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A Temporary Hometown: Gendered Labor and Social Citizenship
in Bremerton, Washington, a Domestic Military Colony

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Abstract

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Evelyn Nakano Glenn's application of T. H. Marshall's tripartite citizenship (2002) informs intersectional understandings of racialized and gendered labor in the historic development of the United States' imperial colonialism and military industry. Recent place attachment studies challenge assumptions of belonging, home and civic responsibility aligned with social class, while current gentrification and revitalization scholarship reveals neoliberal sustainability practices that maintain unspoken class bias. Social citizenship, gendered labor and vice economy experiences for residents in domestic post-industrial gentrified cities that demonstrate parallels

with global US military colonies are not readily documented. This mixed-methods study addresses social construction of home and belonging for residents of a vice labor and military veteran class in Bremerton, Kitsap County, Washington, a western US military manufacturing and base city. This thesis seeks to explain how and why some workers and residents in the city of Bremerton, Washington have been historically marginalized, even as their roles, framed as patriotic contributions, have been integral to the socioeconomic efforts and successes of the dominant militarized culture. I explore how study participants make meaning of their experiences – some in gendered and sexualized vice labor in service to military and federal personnel, and some who negotiate social changes after their withdrawal from service in the military – within this community that privileges its military presence and facilities. Demographic data demonstrate the economic and social effects of the city’s federal alliance, illustrating that many residents in the city’s rejuvenation area are not benefitting from an association with the socially enforced militaristic hegemony, either as service workers or as veterans of military service, despite their contributions to the city’s patriotic military alliance. I demonstrate, in conflict with the dominant narrative, the important role a sense of community and belonging play in the lives of participants of this study, indicated by how they view their social and labor contributions to the community, how they negotiate the social hierarchy of the community, and how they envision a future Bremerton that affords them fully applied legal, civil, and social citizenship. This study contributes to multidisciplinary discourses on urban studies, environmental psychology, internal colonialism, and class and gender theory.

Keywords: Bremerton, citizenship, gendered labor, home, internal colonialism, place attachment, post-colonial critique, military industry, sexualized labor, vice work

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Early on in this work, I was advised to research something about which I care deeply, even if others may not find it important. This turned out to be advice I revisited several times during three years of research and writing. Originally motivated by rental housing conditions in my city's downtown neighborhood, my research expanded into issues of class and gender, labor, and the use of powerful imagery in the social construction of militarized hegemony of America's self-image as harbinger of freedom, individualism, and democracy as they related to the internal political economy of the Western US militarized city that I called home. This thesis is the culmination of this undertaking, and its direction and discoveries are the result of an interdisciplinary approach supported by the Master of Arts in Interdisciplinary Studies program offered at the University of Washington's Tacoma campus.

If there is one thread continuously woven throughout the curriculum of the University's School of Interdisciplinary Arts and Sciences, it is that there is no "self-made" success; communalism and reciprocity persistently animate the machinery of our culture, in defiance of that machine's proclamations of operational individualism. So in that spirit, I want to express my sincere thanks to the following people for their contributions to my completion of this work.

To the many scholars who came before me, whose labors and ideas provided an academic basis and theoretical framework for this thesis, enabling me to put names on the forces I see at work in the city of Bremerton, I give my recognition.

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The zone where the natives live
is not complementary to the zone inhabited by the settlers.

The two zones are opposed,
but not in the service of a higher unity...
they both follow the principle of reciprocal exclusivity

The settlers' town is a strongly built town, all made of stone and
steel...

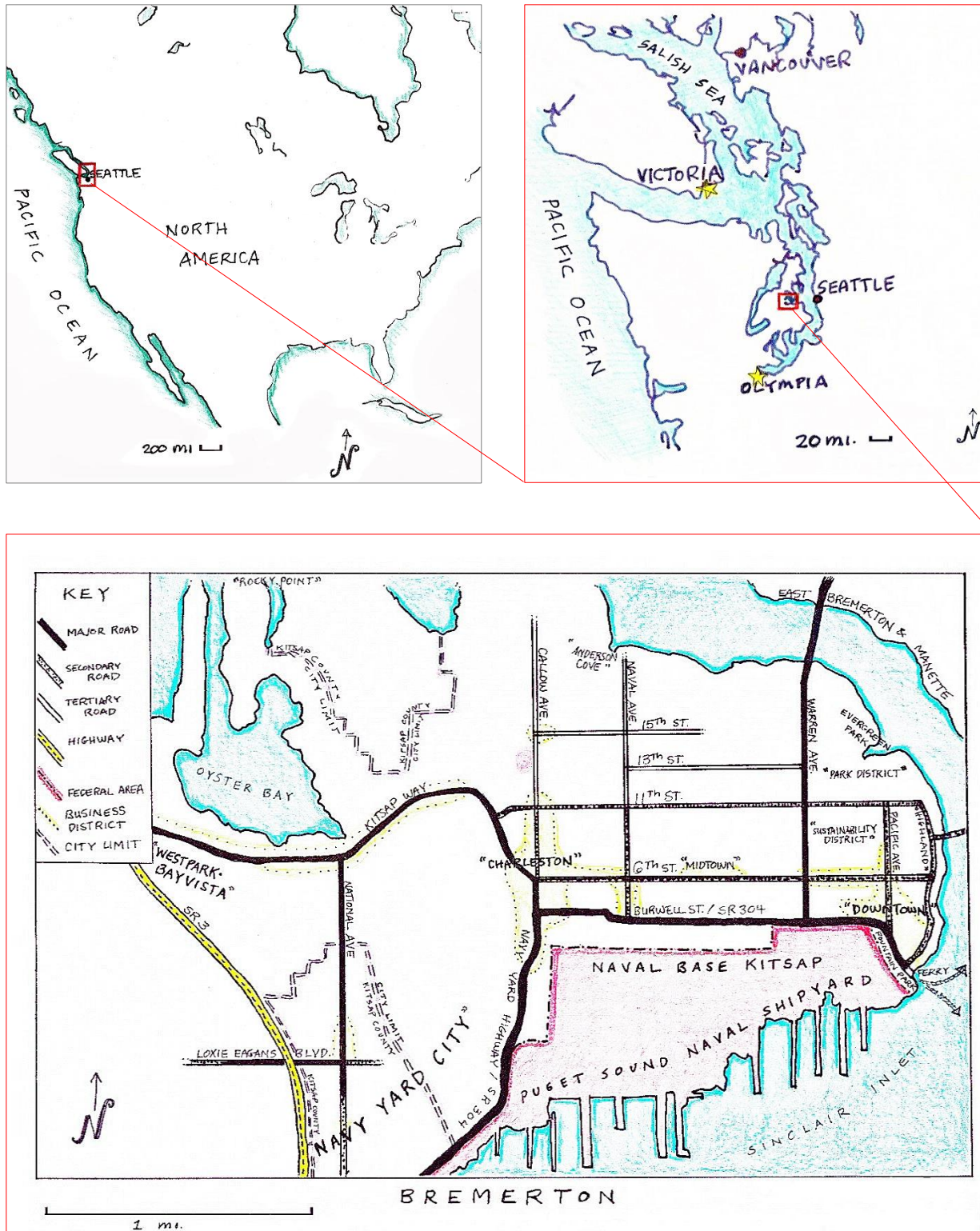
The town belonging to the colonized people, is a place of ill fame,
peopled by men of evil repute.

They are born there, it matters little where or how;
they die there, it matters not where, nor how.

Frantz Fanon (1963)



Image 1. The sail of submarine *USS Parche*, part of a Naval-themed installation in a public plaza in downtown Bremerton. (© Anna K Fern, 2015)



INTRODUCTION

This thesis was inspired by my search for what home means. I've had occasion in my years to meditate upon what home is to me. It has been as immediate as a shelter where one feels safe enough, or warm enough to sleep through the night. It has meant membership in a social group where one feels respected, included, and accepted; it has even meant seeking belonging to a location within time, where one is connected to a history, and is a potential participant in a legacy. Home has meant all of these, and home has always been associated with a yearning for attainment.

After living in Bremerton, Washington for several years, I realized that I and the people with whom I associated expressed a hard-to-define feeling of ambivalence, unattached-ness and temporality with the city – some joked that Bremerton was the only place where an outsider could insult the place, and locals would laugh and agree. It was Bummertown, the step-child of Puget Sound, seated in the heart of Kidnap County; come on vacation, leave on probation. When I arrived in Bremerton in 2000, it was a city crawling out of a long, post-industrial decline and diving into the throes of a grand urban renewal project. The urban renewal expenditure focus, it turned out, was on an area that city media described as “downtown”.

A problem was that the area they called downtown wasn't “our” downtown.

“Their” downtown was “over there”, where no one went, unless they worked at Puget Sound Naval Shipyard, or took the ferry to neighboring Seattle. There was nothing there for us; even if there were, there were no parking spots available, because of the chronic shortage of parking for commuting shipyard workers (McMillan, 2012; participant narrative, 2014).

On the other hand, “our” downtown was a business area about a mile and a half to the west of theirs, centered on Callow Avenue, in the historic Charleston district. Our downtown, unlike theirs, had a supermarket, a gas station and carwash, numerous international cuisine restaurants, a bicycle and locksmith shop, along with bars and clubs, a “happy ending” massage parlor, tattoo parlors, a head shop, pawn shops, two adult cinemas, and an adult movie and book shop.

After a few years of renewal projects in the other downtown, it became evident that the city projects and grants for remodeling stores and, it was hoped, to bring in businesses that would attract affluent people from neighboring Seattle were not intended for Charleston. The stylish, new street lamps and road signs, expansive public art, overflowing flower planters, potted Japanese maples, elaborate mosaic-paved traffic circles and pedestrian-centric brick sidewalks would not extend to Callow Avenue, where the poured-slab streets were heaved and sunken, the sidewalks were uneven, and plantings were non-existent. There were no statues, sculptures, mosaics or fountains. These improvements were not, it seemed, meant for us.

I began to wonder why the areas where everyone I knew shopped and socialized were not considered by the city for investment and renewal. If our downtown was not included in Bremerton’s vision of the future, what did that say about the city’s interest or consideration for excluded residents?

I feel that it is important to disclose here that for several years I worked in Bremerton’s vice economy centered in the Charleston business district. My hesitance to share this fact speaks to the presuppositions and social stigma associated with the “other” historic economyⁱ in

ⁱ Bremerton’s primary industry is the Puget Sound Naval Shipyard and Intermediate Maintenance Facility (PSNS), and associated Naval Base Kitsap (a combination of former Naval Station Bremerton and Naval Submarine Base Bangor). For specific definitions of vice labor, vice economy, sexualized or emotional labor, see Appendices.

Bremerton. Although this work is often cast in a negative light, I, like the other participants in this study, took pride in how we performed our skilled labor. I would argue, and there is a body of supporting literature that agrees, that workers in military base vice economies often see their work as a patriotic contribution to their communities, governments, and national security; when it is of use to those governments, they see vice economy work in the same way as well. (Cheng, 2008; Eisenstein, 2007; Gauchat, Wallace, Borch, & Lowe, 2011; Hegarty, 1998; Jeffrey, 2009; Simm, 2013; Winchell, 2008; Zimelis, 2009). However, the conditional social acceptance associated with vice economy labor is also balanced by social sanctions and stigma, and by working conditions that include a level of normalized violence and sexualized objectivity observed in vice economies surrounding US military bases on foreign soil.

As noted, I worked in the vice economy of Bremerton for several years: first as a performer, and later as a bartender. I worked in the same establishments as the participants in this study who worked in vice labor; I met the ex-military workers who participated in this study through that work, and through the local community college, after I left the vice economy. I understand the complexity of taking pride in my work, while resisting the shame that people from outside my work community expected of me. I remember the level of deference expected for military, retired military officers, and shipyard employees that was not expected for “locals”, and this deference included a tolerance of sexualization and violence that is not tolerated in other patriotic work outside of the vice economy. I worked in this economy until I reached “retirement age”,ⁱⁱ and after discovering that my work history did not easily transition into retail or office work, I returned to college.

ⁱⁱ For me, this was age 40. My personal observations, experiences of narrative participants, and anecdotal contributions of informants indicate that vice worker earnings and opportunities drop significantly after age 35.

The neighborhood where I lived was located between the two downtowns; its irregularly shaped, potholed, and sometimes swept streets were bordered by mostly small, wooden frame, single-family houses built before the 1930s. Nearly all these homes, about 80 percent, were renter occupied; a great many of them outwardly displayed maintenance neglect. Casual queries of people who lived in the area revealed that their homes had issues such as inadequate insulation and heating systems, faulty wiring, leaky roofs, broken windows or windows painted shut, and importantly, these residents expressed difficulty gaining repairs from their landlords.

After some investigation I discovered that Bremerton had no regulatory standard of minimal habitability for rentals,ⁱⁱⁱ no enforcement body to insure safe housing, and no registry of which homes were rented out (City of Bremerton, 2010). There was no license or permit required to operate as a landlord^{iv} (Bremerton, 2014). In a discussion with a public official, he admitted that absentee landlords' lack of response to housing issues was significant in the city^v (personal communication, 2013).

Further investigation into the housing conditions in the downtown residential neighborhood led to the discovery that the homes in this downtown district occupied most of the area that Bremerton's civic leaders had declared an "Urban Blight Zone", enabling the city to apply for and gain federal relief and urban renewal monies. I wondered, if the city gained grants

ⁱⁱⁱ As of this writing, the city has no specific regulations for minimal standards of habitability for market rate rental housing, while subsidized rental housing is federally protected by the minimal standards for occupancy required by the US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD).

^{iv} Bremerton's 2014 Rental Property Registration Ordinance 522, decrees that all landlords must provide the city with their email, address or phone number, as well as the physical address of their rental property. The registration fee is US\$75 annually. Property owners who live in the rental building are exempt from registration in the programs.

^v In 2014, the city enacted the "Chronic Nuisance Properties Ordinance and Landlord Notification Program". The measure included legal means to sanction landlords whose *properties* receive three or more police calls within 60 days, making them potential "chronic nuisance" properties. If the landlord does not voluntarily "remedy the problem", the city can find the properties to be Chronic Nuisances; sanctions include a civil infraction penalty of up to \$1,000, with additional penalties of \$100 per day and "closure" of the property for one year.

to fix their urban blight, why were the accused residential neighborhoods not benefitting from these grants?

After years of renting in the local community, I became an honorary homeowner in a neighborhood adjacent to the downtown residential area; that is, a friend bought a home where I live in exchange for utilities and labor in the maintenance and repair of the house. To my surprise, I gained new social membership to a group I didn't know existed: previous feelings of unattached-ness and temporality were replaced by welcoming comradery and permanence. Many neighbors, employed by or retired from the shipyard, greeted me, and took time to chat over the fence; they also included me in discussion about unwelcome residents who lived in rental housing on the next block.^{vi}

When a local politician who was canvassing my neighborhood asked me what issues were important to residents, I asked about the city's views on enforcement of minimal standards of habitability in rental housing. Misunderstanding me, he assumed I wanted laws to keep "those people" from damaging property, committing crimes, and lowering their neighbors' property values. There was something visceral about my response to the realization that one of the most rudimentary of needs for these residents of Bremerton— a place to lay one's head at night that was safe and healthy enough to afford the person a sound sleep – was not a concern to our civic leaders. These stigmatized residents who lived in or near poverty could not assume the same "right to share in the full of the social heritage and to live a life of a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in the society" (Marshall, 2009/1950) that was an assumption for the privileged, government affiliated class.

^{vi} Anderson Cove, originally built as temporary housing for WWII shipyard workers, became subsidized rental housing under the direction of Bremerton Housing Authority.

What was this sense of ownership and belonging, this entitlement, this *right* to belong in Bremerton for some, and not for others?

Thesis Research Questions

This thesis will seek to explain how and why many workers and residents in the city of Bremerton, Washington have been historically marginalized, even as their roles have been integral to the socioeconomic efforts and successes of the dominant militarized culture. I will explore how study participants make meaning of their experiences – some in gendered and sexualized vice labor in service to military and federal personnel, and some who negotiate social changes after their withdrawal from service in the military – within this community that privileges its military presence and facilities. Further, I aim to demonstrate, in conflict with the dominant narrative, the important role a sense of community and belonging play in the lives of participants of this study, indicated by how they view their social and labor contributions to the community, how they negotiate the social hierarchy of the community, and how they envision a future Bremerton that affords them fully applied legal, civil, and social citizenship.

Organization of Thesis

Chapter 1 begins with an explanation of the epistemological perspective employed for this thesis and its influence on the chosen qualitative and quantitative research methods. This is followed by an outline of the process used to document participant narratives included in this thesis, and an introduction to the participant residents. Next, I briefly explain the methods used to collect and tabulate quantitative data included in this thesis, and discuss the interdisciplinary research approach used for analysis of literary sources. This is followed by the theoretical framework of analysis developed for this thesis, which explains the workings of the militarized hegemony and the social construction of Bremerton's cultural hierarchy, and the resulting allocation of social

citizenship based on membership in the military affiliated class. I use a corresponding tripartite model that shows the interrelationality between macro-level institutional social structures, meta-level group symbolic representations, and micro-level interactions of individuals.

Following the first chapter's discussion of interpretive paradigm, research methods, and the theoretical tripartite framework developed for this thesis, chapter 2 investigates concepts of colonialism, domestic colonialism, and militarized hegemony through a survey of literature, primary sources, and participant narratives.

Chapter 3 analyzes three areas of study in relation to labor issues in the domestic colony: military culture, gender creation, and sexualized labor. Literature from the disciplines of medicine and gender studies show links between military traditions of vice and military gender ideology related to violence and sexual exploitation of colonized subjects, while personal narratives of this study's participants who work in the vice economy help to show how the militaristic hegemony and gendered labor culture form and enforce a two-class system: those who are militarily affiliated, and those who serve them. This two-class system delineates who is deserving of full social citizenship, how use of space is prioritized and allocated, and ultimately, who enjoys a sense of belonging and ownership of the city. Participants' daily lived experiences include discussions of the cultures of the military, military manufacturing economy, and vice economy, revealing the institutional social structures, group symbolic representations and individual interactions of the two-tiered society. These discussions reveal that membership in the subordinate class is often marked by stigma, gendered labor inequalities, normalized violence, and limited access to privileged space. But just as importantly, these narratives reveal ways in which residents access agency through overt and covert means, to assert their right to work and exist with dignity and in safety.

Next in chapter 4, I review literature on social citizenship, discussed in concert with place attachment, as they relate to residential and social belonging to a social or physical community. A discussion of the relationship between citizenship, belonging, and community law enforcement is discussed in both the literature, and through the narratives of residents. A historic perspective on Bremerton's market-rate and subsidized rental housing as it relates to social citizenship in the Bremerton community gives context to the residents' experiences that follow. An investigation of City of Bremerton documents and plans for civic redevelopment projects, including mixed income housing and commercial district gentrification, is included to help illustrate how projects that benefit federally aligned workers are framed as beneficial to the community.

This is followed by a quantitative review of demographic patterns in residential districts of Bremerton, including the districts within the city's so-called blight zone, and two adjacent residential areas. The demographic data demonstrate the economic and social effects of the city's federal alliance, illustrating that many residents in the city's rejuvenation area are not benefitting from an association with the socially enforced militaristic hegemony, either as service workers or as veterans of military service, despite their contributions to the city's patriotic military alliance. Participant narratives that discuss the city's social and economic development, political climate and rental housing experiences help to show how the political is personal.

This thesis will end with a discussion of the thesis goals and findings, as well as implications for applied use of the data and possible continued study.



Image 2. PSNS Memorial Plaza dedication in downtown fountain park reads: “This wonderful plaza honors the history of Puget Sound Naval Shipyard and the men and women who have maintained the ships of the United States Navy. Special thanks to Congressman Norm Dicks, the United States Navy, Washington State, the shipyard workers, and the Bremerton City Council for their support of this project. We must also recognize the work of Gary Sexton, Project Manager. Without him this magnificent place would never have been built! Mayor Cary Bozeman, May 16, 2009.” Absent from this list of thanks are mention of any residents of Bremerton who live or work outside of direct service to the civic–federal governmental partnership (© Anna K Fern, 2014).

CHAPTER 1: Research Methodology and Methods

In this thesis I address issues of dignity in labor, housing habitability, and access to social citizenship in Bremerton, Washington, a United States city where for some residents, these goals have not always been attainable, due to the militarized colonial design of the city's economy and social structure.

Specifically, a local governmental body, aligned with a federal military presence, favors political, economic and social policies that benefit both federal military manufacturing and industry and locally stationed military and military-affiliated civilian workers.

Politically, a culture that equates patriotism with militarism is overtly and covertly pervasive in this city founded with the purpose of serving as a military outpost in the early days of Washington statehood. In this city created and maintained as a military colony, to dissent from militarized hegemonic thought is to be suspect.

Economically, the US military has been unencumbered by business zoning and environmental protection regulations, and infrastructural development and improvements in public areas have favored federally occupied areas. Civilian federal workers access a far higher standard of living than other locally employed workers, and local infrastructural redevelopments and economic incentives for new businesses favor areas used by federal employees.

Socially, a divide exists between the militarily affiliated and the unaffiliated. Militarily aligned gender ideals and traditions, found in local labor have traditionally conflated gender and sexuality in a highly sexualized gendered vice economy. Vice workers face gender and sexual discrimination and social stigma from government employers, law enforcement, and "respectable" residents. For veterans whose military service has ended, but for various reasons

did not translate into favored federal civil employment, membership in the favored socioeconomic class is also not readily attainable. Residents in these two groups not employed directly through the local government and federal government colonial partnership effectively live as a subservient secondary social class, even as vice workers' participation in local support businesses and veterans' times of military service are framed as a patriotic service to community, military, and country.

Before exploring the problems outlined in this overview, it is important to recognize and articulate the methods of analysis applied to this thesis. The methods for this research were chosen after reflection on the research questions, and in turn, my theoretical perspective and interpretive paradigm. This reflection considered the underlying impetus that motivated this thesis: the injustice of a power imbalance in the Bremerton community that influences access to civil and social citizenship for many residents. In order to explore these issues of social inequity in a way that does not further oppress people from the subordinate class, but rather aims to give voice to what is important to these residents, I look to previous research that employs emancipatory interpretive paradigms and methods.

Methodological Approach to Research

Theoretical Perspective and Interpretive Paradigm

Social research that disregards or omits the voices and perspectives of the people whose situations and experiences are the object of study does little to inform or bring greater understanding to people outside that community; rather, it reinforces prejudices and stereotypes maintained by the dominant ideology. (Allison, 1999; Checker, 2011; Cheng, 2008; Christians,

2008; Creswell, 2003a, 2003b; Glenn, 2002; James, 2010; Leech & Potts, 2010; Mills, 1959; Mitchell, 2012; Saito, 2009).

Ania Loomba's definition of colonialism points out that history is often recorded and told from the points of view of the dominant class (Loomba, 2007, p. 8). Chronicles told from this point of view do little more than to reaffirm pre-held suppositions. In *Unequal Freedom: How Race and Gender Shaped American Citizenship and Labor* Evelyn Nakano Glenn iterates the importance of including the stories of peoples in subordinate roles when studying hierarchies of oppression, especially the ways in which people employ agency and resistance: "...we must examine not only how dominant groups and institutions attempt to impose particular meanings but also how subordinate groups contest dominant conceptions and construct alternative meanings." (2002, p. 17). C. Wright Mills' *Sociological Imagination* (1959) asserts the need for understanding history and current issues from a more inclusive perspective as well.

Qualitative methods of research, including ethnography and open-ended interviews, increase a fuller understanding of the personal experiences of study participants; participants can expand on ideas in areas of discussion that interest them. However, some scholars insist that it is not enough to employ qualitative methods. Qualitative methods alone cannot guarantee that the stories of people who participate in studies are represented adequately in ways that are chosen by the participants themselves, in ways that empower and encourage increased agency and autonomous control, and in ways that do not flatten or simplify the complexity of their stories, or manipulate or exploit the participants. An understanding and use of an emancipatory paradigm and epistemology, and corresponding methods that support these research goals is

necessary to facilitate an ethical telling of the stories of people who agree to participate in social research.

Tamara Giles-Vernick supports the use of oral histories to gain understanding in areas of knowledge where documentation is lacking, indicating its value when co-constructing participant narratives with marginalized persons. Specifically, Giles-Vernick (2006) notes that these methods can share how people telling their stories “affirm political power and relations and articulate political autonomy and dissent.” (p. 88). Rather than touting impartiality as essential to such methods, Giles-Vernick emphasizes that researchers using oral history methods must realize that their work is a social exchange with a willing partner, stressing the critical importance of mutual respect, comfort and trust between researchers and participants.

John Creswell’s writings on sociological research in *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches* (2003a, 2003b) discuss the importance for researchers to understand their own interpretive paradigms and knowledge claims. His discussion of what he terms the “advocacy/participatory” knowledge claim is of particular interest to this thesis. According to Creswell, post-positivist and constructivist theories are not suited to the subject matter of this thesis or its emancipatory goals; such theories do not “fit marginalized individuals or groups, or [do] not adequately address issues of social justice.” (2003a, p. 9). Rather, an advocacy/participatory research approach better suits this thesis. Within this perspective, the “inquirer will proceed collaboratively so as not to further marginalize the participants as a result of the inquiry.” (2003a, p.10).

Support is given by these scholars for the use of qualitative and mixed-methods social research that goes beyond merely a researcher describing the experiences of participants in a study, to allowing the participants’ voices to be heard as they decide how to tell their stories. As

Creswell asserts, the researcher should carefully employ participatory methods with the perspective that social research should go beyond merely recording, to working to bring about greater social justice and to advocate and collaborate with the study participants.

Mixed-method Approach of Study

This thesis looks at the experiences of several vice economy workers and US military veterans who live in Bremerton as a way to better understand the realities of their daily lives in service to a domestic military colony. Their stories shed light on experiences that aren't necessarily in line with the community's dominant narrative and the ideals that it claims to uphold, and therefore, are not commonly shared outside of the in-group culture. These stories – the heart of this thesis – are presented along with a historical and demographic context for better understanding the way this city came to be. This mixed-method study is presented within a theoretical framework that locates this thesis along with other research on military industry and colonialism, gendered culture and sexualized labor, social citizenship and how it manifests in gentrification and city planning, and ultimately, how these three categories influence belonging and community for residents within a city.

Viewing these participant narratives within this historic and theoretical context brings readers a new perspective on military vice culture and human rights of occupied people in militarized zones: what it means to be a citizen and to belong, for the people living in this culture, in their own words. For citizens whose status and right to dissent are challenged daily by the dominant perspective, sharing their stories in a way that maintains the integrity of their words and meaning as they were shared with me is critical to this project.

Qualitative Research

Feminist communitarianism. Sociological researcher Clifford G. Christians understands the importance of acknowledging the relationship and exchange between researcher and participant. Christians operates from the assumption that the community comes before the individual: “identity is constituted through the social realm. We are born into a sociological universe where values, moral commitments, and existential meanings are negotiated dialogically...What is worth preserving as a good cannot be self-determined in isolation.” (2008, p. 201). Feminist communitarianism, according to Christians, is a way for social scholars to combat problematic outsider perspective or co-option of participants’ stories. This methodological approach, in his words, serves “the community in which it is carried out, rather than the community of knowledge producers and policymakers...it finds its genius in the maxim that persons are arbitrators of their own presence in the world.” (p. 201).

In this thesis, the feminist communitarianism described by Christians is the applied methodology for the way in which the interviews are structured and conducted, informed by an emancipatory epistemological paradigm. This methodology strives for the emancipation and empowerment of the participants to give voice to their stories and how their stories are told. This is by their fully informed consent, voluntary participation and direction of the interviews, and editorial approval of their transcribed interviews.

In-depth open-ended interviews were conducted with participants who spoke about what was important to them in relation to their lives in Bremerton. I documented the participant narratives in this thesis with the understanding that we all tell our stories from our viewpoints, with our own personal framing of the recollections. This admission of subjectivity is not to minimize the truths told; rather, the subjectivity of these narratives is embraced, as is an

affirmation that the participants have the right to have their personal truths heard as they wish them to be told. Their experiences, although filtered and retold through my own admitted subjectivity, are relayed in a way that I hope honors the spirit in which they were entrusted to me.

As a participant-researcher, my own narratives relating to labor, place, and economy in Bremerton are included in this thesis, along with my analysis and interpretations. My responsibilities and goals in this effort include the facilitation of lending voice to the real and valid experiences of some Bremerton residents who normally would not have access to do so. In part, these auto-ethnographic additions are offered as a means to bridge the gap between what participants shared in their narratives, and what participants did not share out of adherence to polite conversation, omitting what was considered too sensitive to share. Because of this, some of my own auto-ethnographic narratives describe more sensitive events, such as events of sexualized violence, monetization of emotional and sexualized labor, enforcement of hegemonic class privilege, as well as workers' own subversion of the social order, and assertion of agency. By contributing my own narratives along with the others, it is my aim to further reveal some of the gendered class distinctions played out in this domestic colony. This is done not as a means to sensationalize or flatten the experiences of these residents, but to hopefully raise questions or inspire the reader to more fully understand some of the realities of the daily work of some residents of this community.

Convivial research. Participant directed ethnographic qualitative research is the heart of this thesis, as a means to bring to light to the lived experiences of some of Bremerton's residents. After discovering, or rather, admitting that the stories shared by the participants were complicated, contradictory and overlapping in unexpected ways, I felt some trepidation about

how to proceed. Much of my studies of qualitative sociological methods led me to believe that even in the most participant-centered emancipatory paradigms, a researcher will still choose to edit, omit, shape and otherwise alter the often complicated stories woven by study participants. I found this realization troubling.

As an alternative, Manuel Callahan's (2015) convivial research methods follow a similar paradigm to that of Christian's feminist communitarianism, while focusing even beyond the emancipatory to the transformative:

convivial research *necessarily invests* in investigative processes that generate *oppositional* knowledges in an ethical, explicit, and modular manner, inviting participants to engage each component and invent new tools as the process unfolds. Our goal in treating research as transparent and strategic underscores how knowledge production is always an on-going, interactive, *conflictive, and contradictory process*.

(Callahan, 2015, emphasis added.)

Callahan's admission, acceptance, and insistence upon the principle that qualitative research that focuses on people's stories, told from their own viewpoints in their own voices necessarily is complicated, conflictive and contradictory allows room for participants' truths to be documented in a way that is closer to how the participants seek to see and tell their stories.

Interview narratives methods and approach. This thesis features narratives constructed from interviews and writings of seven participants. These narratives are the result of seven in-depth interviews conducted in 2014 for the ethnographic passages, and my own writings for the auto-ethnographic reporting. Interviews were recorded using a digital recorder,

transposed manually using Microsoft word processing software, and edited for clarity.¹ All proper names and identifying information were omitted or changed to protect the privacy of participants. The audio recordings and their corresponding transcripts were stored in a password-protected encoded electronic drive.

After initial transcription, complete transcripts were then provided to participants for the opportunity to make changes, clarifications, or omissions at their discretion. None of the participants chose to make changes, either verbally or in writing. After a second notification period in which participants were asked for final submissions, the transcripts were considered data for this thesis, after which, I coded the transcripts for themes.

The emergent themes were thus:

- (1) Militarized presence: Participants' experiences after membership in military forces, or as domestic colonial subjects.
- (2) Gendered labor: Vice economy labor experiences and in-group culture.
- (3) Geography of community: Participants' experiences, and thoughts on the business districts, use of public space, and housing experiences.

