Personal Statement: Endless gratitude to those who shaped my understanding

Thank you to Professor Mijin Cha, who taught me that the professional or measurable truth is not inherently objective, which opened up space for me to explore the possibilities of the subjective. Thank you to Professor Bhavna Shamasunder who unconsciously piqued my interest in toxics years ago, and very consciously guided me through the process of understanding this project.

Special thanks to my father, whose environmental neuroses and politicized identity as the child who watched his father and family experience military bodily alteration raised me to approach the world around me cautiously and critically. And special thanks to my mother, who tempered that firm positionality and kept us from our own little mutually-assured destruction.

Individual Site Understanding

My personal conception of environmentalism, environmental alteration, and the sheer power of our environment in influencing our experience is rooted in my personal experience and family mythology surrounding Naval Base Kitsap.

The first experience of that understanding came from interacting with the Sound itself: looking out for seals and seagulls in the water, turning rocks over on the beaches to reveal tiny crabs, holding those crabs in my hands as I looked out over the water. My eyes were called by the sun-sparkles in the waves and the lush trees on the shore and the cloudy sky up above, overwhelmed with the experience of what I would later learn was called the sublime.

Simultaneously, I experienced the human built environment, which masked, supplemented, sometimes ruined, occasionally enhanced, and inevitably **altered** the experience of the "natural." Seals were spotted sunning on navigation buoys, as we watched from our seats sheltered within the passenger ferry loaded up with cars taking commuters from job to home. The tiny crabs I disturbed on the rocky beaches scuttled over bits of trash and found shelter in old tires.

I remember I would wrinkle my nose at the smell when I was in Bremerton exploring the shore, the foul odor standing out from the usual bite of saltwater, kelp, and sea mist that I had come to expect on a beach in the Northwest. My aunt told me once it was from sewage releases, and pointed across the water to the shipyard. My eyes followed her finger and I ogled at the massive crane and boats, big enough to seem supernatural themselves, even sublime.

Just like in that memory, my personal bodily experiences were all supplemented by information that was shared with me from my family, creating sort of a familial site mythology, or a personal site definition. Some of that information was their own experience, some just speculation, all filled in with the rumors and stories and public service announcements they had heard over a lifetime in Bremerton which informed their own site understanding.

Much of it could very well have been false, but to us, **it feels real. That is our reality.**

Body/environment interaction: stills from a video my sisters and I took in 2016.

Introduction and Roadmap

Commented [1]: so freaking beautiful

Commented [2]: i mean well written lol

Now that you have been introduced to my personal site understanding, we will zoom out and look at an overview of regional history to gain context and understand the significance of this site, through looking at the risks, benefits, and understood impacts of this site. I suggest the reader take a moment to look over the site map inserted at the end of this document, created by Innana McCarty, another student researcher at Evergreen State College.

This project looks at the way community members understand this history and come to define the complex risks, benefits, and systems of codependence which are felt by stakeholders when a community is formed with such a clear industrial purpose. This paper explores broadly how media framing constructs, informs, and even distorts the understanding of a site, and asks what implications that distortion may have for industrial communities as they strive to define their personal experiences and make informed decisions with regard to potential industrial risks and benefits.

To answer these questions, we will turn to literature on the construction of institutional, popular and individual understandings to better understand the way a community negotiates the definition of their reality, as well as the role that media plays in that negotiation between different understandings.

After an introduction to previous community site understandings and literature on their construction, we will look specifically at the Kitsap Sun as a negotiator and disseminator of site definitions, exploring the paper's influence on the construction of community reality and community industrial impact understandings.

Commented [3]: introduction and zoom out

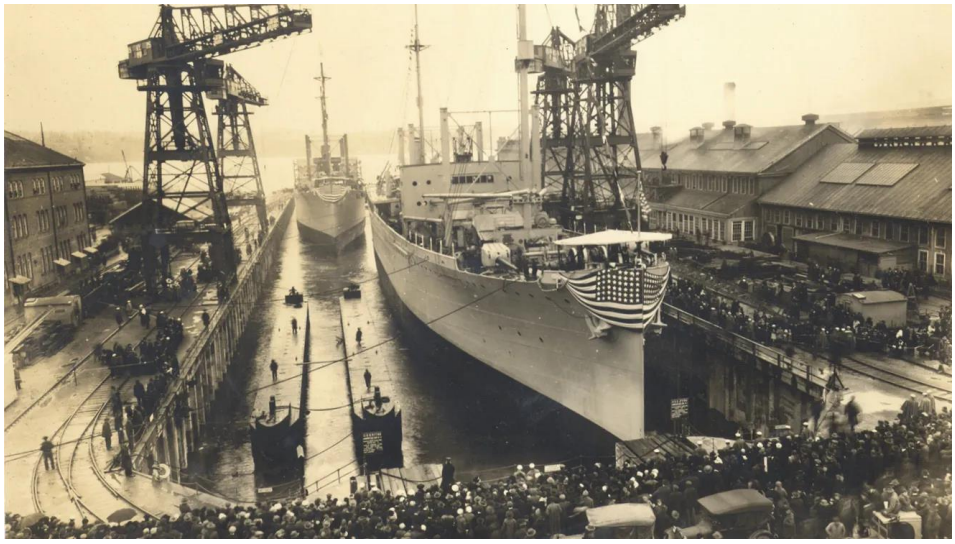
Commented [4]: expand: this is where i introduce project

Commented [5]: introduction and zoom out

Commented [6]: expand: this is where i introduce project

Commented [7]: introduction and zoom out

Site Background



Puget Sound Naval Museum- the celebration of the launching of ammunition ships, likely the first ever to be launched and produced at the Shipyard, in December 1919. Onlookers ogle and cheer- a huge spectacle of patriotism, naval identity, and industrial pride.

Naval Base Kitsap Overview: The Economic and Environmental Legacies of Industry

Legacy of a Powerful Naval Economy

The present-day dominance of the naval yard on Bremerton's downtown geography is true to the historical dominance of Naval interests on land-use decisions in the region. Founded alongside the development of the Naval Shipyard itself, the city of Bremerton and surrounding Kitsap county communities have a longstanding, seemingly codependent relationship with the presence of Naval activity (Wallingford 2001). Accounts of Bremerton and Kitsap history center around naval interest in the area, true to the historical reasoning for the development of the region (City of Bremerton). In the late 19th century, businessman William Bremer began to buy up large

swaths of land in the region which became known as Bremerton with the intent to resell the property to the Navy, understanding the economic activity which Naval presence would have on the area in which he intended to grow his fortune (McClary 2003). Bremer bought land which had already been altered and extracted from by the logging industry (City of Bremerton), focusing not on its depleted state but instead on the potential for a new kind of industrial land use. The capital-serving vision of Bremer aligned with Naval interest in establishing a Naval presence in the North Pacific, and a deal was struck. This deal initiated the transformation of what was once a forest, now a site of exploited land marked by tree stumps and logging roads, envisioning it as a potential site for a new, modernized land exploitation: *"there were profits to be made by investing in the future of 'Bremerton'"* (McClary 2003).

The economic activity of land sales, development, and the construction of infrastructural support for this Naval construction project initiated the formation of a small Naval-industrial community (Wallingford 2001). Local contractors were awarded expensive construction contracts (McClary 2003), which employed locals and required the import of materials and thus encouraged the creation of supply chains and economic networks which further cemented the region as an industrial hub. By 1903, the shipyard had established itself as the largest employer in the region "by far" (McClary 2003). Community members who were not employed directly by the navy were likely to be employed by a supporting industry necessitated by the naval project, or otherwise benefitting from the infrastructural and economic development occurring as a result of naval industrial presence (McClary 2003). In this way, dating back to the very founding of the city and the development of the region, citizens and businesses rightfully understood the Navy as a generator of regional economy, a source of prosperity, and an entity which they were dependent on for infrastructural development and economic advancement.

Commented [8]: god lucy this all is so interesting- you're setting the paper up super well

Just as the region became more dependent on the industrial significance of Naval Base Kitsap, the Navy became increasingly reliant on Naval Base Kitsap (NBK) as a crucial part of their military infrastructure. The attack on Pearl Harbor and conflict with Japan during WWII cemented the reliance on NBK, as ammunition and ships were sent to the site as a naval hub in the Pacific (Drosendahl 2018). Supporting the wartime defense effort was a huge undertaking, and the shipyard was constantly operational, employing over 32,000 people by 1945. Many of these employees lived in Seattle, and ferried back and forth daily, the foundation of demand for Seattle's famous ferry system and of much of Seattle's industrial economy.

The Naval Base continued to grow both physically and in its cultural importance to the region, becoming more and more embedded in the space and identity of the city of Bremerton and Kitsap County. In 1944, the NBK-Bangor Segregation Area was established as an ammunition base, neighboring the Hood Canal (Drosendahl 2018). The site was established as a segregation mechanism for dangerous ammunition and explosives with the idea that it would be further from Puget Sound Naval Shipyard (PSNS) and surrounding industrial communities, though the site was in fact closer to the Suquamish historical and current territory (Suquamish History and Culture). This was not a deterrent to naval development at the time, as honoring the Indigenous right to land sovereignty was certainly not a dominant national priority, and continues to be given less importance than Nationalist projects like wealth accumulation or imperial warfare even today.

The end of WWII in 1945 meant a change of task for the shipyard. The mission shifted from repair work to a focus on deactivation, and the site was renamed the Puget Sound Naval Shipyard. The workforce shrank to just 9,000 full-time shipyard employees, who largely were assigned work on deactivation and overhauls. (McClary 2003). Other than the construction of a

few new surface ships, work at PSNS was overwhelmingly focused on repair, overhaul, and conversion throughout the 1950s.

In the early 1960s, PSNS once again redefined its mission: as the shipyard underwent the construction of new Dry-Dock No. 6 which enabled them to work on the new class of aircraft carriers, it was also designated as a repair facility for submarines, and a nuclear-capable repair facility (McClary 2003). The 1973 completion of a designated nuclear repair facility made firm the existing mission emphasis on submarines and nuclear powered ships, though work on conventional surface ships continued. The process for nuclear decommissioning and recycling was developed by the PSNS team, and has remained a practice exclusive to this single site (MyBaseGuide).

