

PROJECT RATIONALE

Narratives of Salishan: The Untold History

Prepared

By

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Narratives of Salishan: The Untold History

**A project rationale submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts in Interdisciplinary Studies**

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Acknowledgements

When I originally started this project, I was under the assumption that a graduate student's work was purely theirs. The work metaphorically became their child that only the student had to tend to and care for to make sure that it developed into good body of knowledge. Fortunately, I quickly learned that some projects are not created from the hands of just one individual, but a collective of people who are willing to invest their time and energy into contributing to the work. Working on *Narratives of Salishan: The Untold History* has taught me so much about the power of community and how connections and networking can ultimately create something amazing. Before diving into my rationale, I want to personally thank everyone who was involved in the work and say something about how I made connections with them.

When I entered the MAIS program at UWT I was focused on creating a project on the effects of dominant narratives on students in high school history classes. After adjusting to the program and focusing on this work for a year, I was required to take a methods course under Dr. Michael Honey and Michael Sullivan. The class explored local oral history and had students conduct their own projects to later incorporate into a digital collection. I couldn't think of any local oral history that would contribute to my work of dominant narrative effects on high school students, so I decided to create a small project on the oral history of Salishan. To my understanding, nothing like this had been done on the neighborhood. (I later found that a short film was made by Mr. Brian Johnson's class at Lister Elementary before the neighborhood was rebuilt.) During this class I interviewed the director of the Tacoma Housing Authority, Michael Mirra. Mirra then connected me to a woman who lived in Salishan when the neighborhood was

first built in 1943 by the name of Bette Arndt. I met and interviewed Bette who had a lot of important insight to what the neighborhood was like in its early years. As the quarter came to an end and it was time to submit our projects I refused. I felt that only interviewing two people about an entire community left the project in an incomplete form. It was at that point that I decided to change my masters project to focus strictly on building an oral history project of Salishan. One of the professors from the class, Michael Sullivan, who also worked for the local historical society, offered to give me everything he had on Salishan.

Following this I began to make my own connections to those who lived in the neighborhood through networking. I began by reaching out to a personal friend, James Santana, who was willing to do multiple interviews with me, provide images from his time living in the community, and offered feedback and assistance whenever I had questions. Around the time that I first interviewed James, I met Judy Svann. Judy would later become a good friend and was even kind enough to invite me to Khmer New Year at the temple across the street from Salishan. This experience allowed me to capture footage from the celebration to include in my film. Through personal connections I also met a man by the name of Dion, who helped me more than he probably knows. Dion introduced me, via social media, to two former Salishan residents, Silong Chhun and Jeremy Dashiell. Silong is also a filmmaker who was generous in giving me pointers and tips for filmmaking and told me that he was willing to lend me any equipment I needed. Jeremy had been kind enough to do two interviews with me, since there was an audio malfunction during the first one. During one of my interviews with Jeremy we discussed what other things I envisioned in my film. I explained to him that I wanted to have drone footage throughout the film but couldn't find anyone who would do it for an affordable

price. Coincidentally, he knew someone whom he had grown up with in Salishan that did drone aerial photography. He made one phone call and connected me to Norris Moorehead, professional title Noir.XXXi, who did the aerial footage for the film at no cost. Through this entire process of forming connections with these people I not only developed new friendships but also was able to learn how powerful a community can be through those connections. I am forever grateful to those that were so kind as to help me see this project through.

I would also like to take a moment to thank the faculty and staff at the University of Washington Tacoma. My committee members Dr. Ariana Ochoa Camacho, Dr. Danica Miller, and Professor Minda Martin, at the University of Washington Bothell, guided me through this process and pushed me at times when I was unsure of myself and my work. Dr. Michael Honey helped me find my passion in working on this project in the first place and Michael Sullivan provided me with my original file of Salishan documents and archives. Margaret Lundberg and Kelvin Keown helped me develop the written portions of my project, I am forever grateful to them both. Dr. Larry Knopp also helped me with the written portion of my work and was reassuring when I needed it. My advisor Karin Dalesky and MAIS Director Riki Thompson were both there for me when I wanted to give up and offered a listening ear.

I want to thank my friends for assisting me and becoming my personal film crew at times. Thank you to Brittney Callahan, Judy Svann, Everett Wallace, Eric Patterson, Delia Harris, P-Nut Quins, and Malik Jones-Moore for coming with me at all hours of the day and night to help me with capturing footage. My best friend Eyla Wagner was always there to tell me to stop complaining and get my work done. And thank you to friends I made through the program like Tye, Jordan, Karin, and Mira.

Finally, thanks to my family for attempting to understand and deal with me as I went through graduate school.

As I am the researcher in this project, I can call this my accomplishment, but would much rather consider it a collective accomplishment. I could not have done it without the help and connections I've made through the entire process.

A lot of people have this misconception about [...] the low-income areas and the hood and they automatically assume its drug ridden and its full of trouble and crime, but it was never really like that, for me at least. I rarely witnessed any crime during my tenure there, and I don't know. It's just... It felt like home. If I could call any place home, it would be Salishan.

-James Santana

Former Salishan Resident

Throughout my life I've always heard negative stories about Salishan. I remember being babysat by a woman who lived there when I was a young child. Sleeping on her couch I would hear what I thought were fireworks outside, only to understand that they were gun shots. As a teenager I knew that 44th Street in Salishan was overrun by gangs and that it was best to avoid that area. The homes within the neighborhood always appeared to be worn down and what some would call 'cheaply' built. From my own personal experiences and hearing rumors about the housing project, I questioned what it must have been like for the residents to live there. As a way of investigating and exploring what Salishan means to the residents, I decided to make a short documentary film that highlighted their voices and brought forth the history of the neighborhood. I expand on my reasons for this later in this rationale, but first here is a brief history of American public housing.

The idea of American public housing began in the late 1800s with settlement houses, which housed poor families and European immigrants. Settlement houses were meant to bring different economic classes together to share knowledge and culture while working on reducing

the poverty rate. These populations of immigrants and poor families were socially frowned upon due to the racist and classist ideologies that were prevalent at the time. Negative stereotypes began to develop about those who lived within settlement houses. From their hygiene, their intelligence, and their work ethic, tenants were seen as an “other” within society. These widely held and oversimplified ideas of residents had the power to influence the minds of policymakers, which impacted the ways that tenants were treated and represented.

As residents of settlement housing were stigmatized back in the 1800s, those living within public housing today experience the same negative perceptions. My film project focuses on complicating the dominant narrative of the history of Salishan, a once low-income neighborhood and public housing project located on Tacoma’s Eastside. Through archival research and interviews I created a short film, *Narratives of Salishan: The Untold History*, to capture some of the voices of those who’ve witnessed the neighborhood for what it really is, a community. Using oral history as a methodological approach, residents’ experiences were highlighted to showcase their love for a neighborhood that has been dehumanized by the larger community.

As the U.S. Housing Authority developed in the late 1930’s the negative reputation of poor families continued. Due to different systems of oppression and population increases, areas featuring public housing began to see crime rates go up. Media coverage reinforced negative stereotypes of public housing through journalists’ perspectives, imagery, and wording. This further demonized tenants and those who lived nearby and associated them with gangs, drugs, and other forms of crime as well as laziness.

These same stereotypes have been applied to the Salishan neighborhood. The housing project was built in the early 1940s to relieve the increasing housing crisis during World War II, and subsequently became a public housing project after the war. My research shows that residents who moved in during Salishan's early years felt discriminated against for living there. Yet despite the stigma, public housing builds community. It offers the ability to connect tenants with one another and provides a sense of security and community between residents. This was certainly true for Salishan.

When it comes to Salishan, most of the history that we do know lies in short, unnuanced articles in the *Tacoma News Tribune*. These articles were, and continue to be, influential in the ways readers view the neighborhood and those who live in it. Written by outsiders who may have preconceived notions, these articles leave no space for residents' voices and their experiences. Taking this into consideration, the history that we don't know resides in the minds and memories of those who have lived there, including families that belong to the Puyallup Tribe from whom the land was originally taken. It's important to examine these perspectives to develop a fuller picture of the neighborhood. Since its origins in 1943, Salishan has had a negative reputation within the larger community. Without the voices of the tenants, negative stereotypes about Salishan will persist. We should ask, "who's telling the story?" and "who's constructing the narrative of Salishan?" This film project documents the experiences of residents, using their own voices, as an intervention into the dominant negative narrative about Salishan.

Since the HOPE VI redevelopment in the early 2000s, Salishan has seen some relief in the ways that it is perceived. But past perceptions of it remain. Just as houses were torn down

and reconstructed, my film reconstructs the history and the narrative of Salishan, from the perspective of those who lived there. Without these voices we risk reinforcing a vicious cycle that influences both insiders to the neighborhood and outsiders. On a societal level, we risk having these stereotypical ideas of what public housing is remain. This problematic narrative impacts the ways that the city has treated Salishan and creates policy based on negative stereotypes. This policy can affect tenants, their behavior, their mental health, and their understandings of themselves. Meanwhile efforts to address issues within the neighborhood have failed, wasting resources in the process. Bringing voices from the community out can create a 'bottom-up' approach that includes the community in developing solutions. Through interviews and archival research, my film project develops the oral history of Salishan in a way that challenges negative stereotypes of the neighborhood and offers a different, humanized narrative. My main objective is to answer the question: What is the untold history of Salishan from the perspective of its residents?