These three themes contributed to the development of the theoretical framework of this thesis, which is discussed in the quantitative methods section.^{2 3 4}

¹ Edited text included repetitive speech mannerisms, false starts, and phrases in which participants misspoke and then later clarified their intent. Passages of a sensitive personal nature in which the telling of the experience could not be accomplished without revealing the identity of participants were also omitted.

² See tripartite theoretical framework, p. 43.

³ Racial identity was not a primary consideration in the formulation of this thesis' query, in part because (1) the racial demographic information for much of the research area was incomplete, and (2) the basis of the domestic militarized colonialism discussed in this thesis, while a development of the power intersections of race, class, and gender, operates prominently as a gendered dialectic within a largely white community. Of the participants, one self-identifies as African American, two as mixed-race European and Native American, one as Italian and ethnic Jew, and three as white.

⁴ Physical disability, while not a focus of the participants' interviews, and therefore, not a discussion of this thesis plays a part in the lives of all the participants. Six of the participants have chronic physical and/or medical

Narrative participants. Within these three narrative categories, each participant's stories are retold in their original words. When participants spoke about the same incident more than once during the course of the interview, those corresponding passages are grouped together for clarity, when doing so does not change their intended meaning. Interview prompts⁵ are only included in the text when they serve to contextualize the participants' stories. All participant names, excluding my own, have been changed. Here, the narrative participants are introduced, and excerpts from their stories share themes that each participant discussed at length during their interviews:

Amanda. Amanda, in her late-30s, came to Bremerton as a young child. Her dad worked in the Puget Sound Naval Shipyard. She has worked in the local vice economy since the age of 20 as a professional bartender. Amanda is devoted to and provides care for several friends and relatives, and she makes her home in her rental apartment near Puget Sound Naval Shipyard in West Bremerton. She currently works in a bar in the city's renewal area, described by the city's literature as the downtown core.

I started when I was twenty. I got picked up by [name of a bar] when I was twenty. It was great then, I mean it was super busy then, so it was way fun.

I was there for about three or four years, and then I did a year here, when this was [name of a bar], and then at the same time I was working at [another bar]. So I was doing those two at the same time for about a year, and I got burned out. Then I quit, and started working for [another bar], and I did, I think, nine years there.

disabilities that influence their daily lives and ability to work in their fields of choice or experience; the one remaining participant recently took time away from their career to care for chronically ill family members.

⁵ Verbal prompts, given to participants by me during the recorded interviews, and direct quotes of my own narratives are presented in this thesis as italicized text.

As explored later in her narratives, Amanda's work history shows both a deep understanding of how the vice economy business works in Bremerton, and an immersion in the culture, signified by her acceptance of many social phenomena, even as she vocalizes what she sees as unjust about sexualized gendered labor in the city. Much of her narrative describes events of normalized violence, or gender inequality, but she also discusses the frustrations of living in poorly managed rental housing.

Jason. Jason, who is in his mid-50s, came to the Bremerton-Kitsap County area several years ago, after serving in the US Navy. His father was also in the Navy. As a child, Jason lived in military housing in various stations. Currently, Jason participates in local theater and performs music in local bars. He is a Transition Service Officer for a disabled veterans' services group, where he helps veterans with disabilities secure health care, housing, and employment. Although he did not disclose his specific disability to me, he informed me that everyone who works for this organization is also a disabled veteran. He makes his home with his wife in their West Bremerton house that they are buying. Their home is located in the western section of Study Area 2, as shown on the Bremerton Demographic Analysis map in chapter 4 (Map 2, p. 137).

The biggest problem, I think, with a vet is that you train us to do awful things and not think about it, because we're doing it for the Good, it's Right; then you don't stop us thinking like that.

You broke us down in boot camp. You taught us to condition ourselves to do these things, and then you don't un-train us to say,

“but yeah, nobody else out here thinks like that”.

Some people can make some of those changes, and some people can't.

Jason's narratives center on veterans' experiences, both his own and the experiences of his clients, as he understands them through his interpretive lens. More specifically, he describes a lack of understanding between people living in civilian culture and military culture, and the difficulties faced by veterans who no longer benefit from the cultural elevation linked to their military association, along with their struggle to reintegrate into a civilian society that in some ways is not entirely appealing to them.

Jennifer. Jennifer, who is in her late-30s, came to Bremerton as a teenager. Her dad, grandpa, uncle and partner were all in the US Navy. She worked for many years in the local vice economy while she earned her business degree at the local college. After recent treatment for a serious illness, she does not work outside of her home; instead, she concentrates on healing and living mindfully, and makes art in her rental house in West Bremerton that she shares with her partner, located in the eastern section of Study Area 2.

I like the way [Bremerton] is now, it feels like it just went through an industrial time, when it was just shipyard and that's it. And now it seems like there's more life into it. I love my neighborhood, and a lot of people say, "oh, Westside⁶ sucks; it's ghetto." Compared to the Eastside, and that's no bullshit to some people, they think, compared to Silverdale, compared to Port Orchard, you know. Going to school here, that's what we did you know, growing up, was Westside is the hard, ghetto side.

Much of Jennifer's narrative discusses an alienation of local residents by local law enforcement and Bremerton local government that demonstrates a lack of mutual trust, and a structural division between the local government and residents they claim to serve. However,

⁶ Bremerton and East Bremerton are the official names of the city's subareas; Bremerton (where this study focuses) is commonly referred to as the Westside.

she also expands on the many things that she enjoys and strives to encourage in her community: neighborhood participation, political causes she champions, and ways in which she would like to recreate a Bremerton that she and her friends would feel represents their interests.

Jeremy. Jeremy is in his mid-40s. He lived in several cities across the US before coming to Bremerton as an adult. Jeremy served for several years in the US Coast Guard until his honorable medical discharge. His father was also a military service member, and Jeremy lived in military housing as a child. Jeremy recently earned his Associates degree at the local college, and continues his higher education while also working for Veterans Affairs at the college. Although he lives with physical challenges, he nurtures and provides care for his wife and two adolescent children in their West Bremerton rental house, located in Study Area 3.

We were middle-class when we were kids, and didn't notice when the line moved...After a lifetime of it I can't ever remember...although there may be one home when my father was still active duty in the military that we actually owned. But other than that, I'm pretty sure that I've spent my whole life living in either military housing, which is like condo rental situations, or in actual apartments and houses, rented in the private sector, so, yeah, I've pretty much been a renter my whole life.

Jeremy's narrative almost entirely focuses on his experience in local housing, specifically as a market-rate renter. He discusses his frustrations with landlords' lack of concern or response for housing habitability issues, as well as a lack of structure and regulation associated with the business operations of providing habitable housing to tenants.

Marcus. Marcus, who is in his late-40s, grew up in Bremerton, and lived in Navy Yard City as a young boy. His mother's father was in the US Navy. Marcus was a professional

painter and auto-body repairman until work related illnesses forced a change. He also worked as a painter for a time at Puget Sound Naval Shipyard (PSNS). He currently works as a professional musician, and lives in Kitsap County. It was unclear from his interviews if he has a stable or semi-permanent residence, as he described where he stays as sometimes Poulsbo and sometimes Port Orchard, both communities in Kitsap County.

I've known a ton of people that are in and out of this town who were in the Navy. My mom was a Navy brat, so I'm a direct descendant from a Navy family.

Bremerton is the smallest town with big town corruption and the mentality of a big city, because of the military. Bremerton's got the big city mentality as far as red tape and corruption.

Don't get me wrong, it's not like people get murdered...but still there's a lot of underground stuff that a lot of people don't see, a lot of power plays that are made, down at the Norm Dicks [city hall] building, regarding what happens around here and who gets paid, who gets the contract.

Marcus spoke at length about the waning vice economy and what he sees as local corruption in the city and federal government partnership. He expresses his concerns and frustrations of finding work that compensates his professional skills as a performer, and the closed-loop of a local/federal partnership that, in his opinion, neither seeks nor heeds public input in the city's gentrification projects.

Trevor. Trevor, in his mid-50s, served in the US Coast Guard. He came to Bremerton after living without a home, and living in temporary shelters and veterans' transitional housing in the Seattle-Tacoma and Bremerton areas. After securing housing, living,

and medical assistance, he gained his own apartment in Bremerton in Study Area 1; he currently rents an apartment in Study Area 2. His disabilities prevent gainful employment. Trevor studies music, and focuses on improving his health through foods and yoga.

After living in [the local veterans' home], I was like, I was ready to move into a cracker-box! With all those other vets, you know, drinking, and oh God, just rednecks, dealing with the racism and stuff.

Trevor's interview narrative gave insight into his long journey to the present, from his days in military service, his time spent living without a home, his negative memories of medical treatments from the Veterans Affairs (VA) hospitals, until he eventually found stable housing through the Department of Social and Health Services and Social Security. His personal story gave increased insight from a related perspective shared by Jason, the Disabled Veterans' Transitions Services Officer.

Anna. I am in my mid-40s. I came to Bremerton at 30 when I worked as a professional musician. I performed in bars and clubs in Bremerton-Kitsap County and surrounding areas three to five nights a week from 2000 to 2005. In 2007, I returned to Bremerton, where I worked as a bartender until 2009 before returning to college. When I began writing this thesis, I spent my free time cultivating an ever-expanding urban garden in the Study Area 2 house that my then-partner bought, as he said, because I deserved a house to call home. After restoring and remodeling this home with him, I've learned that it is my home no longer. In the final months of completing this thesis, I relocated to nearby Tacoma, Washington.

My own narratives center mostly on my experiences working in the vice economy, and to some extent, issues of housing habitability, and community. For their part, my own auto-

ethnographic writings are part narrative, part analysis, as they were written from a position of introspection and reflection, rather than dictated in a live interview. For this reason, these passages are followed by narrative analysis only when to do so was not redundant.

Quantitative Research

Much of the evidence of Bremerton's history available is presented by the established authorities: the city's plans and priorities for development, the federal government's record of what is important for the region, even the imagery and monuments that dominate the local landscape. However, the narrative stories, as told by the participants in this study, shed light on experiences that place importance on a different past, present, and future for this city they share with the local and federal presence. The stories of these participants are presented in concert with the dominant narrative's historical telling and economic statistics to show not only where the two diverge and join, but to illustrate at times the depth to which these residents' stories and struggles go unnoticed and unheeded, and to hopefully bring attention to the daily injustices they endure in a city which claims to prioritize and celebrate all that symbolizes freedom, justice, and democracy. To a more expanded extent, this telling of the story of colonization and imperial militarization from the viewpoint of both the dominant and subordinate perspectives, will hopefully bring to question the morality of perpetuating such a system, either domestically or globally.

Quantitative data. I collected the demographic data used for this thesis from the US Census website and privately compiled sources (US Census-American Fact Finder, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015; City-Data, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015; Gallup Polls, 2012). These data include information on gender, age, individual and household income, employment, frequency of federally recognized poverty, home ownership, age and type of housing, military affiliation and

veteran status for residents of Bremerton. I collected and compiled these data on several residential areas within Bremerton city limits, and categorized them on a geographic block-by-block basis, using Microsoft Excel spreadsheet and graphing software. These data help to illustrate economic disparity between residents who work in labor outside of the military industry and those employed in federal work, as well as to show what the geographic and economic realities are for residents who live in districts that have not been included in the city's rejuvenation projects.

Interdisciplinary Research of Secondary Sources

The many contributing factors that shape and maintain conditions in Bremerton are complex in that they can be addressed individually by several disciplines: political economy, anthropology, sociology, labor studies and urban studies, to name a few. Subsequently, as there is more at work in the shaping, reification, and maintenance of the city's social structure, political economy, and urban issues than could be answered by one scholarly discipline, I choose to apply an interdisciplinary approach to this research.

Interdisciplinary and Multidisciplinary Methods of Inquiry

While disciplinary research is valuable in exploring the inner intricacies of a specific subject, it can be limiting when viewing that specific subject within a greater context; this limited view is what some scholars have described as a "silo perspective" (Repko, 2012, p.16). Because of the complexity of this thesis' inquiry, I looked to interdisciplinary studies for answers. Allen F. Repko's *Interdisciplinary Research: Process and Theory* defines interdisciplinarity as

a process of answering a question, solving a problem, or addressing a topic that is too broad or complex to be dealt with adequately by a single discipline, and draws on

disciplines with the goal of integrating their insights to construct a more comprehensive understanding. (Repko, 2012, p.16)

Part of Repko's method of integrating the insights of two or more disciplines involves a selection process wherein only the assumptions that occur within all the applied disciplines are included in the interdisciplinary end product; contradictory assumptions of these disciplines are excluded from the interdisciplinary end product.

A second option of inquiry offered by Repko is multidisciplinary, which "studies a topic from the perspective of several disciplines at one time but makes no attempt to integrate their insights," saying that such studies "tend to be dominated by the method and theory of the preferred home discipline." (2012, p. 20). A third method of study involving multiple disciplines is transdisciplinarity, which is

at once *between* the disciplines, *across* different disciplines, and *beyond* all disciplines.

Its goal is (a) the understanding of the present world, of which one of the imperatives is the unity of knowledge, and (b) the solution of mega and complex problems by drawing on and seeking to integrate disciplinary *and stakeholder views* on the basis of some overarching theory. (Repko, 2012, p.21, emphasis in original)

Following Repko's methods, regardless of which three levels of disciplinary integration are chosen, a key point in all three methods of disciplinary integration is a development by the researcher of a "disciplinary adequacy", or a basic understanding of each of the employed disciplines: that is, a comprehension of "how that discipline characteristically looks at the world in terms of its perspective, phenomena, epistemology, assumptions, concepts, theories, and methods" (Klein, 1996, p. 212, in Repko, 2012, p. 60). These understandings help the

researcher to achieve a level of sociological imagination⁷ because, as Repko paraphrases Carlisle (1995, p.10), interdisciplinarity “forc(es) us to see one discipline in light of another” (Repko, 2012, p. 60).

James A. Smith and Gemma E. Carey (2007) affirm Repko’s sense of what interdisciplinarity entails, lauding the value of a wider understanding of the approaches and conversations of multiple disciplines. But beyond that, for Smith and Carey, the relevance of interdisciplinary research “lies in the ability to translate the dialects of two or more disciplines to promote a common understanding on a specific issue” (p. 690).

Application of multidisciplinary methods. In the development of this thesis, my aim was to translate those disciplinary dialects (Smith & Carey, 2007, p. 690) and to seek solutions for complex issues by understanding stakeholder views of the narrative participants in light of disciplinary theory (Repko, 2012, p. 21). To begin, I researched appropriate literature to gain a foundational understanding of the relationships between key issues of the thesis questions. This literature surveyed the disciplines of sociology, political science, anthropology, urban studies, environmental psychology, history and military culture. The topical matter of these sources included military culture related to gender, sexualized labor and vice, citizenship related to gender, race and class, and personal and cultural belonging in geographic spaces related to urban renewal, public housing and gentrification.

Analytical Framework of Thesis

In order to frame the central issues of this thesis – the military hegemony and colonialism that influence all other aspects of concern for residents in Bremerton, Washington – I apply the

⁷ C. Wright Mills’ *The Sociological Imagination* (1959).

following analytical model to systematically unpack the interrelated literature, primary and secondary source material, and participant narratives that inform my argument.

Tripartite Model of Analysis

Using a tripartite concept of interrelationality between the macro-, meta-, and micro-levels of dialectic human experience as a model,⁸ I group and represent key issues relating to Bremerton's culture as shown below. The interrelationality operates within all three levels of social processes in systems of oppression: (1) the macro-level institutional social structure, (2) the meta-level group symbolic representations, and (3) the individual micro-level interactions. The dialectic of this city's dual levels of citizenship, allocated to the military and government affiliated class and to the civilian class that serves them, can be summarized thusly:

- (1) *The militaristic hegemony of the domestic colonialism and its gendered labor culture sets up the city's two-part social class structure: those who are militarily affiliated, and those who serve them.*
- (2) *The relationally opposed gendered labor social class structure sets up the allocation of social citizenship within the city's hierarchy.*
- (3) *The allocation of social citizenship sets up the disparate ownership of space and belonging; it manifests in city government practices that favor residents recognized as belonging the federally aligned dominant class, stigma and normalized violence toward*

⁸ I am indebted to Tanya Velásquez (2013) for introducing integrated models for understanding the workings of hegemony and social construction of cultural hierarchy. Velásquez' tripartite model shows the interrelationality between the macro-level institutional social structures, the meta-level group symbolic representations, and the individual micro-level interactions people experience in hegemonic socially constructed cultural hierarchy.

the subordinate class in public spaces, and exclusion of districts peopled by subordinate class residents from the city's renewal program investment allocations.

The multiple levels of this tripartite model help to demonstrate the breadth of multidisciplinary understanding needed to explain the three processes that construct and maintain the national and local militarized hegemony, the local class structure, and the allocation of social citizenship.

Multidisciplinary Approach to Analytical Framework

In order to better understand the multiple contributors to Bremerton's developmental influences and social construction, a broad survey of literature is appropriate to gain a foundational understanding of the disciplinary theories that played out in relationships between key elements of the thesis. The literature applied to the foundational research for this thesis is reviewed within each of the following three areas of analysis: (1) colonialism and military hegemony, (2) military culture, gender creation and imagery, and sexualized labor, and (3) social citizenship and belonging related to place making. Along with the literature, each of these three parts of the theoretical framework are further discussed in chapters 2 through 4 in examples found in primary and secondary sources, and through the stories shared in participant narratives.



Image 3. The first view of Bremerton when approaching by land from the south and east, where State Route 3 leads to Navy Yard Highway. Mothballed aircraft carriers moor alongside active naval ships at Puget Sound Naval Shipyard (PSNS). The Yard's iconic steam stack rises above PSNS' own power plant (© Anna K Fern, 2015).

CHAPTER 2: Colonialism and Militaristic Hegemony

To begin analysis of the issues that affect local residents who work and live outside of the Bremerton and federally-aligned partnership, I explore comparisons between Bremerton and militarily occupied colonies.

The first tier of the tripartite model, in which the militaristic hegemony of Bremerton's colonialism directs the city's two-part social class structure, begins with a discussion of colonialism. This is followed by an investigation of what I describe as *domestic colonialism*, and a brief history of Bremerton's own specific colonial development. Next, the discussion is followed by an investigation of militaristic hegemony and its interwoven relationships with gender, vice, and violence related to colonization. These relationships are explored in the literature and primary source documents, and through participant narratives from Bremerton residents.

Colonialism

Colonialism focuses on the occupation and exploitation of territory for agrarian development or resource extraction, often perpetrated by capitalistically motivated powers (Lenin, 1917; Loomba, 2007), and includes a militarily supported enforcement of the colony through occupation, or through a partnership with occupational powers and local enforcers who bestow limited, conditional citizenship upon its subordinate people through economic and political means.

To illustrate how Bremerton's social, political, and economic creation, development, and maintenance parallel US militarily enforced colonial occupations abroad, I will first discuss colonialism as it is understood in the literature. In general terms, colonialism involves the

subjugation of one people to another; however, the term is used in any number of ways, many loaded with subjective meanings, and requires qualification for how it is applied in this thesis.

Definitions

The dearth of positivist scholarly works that define colonialism may indicate the embeddedness and assumption of its presence within western thought. The lack of necessary definition or consideration of its existence within this paradigm speaks to a long history of western powers imposing this system upon other cultures as an assumption of normalcy. Therefore, finding a mainstream definition of colonialism outside of a dictionary is a difficult task.

While historical works written from the cultural viewpoints of colonizing cultures have typically focused on its virtues, many post-positivist scholars have written from the counter-viewpoint of colonized people, describing the political, economic, social, and psychological effects of colonialism.

Ania Loomba (2007) notes that the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) describes colonialism thusly, in terms which assume the viewpoint of the colonizer:

(A colony is) settlement in a new country...a body of people who settle in a new locality, forming a community subject to or connected with their parent state; the community is formed, consisting of the original settlers and their descendants and successors, as long as the connection with the parent state is kept up. (Loomba, p. 8)

As Loomba points out, the above definition “evacuates the word ‘colonialism’ of any implication of an encounter between people, or of conquest and domination”; she offers an alternative definition as “the conquest and control of other people’s land and goods.” (pp. 8-9). Similarly, Chicana feminist scholar Teresa Córdova describes colonialism as “the ‘taking over’

of someone else's space by a dominant power who then expropriates its resources.” (1998, p. 379).

In “Race and Racisms: A Critical Approach” Tanya Maria Golash-Boza (2015) defines colonialism as “The practice of acquiring political control over another country, occupying it with settlers, and exploiting it economically.” (p. 445). Her discussion of settler colonialism (p. 196) describes the interrelationality of colonialism, orientalism,⁹ and slavery; these three phenomena rely on the creation and maintenance of the *other*, which is positioned in dichotomous opposition to the dominant in-group. The dominant in-group is constructed as intelligent, virtuous, and in receipt of divine support in its actions, while the other is subhuman, devious, and accursed, and therefore, deserving of eviction and removal from geographic space, war and genocide, and the loss of ownership of their bodies and labor.

Like Creswell’s advocacy/participatory knowledge claim (2003a, p. 9), a commonality among definitive alternatives to dominant thought is that the authors center the definition of colonialism on the experience of the colonized, to identify a characteristic of colonial societies as an unequal distribution of power, possessed by at least two distinct, and relational, hierarchical social classes. By relational, I mean that the two classes are created and fortified by a positional, comparative relationship: either social class is defined by what it is not, while also defining what the other class is. Glenn, in *Unequal Freedom* (2002), explains relationality as a positioning of social group identities against one another in order to create meaning and the semblance of difference: “Meaning within Western epistemology is constructed in terms of

⁹ Edward Saïd’s *Orientalism* (1978).

dichotomous oppositions or contrasts. Oppositional categories require suppressing variability within each category and exaggerating differences between categories.” (p. 13). In one example,

Glenn says of the social construction of citizenship:

The citizen and noncitizen were not just different; they were interdependent constructions. Rhetorically, the “citizen” was defined and therefore gained meaning through its contrast with the oppositional concept of the “noncitizen” (the alien, the slave, the woman), who lacked standing because she or he did not have the qualities needed to exercise citizenship. (p. 20)

Domestic Colonialism

The processes by which sociopolitical structures that are typically recognized as colonial are built and maintained through systems of oppression are the same processes used to build and maintain systems of oppression in the tiered social classes of Bremerton. I define a very particular manifestation of colonialism in Bremerton as *domestic colonialism*: the physical, social, economic and psychological exploitation and suppression of a subordinate group by a dominant group, having affiliation with the militarized governing body. Bremerton operates much like a foreign city under occupation by a US military and local governance alliance, even as it is located within the international boundaries of the United States.

I understand that a comparison between territories occupied by the US military abroad and cities occupied by the US military within the United States may cause some readers to feel discomfort, or to even reject my claim outright, either because of the hegemonic American identification with the colonizer rather than the colonized, or because the experiences of the participants might be viewed as not severe enough to merit comparison to areas under US

military occupation abroad. However, I assert that beyond Bremerton's mid-19th century founding as a resource extraction point and strategic military colony, its history as a crucial 20th century military manufacturing port, and its continued importance as the transfer point for spent nuclear-powered naval vessel waste and weapons material, there is a body of evidence in the literature, primary sources, and participant narratives that shows several correlations between definitions and experiences of people living in colonized societies and the social structure of this American militarized city.

There exists in Bremerton a subordinate class populated by both military veterans living with disabilities and challenges related to their service, and vice economy service workers: the former unemployed in the civilian military manufacturing jobs, despite the hiring preference given to veterans,¹⁰ and the latter employed in labor deemed outside of respectability by the privileged class. Neither of these groups, despite their service to the militarized class and hegemonic ideals of the community, are seen as real residents or full citizens, or deserving of inclusion in the investment directed by city leaders, or even of a representative voice to assert what a redeveloped, revitalized city could mean to them.

Bremerton: Building the colony. Bremerton's beginnings as a 19th century outpost were ordinary enough; like so many other western US colonies, it supported resource extraction by industrialists based in the eastern North American continent (Swan, 1857). By the 1850s, the first commercial sawmill¹¹ began timber extraction. In the 1890s, Seattle entrepreneur William Bremer set out buying up land claims throughout the area. Bremer and his descendants

¹⁰ US military veteran applicants for federal jobs receive an additional five to ten points on their application scores (Military Advantage, 2015).

¹¹ Early Seattle area entrepreneur Colonel William Renton built the first sawmill on the Manette peninsula of Bremerton in 1854 (Caldbeck, 2010).

eventually came to greatly influence the city. Through a partnership with local political forces and the federal government, three generations of the Bremers continued to maintain direct and indirect influence over the community's political, social and economic development and direction.

As early as the 1840s, when the region was known by the US as Oregon Territory, the US Navy conducted surveys of the waterways surrounding the site of Bremerton. In 1891 on the heels of Washington Statehood, Ambrose Wyckoff successfully secured an agreement with the US Navy to make Bremerton the premier US Naval site north of California. Soon after, its shipyard quickly became one of the largest in the country, and was key in supporting World War II (WWII) and Cold War efforts (Talmadge, 1983). Today, Bremerton's proximity to the Hanford Nuclear Reservation in eastern Washington secures its unique position in the maintenance of the Pacific Fleet of nuclear powered submarines and aircraft carriers (Caldbeck, 2010; personal communications, 2013). Decommissioned nuclear-powered vessels and their spent fuel systems are routinely disassembled in the shipyard, the parts dismantled and transported on the "nuke train" from inside the Charleston district's Farragut street shipyard gate, along a railroad track that meanders between Navy Yard Highway and Sinclair Inlet on its journey to its Hanford Nuclear Reservation destination for nuclear waste containment (personal communication, 2002).

20th Century colonial labor. One hundred years ago, the majority of residents in Bremerton had themselves or were descendants of those who had come to the city to work in

resource extraction¹² or in the steady supply of “family-wage”¹³ skilled jobs found in the shipyard, through direct employment, as well as in the booming local supporting vice industries.

Citizens of the town that sprang up around the port relied greatly on the loose wallets of temporary contractors and sailors on shore-leave. While the family wage jobs were in shipbuilding, the most lucrative way for a woman to support herself outside of marriage was to find work in the vice economy. This mostly held true for more than 100 years. An exception was during WW I and II, when the traditionally male-held jobs in the Yard were also open to women. In the 1940s several women achieved apprentice and journey status for the first time in several union shops in the Yard (Puget Sound Navy Museum, 2013). Prior to 1919, roughly 200 of the 4,000 Navy Yard Puget Sound employees were female, most with records showing the words *clerical* or *typist* in the job title, although some held positions in the sail making shop.

By the 1950s, most women had left the jobs in the union shops, and many who stayed at the Yard returned to peace-time clerical positions. Some 60 years later, the professional family-wage positions are still mostly held by men, while about fifteen percent of all jobs at the Yard, including clerical positions, are held by women (Puget Sound Navy Museum, 2013).

The general economy of Bremerton declined since the waning of the Cold War era. Although the shipyard continues to employ workers in the maintenance of surface and submarine vessels, many of these workers live outside of the city, limiting the usefulness of a partnership between the city and the federal government under the guise of local economic stimulation. Wages spent by these workers have a limited influence on home sales, utilities

¹² Primarily timber, but also coal.

¹³ I use the term family wage here to describe labor, traditionally performed by men, which paid enough to support a spouse and children.

including electricity, water and sewer, cable and internet, and the subsequent local taxes derived from these expenditures, when these workers live and spend their income outside of the city.

Another source of potential economic inflow framed by the local and federal partnership as beneficial to the community economy is in the sales of groceries and sundries, alcohol and tobacco, home improvement, and consumer or durable goods. Counter to this narrative, it has been shown that the presence of military bases and manufacturing centers result in little benefit to US cities surrounding military sites (Lutz, 2001). With the late 1990s changes to federal rules governing sales of goods at military exchanges (pp. 185-186), which allowed the sales of larger ticket items such as furniture and electronics in addition to smaller consumer goods, purchases made at military exchanges do not contribute to the local community as sales income or tax revenue. According to Lutz' findings, military base shopping centers actually harm local economies.

Politics of Space in the Militarized City

Navy Yard City. I asked Marcus, who grew up in Bremerton in the 1970s, what he thought symbolized the city, either for himself, or what he thought Bremerton meant for others. In the following passage, he describes an early childhood memory, looking out a window of a house that was one of the many modest Navy Yard City homes removed in the early 2000s to make way for one of Bremerton's first renewal projects: the widening of Navy Yard Highway between the western border of the shipyard and the Navy Yard City residential district. In that project, the two-lane highway was widened to four lanes, a decorative planting strip was installed, bisecting the north- and south-bound traffic, and wide green belts with decorative grasses, shrubs, trees and expanses of lawn created swathes of buffer between the tall federal fence on one side, and modest stick built homes on the other.

Marcus. What is iconic about Bremerton? The Navy, the Shipyard.

Keyport/Bangor.¹⁴ There's a stereotype, you know. [Shipyard workers] march in and out – and this is true – when I was a kid, I lived on Farragut Avenue, outside the Farragut [Street shipyard] Gate, right? At night, I wouldn't be able to sleep and at the ripe old age of 4 years old, I had really bad insomnia. And I'd look out my window and I would just watch what was happening.

They had just built the Stack¹⁵ in the Shipyard, that big stack, and I would sit there and watch all the action, the traffic, I would count cars; that was my world.



Image 4. Farragut Street and Navy Yard Highway, near the Farragut Gate, and the “stack” described by Marcus in his narrative. (© Anna K Fern, 2015).

¹⁴ Naval Base Kitsap is comprised of Puget Sound Naval Shipyard, Naval Base Bremerton, Naval Submarine Base Bangor (In north Kitsap County near Silverdale), and additional installations in neighboring Manchester, Indian Island, and Keyport.

¹⁵ The iconic chimney that exhausts steam from the shipyard's power plant, near Farragut Street.

I would watch those Shipyard zombies march in and out of that gate with their green jackets, and their black lunchbox, and their safety glasses, and their big black boots. They would march in and out of that and I thought, that's it. That's what my life will be. That's what I've been born into, that's what I'll become. I thought, that's it, I was gonna be a shipyard worker. Other than that, I didn't have to worry about nothing; it was all figured out.

Marcus' childhood view of "Shipyard zombies" marching in and out of the gate brought him a sense of comfort, it seems, knowing that his life's path was already dictated. His understanding that to work in the shipyard was predestined speaks to the pervasiveness of what it meant to be a man and a citizen of the community.

Marcus. You gain a stereotypical view of those workers, where they get a stable job, and all of the sudden they're buying a big fancy truck, and they're upside down on their house payment, so now they're forced to have to get up and go to that job. It's not that it's a bad job, it's a good job, and they're making money, but I see so many of those people locked in, stuck.

Here, Marcus expresses that the seduction of good wages, stability, and benefits can come at a cost to the flexibility and freedoms that he values as a self-employed artist. He continues, describing his firsthand experience employed as a painter at Naval Base Kitsap.

Marcus. I did work a summer out at Keyport, and I worked a couple of years out at Bangor, so I got the routine down and I realized, this ain't for me! There's not a lot of work action going on. When I was out at Bangor, I worked two out of the eight hours

that I was there, every day. The rest of it was just driving around in trucks, or walking around, checking on paperwork, paint dry times, you know.

It was just crazy. Well, that's what they do, they don't do their job during the day, so's they can come in on Saturday and make double-time.

Yeah! It's crazy... it's just crazy.