Site closures in the 1990s cut the number of Naval Shipyards (NSYs) in half, leaving PSNS as one of only 4 NSYs in the country and the only NSY on the West Coast (Farley Nov. 2021, Drosendahl 2018). This consolidation of operations increased Naval dependency on PSNS as a necessary part of defense infrastructure. To this day, the shipyard is the Navy's largest and most diverse repair facility, "unique in its ability to perform work on all Navy platforms" (Drosendahl 2018). Puget Sound Naval Shipyard and the Intermediate Maintenance Facility (PSNS & IMF) remains the only Naval facility authorized to decommission and recycle nuclear-powered submarines and ships (MyBaseGuide.com).

Following the closure of Naval shipyard sites, some have reevaluated the relationship between their community and naval industry and taken stock of the benefits and hazards it generated. Communities like Bayview which surrounds decommissioned Hunters' Point Shipyard in San Francisco–a site of nuclear testing, nuclear weapons construction and myriad toxic releases–have come to the popular conclusion that naval industry left behind an overwhelmingly negative

legacy (Brahinsky). Perhaps because of the ongoing economic benefit in Kitsap, or perhaps, because of differences in the physical reality of toxic impact and/or differences in perceived impact rooted in differences in stakeholder identity, reviewing published and otherwise available accounts of Naval Base Kitsap gives the impression that the community continues to understand this site as a source whose benefits outweigh possible risks.

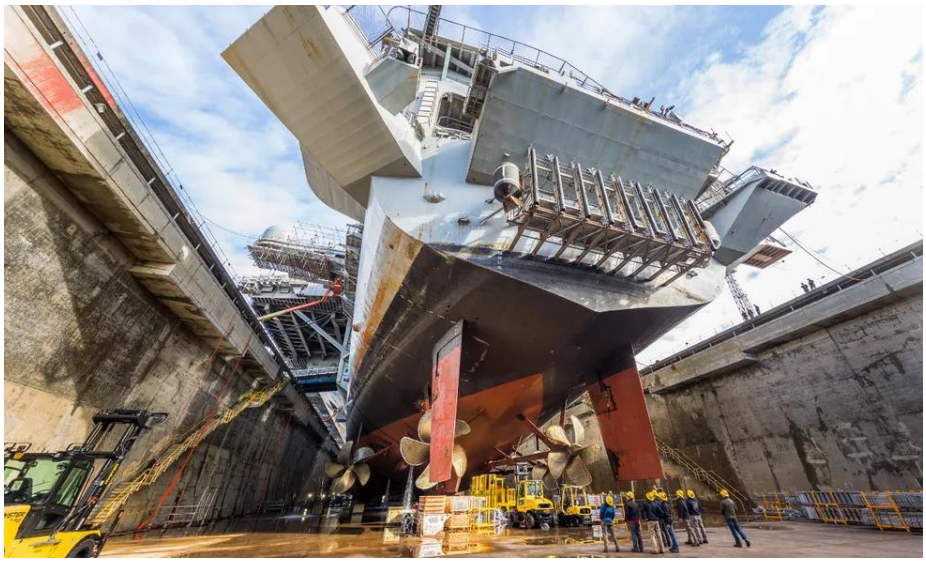
A critical read of these accounts could ask whether defense dependence on this site is restricting the ways that the site is allowed to be discussed, at least in dominant media. As the Naval industry in Kitsap increases in both regional and national importance, site closure becomes less and less feasible, and the Navy has announced publicly that they have plans to continue utilizing the site as both a nuclear weapons storage facility and as a Naval shipyard at least through 2080 (Kristensen 2016). The Shipyard serves an increasingly important role in the Naval project as the only NSY certified to recycle nuclear ships, a role which becomes more crucial each year as the Navy continues its reliance on nuclear propulsion and obsession with nuclear weaponry (News Appendix). Many community members continue to take great pride in the site's current role as a defense necessity and a site of patriotism[1] and industrial excellence[2], though many have concerns about the heavy industry, especially as it becomes increasingly nuclear[3].

[1] Veteran flag article

[2] https://www.google.com/url?q=https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2022/02/07/its-repairs-complete-uss-nimitz-heads-out-bremerton-sea-trials/6691018001/&sa=D&source=editors&ust=1680123678361483&usg=AOvVaw1YEnclol3I6d3Ist7UaxcY

[3] Mary Gleysteen article, FAS,

Legacy of Heavy Naval Industry



Via Kitsap Sun: the USS Nimitz aircraft carrier in dry dock in 2018. PSNS & IMF Photo by Thiep Van Nguyen II

Over a century of industrial activity, Naval Base Kitsap has been tasked with a variety of operations in service of the defense industrial economy. Along with the more glamorized task of shipbuilding, PSNS is also responsible for "overhaul, maintenance, modernization, repair, docking and decommissioning of ships and submarines" (McClary 2003). This section will briefly address the details and specific industrial impact associated with each activity.

***"A Nuclear Waste Site Being Treated Like a Regular Shipyard": Challenges with understanding environmental impact*:** Scientific/political expert consensus is that there is a general lack of understanding of the environmental impact and real processes associated with shipbuilding and shipyard industry. A report from the OECD Council Working Party on Shipbuilding summarizes this struggle: "there is inadequate information available for drawing a

Commented [9]: This transition is a bit weird

Commented [10]: maybe just have it be like a subheading and then the text starts below

Commented [11]: wait I see what youre doing! totally disregard

comprehensive picture of the shipbuilding industry's environmental impact; thus demonstrating a clear and timely need for greater environmental focus and transparency in the industry." (OECD 2010). This lack of clarity on general industrial impact is made worse by the lack of transparency on potential military-specific toxics which could be present at this site. Community members shared their concern about the lack of transparency and apparent lack of monitoring of unknown hazards: one respondent shared that "this is a nuclear waste site being treated as a shipyard, when in reality it should be the other way around". Considering the accepted environmental hazards associated with a non-nuclear shipyard covered below, one could argue that a community should be concerned about proximity to either.

Shipbuilding: Shipbuilding is the industrial activity most associated with regional pride in Kitsap's role in the Naval-Industrial economy. The primary environmental concerns attributed to shipbuilding are emissions from metalwork and leachates from surface treatments, as well as general concerns about contamination from toxic raw materials (OECD 2010). Contaminants of concern include lead, biocides, and a variety of hazardous air pollutants.

The construction of these steel goliaths obviously involves a considerable amount of metalworking, including thermal metal cutting, grinding, and gas welding (OECD 2010). Metal gas-cutting involves a thermal release process which relies on gas heating, which itself produces hazardous air pollutants, greenhouse gasses, and particulate matter (PM). Welding and gas cutting both involve the heating of metal to the point of a change in state from solid to liquid, and often involve the combination of multiple different metal compounds, so there is an embedded expectation of emissions. Depending on the metal being heated, these emissions could range from everyday combustion pollutants to high-level releases of neurotoxins like lead. Contaminants of particular concern include but are not limited to: particulate matter, metal oxide

fumes (iron oxide, zinc oxides), and heavy metals (cadmium, chromium, cobalt, lead, manganese, nickel, and lead) (OECD 2010). These contaminants are associated with cancers, neurodegeneration, sensitivities such as bronchitis or dermatitis, organ damage, and myriad other known and unknown health effects (Gavhane et al, Zavestoski et al).

The other dominant environmental concern associated with shipbuilding is the usage of antifouling paint on the ship exterior. Antifouling paints are intended to protect ship surface integrity and fuel efficiency through preventing colonies of barnacles or other marine animals from settling on the ship surface. Antifouling paints usually rely on a biocide toxin, "designed to leach slowly into the marine environment to poison and stop marne organisms from settling [on the ship surface]" (OECD 2010). In the case of biocide antifouling, toxics are not a byproduct of a process but the intent of the product itself. Biocide antifouling paint is applied with the knowledge that marine ecosystems and even human health can be affected by the process, but the benefits to industrial efficiency are determined by decision makers to be worth the hazard.

The most common antifouling product from the 1960s through the 1980s was the use of Organtins such as Tributyltin, though it has been banned from marine use due to obvious toxicity and concerns about bioaccumulation among non-target organisms (OECD 2010, Lah 2011). The navy claims the most commonly used antifouling over the past 100 years of Naval shipbuilding has been cuprous oxide suspended in vinyl, which is less toxic but also less effective than organotin antifouling (Dowd 1983). However, recommendations were made in 1983 that the Navy switch from cuprous oxide antifouling to the more harmful and more efficient organotin antifouling, and that recommendation reveals that organotin use was tested on naval vessels and proved to be effective (Dowd 1983). A 2008 global ban on TBT use likely discontinued that practice. Current antifouling producer SeaCoat claims that their product Sea-Speed, a

polysiloxane coating, has been used by the Navy since 2001. Polysiloxane is largely biocide-free or at least contains much lower concentrations, and thus is advertised as an environmentally-friendly alternative. However, the choice to begin using a less environmentally damaging substance does not undo the years of usage of highly toxic antifouling agents, and so these substances still must be understood as part of the industrial legacy and potential toxic footprint of the shipyard.

Overhaul, Maintenance and Repair: Overhauls, maintenance and repair are associated with all of the above metalwork and surface treatment concerns recurring whenever the respective processes are undertaken, but there is additional concern associated with maintaining operational ships especially when they have seen combat.

The surface treatments described above are reapplied semi-regularly, as coverage only is effective for 1-10 years, depending on the product. Ships undergoing overhaul or maintenance are likely to have surface coating reapplied. Reapplication requires the removal of the previous coat and whatever substances have become attached to the ship surface. This removal is achieved through sandblasting and other friction-based scrubbing. Sandblasting is another process which is by design a heavy polluter. Abrasive blasting "creates large quantities of wastes that consist of spent abrasives mixed with surface elements such as paint chips, oil, and toxic metals" (OECD 2010). Already these paint chips and toxic metals could pose environmental or health hazards, but in the case of military shipbuilding, there are additional unknown hazards associated.

