAV programs can be significant forces in rectifying social ills.⁷⁰ The Safe Futures program design is based on the understanding that multiple risk factors contribute to problem behaviors and that some of the same risk factors contribute to substance abuse, truancy, and violence; and that multiple risks require multiple strategies.⁷¹ Chief Leschi's comprehensive school and community-based prevention program design is founded on the well-published fact that risk factors and risk-taking behaviors occur in clusters and tend to amplify each other.⁷² Chief Leschi's program design is also consistent with the community mobilization model, which engages eleven essential elements of the community in developing prevention and intervention strategies: police, prosecution, courts, probation, corrections, parole, schools, youth employment agencies, community-based youth agencies, and grassroots organizations.⁷³

In the final analysis, it is the intent of the Chief Leschi staff and teachers not only to create an effective prevention program for the Puyallup tribal community, but to build a model program with the potential for duplication in other American Indian and Alaska Native schools and communities. Since the effectiveness of this program is being rigorously evaluated, we hope to be able to report on the successful and problematic aspects of the intervention design and prevention efforts in the near future, and relate these outcomes to the above research discussion.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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NOTES

1. For ethnographic and ethnohistorical descriptions of the Puyallup tribe and related Southern Coast Salish peoples, see George M. Guilmet and David L. Whited, "The People Who Give More: Health and Mental Health Among the Puyallup Indian Tribal Community," *American Indian and Alaska Native Mental Health Research*, Monograph Series, vol. 2, monograph 2 (Winter 1989); George M. Guilmet, Robert T. Boyd, David L. Whited, and Nile Thompson, "The Legacy of Introduced Disease: The Southern Coast Salish," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 15.4 (1991): 1-32; and Marian W. Smith, *The Puyallup Nisqually* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940).

2. Tacoma's Empowerment Zone application was submitted to the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development in late 1993. The Tacoma Empowerment Consortium sought designation as an Empowerment Zone, which would have brought 12 million dollars in federal support to increase economic development activities, increase public safety, and develop a broad range of health and human service programs. Instead of this designation, Tacoma was granted a designation as an Enterprise Community and a corresponding 3 million dollars for development activities. The focus of their activities was revised to emphasize economic development within this zone. This award was based on the area's high rates of poverty, unemployment, and economic need. Personal communication with Chris Andersen, executive assistant of the Tacoma Empowerment Consortium, Tacoma, WA, January 30, 1997.

3. For historic descriptions of this process, see Murray Morgan, *Puget's Sound: A Narrative of Early Tacoma and the Southern Sound* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979); and Marian W. Smith, "The Puyallup of Washington," in *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes*, ed. Ralph Linton (New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1940), 3-36.

4. 1990 Census of Population and Housing [1990 CPH-3-301B], Population and Housing Characteristics for Census Tracts and Block Numbering Areas, Seattle-Tacoma, WA CMSA (Part), Tacoma, WA PMSA (Washington, DC: United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, August, 1993), Table 4.

5. George M. Guilmet and David L. Whited, "Puyallup," in *Native America in the Twentieth Century: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Mary B. Davis (New York: Garland, 1994), 520-521.

6. Two sources of data were used in this section: (1) 1980 United States Census, and (2) Pacific Consultants, "The Indian Child Welfare Demonstration Project," Report submitted to the Office of Human Development Services, United States Department of Health and Human Services, Washington, DC: December 7, 1981, 111 pages. These data were not specific to the Puyallup, but include other Indians and Alaska Natives on the Puyallup Reservation, in Pierce County, and in Congressional District 6. However, there is every reason to believe that the Puyallup and the other Indians in their community shared similar socioeconomic conditions.

7. George M. Guilmet and David L. Whited, "The People Who Give More."

8. Peter Z. Snyder, "The Social Environment of the Urban Indian," in *The American Indian in Urban Society*, ed. Jack O. Waddell and O. Michael Watson (Boston: Little, Brown, 1971), 206-243.

9. Pacific Consultants, "The Indian Child Welfare Demonstration Project."

10. Indian Service Population & Labor Force Report, Bureau of Indian Affairs, United States Department of the Interior (Washington, DC: December 1995).

11. 1990 Census of Population and Housing [1990 CPH-3-301B], Table 25, 219.

12. Ibid.

13. Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, "Access to Health Care in the United States: Results of a 1986 Survey," Special Report Number Two, (Princeton, New Jersey, 1987).

14. Lisa Kremer, "Building a Business Empire," *News Tribune*, April 7, 1996, G1.

15. Personal communication with Linda Rudolph, Superintendent of Chief Leschi Schools, Puyallup, Washington, January 29, 1997.

16. Rob Carson, "Riverboat gambling likely by mid-March" *News Tribune*, January 22, 1997, A1.

17. Erna Gunther, "The Shaker Religion of the Northwest," in *Indians of the Urban Northwest*, ed. Marian W. Smith (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949).

18. For similar traditions in other Coast Salish tribes, see Pamela T Amoss, *Coast Salish Spirit Dancing: The Survival of an Ancestral Religion* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1978); and Wolfgang G. Jilek, *Indian Healing: Shamanistic Ceremonialism in the Pacific Northwest Today* (Blaine, Washington: Hancock House, 1982).

19. 1990 Census of Population and Housing.

20. "President Honors Leschi School," *News Tribune*, June 20, 1989, B1. In February of 1989 the tribal school was listed as one of ten in its class designated as "exemplary" by the Department of the Interior, which administers contracts with tribes through the Bureau of Indian Affairs. This honor came on the heels of Chief Leschi's selection as one of sixty schools in the nation with an exemplary "Chapter One" remedial reading program. In June of 1989 the Chief

Leschi School of the Puyallup tribe was one of forty-seven schools honored at a White House ceremony by the United States Department of Education for its model anti-drug program (PRIDE); it was the only school in Washington state and the only American Indian or Alaska Native school in the nation to receive this recognition.