Marcus' revelations of what it means to him to be a shipyard worker reveal three important points. First, his narrative began with his childhood image of what it meant to be a man in the community: a predestined career as a shipyard worker. Next, he indicates that being "locked in,

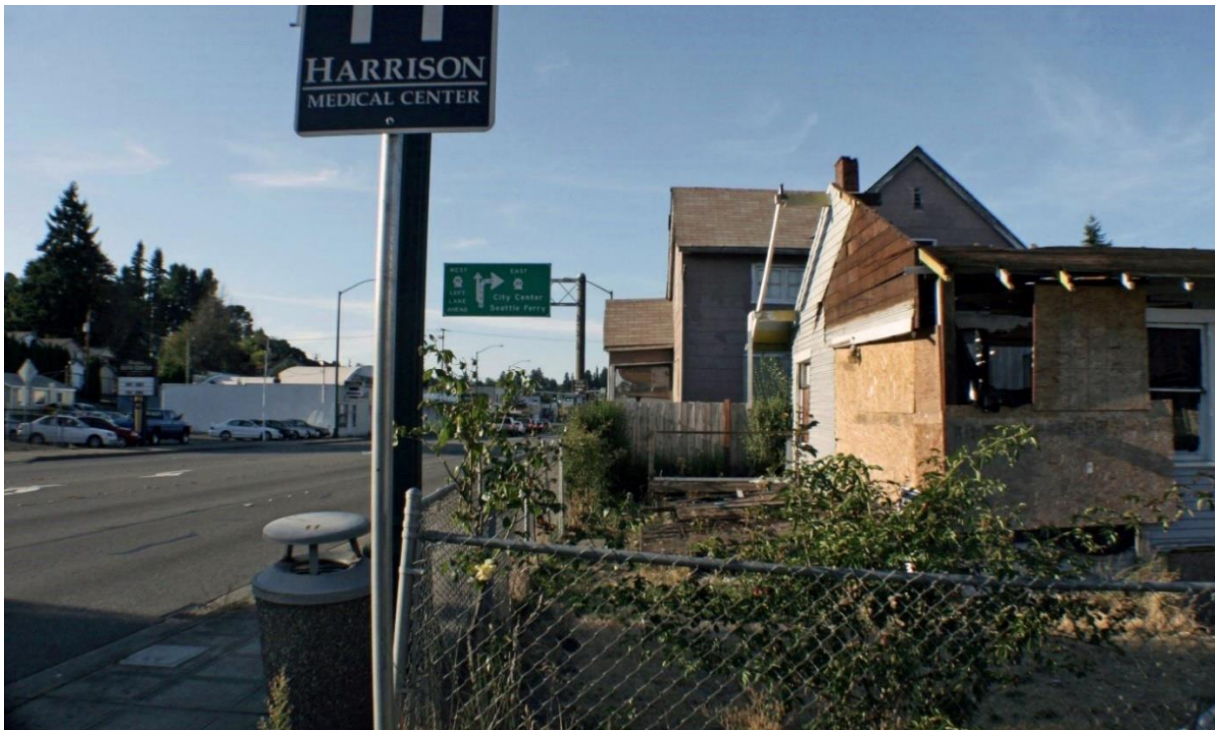


Image 5. Navy Yard Highway as it approaches Charleston at Callow Avenue and Burwell Streets, as seen near the "Dollar Phö" described by Jennifer: "This seems like such a dead community at times...if you just pull in...it just seems dead almost" (© Anna K Fern, 2015).

stuck" in a government job that seduces workers with reliable compensation is unappealing.

Third, he expresses a desire for separation between himself and shipyard workers, saying that the relaxed, low-production work environment wasn't for him, even indicating that there was a "crazy" culture of purposeful work slow-downs to increase workers' incomes.

Charleston. Jennifer describes the Navy Yard Highway entrance to Charleston, a block north of the Stack at Farragut Gate:

Jennifer. That’s another thing I’ve realized...this seems like such a dead community at times, if you kind of just pull in, literally pulling in from Port Orchard, Gorst, to here, it’s kinda like - - Now they’ve kind of “beautified” it, in a way, added trees [laughs], but you still pull in and it almost seems very - - it just seems dead almost. It’s just a little, you know – you get this vibe of there is just Shipyard, and bars, and that’s it.

Evergreen Park. I asked Jennifer to describe what Bremerton had been like when she was growing up in the 1980s and 1990s, at a time when Bremerton’s downtown was declared an Urban Blight Zone. When talking about her high school days in Bremerton, Jennifer described two places that she remembers gathering with her friends. The first was Evergreen Park, what she said was called Dark Park by her peers. I asked her to clarify:

Anna. ...So “Dark Park”, huh?

Jennifer. Yeah, Dark Park. Dark ... Park.

It’s crazy that it was called that...

She paused before telling me that it was called that because it was rumored that an African-American man had been lynched there. Although she and her peers considered it a dangerous place to congregate after dark, she indicated that white teen girls felt a level of immunity from potential violence because they were white. The cavalier tone of the park’s nickname may also hint at a level of disassociation that extends beyond youthful indiscretion and lack of multicultural experience, to a community culture of deep-seated racial lines that define who is

citizen and who is other, as in Golash-Boza's (2015) extended definition of settler colonialism. Golash-Boza's description distinguishes the colonist as intelligent, virtuous, and possessing divine support of its actions, while the other is subhuman, devious, and accursed, and deserving of loss of ownership of their bodies and labor, eviction and removal from geographic space, and genocide.

Today, Evergreen Park is the site for a 9/11 memorial. The memorial contains sections of girder from the wreckage of the former World Trade Center that was destroyed in 2001, and a piece of stone from the Pentagon, also hit by a plane that same day. Public and private partnerships petitioned to obtain the material from the site, and bring it to Bremerton.

Bremerton's 9/11 memorial was not without controversy. Some dissenters remarked that the memorial was in poor taste, or too expansive.¹⁶ When other residents wondered at the connection between Bremerton's Evergreen Park and the World Trade Center, Bremerton Mayor Patty Lent remarked that the connection was obvious, because of the military presence in Bremerton. While it is true that the US military was deployed in staggering numbers for an even more staggering number of years following the destruction of the World Trade Center, the implication of Lent's remarks raises some questions. The mayor's association of one of the world's largest financial centers as obviously connected with the US military is both astute and an indicator of the militarized hegemony, which frames military manufacturing as a positive influence on the community, while also allowing and supporting continued military action and expansion, specifically for the financial benefit of neoliberal causes that increase wealth for

¹⁶ The originally planned size and scope of the Bremerton memorial was second only to the Ground Zero Memorial on the site of the original World Trade Center in New York City (Bremerton Patriot, 2011; Napp, 2011).

private interests. The support given to the Bremerton memorial by local politicians, and local civic groups indicates popular local support for the militaristic imperial paradigm as well.

I asked Jennifer if she could tell me what she thought about the Bremerton 9/11 memorial. When she indicated that she hadn't investigated why part of the wreckage from the World Trade Center was included in the Bremerton memorial, I mentioned Mayor Lent's remarks about the "obvious connection":

Jennifer. I always see people over there, looking at it, but I don't even know much about it; all I heard is part of one of the towers is coming over here [laughs]. I didn't look into why... Oh, well, that's a good, uh... that's what I assume... I mean of course, well ... obviously we got military [laughs].

Obviously, someone knows someone who knew someone ... Something to go and ... look at? But I haven't.

Jennifer's apparent lack of inquisitiveness piqued my interest, because for the rest of our interview, she was very solicitous and enthusiastic about public areas, parks, events, and businesses. Something about our discussion of the memorial seemed to indicate that for her, this area was different than other areas of Bremerton.

At this point in the conversation I mention that someone we both knew participated in an around-the-clock vigil guard over the 9/11 wreckage at the park, before the memorial was dedicated; I then wondered aloud if it was necessary to guard the girders from vandals or damage.

Jennifer. Oh wow... pretty cool? ... I guess? A few people I know probably would [vandalize it], because they're like, "Conspiracy! 9/11, ahhh, it was us that did it," or whatever ... I [know] a lot of those [people].

Jennifer's response seemed vaguely supportive and non-committed, and may indicate that she is well aware that her personal beliefs about the US military's involvement in current wars or the causes of the destruction of the World Trade Center may be unpopular in a community that places a high value on military actions and military commerce.

Downtown. The second area of Bremerton that Jennifer described as having a meaning of place to her peers in high school was the section of downtown where high school cruising occurred when she was a teenager, now where the city has focused its commercial rejuvenation and beautification projects. She describes how when she was in high school, there was a place near the ferry terminal and the main gate to the Navy base and shipyard where high school girls would stand near the Navy gate in hopes of meeting up with Navy men; she used the words "pick up spot" for the location. The theme of girls and (adult male) sailors is a recurring thread throughout the narratives by women in this thesis, recurring with the referent of "girl" for women who work in the vice trades in service to Navy personnel and federal workers. It also appears as the sexualization of teenage girls as "sexy sailors" in the high school drill team.

Now, the traffic lanes in this location have been reconfigured to favor traffic to the shipyard and the ferry terminal, with limited stopping, except for dedicated crosswalks for foot traffic from the shipyard.

I met with Trevor to talk about his experiences related to living in downtown Bremerton. At times our conversation focused on the use of public space in the neighborhood where he

lived, near the city's focus area for improvement projects near the Shipyard, especially when the day-shift and swing-shift change occurred at the Shipyard.

Trevor. I'll come to [this restaurant] from 1:00 to 3:00 PM and hang out, and I'll go home before 4:00, because at 4 o'clock, is when they let them fools down the street out, and they won't let you cross the street, they don't care if you're handicapped, they just come out of there, you know, 4 o'clock, right?

"Yeah, I'm going to work in the Shipyard, what's the matter with you?" ... basically that's it! I see them walking up there, like, yeah, "I work at the Shipyard!" Well, by golly, buddy, go on about your business, then.



Image 6. Near the Shipyard Main Gate in the Downtown Core as dayshift lets out, and shipyard workers begin to take possession of the streets and sidewalks (© Anna K Fern, 2014).

Militaristic Hegemony

Understanding cultural hegemony is important to understanding the dominantly held assumptions within Bremerton's militarily supported domestic colonialism: what is accepted, and what is understood as the way things are.

Antonio Gramsci's famous writings on political and economic theory are the source for a widely accepted definition of cultural hegemony, explained in the following passage, as the

spontaneous consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group; this consent is 'historically' caused by the prestige (and consequent confidence) which the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production. (Gramsci, 1971, p. 12)

This understanding of dialectic interchange of power is the social template by which oppressors – and by passive or reluctant acceptance, the oppressed – dictate acceptable or punishable beliefs and behaviors in society.

I use the specific term *militaristic hegemony* for the unquestioning meta-level support for the necessity of macro-level militarily imposed global imperialism to maintain the American status quo, as it applies to an operational dynamic in the city. In Bremerton, militarized hegemony is a largely unquestioned state-of-being within the community. Its assumptions multiply influences of accepted social supremacy and social citizenship inferred upon military and federal service workers, and the prioritization of city development and maintenance of public spaces occupied by these workers. It also magnifies the social sanctions imposed for expressed dissent in matters of military image, purpose or presence, because to question the

military necessity or priority granted to the established political order is to threaten the superiority and social privileges of the dominant group.

In addition, perhaps in part because of the ongoing international patrol nature of the US Navy (even during times of official peace), combined with the official states of war during the time of this study's reported events, a heightened and perpetual level of "wartime patriotism" (as rarely experienced elsewhere in the nation) is a state of normalcy for Bremerton's residents. This elevated patriotic mindset, seen briefly nationwide following September 11, 2001 has arguably not been experienced by non-military communities in the broader US since the Second World War.¹⁷

Local Examples of Militaristic Hegemony

Some examples of ways in which a war-time military paradigm are normalized, romanticized, maintained, and reinforced are found in the everyday happenings within Bremerton's residential areas. Every evening from my house on Naval Avenue, as from most any neighborhood, I could hear the sound of "Evening Colors", broadcast from the adjacent U.S. Naval base. On weekend evenings, I could hear the sounds of Bremerton High School football games, where the crowd cheers as the marching band plays strains of "Anchors Aweigh" when the home team gains the advantage, and the girls' drill team performs dance routines while dressed in white and blue sailor-inspired costumes.

¹⁷ Marilyn E. Hegarty gives a thorough description of elevated wartime patriotism and the symbolic conflation of feminine sexuality and sexualized patriotic labor in "Patriot or Prostitute: Sexual Discourses, Print Media, and American Women during World War II" (1998), as does Meghan K. Winchell's *Good girls, good food, good fun: The story of USO hostesses during World War II* (2008).

The sexualization of teenage girls is not culturally extraordinary in itself, but rather, the specific costume choice and what it signifies in this city that romanticizes and idealizes military service as exclusively patriotic is of interest. Although the high school's mascot is the Knight, the girls' drill team wears costumes with stylized characteristics of the enlisted¹⁸ US Naval uniform. While the US Navy enlisted uniform is unisex, these short-skirted costumes are specifically feminized in design, and arguably sexualized in a way that reinforces the same normative sexual attractiveness necessary to economically succeed in local vice labor. The symbolic representation of the girls' drill team as sexy sailors also echoes the conflation of women's sexualized labor as patriotic, wherein the women's bodies are presented as a reward to



Image 7. Bremerton High School Drill Team, seen here in the 2015 Armed Forces Day parade. The Drill Team regularly performs routines to "Anchors Aweigh" while wearing Dress Whites- and Dress Blues-themed costumes for football games and parades (© Anna K Fern, 2015).

¹⁸ Enlisted military personnel are distinguished from officers socially, professionally, and by their uniforms; Enlisted personnel is the military working class, while officers are the managerial class. The signifier of the drill teams' uniforms as aligned with the traditional working class also speaks to the city's blue-collar history.

military men in exchange for the military men's potential physical sacrifice (Winchell, 2008). An interesting signifier of the sailor girl costumes is the traditional 20th century Bremerton economic model, which in many ways is still common today. Marriage to a sailor, having children with a sailor, or working in the vice service industry have been common ways to gain a modicum of economic security, as the trade labors in the local federally affiliated positions are still almost exclusively performed by males.

If I visit Evergreen Park in downtown's Park District, I could witness the Kitsap 9/11 Memorial, where twisted girders from the World Trade Center are publicly enshrined. The relevance of the wreckage of the nation's premier financial building and symbol of global imperialism within a US militarized city is an unquestioned, fully accepted and patriotic display, in this city as far removed as a city can be from New York within the contiguous states. The equivocation of the nation's largest banking institution as synonymous with the US military and with American patriotism is assumed and enforced, as evidenced by the continuous vigil guard of the wreckage by the Patriot Riders and motorcyclist volunteers during its installation (Nazarino, 2010; Phan, 2013).

If I follow Pacific Avenue from the 9/11 Memorial to Puget Sound Naval Shipyard Memorial Plaza at the gate of Puget Sound Naval Shipyard (PSNS), I can walk among a series of monuments, including large sections of scrapped warships that occupy the sidewalk and public spaces as memorials and public art, bronze statues and montages of shipyard workers, a commemoration of Japan's WWII surrender to the Allied Forces, and an extensive series of fountains designed to resemble life-sized emerging submarines.

This perpetually ambient and immediate wartime mindset is reinforced by these and other symbolic representations that reify U.S. military might and a direct association with dominant-class militarized labor. These cultural influences have a compound effect upon the community's priorities and social privilege tied to military affiliation, and upon the social and labor expectations put upon the subordinate class.



Image 8. Bremerton's 9/11 Memorial, located on the southeast border of Evergreen Park (© Anna K Fern, 2015).

Jason, a second-generation seaman, now works to help veterans with service-related disabilities. He shares his perspective on individual-level militarized hegemony experiences, from the point of view of local veterans he serves, many of whom have difficulty accessing inclusion in the militarized Bremerton community after their periods of military service:

Jason. Once you get to Vietnam [era military actions] and now, they just abuse the services; they have them doing things they're not supposed to be doing.

You have the backdoor draft, where some poor schmuck goes into the Reserves thinking he's going to get a college education, and just drill, in case there's a flood down the river, then he's just going to go down and fill sacks 'cause that's what our National Guard does.

Nope, they take the National Guard units and they fly them over to an undeclared war, and they let them get their legs blown off, and if their legs are still attached, then they say, "ooh, gotta go back, sorry." Declare a war then! Institute a draft, see how long this thing lasts! We're still over there and nobody even knows!



Image 9. "Our War Record" memorial: This section of the bow of *USS South Carolina* (CGN-37) in the downtown fountain park lists a record of the number of ships built and repaired at PSNS during WWII, along with the date of Japan's surrender to Allied Forces (© Anna K Fern, 2015).

This is not what we signed up for. We think it is, at the time, and we were proud of what we were doing. We were doing it for you, we were doing it for us ... Are we proud of what we did? Absolutely, are we sticking by our comrades? Absolutely.

Who aren't we sticking by? The people who put us there, 'cause this is not what we signed up for. That one guy who knew why you were over there, that's the real enemy. He knew what we were going over there for, and they lied to us. We went to war to make sure that Syria has a World Bank. They're like the last country in the world that's not controlled by the banking system. They have their own independent bank; they wouldn't link with anybody. So, to get to them, we gotta clear out the riff-raff in all those other countries first. Yeah, so that's what we went to war to preserve.

I don't care what anybody says:

“Don't tell them that they're gone over and they've fought for nothing!”

“Fuck you! They fought for absolutely nothing!”

Jason's narrative shares views in common with those expressed by other former military personnel, namely that he and others feel a deep loyalty to those they served with, and a resentment towards the agencies or organizations that misled them to the purpose of their work, or about the compensations and social standing they would earn in exchange for their time of service.

The temporal, conditional pseudo-membership of veterans in the domestic colony echoes the sexualized labor-as-patriotism construct under which female vice workers gain a temporary and conditional, albeit hierarchically subordinate, membership in the community, in so far as their usefulness to the comforts of military and federal class workers is desired.

This chapter illustrated how militarily enforced colonialism and militaristic hegemony shaped and maintain the social, political, and economic order and ideals in Bremerton. These ideals dictate social order in Bremerton that mirrors, on a smaller localized scale, the larger global position of US military and neoliberal interests protected at the expense of subordinated colonized societies and cultures. Like colonized and militarily occupied territories abroad, the military and government affiliated class in Bremerton enjoy largely unrestricted public space, preferred areas, and even possession and access to labors and bodies of colonized subjects.

The next chapter explores dialectics of military culture and vice economies in militarized towns, both abroad, and in Bremerton, through literature, primary and secondary sources, and participant narratives.



Image 10. The sail of the decommissioned *USS Parche*, the US Navy's most decorated submarine, is a feature in the downtown fountain park. A plaque at its foot reads that the details of Cold War missions for which it is decorated are still classified information. (© Anna K Fern, 2015.) Image 11. For much of the 1970s – 1990s, the symbol of US military might and righteousness *USS Missouri* was moored in Bremerton's port. At the close of the 20th century, the *Missouri* relocated to Hawaii. Bremerton now displays the *USS Turner Joy*, best known for its role in the Gulf of Tonkin Incident which led to the Vietnam War. At this defunct go-cart track in a downtown neighborhood, an icon from the First World War asks Bremertonians to volunteer service at the Turner Joy museum (© Anna K Fern, 2016).



Images 12 and 13. Businesses routinely offer discounts to military and Department of Defense personnel. (© Anna K Fern, 2016).

CHAPTER 3: Military Culture, Gender Creation, and Sexualized Labor

Amanda. Although I'm proud of the job that I do, I'm not proud of what I do. I hate the fact that I wonder how many babies I'm responsible for, I wonder how many things went out there and happened, that I [caused]. Especially in my twenties.

I didn't know about – I didn't care about cutting people off and shit; I cared about the dollar. *You* know.

And finally you realize: oh, people could get hurt, or somebody could hurt somebody that could hurt somebody else, and then it starts mattering.

And so, I'm not proud of the actual "job" – what I perform. But how I do it? I'm real proud of. If my mom is proud – and she's proud – that's the hardest.

I feel bad, because she gotta tell her friends, "yeah, she's still bartending."

But she's seen me work, and she likes how I work.

The second tier of the tripartite analytical model illustrates the creation and maintenance of the gendered, relationally opposed social classes that are acted out by members of the militarily affiliated dominant group and the subordinate service group working in the vice industries. The gender-defined class markers are magnified by what *masculine* and *feminine* signify in this community where most everything is experienced within a patriarchal, militarized context. The militarily affiliated group is predominantly peopled by white, able-bodied men, and the subordinate vice service-labor group is predominantly peopled by white able-bodied women. In

the local service industry, and especially in the sexualized vice economy described in this thesis, youthfully presenting, physically-abled “girls”, considered sexually attractive by the culture’s normative standards of beauty and sexuality access the most lucrative work shifts and earnings, as temporal, conditional, sexualized patriotic service providers.

Amanda. They think because this is a military town that military guys only want to see girls; and I guess that’s true. You know it’s true.

Guys have it a lot easier in the bar industry than girls do, and there’s so few of them.

Guys are just not really welcome in the bar industry; you know, maybe in the background, but everybody thinks the money is on women. And it’s so not!

It’s too bad. They would make great money; because if I had a guy bartender, then I would have five girls looking at that bartender. Well, if I have five girls, then I would have 20 guys automatically, looking at those five girls.

This narrative from Amanda is densely packed with insight into the commercial aspects of sexualized labor, as well as gendered difference in working conditions that often result in physical or psychological dangers to the women who work successfully in the vice industry. I include it here, before the literature analysis and participant narratives, as a lens through which to interpret the content of this chapter. Amanda raises some interesting points, namely: the target group for the vice industry is heterosexual males with discretionary income; the target group can be a lucrative resource to exploit, both for establishments these males frequent, and for individual vice workers who are compensated through gratuities; male vice workers can expect a greater level of physical and psychological safety in the vice work environment than

females can; and, male vice workers are an underexploited market resource for vice establishments in Bremerton's vice economy.

Later in this chapter, Amanda provides extensive insight into the issues of the physical and emotional attractiveness of female vice workers as a potential capital resource for establishments, as well as into the potential for physical and psychological injury: a daily hazard for females working in the vice economy. Her narratives, along with those of Jennifer, and my own, share recollections of events we experienced while working in the Bremerton vice economy. These stories show parallels with experiences of vice workers in countries where US, international, and mercenary troops are stationed in military colonies, implicating Bremerton's own domestic colonial social and economic model.

This chapter explores, through literature and extensive participant narratives, the relationship between military gender construction and the subsequent vice culture as it plays out in the domestic colony, as experienced by participants in their work environments' normalized violence, subjugation, and value as workers based on their sexualized labor. The chapter concludes with narratives and analysis on in-group culture, outlining ways in which workers access personal and group agency, as well as the realities of aging out of youth-based vice work, and subsequently losing conditional patriotic-service status without alternative employment.

Military and Gender

Glenn's *Unequal Freedom* (2002) presents relationality and positionality as integral in the social construction of gender and race: what is masculine and dominant is defined by an absence of what is considered feminine and subordinate, and vice versa, reinforcing the concept of the other who is less human and less deserving of humanity.

Culture of Violence

In Bremerton, the distinct gender boundaries associated with the two social classes can be understood as an individual level manifestation of the US military's patriarchic domination and subordination, based upon and supported by accepted positional and relational gender imagery. This gendered patriarchal hierarchy manifests at an institutional level in a multitude of ways not limited to: the long history of exclusion of women from combat roles and Naval ships, high rates of sexual violence towards female service members from their male counterparts, violence committed by US service members on their domestic partners, vice businesses adjacent to military bases in the US, widely documented active support of brothels, and even sex trafficking and sexual abuse of local residents with impunity by military and paramilitary personnel in colonial outposts abroad (Ames, Cunradi, Moore, & Stern, 2006; Bolkovac, 2011; Cheng, 2008; Eisenstein, 2007; Hegarty, 1998; Higate, 2007; Lee, 2010; Mankayi & Naidoo, 2011; Simm, 2013; Steinhauer, 2013; Zimelis, 2009).

In "Service Economies: Militarism, Sex Work, and Migrant Labor in South Korea" (2010), Jin-kyung Lee explores in depth the corollaries between militarized aggression and the social construction of masculinity and femininity:

In both sexual and military acts, to different degrees, aggression, violence, and power to subjugate the other are defined as constituting the central values of masculinity, while weakness or submissiveness is associated with the feminine gender, or with effeminacy or homosexuality. Military prowess is sexualized or conflated with sexual prowess; military labor as a sexualized labor eroticizes killing and other related tasks...Killing is similar to sexual acts to the extent that pleasure is derived from symbolic or material

vanquishing and elimination of the other...maleness itself becomes a weapon of destruction. (p. 51)

Lee's analysis of masculinity and femininity defined through positioning one against the other, to define one by what it is not, and subsequently reinforcing what the other is, echoes Glenn's (2002) and Golash-Boza's (2015) applications of relationality in the construction of a hierarchical social system, where binaries extend from the dominant and subordinate, right and wrong, preferred and stigmatized. Lee also indicates an important factor of military gender construction, wherein masculinity is reinforced through a conflation of sexuality and violence. These examples serve to reinforce the personage of the dominant class and the inhumanity of the subordinate class, making committing violence upon subordinate peoples acceptable.

Local examples. Amanda made the following remarks about owners who allow customers to abuse employees in order to maximize profits, in response to a story I told her about a 2008 incident in which a customer brandished a handgun while I was bartending an evening shift at a Bremerton bar. After the incident, my employer shared his displeasure with me for choosing to call the police:

Amanda. Shit was off the wall; your boss should've had your back better than that...

You deserve to have better back than that. That's crap! How is somebody gonna even question, somebody pulls a gun and you call the cops? How is anyone even gonna question that?

It's not fair. Oh, no – you can't be bought; that's [the employer's] integrity! I've never been in that situation; I can't help but believe that I would have to leave [that job] if my

boss wasn't 100% supportive of my choices. I would have to, because men are so gross!
I have to literally defend myself sometimes, it's not fair!

...That's how they are though. They only care about their dick or their drugs. Seems to me, in my experience.

Normalized violence. When I ask Amanda if she has any memorable or “crazy” stories to relay, she told me this:

Amanda. I don't know about any weird stories, though. Well, now I don't know if they're weird or not, you know, people streaking in the bar, or they're drunk, or a lot of fights, a lot of bad fights, picking glass out of peoples' heads, and my bouncer Macing the entire crowd, including his own staff, because there was such a swarm, and everybody throwing up on themselves because they got Maced; it was horrible.

[One time] My boss was trying to break up a fight, and all these big military guys – he turned around and this tiny little girlfriend of one of the guys swung her purse and broke his nose. I just remember that, and his nose was literally sideways.

I remember that night, I was sitting by the well [at the bar], and you vaulted off my shoulder across the bar...

Oh yeah, no doubt! You gotta jump your bar for sure to break up a fight!

The matter-of-fact way Amanda relayed these violent acts and the way she responded to them as a part of her job provides insight into the normalization of violence in the workplace.

Amanda shared the following about the increased violence in vice culture in Bremerton in 2006 and 2007. In the following section, she describes three serious violent incidents that happened in quick succession, when three local female vice workers were injured on the job. The reaction of one of their employers is telling in the way female workers are valued primarily as sexualized service providers:

Amanda. Seriously, right when I went and quit [that bar in 2007], right at that time, three bartenders had gotten hurt really bad. And it was going around...

And people were just acting stupid. I was sick of people...I just woke up one morning and I'd had enough, and I quit. I didn't know what I was going to do. I didn't have a plan, really. I just knew I'd had it. It had run its course.

Right across from [a local bar] when it was [called ---], a girl got raped. One of the bartenders got raped in that alley, in the back area.

[A now out-of-business bar] was [still] open out in Port Orchard, and that girl, she was cutting off [customers at the end of the night], a woman picked up a shot glass, and split her open [showing from top of the nose to below the chin], split her right open, because... you know the distance [from a customer to the bartender].

And then the other one, this was at [another bar in Port Orchard]. It looked like they just took her face and [dragged her] one time across the cement, because it was perfect[ly] scratched, just the half of it [indicating one entire side of her face]...when she closed...because they was robbing the place.

And the extra problem with that was she was, "I live on my tips, I am broke; I need to work," And her boss wouldn't let her work in the bar because he said [how she looked]

was bad for business. So [he] was putting her on two hour shifts in the kitchen. He didn't want her telling people what happened to her.

And all these girls had been getting hurt, and I didn't want to be – I just felt like it was coming for me. So I just needed to get away while I could.

The financial predicament of the third woman described in Amanda's narrative is a common one for vice workers: she lived on her tips. Typically, a vice worker can bring home a cash income from tips that is several times her pay: often part-time minimum wage income. When the victim of the assault was relegated to two-hour shifts in the kitchen, because how she looked was "bad for business," her job insecurity was compounded; her future earnings as a front-of-house vice worker were bleak, considering the damage to her face likely ended her usefulness as a normative sexually attractive vice worker.

Harassment and assault. I shared the following story with Amanda during our conversation, about a time when I was physically assaulted by a co-worker while on the job:

Anna. One time, at [another bar where] I worked, the DJ came up to the bar and leaned in, so I leaned in, too, because I thought he was going to tell me something about a customer. Instead, he reaches across the bar, puts both arms around me, pulls me in hard, so my arms are pinned and I'm off balance. And he shoves his hand down the back of my pants, and he's got a hold of the back of my head with his other hand. He was holding me so hard. And he's got his mouth on my neck, and of course he's whispering all this nasty shit.

So when I come in to work the next afternoon, one of the girls and the boss are in the kitchen talking about it. I can tell by how they both froze when I walked in, but then the

bartender smiles at me, told the owner that “it’s because she’s hot”, I felt like to show me that she was sticking up for me to the boss, but that well, it can’t be helped if the bartender is attractive to men. Like, was the boss totally blaming me for some goon molesting me? And how is it that he keeps his job as the DJ, let alone, you know, any legal action?

In the preceding narrative, it is interesting to note that, unlike most establishments in Bremerton, that bar was run by a female boss, who was a former career shipyard worker. Her reaction to that and other incidents revealed that she identified first as a federally-affiliated dominant class member, and second as a sexualized female, capable of finding herself in such predicaments. This is understandable: as a woman in a militarized, patriarchal, overwhelmingly male-dominated career, she had to identify first as a pipe-fitter or welder, and minimize her sexual signifiers in order to survive and succeed in the workplace. The internalization of this work persona could even explain her disdain for workers who reported violent incidents, whom she may view as trouble-makers.

In response to my recollection of the assault from my male co-worker, Amanda offers:

Amanda. That’s ridiculous. That’s terrible, because you’re in such a gray area; that’s terrible. You wouldn’t say some of the things you’d say if you’re working at the doctor’s clinic, they wouldn’t be trying to touch your...! I don’t even understand that. ...Anybody touching or grabbing the hair, oh! And you gotta work with that person, you still had to work with that person!

First, Amanda’s analysis of this event indicates her understanding of the gravity of the situation, as well as some indications that these are common risks of the job. When she says that

the situation is a “gray area”, she indicates that the female worker must navigate the necessary demonstrated sexuality of her labor that maximizes her income, and the potential dangers of being physically attacked, even by male co-workers, who are not seriously, if at all, penalized for their violence against female co-workers.

Amanda. Yeah, [call the] cops. That’s a great point, cops! That’s definitely assault brother, yeah, without a doubt! Eeww, yeah, had one too many, thought you were awesome...eugh! Seriously! I’m in charge of how much he drinks, but I don’t know if he’s got a drinking problem, or if he’s sipping flasks, or what else he’s doing. And no matter what, I don’t give a fuck – I don’t care how much you drink, it don’t matter. I don’t care if you had a drop, or nothing, it’s never ok. Are you grown? You can’t control yourself? You know what I mean! What makes you think you can get this? What makes you think?

Shit, you didn’t call the cops though, right?