When ships are being repaired, it is likely that they have been involved in some form of real or simulated combat situation. Both active combat and training situations or weapons testing can contaminate ships with radioactive contaminants, toxic metals, and other toxic chemicals. One of the most severe radioactive exposures to take place at PSNS occurred during maintenance on

ships which had been present for atom bomb tests in 1946. Despite not being present for the tests themselves, workers were exposed to heavy levels of radiation as "the hulls, piping, and some weather decks were contaminated with radioactivity and several hundred micrograms of plutonium, the deadliest substance known" (Pritchett Jan 6 1994). Workers were not warned of the radioactive concern, and were not provided with any personal protective equipment. This history shows that the navy is neither overly cautious nor transparent with concerns about combat-related toxins that could affect workers conducting routine repairs.

Decommissioning: Because of the erosion of materials and the added pollutants which can be absorbed by the ship as it moves throughout a polluted environment, the OECD report tells us recycling and decommissioning is associated with the most severe environmental impacts even when military toxics are not a concern:

> *"When a ship is scrapped, steel is recovered by cutting the ship hulls and other structural parts into steel plates. This process can lead to the discharge of pollutants such as lead, cadmium, organotins, arsenic, zinc and chromium stemming from the steel's paint… It should therefore come as no surprise that ship recycling activities pose an enormous threat not only to the immediate workforce, but also to the marine environment that surrounds the dismantling yards; a situation that is aggravated by lax and poorly enforced safety and environmental requirements"* (OECD 2010).

Human and environmental health concerns are especially severe in the face of the largely unknown radioactive and toxic concerns associated with the nuclear fleet and specifically nuclear recycling. Military toxicity is challenging to research because a lack of transparency and a structural lack of oversight and routine testing is an inherent part of the continuation of the

military industrial project, as transparency about certain toxics could pose both a defense threat and an existential threat to the idea of military industry if individuals determined defense benefits were not worth such severe risk (Zavestoski). Because PSNS is the only shipyard certified for nuclear recycling and the process and industry standards were established there, and because independent testing has been discouraged and even outright banned, there has not been significant scientific exploration of the potential health and environmental implications of this process (see News Appendix).

Because of the exclusive reliance on PSNS for nuclear recycling, there is often a backlog of vessels which need to be decommissioned and recycled: many nuclear vessels, including those which have seen nuclear combat, are held in wet storage in the Puget Sound for up to 15 years (NEPA). When the shipyard has availability, the vessel is moved into dry docking and the nuclear reactor compartment is removed from the ship's structure using the metal cutting technologies described above: torches, hand-held saws, and angle grinders (Diakov et al, 1997). The associated environmental concerns described above are a risk in this process, as well as the additional concerns of potential radioactive contamination. At present, reactor compartments are transported to the Hanford Nuclear Reservation, though they have previously been shipped to an Idaho research facility, and were even temporarily stored in lead-encased trailers on site at the shipyard itself (CITE NEWS ARTICLE). Over 100 nuclear ships have been decommissioned at the site (December 5, 1993). The recycling and especially storage of nuclear fuel cells is perhaps the most contested industrial process which has occurred at this historically-industrial site.

Commented [12]: https://products.kitsapsun.com/archive/1994/02-25/290146_radiation__dicks_urges_compensa.html Records show hundreds of PSNS workers were exposed to a mix of radioactivity and plutonium aboard 18 ships brought to the Bremerton yard from 1946 to 1948.

The vessels were sent to the yard for decontamination and study after they took part in a pair of 1946 atom bomb tests at Bikini Atoll dubbed "Operation rossroads."

Some workers sandblasted plutonium off the ships' hulls, while others clambered around the interior of target ships still hot with radioactivity.

Modern Day Kitsap: *Building on a Proud Tradition*

Present-Day Site Description

Unsurprising considering such a rich and interconnected history, Naval industry has an inescapable presence in Kitsap County, observable physically in the massive and visible industrial sites but also culturally in the emphasis on Naval history in the region.

View of Puget Sound Naval Shipyard from the ferry, taken on the way to Grandma's house in 2022.

A description of the experience of visiting Bremerton, the largest city in Kitsap county, illustrates the centrality of naval industry: Located directly adjacent to the ferry terminal, the Shipyard is one of the first things a visitor or commuter sees as they enter the city. Departing the ferry, one is met with more tributes to the importance of this site and the history it contains: the first building to the left is a Naval History Museum, featuring an outdoor sculptural installation

constructed from the remains of one of the ships operated on at the neighboring shipyard (Puget Sound Navy Museum 2022). This sculpture is one of many in the area surrounding the ferry, leading the visitor into the adjacent Puget Sound Naval Shipyard Memorial Memorial Plaza, which encourages families to come and play in this monument to wartime industry. Continue walking down the block and you walk right up to the guarded gates of the Puget Sound Naval Shipyard where floods of employees come pouring out at the end of the traditional work day, visually emphasizing the massive role this site holds as a key regional employer.

For visitors and the many daily commuters coming off the ferry, this infrastructural and cultural centering of the shipyard sets the tone for the city. This industrial centering is continued in the ways Bremerton and the rest of Kitsap County has spatially and socially given itself over to this Naval yard.

Present-day community demographics

The sense of solidarity-with and benefit-from the Naval presence in the region is certainly not found in the communities surrounding other sites of Naval or Military activity, as has been richly documented in news coverage on the struggles between Native Hawaiians and the Pearl Harbor NSY,[4] or the activism of Bayview residents in San Francisco who blame the Hunters Point NSY for adverse human health effects.[5] One source of difference in whether the communities would view the benefits of the NSY from the role of an insider or outsider is found in the racial identity of the Bremerton region. The census estimates Bremerton's current population to be over 70% White, significantly higher than the areas surrounding comparable NSYs and higher even than

[4] News: Oahu and Pearl Harbor NSY
[5] News: BVHP

neighboring Seattle (Census 2021).[6] Due to the benefits which many White families received (and many Black families importantly did not receive) in the 1900s for military involvement and sacrifice to their country, white people have much more reason to have faith in the military as an employer and in their government as a source of social support than individuals from communities which have had more extractive interactions with government or military programs. One distinct exception to this White-majority population is the influence of the Indigenous community and specifically the nearby Suquamish tribe, whose present territory is up the Sound from Bremerton (Suquamish- Suquamish Today 2015). Although the official tribal territory no longer includes the land currently known as Bremerton, these lands and especially the waterways which run through them are of significance to the tribe both ecologically and culturally (Suquamish- History and Culture 2015). Suquamish official statements remain a powerful alternative perspective in the land use discussion, emphasizing the impact of industry on Salmon populations and marine ecologies which are of significance to the tribe (Suquamish- Protecting Treaty Resources 2015). Using the tool of legal action against polluting practices which restrict their right to use Treaty-reserved fishing areas, the Suquamish Tribe has been an important legal challenger to the dominant approval of Naval industrial practices (Farley *sand* 2022).

Commented [13]: shamasunder wants demographics, a map

Present-day regional economy

The overwhelmingly white racial identity of the region should not be used to jump to the conclusion that the area has been protected wholly from the economic extraction and environmental devastation associated with this kind of industry, as there are many other characteristics that make the Bremerton region vulnerable to economic exploitation. One

[6] % White: Norfolk: 46, Bremerton: **71%,** Honolulu cty 21%, SF county 51% (with BV being significantly lower)

characteristic which makes locals particularly dependent on naval employment is the low college-education rate: though high school graduation rates in Bremerton are on par with Seattle, only 25% of Bremerton residents have received a bachelor degree or other post-secondary education (Census 2021). The result of this is a large labor body, with limited employment opportunities in tiny Bremerton where even when measured per capita, retail sales are barely a quarter of that of nearby Seattle, and where there are limited employers outside of the realm of Naval influence (Census 2021). With this many labor-class citizens, the massive industry provided by military activity is certainly felt as a contributor to the labor economy. Employment data estimates that in 2019 there were over 17,000 active military personnel and just under 18,000 civilian workers based in Kitsap County, as well as 8,000 defense contractors (Vleming 2022).

Naval Base Kitsap as a presently politicized site

With both impact extremes of industrial toxic risk and industrial economic benefit now having been outlined, we can understand why individual assessments of this site differ. Some community members focus on the economic benefits associated with the employment created by this labor-intensive work, while others are more concerned with the environmental, health, and defense concerns associated with shipyard and especially nuclear industry.

These variations in understanding, experienced reality, and risk/benefit analysis are not based in variances inherent to the individual: understandings and definitions of places and problems are constructed throughout ones' life through experience and through engagement with social and institutional knowledge systems (Brown 1992, Zavestoski, MacKendrick). The following section will explore literature which gives insight into that construction process.

Previous literature on coming to understand industrial impact

A site with such strong significance for the surrounding community is unsurprisingly surrounded by a complex system of connecting and often contradictory understandings of site history, site impact, and site significance. There are hundreds of thousands of individuals sharing space with Naval Base Kitsap, and there are an equal number of differing opinions, personal histories, and cost-benefit understandings. Commonalities in site understandings can in some ways be attributed to similar experiences and identities, but they can also often be traced back to the construction and dissemination of top-down site understandings.

Returning to the personal site description this research and this paper began with, we can understand the construction of individual understanding to be a process of learning from individual experience and socially-disseminated narratives. In order to understand how individual understandings are constructed in Kitsap County, we first need to separately define individual and institutional knowledge, and then look at how individuals and communities negotiate between them when they differ. We will then look at news media as a proposed site of this negotiation, and discuss whether that negotiation would be possible given the institutional stronghold on 21st century news media.

A review of the literature on the origins, construction, and dissemination of these distinct knowledge systems reveals some of the utilities and biases associated with each way of knowing. Further, reviewing the role of media both as a disseminator of different understandings and as a negotiator between differing knowledge systems gives us an understanding of the utility of

media as a definer, as well as the possibilities and limitations of modern media with respect to this role.