Salishan: From Puyallup Land to Low-Income Housing

The land that Salishan sits on today was originally a part of the Puyallup Indian territory, then their Reservation, which was developed under the Medicine Creek Treaty of 1854. After the reservation system ended in 1886, John Swan, a member of the Puyallup Tribe, was allotted a large plot of land near what we today call Swan Creek Park. Over the years, plots of his property were sold off to individual buyers, mining and logging businesses, and at times, acquired by the City through tax foreclosure.¹

In 1941 the city of Tacoma experienced a housing shortage with incoming military families and wartime workers. The city needed to come up with a temporary solution to the population increase. Located east of Portland Avenue and stretching to the city's eastern limits, between 38th and 56th street, the future plot already had a total of thirty private properties located on it. Through a court order by U.S. District Judge Charles H. Leavy, the land and privately-owned properties were eventually taken by the government in 1942 and transformed into a temporary housing project for wartime workers and their families.² The new neighborhood was named Salishan after the local Indigenous³ language.⁴ At this time contractors around the country thought it would be better to maximize the number of units of lower quality, rather than develop fewer units of higher quality. Most of the wartime housing structures built in the 1940s took the appearance of barrack formations and were built with cheap and unreliable materials like wood from trees from the Salishan site.⁵

Since its construction, Salishan held the reputation around the city as a crime ridden housing project. Articles were written in the *Tacoma News Tribune* about drunk driving cases, vehicular hit and runs, assault cases, and home invasions on almost a weekly basis. After the war it was decided that the project would remain intact and be used for local low-income public housing.⁶ As the years passed, the neighborhood's infrastructure began to deteriorate, something that is not surprising considering that these homes were originally meant to be temporary. As a result, families began to be displaced through the 1970s as some sections of the neighborhood were sold for their materials, demolished, and even left for mother nature to reclaim. The neighborhood began to experience more issues with crime through the 1980s and 1990s. Drugs, prostitution, and gang violence impacted Salishan to the point that the Tacoma

Housing Authority received a federal grant aimed at reducing the crime rate, which funded prevention programs. Salishan remained a low-income neighborhood until it was awarded a \$35 million grant through the HOPE VI program. From there, it was converted and reconstructed it into a mixed-income neighborhood in 2001.⁷

Narratives of Salishan: The Untold History

This project complicates the dominant narrative of the history of Salishan by featuring and archiving some of the voices of those who've experienced the neighborhood for what it really is, a community. This work of social justice focuses on the history of Salishan through the eyes of its residents, but it also creates the opportunity to think about the negative stereotypes that are held against those living in public housing and how those biases can impact not only Salishan, but other public housing complexes and neighborhoods across the nation. When outsiders are not presented the positive aspects of Salishan it leaves room for negative biases to make their way into policy and funding, which then impacts residents.

When it comes to media representations of Salishan, local newspapers have focused on issues like crime and a lack of government funding, but they have also failed to involve voices of the people who live there and experience the neighborhood daily. The news articles dismiss the sense of community inside Salishan, leaving the local audience with stereotypical biases and ideas about the tenants. My project focuses on these missing perspectives and intends to correct some of the biases that have influenced and shaped the community.

Since the origins of public housing, there has been an ongoing argument over how to properly handle it. Dominant representations of places like Salishan do not account for the

social resources and connections that are developed within them and as a result many people believe that public housing is to blame for the issues that surround it. People then vote like-minded politicians into office who hold similar preconceptions and stereotypes about public housing. My project explores the importance of hearing voices of those in the community who are in need of housing and highlights their perspectives.

An Approach to Telling the Salishan Story: Public Housing, Urban Theory, and Oral History

Public housing had its beginnings in the U.S in the early 1900s, with the advent of settlement housing, which was made to house poor families and European immigrants coming into the U.S. When WWI arose, the government had to intervene when war production workers moving into cities were without housing.⁸ Soon after, the U.S. Housing Act of 1937 was passed, which created the U.S. Housing Authority, whose purpose was to lend money to communities for low-cost construction. During WWII, war production was at an all-time high on the West Coast. Due to the incoming workers and their families, the West began to experience a housing shortage that changed the physical landscape. With a looming housing crisis, the government took sections of land to build temporary housing for military personnel and wartime workers. This time contractors thought it would be better to maximize the number of units of lower quality, rather than develop less units of higher quality.⁹ Like Salishan, which was built in 1943, most of these structures took the appearance of barrack formations. This was the time of the U.S. suburban boom, where white middle-class families were essentially recruited from their neighborhoods in the city to live in new suburban developments. With whites leaving homes in specific areas within the city, African American families were sold those homes at outrageous prices. Relators purposely brought Black families into white neighborhoods and would play off

racial stereotypes by scaring the remaining whites that their property values would plummet, and that the neighborhood would soon change for the worse.¹⁰

Salishan, which was completed in 1943, was different from most neighborhoods in the country at the time. With the Jim Crow Era and segregation in full swing throughout the nation, Salishan was intentionally built to be desegregated. While most cities and neighborhoods experienced white flight, Black ghettos, and the suburban boom, Salishan was an integrated urban neighborhood. Compared to public housing in major cities, Salishan was something completely different. It didn't take the form of a multi-story complex and wasn't occupied strictly by lower-class residents. It was made up of single homes, duplexes, four-plexes, and barrack style homes that were designed to create a neighborhood. Families living within the neighborhood were working-class war production workers or military personnel yet the neighborhood in which they lived was stigmatized.

In the 1950's Salishan was converted into a low-income housing development. Under the Eisenhower administration, the Housing Act of 1954 was passed which called for slum clearance for industrial and urban renewal, providing funding for 140,000 units of public housing. Finally, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 set in motion the Fair Housing Act of 1968, which allowed for fair and equal housing for all citizens. To some, urban renewal came as a blessing and to others as a curse. Households and families were displaced, while some were able to return to the developments once they were finished. Fortunately, Salishan was never affected by urban renewal. At the same time, manufacturing jobs that were located within cities followed the economic success in the suburbs, leaving cities and African American workers behind, which created an economic decline within their communities. With dwindling resources

and increased unemployment rates, Black neighborhoods began to deteriorate, playing into negative racialized stereotypes.¹¹ Salishan, although not an all-Black neighborhood, began to experience these same issues. As it became less associated with the military and more with its status as a low-income public housing development, the neighborhood witnessed increased violence and crime. Fast forward to the 2000s and urban renewal took another form in Tacoma through the HOPE VI program, where Salishan residents were displaced to make room for more diverse demographics and partial home ownership.

In order to make sense of neighborhoods like Salishan, it is useful to explore the various theories that formed Salishan's development. Beginning in the 1920s, the Chicago School was formulated by scholars who focused heavily on urban sociology and modernist views. These scholars favored the idea that physical environments and social structures influence human behavior. In his book *On Cities and Social Life*, Louis Wirth explains that what he calls "urbanism" has certain essential characteristics, as well as variations within cities, and that these influence social behavior.¹² To elaborate, Wirth and others from the Chicago School claim that cities heavily influence the ways that we interact, or not, with one another based on populations' sizes and density. According to Wirth, one outcome of environmental pressure is societal depersonalization, which is a consequence of large population sizes that prevent us from getting to know one another. Depersonalization leads to other issues such as separation and friction not only between individuals, but also between groups within the urban population.¹³ The main value of discussing the Chicago School is not that it accurately describes or explains life in places like Salishan, but that its dominance in both scholarly and popular discourses has led to the stereotyping of places like Salishan as dysfunctional.

In addition, Wirth points out that the growth of the city follows a certain trajectory that tends to repeat itself over time.¹⁴ This idea is better explained through the path dependence and critical juncture theories. Path dependence theory is explained as “decisions based on what they have done in the past”, even if past decisions turned out to be ineffective.¹⁵ To elaborate, situations or events that happen at one point in time will affect the outcomes of a course of events happening at a later time, hence the saying “time repeats itself.” However, James Mahoney points out that there are processes of change in path dependence.¹⁶ Giovanni Capoccia focused on the concept of critical junctures, which is one of the processes of change, in the context of the development of institutions, broadly defined as organizations, formal rules, public policies, political regimes, and political economies.¹⁷ Critical juncture theory refers to a point in time where a decision can be made to change the status quo. However, when this point comes, the decision maker continues down the dependent path.¹⁸ As the Chicago School offers a theory that is a form of ideology that feeds negative stereotypes, the Path Dependence and Critical Juncture Theories offer a way to understand failures that decisions about public housing have produced, and their consequences. The process described in these two theories can be seen during the redevelopment of Salishan in the early 2000s. A point of critical juncture for Old Salishan¹⁹ would have been to listen to the needs of the residents, make changes to the old neighborhood to accommodate them, and then bring the original tenants back. Instead of listening to voices from the neighborhood, the Tacoma Housing Authority decided to rule in favor of Project HOPE VI and displaced many families to pave the way for a mixed-income Salishan, hence path dependence. The opportunity was missed to make a difference and to

take into consideration the support system that had been developed by residents from Old Salishan.

Many of my participants described Salishan as a tight-knit community, where residents provided support to one another. Residents had the opportunity to gather at the Eastside Neighborhood Center, located in Salishan, which provided daycare, sports, community gatherings, and courses in things like art, music, and dance. Salishan had its own culture. With this in mind, one of my participants recalled the feeling she had watching her friends and neighbors be removed from the neighborhood right before the homes were tore down. Being the second to last family to move out, she described how heartbreaking it was to see everyone else leave, to see the destruction of the neighborhood culture.

Researchers must consider how public housing works and if it is truly designed to help people get out of poverty or if it keeps them trapped in the system. If getting residents out of poverty was really the goal, housing authorities could put more thought into how communities like Old Salishan could be improved with those who were already living there. Displacing families from their tight-knit communities to make way for homeowners doesn't help the original residents. It produces less upward mobility for them while benefitting the middle-class.

Where the Chicago School believes that urbanism is centered around environmental factors and their influences on people's behavior, the Los Angeles School disagrees. Scholars in the L.A. School understand urbanism as centered around "restructuring". In his book *From Chicago to L.A.*, geographer Michael Dear, a leading L.A. School figure, quotes another L.A. School leader, Mike Davis, as saying "We all agree that we are studying "restructuring" and

that it occurs at all kinds of levels, from the restructuring of residential neighborhoods to the restructuring of global markets or whole regimes of accumulation.”²⁰ The L.A. School thus considers how larger systems construct and reconstruct the ways housing assistance programs are designed and how they can influence the ways that we think about those receiving the assistance. Different structures have led to different experiences. As policies change the neighborhood, in response to changing structural conditions, residents are the ones who are ultimately impacted. These are ideas that my project explores.