Secondly, Amanda indicated examples of how Bremerton vice work operates under rules usually unacceptable in other lines of work. It is noteworthy that DJs and other entertainers in Bremerton bars commonly drink while working; establishments will comp performers and entertainers, or set them up with a tab for drinks as part of their compensation. She showed a certain lack of surprise that the assailant’s behavior occurred: “yeah, had one too many, thought you were awesome”, but she follows this with, “I don’t care if you had a drop, or nothing, it’s never ok.” Another way that she indicates that working in vice is guided by standards outside of acceptable in other lines of work is to point out that sexual assault would not be tolerated among workers in a doctor’s office.

Finally, the way Amanda indicates the importance of recognizing that vice labor operates outside the normal protections expected in other work: “you didn’t call the cops though, right?” because as she indicates in the following chapter’s discussion of the antagonistic dialect between residents in the included narratives and local police, involving law enforcement, even in dangerous matters, rarely improves work place or personal safety, and can be detrimental to maintaining employment.

Amanda. I’ve had a very lucky run, for such a dangerous job, really...I am so lucky I don’t have these little – I’m a knock on wood – ‘cause I’ve been very lucky with those. Because those are horrible moments right there, awkward moments. Well, I mean, somebody being like... not so much, whatever.

In this last passage of Amanda’s narrative, she acknowledges that working in a sexualized job is hazardous, but that she has emerged thus far, “reasonably” unscathed. When she said that she’s had a “very lucky run,” and closes with, “well, I mean, somebody being like, not so much, whatever”, she alludes that incidents she has experienced were not beyond enduring in comparison to those experienced by other workers, as she indicated earlier, when she alluded to situations of physical danger, as when she asserted: “I would have to leave my job...if my boss wasn’t 100% supportive of my choices. I would have to, because men are so gross! I have to literally defend myself sometimes.”

In a similar vein, Jennifer shared a story with me about the consequences of reporting harassment at work, when she worked at a bar near the Naval Gate:

Jennifer. I ended up getting fired. I’d just told [the bar owner] two days before that her husband was flirting with me. You know, you work at a bar and sometimes the

owner will flirt a little bit, or whatever. And I wasn't overly okay with it, but I can take so much.

But he was just too much.

Here, Jennifer indicates the frequency with which vice workers can expect to be harassed at work: "I wasn't overly okay with it, but I can take so much. But he was just too much." This echoes Amanda allusions to incidents – the grey area – that she didn't feel were serious enough to mention. Jennifer continues:

Jennifer. And I finally told her [my boss]; he was just making too many comments.

He told her no, obviously, and I was just like, whatever. And then two days later [the bar] gets robbed. She calls me in and says, "Well, it did get robbed,"

And I said, "Well, yeah, I put it in the notes, did you see the notes?"¹⁹

And I called the cops, I told them the whole story."

She says, "Well, it just seems a little suspicious, and I gotta let you go."

I said, "This is because I told you about your fucking old man."

But she says, "No."

He was right there, and she was really pretty, very beautiful,

and he goes, "Why would I ever want you? Look at you, and look at her."

Just cold. And I was like, "Fuck you! Like, why would I lie?"

And then she 86ed me. I'm like, "Fuck both of you! Yeah, deuces!"

¹⁹ The Bar Journal. Establishments typically keep logbooks, where bartenders will record any events of note that occurred during their shift.

In recounting this experience, Jennifer indicates the all-too-common vulnerability of workers in her position. After reporting the sexual harassment by her employer's partner, she was fired. In addition, the perpetrator of the harassment insulted her by attacking what he saw as her most valuable asset: her sexual attractiveness. Despite the injustice and hurtfulness of this experience, Jennifer finished telling me her story with a victorious laugh. Jennifer claimed agency by subverting the situation, indicating that even after losing her job and being ordered to leave the building, she retained dignity and humor in the retelling of her story.

Military and Vice Economics

Anchors Aweigh, my boys, Anchors Aweigh.

Farewell to foreign shores, we sail at break of day.

Through our last night ashore, drink to the foam.

Until we meet once more, here's wishing you a happy voyage home.

Official US Navy anthem (Hagen, 1997)

The long-standing, romanticized image of the tattooed, oversexed and drunken sailor has long been positively cultivated within Navy culture, as well as in civilian popular culture. As the literature shows, the naval tradition for binge drinking has not only been tolerated, but supported and enforced (Ames, et al., 2006; Bachman, Freedman-Doan, O'Malley, Johnston, & Segal, 1999; Hagen, 1997), even after recent official changes in acceptable naval personnel conduct, only initiated after high-profile incidents of sexualized abuse towards women by Naval personnel were exposed.²⁰

²⁰ Most notably the Tailhook Incident of 1992 (Schmidt, 1992; Winerip, 2013) and the more recent publicity of widespread sexual assaults among U.S. military personnel (Steinhauer, 2013).

Ames and colleagues' study of alcohol use among Navy careerists shows that binge drinking behaviors are expected of navy personnel during shore leave. "Heavy and problem drinking are disproportionately found in military populations", with "higher rates of heavy alcohol use among those deployed over those not deployed," (Bachman, et al., 1999). Interviews showed that heavy drinking during liberty took on characteristics of ritual and tradition, and were even socially obligatory (Ames, et al., 2006).

Exchange of Goods and Services

The exchange of money or gifts for sex is not uncommon for military personnel while serving outside the US, and even tolerated and expected within military culture. Scholars have noted a culture of normalized masculine gender privilege that includes expectations of sexualized labor exchanges from women in ports-of-call or military posts in war zones, or near installations of patrolling peacekeeping forces (Bolkovac, 2011; Cheng, 2008; Higate, 2007; Zimelis, 2009; personal communications, 2003, 2005, 2006).

Locally, service members accustomed to a culture of normalized gendered privilege and romanticized binge intoxication (Ames, et al., 2006) that also includes expectations of sexualized labor exchanges, bring their practices and experiences that are accepted by their social group while abroad with them when they come ashore in domestic port cities (personal communications, 2005, 2007, 2012, 2014). For many of these younger service members who came of majority age while abroad in the military, these practices and attitudes are established as the socialized norm during liberty.

Similar to the women in the militarized zones described in the literature, for local women in Bremerton, vice labor has long been one of a few choices, outside of marriage or

motherhood with federal employees or military personnel, for gaining relative economic security. Again, these gendered labor roles of male federal workers and female vice workers carry with them traditional expectations associated with their gender; by this I mean that the gender roles are reified and reinforced by the same patriarchal structure of military tradition, as in the broader context of the patriarchal society and US cultural tradition of imperial expansion.

Higate (2007) describes the normalization of commercial sexual exchanges for UN forces with local women and children at sites of military conflict. A critical factor in these exchanges is the framing by military personnel of themselves as passive participants or even victims of the local women: peacekeepers are “framed as curious, while the young females are presented as proactive in their pursuit of wealthy UN quarry.” (p. 107). In one case, a UN worker disclosed that

at least two-thirds of the girls are paying their [secondary school] fees with money made from sleeping with peacekeepers”. The age of consent and younger girls were discussed by three peacekeepers, two of whom argued that “having sex with (them) was ‘respectful of local culture’”. In this way, masculinity was presented as vulnerable to predatory approaches of women and girls noted to be instrumental in exploiting the biological needs of their clients. (Higate, 2007, p. 107)

By framing themselves as victims of both their uncontrollable sex drives and predatory practices of local women, the men in these interviews were able to both increase their measure of masculinity and appeal, and absolve their culpability in the sexual exploitation of the women and girls. Further, the men were released of internalized moral conflicts between their practices abroad, contrasted with their customary moral standards within their home cultures.

In militarized colonial settings, economic power held by dominant class males is often multiplied by patriarchal norms of etiquette, symbolic representations, and social regulation of the allocation of power. In both the literature and locally in this study, a contributing factor of the dynamic of exploitation by military personnel of local women is a culture of impunity, a critical part of domestic colonialism's dialectic exchange of a sense of entitlement to deference and supplication to a dominant group from a subordinate group.

In the following passage, I retell experiences, where harassment and assault come from the hands and mouths of those who have the power of financial coercion:

Anna. My landlord would come in with his drunk buddies, from [another bar] or whatever, and they always fashioned themselves witty and charming. And they weren't. These were grown men, and they were so out of control, throwing up in the urinals, and then coming out and ordering more drinks. This one guy was always full-body grabbing me, hard, and trying to kiss me. He was super strong, and it was disgusting and frightening. But I had to be cool about it because this guy was there with my landlord. And when he'd do that, they'd all just laugh and say, "Aww, he don't mean no harm." That's just one of those situations where the person has some kind of pull over you, and it's not fair, or right, and what do you do?

Or another situation like that, was the owner of [another bar], he would show up shit-faced drunk, like how did you even drive here? But [the owners] are all buddies, and you can't cut anybody off who's buddies with the boss, so I'd reluctantly serve him, slowly, and then, when I put his drink in front of him, he was always trying to grab my arm, and trying to pull me across the bar, saying he just wants a little kiss.

This narrative indicates some very real differences between the dominant and subjugated economic classes in the local Bremerton economy. In these particular situations, the men who took indecent liberties were fully members of the dominant class: an owner of a business that catered to federal workers, and my landlord and his friends, who were all career shipyard employees. The bar owner could potentially end my employment if I displeased or embarrassed him; he could also influence other potential employers not to hire me, if I lost that job.²¹ The landlord held not only the power to influence my income for the evening, he also held the power to control if I were to have a home or not. Tolerating the indecencies of the visiting bar owner, my landlord, and his friends was a choice made under financial and economic coercion, out of survival.

Economic Model

The economic exchange between vice worker and client is rarely strictly financial. A majority of vice economy laborers gain most of their compensation directly from and at the discretion of patrons in the form of gifts, when the official pay is normally part-time, minimum wage earnings. Collected monies or gifts are commonly valued at several times the official amount of pay recorded on their pay stubs. These higher value items or gifted favors are typically gifted by patrons with whom the vice laborer has established an on-going business relationship.

In addition to cash, material gifted goods are not uncommon as well; these can include smaller traditional gift items,²² or items such as books, movies, concert tickets, or decorative merchandise in which the laborer expressed interest. Or they might be larger purchases that the

²¹ The bar owner and my employer were retired submariner CPOs.

²² This first category is of gifts that are both of a lesser monetary value and a more personal nature, and for this reason generally not thought of as income.

laborer mentioned needing or wanting, such as clothing, furniture, appliances, electronics, or even automobiles (personal communications from vice workers).

Gifted favors are more challenging to describe, but no less valued by workers. Favors can include customers serving as unofficial bodyguards, bussers, janitors, and bouncers for the workers. Patrons may also bring their co-workers to establishments when favored workers are scheduled, specifically in order to increase that worker's sales receipts and personal compensation; patrons may run errands for the worker while she is working, or perform home and automotive repairs for the worker.

Conflation of the labor and the laborer. A way that commercial sexualized exchanges are framed by military personnel is as a domestic exchange within a romantic partnership, thereby neutralizing moral conflict. Higate relates an excerpt from an interview with an employee of a nonprofit organization in a militarized zone, in which the man spoke of “‘relationships’ between the peacekeepers and ‘certain’ local women. He injected a degree of glamour into his account, painting the peacekeepers as playboys who were real ladies’ men, able to provide well for ‘their women.’” (Higate, p. 106)

In the several examples above of gifted material goods or favors, a correlation can be made that workers and patrons exchange more than compensation for the official service they provide: the workers act as surrogates for roles filled by sexual or romantic partners in traditional cisgender-heterosexual relationships.²³ Their labor is imbued with the emotional and physical desires and fantasies of their patrons. This further demonstrates that laborers’

²³ This is not to the exclusion of gay or lesbian relationship surrogacy within the vice economy, which also exists in Bremerton’s vice economy to a smaller extent. It is a topic worthy of discussion unto itself, but is outside the scope of this thesis.

emotional and sexualized labor involves the objectification and sexualization of her personage in Bremerton's vice economy.

In the following narratives, Amanda and I discuss the hazards of objectification while on the job. The effects of performing as a surrogate partner or even idealized partner can manifest in patrons' obsession with the sexualized worker:

Amanda. [...] was really creepy. A creeper. Gave me some inappropriate gift, one time. It was an outfit. A "working girl" outfit. It was super weird, and he'd send these little notes, leave these little notes at the bar when he'd come in: "You're the most wonderful, I love you, I would take care of you..."

Oh, [my skin] crawled hard. Yes. It crawled hard. So, he sketched me out a little bit... Yeah! Creeper. I've only had two creepers, and he's one of them.

Anna. At [name of bar] there was my first super creeper as a bartender. He was a big shipyard guy. He'd come in every night that I worked. He would never say a word. When he wanted another [drink], he would balance the money on top of the rim of the glass and just stand there without a word or eye contact.

That place had a long straight bar and I had a space on either end where I could get in or out. One end was by the kitchen, and one end was by the walk-in.

He'd stand there the entire time in that space I had at the end of the bar, with his back up against the wall, one foot up to brace himself, and he'd block that space where I could go in and out from behind the bar. He was in my space.

One night, he leaves me this big thick envelope.

Inside was a stack of greeting cards, all numbered to be read in a particular order, and

a letter with really small writing. The first thing the letter said was I need to keep this letter and the cards a secret, don't tell anyone.

He wrote about the way I move, and my hair, and my different body parts, and how much he really, really likes me. One of the cards said, "I'd like to hug the stuffing right out of you." It really creeped me out.

My boss thought it was a little creepy, but not enough to talk to him or ban him or anything. Not knowing what else to do, I asked a male customer to pretend to be my boyfriend, and that had its own complications.

Commodification of emotions, ownership of bodies. In the conflation of the vice labor and the vice laborer, a vice worker may become an emotional surrogate when a patron may construct fantasies of emotional relationships with vice workers, when the vice worker, although often fond of the patron, may view the dynamic primarily as a financial exchange. Within this context the sexualized labor, and by proxy the embodiment of the conflated labor and laborer can become a commodity, essentially monetizing the attentions of the worker.

Anna. I think about the commodification of emotional labor. It's really a draining thing. When I say emotional, I'm talking about the stuff that you get tips for, not the stuff that you get a check for. And that stuff is when you know if you give that little more attention that they'll give you a bigger tip. You tell yourself, I can tolerate this thing, or that thing, for this or that amount of money, because I need to pay my light bill, or my daycare, or whatever. You attach a dollar amount to your dignity, your physical or emotional integrity. You quantify it, you draw a line that you won't cross for \$5, but you will for \$20.

One night, I served this customer who was paying with cash for his drinks as he went. Another bartender had served him on shift before me. When he closed out, he left a few dollars on the bar, knocked on it, pointed to me, and I put that in the tip jar. That other server was still there, off the clock. She approached me and made a scene like I was trying to steal her tips. I realized then that he hadn't tipped her out - I was mortified, but I guess I can sort of understand. Whatever load of shit that guy gave to her, she had attached a dollar amount to it. So that four dollar tip, split two ways, symbolized two dollars' worth of her dignity. And mine.

Vice workers' compensation for labor at the discretion of the patron brings up implications of ownership and entitlement of the workers' behavior, body or even thoughts, further linking this specific vice work in Bremerton to parallels with human bondage and enslavement, distinct tenets of colonialism, and merits discussion.

In monetary transactions that involve emotional and sexualized labor, there exist two exchanges. First, the customer purchases the item and the service of the item to the customer at face value for a stated price, and secondly, the customer gifts an additional compensation commensurate to the emotional or sexualized reward that is offered by, or expected from the worker. This process monetizes the emotional and sexual offering of the worker which is effectively purchased by the customer, granting the customer purchased ownership of the emotional or sexualized behavior.

***Anna.** Some of them are just messed up, like this one Shipyard guy, he was about 45 or 50. It was like he walked in there wanting to fight with me every afternoon. He would come in and say hello and smile sarcastically to me. Then he'd bark out his order, and I would serve him, but if I didn't smile ear to ear when I did it, or if he thought my*

smile wasn't sincere, which by then pretty much wasn't, he would say shit about my appearance, or say who did I think I was, I was nobody, or who was I not to smile at him, or not laugh at his ugly jokes, I mean, he would get downright abusive, and get a hateful crazy look in his eyes, like he was going to punch me.

In this and other related events during my tenure as a bartender in Bremerton, there were a certain number of patrons who, in lieu of expecting sexualized ownership of my embodied labor, expected access to physical or emotional abuse of their “purchase”.

A sense of ownership on the part of the customer can extend to a sense of ownership and entitlement to the personage of the worker, and can substantially increase with the monetary value of the gifted compensation: the larger the tip, the larger the expectation. Participation in the change of ownership of the worker's emotional and sexualized labor can be conflated by the customer as a change in ownership of the worker's emotions and sexuality, and can lead to physical and psychological dangers for the worker. Maintaining a guise of willful participation in this exchange can be a difficult ruse for the worker to maintain, leading to “burnout”. To counter burnout, many bars will knowingly schedule workers part-time on alternating evenings.

During my interview with Jennifer, I relay to her an instance of a customer “purchasing” vice workers' sexualized labor through use of economic power when I bartended at a Navy Yard City bar:

***Anna.** At [a bar], this guy comes in, he was a contract worker [stationed here] short term. He was like a creepy gross cartoon, winking, calling me darling: staring at my chest with his tongue literally hanging out, making his eyes bug out, like it was*

funny. He was making comments about my body, very vulgar, and I told him to stop.

“Just paying you a compliment, darling.”

He had some quarters sitting on the bar. He started to pick up those quarters and throw them one at a time at my cleavage, like at the carnival coin toss, bouncing them off me. I pulled his drink and cut him off. And then he’s all confused, and he gets all indignant, and mad, saying stupid stuff like obviously, I must not need any tips.

That kind of stuff happened pretty much every day, not always someone throwing change at your boobs, but things that were that sexual, or demeaning, or meant to be humiliating in some way, and you’re just supposed to take it. If you don’t just take it, they [customers and coworkers] get disgusted with you, like either you’re too weak, or stuck up, or think you deserve better. But I do, we all do, you know? We all deserve better, and they’re like, well, you just can’t handle your bar.

In response, Jennifer relayed an incident happened while she was working in a Bremerton bar, when a customer took a picture up her skirt with his camera-phone without her knowledge when she was serving on the floor. When she caught him in the act, he tried to make it better by tipping her a \$20 bill. She remembers the offender as a yard worker as well, but maybe as a temporary contract worker from out of state, because he was not very familiar to her. When she called the police he left, and the regulars that followed him out of the building didn’t find him. She said that he left the \$20 bill on the table, and she left it there for a bit of time before collecting it, because she had been very offended by his behavior. As with the workers in the earlier narrative who had perhaps symbolically assigned a value to their dignity, this worker made a choice out of economic necessity. However, this is not to say that this worker did not maintain agency and dignity during and after this incident.

Local Vice In-group Culture

Agency and Autonomy in Vice Labor

To acknowledge the complicated dialectic of exchange for sexualized and emotional labor in which patrons assume levels of ownership of the worker is not to say that workers are completely unwilling partners in this exchange.²⁴ Interview participants and informants indicate the importance of cultivating business relationships by grooming preferred clients for exchanges that reap the greatest gifted compensation, while protecting the delicate balance of behaviors to gain the greatest reward while protecting the physical and emotional security of the worker.

Cultivating Clients.

Anna. [A bartender] told me, years ago, never sleep with them, because once you do, they won't do stuff for you, which is true. If you keep them thinking there's a 2 percent chance, then they'll change kegs for you, or bodyguard, or get ice, or stick around when you close, so you don't get robbed or worse.

Of course, you know, when you're working, you do your best not to disclose it (if you are already in a relationship) because if you do, your till and tips will get cut in half, for real.

There was this balance, where, with the guys, usually the squids,²⁵ who would play along, you'd not really disclose it, and they were happy to be your pretend in-their-

²⁴ However, it should be remembered that the exchange operates within an inherent power inequality of domination and subordination; therefore, it cannot be fully assumed that this unequal power dynamic is the desired outcome of the laborer, or the result of a choice made freely outside the influence of financial necessity.

²⁵ Young, low pay-grade sailors

mind-maybe-boyfriend. And these guys were great too, if other customers got out of hand, they'd be like your impromptu bouncers, all chivalrous.

Those ones were great, they knew the game, they'd make sure that they'd come to your bar when it was your shift, and they'd bring their friends, making your shift the one where they'd drop their money. They knew that you did this job for the money they brought, and if they liked you, you were in.

Locally, in exchange for their business loyalty, “golden”²⁶ customers could receive preferential treatment including liberal pouring and complimentary drinks, leniency in over-serving, extra attention of an emotional or sexualized nature, free cabs or rides home, service after last call, “to go”²⁷ cups, and even afterhours pours for select patrons.²⁸

Workers recount scouting or catering to golden customers in the hopes of making them “regulars”, who will be depended upon to frequent their establishment often. One target group is contract shipyard workers, temporarily stationed in Bremerton condominium housing with liberal per diem compensation, while their families and domestic partners remain in their home cities. Another example of desirable groups to recruit are divisions of sailors from aircraft carriers who are young enough to typically have few monthly expenses and no alcohol-related driving offenses. The emotional availability, elevated social status, and substantial discretionary monies of these cultivated patrons is what makes them desirable for recruitment. If they were successfully recruited to a particular establishment or worker, both of these example groups

²⁶ A name given by a co-worker to contract workers from King's Bay Georgia shipyards (personal communication, 2007)

²⁷ Disposable plastic drink glasses

²⁸ Bending or breaking of state liquor laws was encouraged by owners/managers for golden patrons.

could be relied upon to substantially increase a worker's income and a bar's profits during their temporary residency in the city.

Anna. [When I worked] at [a bar] I had a couple of those, really devoted, sweet groups.

One was actually a contractor group, about 15 guys, 25 to 45 years old, who would come in at 1 AM when they got off work and drink right up 'til 2.²⁹ They'd all tip \$10 to \$20 on their cards and cash too, buy obscene amounts of top shelf, and each would have three or four beers, so the boss was happy, too. And all in under one hour. Those guys would bring in about a third of the entire day's till in that one hour.

They got special treatment. The owner wanted these guys to make [that bar] their home bar when they were in town, so he told us to serve them right up until two o'clock, not last call at 1:45 bar time, which was also 10 or 15 minutes fast.

They were all physically respectful, and protective even, and very generous. Plus they had per diem falling out of their pockets, and they were simultaneously partying it up with the boys while they were missing their loved ones from back home, so it was a perfect match.

Some of the girls liked to cater to the older retired Navy officers or career Yard workers, but I couldn't stomach the expectation of fawning delight at their sexist or lewd jokes.

But I always liked the squids, at that bar. They were just basically teenage boys: pretty polite, and not so sexist. Seriously, a lot of the time, they'd come in, sit at the bar, buy 2 drinks, and then tip \$10 or \$20.

²⁹ State law prohibits sale of liquor between the hours of 2 a.m. and 6 a.m.

Social In-group Culture

During our interview, I ask Amanda about the local after-hours speak-easy that catered to vice workers and that was in operation between 2000 and 2010. This establishment, open Monday through Saturday from 2:30 a.m. to 6 a.m. was a gathering center for an informal support network for bartenders, musicians, erotic dancers, and their guests:

Amanda. Oh, I forgot about that! Oh my gosh; that place was fun. Our dirty little secret – more-so than you would've thought. It wasn't [secret] in our little world, you know, but nobody else really knew about it. It's like that place was made specifically for us. A [name of a bar] crew. There were some tricklers, but that was awesome, that was fun. I love, love, loved it. There was great music, and smoke, and drink and I had a really good time. I wasn't nervous about anything. I liked the place so much. Well, I wish there was an underground spot like that again, though, I wish somebody would do something like that again...

Amanda reveals the importance of a place for vice laborers to socialize in a relatively safe atmosphere, where they weren't second-class citizens. However, some of the sexualized labor expectations and structure still applied:

Amanda. [The owner of the speak-easy] told me I had to bring three girls [with me] for every dude, something like that, the girl ratio... I'm like, are you kidding me? All of my customers are guys. Do you want money or not?

I mean, I can't do that, I only have three girls all night long. It's fucking [the name of bar where she worked] come on now. It's a dude's local hangout, and it's chill, and it's comfy, so it's not like I'm bringing riff-raff. Well, [a regular customer]. Once in a while,

remember him? Sometimes drama just follows him, so...I know he fought there, once or twice, I remember him pulling [the speak-easy owner's] hair, or something like that. I know, awesome.

Here again, Amanda notes the economic importance of having females present to attract men who will then spend money in an establishment, even within the in-group social circles. She also describes violent acts in a matter-of-fact way that reveals the normalization of violence.

Anna. At [a particular bar], the owner would let us girls who worked on nights have a shifter³⁰ after the bar was closed, and we could sit at this one table in the back by the kitchen and have a smoke, even after the indoor smoking laws changed, but it was legit as far as what he allowed. We'd just put our drinks in a to-go cup, and put a little water in a to-go cup for the ashtray.

There was one thing I liked about [...], before I worked there. Back before, I knew that I could go there as a female customer to hang out and listen to the bands, because they always had live bands, and if some creep groped me, the bartender would do something about it. A lot of places weren't like that.

And [the owner's] reputation was that he took care of his girls, and he had, I think, the hottest and most highly skilled bartenders, too. He definitely recruited a 'type'. This was back when there were always 2 or 3 aircraft carriers home ported in Bremerton, so there was a lot of business.

Upon reflection, my word choice in the preceding passage reveals, perhaps, linguistic symbology equating local vice work to prostitution, in how its vice work is described and

³⁰ A customary complimentary drink from the employer to the employee at the end of one's shift.

contextualized by the community. When I describe the owner's reputation as an owner who "takes care of his girls", and one who has the hottest bartenders, there is little difference between this appraisal, and an appraisal one might give to a pimp, albeit a benevolent one, and his stable of sex workers.

This comparison between bar owners and pimps can also be extended to the example in Amanda's earlier narrative, when she listed the violent attacks on female vice workers in 2006. The vice worker, whose face was scarred by burglars, was relegated to the kitchen by her employer, because her appearance was "bad for business" (p. 74). Although less benevolent, that employer understood just as well as the other the importance and financial value of the normative sexual attractiveness of his employees as key to his business income.

Changes in Government Policies and Vice Economy

In the following narrative passages, vice workers describe how changes in government policies and the larger national economic decline in the 2000s preceding the Great Recession of 2008 profoundly affected the local vice economy, and the personal economies of these participants. In addition to the coincidence with the economic recession, participants in this study were transitioning into the latter stages of their careers in the vice economy. In the section *Leaving vice work*, workers describe the social and economic changes their transitions bring. These narratives are presented with minimal analysis, as the introspection of the participants eloquently frames their words.

Jennifer. [The 2005 indoor smoking ban] killed [the vice industry], it killed it.

And people say, oh that's bullshit, but that really killed [name of bar], it killed it. I used to go there before I worked there, and it would be slammed, like you couldn't even get

in the door slammed, and you would never imagine that at [that size of a bar], no way. But people from any genre, people playing music would be hanging out, or shipyard workers at nighttime would be hanging out, and with our live music, they would have rap here and there, so it would bring in just a whole different crowd, and it was packed.

I remember there would be three bartenders, and a cook. And [the owner would work behind the bar]. Well, it was two, and a bar-back, literally someone just filling things, usually a dude, filling ice, the good shit, when you're bartending. So slowly, it died down with the economy, but when that smoking thing...it really changed a lot.

[Another bar]: it really hurt them really bad, and now they're shut down, but they sucked anyways. It was partially the owners. You got all these older people running businesses that aren't willing to learn – she literally did nothing by computer...They'd pay you in cash... She would *write out* a W-2.³¹ Amanda dealt with it for years, 'cause her shit was just all fucked up. She ended up having to pay taxes. How do you when you don't make shit? She worked espresso, there was also an espresso stand that they owned. She ended up owing at the end of the year, which is never supposed to happen.

Amanda. Each bar, each place has their different kinds of people:

At [a previous bar], I would have your locals and, you know, they don't want military in there, they're all blue collar, grew up [in town], walk down to the bar 'cause they live down the street.

And then [another bar] was all hip hop, and young kids trying to hook up and do drugs

³¹ Federal income tax earnings report

in the bathroom, so each one has their difference. That was one of the few places that had bouncers, though, but I needed it. It was so big. I really did need it.

I think the bars were super busy until the smoking ban [in 2005], and then as soon as the smoking ban everything was literally cut in half. I don't think anywhere – other than some places – get super busy for a little while for their gimmick. They all fizzle out. But when smoking was allowed, they were all busy, all the time, you could go anywhere and it was busy. But then after the smoking ban, it was just private clubs and the casino,³² so everybody started going there. Unless they wanted to hook up, they would go find a [name of bar] kind of night, or at [name of bar] they would have a club kind of night. So we took a hit, and I don't think it has ever really recovered.

At one point in my interview with Marcus, I listed off several once thriving bars that were now closed:

Anna. There was the Pourhouse, the old one, and then the “new” Pourhouse, that's gone now too, that was Blue Jackets, and Red Rooster, it's closed down. Brewski's is still closed, and the Ponderay / Chet's Place / El Camino is for sale, [their] business seems pretty slim, they hardly have anybody in there. The Panda's been empty and for sale, Brother Don's, I heard he wants to sell, Horse and Cow is gone, I heard, but they have a new one at the old Melody Lanes, then the Night Shift, that's still closed. Romeo's is called something else now, but I think they are

³² Casinos, legal on Native Nations' land in Washington State are not legally bound to Washington State's indoor tobacco smoking ban.

open. JA Michaels, O'Gallagher's they were big, and they're just, completely gone. And there was that big one, the Sandpiper?

Marcus. Nope, the Sandpiper got tore down, and rebuilt. Now it's a restaurant, but it's all revamped. It was a different economy 20 years ago, too. [Bar owners say] I can't pay no band more than \$300 or \$350. The bars are getting crappy now. You know, we're [performing musicians] standing up, going \$400 minimum, we can't do anything less, we prefer five.

But you know, it doesn't happen a lot of the time, most places just can't afford it. If they had the business and the clientele, they'd be happy to pay, but it's just not there. It's a different time, I think.

They're interested in seeing asses in the seats, and beers being sold. That's what they're interested in. They could care less if the bar brought it in, or a naked chick brought it in, or whatever prompted the people to come in. That's all they care about, as long as it's legal, you know, yeah, they don't care.

Leaving Vice Work

Amanda. It's all kind of a blur to me now, at this point, it really is. It's one, long, night. It just really feels like one really long night, with different people coming and going, at this point...

Marcus. In my situation, I'm only gonna be able to do this probably another ten or fifteen years, either before I'm deaf or I can't do it no more. If I ever get the chance to slow down on the electric and pick up [the acoustic guitar], and woodshed for a year or so, then I think I could put together a two-hour little dinner set thing. My ears could be

ok... you know if I could just find one or two coffee shops, I could make \$200 or \$300 bucks a week, right, which is better than I'm doing now, so...

Jennifer. You can't bartend forever. I mean, you can, but what's it gonna do? Oh man! I don't wanna be that 45-year-old trying to be 21. You know, and I see that, too, I've thought for others, 'cause I knew I'd never stay in the bar forever. But Amanda, she really likes it, and I thought, well, you can just own a bar, and the shitty thing is, she would be actually good at doing the bar shit.

I keep saying why don't you buy [a closed bar], but they won't do it, she doesn't wanna do it, she doesn't wanna make that leap. And I get it, though. Part of me thinks she should, 'cause you aren't getting any younger, and if you're gonna bartend you might as well be a bar owner if you wanna be in that same industry.

I will not let [Amanda] turn into [...]. I was like, you can't, please. [...] wore Saran-wrap one year for a Halloween costume and got up on the bar. She used to have her staff wear certain outfits, and if you didn't wear it, it was part of the job, you'd have to agree to it.