Previous sociological literature has very comprehensively addressed the construction of narratives of risk and environmental impact (MacKendrick), as well as the role of the community in sharing embodied risk understandings (Brown, embodied) and the negotiation between lay and professional understandings of bodily environmental risk (Brown, Zavestoski et al). However, the benefits, risks and different impacts of this site as experienced by the community are interconnected to the point where analysis requires looking at all impact measures simultaneously. The economic, political, and identity impacts of this site are used to justify and complicate known environmental and potential health impacts, and community members understand and experience all of these impacts as interrelated and irreversibly connected. As such, the narrative construction is complicated as the impact accounts being dissipated are rarely limited to the negatives of risk (see News Appendix). Despite this deviation from medical-sociological literature which exclusively centers on risk understandings, this paper will still center theory on the social construction of impact understandings in the findings of environmental risk literature, as it most closely details the construction of personal understandings of the costs and benefits of industrial sites. This risk-narrative construction analysis will thus be extended to other forms of perceived industrial impact for our purposes.

Ways of Knowing

Institutional Understandings

The social construction of industrial risk, industrial impact

Sociological theory presents reality as socially constructed, defined both by the "objective" truth of a situation and the popular and individual perception of this truth which determines both

outlook and behavior, in turn creating the so-called objective reality of a situation (Thomas and Thomas 1928). Understandings of risk, and industrial impact in general, are especially constructed as both the reality and perception of the impact are determined by the industrial institution. Especially in the case of nuclear, toxic, and otherwise inherently high-risk industries, risk is often not the product of an accident or failure of expected practices, but instead an embedded property of the intended industrial model (Perrow 1984). Given that institutional production of industrial impact possibilities –including possibilities of community benefit and community risk– the disseminated perspective of the responsible institution can shed light on both the realities of industrial alteration and the way the responsible institution would like for us to understand them.

Institutional narrative construction

Risk sociology tells us that while expert systems always exert some control over individual and popular understandings of a problem, they have particularly strong ownership over the problem definition when the problem or the means of measuring it are highly technical (MacKendrick 2010, 132). Conversations of industrial impact are highly professionally and institutionally dominated as they are often most officially and "credibly" measured and defined by economic and scientific expert understandings: industry economists control claims about the economic benefits, whereas environmental risk understandings are controlled by institutionally-controlled scientific organizations.

Institutions and entities with particular social influence over the definition of a problem have the opportunity to create unified *narratives:"unique discursive constructions that provide essential means for maintaining or reproducing stability and/or promoting or resisting change in and*

around organizations" (Vaara et al, 2016).[7] When coming from supporters of a project, these narratives filter the understood objective reality of the situation through the interests of industry, generating an understanding of reality to be disseminated to the public which is favorable to the project (Ninan 2022). Conversely, institutions and communities with stakes which place them in opposition to an industrial project can use their social power to create counternarratives in opposition to the site which complicates the reality presented by the supportive narrative (Ninan 2022, Brown 1998).

Government-institutional narratives

Ownership over the definition of industry impact is particularly monopolized by industries and institutions when information important to understanding the truth of impact is protected as a trade secret. MacKendrick explores sociological literature on the role of institutions in producing risk understandings, and concludes that narrative dissemination exerts "tremendous influence" over risk understandings especially when the information being disseminated is otherwise unavailable or inaccessible to the public (MacKendrick 2010, Ninan 2022). What is left out of this exploration, however, is a discussion of the role of secrecy in creating such an information vacuum. Medical sociology on military-specific impact understandings fills in this understanding and introduces us to the informational chokehold inherent to the project of military industry (Zavestoski et al, 2004).

One narrative control tactic specific to military industry is the defense justification of secrecy: the DoD is given "special privileges to withhold information" that they claim necessitate secrecy to protect government or defense security (Zavestoski et al, 2004). Of course, because of the element of secrecy, this is entirely self-policed: only those with privileged access to this

[7] Vaara et al, 2016

information are included in the decision to release or not release information, and thus these decisions are made in-house and without community input. This secrecy includes the protection of information pertaining to trade secrets with the justification that they would be dangerous if adopted by our defensive rivals, meaning information regarding potential chemical or nuclear processes, and thus their resulting risk, is withheld (Zavestoski et al 2004). Secrecy extends to the protection of information that could reveal troop weaknesses or defensive insufficiency, as we saw during the Covid-19 pandemic as Naval officials refused to release specific case counts due to the risk of attack if they were to reveal their troops to be compromised (Farley March 31 2020). Further, there have historically been no laws requiring the collection of biometric health data among those in the service, and so even if data were to be required to be released, a history of under documentation has created a sort of brilliant level of plausible deniability (Zavestoski et al 2004). Military industry and other government industrial projects remain uncovered by many governmental regulatory systems which prevent employee harm, such as OSHA (OSHA). Because of this system of self-policing, statements coming from within Military-Industrial spaces are heavily controlled and disseminated almost exclusively through spokespersons and government officials (see News appendix). Officers are sworn in with the requirement of supporting the National Defense Project, and dissent is both socially discouraged and harshly punished. Given the limitations and the intentions of naval-industrial messaging, it is not surprising that the majority of Naval-industrial statements blindly support or defend their project, with more stake placed in defending or supporting the current project than is placed in accurately representing the environmental, economic, and bodily impact that community members, Military employees, and the enlisted might be experiencing.

Scientific understandings

Though there is a tendency to believe in science as an objective means of describing a reality, any professional understanding must be approached very critically when the institution they are examining exerts extreme social power. Lay-knowledge proponent Phil Brown synthesizes arguments from the sociology of science to argue for a removal of stake in the so-called-objective: "*scientific knowledge is not absolute, but rather is the subject of debate among scientists. Scientific knowledge is shaped by social forces such as media influence, economic interest, political pressure, and social movement activism"* (Ideas from *Latour 1987*, *Aronowittz 1988; Dickinson 1984,* via Brown 1992). Just like individual understandings, scientific understandings are inextricably linked to and influenced by popular and institutional understandings. When these popular and institutional understandings are influenced by industrial interests, scientific understandings are inevitably biased by that influence.

Knowing that institutions which hold social and economic power exert outsized influence on the problem-defining process, we can now look at how that influence could be exerted on the so-called objective sciences (MacKendrick 2010, Ninan 2022). Scientific expert spaces mostly exist in academia, the public sector, and private think-spaces which receive funding from both public, personal, and corporate funding streams. It would be naive to think that this monetary support comes without any conditions, or without some level of influence. Brown acknowledges this as he continues his synthesis of sociological views on scientific knowledge creation, calling on Aronowitz (1988) and Dickson (1984) to argue: "*scientific inquiry is tied to corporate, political, and foundation connections that direct research and interpretation toward support for the status quo"* (Brown 1992, 272). The scientific realm is thus limited not only by the limitations of what information is readily available within a system of extreme military secrecy, but also by political

and economic controls on their ability to present, analyze, and draw connections around that available information.

Because science is conducted by individuals with inherent stakes and bias, often in institutional settings with stakes of their own, various sociological schools of thought agree that it is important to approach it not as a representation of the absolute truth but instead as a presentation of a combination of facts, measurements, and narrative constructions, equally revealing of interests, stakes, and power struggles as it is of the "truth".

Institutional narrative dissemination

The economic and social importance of a project increases the incentives for and likelihood of industrial, governmental and institutional narrative intervention. Because these powerful groups have great stake in the continuation of these projects and great power over public opinion, they are willing and able to alter community understandings through direct public messaging, as well as more covert means such as influencing professional scientific or media narratives (Ninan 2022). As such, it is important to remember that the Navy and other industrial or institutional powers are not publishing all information they come across, and are instead specifically selecting pieces of information whose dissemination would be potentially advantageous to their projects. Again, Brown synthesizes different sociological perspectives to argue that information is often withheld from the community when there is concern that it may cause public alarm (Levine 1982) or economic harm (Ozonoff and Boden 1987), or when it is determined that the public would not be able to understand the associated risks (Brown 1992). Paternalistic scientific and public health professionals may take it upon themselves to make the disclosure decision, and choose a path of nondisclosure using the argument that "laypersons" and community members

lack the sense or tools to make informed health decisions regarding their own bodies (Brown 1992).

Lay Understandings

Without transparency, acknowledgement, or cooperation from institutional knowledge systems, community members form their own site definitions through experiencing the site and its impacts, sharing understandings within community networks, and interpreting institutionally-disseminated information (Brown 1992, Zavestoski 2004).

Lay understandings, while undeniably shaped by institutional narrative dissemination, are informed by other distinctly separate knowledge systems. These community and individual lay-ways-of-knowing are touched on both in the mainstream academic space of medical sociology as well as the more niche theoretical space of crip-ecological theory. This section of the literature review will put these theories in conversation with each other, to argue for the importance of firsthand experience and community narrative creation in understanding industrial impact, especially in the context of the industrial and specifically military unknown.

Individual Understandings

Experiential Understandings : Firsthand knowledge

Community members are invaluable definers of industrial impact as they have firsthand knowledge of sharing space with the site. Sociologists, environmentalists, and disability rights activists all advocate for the involvement of the affected in the process of defining the industrial experience, not only as an exercise of social practice or "good politics" but because they argue firsthand experience gives community members a somewhat expert-level understanding of industrial impact (Phil Brown, Zavestoski, Alaimo). This understanding is argued to be especially valuable when professional and institutional systems are unable or unwilling to pursue

research on a specific topic, which often occurs in the case of industrial body-environment alteration as uncovering risk would jeopardize the continuation of the project. Brown argues:

> *"Popular epidemiology yields valuable data that often would be unavailable to scientists. If scientists and government fail to solicit such data, and especially if they consciously oppose and devalue it, such data may be lost."*

Especially in the case of Naval Base Kitsap and other military-industrial projects, community testimony may be the only record of an incident. As was outlined above, the defense industry is not required to report toxic concerns or adverse health effects, and entities like the Navy actually actively avoid transparency both to protect both defense secrets and to preserve the possibility of continuing potentially harmful practices. Misremembering benefits the military project: a practice of poor record keeping of both the dates of potential toxic exposures and the medical histories of the enlisted raises the burden of proof for disability claims and calls to public action (Barron, May 2002). To prevent institutional interference in the creation of history and the definition of the current reality, Brown and other sociologists advocate for community ownership in the process of defining and recording community history (Brown 1992, Zavestoski 2004).