My project uses oral history as a method by conducting and documenting individual narratives of residents who lived in what is considered “Old Salishan”. In order to appreciate the power of this method, it is important to understand the logic and structure of oral history. Forms of oral history have been around for centuries within Indigenous communities. Communities would not only use it as a way of storytelling, but also as a way of passing down knowledge from generation to generation through individual and community-based experiences, myths, and legends. Within the past few decades, oral history has become a popular method used in qualitative research yet has struggled to find its credibility within the world of Western knowledge. I hope that my film project shows that there are other ways of showing and documenting history.

Vine Deloria reminds readers that American Indian communities have been marginalized within Western research and its methodologies.²¹ Vanessa Suzanne Simonds & Christopher describe this relationship (or lack thereof) between American Indian communities and Western research as one-sided and authoritative on the behalf of Western science. They point out that Western researchers throughout the years have disempowered Indigenous communities and

reinforced racism through imposed stereotypes.²² Western studies have also largely benefitted individual researchers and their institutions, while neglecting the communities that they initially researched. Angela Wilson adds to this by mentioning a type of ignorance that is “based on an assumption that scholars in these disciplines have a right to do with [knowledge] whatever they wish”.²³ What Simonds, Christopher, and Wilson describe is a lack of appreciation and understanding for knowledge that is produced outside of Western paradigms.

Some researchers understand these differences between Indigenous and Western approaches to knowledge and relate them to the issue of literacy. James Hoopes explains that so-called ‘illiterate’ societies have a better grasp (described as a professional understanding) of storytelling and are far more capable of maintaining that knowledge and passing it down to future generations, than those considered ‘literate’. Similarly, Charles Trimble, Barbra Sommer, & Mary Kay Quinlan argue that “American Indians today describe themselves as oral people, continuing to recognize and to use complex traditional transmission of knowledge while coexisting with literacy and written sources”.²⁴ According to Jeanne Lacourt, there are two experiences of oral history, those of people, like scholars and researchers, who have a professional relationship to it and those who grew up surrounded by it, like American Indian communities.²⁵

When conducting oral history research, it is important to be aware of the protocols that apply to the work. While the protocols that I utilized are derived from Native American oral history collecting, they embody an ethic that is applicable to other populations as well, particularly other marginalized and/or stigmatized ones, like Salishan residents. Wilson identifies a few of these protocols as recognizing the importance of community, befriending

interviewees, building connections within the community, being knowledgeable about the culture, and understanding the notion of reciprocity.²⁶ One must be willing to give back to the community that's being studied. Indigenous or tribal protocols must also be taken into consideration. Wilson continues by explaining that scholars must acknowledge that subjects, like American Indians, determine whether they have information that is relevant to the study. After that the community must decide who should be allowed to participate in the study. Lastly, communities also determine if the researcher is respectful enough to receive assistance or permission to work. Similarly, Trimble, Sommer, & Quinlan address how some subjects will use their native language within the study, and it is up to the researcher to find a professional translator to decipher what is being said. Some stories are sacred and have guidelines or rules when it comes to how, when, and where they are told. Some of these stories can only be shared depending upon what time of year or season it is. Additionally, Trimble, Sommer, & Quinlan point out that "traditional stories may be recited in a highly structured manner, but not necessarily in a structured interview format".²⁷ Archival oral history, from the perspective of American Indian narrators, could possibly be seen as a new way to reconstruct the past, which would disrupt the dominant colonial narrative. Simonds & Christopher add that Indigenous communities and researchers have called for research to be decolonized.²⁸ As a challenge to Western knowledge, researchers should take appropriate steps to ensure the security, respect, and trust within their relationships with their communities of interest. Unlike Western research, decolonizing research places Indigenous values, epistemologies, and voices at the forefront of the study.

Regardless of the form, oral history as a method has its advantages, as well as disadvantages. According to Hoopes, the greatest advantage lies in the process of participation between both the researcher and the researched.²⁹ This process opens up the opportunity for both sides to develop relationships with one another, which can ultimately create better understandings from both perspectives. He also explains that oral history can provide previously undocumented stories associated with documented facts.³⁰

Disadvantages are also essential to take into consideration while using oral history as a method. Memory is an issue that can hinder or distort the overall research. As a central component to the research Hoopes reminds his audience that memory is only human and fallible. Another example that Hoopes mentions is that illegal behavior past and present, is rarely documented or recorded. Oral history becomes more accurate when used in conjunction with available written records. Without this documentation it is more difficult for the scholar to make connections between the oral history and the actual events. Hoopes also points out that oral documentation can be distorted by the researcher if they are unable to see beyond their own biases and recognize the perspectives of their informants.³¹

Nevertheless, it is important to acknowledge the overall value of oral history. Wilson makes it clear that stories serve important functions in that they provide moral guidelines by which individuals should live, identify appropriate behavior within certain cultures, and produce a sense of identity and belonging.³² Hoopes adds that in order to truly understand written facts, researchers must strive to understand the human beings who lived through those facts or events. He also reminds the audience that the historical record is always incomplete, and it is

up to researchers to fill in the gaps with oral history. Lacourt adds the importance of reteaching of historical culture to future generations, which is another form of knowledge production.

With the lack of a precise definition and clear guidelines as to how the research should be conducted, it is understandable why the oral history framework has had to struggle with acquiring credibility. However, when it comes to adding to historical events and situations, oral history should be considered and utilized. While quantitative and other more mainstream methods can produce certain kinds of useful knowledge, qualitative methods, like oral history, can also contribute to the knowledge by producing different kinds of data and insight.

Studying oral history made me realize the importance of others' perspectives and helped me develop new ideas for my project. Instead of creating a project that consisted of just the history of the neighborhood, I wanted to complete and contest this dominant narrative with the voices of those who lived in Salishan. Creating a space for residents to talk about their experiences and to be later heard by an audience could possibly create a change in the stereotypes about the neighborhood.

Ethnic Studies, Critical Race Theory, and Marxism: A Framework for Analysis

In order to develop my film project, I needed to create a framework to base it on. I began with the consideration of ethnic studies as it explores many facets of oppression which Salishan residents have experienced. Gary Okihiro states that, "Ethnic studies is the study of power, and its locations and articulations around the axes of race and ethnicity, gender, sexuality, class, and nation. The field arose historically from the connections made by peoples of color in the U.S. with peoples of the Third World and their struggles against colonization and

neo-colonization.”³³ Ladson-Billings asks that we remember that epistemology is not simply a “way of knowing” but a “system of knowing”³⁴, which suggests that there are multiple factors, influences, and views that intertwine in how we understand the world around us. If we were to only accept one way of understanding the world, which is how Western research typically understands and teaches its knowledge about the world, then we become ignorant to the other possibilities of grasping reality, how others may perceive it, and how knowledge is produced and excludes these “other” understandings. Where these Western understandings are viewed as truth, other perspectives are limited to folklore.

Critical Race Theory (CRT) plays a large role in my research. It “offers us a race-conscious approach to understanding ... inequality and identifying potential solutions.”³⁵ From a CRT perspective, identity is a social construction. It is best known through lived experiences. CRT also assists researchers by pointing out perspectives that have slipped through the cracks of dominant systems of knowledge.

Certainly, in the U.S. race matters. The United States has a bad habit of spreading the idea that it is a ‘post-racial’ society. CRT argues that we are the complete opposite. Ladson-Billings claims that racism in America is normal, “and because it is so enmeshed in the fabric of the U.S. social order, it appears both normal and natural to people in this society.”³⁶ Racism is embedded in every single system that we have. King discusses these issues within our legal system from the Native perspective. He breaks down how legislation and documentation have been destroying the North American Native population. This means that through different policies the Canadian and United States governments have been taking away Native legal and cultural identity.³⁷ In the case of Salishan, non-tribal members know very little, if anything,

about the connection between the Puyallup Tribe and the land that the neighborhood sits on. It is through these policies and practices of erasure that the history is hidden or covered up.

From the perspectives of both ethnic studies and CRT, it is important to consider Native American ontologies, epistemologies, and methodologies in research situated in a colonized context. Within their writings, both Wilson and Meyer explain that the ontology of Native American ways of knowing is that the world is alive and revolves around relationships and purpose. Wilson argues that “We could not *be* without *being in relationship* with everything that surrounds us and is within us. Our reality, our ontology is the relationships”.³⁸ It comes as no surprise that the epistemology of Native American frameworks is based on ontological foundations such as relationship, spirituality, morality, meaning, and continuity”.³⁹ Similarly, Wilson states that “nothing could be without being in relationship, without its context.”⁴⁰ Salishan at its core is a product of connections between the land, the Puyallup Tribe, the City of Tacoma, and its residents. Without the knowledge of these connections, outsiders are left with a distorted and incomplete picture of the neighborhood. The archival aspects of my work and the film address this relational element within the research.

Informed by Critical Race Theory and Ethnic Studies, storytelling is a key element of my research. Storytelling helps me investigate and archive cultural values and knowledge in Indigenous societies. Applying this method to researching the present and past history of the neighborhood contributes to a better understanding of Salishan.

A second paradigm informing my project is Indigenous Marxism. Indigenous Marxism combines insights from Marxism and Indigenous studies. Although they are conflicting

paradigms, in the sense that Marxism assumes industrial development and the exploitation of natural resources and the other believes that nature and the Earth are sacred, they have the capability to benefit from each other. The Marxist concepts of class struggle can aid understanding and address goals of social justice.⁴¹ In this respect, Simon argues that by using Marxist concepts, one can better comprehend the situation of Indigenous peoples in contemporary capitalism.⁴²

Another important aspect of Marxism is the concept “primitive accumulation”. Although the term itself may be archaic and problematic, the concept articulates how wealth, resources, status, and hence power can be accumulated outside of, or prior to, the advent of capitalism itself. Primitive accumulation explores the ways in which the origins of capitalism have divided classes into the possessors and the non-possessors, better known as the haves and have-nots. Dr. Amin argues that these capitalist formulations create unequal relationships that disable the typical development of poor societies which he calls the “development of the undeveloped”.⁴³ In other words, poor societies are not only treated unequally but are literally blocked from establishing any type of upward mobility. This concept of haves and have nots must be taken into consideration when we think about public housing like Salishan and question how creating a mixed-income neighborhood after reconstruction helps those still living in low-income homes. My film addresses the experiences of working-class residents within Salishan as well as the Puyallup Tribe, both of whom have witnessed the impacts of capitalism.