Anna. *[A male bartender and bouncer] told me he was working for them, and they had schoolgirl outfit night, where the bartenders dress in sexy schoolgirl costumes and customers spank the bartenders for a dollar. His friend's daughter was bartending there, and he was like, you can't do this.*

Jennifer. It's so wrong, I can't even touch it!

She [offered me a job] and I was like, yeah right. There's no way I would ever work for her. But yeah, there's a place for everything; well, I don't know, I don't like to say that

either, sometimes I think who gives a fuck what you're doing. Just for me, in general, I wouldn't want [Amanda] to end up like that.

I do think if you're gonna be - - - I don't think the jobs are very...

I don't think they're flowing out for to do maybe what they want...you can get one, but it isn't gonna be something that you really enjoy and want to do all the time.

It seems like the only chance for success, is to do something on your own, and start some sort of business. Because if not, you're just working for whoever, but the opportunity doesn't seem so here at the moment.

You know, I thought, I got my business degree, what am I gonna do with that? It's only an Associates, too. I'm glad for it, but it's just an Associates and nowadays you really do need more. I would feel way better having more education in business before opening a business. It's not like I feel like I can run out and open a business right now with an Associates. I think I'd do alright, but I just don't think that I would have so much backing behind me, that I would need to open up here. Because it's hard here! People open and shut all the time, depending on where you're at.

I asked Amanda why she came back to bartending, after about five years' absence:

Amanda. [A bar owner] was like, "I'm looking for a bartender. Do you know one?" And I was, "Yeah, I'm ready. I'm gonna get back into it."

She hired me on the spot. She [said], I've been trying to get you for a minute, and I said, I'm yours. I will not wear weird shit – 'cause she'd been having the girls wear weird costumes and stuff, and I will not do that. I'm old. I cannot do that; these girls are twenty-something.

Anna. Where else in Bremerton is a woman going to make any kind of decent money? But once you do it, just try to take your résumé to an office job, or someplace administrative like the city. They don't even give you a chance. You know, at a bar, you have huge responsibility, and a fast-paced environment, and all kinds of people and personalities, not to mention you're navigating people who are intoxicated and more unpredictable than they would be in other environments, so you have to adapt quickly and literally think on your feet.

As a bartender you're responsible for all the inventory, and the cash drop, and the safety of all your customers, even after they leave your bar, and the liquor board makes you the enforcer or regulator for all their rules. You have to have a license to serve, you have to be a psychologist, a cop, a counselor, and entertainer, a hostess, a bodyguard for your female customers, and a surrogate wife/girlfriend/whatever for the tips. But all these skills aren't appreciated or understood when you try to work someplace else. They treat you like a shady, untrustworthy, alcoholic slut, basically. That's the assumption.

In the second tier of the three-part model of analysis used throughout this thesis, the relationally opposed gendered-labor social class structure is a foundation for the allocation of social citizenship in Bremerton, where the archetypical Western gender ideals are reified, reinforced, and compounded by the patriarchal militarized hegemonic models established in the city's social order. In this chapter, I explored how gendered and sexualized vice laborers operated in a context of normalized violence and subjugation to the dominant militarized and federally aligned class as an assumption of the daily worked experience. Importantly, the scholarly literature and local examples demonstrated similarities of experience between local vice workers and vice workers in foreign militarily occupied communities, specifically: the

levels of normalized violence, sexualization of labor, and the participation of local workers as a means of survival; but also, too, the conditional colonial service-membership that frames their sexualized labor as a patriotic service to the militarized state.



Images 14 and 15. Charleston's Callow Avenue, near the Farragut and Naval Base gates. On this block are several tattoo parlors, adult bookstores, an adult theatre, a pawn shop, barber shops, a live music venue, restaurants, and a uniform shop. (© Anna K Fern, 2015)

CHAPTER 4: Ownership of Place

Throughout previous chapters of this thesis, I demonstrated through a three-part analytical model how the militaristic colonial beginning and perpetuation of Bremerton's political, economic and social system maintain a two-class domestic colonial dialectic of a dominant governmentally aligned group, and a subordinate service group. The third tier of the three-part analytical framework looks at the allocation of social citizenship through disparate ownership of space and belonging.

In Bremerton, city government practices favor residents and workers recognized as belonging to the federally aligned dominant class in how the city allocates funding for the use of public spaces and renewal projects. Because of this, residents who are viewed as belonging outside of this group are excluded in implicit and explicit ways from enjoying the tenets of full legal, civil, and social membership of the militarily or federally aligned dominant class. Ways this exclusion operates are through symbolic representation in language and images, the application of gender and class norms, and rules regulating the allocation of power and resources, as outlined in the analytical framework for this thesis.

This chapter will focus on the allocation of power and resources in public and private space, focusing on the downtown residential and business districts, where the city has focused a rejuvenation plan, and on the dispersal of the appearance of poverty, focused on Bremerton's most visible low-income housing area, where the public housing project known as Westpark was recently replaced by the new BayVista mixed-income housing development.

“Citizenship has been used to draw boundaries between those who are included as members of a community and entitled to respect, protection, and rights and those who are

excluded and thus not entitled to recognition and rights” (Glenn, 2002, p. 1). While it is useful to keep in mind the tenets of legal and civil citizenship as they apply to this chapter, its focus is on social citizenship and place attachment literature as it applies to housing, neighborhoods, and community belonging. Specifically, this literature relates to social citizenship and belonging within geographic places in Bremerton, as well as how social agency for residents of the community shows attachment and belonging corresponding to power and safety.

The integrated framework model introduced by Glenn (2002, p. 12) that informed the tri-partite model of analysis for this thesis is a useful framing tool for this chapter. Glenn’s integrated framework is based on the social processes by which individual-, representational-, and structural-level race and gender hierarchy occurs, but can be adapted to Bremerton’s system of social hierarchical ordering as:

Representation – the deployment of symbols, language, and images to express and convey [class divisional] meanings;

Micro-interaction – the application of norms, etiquette, and spatial rules to orchestrate interaction within and across [class] boundaries; and

Social structure – rules regulating the allocation of power and resources along [class] lines (Glenn, p. 12).

As Glenn points out, hierarchical class markers, such as race, gender, and in this case, colonial military affiliation are “relational concepts whose construction involves representation and material relations and in which power is a constitutive element” (p. 13). Importantly, in agreement with the feminist and convivial research methods of this thesis, Glenn adds that recognizing these markers of hierarchy is necessary for analyzing inequality with an emancipatory or evolutionary intent.

Organization of Chapter

The first part of this chapter focuses on exploring the class and gender norms of Bremerton, including accepted social etiquette and spatial rules that govern interaction and use of physical and social space, both public and private, on a personal or micro-interaction level. This is accomplished through the use of participant narratives and analysis, and examines the experiences of members of the non-dominant class. The second part of this chapter focuses on the physical and political structuring of public and private space, both through the use of symbols, language, and images to enforce and reinforce the allocation of power and resources, as well as the dominant narrative of who belongs in this city.

To begin this chapter with the section *Social Citizenship*, I introduce literature on place attachment and belonging to examine participant narratives related to legal and social citizenship to demonstrate how aspects of the use of public space contribute to a sense of belonging in the Bremerton community. Specifically, many participants spoke about negative experiences with local police, demonstrating a systemic belief within the city government that residents who are not protected by membership in the dominant class are suspect, open to abuses, and their safety or peace are not seen as a serious consideration by the government affiliated class. These narratives help to illustrate how the domestic colony is divided between a militarized privileged class and a subordinate service class, who lives outside the protection of government agencies, as a direct reflection of which residents retain full social citizenship.

Secondly, I investigate the city's practice of exclusion of the renter class from practical civil citizenship in the section *Bremerton's Military Industry and the Allocation of Space*. For service class residents who are employed outside of government service, and who live in the predominantly renter districts of the study area, there is little or no recourse for residents to

make their housing and infrastructure concerns heard and applied, as their homes are not their own, they do not directly pay levees, bonds, or taxes to the city for infrastructure or school improvement or maintenance.

To illustrate the exclusion of the renter class from civil citizenship, this section examines the legal processes the city used to essentially condemn the downtown residential and business districts as blight zones to gain renewal funding. The city then applied the funds selectively to improve open areas, shopping districts, infrastructure, and vistas used by the federally affiliated class, at the expense of the downtown residential district – largely occupied by residents outside of the dominant class – that remains untouched and unregulated.

Place Making and Belonging follows to include comparative quantitative data and analysis for the downtown residential neighborhoods within and surrounding Bremerton’s designated blight zone. I examine resident data on a block-by-block basis including: home ownership or renter status, household and per capita income and incidence of federally recognized poverty, veteran status, military affiliation and federal employment. The data shows high incidence of poverty within the analyzed districts, in spite of Bremerton and Kitsap County’s relatively low levels of poverty compared to surrounding counties and Washington State levels. There is a high incidence of veteran status coupled with very low levels of federal employment within areas of widespread poverty, despite hiring preferences given to veterans in government jobs. These comparisons, and the narratives of veteran participants in this thesis, help show that many veterans, after their service to the militarized domestic colonial system may find their conditional membership in the dominant class has expired.

Finally, *Public Housing and Market Rate Rentals* examines contrasts between the city’s ambivalence toward the service class residential neighborhoods whose residents live largely

“unseen”, in districts not widely travelled by the dominant class, compared with the city’s proudly demonstrated efforts in the highly visible BayVista public housing projects and surrounding business districts. I investigate literature, city planning documents and public media comments to reveal possible reasons for the disparity of government action between two city districts that house residents of similar economic and social standing: one that is situated on land that is out of sight from government affiliates, which the city plans to gentrify, and one that, located in plain view, merited improvements because of its offensively visible poverty. This comparison between downtown blight zone districts and the BayVista complex illustrate both dominant class discomfort with proximity to visible poverty, and the ease with which out-of-view poverty and civic neglect can be dismissed.

Social Citizenship

The levels of citizenship described by T. H. Marshall (2009/1950) are the framework Glenn (2002) applies to her studies of race, class and gender in the United States. Glenn explains social citizenship as the third of three levels of cumulative citizenship necessary for equality in a society. These three points are the lens through which I examine the use of public space and belonging in Bremerton. Some level of economic welfare and security, the right to share the social heritage, and the right to live as a civilized being according to a society’s standards (Marshall, 2009/1950) are the metric I use to show that the colonized class of residents are excluded by the city and federal partnership.

Place Attachment

Place attachment theory is an area of scholarship within the environmental psychology sub-discipline aligned with social citizenship, in that it seeks to understand social phenomena related

to feelings of attachment, or the right to belong, much like Marshall's call for "the right to share in the full of the social heritage and to live the life of a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in the society" (2009/1950). Similarly, literature on social and political belonging and at-homeness seeks to explain what contributes to a sense of belonging in a home, neighborhood or community for some people and not for others (Brown, Perkins, & Brown, 2002, 2004; Burchfield, 2009; Carlson, Haveman, Kaplan, & Wolfe, 2012; Carson, Chappel, & Dujela, 2010; Comstock, Dickinson, Marshall, Soobader, Turbin, Buchenau, & Litt, 2010; Florek, 2010; Holian, 2011; Lewicka, 2005; Morgan, 2009; Reinders & Van Der Land, 2008; Weinberg & Atkinson, 1979; Windsong, 2010).

Writings from environmental psychology inform specific queries within place attachment theory, including: term of residency, social standing within the community, perceived incivilities, and especially, the socially constructed division between homeowner and renter. Closely related to place attachment studies, several writings on belonging and home provide great insight into what is at the heart of this thesis: what combines to make that physical, emotional, and temporal place we call home, and how people who reside outside the bounds of the dominant class negotiate a place within the community.

Burchfield's (2009) assessment of neighborhood attachment reveals that bias against low-income residents manifests in perceived incivilities by higher income residents, based on low-income residents' renter status as temporal or transient in the community. In Carson, Chappell, & Dujela's revealing publication, "Power dynamics and perceptions of neighbourhood attachment and involvement" (2010), home-owner class prejudice is critical in maintaining suppressive bias against renters in communities. Their extended interviews and surveys found that individuals who belonged to the community's dominant class – police

officers, city planners and councilmembers, school administrators – maintained strong bias against “transient” residents, while viewing their own presence as valuable to the community. However, study participants deemed outside of the dominant class demonstrated the same levels of interest in community participation and belonging. The only discernable difference was in the perception by the dominant class participants.

Carson et al.’s (2010) research supports findings of this thesis’ narratives; dominant class members do not merely lead a community from positions of power, they can also exclude other residents from gaining civil or social membership, reinforcing lack of legal or social control over ownership of space, public and private. The ownership of space – legal, civil, and social – for residents of Bremerton is a condition of membership or alliance with the dominant class.

Police and Community

Geographer Marco Antonsich (2010) discusses physically-located belonging as a separate concept from cultural and sociopolitical belonging. According to Antonsich, physically-located belonging is an internalized process or experience, while sociopolitical belonging is a dialectic exchange between one who asserts their right to belong and one who has the power to grant that right.

However, the investigation of Bremerton’s domestic colony system indicates that internalized physically-located belonging and cultural and sociopolitical belonging are intersectional – a socially constructed dialectic – and cannot be fully understood as separate phenomena. Leeke Reinders and Marco Van Der Land (2008) argue for a paradigmatic shift in how neighborhoods and communities are understood, not only as geographic spaces, but places that are socially constructed by an area’s political economy: “Home is as much about how we

belong to a place, as it is about how we legitimate practices, about ideology and power.” (p. 5). These arguments can be understood to mean that belonging to a place for some, but not for others, results from hegemonic structures: how a society’s participants, through willingness or coercion, agree how power is distributed and how rules are enforced.

In an example of an enforcement entity aligned with the colonial government that does not serve the local residents, vice labor participants described experiences with local police: both in the workplace and in the home. A common theme in these narratives was that the police did not offer protection for these residents when they asked for help, and seldom took requests for help from residents seriously. The following three narratives illustrate the participants’ recognition of a dialectic of distrust and disregard between residents – while at work in vice labor – and the local police.

Amanda. [If the police are called to your bar] then they watch you, thinking you can’t handle yourself, so, and you don’t want them to watch you because it’s hard to control everybody, so you know that somebody’s going to mess up, and you’re just hoping that nobody sees it when it happens. ‘Cause you just don’t want to be responsible [if someone gets in an accident], that’s our worst nightmare, every bartender’s worst nightmare, you just don’t want the cops called... You gotta be careful.

Anna. *One night, these two guys come in and they’re drinking from their own beers. You know, open container.³³ I told them I couldn’t serve them. And then he starts screaming at me just every nasty name you can think of, just really hateful. I tell them that if they don’t leave, I will call the police. So I come around the bar, and I’m*

³³ In Washington State, it is illegal to enter a licensed establishment with an open alcoholic beverage, and also illegal to serve someone who is in non-compliance with liquor laws.

escorting them out. The [police] dispatch is telling me to get the license plate, and the one guy gets back out of his car, and he's got this beer bottle raised and he charges at me like he's going to bash me in the head with his beer bottle, and I had to push him off me.

It took the cops almost 45 minutes to show up. Eventually the county deputies showed; they said it was because [the bar] was in Navy Yard City,³⁴ and that's considered county. So they said they took the license plate number and the car belonged to the guy's mother, and he fit the description that I gave them. But then since it was all over they said they couldn't really do anything.

Jennifer. When I worked at [a bar], [the police] thought I was fucking crazy. [My boyfriend] was with me. I closed down the bar, and they had a hole [in the wall] in the very back [of the kitchen]. ... so you used to be able to see all down this thing, and they had a hole in the wall that led out to the parking lot behind the place. It used to be a fan in there, but it was a long drop [to the ground].

But one night I close up, and I hear a little something and there's this face looking at me. I said, [...] CALL THE COPS! So he calls the cops, the cops show up, they don't find nothing.

So [the police] didn't stick around, they didn't wait to see if I even needed a ride, or if we needed a ride. They weren't very friendly. And then I hear something [again]...

So anyways, again I call the cops...But they didn't see anything again so I finally asked them if they'll stick around, I'm gonna shut down, the cab will be here soon, will you

³⁴ A residential neighborhood of Bremerton abutting city limits, but outside of local police jurisdiction; see Map 1, p. xiv.

just stick around?

Didn't stick around. Even when I asked, "Because my boyfriend was with me."

Well, if someone's trying to rob the joint...well, anyways, we get home, we get the call the next morning. The place was robbed.

In the first of these three narratives, Amanda relays that as a vice worker she is viewed with distrust by law enforcement. She feels at once responsible for the safety and actions of others, and powerless to control their choices and actions, all while knowing that she is surveilled. In the second narrative, I relay an incident where I too bore responsibility for state liquor laws, the safety and comfort of others, and my own physical safety. Importantly, although I fulfilled my legal and moral obligations, and the instructions of law enforcement, the police did not protect me in a dangerous situation, when it was within their power to do so. In the third narrative, Jennifer shows the police officers' active disregard for physical safety and the property for which she was responsible. In addition, the officers actively trivialized her concerns by reasoning that because her boyfriend was with her, she had no need for their assistance. By deeming her under the protection of her partner, they simultaneously sexualized and trivialized her as a woman and vice worker, and transferred her guardianship from their civic protection to the private protection of her male partner.

In other narratives, female participants recall experiences with local police in relation to their homes and neighborhoods. Jennifer describes other situations she has observed involving police harassment, as well as an incident of possible wrongful arrest and conviction. She questions the motivations for their harassment, as well as their priorities in law enforcement over civilian protection.

Jennifer. Everyone always calls it Kidnap County... [This is] not the first time I've heard of some ridiculous stuff in Kitsap County. And people keep saying – this comes from all different aspects of people – Kitsap County runs off of different laws, and legit laws, it's just different from other counties, not like people are saying they're doing fishy stuff. Which kind of they are, obviously. Yeah, and why is that possible? They run off another jurisdiction? I've always wondered. So to me, on the outskirts, it seems a little creepy. It seems like if they can't find someone that did something they will make sure they find someone so they don't look dumb.

[...] just got convicted for the robbery of a store here. The woman that got robbed [told the defendant's attorney that he was not the person who robbed her].

Also, a friend of mine...is living here in town, and her nephew or her cousin was staying with her, and long story short, he's selling weed [but] she didn't know it. Cops ... raided her house, didn't find anything except for his little stuff.

She had a good amount of money, but she doesn't put it in a bank, she has a safe. They had her open the safe, and everything she had was legit, but they took her money...

[Later] they came back to her house when just her son was there, and raided again. They didn't find anything. The reason [was] they were raiding for her W-2s. They were looking for all the paperwork is what they said, yeah. They want her W-2s, all this stuff, which she can provide.

So [now] she's been staying with family out of town. She's had to get a lawyer, she's gonna have to fight for her money that she just never kept in a savings account. And she's disabled. She got hurt at work.

Her house is like [mine]. It's nothing spectacular but it's well kept. It's a house. They said, "We don't understand why you have this amount of money, and you decide to live like *this*." It was terrible, and they didn't even find anything.

In the above situation, Jennifer's friend was not only harassed by local police, while they confiscated her money in a questionable manner, carried out raids without warrant or probable cause, but they also insulted the appearance of her home, indicating that her clean and well-kept home merited their disdain and ridicule for its modesty.

In another event, Jennifer describes an incident when her partner was stopped by the police while riding his bicycle near their home:

Jennifer. They stopped [...] on our street out here, but the cop followed him from a couple of streets over, 'cause he didn't have his helmet on. [Her partner] thought, there's no way, why would a cop be following him? The [police officer] gave him a hard time, told him he could arrest him, and all this crap, [saying] that he's dumb for not putting on a helmet. Yeah, like you're blowing it up. You fucking kidding me? There's no reason to talk like that.

So, you can't catch a serial killer that was just four houses down, but you're gonna give [...] a bad time for no helmet.

This narrative relates Jennifer's anger over both the sense of superiority and abuse of power police display toward residents they assume are not affiliated with the dominant group.³⁵ Additionally, Jennifer refers to a serial killer. In 2013, one attempted murder and two unsolved murders in Bremerton included that of a woman who lived on the same block as Jennifer, who

³⁵ As with the male participants in this thesis, Jennifer's partner is a Naval veteran.

was stabbed to death in her home (KING-5 News, 2013). Her remarks suggest residents feel a lack of police regard for the lives and feelings of safety within their homes and neighborhoods, and show her awareness of the lack of concern from police, and her resentment of police lack of accountability.

When our interview turned to stories about Bremerton police, I told Jennifer about an incident in 2013 when I called for police assistance when someone tried to enter my house at 3 a.m., when I was home alone. As with Jennifer's experience, when her workplace was robbed, my narrative shows a sense of superiority police demonstrate over residents they view as morally inferior, related to gendered sexualization:

Anna. When they got there, one of them said, are you sure you didn't invite someone over and forget about it?

I said, "What? What do you mean?"

He said, "Did you just invite someone over and you may have forgotten that you did that?" ...and he said, "well, I don't see any footprints..." looking down at the sidewalk. I'm thinking, there's no snow! It hasn't rained! They were both looking at me like I was a floozy that forgets she invited over some guy she met in the bar.

Jennifer. Yeah, you "invited someone over," what, are you calling me a whore?

Anna. Exactly! That's exactly what I thought ... I said, do you hear those dogs all barking, four houses over? Those dogs never, ever bark. The person's probably over there! And they weren't at all interested in investigating.

In these preceding narratives, the police, as dominant colonial group-aligned authority figures are the first line of enforcement of the domestic hegemonic paradigm. The actions of the

police officers in these stories show a pattern of disregard for the safety of service-class residents, in their homes and at work, and a lack of credibility of the seriousness of residents' concerns. These serve as examples of exclusion from the civil and social citizenship of the subordinate-class residents by the enforcers of the dominant class.

Bremerton's Military Industry and Allocation of Space

This section looks at how Bremerton's governmental alliance with the military manufacturing industry shaped the socioeconomic and geographic development of the city and its downtown districts, and as a result, how residents who, for the most part, rent their homes and live in service to the dominant class are excluded from participation in civic and social membership in the larger community.

Following WWII, the population of Bremerton shrank to 35,000, the Cold War continued to fuel the local economy, and downtown was a bustling center of commerce. It remained so until the 1970s, when the department stores that had anchored the business community for decades pulled up stakes and migrated to the new Kitsap Mall in neighboring Silverdale.

A reason that may have held sway over the decision for the business district move were changes in military strategy and spending. The US Navy chose a munitions depot a few miles north of Bremerton's neighboring city of Silverdale for expansion, and in 1977 the site became Submarine Base Bangor, sole port for the entire Pacific fleet of Ohio Class nuclear-powered submarines (Department of Defense, 2014).

Since the 1970s, fewer residents of the city of Bremerton are represented in the local federal workforce, as federal workers relocated to the outlying areas of Kitsap County and

communities in neighboring counties. When combined with the mass exodus of downtown anchor businesses to Kitsap Mall in neighboring Silverdale, these changes forced a dramatic shift in the local economy. Today, the majority of family-wage skilled jobs are performed by shipyard workers who live in and commute from nearby towns, or unincorporated Kitsap County, or are temporary contractors who make their permanent homes near the Norfolk, Virginia, Groton, Connecticut, and Kings Bay, Georgia Naval yards.

The shift in where shipyard employees reside can be correlated to where the city chooses to invest in civic improvements: the roadways leading from outside the city to the downtown core, the business district adjacent to the Shipyard, and the local areas visible to commuting federal workers.

Bremerton City Renewal Projects

A section on the city's selective urban renewal projects is included here to show ways in which city government prioritizes improvements of areas used by federal workers over areas used by residents within designated urban blight zones. These choices made by city leaders re-inforce whom within the population is deemed important to the city, who is worthy of investment, and who can assume ownership in public space: in short, who enjoys social citizenship.

By the early 2000s, Bremerton's plans for self-reinvention as a clean, respectable, world-class downtown were underway. Over the next fifteen years, numerous projects that bordered the main arterials of traffic travelled by federal workers saw focused investment by the city's downtown district adjoining the new state ferry terminal: a convention center, a high-rise luxury condominium complex, an extensive military-industry-themed park,³⁶ a new tunnel for

³⁶ PSNS Memorial Plaza was completed in 2009, at a reported cost of US\$20 Million (Farley, 2015b).

ferry traffic along the new shipyard anti-terrorism fence, brick sidewalks, ornamental street plantings along widened commuter routes, upgraded decorative street lamps and road signs, elaborate brick mosaic traffic circles, a new Manette bridge, and even a boardwalk project that stalled when it was reported that it would be built atop a new city sewer main across Suquamish tribal tidelands (Josephson, Whelan, & Smith, 2007; Purser, 2008). At the same time that the traditional vice district and downtown residential areas were bypassed by the city's redevelopment push, the US Navy had forwarded its own reinvention of self with increased restrictions and punishments for vice behaviors previously tolerated or encouraged as Navy traditions (Ames, et al., 2006; Cheng, 2008; Gauchat, et al., 2011; Hegarty, 1998; Higate, 2007; Zimelis, 2009).

Gentrification. Factors of gentrification and stricter social sanctions on vice culture and those who labor in local support services are a two-fold effort to reinvent Bremerton's image, fueled by the desire to stimulate so-implied respectable business development for the planned new citizenry. The details of the first of these efforts – gentrification – follows, with descriptions of three key economic and infrastructure plans: The Bremerton Regional Comprehensive Plan (Bremerton, 2004), the Downtown Regional Sub-area Plan (Bremerton Planning Commission, 2007), and the BayVista Sub-area Plan (Bremerton, 2012b).

The City of Bremerton's Regional Comprehensive Plan (BRCP) outlines goals for implementing new prosperity under the premise that prioritizing increased beautification of the original commercial core will attract businesses to set up residence in downtown Bremerton. This combination of aesthetics and increased business presence also is presumed to attract more affluent emigrants from the greater Seattle area, thus making the city prosper once again.



Image 16. Top: The Highland Neighborhood and Manette Bridge at dusk, as seen from the Manette peninsula (© Anna K Fern, 2013).
Image 17. A series of fountains resemble a life-sized fleet of surfacing submarines, downtown Bremerton (© Anna K Fern, 2015).

However, the low-income residents currently concentrated in the downtown neighborhoods and in the public housing projects have little spending power to support such an enterprise. Additionally, the very visible symptoms of poverty presented by these districts overpower the limited aesthetic treatments made by the city, serve to reinforce the public's negative attitude that Bremerton is a failed slum, and perpetuate a defeatist attitude among many locals about the ability of the city to reinvent itself as 'the most livable city'.³⁷



Image 18. A stone and brick mosaic of a compass is featured in this intersection at the foot of a federal employee parking garage located outside of the shipyard and military base in a beautified section of the downtown core. The USA, Washington State, and US Navy flags are prominently displayed, as well as multiple signs posted on the building that read, "FEDERAL PROPERTY NO TRESPASSING" (© Anna K Fern, 2015).

The main corridors leading from the ferry to the freeway have undergone facelifts, and the BayVista public housing project, situated next to the freeway intersection is newly

³⁷ Bremerton was named *Money* magazine's Most Livable City in 1990, in the article, "The Best Places to Live Now" (Eisenberg & Smith, 1990).

completed. The locations for city beautification projects have been made where people who make home outside of the community will see these improvements more than residents of the designated blight areas will. This, along with the mission statement of the new public housing project (see pp. 149-150), led me to conclude that an important part of the city's plan for success is to disperse or dilute the visual signifiers of poverty in order to reinforce the social construct of prosperity.

City planning and priorities of public space.

Beautiful heart of downtown Bremerton.

Welcome - to your right are a bunch of old rusting shipyard buildings - just pretend they are majestic orcas - and a few blocks down this way abandoned homes that often catch fire, making for a majestic view from your hotel room near the ferry. Also, if you are an early riser and want to stroll outside the hotel - those are not zombies that begin wandering around at 5 AM - they are shipyard workers. Enjoy your stay.

Public comment following "Bremerton's Conference Center Expected to Grow" (Farley, in *Kitsap Sun*, 2013c).

Downtown Regional Sub-area Plan. The following section outlines a brief history of the Downtown Regional Sub-area Plan (DRSP). These civic plans are outlined here to show how their goals and intentions cater to the desires and aesthetics of federal workers who live outside the city, either commuting from neighboring areas, or residing temporarily in Bremerton as contract workers on temporary assignment.

The first stage of gentrification to be completed as part of the BRCP and DRSP was in the traditional downtown business district, where the Seattle to Bremerton ferry terminal is located, adjacent to the Puget Sound Naval Shipyard main gate. This was the esthetic redevelopment of Bremerton's downtown core, and in part, the Western Harbor Employment District, where federal workers commute, park, enter and exit the shipyard. This improvement district has not to date included infrastructural or cosmetic improvements to the residential district originally deemed inside the same blighted area the city designated as the focus of its renewal projects.

Marcus talks about the recent beautification projects in downtown:

Marcus. That whole revitalization thing down there is an absolute joke. I mean, it can't be making money. It can't be thriving. All the traffic problems, all the parking problems. There's nowhere to park! There's nowhere to park down there! It's a Nazi parking zoo down there. It's an off-duty cop that goes down there and works part-time [at the parking garage].

I think that downtown Bremerton has changed so much that it's hard to say what landmarks are there for me, in my mind.

His remarks reflect that the changes made to the Downtown District area are for the benefit of the government affiliated class that passes through that area, and not for the locals. The landmarks that signified his childhood mind map of Bremerton no longer exist.

Urban blight zones. The city of Bremerton sought to counter its post-industrial slum reputation when it adopted the DRSP in 2007, in which it states that it "helps resolve questions of how to responsibly increase density while laying the groundwork for a long-term,

high quality city environment,” (section 1.6). The development of the DRSP was a response to the 1985 exodus of downtown businesses to unincorporated Kitsap County left the city with empty store fronts and a dramatic drop in tax and rental revenue (Corliss, 2008; Grygiel, 2012).

From 1989 to 2007 the city passed a series of ordinances which designated districts as urban blight zones and incrementally increased these districts in size and scope until they encompassed the entire downtown residential area (Bremerton, 2004; Petersen, 2009): bordered on the north by 15th Street and east by the Port Washington Narrows, on the south by PSNS Naval station, and on the west by Warren Avenue, as shown in Map 2, (p. 137). These designations gained Bremerton access to federal Community Development Block Grants (CDBG). According to the literature, these grants can be used to “provide communities with funding to address a wide range of unique community development needs,” (Bremerton, 2012a). “City governments, small business investment companies, and local development corporations” are among those eligible to apply for and receive grants (p.1), ostensibly in the rehabilitation of the downtown region and its surrounding districts.

The DRSP divides Bremerton’s downtown blight zone areas into several sub-districts: Evergreen Park, Highland Neighborhood, Pacific Avenue Park-to-park Corridor, the Sustainability District, Warren Avenue Corridor, the Western Harbor Employment District, the Downtown Core, and the Downtown Waterfront, only one of which is strictly commercial, one is mixed use, and one is dominated by federal buildings outside of the shipyard fence.

Residential districts in the blight zone. The DRSP is a tool used by the city to reinforce which residents are the preferred citizens who fit the city’s image for a renewed Bremerton. For example, the highest concentration of single-occupancy residences that house federal workers in the downtown area is in the area called the Highland Neighborhood. This

area is adjacent to the Downtown Waterfront district, where the city invested in luxury condominiums to attract affluent residents from out of town. According to DRSP literature, the residents who were given notice of council meetings during the ratification of the plan were the Downtown Waterfront district's 400 Building, a waterfront condominium complex, and the Highland Neighborhood (Bremerton Planning Commission, 2007).