Embodied Understandings

Individual experience has a particularly important role in coming to understand the currently unprovable unknowns of environmental or bodily alteration. Those who have been disabled or physically altered in any way by their environment have a specific perspective which gives them insight into the give and take of body-environment relations (Ray and Sibaro 2017, xiv). This experientially-informed perspective is gained through bodily experience, also described as *embodied* experience. Crip-ecological theorists elevating the importance of the embodied experience argue that the vulnerability of the disabled or non-normate body often results in the

individual experiencing unique interactions between their body and the surrounding world. One example of this alternative perspective is found in the experience of those with Multiple Chemical Sensitivity: sufferers of MCS may be aware of the presence of chemicals in their environment despite this not being detectable by scientific machinery or any of their peers (Zavestoski et al 2004, 166). An environmental understanding which uplifts and learns from this embodied experience instead of dismissing it is better equipped to take on the unknown, due to the diversity of perspectives it pulls from.

For example: Going back to my personal understanding of the case of Naval Base Kitsap, my personal environmental understanding was rooted heavily in the embodied environmental experience of myself and my family members. My father and his siblings who were raised near PSNS constantly experience body-environment interactions others would not notice: my dad smells a gas leak nobody else does, my aunt complains that there is smoke in the air, my other aunt claims if she doesn't unplug the WiFi at night she wakes up with a headache from hearing it ringing in her ears through the night. These are all unsubstantiated, but their bodily realities indicate that some environmental alteration has certainly occurred: all 3 of them suffer from Hashimotos, an extreme thyroid condition with proven associations with nuclear fallout and other military-industrial hazards (Brent 2010).[8] One could argue that their unusual embodied experiences are indicative not of delusion but of Multiple Chemical Sensitivity, a condition which has been long denied but is gaining visibility as a likely result of body-environmental alteration from toxic industry (Zavestoski et al 2004).

[8] This was not the appropriate place to talk about this, but while I mention Hashimotos, I have a few things to say about the intergenerational impact I believe this site to have had on my family. My middle sister was also diagnosed with Hashimotos and a few other autoimmune conditions when she was a child. What does it mean if this narrative distortion I am arguing exists and affects individual cost-benefit analysis is potentially creating a toxic reality which will impact not only the past, current and future communities in Kitsap, but also their descendents? What does it mean for one news media conglomerate, or one reporter, to be creating a reality which shapes so many bodies?

Outside of this fringe personal experience supported by also-niche Crip-ecological theory, there is academic support for the argument that individual bodily understandings may provide insight into currently unprovable body-environmental interactions. Another of Brown's works introduces the concept of the embodied in the context of Embodied Health Movements, which are defined as health movements intended to challenge the institutional approach to a "contested" bodily state. Mobilizing a community on the basis of an embodied health understanding is identified here as particularly useful tools for demanding research of illnesses which are "either unexplained by current medical knowledge or have purported environmental explanations that are often disputed" (Brown et al. 2004). Brown is arguing here for the utility of embodied knowledge in coming to understand the individual experience of environmental impact, which we can extend in this case of environmental-industrial relations to argue for the utility of the embodied in understanding industrial environmental alteration. Based on this proposed utility, Brown argues both in this piece and in his earlier work that individuals should socially reclaim ownership over problem definition, both by popularizing their individual understandings through community discourse and by institutionalizing those understandings in news media (Brown et al 2004, Brown 1992).

Negotiating between opposing understandings

With such widely different knowledge systems defined by entities with very different stakes, there is bound to be some conflict when an individual or community is asked to negotiate between these understandings and create a coherent definition of industrial impact. Some medical sociologists argue that even when an individual has experienced industrially created bodily alteration firsthand, they may deny that experience if it is not reflected back to them either by other community members or by medical professionals. One model of social health

movements suggests that an individual may doubt or dismiss their own embodied reality if their perceived experience is not supported in social, professional, or institutional spheres (Zavestoski).

Commented [14]: not surprising but so fascinating and relevant

For persons with high stakes in believing in an institutional project, this deference to institutional understandings is more severe (Zavestoski). Imagine for a second that you are a naval veteran, and have been told your whole career that the government you are serving is doing their best to protect you: you have placed your body in their trust while operating under this belief . A lapse in that belief undermines your faith not only in your past experience but also your faith in the systems which have promised to protect you for the rest of your life: the VA as your medical provider and the DoD as a provider of national security. As an enlisted military official, you have given the military your trust, your body, your time, your identity, and your labor. You are now complicit:

> *"Back in the 1950s and '60s I used to sing the praises of a military career to anyone who would listen... Guess what I would say today if a young person asked my advice?"* - Roland V. McIntosh

Because of this sense of faith in institutional knowledge which is particularly strong in military communities, sociologists argue an intervention is required. Some argue for the necessity of inter-community information sharing as a way to empower the individual to believe in their experienced reality, as well as a means of forming a working disease definition. This proved to be an impactful intervention for Veterans specifically in the case of the medically unexplained physical symptoms associated with Gulf War Illness: "while many veterans initially wondered if their condition could be related to their service in the gulf, a shared perception of the symptoms, and their possible causes, only emerged as veterans became aware of others with similar

symptoms" (Zavestoski et al 2004). While individuals may self-critically doubt their own experience, they are unlikely to apply the same level of scrutiny to their peers, especially if their experiences align. It is sociologically supported that the sharing of experiences among communities is an important step in solidifying and even institutionalizing these

Others argue that community understandings are strongest and most politically salient when they are negotiated between the definitions generated by these by inter-community information exchanges and also by supporting or related expert understandings. Phil Brown suggests communities affected by unknown body-environmental alteration engage in a process he defines as *Popular Epidemiology*. Brown defines popular epidemiology as "the process by which lay persons gather data and direct and marshal the knowledge and resources of experts in order to understand the epidemiology of disease…and remove the responsible environmental contaminants" (Brown 1992). In the popular epidemiological process, communities work to both institutionalize experiential knowledge and popularize institutional and professional understandings, negotiating between these disparate ways of knowing in order to generate a community-defined problem narrative and come to understand their altered state.

News media as a negotiator between institutional, professional, and lay-perspectives

Sociology on the construction of industrial impact definitions supports the idea of media as "intermediary between expert and lay systems of knowledge" (MacKendrick 2010). News media is also elevated by sociological models of popular problem definition as a potential site of narrative negotiation, which can popularize institutional understandings and institutionalize popular understandings through dissemination. In 3 different 20th-century environmental hazard case studies, news media is framed as a tool to be used by the community to advance their problem definition (Zavestoski et al 2004, Robinson , Brown 1992). Because many veterans

affected by Gulf War Illness did not recognize their symptoms as related to service until they heard their experience corroborated, media coverage and internet message boards were necessary to raise awareness of the condition as a possibility. In the case of industrially-associated leukemia clusters in Woburn, the media played a pivotal role in placing national attention on the plight of the local community, drawing the attention of both sympathetic laypersons and responsible state health officials who were necessary allies in the process of advocating for testing and remediation (Brown 1992).

Historically, there is reason to believe in the idea of local journalism as a public information service, or even as a potential watchdog force. In the case of Love Canal, perhaps the most famous historical example of industrial bodily-environmental alteration, local journalism presented the perspectives of all interest groups, but privileged the community above executives from Occidental Chemical or other stakeholders. Media analysis of the construction of industrial impact understanding in Love Canal found that 60% of articles represent residents' concerns (Robinson 2002). At the time of publication, this analysis was not shocking to the researcher, who wrote: "since the media purportedly exists to serve the people, it is not surprising that residents' views were well represented".

The question is, does modern news media still operate with this purpose? And in the case of an industrial polluter which is not private industry but instead the US government itself, did news media ever serve as such a critical voice? Early-stages research for this project already suggested that this representation of community perspectives was not the mission of the Kitsap Sun.

Problematizing the proposal of news media as a negotiator

This model relies on the idea of media as an unbiased negotiation between what would here be 2 primary definers, unbiased by the reporter or paper angle as a secondary definer.[9] MacKendrick would refute this assumption, as she argues that frames are not determined only by primary definers but instead as a negotiation or "interaction" between the reporter and their source, or between the primary and the secondary definer (MacKendrick 2010). This introduces the opportunity for bias not just coming from the source, who we assume to be inherently biased, but also from the reporter angle and the limitations imposed on them by their publication.

Further, MacKendrick argues that the representation of different types of primary definers is likely to privilege definers closer to institutional power especially when the topic is controversial: because journalists seek out sources to give credibility to their angle, sources must be highly institutionally credible or making an uncontestable statement (MacKendrick 2010). This closes off the practice of media problem definition to exclude community members with dissenting opinions. Additionally, as reality is already socially constructed by those with the means to control the practice and dissemination of a problem definition, socially-accepted problem definitions likely already reflect the ideals and understandings of institutions. Given the emphasis on institutional perspectives, it may be more accurate to understand **news media as a disseminator of institutional information** than as a negotiator between institutions and individuals.

This bias in news media towards the professional, governmental, and otherwise institutional has long existed due to this prioritization of institutional legitimacy, but one could expect that it has

[9] In media studies, primary definers are defined as "credible individuals and institutions granted media access to enable their initial framing of events which are assumed to be within their area of competence". Under this model, mass media is identified as a secondary definer. (MacKendrick, Oxford Reference).

only become more severe over the past decade as the conglomeration and absorption of media entities by corporations has intensified.