During the 1980s, there was shift in scholarly research that began focusing on the political economy of historical and modern Indigenous societies. This shift paved the way for new understandings of Indigenous economic and social struggles. Some new ideas explored the

connections between dwindling resources within tribes and how they were forced to conform to a capitalist way of life, how this is a form of assimilation, and how land was taken from tribes through the “process of accumulation by disposition”.⁴⁴ Other Marxist concepts have been reevaluated in relation to indigeneity including alienation, class, and capitalism. Indigenous Marxism looks into alienation as a result of the reservation system, class since there is a large poor population within the Native American community, and both alienation and class issues as a result of capitalism. These ideas can be applied to Salishan since it is a diverse community that has experienced alienation from nearby neighborhoods, class divisions, and ultimately the impacts of capitalism. All these barriers are important factors that affect the working-class, how they experience life, and how others may perceive them. As a part of my Marxist-inspired focus on Salishan’s working class as a diverse group, I focused on Indigenous understandings of Salishan. While communicating with the Puyallup Tribe and residents, I needed to be sensitive to their beliefs, acknowledge the limits of my own perspectives, and be respectful to the Puyallup’s by making space for their voices to be represented in my film project. Consistent with these two frameworks, I had to pay attention to what kinds of questions I would ask in my interviews and be mindful of if they would negatively impact my interviewees.

Using Marxism as a framework, I was drawn to the social justice aspect of it, but its various theoretical concepts like alienation, primitive accumulation, and class struggle were also helpful for understanding Indigenous experiences. In addition, it was easy to see the parallels between these Marxist concepts in relation to Indigenous experiences but also to the experiences of residents in Salishan. As the Puyallup People were alienated through the reservation system from white settlers, Salishan has also experienced its own alienation from

the city of Tacoma, although not on the same level. Being the city's first openly integrated neighborhood during the early 1940s, Salishan has always been seen as its own community within the city but was also stigmatized for it. As the Puyallup witnessed their land being used for profit, or primitive accumulation, residents of Old Salishan also witnessed their community being used for profit when it was transformed into a mixed-income development. In addition, where Indigenous communities were seen as "savages" in the eyes of whites, residents of Salishan were seen as "ghetto" and "poor" by the rest of Tacoma.

Methods

To gather background context for my project I conducted archival work utilizing physical and online archives. The physical archives consisted of the Washington State Archives in Seattle and local libraries. Online archives included the Secretary of State's website, Ancestry.com, World Access News, and the Bureau of Land Management (BLM)'s archives. From state archives I was able to locate court documents from 1942 when the City of Tacoma took over privately owned properties to make way for the Salishan project. Local libraries provided township maps, some archival newspaper articles, and some information from the Tacoma Housing Authority. I was able to track previous owners' family lineages through Ancestry.com and the Secretary of State's website and found historical land ownership documents through the BLM's website. The *Tacoma News Tribune's* archives held articles about different land transfers and issues since the late 1800s, as well as articles relating to the neighborhood and its construction progress since the 1940s.

Oral history, which I used as a method of storytelling, has six characteristics. The first is an interview between the researcher and the participant. Although some interviews consist of multiple narrators, one-on-one exchanges are preferred by researchers due to their intimacy and the overall connection that is developed. The second characteristic is that these interviews are recorded, preserved, and made accessible to others with the permission of the participant. The third characteristic is that oral history seeks new knowledge and insight from the past through individual biographies. The fourth is that oral history is subjective and an act of memory. The fifth is that oral history is an inquiry in depth, meaning that it is planned and scheduled, a serious exchange of understanding. Finally, the last characteristic is that it is done through spoken word.

I applied each of these characteristics within my project. The first was applied by making my interviews strictly between individual participants and myself, because interviewing more than one person may have taken away from the relationship developed between myself and the interviewee. For the second characteristic, I received consent from the participants, before each interview. Making the oral histories of Salishan available to others allows for the possibility of more research being done in the future. For the third characteristic I focused on working class experiences to introduce this knowledge into the archive. For the fourth I explored physical archives to compliment the experiences of my participants, but in no way did I want them or their statements to be questioned or denied. The fifth was the most time-consuming as I spent countless hours over the past two years within the neighborhood. In addition, meeting my participants came from planning and serious engagement. The last characteristic is important because it places value on the aspect of the spoken word as much as

the archives. To compliment this piece, I worked with Justin Wadland in the UWT library to properly archive the transcripts of my work.

Establishing connections and conducting interviews became time consuming as it lasted six months but was well worth it. I reached out to participants using the snowball method. Using the University of Washington Tacoma, the Tacoma Housing Authority, and personal Tacoma-based networks, I selected participants if they were connected to the land or to the neighborhood. Interviewees qualified if they were residents over the age of 18 or Tribal members who were also over 18 and had either lived in the neighborhood or had ties to it. Interviews were set up at the convenience of the participant, in terms of both time and location. Release and consent forms were signed by participants before interviews began to ensure their safety and the safety of the project. An interview guide which was comprised of my questions was used through the duration of the interview, (see Appendix A). I interviewed a total of eight participants for this project.

I decided to create thirty-minute documentary as a final project. This decision came about because I questioned if I wanted to have my research sit on a shelf or if I would like to put it out into the world in a more accessible form. I humanized my project by showing my audience the actual people who lived through these experiences. I wanted those who participated in the project, residents of Salishan, and the Puyallup Tribe to be able to experience the research in a way that would be more accessible and manageable for them. The film is an accessible format but also a way of documenting and archiving the history and experiences that are connected to Salishan. As a researcher I found that there are multiple ways to archive information and knowledge. A film allows viewers to have a deeper connection

to the content compared with if they were just to read it on paper. Viewers are able to see images of the neighborhood, see faces of participants, and hear their voices, which have been kept silent through the media and previous research. This relational element between the participants and the research is addressed in the production of the film. Documentaries have the capability to be powerful and inspiring to the audience. Sometimes they can bring awareness to situations, move audiences, and create change for the better, each of which I hope to do with my film.

The process of film making is complex and must be well thought out. I began by considering my area of focus and brainstorming ideas. It was helpful to take these ideas and create a script, (see Appendix B), that guided me through the process of the filmmaking. I gathered as much footage as possible for imagery. I filmed at night and during the day to show different sides of Salishan. Aerial shots were included to show just how big Salishan is and to help visualize where it is positioned in the city and region. I wanted to make sure that Salishan was represented in as many ways as possible through visuals and to make connections to the audio. I conducted recorded interviews over a six-month period which were transcribed. Editing was the most time-consuming portion of the filmmaking process. I used Final Cut Pro with the help of one of my committee members, Professor Minda Martin, and the staff at the UWT Multimedia Lab.

Another important aspect to my project was film screenings. I was fortunate to show my film on campus to my committee, family, friends, and more importantly one of my participants. In order to prepare for this event I created a film flyer. I also made a questionnaire for audience members to fill out after the screening, (see Appendix C). I would eventually like to show the

film at the new Eastside Community Center, which is located next to Salishan, so that community members can have easy access to viewing it.

Overall, I created a short film of narratives from those who are connected to the land or who have lived within Salishan. I developed a documentary that multiplies the voices of Salishan and allows for participants to engage in producing their own voices within the history. I feel that it's necessary to also point out that the description above is only a sliver of the research, time, and effort that I had put into this project.

Reflections on Making Narratives of Salishan: Lessons Learned, Missed Opportunities, and Future Directions

The purpose of this section is to allow myself the space to step back and reflect on everything that I have done for this work, and to elaborate on things that the film project will not show, including my struggles and triumphs while working on this project. This portion of my rationale might also serve as a guideline for what to do and what not to do for researchers who might want to recreate similar projects.

I can truly appreciate the Master of Arts in Interdisciplinary Studies program for allowing me the space to mix scholarship and art to create my project. Although there were many ideas for this project that didn't come to life, I did learn a lot from the entire process. Over the past three years I have learned more than I ever imagined. I began by learning how to navigate physical and online archives. Once I found out one bit of information, I would try to fill in the gaps with more documented information or oral history from interviewees. The hardest part of doing archival work is letting go of what cannot be found and understanding that sometimes

information is not documented for a reason, to keep it hidden. This was difficult for me because I would follow bunny trails of valuable information and find myself at many dead ends, which will be elaborated later.

My whole reason for making this film project was to try and highlight the narrative of Salishan from the experiences of those who lived there and show outsiders that it is a great community. Since I never lived within the neighborhood, I began to recognize my own biases about it and soon realized how wrong they were. While reading through hundreds of articles in the *Tacoma News Tribune*, I saw how many programs were offered to the residents since its early years. Daycare, movies, and classes were all offered to residents for free at the Community Center. The community had also looked out for itself in various ways. One article in particular described how a group of elderly women hosted Christmas for Salishan youth, networking with local agencies to provide toys and goodies for children⁴⁵. While conducting my interviews I quickly recognized a similarity from each participant, which was their love for the community. The strength of the community shown through multiple aspects of the project and it helped open up my own eyes as to how good of a place Salishan is.

Before working on this project, I thought I had a decent understanding of oppression and how it can affect poor communities. As I researched and wrote my literature review it dawned on me how much deeper these systems reach. I have known about urban development and how it has contributed to systematic oppression for a while, like defending color lines,⁴⁶ red lining, and how highways were built in ways that displaced communities of color. What I learned from working on this project is that these contributing factors to systematic oppression went so deep as to be a part of urban development theoretical frameworks. Studying the

Chicago and L.A. Schools of Thought brought this to light, as it was clear how the Chicago School didn't take into consideration how preexisting systems of oppression were affecting poor communities and studying these populations using the scientific method. The Chicago School has helped contribute to negative stereotypes of the very communities that it studied.