By all appearances, the other five sub-districts have not received a portion of the pedestrian-friendly infrastructure and user accessibility investment spent on the waterfront commercial district. The closest grocery store, to which the public transit system runs a limited service, is 24 blocks uphill from downtown (Kitsap Transit, 2014). Over 80 percent of residences within the downtown area are renter occupied (US Census-American Fact Finder, 2014; City-Data, 2011), and the overall structural and cosmetic neglect of the majority of these homes serves to reinforce whom the city deems worthy of investment.

The DRSP outlines key goals for each sub-district. For example, Highland Neighborhood is singled out as having “architecturally or historically significant homes which are uncommon to Bremerton.” (Section 4.39), making the district's homes eligible for historic preservation under the BRCP (Bremerton, 2004). Evergreen Park's distinctive Craftsman and Bungalow styles (Bremerton Planning Commission, 2007, section 4.4) are not given the same preference. The growth projections for the Evergreen Park area include high-density townhouse infill between existing homes.

Even so, the park district's single family homes fare better than those in the proposed Sustainability District; in the Sustainability District, the small, early 1900s homes do not appear at all on the DRSP's projection illustrations. Instead, the area is re-envisioned with six-story cubic side-by-side high occupancy apartment blocks, becoming a “model for best practices in

sustainable urban design.” (Bremerton Planning Commission, 2007, section 4.47). Presently, the proposed Sustainability District houses many low-income residents who occupy mostly single-family houses of 1000 square feet or less.

The proposed Sustainability District neighborhood also has the most vacant lots of the sub-area’s districts, framed by narrow, deteriorated slab-paved streets, some resembling alleys. Residents live on some of the lowest income rates in the city, with more than 43 percent of residents living below the federally recognized poverty line (City Data, 2015).

Another phase in DRSP renewal projects now currently underway is the development of the Pacific Avenue Park-to-park Corridor. The Pacific Avenue project runs between the Highland Neighborhood and Sustainability District, and includes wider pedestrian-friendly brick sidewalks, elevated crosswalks, and enlarged decorative entrances leading to unimproved residential streets in the downtown neighborhood.

Marcus. Here’s the reason why they’re doing that. Because somebody’s got it in the works that all those streets down below, like 8th and 9th and MacKenzie [streets] down in that area, they’re gonna rip all that out of there. They’re gonna restructure and revitalize all that.

They have to spend a certain amount of money. The money and the coffers are already full, and they’re there and ready to pull the trigger.

It allows that stuff to move further, if they say well, we have access roads; it’s right there. See, we don’t have giant bulk heads up there. Commissioners look at all that. You know the Commissioners are just pawns, they’re just manipulated by everybody you know, who knows how to play the game. You know, the [a dominant Bremerton family], the other big names in the area.

Marcus' comments indicate that, like Jennifer, he doesn't believe that residents' concerns about their neighborhoods or homes are considered by city officials. In his opinion, people who have political and financial connections with the local government control the city's plans for the future.

Place Making and Belonging

Bremerton is the epitomy [sic] of a city on welfare. And like many welfare recipients, who squander their public dole on alcohol, cigarettes, drugs and the slots at the casino, Bremerton has spent millions upon millions of county, state and federal taxes on nothing but cosmetics...

Public comment following "Bremerton Gets Grant to Connect Missing Piece Between Manette, Downtown" (Farley, in *Kitsap Sun*, 2013a).

In this next section I investigate how the city's blight zone designations, gentrification of business districts and public spaces used by the federally aligned group, and the lack of investment in the residential districts in the area, contrasted with the demolition and reconstruction of public housing visible to the dominant group all reinforce the third tenet of the tripartite analytical framework of this thesis. That tenet states that the allocation of social citizenship by the domestic colonial hierarchy sets up the disparate ownership of space and belonging in Bremerton, and manifests in city government practices that favor residents recognized as belonging the federally aligned dominant class, stigmatization and normalized violence toward the subordinate class in public spaces, and exclusion of districts peopled by subordinate class residents from the city's renewal program investment allocations. The city's priorities and plans show how the city-federal alliance takes advantage of the lack of civil and social citizenship for residents of this area to redirect federally allotted funds gained through the

blight zone designation away from improving housing and infrastructure for these areas to beautify public areas controlled by the dominant class, and to appropriate distressed districts for gentrification.

The following reviews of literature, narratives, and quantitative data suggest that, counter to prevailing beliefs that elevate home owners as inherently better citizens, and stigmatize poor and working class renters as detrimental to community building, residents who rent their homes desire a sense of belonging and membership in the community, as well as a say in how their community is changing.

Downtown Residential Housing

Brown, Perkins, and Brown (2002) reveal that contrary to accepted beliefs, long term residents of areas demonstrate strong place attachment, regardless of renter or owner status; they add that although renters whose homes lacked maintenance or necessary repairs showed low levels of attachment to their houses, these residents still asserted their belonging to the neighborhood or community. In another related article, Brown, Perkins, & Brown (2004) show that renters assert their sense of belonging, even in areas where they are blamed for perceived and actual incivilities. Similar findings are reported by Comstock et al. (2010), where overall, the length of residency in an area correlated with participants' expressed level of place attachment. Lewicka (2005) also found that duration of residency was correlated with positive place attachment, while lack of income did not correlate to lack of place attachment. Windsong's (2010) study also supports the idea that home ownership is not a synonymous measure for defining belonging or a sense of at-homeness.

Bremerton housing history. The population bubble that burst following WWII left many inexpensive homes built from the late 1800s through the 1930s vacant in the

neighborhoods surrounding the Shipyard, especially in the downtown blight zone and Navy Yard City. This low demand for housing may have contributed to the cycle of neglect and lack of upkeep in these districts. Property owners with no renters could not afford to make repairs and improvements, and those who could, chose not to, in order to avoid property tax increases (Corliss, 2008).³⁸

In the next narrative passage, in line with Bremerton's history of poorly maintained rental housing and the lack of laws in Bremerton that regulate minimum standards of habitability, Jeremy describes living in market rate rental housing in Bremerton:

Jeremy. My renter's history here in Bremerton has been all with private landlords who own more than one home and are providing the landlord managerial services themselves: not contracting to anybody.

My first experience here was pretty negative, the habitability of the unit was fairly substandard, and their willingness to invest in maintaining, or sort of, improvement I think hinged on the basic economic reality that they were not paying the utilities, and they weren't concerned about weather-proofing and how expensive the heating and what-not was...

It had just a real horrible make of it: just very bad insulation, single pane windows, and then it had a very outdated diesel oil furnace with electric controls for the heating and no other source of heat in the house. So especially when we had the winter power outages, it was unlivable in most rooms in the house: close it down to a single room, and

³⁸An additional local news article of note, "Landlords say Housing Authority Stealing their Renters" (Pritchett, 2011a) portrays some not uncommon views held by some local landlords of market-rate units who take issue with public housing's minimum standards of habitability.

somehow or another, insulate the windows...

With blankets and stuff?

[nods] it was just as cold [inside] as it was outside.

Amanda. I rent...the people upstairs are ridiculous, so that makes me angry. You know, they blamed it on the cats, and it really made me mad. And then I realized, it is the cats. You can hear them, [running across the floor] but it sounds *so loud!* It sounds like bodies in bags being drug with chains, but it really is cats.

I'm like, "How 'bout you put in some carpet, and some carpet pad? That might help."

I talked to my apartment complex [about] what to do [about the noise], and they told me to call the cops.

Residents' Economic Data from the Downtown Districts

To better understand correlations between the areas selected for Bremerton's renewal projects and civic and social membership in the community, I looked at economic data of record for residents who live in Bremerton neighborhoods. Because qualitative data showed that residents with current military or federal affiliation enjoyed increased social citizenship over residents outside of that group, I investigated the possibility of correlations between quantitative data on income level, home ownership, federal affiliation, veteran status and civic and social citizenship.

To investigate specific details of who lives in the market rate rental housing located in the downtown neighborhoods, including the designated blight zones, I collected and analyzed quantitative data on what ratio of residents were home owners or renters, how many residents were affiliated with the military industry, and which districts, if any, were areas with

concentrations of residents who were directly employed in federal service or had military affiliation, or who were living in poverty. These areas of investigation were pursued in order to see if the city government was focusing its rejuvenation investments in areas that were occupied by federally aligned residents.

The following section analyzes a sampling of quantitative data from downtown and adjacent residential neighborhoods. This data was collected from census and data mining sources (City-Data, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014; US Census-American fact finder, 2013, 2014, 2015) and assesses several categories on a block-by-block basis, including: income, unemployment and poverty levels, home ownership or renter status, age of home, number of occupants, military veteran status, and rate of federal employment. I tabulated and graphed these data for analysis, shown in the color coded tables to follow (p. 140; complete data set tables in Appendix B). Colors used in the tables correspond to the colors in Map 2 (p. 137).

The study focus area (Study Area 1) adjoins downtown Bremerton directly to the northwest, shown in blue in Map 2. The comparison neighborhoods (Study Areas 2 and 3) are shown in yellow and red. The boundaries of the three areas were loosely determined using accepted boundaries within the community. Some factors used to determine the boundaries include age of the building units, geographic features such as main thoroughfares and hills and valleys, and local suppositions about economic class, and cultural identities. The three areas represent a geographic sector of the city limits, and there are variants of income and poverty levels within each of the three areas. I tabulated data for the study areas on a block-by-block basis, labeling the blocks by the names of streets intersecting at their southwest corners (p. 140 and Appendix B).

General comparisons between the focus area, Study Area 1 (SA1, called “downtown” in tables), Study Areas 2 and 3 (SA2 and SA3), and the rest of Bremerton revealed that the standard of living in downtown neighborhoods is markedly lower than the city average, and roughly half of the county average. Interestingly, although Kitsap County’s poverty rate is markedly lower than those of surrounding Western Washington counties, within the city limits of Bremerton, the rate of residents living in poverty is the highest among the cities in those same counties (Table 1, below). In downtown Bremerton (SA1), as high as 44 percent of residents live on less money than the baseline dollar amount which the federal government sets as the poverty line.

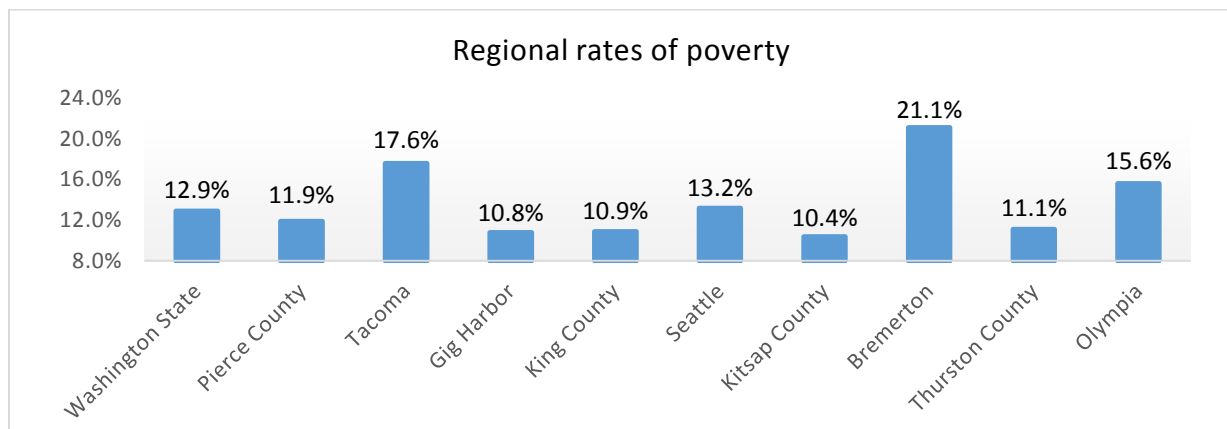
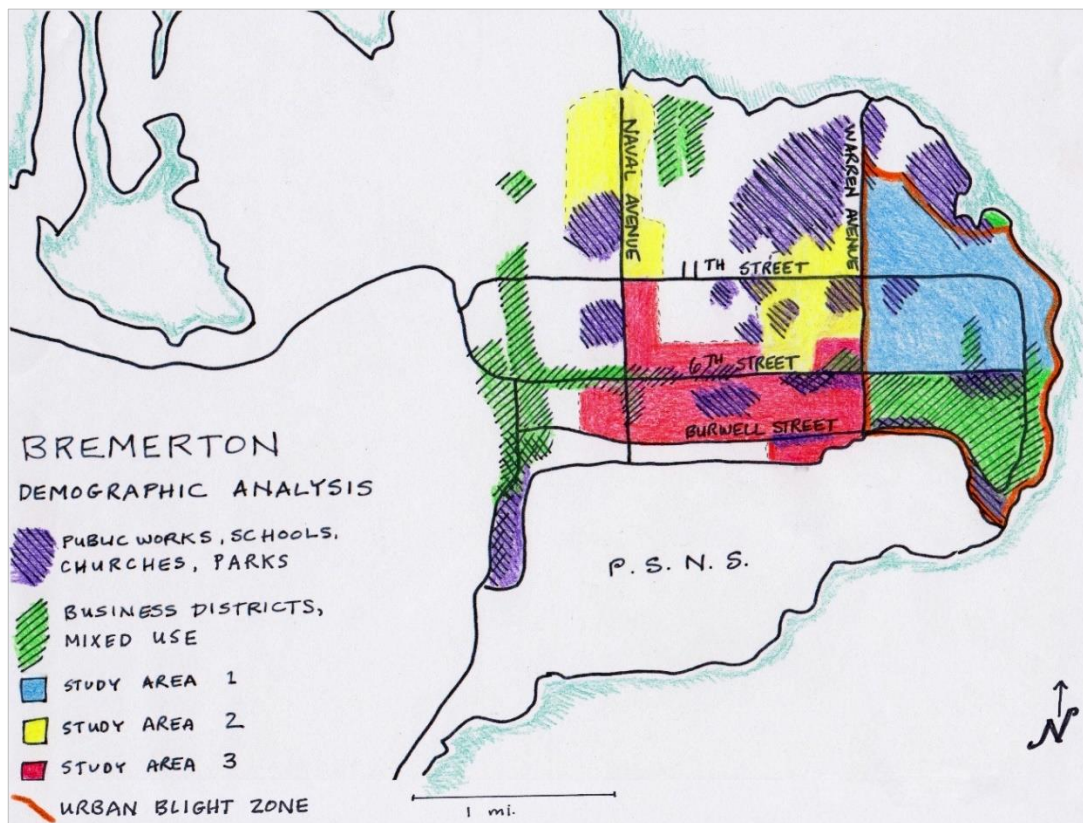


Table 1. Poverty rates for Washington, and western Washington Puget Sound region counties and their larger cities (© Anna K Fern, 2015).

Analysis. The information tabulated in the tables (p. 140) demonstrates strong correlations between the age of buildings within neighborhoods and the percentage of residents living below the poverty line;³⁹ areas with the oldest homes, built between the late 19th century and the 1930s are home to the community’s poorest residents.

³⁹ The US federal poverty line is income equaling three times the cost of a minimal survival diet for one year, as defined by the Department of Agriculture (Edelman, 2012, p. 26).

There are correlations between high poverty levels, high veteran status levels, low federal employment levels, and physical isolation of residents. Other findings supported predictable occurrences, such as high earning levels among residents who live in more desirable areas.⁴⁰ Overall, the focus area revealed substantially higher rates of poverty than the balance of Bremerton's neighborhoods, with the homes closest to the original sites of the Shipyard and Naval base showing the most extreme statistics (Table 2, p. 138).



Map 2. The Study Area 1 (SA1, shown in blue) includes neighborhoods within the declared blight zone (indicated by the orange border). Data from Study Areas 2 and 3 (SA2 and SA3, shown in yellow and red) are analyzed for comparison (© Anna K Fern, 2015).

Veteran residents. Bremerton's military veteran population is markedly more concentrated than national and regional averages. According to a recent poll, just over 12

⁴⁰ According to market variables, such as view properties, or locations in the designated historic Highland neighborhood.

percent of Pacific region and national residents are US veterans⁴¹, while the percentage of veterans living among the Bremerton population is nearly 17 percent (Gallup, 2012; US Census-American Fact Finder, 2015). Even greater numbers of veterans live within the three study areas. Within SA1, between 24 and 27 percent of residents are veterans.

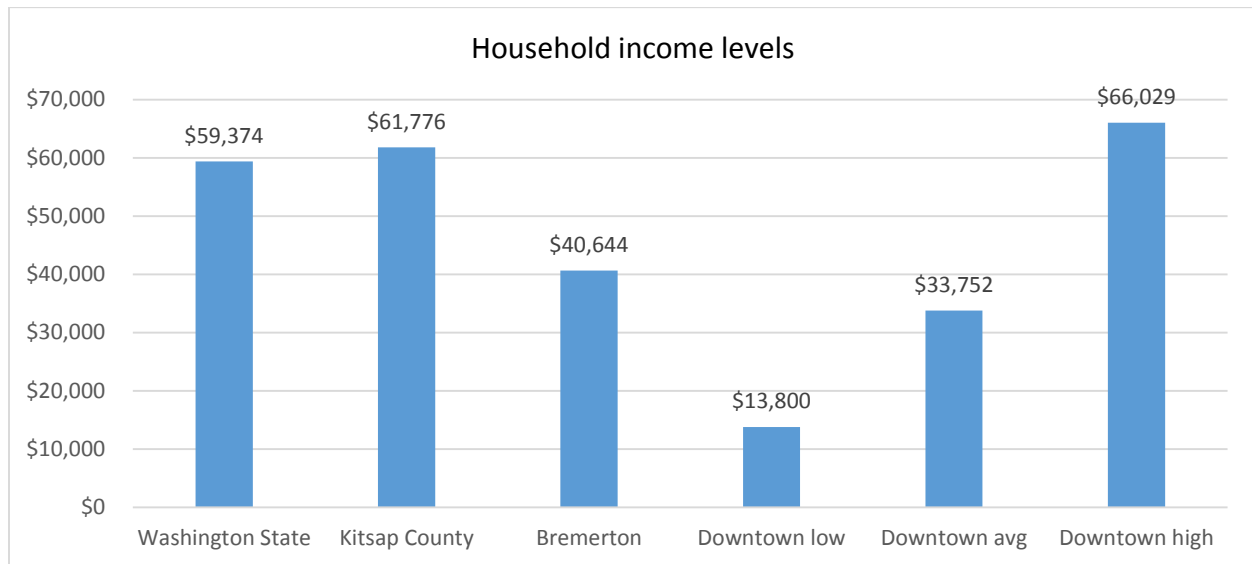


Table 2. Kitsap County's average household income is slightly higher than the State average, while the City of Bremerton's average is about one-third less. Average mean household income in SA1 (shown here as Downtown) is lower still (© Anna K Fern, 2015).

Comparison of two veteran housing clusters. When analyzing the correlating data set in Tables 3 and 4 (p. 140), the numbers are even more pronounced. A section of Table 4 on a cluster of seven city blocks – Chester and 4th, Chester and 5th, Chester and Burwell, Chester and Base Fence, Warren and Burwell, Warren and 4th, and Warren and 5th – shows a veteran residency status rate of 31 percent, with a federal employment rate of zero. The per capita and household income levels for this area are among the *lowest in the entire study area*:

⁴¹ Gallup lists rates of veteran residency in the Pacific Region as 12.1 percent, with a national rate of 12.7 percent overall. The overall Bremerton veteran residency rate is 16.8 percent. However, within the study area of this thesis, veteran residency ranges from 16 to 31 percent; of these, eleven blocks show 16 or 18 percent, 63 blocks show 24-27 percent, and eleven blocks show 31 percent.

\$12,707 and \$13,800 respectively.⁴² These numbers indicate that of the military veterans who live in this area, most live alone. What these numbers on veteran status and federal employment show is that the SA2 cluster with the highest percentage of military veteran residents is also the same area with no federal employees, while in other districts of the study, veteran status typically ranges from the high teens to high twenties, and federal employment levels range from the teens to the twenties.

In contrast to the SA2 high veteran rate/zero federal employment rate cluster, the desirable Highland Neighborhood shows an overall high federal employment rate, with many blocks showing greater than one in five residents are employed in federal jobs.⁴³ Veteran status in this area ranges from 24 to 27 percent. Within these Highland Neighborhood blocks individual income levels are \$23,603, with household income levels of \$27,153, indicating that like the cluster of high veteran/zero federal employment rates in SA3, most residents of the Highland area live alone in these homes.

The marked differences between residents of these two comparison areas appears to be rate of federal employment and income level. While veterans residing in the Highland area have employment in the shipyard, residents in SA2 do not.

For insight into transitioning from military to civilian culture in a way that takes advantage of veteran hiring preference for federal jobs for some veterans and not for others, I asked a local veteran who works with other vets.

⁴² Only four other blocks within the study area – Park and Burwell, Park and 4th, Pacific and Burwell, and Pacific and 5th, with 31 percent veteran status, zero percent federal employment status, \$12,861 individual income and \$13,800 household income) – show veteran status, federal employment levels, and corresponding income levels that compare to the seven block area in SA3. These four other blocks are located within SA1: two on the west side of the area, and 2 on the east side of the area.

⁴³ Federal employment rates of 21 percent.

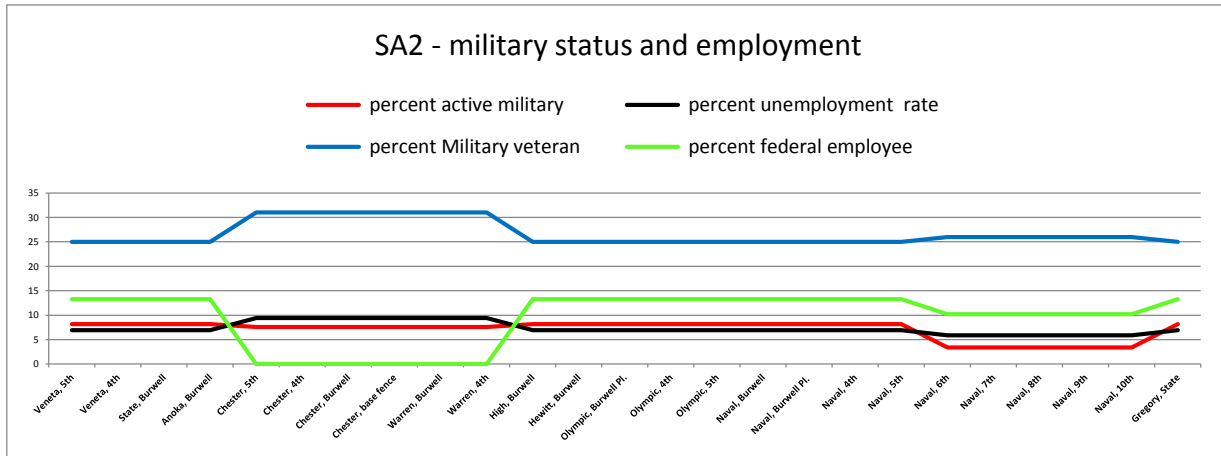


Table 3. SA2. This Study Area table shows correlations between active military status (shown in red), unemployment status (shown in black), veteran status (shown in blue), and federal employee status (shown in green) of residents. Complete data set included in Appendix B.2, p. 179. (© Anna K Fern, 2015).

Location by SW corner	population	percent female	percent male	resident median age	percent Military veteran	percent active military	percent unemployment rate	percent federal employee	dollars annual median per capita income	dollars annual median household income	percent residents below poverty level	percent renter occupied	dollars median contract rent	perc built before 1939	perc Single House
Pacific, 6th	136	49.6	50.4	30	27	2.7	4.5	21	\$ 23,603.00	\$ 27,153.00	31	91.9	\$ 762.00	52.2	49.9
Pleasant, 6th	165	41.6	58.4	33	27	2.7	4.5	21	\$ 23,603.00	\$ 27,153.00	31	82.7	\$ 762.00	52.2	49.9
Highland, 9th	41	53.8	46.2	37	27	2.7	4.5	21	\$ 23,603.00	\$ 27,152.00	31	83.3	\$ 762.00	52.2	49.9
Highland, 6th	94	40.9	59.1	33	27	2.7	4.5	21	\$ 23,603.00	\$ 27,153.00	31	74.4	\$ 762.00	52.2	49.9
Washington, Bridge	79	40.5	59.5	37	27	2.7	4.5	21	\$ 23,603.00	\$ 27,153.00	31	91.9	\$ 762.00	52.2	49.9
Pacific, 11th	16	40	60	18	27	2.7	4.5	21	\$ 23,603.00	\$ 27,153.00	31	100	\$ 762.00	52.2	49.9
Pleasant, 11th	17	37.5	62.5	36	27	2.7	4.5	21	\$ 23,603.00	\$ 27,153.00	31	75	\$ 762.00	52.2	49.9
Pacific, 11th Pl.	44	53.7	46.3	33	27	2.7	4.5	21	\$ 23,603.00	\$ 27,153.00	31	76.5	\$ 762.00	52.2	49.9
Pacific, 11th Pl	23	27.3	72.7	35	27	2.7	4.5	21	\$ 23,603.00	\$ 27,153.00	31	83.3	\$ 762.00	52.2	49.9
Pacific, 5th	21	35	65	32	31	7.6	9.4	0	\$ 12,861.00	\$ 13,800.00	36	100	\$ 481.00	46.6	15.3
Pacific, Burwell	16	53.3	46.7	38	31	7.6	9.4	0	\$ 12,861.00	\$ 13,800.00	36	92.3	\$ 481.00	46.6	15.3
Chester, 5th	66	37.1	62.9	30	31	7.6	9.4	0	\$ 12,861.00	\$ 13,800.00	36	66.7	\$ 481.00	46.6	15.3
Chester, 4th	81	48.7	51.3	29	31	7.6	9.4	0	\$ 12,861.00	\$ 13,800.00	36	84.8	\$ 481.00	46.6	15.3
Chester, Burwell	139	38.5	61.5	30	31	7.6	9.4	0	\$ 12,861.00	\$ 13,800.00	36	100	\$ 481.00	46.6	15.3
Warren, Burwell	6	50	50	26	31	7.6	9.4	0	\$ 12,861.00	\$ 13,800.00	36	66.7	\$ 81.00	46.6	15.3
Warren, 4th	22	66.7	33.3	42	31	7.6	9.4	0	\$ 12,861.00	\$ 13,800.00	36	100	\$ 481.00	46.6	15.3
Warren, 5th	7	0	100	46	31	7.6	9.4	0	\$ 12,861.00	\$ 13,800.00	36	100	\$ 481.00	46.6	15.3
Chester, fence	39	32.4	67.6	37	31	7.6	9.4	0	\$ 12,861.00	\$ 13,800.00	36	100	\$ 481.00	46.6	15.3

Table 4. Demographic data from Study Areas 1 (in blue) and 2 (in red). These data compare military veteran and federal employment rates for 2 areas discussed in the analysis. Complete data set included in Appendix B.3, p. 180. (© Anna K Fern, 2015).

Jason works as a Transition Officer for a private non-profit organization that assists military personnel who are leaving the service, as well as veterans who need help accessing medical benefits. Some of the things he does include helping veterans navigate the military benefits, disability, medical, employment, education or other programs. Many of his clients are veterans who might otherwise fall through the cracks. He explains what he sees as some contributing factors to re-assimilation difficulties for many veterans:

Jason. What I do mostly is I'm a Transition Service Officer. When somebody comes out of the military we try to get them six months before they're out... I try to get these fellas and gals in, find out what their disabilities might be.

If we've caught them in time, they aren't out there failing. And failing and failing, because they're hitting [and] their butting heads against walls, like, yeah: you can't do that [work] because your back is bad; that's why you keep throwing your back out on the roof.

That's what we're conditioned to do, is follow orders. Then you go into the civilian world and nobody gives you an order anymore.

We're brainwashed in boot-camp to be told what to do. You stick us out without un-brainwashing us and we don't know what to do out here unless somebody tell us what to do. Then you don't stop us thinking like that. You broke us down in boot camp; you taught us to condition ourselves to do these things, and then you don't un-train us to say, yeah, nobody else out here thinks like that.

Because, “You just don’t get it.” So when you hear a vet say, “You don’t get it,” you don’t. That’s exactly what’s on the mind of a veteran that comes out; some people can make some of those changes, and some people can’t.

And then [they] come out here, where nobody understands what that sacrifice is about... Now when you go and sit at the bar tonight? You listen for that guy who has those stories that you recognize, and you realize [that he] hasn’t come to see me.

Jason came to the organization himself after his time in the service, and before working there. Although he had served in the Navy for several years, and came from a military family, he was unaware that he could see a doctor, or gain work training, or other post-service benefits after separation.

Jason. I wandered around for, I mean, twenty-five years, and didn’t know that I had any benefits. Then I went into the [organization’s] chapter. Down at the chapter... they see the folks that have just given up. The folks down there are...they’ve got a little bit of a chip on their shoulder for the past, like I did. [...] tried to get me in there and get me to talk to [...], I didn’t want anything to do with this guy. “[He’s] just part of the system, part of the machine: you got nothing for me.”

I went in there, and basically he saw right from the start I was pretty bitter and I was bouncing and bouncing and I couldn’t get things adjusted in my life. I started mopping the floor down there, and eventually I got to sit in the office and learn how to do the job. Eventually they called me and said do you want to be an officer. I’m in here because [...] took a look at me and said [whistles]...

For Jason, and many of Jason's clients, the transition from military life to civilian life can be a difficult process, and as indicated by his own story, many veterans do not transition well, or know how to access the post-service benefits they have earned, if they know about them at all. The three veterans who participated in narratives for this thesis indicated that they've had difficulties gaining access to benefits that they were promised as part of their compensation for their service.

For example, Trevor spoke about his experiences with medical care from the Veteran Administration (VA), living in a group home for veterans in Kitsap County, and finally finding affordable housing in Bremerton:

Trevor. [I was] having to always be under the doctors' care, always scheduling surgery, or an injection. That was the norm for three years. The early back problems, the VA always supplied me with an overabundance of pain meds, and it just didn't promote healing, it just kept me always sick, just a miracle I didn't die, I was eating them like candy. Just got to a point where that would be my life. I wasn't eating, and I just didn't want to feel any pain.

I'm telling you, they wouldn't give me [small prescription bottles], they would give me the whole thing, like 250 morphines, and Oxycodones and shit, they was giving me pain [pills]! But see, they're people that was messing, doing shit and lying in my records and stuff that I didn't realize until later.

There was one injection that this doctor did, and I almost jumped off the table. And she was teaching these students. And they had put the IV on my arm, for just in case something went wrong, for the pain. But it wasn't in my arm, it was taped *on* my arm.

And one of the students said, “Aren’t you gonna put that in?”

She says, “Oh, nothing’s gonna happen.”

And she missed. It was like she just went and emptied the syringe. That’s what it felt like. And my leg, all felt like it exploded. I almost jumped off the table. And they all held me down, six people around me held me down. Then they got my arm, and they finally got the stuff in, and it took a while until the sedative kicked in.

Then she said I was 80 percent improved after the injection. That injection got me to where I couldn’t walk at all. When I got home, I laid in the house until the surgery. See, that kind of stuff. That was outside of procedure, it should’ve never happened.

[After the VA Hospital, I lived in] Retsil.⁴⁴ After living in Retsil, I was like, I was ready to move into a crackerbox. With all those other vets, that, you know, drinking, and oh God, just rednecks, and dealing with the racism and stuff. But that’s from the guys, that’s not from the administrative side but you, aw, you deal with it. And normally, people acts over there, they get entitled....

[Then] I came to Bremerton because that’s where I got my [housing] voucher. I had options to live in Seattle [but] it’s too expensive. My credit was bad. So [*laughs*] I had to go to somewhere where I could get a place.