Considering the increasing ownership of "local" news media by institutional sources, we might not be able to trust in news media as a balanced negotiator or even an unbiased disseminator of site understandings. The 'death of print journalism' is often spoken about as an inevitable reality of the technology age, but guiding that transformation has been the ongoing corporate project of acquiring and then gutting local news forces to turn a profit (Benton 2023). The 2 largest print journalism conglomerates merged in 2019, leaving the industry dominated by one super-conglomerate under the name of Gannett with ownership over 261 daily and 302 weekly newspapers. As part of the project of profit acquisition, Gannett has since reduced their media army to 217 daily and 175 weekly newspapers, a reduction which comes largely from full shutdowns of those local media entities.

Gannett as a media conglomerate should not be understood simply as a coalition of local newspapers, as their website would lead you to believe (https://www.gannett.com). Gannett is just one subsidiary in a nesting-doll of parent companies with much larger stakes in industries other than local news media. Gannett's parent company Media Investment Group is managed by Fortress Investment Group, which self-identifies its priorities as "credit, private equity, and permanent capital vehicles" (https://www.fortress.com). With such clear emphasis on globalized economic gains, why would we expect a corporation like Gannett to be prioritizing local community concerns in the same way as locally-owned journalism?

The Kitsap Sun as a negotiator between Naval-institutional and Kitsap community perspectives on Naval industry

The Kitsap Sun joined the ranks of Gannett's media army in 2016 as part of an acquisition of their previous parent company Journal Media Group Inc by Gannett Corporation (Staff report, April 7 2016). At the time of acquisition, Journal Media Group owned only 14 newspapers, a fraction of Gannett's numbers. This was a huge shift for the paper, going from being owned by a small conglomerate with a focus on local journalism to a multi-million dollar corporation that has interests in many industries. Like any large corporation, Gannett has ties to big industry which could potentially impact its ability to provide unbiased information about industrial impact. The most apparently obvious conflict of interest when considering the role of the Kitsap Sun in defining naval industry is a connection between Gannett and Lockheed Martin: Douglas H. McCorkindale, the Chairman, President and CEO of Gannett Co. was elected to the board of directors in 2001 (Lockheed Martin). Lockheed Martin is one of the largest weapons manufacturing companies contracted by the US military and self-reports having been heavily involved in submarine construction for over 40 years. Though Lockheed Martin has other shipyard sites where they manufacture subs and does not operate out of PSNS, any claims coming out of Kitsap about the danger associated with nuclear submarine manufacturing could reflect poorly on the corporations' mission. This connection also should not be misinterpreted as the only possible link: the world of private equity has stakes in the financial success of most industries.

The Kitsap Sun as a local news source has long served as a disseminator of Naval messaging as well as a space for community information sharing, with reporters negotiating between these different understandings to define a coherent site understanding and come to understand the industrial legacy of the region. This paper explores whether a corporate-institutional paper can act as an unbiased negotiator between institutional and individual perspectives, by looking at

what perspectives the paper has included before and after Gannett acquisition and the way that these differing understandings are framed and presented.

Commented [15]: Awesome- i think a really great place for this

- - - -

In the case of Naval Base Kitsap, how does the Kitsap Sun (as the site's dominant secondary definer) define the impact of naval industry? Does site narrative development in modern-day Kitsap better reflect the model of media-as-disseminator or media-as-negotiator?

News media quantitative analysis will be used to ask who is given the media space to be a primary definer of impact narratives in Kitsap County. Quantitative analysis will also be employed to determine which areas of impact are elevated as concerns by different primary definers.

Media frame analysis and closer reading will be consulted to ask whether the identity and stake of the primary definer substantially change subject and framing, and better understand the implications of different primary definer representation. This frame analysis will ask how issues of community risk and community benefit are framed by different primary definers, and across different impact measures.

METHODS

Preliminary Research: Re-familiarizing myself with the site

Media coverage, academic papers, and community opinion were explored first in order to confront personal biases and get a better understanding of Naval Base Kitsap outside of familial or personal understanding before study design or research direction was finalized.

Reviewing media and personal site understandings led me to realize that press coverage overwhelmingly served as a disseminator of institutional understandings, and did not touch on the environmental impact discussion that anecdotal experience would suggest could be expected.

A mixed methodology approach was called for to test both the sociological hypothesis that site impact definitions vary based on primary definer stakes and identity, as well as the working observation that the Kitsap Sun and other local news media heavily overrepresents professional narratives. The intent of media analysis and primary definer identification was to document and analyze the perspectives included and the degree to which these varied perspectives seemed to correlate with differing site understandings.

Commented [16]: helpful!

Data Collection

Professional and Institutional(ized) Understandings: Media

Articles were gathered from the Kitsap Sun[10] through searching both the online recent subscriber news database and the archival database, using keywords “Naval Base Kitsap”, “Navy”, “Puget Sound Naval Shipyard”, and “Bangor”, with the goal of collecting the most relevant articles in

[10] This project focuses on the Kitsap Sun as a disseminator and negotiator of information, due to its dominance over local narrative creation, both as the largest local newspaper but also as the only local newspaper with a designated military beat reporter. The Kitsap Sun reports having 30,000 subscribers, but some estimate their real readership extends to cover 100,000 individuals weekly (source). In a county with under 275,000 citizens, this is a substantial readership which certainly has the potential to influence public opinion, especially as the local paper completely dominates coverage of NBK as a site in online database searches.

the order they are presented to a reader searching for the same topic. Articles published prior to 2016 were found in the archival website, which requires a separate subscription. Every article published by the Kitsap Sun that came up when searching the relevant keywords on the regular website was included, as well as a selection of articles relevant to the topic of Naval Base Kitsap found through searching the archival database. The recent dataset is thus more representative of the full spread of coverage at that period of time than the archival dataset, but recent coverage also differs from the archival coverage along other lines, which will be discussed in the next section. With respect to this deviation in theme as well as the different subscriptions required for access, the different datasets will be compared against each other for some aspects of analysis.

Although there is some bias inherent in the process of trolling for online articles as not every single article is going to be visible, this is also representative of the fact-finding experience a community member searching for information would encounter. Over 113 articles were identified, all dated after 1991 to somewhat control the scope of the narrative collection and limit conversation to post- Cold War risk assessment, as citizen relationship with nuclear threat was obviously so impacted by that period in history. Throughout analysis, the dataset was reduced to 99 relevant articles.

Individual and Community Understandings: Surveys and Reddit

Surveys designed to assess community relationship with the site were posted on social media in late January. The surveys asked questions about individual relationship with the site to assess degree of stake and closeness of experience, as well as questions about individual perception of site impact. Respondents were asked questions about their relationship with Kitsap County and with Naval Industry to first gauge their stakeholder status. Respondents were asked to rank site impact on 5 elements of experience. The rank system ranged from extremely positive impact to

extremely negative impact. The following measures of experienced impact were chosen based on recurring themes: impact on regional economy, impact on environment, impact on community health, impact on regional politics, and impact on regional identity. Respondents were asked to expand on their answers, though text responses were not required. Posts were published in a Facebook group restricted to people who grew up in Bremerton in the 50s and 60s, as well as in reddit groups r/Kitsap and r/Bremerton. The post in r/Bremerton was removed almost immediately.[11]

Commented [17]: interesting! removed because of whyy you think??? getting too close to the issue???

The online survey closed with 11 participants, with additional testimonies being left in the comments on the Reddit post. Getting community members to participate in the survey proved to be more difficult than had been originally anticipated, which was revealing of a few trends which I continued to observe in survey and news media analysis:

1. Community members with close relationships to naval industry are hesitant to discuss or give credence to potential negative effects of that industry.
2. Kitsap community members are hesitant to acknowledge the reality of potential health impacts, despite giving testimony about environmental and personal health observations which imply the possibility of adverse health effects.

Coding

News Media was analyzed using a mixed methodology coding software. Each article was tagged with descriptors indicating information about the author, publication date, represented and

[11] R/Bremerton was quickly eliminated as the post was repeatedly removed by moderators. Interestingly, the moderators of this reddit page include Josh Farley, the Kitsap Sun reporter whose analysis was found to be most notably complementary of PSNS and Naval leadership. **This is mentioned not to specifically suggest that Farley was actively engaging in the suppression of narrative creation, but simply to remind us of the possible influence of individual bias in the creation of community understanding, especially when some individuals are given great power over the process.** Josh Farley was reached out to on multiple occasions due to both his expertise on the topic and his information gatekeeper status, but he never responded to any inquiries. Reddit post removed by r/Bremerton moderators

primary definers, recurring themes, centered areas of impact, and framing of community risks and benefits. Excerpts were selected and tagged to track primary definer perspective, with the intent of identifying narrative patterns among stakeholder groups. Excerpts were also coded to indicate support or denial of the impact hypothesis, the elevation of community risks vs benefits, and identify patterns in framing among different defining stakeholders.

Included perspectives:

Close reading of each included article allowed for coding of the quantitative measure of number of perspectives represented, as well as the qualitative measure of the types of perspectives represented. Each article was tagged with a count of represented perspectives, as well as a list of the names and quick descriptors of stakeholder identity of each included perspective.

Primary definers:

Primary definers were identified through mixed quantitative and qualitative analysis: the number of points brought up by each definer were counted, and the articles were also read closely to identify the perspective which the author seems to put most stake in. For each article, the name and stakeholder identity of the primary definer was identified. Primary definer identities were divided into 3 categories with subcodes, listed below:

1. Institutional definers (officials speaking on behalf of a government institution)
    - politicians/government officials, government scientists (EPA, DOH, etc.), Naval officials, PSNS spokespersons and officials.
    - OSHA coded separately due to specific focus, deviation from other government orgs.
    - Suquamish tribal officials coded as institutional definers, but obviously have very different stakes than US government officials.

2. Professional definers (professionals speaking on behalf of corporations, unions, institutions)
    - Non-governmental scientists (including activist scientists), article authors, non-government official industry spokespersons.
3. Community definers (individuals speaking on behalf of themselves, on behalf of community)
    - Community members, labor leaders, activists, veterans, and PSNS or NBK employees.