As I began studying the oral history aspect of my work, the oppression surrounding Salishan became clearer. Oral history, as mentioned previously, has been around for centuries. Being a big part of our Indigenous communities and their knowledge production, Western Academic Traditions have until recently typically associated it with folklore, and they still often do. This facet of oppression via theory not only reveals the Western frameworks' own oppressiveness, but also silences the voices of those who are willing to share their experiences.

Another valuable thing I learned was about the process of conducting interviews. As the interviewer, one thing I had to recognize was that my participants were not participating on my time and that I had to be patient and accommodate their ways of understanding and managing time. There were multiple times when interviews had to be rescheduled due to daily life occurrences. This did not bother me but made me more understanding of the daily constraints of the people who lived in Salishan.

As an interviewer, I also had to learn how to set up and operate equipment for interview sessions. I started with learning to work my camera in manual mode back in the summer and fall of 2018. Learning manual settings was suggested by Professor Minda Martin, as one can control the whole camera oneself rather than having to rely on it to capture what you want, which doesn't always happen

From there I began learning how to use Final Cut Pro X editing software. I took a few filmmaking courses at UW Bothell with Professor Martin, where I learned many different facets of filmmaking. Editing itself is one of the core components of the process. I learned about how different lighting, angles, sound, etc. can change the tone of a film and how it flows.

One of the biggest rules in filmmaking is to double check one's equipment. As a matter of fact, it's best to repeatedly check the equipment to make sure it's all working properly and together. I had to learn this the hard way on a few occasions. One time I conducted an interview that lasted an hour and a half. It was a beautiful interview, the camera was perfectly focused on the subject, and the lighting was amazing. But when I got home and sat down to review it there was no sound. I did not check the microphones to make sure they were properly synched with the camera. Another time I forgot to bring my SD memory card for my camera and was lucky that my interviewee offered to let me use his. I have learned a lot in the past nine months when it comes to filmmaking, but I have yet to master it. I still have to ask for assistance and have to do a lot of trial and errors runs before actually getting the results that I want.

Another lesson to me was finding out the importance of a script. I put off making one until the last minute because it didn't naturally come to me. I had to go out and film for supplemental footage and conduct my interviews before I began thinking of ideas to incorporate into the film. A script makes the filmmaking process a lot easier and more structured. With a script the filmmaker knows what to do while editing, and when deadlines are involved this becomes essential.

There were a few things that I wish I could have done differently with my project. If I were able to start over, I would have started the filmmaking process sooner, which would've given me ideas for a script earlier. The most time-consuming part of filmmaking is editing, and I feel that I rushed myself with this portion of the project. If I had given myself a structured timeline, I would have had more time to focus on clarity within the film itself.

While working on this project there were multiple aspects that I wanted to incorporate into my overall project but for one reason or another was unable to. My original goal was to fill in all the missing historical gaps in the history of Salishan, but as I began the archival work, I soon realized that it would be impossible to do. I began considering interviewing people who had lived there during each or every other decade. This idea too was short lived after considering the time that I had before graduation. Overall, I wanted to interview at least four more people for the film and never go the opportunity.

I wanted to work with the Puyallup Tribe and their historic preservation department. However, I was unable to due to the staff member having a health scare. I planned on looking deeper into land transfers and any other information about John Swan and his family, who originally owned the land that Salishan sits on today. I have always valued the Puyallup Tribe and their perspectives and felt that it was necessary to my project to have a better understanding of their narratives.

Other people I hoped to interview were descendants of James F. Sallee. Sallee was one of the thirty residents who lived in the area between the time that John Swan owned the land and the construction of Salishan. Of the thirty residents, Sallee was the only one who tried to fight

the city's effort to force him off his property, accusing the government of failing to prove any official notice had been given. He ended up technically winning his case and was able to stay, but only briefly. Although he won, the court allowed Sallee only a few more weeks on his property before having to vacate. I felt this would have been a great opportunity to better understand what was happening at the time and the role of the government in this process. I would have asked for the family's perspective of the situation. I tried looking for more information on this case and unsuccessfully attempted to trace the Sallee family lineage.

Another interview that I didn't get to do was with a representative of the NAACP. While searching through articles from the *Tacoma News Tribune* I came across one in 1968 that mentioned discrimination in the city of Tacoma. The NAACP planned to work with the city and specifically mentioned discrimination in Salishan, which brought up new questions for my project. I found it intriguing that Salishan had ties to the NAACP Tacoma chapter. I wanted to interview a member of the chapter's archival department to determine what kind of discrimination was taking place in Salishan. I tried reaching out to the Tacoma Chapter, which it turns out has been permanently closed. I also reached out to a few members of the Seattle chapter and received no response from them.

The last person I wanted to interview for the film was a woman by the name of Kiera. In the fall of 2018, I had the opportunity to interview Kiera, who lived in the neighborhood during the 80s, without using my camera. Like my other interviewees, she talked about the hardships in her life while living in Salishan as a child, but also expressed the love she had for the community. She discussed similar topics to those brought up in my film, like living in poverty, the overall community feel in the neighborhood, and Bald-Headed Murphy⁴⁷. When I had the

time to interview her again, with a camera setup, the phone number I had for her no longer worked.

I was interested in framing the entire project as Community Based Participatory Research (CBPR) but didn't have enough time to do so. The goal of CBPR is to develop new methodological approaches that counter the 'colonizing' nature of research which typically subjects oppressed communities to further disempowerment and reinforces racism through perpetuating stereotypes,⁴⁸ which I did in the film. There are five attributes of CBPR, which would have been useful to my work. They are: (1) community as a unit of identity; (2) an approach for the vulnerable and marginalized; (3) collaboration and equal partnership throughout the entire research process; (4) an emergent, flexible, and iterative process; and (5) the research process is geared toward social action. CBPR allows scholars and participants to work together on developing the study, analyzing data, and identifying themes throughout the work. This approach provides the opportunity for participants to not only share their stories, but to also approve intended representations of those stories. I felt that these characteristics were aligned with my project. However, after discussing this with my committee we thought it be best to not collaborate with my participants in the filmmaking process, in part due to timing issues.

To elaborate on why I wanted to use CBPR but could not I focused on each attribute and decided which ones worked well for my project and which ones didn't. The first two attributes worked well as I acknowledged that my participants connect their identity to Salishan, which is a marginalized community. Attribute three became an issue of using CBPR for this project because I was unable to collaborate with participants throughout the entire process. I would

have enjoyed working one-on-one with each participant during the filmmaking aspect. However, due to time restraints it would have been impossible to do so. Attribute four was applicable to my work as I made myself flexible to the needs of my participants and repeated my process of interviewing for each participant. Attribute five is also applicable as I ultimately wanted to use my film as a medium to create social change.

Although CBPR holds multiple advantages within the world of research, it also has multiple disadvantages if not conducted properly. CBPR takes time to build trusting relationships between scholars, participants, and communities and may result in scholars reverting to the use of more conventional methods, which can ultimately damage the overall study through ahistorical, disrespectful practices. However, my use of oral history drew from a qualitative unconventional approach. I used CBPR but was limited by time and resources. The mere fact that I had limited time for this project made it impossible to develop these long-lasting relationships with participants and the community. Being a first-generation college student and coming from a working-class background, I was not fortunate to be financially supported through this process. Had I been I would have had the opportunity to work on this project for a longer period. Once I realized the long-term aspects of CBPR I decided it was best not to use it as a framework without more substantial resources.

Another aspect of my project that I was not able to complete was expanding my film to include an online space for residents to create their own personal stories regarding their experiences in Salishan. With the assistance of the University of Washington Bothell and Professor Minda Martin, I wanted to create an online space where participants could learn how to record, edit, and upload new narratives. I would have included step-by-step instructions on

how to film, edit, and upload videos for those who wanted to participate. This idea never came to life as I had to eliminate it given the time constraints of editing and time constraints that the film required. However, this would have allowed the possibility for me to develop and teach workshops within the community after I graduated.

Despite not being able to see certain parts of my vision come to life, I was fortunate to learn the power of collaboration and community. My journey through this project was ultimately based on networking. Through networking I was able to meet people who also made major contributions to the project in various and important ways. Through the power of community, I had the opportunity to learn from those who came from Salishan.

For the future I have thought of a couple of ways that I can utilize my project/film. I have thought about doing screenings in local high schools as a way of introducing local history. To complement that I could develop workshops to show participants how to create their own short films through Metro Parks, Tacoma Public Schools, and possibly the University of Washington Tacoma. My ideal plan would be to become an instructor of an oral history class, where I would be able to teach the entire process of oral history and leave it up to students to make their own projects.

Regardless of the many setbacks and what possibly happens in the future, I am appreciative to have been able to do this work and not only teach others about Salishan, but also teach myself. As Salishan has been stigmatized, my project contributes a different set of narratives. In the film, the Tacoma Housing Authority perspective describes the beginning of Salishan starting during WWII. However, the film also points out that Salishan's history dates back to the

Puyallup Tribe and how it fluctuated between land ownership. The film also addresses how stereotypes were reinforced through the *Tacoma News Tribune*, yet residents like Bette, Jeremy, and James openly express their love and appreciation for the neighborhood.

This project was a wonderful learning experience for me, both in terms of learning about Salishan and in learning about the ethics and practice of documentary filmmaking. It also taught me a lot about Salishan as a community, and its past and present residents. While there are a number of things I would have liked to incorporate into the project that I wasn't able to, there remain many opportunities for me to build on this project going forward. Ideally this would be in a way that honors the Salishan community and empowers others to conduct similar projects.

¹ "Swan Creek History," Metro Parks Tacoma. <http://www.metroparkstacoma.org/history-swan-creek/>

² "To Take Land for Salishan," *Tacoma Times*, (Tacoma, WA), September 9, 1942.

³ Since the *Chicago Manual of Style* allows capitalization if an author prefers to do so, I felt it necessary to capitalize the words Indigenous and Black to signify the importance and identity of Indigenous and Black communities within this project. In addition, I chose not to capitalize white to denote its importance in my overall message.

⁴ Rene' Tuthill, *Salishan's Place in History* (Tacoma, WA: February 23, 1948).