Like Trevor, several of Bremerton’s downtown households in the Western Harbor Employment, Warren Avenue Corridor, and proposed Sustainability Districts use Section 8⁴⁵ vouchers to obtain housing as an alternative to living in public housing projects. The use of Section 8

⁴⁴ Retsil is a veterans’ rehabilitation and retirement facility in neighboring Port Orchard, south Kitsap County.

⁴⁵ Section 8 of the Housing Act of 1937 authorizes federal housing assistance to be paid to private landlords.

vouchers has increased in the districts in recent years,⁴⁶ as many subsidized residents who lived in Bremerton's Westpark public housing projects were displaced during the rebuilding of Bremerton's low-income public housing development as BayVista (Pritchett, 2010, 2011).

Public Housing and Market Rate Rentals

The second implemented step of the city's gentrification process, outlined in the BayVista Sub-area Plan, was the remaking of the decrepit Westpark low-income subsidized housing into the BayVista mixed-income housing development. This section investigates the motivation for the city's choice to remake Westpark, a federally managed public housing project governed by minimal standards of habitability, while residents of downtown blight zone neighborhoods, who face similar economic challenges, live in privately managed homes with no regulated standards of habitability.

Qualitative evidence suggests that the city's choice to replace Westpark was crucial to support a sanitized, wealthier image of Bremerton, as for decades, Westpark had been the most visible offensive reminder of poverty for federal and military affiliated commuters coming from outside the city. Similarly, Bremerton's Sub-area Plan indicates that the blight zone residential areas are slated for gentrification plans that do not include the presence of the blight zone's most economically disaffected residents.

⁴⁶In 2009, after the Bremerton Housing Authority's (BHA) Section 8 housing voucher wait list grew to over 2,500 applicants, the organization closed their wait list to new applications. By March 2015, after the list had decreased in length to 50 applicants, BHA began accepting applications once more (Pritchett, 2010; Farley, 2015).

Westpark to BayVista

Originally built as temporary barrack housing for WWII PSNS workers, the Westpark housing projects were recently razed and replaced by the BayVista mixed-income subsidized multiplexes (Bremerton, 2009; Joseph, 2006; Wiest, 2011).

BayVista is an example of the mixed-income trend in public housing as part of HUD's reimagined HOPE VI projects, which were designed with the intention of disbursing and integrating social classes as a treatment for many of public housings' negative aspects and connotations (Boston, 2005; Carlson, et al., 2012; Crump, 2002; Ellickson, 2010; Fraser & Kick, 2005; Goetz, 2010; Graves, 2011; James, 2010; Joseph, 2006; Popkin, et al., 2009).

Hiding poverty.

I for one am glad its [sic] finally gone. Thanks to BHA and anyone else in the city administration (past/present) for making this happen. Its [sic] a much more pleasant entry into Bremerton from Kitsap Way all the way to the waterfront!

Public comments following "Last Home in Bremerton's Westpark Neighborhood Now Gone" (Pritchett, in *Kitsap Sun*, 2011b).

While it may appear that the Westpark / BayVista renewal project is simply a measure to increase the well-being of low-income residents who reside in the neighborhood, there are indications that Westpark's selection for improvement was spurred by the interests of the federal employee/local government alliance who commute from residences outside the city. A negative effect of the Westpark demolition for former residents is the reduction of available subsidized units in BayVista, as the new housing complex set aside only 25 percent of its units for low-income residents (Burton, 2010b).

A brief description of the Westpark to BayVista transformation follows to demonstrate a connection between the city's renewal plans and the favoring of people affiliated with the shipyard and military base.

Westpark temporary war-time housing. The original Westpark public housing development was one of several built in Bremerton as temporary housing for the influx of shipyard workers during WWII, when Bremerton's population exploded from just over 15,000 to over 80,000, with PSNS alone employing 32,000 workers. The existing downtown residential neighborhoods, along with the Charleston and Navy Yard City neighborhoods and to the west were already overflowing into tent encampments, rented garages and outbuildings. Westpark, Sinclair Park,⁴⁷ and Anderson Cove were a some of nine federal developments built in the city as a temporary solution to house these new residents.

During WWII, the shipyard ran continuously, with workers pulling one of three shifts daily. Housing was so scarce that tent cities sprang up in every yard, alley and open space. It was not rare for boarders to "hot cot" or share bunks with one or two other workers; while one was waking, another was getting ready to sleep, and a third was busily contributing their labor to the local and national military effort (Sinclair Park Project, 2013). To fill the need, federal agencies worked with the city to quickly build barrack and duplex style housing on several sites. These temporary uninsulated shelters became public housing following the war, and some, like Anderson Cove, still remain today. The largest of these, Westpark, was recently demolished to make way for the BayVista mixed-income housing development (Pritchett, 2011b).

⁴⁷ Sinclair Park was the segregated barrack housing development designated for African American shipyard workers during World War II. Its amenities were markedly more spartan than those in Westpark, and it was the first of the public housing projects to be dismantled and eventually demolished, in 1948 (Sinclair Park Project, 2013).

During the 1990s, Westpark, situated between the edge of town and a major highway remained Bremerton's most visible remnant of its broken-down subsidized housing projects. As in other communities across the US, public housing projects had become isolating pockets of concentrated poverty, unhealthy housing, government neglect and hopelessness (Boston, 2005; Carlson, et al., 2012; Crump, 2002; Ellickson, 2010; James, 2010; Saito, 2009). Residents were stigmatized by the rest of the community, and were living in abysmal conditions. Westpark was no exception. The single-walled, un-insulated stick-built duplexes were never intended to serve as permanent dwellings, and yet, the 763 units were filled to capacity for the next sixty years (Bremerton, 2012b). The temporary housing that was built to house contributors to the communal goal of national prosperity, now decades later had become a symbol of the failings of that nation to care for its own (Burton, 2010b; Graves, 2011; James, 2010; Joseph, 2006; Popkin, et al., 2009).

Jennifer describes how she remembers Westpark, and how former residents seemed to vanish after its demolition made way for the new mixed-income BayVista:

Jennifer. When Westpark was open, you know the low income [housing], that was another 'rough' place for Bremerton, but it was a tough neighborhood. A few of my girlfriends lived in there, a lot of young moms there, a lot of Black people, truthfully, that's where it was, the majority.

And now, where are they? Like supposedly, they're supposed to be put here and here. I know my other girlfriend had to move to *Texas*, who used to live there, 'cause she didn't get placed anywhere. It was a lot of people who lived in there, and then all the sudden they're gone, where did they go? No one knows where, no one talks about it! I ask

people all the time, like my neighbors over here, one works for the city and I'm like, where are those people? And she's like, I don't know.

So you're literally displaced from your old life, and it's not just, "oh, we moved," 'cause you're not in that position just to move, that's why you're there. You don't have a car, you don't have the means to go visit people all the time, all this stuff to these people.

And I mean, I know that people got placed in places, it's not like they just disappeared? But it is; they are just displaced.

Yeah, I mean they were gonna reassign people, and then move them back, and they were supposed to put some in hotels. I heard some went to The Chieftain [Motel], which they rent *by the hour*, and there's domestic violence there all the time, if you read the 911 [in the local paper's police reports], there's a lot of stuff going on there. Anything that charges by the hour, we got problems. But they're trying to beautify that area, too [near the Chieftain], now they put that Starbucks on the corner, so there's another fucking Starbucks on the corner, in this god damn neighborhood, it's gonna drive me crazy...

Social integration models. In September 2012, the City of Bremerton, in conjunction with Bremerton Housing Authority (BHA) and BCRA, a multi-national architectural firm which specializes in government public works projects, published its draft of the BayVista Sub-area Plan. The plan outlined six major goals for the building of the BayVista mixed-income housing (MIH) development (emphasis added):

- 1) Promoting a mixed-use, mixed-income *traditional* neighborhood.
- 2) Creating a pedestrian-oriented environment.
- 3) Maintaining/*enhancing view corridors* and landscaping.
- 4) *Enhancing the civic realm* and creating more *usable public open space*.

5) Promoting economic development through provision of commercial activities and services on-site and in the adjacent neighborhood center.

6) Integrating low impact development (LID) approaches into the Master Plan.

These goals are closely associated with the conceptualization and development of HUD's HOPE VI MIH during 1992 welfare reform (HUD, 2016). The mixed-income trend in public housing is part of HUD's reimagined Projects, which were designed with the intention of integrating social classes as a treatment for many of public housings' negative aspects (Graves, 2011; Joseph, 2006; Popkin, Levy, & Buron, 2009).

Local effects of federal public housing reform. On the local level, evidence of class stratification is seen in the relocation of Westpark residents during the construction of BayVista (Burton, 2010b). In Burton's article, "Life after the Westpark Diaspora", former Westpark resident Linda Hill, a relocated resident, states she "misses the support system she had in Westpark. 'I'd rather be in a more community-based setting,' she said, adding that now she cannot rely on her neighbors...Now that the neighbors are scattered, they can no longer meet up at the centralized community center" (Burton, 2010b).

In the same article, Burton reports that the transition for elderly, physically or mentally disabled former Westpark residents was especially difficult. Residents who failed to complete a "Ready to Rent" class required by BHA were barred from relocating to the new BayVista complex and were evicted from their post-Westpark homes (2010b).

The "Ready to Rent" class required for residents to live in BayVista may not have been what was implied by the educational component of the of Bremerton's BayVista social goals, which emphasized increasing education levels for residents of public housing (Bremerton, 2009, 2012b).

Regarding the hopes of increased educational excellence and access to securing a “desirable” life and self-sufficiency,⁴⁸ BayVista offered limited efforts to these ends, with an educational program called “Recycling Training Class: The What, Why and How of Recycling as a Job Requirement”, at the BayVista Commons in 2013. While this example of educational excellence is perhaps offered as an appeasement to the HOPE VI model, its connotative message does little to “lessen isolation” of the project’s residents (as one of the program’s goals), whether that isolation is physical, financial, or emotional.

I am glad that Westpark housing is gone. It was an eye sore. Now Bremerton needs to do something about those pan handlers at the stop lights on Kitsap Way, like put them on a ferry and send them to Seattle. I wonder how many rats ran out of those old houses when they were torn down.

Public comments following “Last Home in Bremerton's Westpark Neighborhood Now Gone” (Pritchett, in *Kitsap Sun*, 2011b).

The motivations for replacing the dilapidated Westpark housing projects with BayVista seem to come from complaints by dominant class members (many of whom commute from outside the city) who feel the right to speak up, and say that they found the appearance of Westpark in its prominent location distasteful. Too often, there was little discussion of the civic project beyond the desire to not see a public display of poverty and community neglect. Jennifer shares her thoughts on this lack of public discussion of BayVista and the diaspora of Westpark residents:

⁴⁸ One of HUD’s HOPE VI stated goals of public housing reform (HUD, 2016).

Jennifer. It just happens like that, and I don't feel like it was ever really discussed too much. I know that they went rounds about it a little bit, about what to do with the *property* over there itself, but with the *people*, it was like, "oh they're gone, they're just gonna go somewhere else."

This opinion is supported by the lack of public discussion or plans for rehabilitation of other subsidized projects, such as Anderson Cove, or for the privately owned residential neighborhoods in the downtown districts, neither of which are visible from the daily travels of community residents who feel the full of social citizenship.

In this chapter, I investigated how Bremerton city government practices favor residents and workers recognized as belonging to the federally aligned dominant class when the city allocates funding for the use of public spaces and renewal projects. This practice serves to facilitate the reinforcement of dominant citizenship for the federally aligned military and military manufacturing class, at the social expense of the already marginalized service class, whose neighborhoods do not receive their share of infrastructure maintenance or beautification projects.

Allocation of space and resources that favor the federally aligned class further strengthens the symbolic and physical reification of whom the city sees as preferred, patriotic citizens of the community, constructing those who are outside of the circle of preference as non-patriotic, non-citizen others, especially when their temporary, conditional, and subordinate citizenship has outlived its usefulness to the hegemonic ideals of the militarized colony. As in the case of the BayVista housing project, the physical miseries of poverty are only treated within the community when their outward appearance offends the sensibilities of the dominant

class in their daily travel commutes from their homes outside the community to their workplaces at the military manufacturing center or military base.



Image 19. A PSNS building behind the fountain reads: "Puget Sound Naval Shipyard: Building on a proud tradition". (© Anna K Fern 2015)

CONCLUSION: Goals, Findings, and Recommendations

Goals of the Thesis

A central goal for this thesis was to investigate ambiguities related to a sense of home among a social community in Bremerton, Washington. This ambiguity seemed part of a dialectic system, in which a dominant group directed multiple levels of power to withhold or bestow conditional membership to persons from the subordinate group, as long as they remembered their subordinate roles, and their labors were of direct service to the dominant group. This investigation into the two-part system in Bremerton sought to find ways in which members of the subordinate group can and do assert their right to full legal, civil, and social citizenship in the community.

This thesis began as an investigation of what makes a geographic space a place of inclusion and belonging for some and not for others, regardless of status related to legal ownership of private space, civil recognition of the right to belong to a space, or social access to use of public space. Through in-depth analysis of related literature and interdisciplinary synthesis of findings, I found political and social order similarities between US military bases occupying space in nations outside US territories, and the City of Bremerton, Washington, home to multiple US Naval bases and shipyards.

Themes in the Qualitative Findings

Personal narratives of seven participants who live in Bremerton offered insight into how they experience gendered and sexualized labor, and how they interpreted their personal experiences within the context of the community's social and political economy. Narrative themes included an ever-present contextual lens of the US military through which experiences were understood

and framed. The patriarchal military structure influenced participants' construction of gender roles, and affiliation with the military/local government alliance was positively linked to social citizenship.

Community Recommendations

The following recommendations are proposed as possibilities to treat economic and social geographic challenges revealed in the research for this thesis.

Economic Alternatives

Themes discovered during this research related to Bremerton's economic challenges include a monoculture of living wage jobs that employ almost exclusively white military veteran males in military manufacturing, and a drastic decline in vice economy work, where primarily women ages 20-40 earn living wages.

Diversified manufacturing. One of Bremerton's underutilized assets is the large Port of Bremerton district at Bremerton Airport, south of Navy Yard City. In recent years, city government leaders have supported the expansion of the community college's engineering department for a college-to-military-aircraft-manufacturing pipeline based at the port. Investment in recruiting non-military manufacturers to the district could diversify Bremerton's monoculture of the militarily based economy. The socioeconomic diversification for Bremerton residents that could follow, with income to invest and spend within the community, could do much to decrease the city's reliance on continued military campaigns as a means to employ Department of Defense workers.

Charleston Historic District theme. Current and recent city rejuvenation projects have attempted to abandon Bremerton's reputation as a seedy, gritty industrial Naval port, and

reinvent Bremerton into a modern, gleaming sister city to Seattle. These plans have met limited success, and have done little to invigorate the local economy outside of the narrow strip of downtown where federal workers commute.

An alternative way that Bremerton could encourage new and existing businesses in the Callow-Charleston District, and attract destination tourism and discretionary spending from outside sources would be to create a port-of-call themed business district, for legal business ventures. Businesses deemed risqué – tattoo parlors, adult movie theatres, head shops, bars and clubs already present in the neighborhood – as well as tamer restaurants and retail establishments could participate in a remaking of a WWII-era romanticized sailor port: A Sin City theme that could also capitalize on Washington State’s legal marijuana sales. Area hotels could partner with restaurants, bars, and clubs to encourage visitors from neighboring Seattle to make an overnight experience excursion, something like a trip to Bourbon Street, or to idealized sailor ports of yesteryear.

To offset the current limited income opportunities for females in the city, Bremerton could offer business incentives to female establishment owners, and encourage cooperative business structures among female collectives to operative port-of-call establishments.

Rental Habitability Issues

The ongoing lack of regulation of market-rate rental housing in Bremerton remains an issue for low-income residents. The city needs to establish a required checklist of minimal standards of habitability at least as stringent as HUD standards, which are used to determine approval of units for Section 8 housing vouchers. Licenses issued through the city’s landlord permit program should be contingent on the properties successfully passing inspection on the same standards to which public housing units are held.

Home Ownership Incentives

Although Kitsap County's average incomes exceed Washington State levels, incomes within Bremerton are markedly lower than the state average. A large number of shipyard workers, making livable wages in the professional trades, commute to work from outside Bremerton city limits. Parking spaces are always at a premium in the area surrounding the shipyard, and traffic congestion at shift changes is a major issue, affecting travel throughout the city. Meanwhile, many Bremerton homes, from modest Prewar to moderate Midcentury, are underutilized, or need repairs. Whether these homes are owner or renter occupied, their neglect does the city's residents and reputation a disservice.

As residents. One way the city could counter issues of parking, congestion, and poorly maintained and underutilized housing would be to offer property tax deferrals to shipyard employees to buy properties in Bremerton, who would make visible repairs and maintenance to the exteriors of their properties within the blight zone districts, and/or pledged to walk, bike, or commute by public transportation to work.

As landlords. The city already participates in a property tax deferral program (Bremerton, 2010a, 2016) to owners of high-density rental housing properties who make visible improvements to the units. As an extension of the program, the city could also entice federal employees to invest in the community by offering the same tax deferral program to rental property owners of single-family properties. This could be an opportunity for the city to incentivize the maintenance and improvement of rental property ownership in the blight zone, making these units more livable for the city's lower-income residents.

Possible Future Study

One area of interest that was not fully explored in this thesis was to investigate why some military veterans transitioned to federal employment at PSNS, and others did not: Was this a matter of choice, or one of opportunity? Possible directions of inquiry would be to investigate what jobs these veterans had while in the military, which branch of the military did they serve, did they serve active duty during times of war, and did they experience residual debilitations related to their times of service.

Broader Implications

This militarized domestic colony demonstrated parallels to cities in territories occupied by US troops in other countries, as well as sites of international United Nations occupation, and areas occupied by mercenary and territorial military factions around the globe.

The realities of economic, political and social subjugation, experienced by distant subjects abroad, and exploited by US-backed economic policies are commonly accepted collateral damage for the greater [US] good in low consumer prices, cultural entitlement, and manufactured national security through the defeat of socially constructed enemies of the state.

In Japan, Germany, and Korea, US forces continue to occupy territories generations after war actions are concluded. These US military bases are maintained for their military strategic utility, taking on the practicality of imperial colony in everything but name. These occupations are rarely questioned by US citizens: it's just the way it is. Contemporary examples of US military occupation during war actions include Kuwait, or Iraq and Afghanistan. Although they are not largely popular with US residents, they are viewed as an unpleasant, but

necessary conveyance for Near-eastern stability: a stability that translates to low consumer prices and ensured profits for corporations.

In writing this thesis, it was my hope that readers who have not yet considered the legal, civil, and social impacts of militarized colonialism on the people and communities where colonial powers benefit and dominate will find something in the participant narratives that resonates with them. US readers may discover something in these stories that brings new ways of looking at how colonialism affects the colonizer and the colonized, especially when similarities between readers' and participants' stories are found. It is my hope that if these narratives of US residents challenge assumptions about the role of US military in domestic colonies like Bremerton, this thesis can open discussions on the role of US colonies abroad in new ways.

Other Applications of the Tripartite Model

To explore the validity or morality of militaristic colonial occupations by US troops in other countries, one could apply the tripartite analytical framework of this thesis to the US militaristic hegemony in a global context.

To restate, that framework outlined how:

(1) *The militaristic hegemony of the domestic colonialism and its gendered labor culture* sets up the city's *two-part social class structure*: those who are militarily affiliated, and those who serve them.

(2) *The relationally opposed gendered labor social class structure* sets up the *allocation of social citizenship* within the city's hierarchy.

(3) The allocation of *social citizenship* sets up the *disparate ownership of space and belonging*; it manifests in city government practices that favor residents recognized as belonging the federally aligned dominant class, stigma and normalized violence toward the subordinate class in public spaces, and exclusion of districts peopled by subordinate class residents from the city's renewal program investment allocations.

For example, it could be argued that abstracts such as the stability and strategic utility of occupied Iraq are presented by (1) the national militaristic hegemony as a way to set up a two-part global social structure. Such a two-part, relationally opposed global social structure would justify (2) the allocation of citizenship (or humanity) within the global hierarchy, and (3) that allocation of citizenship or humanity would facilitate the practices that favored the globally dominant class' utilization and accumulation of resources, to be distributed as the leadership of the class saw fit.

Because the occupations of Japan or Iraq are far removed from US civilians' daily lives, it is easier for many Americans to justify that the abstract benefits of "stability" or "strategy" for the United States outweigh costs like dehumanization, when the ramifications appear to only impact far-away people. However, if we can choose to acknowledge or question an imbalance of personal power and privilege among residents in a United States city such as Bremerton, it is also possible to begin to question the righteousness of international occupations committed in our name that manufacture and reinforce the same unrighteous imbalance of resources, freedom of public space, and access to social citizenship, human rights, and respect.



Image 20. © Anna K Fern 2015

But, you will say once again,
we live in the metropolis,
and we disapprove of extremes.

It's true, you are not colonists,
but you are not much better.

They were your pioneers, you sent them overseas,
they made you rich...

You pretend to forget that you have colonies
where massacres are committed in your name.

Jean-Paul Sartre (1963)

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Note: With the approval of my thesis advisory committee, I have made three deviations of style from the APA stylebook's 6th edition. The following listings for cities, states, and countries of book publishers are presented in a way that attempts to move towards decentering the United States and other traditionally imperial countries in academic language.

(1) This reference list deviates from the US cities' citation rule, and instead lists the city, state, and country for each US city, regardless of its notoriety within US culture. This correction presents US locations more closely to the way cities in other countries are listed.

(2) I have adopted the abbreviation USA in place of US to denote references produced in the United States of America. This change is in recognition of the official name of Mexico, Estados Unidos Mexicanos (United Mexican States).

(3) Listings for books that name their nation as United Kingdom or Great Britain have been changed to list the individual nation-states within those borders, for example: London, England and Glasgow, Scotland.

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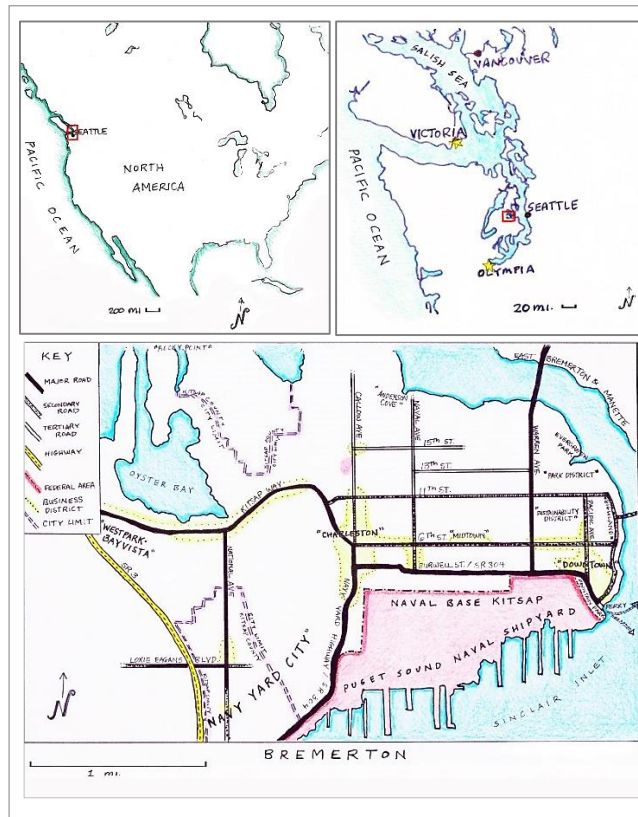
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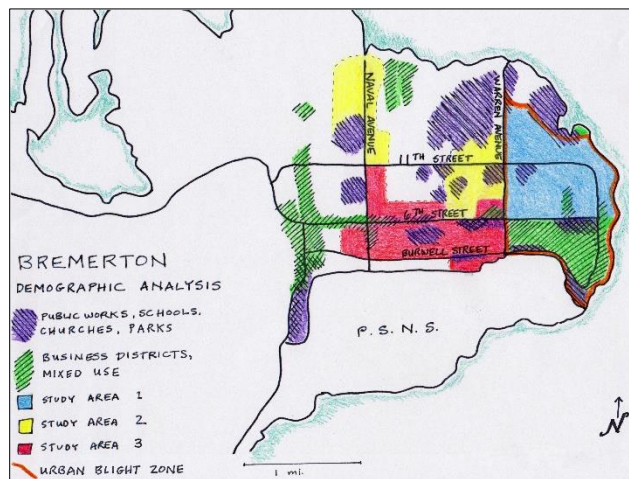
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Appendix B: List of Tables

B.1: Tables comparing rates of poverty in Western Washington cities, with a focus on Kitsap County and Bremerton

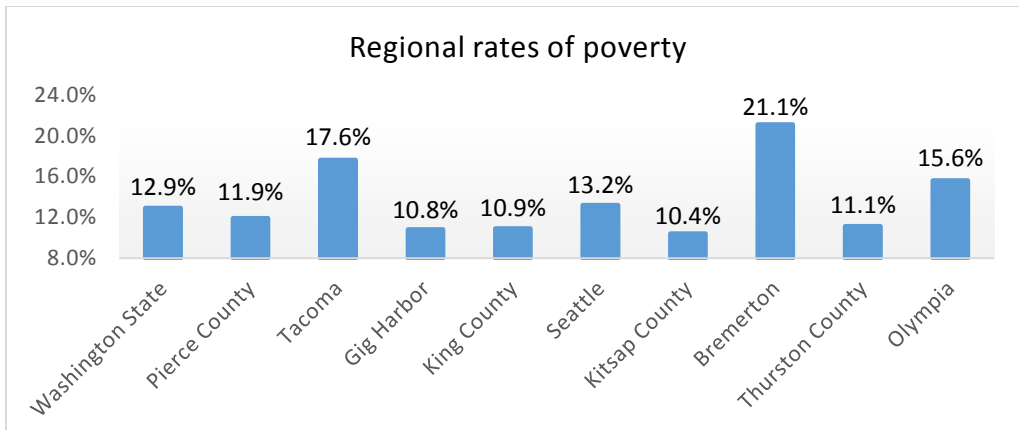


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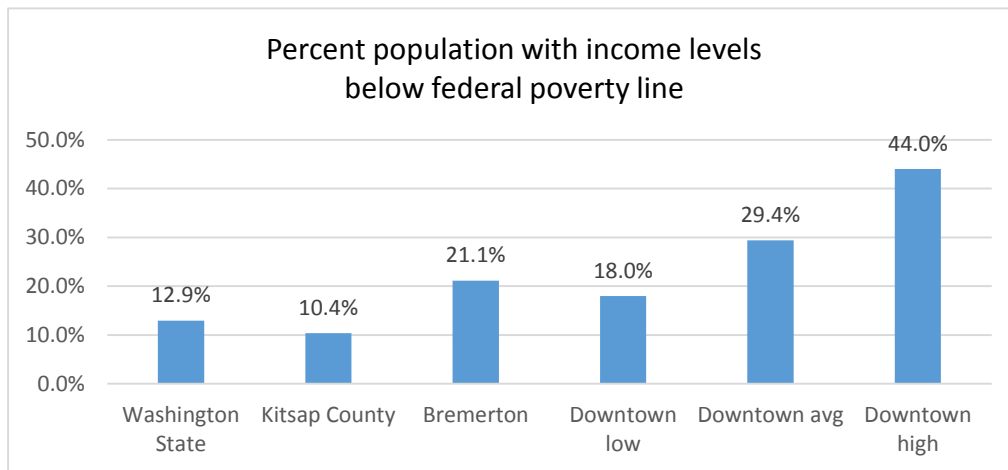


Table 1.1

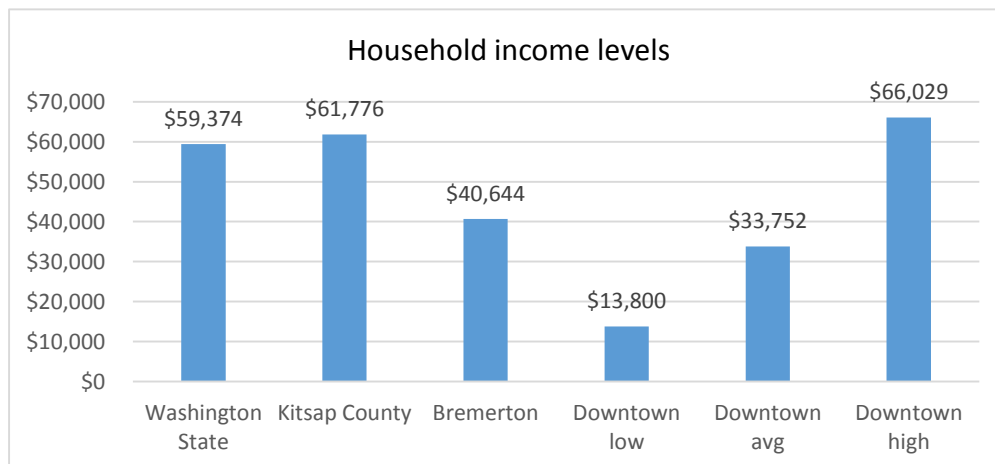
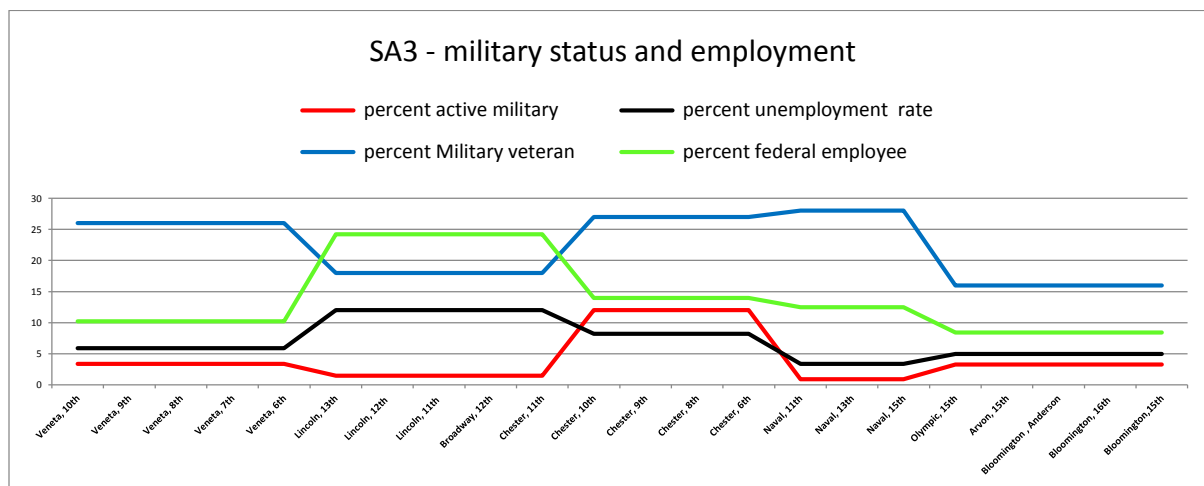
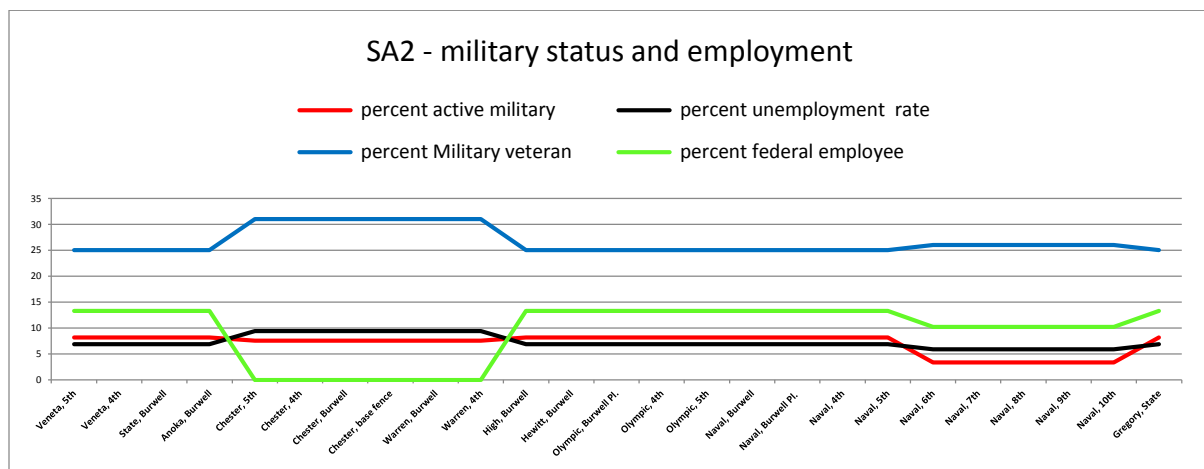
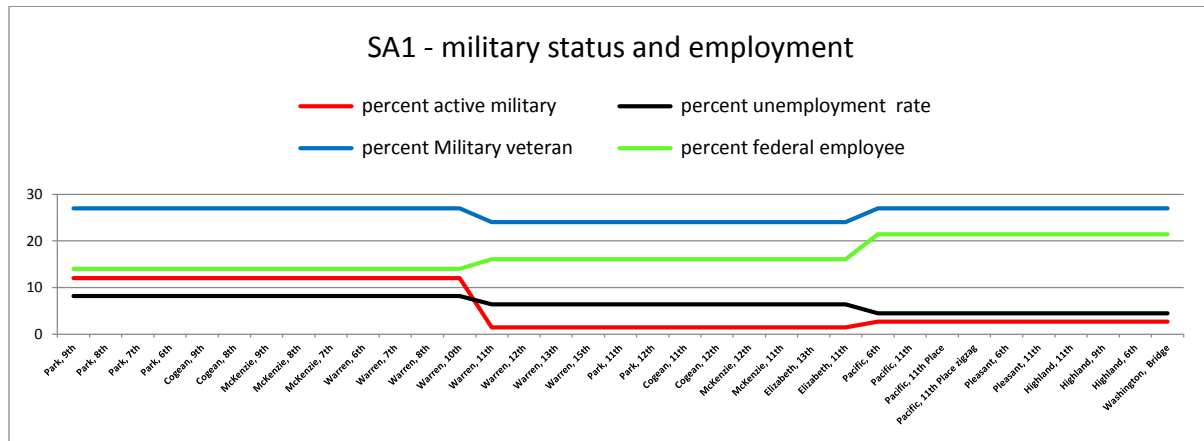