Areas of impact:

Each article was coded to state whether it discussed different potential impacts of Naval industry. Impact areas were identified during beginning stages of research from recurring themes in online community discussions and available news media, and used to develop questions for community surveys asking about site impact. These questions were then essentially extended to the news media articles through coding. The 5 areas of impact highlighted in codes mirrored those of the survey questions: impact to regional economy, impact to regional environment, impact to community health, impact to regional politics, and impact to regional identity.

Community risks and benefits:

Whether each article emphasized community risk or community benefit was coded on a simple risk/benefit/does not discuss scale.

Survey coding

Survey responses were coded similarly to news media for comparison: primary impact measure of concern was identified as listed above, the framing of each impact was coded as positive or negative, and each response was coded to indicate whether risk or benefit was emphasized.

Analysis

News media quantitative analysis is used to ask who is given the media space to be a primary definer of impact narratives in Kitsap County. Quantitative analysis will also be employed to determine which areas of impact are elevated as concerns by different primary definers.

Media frame analysis and closer reading will be consulted to ask whether the identity and stake of the primary definer substantially change subject and framing, and better understand the implications of different primary definer representation. This frame analysis will ask how issues of community risk and community benefit are framed by different primary definers, and across different impact measures.

Commented [18]: I would say either " A news ... analysis" or "News media... analyses"

Commented [19]: two different font sizes

Commented [20]: two different font sizes

Findings

Primary and secondary definer definition

To reiterate a concept touched on in the literature review, primary definers are defined as "credible individuals and institutions granted media access to enable their initial framing of events which are assumed to be within their area of competence" (MacKendrick, Oxford Reference). Under that definition, most accepted primary definers are experts, officials, politicians, and community leaders. Based on the popular epidemiological concept of community members as lay-experts competent in understanding and conveying their lived experiences, this definition of experts could be extended to include non-professional community members (Brown). In this analysis, the term "primary" is used not only to express the primary nature of the definers' firsthand experience, but also their dominant status as the primary voice in the article which features their perspective (MacKendrick).

In the context of popular definition of industrial understandings, the role of the secondary definer can be viewed as a negotiator between popular and professional understandings (Brown 1992, Zavestoski, Robinson), or as a disseminator of institutional knowledge (MacKendrick, Ninan 2022)**.** Under this model, mass media is identified as a secondary definer. **The following analysis of the primary definer perspectives chosen for elevation by the media as a secondary definer looks to better understand which of these roles the Kitsap Sun has been playing in this community, and the extent that their role as either definition negotiator or institutional voice box is impacting community site definitions.**

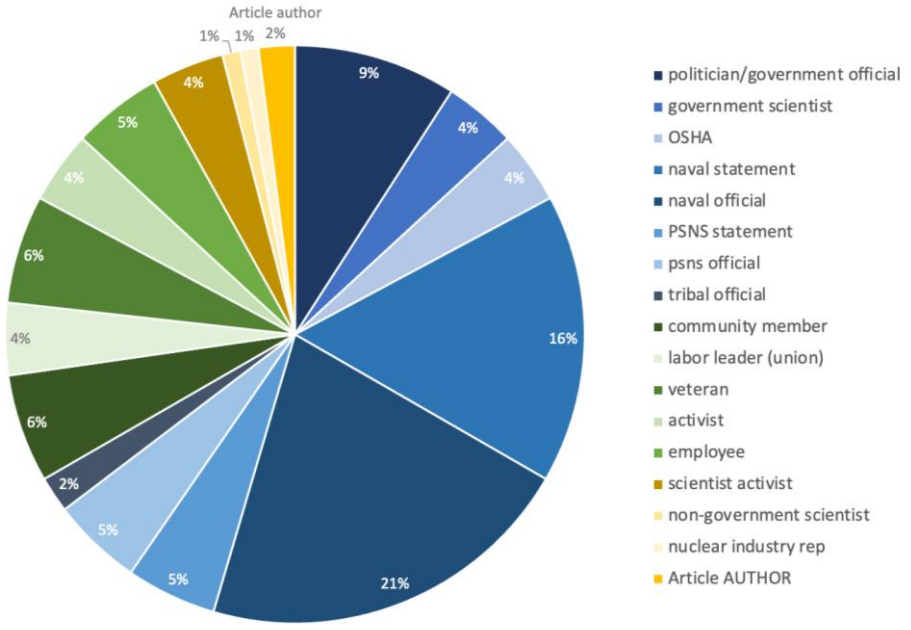
Quantitative Analysis: Who is defining the narrative surrounding Naval Base Kitsap?

Over 50% of articles included only government officials as represented perspectives. Only 32% of articles included community perspectives as narrative definers. This numerically supports the earlier observation that government officials overwhelmingly were responsible for issue defining, and community members were only included in the defining process in a minority of articles, showing a dominance of government perspectives.

Table 1: Primary Definer Breakdown

primary definer types			percentage:
INSTITUTIONAL (ALL US- OR TRIBAL- GOVERNMENTAL DEFINERS)	66 TOTAL		67%
ALL US GOVERNMENT DEFINERS (GENERAL AND NAVY)	64		65%
	NON-NAVAL GOVERNMENT DEFINERS	17	17%
	GENERAL POLITICIAN/GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL	9	9%
	GOVERNMENT SCIENTIST	4	4%
	OSHA	4	4%
	SPECIFICALLY NAVAL DEFINERS	47	47%
	NAVAL STATEMENT	16	16%
	NAVAL OFFICIAL	21	21%
	PSNS STATEMENT	5	5%
	PSNS OFFICIAL	5	5%
TRIBAL GOVERNMENT DEFINER		2	2%
PROFESSIONAL - ALL NON-GOVERNMENT PROFESSIONAL DEFINERS		8	8%
	NON-GOVERNMENT, NON-ACTIVIST SCIENTIST	1	1%
	SCIENTIST ACTIVIST (ONLY NORM BUSKE)	4	4%
	NUCLEAR INDUSTRY REP	1	1%
	ARTICLE AUTHOR	2	2%
COMMUNITY (LAY-PERSPECTIVES)- ALL COMMUNITY DEFINERS		25	25%
	COMMUNITY MEMBER	6	6%
	LABOR/UNION LEADER	4	4%
	VETERAN	6	6%
	EMPLOYEE	5	5%
	ACTIVIST	4	4%

Graphic 1: Distribution of Primary Definers Represented



Institutional Definers, Professional Definers, and Community Definers

The privileging of institutional perspectives gets more severe when we turn from looking at all included perspectives to an analysis of the perspectives selected to be primary definers of articles. Graphic 1 above visually represents the distribution of included primary definers: all blue sections represent different institutional definers, green represents community definers, and yellow represent non-governmental professionals. It is visually apparent that institutional definers dominate coverage.

Initial analysis of the representation of different types of site definitions reveals that institutional voices are hugely overrepresented as primary definers. 67% of analyzed articles were dominantly

Commented [21]: confusing b/c both blue and yellow represent profesiionals

Commented [22]: Good catch

defined by institutional experts. All but 2 of those articles were defined by US government entities: 65% of all articles were defined by US governmental statements.

Community perspectives were privileged as primary definers in just 25% of articles. Community definers had a variety of relationships to the site, ranging from union employees to activists in opposition to the site. These differing groups were represented relatively equally overall, but their perspectives were elevated at different times and by different secondary definers.

The smallest represented definer group by far was non-governmental professionals, who defined only 8% of articles. 50% of those represented non-government professionals were a single scientist-activist who was heavily represented in coverage by a single environmental reporter.

Already, just through quantitative measures, we are seeing a very clear privileging of institutional perspectives in Kitsap Sun coverage addressing Naval industry in Kitsap county.

Closer reading: Who is defining the narrative surrounding Naval Base Kitsap?

Institutional Definers

Institutional representatives can be broken into 3 groups: US Government official statements (non-Naval), Naval official statements, and Suquamish Tribal statements.[12] Governmental statements (both Naval and non-Naval) make up an extreme majority of the institutional statements: governmental statements were elevated to primary definer status in 65% of analyzed articles. The tribal governments were severely underrepresented as definers and stakeholders, with only 2 articles centering the Suquamish perspective.

[12] Suquamish Tribal statements are categorized as institutional, as the Tribe speaks through the media via official representatives and approaches News Media with a united front. This categorization was chosen as a way of recognizing the Suquamish as a distinct government, but making this decision does in some ways removes them from the category of community, which is confusing as this is a local community. This choice was made based on the fact that all statements were made either by a lawyer or an official.

The most common institutional definer was the Navy: 71% of institutional primary definers are making statements on behalf of the Navy. 47% of all articles presented Naval statements as primary definers, meaning almost half of all analyzed media articles were defined by Naval interests and DoD-approved narratives. With control over nearly half of all published articles, the Navy was by far the largest unified narrative definer.

Out of non-Naval institutional definers, the largest group was politicians and government officials, though they only represent 15% of institutional definers and define just 9% of all articles analyzed.

Government scientists (representatives from EPA,DOH, etc) define only 4% of analyzed articles. Government scientists are featured frequently but rarely are their statements elevated to the level of narrative definer. This is likely because their statements very rarely differ from the proposed naval understanding, and so their interviews serve more of a supportive than a defining role.

4% of primary definers are OSHA representatives, who are broken off from the rest of government officials as their emphasis is on employee health and thus their focus is different from other government science entities. However, they are still limited by oversight by the Federal government, and thus are still institutional definers.

Professional definers

Out of only 8 articles with professionals as the main primary definer, 4 featured Norm Buske, a scientist and activist who sparked controversy on nuclear industry after claiming to have discovered evidence of radioactive contamination coming from the shipyard (see News appendix). All of those articles were written by Christopher Dunagan, a former environmental reporter. Only one other non-governmental scientist was given the narrative defining space of a primary definer.

2 articles placed emphasis on the reporter angle as primary definer over the perspective of any consulted institutional, professional, or community voices: both were both written by Josh Farley.[13] None of the designated military reporters elevated the perspective of non-governmental scientists. This suggests that military beat reporters may be more likely to defer to naval or governmental opinions.