⁵ Joseph Heathcott, "The Strange Career of Public Housing: Policy, Planning, and the American Metropolis in the Twentieth Century," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 78, no. 4 (2012): 365. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01944363.2012.740296>

⁶ "City Would Lease Units at Salishan," *Tacoma Times*, (Tacoma, WA), April 3, 1946.

⁷ "History of Salishan." Tacoma Housing Authority. <http://www.tacomahousing.net/content/history-salishan>

⁸ Joseph Heathcott, "The Strange Career of Public Housing: Policy, Planning, and the American Metropolis in the Twentieth Century," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 78, no. 4 (2012): 361. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01944363.2012.740296>

⁹ *Ibid.*, 364.

¹⁰ James H. Carr and Nandinee K. Kutty, *Segregation: The Rising Costs for America*. (New York, NY: Routledge, 2008), 57.

¹¹ Joseph Heathcott, "The Strange Career of Public Housing: Policy, Planning, and the American Metropolis in the Twentieth Century." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 78, no. 4 (2012): 361. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01944363.2012.740296>

¹² Louis Wirth, *On Cities and Social Life* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1964), 65.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 76.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 67.

¹⁵ Mark Benton, "Just the Way Things Are Around Here": Racial Segregation, Critical Junctures, and Path Dependence in Saint Louis," *Journal of Urban History* (2017): 3.

<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0096144217696988#articleCitationDownloadContainer>

¹⁶ James Mahoney. "Path Dependence in Historical Sociology." *Theory and Society* 29, no. 4 (2000): 507-48.

¹⁷ Giovanni Capoccia, "Critical Junctures and Institutional Change." In *Advances in Comparative-Historical Analysis*, (Cambridge University Press, 2015), 147-179.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁹ Old Salishan is a term used to distinguish between the pre- and post- HOPE VI redevelopment of the neighborhood.

²⁰ M. J. Dear, *From Chicago to L.A.: Making Sense of Urban Theory*. (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 2002), 10.

²¹ Vine Deloria, *Red earth, white lies: Native Americans and the myth of scientific fact* (New York: Scribner, 1995).

²² Vanessa W. Simonds and Suzanne Christopher, "Adapting Western Research Methods to Indigenous Ways of Knowing," *American Journal of Public Health* 103, no. 12 (2013), 2185.

²³ Angela Cavender Wilson, "Power of the Spoken Word: Native Oral Traditions in American Indian History," In *Rethinking American Indian History*, edited by Donald Lee Fixico, 101. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), 104.

²⁴ Charles E. Trimble, Barbra W. Sommer, and Mary Kay Quinlan, *The American Indian Oral History Manual: Making Many Voices Heard* (California: Left Coast Press Inc., 2008), 16.

²⁵ Jeanne Annette Lacourt, "Strengthening Traditional American Indian Education: An Oral History Curriculum Approach," Doctorate dissertation, The University of Wisconsin – Madison, 1997, 75-76.

²⁶ Angela Cavender Wilson, "Power of the Spoken Word: Native Oral Traditions in American Indian History," In *Rethinking American Indian History*, edited by Donald Lee Fixico, 101. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), 105.

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²⁸ Vanessa W. Simonds and Suzanne Christopher, "Adapting Western Research Methods to Indigenous Ways of Knowing," *American Journal of Public Health* 103, no. 12 (2013): 2185.

²⁹ James Hoopes, *Oral History: An Introduction for Students* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 12.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 15.

³¹ James Hoopes, *Oral History: An Introduction for Students* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 12.

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³⁴ Gloria Ladson-Billings, "Racialized Discourses and Ethnic Epistemologies," in *Handbook of Qualitative Research* ed. Norman K Denzin & Yvonna S. Lincoln. (California: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2000), 257.

³⁵ Margaret Zamudio, Christopher Russell, Francisco Rios, and Jacquelyn L. Bridgeman, *Critical Race Theory Matters: Education and Ideology* (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2010), 2.

³⁶ Gloria Ladson-Billings, "Racialized Discourses and Ethnic Epistemologies," In *Handbook of Qualitative Research* ed. Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln. (California: SAGE Publications Inc., 2000), 264.

³⁷ Thomas King, *The Truth About Stories: A Native Narrative* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 149.

³⁸ Shawn Wilson, *Research is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods* (Halifax & Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing, 2008), 76.

³⁹ Manu Aluli Meyer, "Native Hawaiian Epistemology: Sites of Empowerment and Resistance," in *Equity & Excellence in Education*, 31: 1, 22, 27.

⁴⁰ Shawn Wilson, *Research is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods* (Halifax & Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing, 2008), 77.

⁴¹ Scott Simon, "Introduction: Indigenous Peoples, Marxism, and Late Capitalism," in *New Proposals: Journal of Marxism and Interdisciplinary Inquiry*. Vol. 5, No. 1 (November 2011), 6.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 6.

⁴³ Barry Supple, "Economic Growth, Development and Planning Theory and Policy," in *Journal of Economic Literature* 13, no. 3 (1975): 900-03.

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⁴⁴ Scott Simon, "Introduction: Indigenous Peoples, Marxism, and Late Capitalism," in *New Proposals: Journal of Marxism and Interdisciplinary Inquiry*. Vol. 5, No. 1 (November 2011), 7.

⁴⁵ "One way of coping for widows: get involved", *Tacoma News Tribune*, (Tacoma, WA), December 8, 1980.

⁴⁶ Massey, Douglas S., and Denton, Nancy A. *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993).

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⁴⁸ Vanessa W. Simonds and Suzanne Christopher, "Adapting Western Research Methods to Indigenous Ways of Knowing," *American Journal of Public Health* 103, no. 12 (2013): 2185.

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Appendix A

Interview Questions

Introduction: Name, age, and association with Salishan?

1. When and how did you come to live in Salishan?
2. When and why did you move out of the neighborhood?
3. Do you know the neighborhood's history? If so, what?
4. What do/did you like most about Salishan and why?
5. What do/did you least like about Salishan and why?
6. Do you feel like the neighborhood has changed since redevelopment? If so, how?
7. Do you feel as if Salishan is different from other neighborhoods in the city? If so, how?
8. What are some memories, good or bad, that you'll never forget about Salishan?
9. Do you feel like living in Salishan has impacted or influenced the person you've become?
10. What do you want people to know about Salishan and why?
11. Were you rated differently by others because of living there?
12. Did you ever hear the rumor that the neighborhood was haunted? If so, what are your beliefs on that?

Appendix B

Narratives of Salishan: The Untold History Script

Title: NARRATIVES OF SALISHAN: THE UNTOLD HISTORY	
VIDEO	AUDIO
<p>Slow Motion drive through Salishan</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Original Clip (add in night window shot and morning light shot, baby blanket) (Somewhat distort the clip) 	<p>Me: As far back as I can remember my mom worked the graveyard shift at a local retail company. Like most single parents she was forced to leave me in the care of others. Each night she would take me to either a family member's or a sitter's house. I was too small to see out the windows of our car, but I knew where we were going by the turns she would take and by the shapes of the treetops. Most nights we headed to Eastside. As soon as we arrived at my sitter's my mom would carry me in, lay me on the couch, and head to work. I would lay there in the dark looking toward the covered window, and sometimes I would hear them. (Gun shot sounds) One time I asked why people were lighting off fireworks and my sitter told me to sleep on the floor whenever I heard them. To me, this was Salishan.</p>
<p>Black Screen</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Title appears then disappears 	<p><u>Nat. Sound:</u> Salishan</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sound of children playing, cars, and breeze
<p>Interviews: What do you think of Salishan?</p>	<p>Interviewee: I grew up in the town of Fircrest in the 1950s. The stories we were told is that you never wanna go there, you never wanna be around there, and when you drive by there drive by fast, it was not a place to be. If I had to describe Salishan in three words, I would say dark, despair, bottom.</p>
<p>Photos/Clips of Old Salishan (Preferably slow-motion clip of OS)</p>	<p>Me: Since its construction in 1943, Salishan has had a negative reputation within the city of Tacoma.</p>
<p>Images of news articles of violence, gangs, murder, etc.</p>	<p>Me: Through journalist's perspectives and imagery, local media coverage would reinforce negative stereotypes about the neighborhood. Demonizing Salishan and its residents, these media outlets associated them with laziness, gangs, drugs, as well as other forms of crime.</p>
<p>Clip of interview set up</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Chair, window, equipment, etc. 	<p>Me: Yet, without the voices of the tenants, negative stereotypes about Salishan will persist.</p>
<p>Transition to Puyallup segment</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Slow drone footage over Swan Creek Park (a couple of different clips) 	<p><u>Nat. Sound:</u> Breeze through the trees, birds, and then water from the Creek (continue water sound until Danica)</p>

	<u>Me:</u> The land that Salishan sits on today was originally a part of the Puyallup Indian Reservation, which was developed under the Medicine Creek Treaty of 1854.
<p>Danica Segment</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Clip of Danica - Sub. Dr. Danica Sterud Miller: Professor at UWT 	<u>Danica:</u> My name is Danica Sterud Miller, I am an assistant professor of American Indian Studies at the University of Washington Tacoma, and I am a citizen of the Puyallup Nation. I grew up on one of the last unceded territories of the Puyallup and I grew up in a highly political Puyallup family. (0434)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Historic Images of the Puyallup Tribe - Images of Mt. Rainier - Images of Puyallup Watershed 	<u>Dr. Miller:</u> The Puyallup are the indigenous people of this land. By what I mean by this land is the city of Tacoma is how generally we... people think of the Puyallup in terms of their contemporary presence. But the traditional territory of the Puyallup actually is the Puyallup Watershed, which begins... is Mt. Rainier or Tacobet as we use to... in Lushootseed. So, the Puyallup are the people of the Puyallup Watershed and not just necessarily of the Puyallup River. (0435)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Drone Footage of Swan Creek 	<u>Me:</u> Like Native American Tribes across the country, the Puyallup were forced to centralize under the reservation system. When the system ended in 1886, John Swan, a member of the Puyallup Tribe was allotted a large piece of land where Swan Creek Park and Salishan are located today. Over the years, Swan was publicly shamed and deemed a “drunkard” by local newspapers. During this time, he began to sell off portions of his property to individual buyers and local logging and mining companies.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Danica Talking Head - Puyallup Imagery - Close ups of trees, leaves, creek, salmon - John Swan Articles 	<u>Danica:</u> So, while I can't speak to John Swan specifically, what was happening for Puyallup people, and indigenous people more generally at this time, in this area... So, by this time we have, of course, forced relocation. We have the complete... it's illegal to practice our religion... and what that means is that everything that's associated with our religion... So, schooling and other sort of skills that we've learned from our elders is also going to be put in jeopardy. And medicine... most importantly. So, we're gonna have high death rates of children and elders because of poor nutrition because we're no longer allowed to practice our traditional ways of feeding ourselves. We're going to have high death rates because of the lack of medicine. There is forced Westernized medicine that is spotty at best and traumatic most of the time. And we're also going to have deep psychological depression. Right, to have within what really is about a