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B.2: Tables comparing rates of military active duty, veteran status, federal employment, and unemployment



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B.3: Neighborhood demographic data of study area

Location by SW corner	population	percent female	percent male	resident median age	percent Military veteran	percent active military	percent unemployment rate	percent federal employee	dollars annual median per capita income	dollars annual median household income	percent residents below poverty level	percent renter occupied	dollars median contract rent	perc built before 1939	perc Single House
Elizabeth, 13th	82	55.8	44.2	422	18	1.5	6.4	24	\$ 13,331.00	\$ 36,250.00	26	64.1	\$ 689.00	49	42.2
McKenzie, 12th	33	61.3	38.7	36	24	1.5	6.4	16	\$ 23,331.00	\$ 36,250.00	26	50	\$ 689.00	49	42.2
Highland, 11th	13	46.2	53.8	28	27	2.7	4.5	21	\$ 23,603.00	\$ 27,153.00	31	91.9	\$ 762.00	52.2	49.9
Warren, 7th	79	44.6	55.4	36	27	12	8.2	14	\$ 14,427.00	\$ 28,125.00	44	100	\$ 479.00	63.6	48.5
Warren, 8th	74	39.1	60.9	33	27	12	8.2	14	\$ 14,427.00	\$ 28,125.00	44	81.6	\$ 479.00	63.6	48.5
Warren, 10th	24	47.8	52.2	33	27	12	8.2	14	\$ 14,427.00	\$ 28,125.00	44	50	\$ 479.00	63.6	48.5
Park, 9th	38	50	50	28	27	12	8.2	14	\$ 14,427.00	\$ 28,125.00	44	72.7	\$ 479.00	63.6	48.5
Park, 8th	24	43.5	56.5	40	27	12	8.2	14	\$ 14,427.00	\$ 28,125.00	44	66.7	\$ 479.00	63.6	48.5
Park, 7th	41	48.7	51.3	40	27	12	8.2	14	\$ 14,427.00	\$ 28,125.00	44	73.3	\$ 479.00	63.6	48.5
Park, 6th	2	0	100	91	27	12	8.2	14	\$ 14,427.00	\$ 28,125.00	44	50	\$ 479.00	63.6	48.5
Park, 4th	9	66.7	33.3	27	31	7.6	9.4	0	\$ 12,861.00	\$ 13,800.00	36	100	\$ 481.00	46.6	15.3
Park, Burwell	6	16.7	83.3	69	31	7.6	9.4	0	\$ 12,861.00	\$ 13,800.00	36	80	\$ 481.00	46.6	15.3
McKenzie, 9th	45	59.5	40.5	30	27	12	8.2	14	\$ 14,427.00	\$ 28,125.00	44	50	\$ 479.00	63.6	48.5
McKenzie, 8th	39	43.2	56.8	42	27	12	8.2	14	\$ 14,427.00	\$ 28,125.00	44	28.6	\$ 479.00	63.6	48.5
McKenzie, 7th	52	38.8	61.2	31	27	12	8.2	14	\$ 14,427.00	\$ 28,125.00	44	81	\$ 479.00	63.6	48.5
Cogean, 9th	24	69.6	30.4	31	27	12	8.2	14	\$ 14,427.00	\$ 28,125.00	44	22.2	\$ 479.00	63.6	48.5
Cogean, 8th	40	39.5	60.3	37	27	12	8.2	14	\$ 14,427.00	\$ 28,125.00	44		\$ 479.00	63.6	48.5
Pacific, 6th	136	49.6	50.4	30	27	2.7	4.5	21	\$ 23,603.00	\$ 27,153.00	31	91.9	\$ 762.00	52.2	49.9
Pleasant, 6th	165	41.6	58.4	33	27	2.7	4.5	21	\$ 23,603.00	\$ 27,153.00	31	82.7	\$ 762.00	52.2	49.9
Highland, 9th	41	53.8	46.2	37	27	2.7	4.5	21	\$ 23,603.00	\$ 27,152.00	31	83.3	\$ 762.00	52.2	49.9
Highland, 6th	94	40.9	59.1	33	27	2.7	4.5	21	\$ 23,603.00	\$ 27,153.00	31	74.4	\$ 762.00	52.2	49.9
Washington, Bridge	79	40.5	59.5	37	27	2.7	4.5	21	\$ 23,603.00	\$ 27,153.00	31	91.9	\$ 762.00	52.2	49.9
Pacific, 11th	16	40	60	18	27	2.7	4.5	21	\$ 23,603.00	\$ 27,153.00	31	100	\$ 762.00	52.2	49.9
Pleasant, 11th	17	37.5	62.5	36	27	2.7	4.5	21	\$ 23,603.00	\$ 27,153.00	31	75	\$ 762.00	52.2	49.9
Cogean, 11th	46	41.9	58.1	43	24	1.5	6.4	16	\$ 23,331.00	\$ 36,250.00	26	81.8	\$ 689.00	49	42.2
Cogean, 12th	7	57.1	42.9	28	24	1.5	6.4	16	\$ 23,331.00	\$ 36,250.00	26	40	\$ 689.00	49	42.2
Pacific, 11th Pl.	44	53.7	46.3	33	27	2.7	4.5	21	\$ 23,603.00	\$ 27,153.00	31	76.5	\$ 762.00	52.2	49.9
Pacific, 11th Pl	23	27.3	72.7	35	27	2.7	4.5	21	\$ 23,603.00	\$ 27,153.00	31	83.3	\$ 762.00	52.2	49.9
McKenzie, 11th	22	38.1	61.9	38	24	1.5	6.4	16	\$ 23,331.00	\$ 36,250.00	26	45.5	\$ 689.00	49	42.2
Park, 11th	13	30.8	69.2	39	24	2.7	6.4	16	\$ 23,331.00	\$ 36,250.00	26	87.5	\$ 689.00	49	42.2
Park, 12th	67	44.4	55.6	28	24	2.7	6.4	16	\$ 23,331.00	\$ 36,250.00	26	79.3	\$ 689.00	49	42.2
Elizabeth, 11th	19	50	50	37	24	1.5	6.4	16	\$ 23,331.00	\$ 36,250.00	26	22.2	\$ 689.00	49	42.2
Warren, 11th	45	50	50	30	24	1.5	6.4	16	\$ 23,331.00	\$ 36,250.00	26	46.7	\$ 689.00	49	42.2
Warren, 12th	26	56	44	39	24	1.5	6.4	16	\$ 23,331.00	\$ 36,250.00	26	50	\$ 689.00	49	42.2
Warren, 13th	94	47.7	52.3	32	24	1.5	6.4	16	\$ 23,331.00	\$ 36,250.00	26	61.1	\$ 689.00	49	42.2
Warren, 15th	61	47.4	52.6	27	24	1.5	6.4	16	\$ 23,331.00	\$ 36,250.00	26	54.2	\$ 689.00	49	42.2
Pacific, 5th	21	35	65	32	31	7.6	9.4	0	\$ 12,861.00	\$ 13,800.00	36	100	\$ 481.00	46.6	15.3

Location by SW corner	population	percent female	percent male	resident median age	percent Military veteran	percent active military	percent unemployment rate	percent federal employee	dollars annual median per capita income	dollars annual median household income	percent residents below poverty level	percent renter occupied	dollars median contract rent	perc built before 1939	perc Single House
Pacific, Burwell	16	53.3	46.7	38	31	7.6	9.4	0	\$ 12,861.00	\$ 13,800.00	36	92.3	\$ 481.00	46.6	15.3
Chester, 10th	25	54.8	45.8	26	27	12	8.2	14	\$ 14,427.00	\$ 28,125.00	44	85.8	\$479.00	63.6	48.5
Chester, 9th	17	50	50	33	27	12	8.2	14	\$ 14,427.00	\$ 28,125.00	44	66.7	\$ 479.00	63.6	48.5
Chester, 8th	53	58	42	33	27	12	8.2	14	\$ 14,427.00	\$ 28,125.00	44	62.5	\$ 479.00	63.6	48.5
Chester, 6th	142	42.9	57.1	37	27	12	8.2	14	\$ 14,427.00	\$ 28,125.00	44	94.5	\$ 479.00	63.6	48.5
Naval, 11th	110	48.5	51.5	37	28	0.9	3.4	13	\$ 19,801.00	\$ 29,439.00	12	48.7	\$ 594.00	47.3	47.1
Naval, 13th	145	39.3	60.7	32	28	0.9	3.4	13	\$ 19,801.00	\$ 29,439.00	12	56.9	\$ 594.00	47.3	47.1
Naval, 15th	373	49.4	50.6	41	28	0.9	3.4	13	\$ 19,801.00	\$ 29,439.00	12	58.3	\$ 594.00	47.3	47.1
Arvon, 15th	160	52.3	47.7	29	16	3.3	5	8.4	\$ 16,391.00	\$ 40,259.00	21	53.1	\$ 624.00	25.1	84.9
Bloomington, Anderson	36	55.9	44.1	30	16	3.3	5	8.4	\$ 16,391.00	\$ 40,259.00	21	78.6	\$ 624.00	25.1	84.9
Bloomington,16th	56	45.3	54.7	19	16	3.3	5	8.4	\$ 16,391.00	\$ 40,259.00	21	92.3	\$ 624.00	25.1	84.9
Olympic, 15th	18	52.9	47.1	41	16	3.3	5	8.4	\$ 16,391.00	\$ 40,259.00	21	62.5	\$ 624.00	25.1	84.9
Bloomington,15th	16	60	40	36	16	3.3	5	8.4	\$ 16,391.00	\$ 40,259.00	21	12.5	\$ 624.00	25.1	84.9
Chester, 11th	129	43	57	26	18	1.5	12	24	\$ 24,886.00	\$ 66,029.00	39	94.8	\$ 674.00	29.7	68.7
Broadway, 12th	68	46.9	53.1	32	18	1.5	12	24	\$ 24,886.00	\$ 66,029.00	39	22.7	\$ 674.00	29.7	68.7
Lincoln, 12th	5	80	20	29	18	1.5	12	24	\$ 24,886.00	\$ 66,029.00	39	50	\$ 674.00	29.7	68.7
Lincoln, 11th	20	52.6	47.4	44	18	1.5	12	24	\$ 24,886.00	\$ 66,029.00	39	22.2	\$ 674.00	29.7	68.7
Veneta, 10th	81	47.4	52.6	37	26	3.4	5.9	10	\$ 25,794.00	\$ 49,773.00	18	61.8	\$ 513.00	57.5	79.1
Veneta, 9th	61	43.9	56.1	31	26	3.4	5.9	10	\$ 25,794.00	\$ 49,773.00	18	52.6	\$ 513.00	57.5	79.1
Veneta, 8th	82	49.4	50.6	31	26	3.4	5.9	10	\$ 25,794.00	\$ 49,773.00	18	34.5	\$ 513.00	57.5	79.1
Veneta, 7th	104	53.6	46.4	32	26	3.4	5.9	10	\$ 25,974.00	\$ 49,773.00	18	41.2	\$ 513.00	57.5	79.1
Veneta, 6th	64	35	65	38	26	3.4	5.9	10	\$ 25,974.00	\$ 49,773.00	18	47.8	\$ 513.00	57.5	79.1
Lincoln, 13th	12	50	50	12	18	1.5	12	24	\$ 24,886.00	\$ 66,029.00	39	100	\$ 674.00	29.7	68.7
State, Burwell	55	51.9	48.1	37	25	8.2	6.9	13	\$ 12,707.00	\$ 27,337.00	23	68.2	\$ 558.00	37.1	47.4
Chester, 5th	66	37.1	62.9	30	31	7.6	9.4	0	\$ 12,861.00	\$ 13,800.00	36	66.7	\$ 481.00	46.6	15.3
Chester, 4th	81	48.7	51.3	29	31	7.6	9.4	0	\$ 12,861.00	\$ 13,800.00	36	84.8	\$ 481.00	46.6	15.3
Chester, Burwell	139	38.5	61.5	30	31	7.6	9.4	0	\$ 12,861.00	\$ 13,800.00	36	100	\$ 481.00	46.6	15.3
Warren, Burwell	6	50	50	26	31	7.6	9.4	0	\$ 12,861.00	\$ 13,800.00	36	66.7	\$ 81.00	46.6	15.3
Warren, 4th	22	66.7	33.3	42	31	7.6	9.4	0	\$ 12,861.00	\$ 13,800.00	36	100	\$ 481.00	46.6	15.3
Warren, 5th	7	0	100	46	31	7.6	9.4	0	\$ 12,861.00	\$ 13,800.00	36	100	\$ 481.00	46.6	15.3
Veneta, 5th	39	54.1	45.9	40	25	8.2	6.9	13	\$ 12,707.00	\$ 27,337.00	23	50	\$ 558.00	37.1	47.4
Veneta, 4th	85	57.5	42.5	40	25	8.2	6.9	13	\$ 12,707.00	\$ 27,337.00	23	57.1	\$ 558.00	37.1	47.4
Chester, fence	39	32.4	67.6	37	31	7.6	9.4	0	\$ 12,861.00	\$ 13,800.00	36	100	\$ 481.00	46.6	15.3
State, Gregory	68	51.6	48.4	39	25	8.2	6.9	13	\$ 12,707.00	\$ 27,337.00	23	87.9	\$ 558.00	46.6	47.4
Anoka, Burwell	42	47.5	52.5	28	25	8.2	6.9	13	\$ 12,707.00	\$ 27,337.00	23	53.3	\$ 558.00	37.1	47.4
High, Burwell	48	40	60	30	25	8.2	6.9	13	\$ 12,707.00	\$ 27,337.00	23	66.7	\$ 558.00	37.1	47.4
Hewitt, Burwell	91	46.4	53.6	38	25	8.2	6.9	13	\$ 12,707.00	\$ 27,337.00	23	73	\$ 558.00	37.1	47.4

Location by SW corner	population	percent female	percent male	resident median age	percent Military veteran	percent active military	percent unemployment rate	percent federal employee	dollars annual median per capita income	dollars annual median household income	percent residents below poverty level	percent renter occupied	dollars median contract rent	perc built before 1939	perc Single House
Naval, Burwell Pl.	15	28.6	71.4	29	25	8.2	6.9	13	\$ 12,707.00	\$ 27,337.00	23	75	\$ 558.00	37.1	47.4
Olympic, Burwell Pl.	78	43.8	56.2	35	25	8.2	6.9	13	\$ 12,707.00	\$ 27,337.00	23	63.9	\$ 558.00	37.1	47.4
Olympic, 4th	30	39.3	60.7	46	25	8.2	6.9	13	\$ 12,707.00	\$ 27,337.00	23	27.3	\$ 558.00	37.1	47.4
Olympic, 5th	39	45.9	54.1	43	25	8.2	6.9	13	\$ 12,707.00	\$ 27,337.00	23	25	\$ 558.00	37.1	47.4
Naval, 4th	56	41.5	58.5	42	25	8.2	6.9	13	\$ 12,707.00	\$ 27,337.00	23	32	\$ 558.00	37.1	47.4
Naval, 5th	55	53.8	46.2	38	25	8.2	6.9	13	\$ 12,707.00	\$ 27,337.00	23	45.8	\$ 558.00	37.1	47.4
Naval, 6th	2	0	100	35	26	3.4	5.9	10	\$ 25,794.00	\$ 49,773.00	18	100	\$ 513.00	57.5	79.1
Naval, 7th	46	51.2	48.8	30	26	3.4	5.9	10	\$ 25,794.00	\$ 49,773.00	18	50	\$ 513.00	57.5	79.1
Naval, 8th	39	48.6	51.4	25	26	3.4	5.9	10	\$ 25,794.00	\$ 49,773.00	18	41.7	\$ 513.00	57.5	79.1
Naval, 9th	29	59.3	40.7	33	26	3.4	5.9	10	\$ 25,794.00	\$ 49,773.00	18	50	\$ 513.00	57.5	79.1
Naval, 10th	38	55.6	44.4	45	26	3.4	5.9	10	\$ 25,794.00	\$ 49,773.00	18	68.4	\$ 513.00	57.5	79.1

Table 4. p. 140

Appendix C: Definitions

Gendered labor

The term *Gendered labor* is used in this thesis to describe labor that is overwhelmingly associated with a specific gender, and the prevailing culture's associated assumptions as defining qualities of that gender, as well as the associated cultural views of the labor positions. Within this thesis, gendered labor is most closely associated with the sexualization of labor roles of vice workers. In Bremerton, military and shipyard labor is overwhelmingly male, and vice labor is overwhelmingly female (Puget Sound Navy Museum, 2013).

Vice work and vice economy

There are many terms for labor performed in the entertainment and sex industries that are negatively associated with gendered, sexual, or labor oppression, which place moral judgment on the workers, or describe the laborers in victimized or passive terms. I find this problematic. Additionally, I found no available term that adequately described the specific inclusion of labor positions that, in other communities, might not necessarily fall within the same sexualized and gendered labor assumptions that are specific to the Bremerton vice economy's local image, as assumed by the dominant class.

Vice work

In an effort to discuss sexualized labor in terms that minimize negative associations and connotations, I classify these labors as *vice work*. I chose the term vice work to describe the industry associated with avarice and leisure activities for adults of majority age in Bremerton because it adequately describes the affiliated business and labor, without many of the usual associated value judgments and negative connotations of other terms commonly used to

describe these categories of labor. In addition, the term vice work is a label for the work performed, rather than a label put upon the worker, as a way to distinguish that the acts of labor are not intrinsic qualities of the workers' personage.

Sexualized labor

The term *sexualized labor* in this thesis is used for labor that is deemed erotic in nature or is eroticized by the community, and applies to labor or work places that symbolize erotic desire or activity to the community. (Allison, 1999; Boris, Gilmore, & Parreñas, 2010; Hegarty, 1998; Winchell, 2008). I stress here that a defining characteristic of sexualized labor is the assumption of the use of the workers' sexual appeal and the implication that the sexual appeal is a component of the commercial transaction.

For the purpose of this thesis, vice work includes sexualized and emotional labor in dance clubs, bars, lounges, erotic dance clubs, espresso stands, massage parlors, and sexual media cinemas and stores, for workers performing labor duties of prostitutes, dancers, hostesses, bouncers, bartenders, musicians, and beverage servers. Again, it is worthy of mention that the specifically sexualized nature of some of these jobs in Bremerton are not necessarily deemed sexual in nature in other American cities; rather, they more closely align with assumptions supported by political, social and economic dynamics observed in international militarily colonized cities where American military personnel patronize sex and sexualized labor markets.

Vice economy

I define *vice economy* within this thesis as the exchange of money, goods or favors for service labor that is sexualized by the consumer and / or the local labor market, or transactions for goods or services that are considered outside the accepted standards of moral or cultural

decency by the community. In addition to sexualized labor, this includes sexualized media material (magazines, films, videos), drug culture and paraphernalia stores, and tattoo parlors. Transactions for sexualized and emotional labor can assume or develop into financially substantial exchanges that resemble the sort of support exchanged within normalized domestic partnerships. These phenomena can produce lucrative compensation for workers, at times at a high psychological price.

Appendix D: Additional Readings

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Appendix E: Human Research Procedural Documentation

E.1: Approval letter for exempt status research



UNIVERSITY of WASHINGTON

HUMAN SUBJECTS DIVISION

Date: May 27, 2014

PI: Ms. Anna Fern
Student
IAS

RE: HSD study #47518
"Finding home in a temporary hometown"

Dear Ms. Fern:

The University of Washington Human Subjects Division (HSD) has determined that your research qualifies for exempt status in accordance with the federal regulations under 45 CFR 46.101/ 21 CFR 56.104. Details of this determination are as follows:

Exempt category determination: **Category 2**

Determination period: **5/27/2014 - 5/26/2019**

Although research that qualifies for exempt status is not governed by federal requirements for research involving human subjects, investigators still have a responsibility to protect the rights and welfare of their subjects, and are expected to conduct their research in accordance with the ethical principles of *Justice, Beneficence* and *Respect for Persons*, as described in the Belmont Report, as well as with state and local institutional policy.

Determination Period: An exempt determination is valid for five years from the date of the determination, as long as the nature of the research activity remains the same. If there is any substantive change to the activity that has determined to be exempt, one that alters the overall design, procedures, or risk/benefit ratio to subjects, the exempt determination will no longer be valid. Exempt determinations expire automatically at the end of the five-year period. If you complete your project before the end of the determination period, it is not necessary to make a formal request that your study be closed. Should you need to continue your research activity beyond the five-year determination period, you will need to submit a new *Exempt Status Request* form for review and determination *prior to implementation*.

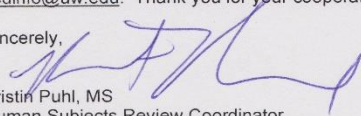
Revisions: Only modifications that are deemed "minor" are allowable, in other words, modifications that do not change the nature of the research and therefore do not affect the validity of the exempt determination. **Please refer to the Guidance document for more information about what are considered minor changes.** If changes that are considered to be "substantive" occur to the research, that is, changes that alter the nature of the research and therefore affect the validity of the exempt determination, a new *Exempt Status Request* must be submitted to HSD for review and determination *prior to implementation*.

Problems: If issues should arise during the conduct of the research, such as unanticipated problems, adverse events or any problem that may increase the risk to the human subjects and change the category of review, notify HSD promptly. Any complaints from subjects pertaining to the risk and benefits of the research must be reported to HSD.

Please use the HSD study number listed above on any forms submitted which relate to this research, or on any correspondence with the HSD office.

Good luck in your research. If we can be of further assistance, please contact us at (206) 543-0098 or via email at hsdinfo@uw.edu. Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,


Kristin Puhl, MS
Human Subjects Review Coordinator
(206) 543-3494
puhl@uw.edu

E.2: Narrative participant interview consent form

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON CONSENT FORM

INTERVIEWS for HSD study #47518 “Finding home in a temporary hometown”

Anna K. Fern, lead researcher, akfern@uw.edu, 360-xxx-xxxx

Dr. Charles Williams, faculty advisor and thesis committee chair

Dr. Caroline Hartse, thesis committee member

Researchers’ statement

We are asking you to be in a research study.

The purpose of this consent form is to give you the information you will need to help you decide whether to be in the study or not. Please read the form carefully. You may ask questions about the purpose of the research, what we would ask you to do, the possible risks and benefits, your rights as a volunteer, and anything else about the research or this form that is not clear.

When we have answered all your questions, you can decide if you want to be in the study or not. This process is called informed consent. We will give you a copy of this form for your records.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This study is investigating how residents living in Bremerton, Washington experience work, community, education, homes and neighborhoods. The purpose of conducting interviews is to discover how residents describe their experiences in their own words.

STUDY PROCEDURES

- The topics of the interviews will be on experiences as a homeowner or renter, and as a worker in the local economy of Bremerton, Washington.
- The interviews will be open-ended; there will be basic questions about these experiences, but there will be no required questions.
- Participants may refuse to answer any question or item in any interview.
- The interview topics and questions will be directed by the interests and comfort of the participants.
- The interviews will be recorded on an audio device, and the interviewer will also make written notes.
- Each interview will take approximately 30 minutes to one hour, at the discretion of the participants.
- At the conclusion of the interview, there will an opportunity by the interviewee to clarify any points of the conversation topic.

- 1) The interviewer will transcribe the interview verbatim, with the exception of any personally identifying information about the participant or others mentioned in the interview. Transcription will be completed within two weeks after the initial interview.
- 2) The interviewer will then submit the transcription electronically to the participant. Within 1 week, the interviewer will contact the participant to offer an optional follow-up interview to complete any amendments, clarifications or omissions. Participants have the option to approve of transcripts and wave follow-up interviews at any time. The follow-up interview will take approximately 30 minutes to one hour, at the discretion of the participants.
- 3) Following the second interview (if applicable), the interviewer will complete any amendments to the narrative in accordance with the clarifications or omissions agreed upon by the participants, and submit this document to the interviewee for final approval. This will occur within two weeks after the follow-up interview.
- 4) Upon receipt of the final narrative transcript, the participants will be asked to give written approval (hard copy or email) of the final narrative transcript within two weeks.
- 5) The maximum time commitment for participation in this study will be approximately 1-5 hours over a period of eight weeks. The study will last for six months in 2014.

RISKS, STRESS, OR DISCOMFORT

This study seeks to document the experiences of participants and as a result, risks will be little different than in any other social setting in which you might share about your life. However, participants should be aware that it is possible that recalling past experiences can lead to greater awareness of past events and could potentially lead to emotional discomfort.

In the event of an unforeseen breach of comfort, the participant is encouraged to state their concern and decline to proceed. If a recording of the interview is made, you will be given an opportunity to review the recording.

BENEFITS OF THE STUDY

Participants may gain a greater awareness and understanding of their experiences in the community. This experience could result in the participant feeling understood (by the researcher and themselves) in a new way.

CONFIDENTIALITY OF RESEARCH INFORMATION

The co-constructed narratives resulting from the interviews and collaborative editing process will be included in the interviewer's written thesis project. The audio recordings of the participant interviews will be kept in secured storage separate from any written records. Written records will not contain any personally identifying information and will be labeled with identifying codes only, to insure the anonymity of participants. These audio recordings will be retained for two years after the completion and publication of the thesis project, to 06/30/2017. During that time, these records will be available to the interviewer and faculty advisor(s) listed above.

Government and university staff sometimes review studies such as this one to make sure they are being done safely and legally. If a review of this study takes place, your records may be examined. The reviewers will protect your privacy. The study records will not be used to put you at legal risk of harm.

OTHER INFORMATION

You may refuse to participate and you are free to withdraw from this study at any time.

Participant's statement

This study has been explained to me. I volunteer to take part in this research. I have had a chance to ask questions. If I have questions later about the research, or if I have been harmed by participating in this study, I can contact one of the researchers listed on the first page of this consent form. If I have questions about my rights as a research participant, I can call the Human Subjects Division at (206) 543-0098. I will receive a copy of this consent form.

Printed name of participant

Signature of participant

Date

copies to: researcher, participant

E.3: Transcript release/approval instructions coversheet

Dear _____,

Here is a copy of the interview we did, transcribed word for word, with personally identifying information like names omitted for privacy.

There are also descriptive notes included at the beginning and end of the transcript that describe the setting for the interview. In addition, there are also some remembered notes from when the recorder was not turned on in the beginning, included at the end of the transcript.

I'd like to ask if you would read through this copy and note if there are any passages that you feel are too sensitive to share, or if there is identifying information that I may have overlooked that you would like to remove.

I feel a serious responsibility to represent your story in a way that you are completely comfortable with sharing, and that respects your right to control how it is represented, so I don't want to assume anything.

Just to remind you, your written transcript is stored in a password protected flash-drive, along with the audio recordings. The written transcripts, with the personal identification removed, have only been shared with my faculty advisors.

Any written information that will eventually be published in the thesis will appear there only with your final approval.

I'd like to thank you once again for participating in this interview for this research project. Your stories will be so helpful in representing real experiences of more Bremerton community members.

Very best regards,

Anna

Appendix F: Thesis Committee Approval

UW Graduate School Master's Supervisory Committee Approval Form

Student Instructions

1. Complete the student information section **and** sign the student agreement.
2. Obtain your committee members' signatures.
3. Scan your form (PDF) when it is completed and signed.
4. Upload the PDF to the Administrative Documents section of the UW ETD Administrator Site.
Deadline: 11:59 p.m. PST on the last day of the quarter

Note: If your form is incomplete (missing information and/or signatures) or if GEMS receives it after the deadline, you will be required to register the following quarter or pay the \$250 Graduate Registration Waiver Fee: <http://www.grad.washington.edu/policies/general/regwaiver.shtml>

Student Information

Name: Anna K Fern Student ID #:
 Graduation (Quarter/Year): Spring 2016 UW Email Account:
 Name of Degree: MAIS Program: SIAS

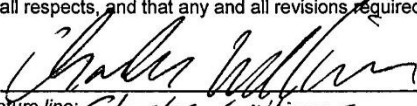
Student Agreement

I certify that I have presented my master's supervisory committee with the final copy of my master's thesis for examination and approval.

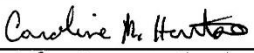
Signature of Student:  Date: 6/2/2016

Master's Supervisory Committee Agreement

I certify that I have examined the final copy of the above student's master's thesis and have found that it is complete and satisfactory in all respects, and that any and all revisions required by the final examining committee have been made.

Signature of Committee Chair:  Date: 5/27/2016
 Print name below signature line: Charles Williams

Signature of Committee Co-Chair (if applicable): _____ Date: _____
 Print name below signature line: _____

Signature of Committee Member:  Date: 5/31/2016
 Print name below signature line: Caroline M. Hartze

Signature of Committee Member: _____ Date: _____
 Print name below signature line: _____

Signature of Committee Member: _____ Date: _____
 Print name below signature line: _____

Questions: Please contact Graduate Enrollment Management Services (GEMS) at uwgrad@uw.edu or 206.685.2630.