21. P105A School Enrollment By Ethnicity: School Year: 96-97, Chief Leschi Schools (Puyallup, Washington, October 4, 1996), 22.

22. Testimony of Ms. Roleen L. Hargrove, council member, before the U.S. House of Representatives Native American Affairs Subcommittee on Natural Resources Concerning the Development and Operation of a Juvenile Rehabilitation and Detention Facility, Washington, DC, November 8, 1993, 2.

23. Developmental Research and Programs, Inc., *Communities That Care, Social Development Strategy, Building Protective Factors in Your Community* (Seattle: 1993); *Risk-Focused Prevention Using the Social Development Strategy*, (Seattle: 1993); and *Communities That Care, Mobilizing Your Community for Risk-Focused Prevention Planning* (Seattle, 1993).

24. Our risk assessment process, using the social development strategy, is based on the risk-focused prevention model developed by Hawkins and Catalano.

25. 1990 Census of Population and Housing, Summary Tape File 3A, City of Tacoma, Washington data.

26. *Ibid.*, Pierce County, Washington data.

27. Indian Service Population and Labor Force Estimates (Washington, DC: United States Department of Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1993).

28. "Taking Stock: A Profile of the Empowerment Zone," a pamphlet from the Department of Planning and Economic Development, City of Tacoma (Tacoma: 1995).

29. *Ibid.*

30. *Pierce County Network Youth Risk Assessment Database: A Comprehensive Report*, Washington State Department of Health and Washington State Department of Social and Health Services (Olympia, Washington, June, 1995).

31. Anthony K. Albert, "Crime declining in Tacoma, rising in county, statistics reveal," *News Tribune*, March 16, 1996, B1, B3.

32. Robert L. Jamieson, Jr., "Drug-related deaths up in 2-county area," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, February 19, 1996, A1, A7.

33. Gil Bailey, "Drug problems in this state called 'ferocious,'" *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, January 16, 1997, B1-B2.

34. The following data were compiled by the Planning Department of Chief Leschi Schools in 1994.

35. The following data were taken from *Governor's Juvenile Justice Advisory Council Report*, Washington State Institute for Public Policy (Olympia, Washington, 1994), 35-178.

36. *Pierce County Network Youth Risk Assessment Database: A Comprehensive Report*.

37. These data were summarized from the Puyallup Tribal Children's Services Department's Annual Child Protection Team Report to the Portland

Area Office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Portland, Oregon, January 1995 through December 1995.

38. Data compiled by Planning Department of Chief Leschi Schools.
39. Washington State Department of Health (Olympia, Washington, 1993).
40. Personal communication with Riley Peters, epidemiologist, Tacoma-Pierce County Health Department, Tacoma, WA, January 29, 1997.
41. 1990 Census of Population and Housing [1990 CPH-3-301B], 219.
42. Planning Department Annual Reports, Central Administration, Tacoma Public Schools (Tacoma, Washington, 1986-1994).
43. United States Department of Education (Washington, DC, 1991).
44. Data compiled by the Planning Department of Chief Leschi Schools.
45. *Governor's Juvenile Justice Advisory Council Report*, Draft Copy, Washington State Institute for Public Policy (Olympia, WA: 1996), Table 19, unpaginated.
46. *Trends in Indian Health*, United States Department of Health and Human Services, Public Health Service, Office of Planning, Education and Legislation, Division of Program Statistics (Washington, DC, 1994).
47. Most of the following discussion of the PRIDE program is based on George M. Guilmet and David L. Whited, *Chief Leschi School Positive Reinforcement in Drug Education (PRIDE) Program Process Evaluation*, Final Report submitted to the National Center for American Indian and Alaska Native Mental Health Research, Denver, Colorado, November 11, 1989; and Norm Dorpat, "PRIDE: Substance Abuse Education/Intervention Program," in *Calling From the Rim: Suicidal Behavior Among American Indian and Alaska Native Adolescents*, ed. Christine Wilson Duclos and Spero M. Manson, *American Indian and Alaska Native Mental Health Research*, Monograph Series, vol. 4, monograph (1994): 122-133.
48. "President Honors Leschi School," *News Tribune*, B1.
49. *Consolidated School Reform Plan: 1997-2000* (Puyallup, WA: Chief Leschi Schools, 1996), 5, 10-12.
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52. *Ibid.*, 97.
53. *Ibid.*, 158.
54. *Ibid.*, 159.
55. *Ibid.*, 160.
56. *Ibid.*, 160-161.
57. *Ibid.*, 162.
58. *Ibid.*, 260.
59. *Ibid.*, 217.
60. *Ibid.*, 259.
61. *Ibid.*, 261

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64. Ibid., 267.
65. Ibid., 391.
66. Ibid., 391-396; Guilmet and Whited, "The People Who Give More," 91-92; "Cultural Lessons for Clinical Mental Health Practice: The Puyallup Tribal Community," *American Indian and Alaska Native Mental Health Research* 1.2 (1987): 47; and "Mental Health Care in a General Health Care System: The Experience of the Puyallup," in *Behavioral Health Issues Among American Indians and Alaska Natives: Explorations on the Frontiers of the Biobehavioral Sciences*, ed. Spero M. Manson and Norman G. Dinges, *American Indian and Alaska Native Mental Health Research*, Monograph Series, vol. 1, monograph 1 (1988): 311.
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