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Danica Talking Head - Drone footage of Swan Creek 	<p>40-year span of... beginning of colonization to almost complete land loss is so devastating to some many tribal members... that John Swan's experience is not atypical. In addition, just to speak to his notoriety as a "drunkard" I think is what the quote is.... You know there's this stereotype of the drunken Indian is one that we're all very familiar with, however, it is one that is purposely promoted in order to excuse and legitimize both the theft of land, the taking of children, and the genocide of the Puyallup specifically, but certainly it's applicable across the United States. So, while alcohol has most certainly touched and hurt a lot of American Indian communities what this speaks to is the using alcohol and alcoholism, and the stereotype of drunken Indians as a way to legitimize land theft. (0438)</p>
<p>Transition to Tacoma Housing Authority Segment</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gradual Townships (Year by year, ending in 1942) 	<p><u>Me:</u> As time went on, reservation land began to dwindle as more settlers began to arrive in the Tacoma area. After his passing in the early 1900s, John Swan's land went through a series of changes in ownership. By 1940 there were 30 privately owned properties on the original Swan plot. Owners of these properties were all eventually court ordered through eminent domain to vacate to make way for the new wartime housing project.</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Wartime workers - Sub. Michael Mirra: Director of the THA 	<p><u>Mirra:</u> Salishan's history really started with the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, that began WWII for this country. When that particular war started the federal government realized two things; that a lot of people were headed to the Pacific Northwest to build the ships and planes that won that war, and that when they got here it would make the housing shortage a lot worse.</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Articles on THA origin - Articles on THA taking on Salishan - Redlining and block busting samples (1-3) 	<p>Mirra: In response, as an emergency wartime measure, the federal government-built Salishan to house war workers and their families. [...] After the war, the federal government gave these communities to the local housing authorities to own and manage as public housing and they became the largest source of affordable housing in their communities. And that's how THA, the Tacoma Housing Authority, ended up with Salishan. Although, our relationship with it started during WWII. We were formed only in 1940 and our first big job was to manage Salishan for the federal government during the war. The effort to do that is interesting to read about. There's some noticeable aspects to it. Salishan, when it was built and managed, was racially integrated on purpose. This is</p>

	at a time when the nation's housing markets were thoroughly segregated by race on purpose. Salishan was integrated on purpose.
Transition to Bette Segment	<u>Nat. Sound:</u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Possibly use aged filter (Not B&W but the brown) - Sub. Bette Arndt: Salishan Resident 1943-1953 	<u>Bette:</u> Bette Arndt is a great grandmother, who grew up mostly here in Tacoma, but spent time in Seattle, and down in California, but most of life was here in Tacoma.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Possible photos of Bette as a child - Images of types of homes. - Footage of the gulch - Naval Shipyards - Articles of Community Center Building 	<u>Bette:</u> We moved in in 1943. So, it hadn't been open very long. The streets were still dirt. There were no sidewalks, no trees, no shrubs, no nothin'. It was like a military base almost, ya know? With all these different... there were single houses, duplexes, triplexes, and sixplexes. And we were lucky enough to be in a single house because there were four kids, my parents, and the four kids. So we had a single house. And I absolutely LOVED living in Salishan. I mean it was, I was from like seven until I was seventeen and so I grew up there. That was where we lived, and I loved it. So... everybody knew everybody. There was a really nice community building where we had everything that went on there. There was a gulch that we use to play in all the time, that they don't allow kids to play in it anymore. [...] Everybody was pretty... well poor. I mean there were no rich people there. It was a housing project. [...] The parents all worked. Most of them in the Navy shipyards. [...] At the community building they provided everything. They gave you shots, they had daycare, later on they had a teen area for teen dances, they had movies in the main auditorium. You know, it was this one big community where everybody gravitated to the same area. [...] The parents were really busy and everything, but the kids found things to do. We played. We stayed out of trouble. The kids from Stadium and the kids from some of the other schools around, use to come over and try to cause trouble here in Salishan. And as I got older, as I became a teenager and we noticed that sort of stuff going on. But everybody looked down on us, because we were from the project.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Images of WWII Blackouts 	<u>Bette:</u> I remember the blackouts, that we had to keep our windows covered and stuff like that after dark. [...] They were always afraid that... Japanese planes or whatever were gonna come flying over or whatever. So... we had to at night, you had to keep your windows covered so no light got out at all. And... they had people that went

	around and if they saw any light, they, you know tell you. "Get our lights covered." [...] But I... we weren't out after dark.
Transition to Dash and James' Segment	Me: After the war, the neighborhood was repurposed from a wartime housing project into a low-income development.
- Sub. Jeremy Dasheill: Former Salishan Resident	<u>Dash</u> : Ok, my name is Jeremy Dashell. I'm 33 and I lived in Salishan from 1992 to 2002. (0498)
- Sub. James Santana: Former Salishan Resident	<u>James</u> : Hi, my name is James Santana Monh, I am 29 years old, and I was a resident in Salishan from the middle of the 90's to the early 2000s. (0295)
Pause	
- Image of Dash's House	<u>Dash</u> : When I was living on the South End our house had burned down, and we ended up getting housing in 1992, in like November of 92. So, we moved to Salishan and that's how it was. We got placed in public housing. (0499)
- Image of James' grandparents' house	<u>James</u> : Well my mom moved me and my sister in to Salishan after her and my father had separated. (0296) My mom ended up moving us in with my grandmother. (0292)
Transition into the Negative	Me: Salishan's image continued to decline as the neighborhood began to experience gangs and increased violence throughout the 80s and 90s.
- Articles of Gang Activity	
- Newspaper articles of gang activity	<u>Dash</u> : I loved it all, to be honest. But if I could say there was like... anything... probably the gang activity. Like as kids we became adapted to it... because it was like Oh, they were shooting dice, or they were shooting. But just the fact they we were in that type of environment wasn't a positive. [...] But if we could've eliminated all of the gang activity it would've been a plus. (0503 & 0504)
- Clip of back of child playing on a bike	
- Footage of Cop Car	
- James Talking Head	<u>James</u> : I remembered just violence. I mean I'm not talking about violence with little kids and stuff. You know, I witnessed some major violence within the community. Shootings, and unnecessary bloodshed, I guess. (0308)
- Scroll through articles of Terrance's death	<u>Dash</u> : I would have to say a bad memory was losing my friend, Terrance, like my brother. He got killed on 44 th . And unfortunately, it's still an unsolved mystery. But he was young when he died. Like that was my guy. And to lose him was even harder cuz he was like... I felt like he was a genius. Like he was the smartest man I knew. Like he would just do stuff, and I'm like man how do you

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Photo of Terrance - Dash Talking Head 	<p>naturally just do that? He would create crossovers in basketball... I'd be like dude, how in the world are you? And he always did... everything that he did was with a smile on his face. So, it was like, to see him mad was like dang that's weird. But I rarely seen him mad so... like everything he would do he was laughing. Or he was just a good spirit. So, it hurt when he got killed for no reason. You know, over stupidity. So that's is one, or the worst memory that I have of Salishan. (0507)</p>
	<p>Me: Although Salishan did experience its share of crime and violence, residents felt the neighborhood was much more than how it was portrayed.</p>
<p>Loved Most/Good Memories Segment</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Image of Eastside Community Center - Clip of children playing - Clip of nice yard - Clip of the community garden (extend it through a pause before next clip) - Dash Talking Head - James Talking Head 	<p><u>Dash:</u> I liked Salishan because it was a community. [...] The family vibe was there. We had the Eastside Neighborhood Center, which was the heart of Salishan. Which kept us involved and everything. I learned how to play baseball there, basketball, African Drum and Dance [...] So I didn't really have to leave for anything. It was really like its own village, within itself. [...] Which was warming, because everything was there. (0299)</p> <p><u>James:</u> The thing I loved most about Salishan was the sense of community... Feeling at home. [...] We were all just able to run and play and just go wherever we wished and not feel like we were in danger, because the neighborhood was always looking out for us. And everybody kinda knew each other. It was nice that all my friends were really close by. (0299) I also really liked how the community would come together for certain things. I do remember them having a contest... holding a contest for like who had the best lawn and stuff. And that was pretty cool because my grandfather was so big on his lawn. [...] I also loved that they had that community garden, which is still there. It was awesome. (0300)</p> <p><u>Dash:</u> What else man... We had a bike crew in Salishan. We all built bikes. (0507)</p> <p><u>James:</u> Riding bikes was fun. If you didn't have a bike somebody else would have a bike for you... chances are that bike didn't belong to them. But it usually got around. (0301)</p>
<p>Transition into Cambodian Aspect</p>	<p>Me: Another aspect of Salishan was that from its opening day the neighborhood had this signature for being racially diverse. The neighborhood became an</p>

	important gateway community, offering the first home to new Americans, including those fleeing the killing fields of the Khmer Rouge.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - James Talking Head - Clip of Khmer Temple - Clip of Khmer New Year celebration - James Talking Head 	<p>James: Moving into Salishan and coming from a place of turmoil, because both sides of my family moved from a refugee camp during the Cambodian Genocide...and they escaped [...] to come here to this community and it almost felt like home again for them, because they were able to embrace each other. (0300)</p> <p>I like that for the fact that... I mean their temple was just right across the street. It was just a place of worship, you know, and it was a place to get together... Every April, that when it went down. It went down. And the community would just kind of gather. I just vividly remember walking around the neighborhood, and just still being able to hear the music slapping from the background, from the distance way far out. (0301)</p>
Pause Transition into Urban Legend Segment	Me: Over the decades Salishan as a community had developed its own culture. From being recognized for their sports teams and assistance programs at the Eastside Neighborhood Center to hosting community gatherings and celebrations, Salishan also had its own urban legend by the name of Bald-Headed Murphy.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - James Talking Head - Footage from Backroads - Dash Talking Head 	<p>James: Ooh yeah. Ok Yea. [...] Obviously a lot of people know about Bald-Headed Murphy and all that, just in the backroads. And growing up, all the stories, you know, everybody would tell me these stories about Bald-Headed Murphy and stuff. To be wary of walking alone. And just going to the backroads in general would be quite the trip. [...] It was just normal to us. It was just real normal to us. I was just a... I guess an urban legend that was passed around, maybe to just keep people, keep kids safe and stuff. I don't know, maybe it's true. Who knows? (0321)</p> <p>Dash: I've never personally seen him, but I don't want to either. So, I will roll my windows up and have my doors locked when I'm driving through just cuz he may still be there. He's probably like 178 years old now. So Bald-Headed Murphy I'm still scared of you as a grown adult. (0512)</p>
Transition to Impact/Influence Segment	Me: Regardless of the truth behind the urban legend, Bald-Headed Murphy fed into the stereotype of the

	neighborhood. However, Salishan also positively influenced many of its young residents.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Stills of children (blurred) - Dash Talking Head - James Talking Head - Stills of the neighborhood 	<p><u>Dash</u>: I work with kids so I'm a youth mentor. [...] And seeing them go through the same stuff that I went through Like foster care and being adopted... it's easier to give them the tools to do well. Like it made me appreciate the people that I did have. [...] If it wasn't for living in Salishan, I wouldn't have had none of that. And I wouldn't be the person that I am today, uplifting the youth that I am. (0508)</p> <p><u>James</u>: Yeah growing up in Salishan has definitely made me a more resilient person. I guess when you kinda grow up poor you kinda learn to appreciate the things around you, you know? [...] I can just kinda see it in contrast to my friends that didn't grow up there. They're not really as thankful for the things that they have (0309)</p>
Transition to Words to Outsiders Segment	<u>Me</u>: In 2001, the Tacoma Housing Authority received a \$35 million HOPE 6 grant for the revitalization of Salishan. The old neighborhood was demolished to make way for the new mixed-income Salishan. Unfortunately, the old stereotypes remained.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Stills of people walking around the neighborhood (blurred?) - Footage of Walk-Through - Footage of the Garden - Dash Talking Head - James Talking Head 	<p><u>Dash</u>: Salishan is a diamond in the rough. If you get to know the culture, go over there, walk around, get to know the area, you will see the hidden gems that sit inside that beautiful area. And when I say get to know it, it's not like oh I walked through. I'm talking literally talk to people, walk through, go through the gulch. Wear your bad shoes, go through the gulch. Walk around Lister. Walk around the whole neighborhood. Go in the back of Lister. There's a whole track in the back of Lister, where we use to build go carts and dune buggies and stuff and ride em all through. And it's just... don't knock it off from the negative. Go get to know the positive. Go get to know the good. There's people that still in there... that lives there that... that'd have been there for ages. That won't leave. Through all the bad that's been there, that won't leave. There's so many different cultures in there. There's Asians, Russians, Ukrainians, African Americans, Caucasians, there's [...] Hispanics, like it's one built up circle of life. And I think they hear the negative and refuse to go there, because it's like oh I don't wanna deal with that. [...] So, go to Salishan. [...] Build your own story and see what's really there. And I promise you, you're</p>

	<p>gonna have a different outlook on everything that you thought before. (0509)</p> <p><u>James Santana</u>: I'd say...that the views on... the views that people cast upon Salishan just really need to be reevaluated. Cause it's no longer what it was back then, and even if it were, so what? So, what? I mean it's just people... We're people, you know? People are people. No matter how much struggle they're going through or how much money they have, or if they have nothing at all. We all deserve to be respected and treated like human beings. (0314)</p>
Transition to Ending	<p><u>Me</u>: I came to realize that Salishan wasn't just about hearing gunshots at night or gangs and drugs. It was always about the community and the connections that developed within the neighborhood, that created the experiences of those who lived there.</p>
Footage from the garden	<p><u>Nat Sound</u>: Faint sound of children playing.</p> <p><u>James Santana</u>: They wanna through dirt on us... but I mean...what they really ain't know is that... we were seeds. And it sure as hell rains a lot over here, so I guess we got a lot of growin to do. (0318)</p>
Drone Footage of Salishan & Mt. Rainier	<p><u>Music</u>: Fice - 253</p>
<p>Roll Credits</p> <p>Clips of residents (side-by-side with credits)</p>	<p><u>Music</u>: Fice – 253</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Music low enough to hear resident responses. <p><u>Judy</u>: When I think of Salishan, I think of community, home, and childhood. (0624)</p> <p><u>Silong</u>: It's hard to do three words. I would say home, family, and growth. It's where I grew up. (0002)</p> <p>GOOD MEMORIES</p> <p><u>Judy</u>: I think I was around forth or fifth grade. That was when I started dancing. Like Cambodian Traditional Dancing. We had a little community center, it was a couple blocks away from my house. And they actually had a little club there where they had teachers train the youth how to do traditional dancing. So that was very, not only important but, it just made me very happy to have a part of my culture within the community. (0626)</p> <p><u>Silong</u>: There was an urban legend that a lot of people don't know of, unless you're from Salishan, and his name was Bald-Headed Murphy. I never knew where it</p>

	<p>originated from but ever since attending Lister Elementary School, since kindergarten, Bald-Headed Murphy was our boogie monster. We'd go in the back of the woods during recess and lunch just to scare ourselves. And take a couple steps in the woods just to run back out, and that was just thrilling to us. So, summertime we'd be in a hunt for him. And there'd be so many rumors and we had friends and classmates that were all around the same area, and were like ahh I saw Bald-Headed Murphy yesterday, he was over here so we gotta go find him. And we'd go back there and look for him not knowing what we were looking for. Or if he was real or not. (0002)</p> <p><u>Judy</u>: We'd have potlucks too, and that was a lot of fun. (0626)</p> <p><u>Silong</u>: Another good memory was attending Cambodian School. Back then they had Cambodian School and a lot of my classmates that went with me weren't Cambodians. I had Black friends, Samoan friends, Loas friends, and Vietnamese friends that came with us and we all learned Cambodian together. (0003)</p>
<p>- James Talking Head (full screen)</p>	<p><u>James</u>: I wouldn't wanna watch a documentary about the residents in Fircrest. I mean, what's so interesting about that? I mean, what, would you wanna watch a movie without problems and all that. And peaks and valleys. I mean, there's no fun in that. It's not interesting. (0309)</p>

Appendix C

Narratives of Salishan: The Untold History Screening Questionnaire and Summary

Narratives of Salishan: The Untold History Screening Questionnaire

What did you like most about the film?

What did you least like about the film?

Were there any moments that were confusing?

Were there areas that needed improvement? If so, where?

What did you learn from the film?

Overall how did you like the film?

Being able to go through the responses to the questionnaire was a heartfelt experience, as I received an overwhelming amount of positive feedback. My intention was to make the form anonymous, although some people made it obvious who they were by writing their names, referring to themselves in their responses, or in a few cases by their handwriting, which I recognized. Viewers enjoyed the history, interviews, and stories, describing them as “educational,” “real and warm.” A few responses reference Jeremy’s statement in the film about the importance of “build[ing] your own story,” which quite honestly made me feel a sense of satisfaction. One of the reasons for making this film was to give former residents a platform to voice their experiences, and here was an audience member quoting one of them.

Constructive feedback was given regarding what the audience least liked about the film. One response suggested that I tighten up the segments with the Tacoma Housing Authority and Bette Arndt, as it “dragged a little bit”. A few mentioned me not being visible in the film and thought it would be a good touch if I was. Another wanted more interviews to help develop the history even more. Other constructive feedback mentioned the audio and editing, which I intended to fix prior to the screening but ran out of time and to fixed it after.

When asked if there were any parts that were confusing one person explained that I jumped between my own personal experience in the beginning of the film to the Puyallup segment in an abrupt manner. Another addressed not understanding *how* Salishan got it’s bad reputation, but then followed up by saying “It sounded like a wonderful community. Surely there was crime elsewhere beside Salishan”.

Additional constructive feedback was offered regarding what needed improvement. As mentioned above, some in the audience noticed noted issues with the audio as well as coloration during interviews. Others suggested that transitions could be made longer, something I had noticed myself while watching the first screening. One person wanted to know why I didn't bring credit interviews into the main portion of the film. This is an idea I had considered but decided against since I did not have full interviews with Judy and Silong. Another person wanted to know more about the Puyallup and their displacement.

The question about what was learned from the film affirmed that I succeeded in getting my message across. For instance, a few responses addressed the government's role in oppressing the Puyallup and taking their land by demonizing some of them as alcoholics. Another pointed out that "the community didn't let color, ethnicity, etc. hold them back from being a family".

The last question brought the most positive feedback. Multiple responses included how people "loved" the film, praised me for doing a good job, and even asked if I could make the film longer. One person described the film as being "very informative" and explained that they "liked how this underrepresented community got some spotlight". And my grandpa, whose response I recognized by his handwriting, said it was a "wonderful film" and asked if I was the next Ken Burns.

I found it a bit odd, but also flattering that the aspect of the film that seemed to draw the most attention was the legend of Bald-Headed Murphy. Responses varied from explaining that

his story was underdeveloped in the film to asking for more of his story and how his legend came to be.

Overall, responses were positive and included valuable suggestions for how I might improve the project going forward. I am humbled and gratified to have received this feedback as it contributes to the alternate narrative of Salishan.