Individual/community definers

Though they were significantly less well-represented than the Navy, individual community perspectives were the primary definers of 25% of analyzed Kitsap Sun articles. 24% of individual definers (6% of all primary definers) were community members interviewed due to their relationship with the site and not other specific areas of professional expertise. 16% of community-defined articles were defined by union statements, which were coded as community perspectives despite being filtered through the institutional union structure as they still served to speak on behalf of employees and thus the affected community.

Primary definer selection by different secondary definers

There was pretty significant variation in patterns of primary definer selection between different Kitsap Sun reporters, seen most clearly in the difference of defining subjects chosen by military beat reporters as compared to environmental beat or even freelance reporters. This is especially significant due to the domination of coverage on the subject by military reporters. Out of my 99-article sample, former military beat reporters Lloyd Pritchett and Josh Farley dominated coverage, responsible for 19 and 44 articles respectively. Farley's successor Peiyu Lin is also

[13] Author-defined articles were coded as professionally defined despite reporters likely being community members because they are operating in an official capacity and benefit from those official connections, and because they may be restricted in expression due to potential concern of losing employment or necessary connections.

responsible for a considerable portion of coverage, and has authored all 10 of the most recent relevant articles. These military beat reporters as a whole privilege Naval statements, but there has been some significant variation in the extent of that centering over time and between different reporters.

Environmental reporters like Christopher Dunagan were regular contributors to the Kitsap Sun who provided a slightly different perspective than their military beat colleagues, but they were responsible for significantly less of the available coverage on the site: Dunagan authored only 6 articles on naval-industrial environmental impact, despite being a reporter during a period of environmental scandal for PSNS (see News Appendix- 1990-1995 section).

Community members authored only 5 of the 99 total articles, 2 of which were mailbags and 2 opinion pieces**.** Each article authored by a community member featured themselves as the primary definer. ***Lloyd Pritchett (military beat reporter ca. 1990-2000)***

Out of 19 analyzed articles by Lloyd Pritchett, 8 articles (42%) featured only government officials. 47% of articles included community voices. These figures tell us that while Pritchett heavily centered the statements of politicians and government officials, he did include some community perspectives both as complements and counters to institutional narratives.

Despite that relative diversity of included perspectives, Pritchett's articles still heavily center institutional perspectives as the primary definers. 73% of Pritchett's articles included in the analysis featured institutional statements as primary definers. The majority of those institutional definers were statements made by Navy spokespersons or politicians, who inherently have a very limited ability to voice dissent.

Despite this emphasis on institutional perspectives, some community and otherwise dissenting perspectives were elevated to the role of primary definer during Lloyd Pritchett's time as the

military reporter. Two of the 19 analyzed Pritchett articles were defined by community members, two were defined by OSHA statements, and two more were defined by union statements. In articles included in my analysis, Pritchett is the only military beat reporter who featured OSHA or Labor Unions in articles on Naval Base Kitsap.

Christopher Dunagan (Environmental beat reporter ca. 1995)

Only one of Christopher Dunagan's articles included the perspective of a lay-person in the community, but none of the 6 analyzed articles featured only government officials. Dunagan's articles are all pertaining to environmental concerns, and largely center on the Norm Buske lawsuit (news appendix). Dunagan largely centers the perspectives of scientists and activists as primary definers, due to his environmental focus. The relative lack of naval or governmental officials in his coverage of navy-related issues suggests that Dunagan either does not have access to the same connections that Pritchett or Farley have in the Navy, or is disinterested in presenting their opinion. Because maintaining lines of communication with the Navy is not an essential part of his job as it is for military beat reporters, Dunagan may have more freedom in his journalistic decision to include/elevate Naval narratives (Interview with Peiyu Lin, 2023).

Josh Farley (Military beat reporter from 2019-2022)

28 of 44 (64%) articles by Josh Farley available online pertaining to Naval Base Kitsap include the perspective of **only** government officials. Only 9 (20%) of the articles authored by Josh Farley included any community perspective at all.

78% of Josh Farley articles were primarily defined by institutional perspectives. The majority of those institutional voices were naval statements: 53% of Farley's featured primary definers were statements from naval officials, and 16% were PSNS statements.

Another significant element of Josh Farley's featured definers was the elevation of Suquamish official statements as the primary definer in 2 articles. Important context qualifying that deviation from regular reporting is that Farley was the beat reporter covering military news during the period of the Suquamish lawsuit against PSNS, so this elevation is more reflective of current events than author angle.

Farley features no non-governmental scientists with expertise on health or environmental concerns**.** Farley has 3 articles defined by professional primary definers, but 2 of those are defined by his own angle which essentially regurgitates common naval narratives (CITE). The third is primarily defined by spokespersons for nuclear industry (CITE). Both the nuclear industry professional and Farley himself (as a military reporter and later as a nuclear industry professional (https://twitter.com/joshfarley)) benefit directly from the continuation of Naval-nuclear industry.

Community voices were dominated by veterans and PSNS employees. This is significant as there were no community opinions represented by Josh Farley which were not people who had specifically monetarily benefitted from naval industry.

Between the naval statements dominating institutionally-defined articles, and the continuation of the pattern of elevating only the opinions of those who directly benefit from military industry in the selective inclusion of both professional and individual voices, Farley's primary definer choice heavily overrepresents the beneficiaries of naval industry, excluding those with other relationships to industry.

Peiyu Lin (Military beat reporter 2022-present)

Peiyu Lin has just started at the Kitsap Sun and has yet to substantially diverge from the pattern of reliance on military statements seen under Farley. 80% of the 10 articles she has published

relevant to Naval Base Kitsap rely on the Navy as a primary definer. Only one of Lin's articles elevates the perspective of Naval community members, but that article is discussing the suicide death of a single individual and interviews an out-of-town family member. The utility of the community perspective here is thus not to make claims about the site impact on Kitsap community members. Local community members were never included as definers by Peiyu Lin on issues with local industrial impact implications. Peiyu Lin was the only Kitsap Sun reporter who was willing to speak with me regarding this analysis, and will be given a copy of this paper. Lin's interest in my perspective and findings suggest to me that she is likely to engage with community perspectives to the extent that she is able within the constraints of the job of a military beat reporter. Whether that engagement is institutionalized in the form of publication of articles is likely a product of those limitations.

The overwhelmingly uncritical stance of Peiyu Lin and Josh Farley, and to a lesser extent Lloyd Pritchett, is reflective of the reality that military beat reporters have to negotiate between critically engaging with Naval statements and maintaining the lines of communication necessary for them to provide necessary information to the community. The next section looks at variation over time, and looks at potential different reasons for this increase in institutional centering which challenge the impression todays' Kitsap Sun reader might get that deference to Naval definers is a requirement of the military reporter job.

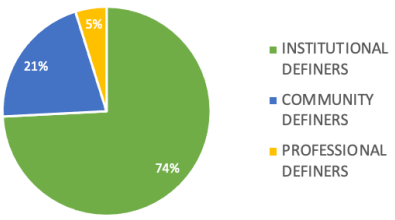
Primary Narrative Definers over time: Difference in representation between archival (pre-2015) and current (post-2015) articles

Table 2: Primary Definers Before and After 2016:

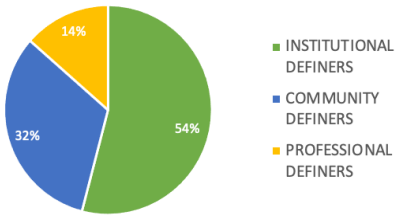
		PRE-GANNETT TOTAL ARTICLES:	% (pre-Gannett)	POST-GANNETT TOTAL ARTICLES:	% (post-Gannett)
		37	100%	62	100%
INSTITUTIONAL DEFINERS		20	54%	46	74%
	ALL US GOVERNMENT DEFINERS (GENERAL AND NA	20	54%	44	71%
	GENERAL POLITICIAN/GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL	5	14%	4	6%
	GOVERNMENT SCIENTIST	4	11%	0	0%
	OSHA	4	11%	0	0%
	SPECIFICALLY NAVAL DEFINERS	7	19%	40	65%
	NAVAL STATEMENT	5	14%	11	18%
	NAVAL OFFICIAL	0	0%	21	34%
	PSNS STATEMENT	2	5%	3	5%
	PSNS OFFICIAL	0	0%	5	8%
	TRIBAL GOVERNMENT DEFINER	0	0%	2	3%
PROFESSIONAL DEFINERS		5	14%	3	5%
	NON-GOVERNMENT, NON-ACTIVIST SCIENTIST	1	3%	0	0%
	SCIENTIST ACTIVIST (ONLY NORM BUSKE)	4	11%	0	0%
	NUCLEAR INDUSTRY REP	0	0%	1	2%
	ARTICLE AUTHOR	0	0%	2	3%
COMMUNITY DEFINERS		12	32%	13	21%
	COMMUNITY MEMBER	4	11%	2	3%
	LABOR/UNION LEADER	3	8%	1	2%
	VETERAN	2	5%	4	6%
	EMPLOYEE	0	0%	5	8%
	ACTIVIST	3	8%	1	2%

Graphic 2 and 3: Narrative Definers Before and After 2016

Narrative definer balance pre-2015 (37 articles)



Narrative definer balance post-2015 (62 articles)



Archival articles represent significantly different defining opinions than the post-2015 articles available on the Kitsap Sun's main website. Pre-2015 coverage included more community members as primary definers: though institutional perspectives were still the majority definer, they only dominated 53% of articles. Community members defined 32% of articles prior to 2015, and professionals were also consulted - even professionals like Norm Buske who posed a distinct threat to the continuation of Naval business-as-usual.

After the 2015 merger, institutional narratives defined nearly 75% of press coverage on Naval Base Kitsap. Community members define 21% of articles, though the section above shows that very few of those community member opinions are highlighted as narrative definers by designated military beat reporters. This is significant in that it suggests there could be either disinterest in reporting community experience or some kind of institutional disincentive which keeps military beat reporters from centering community understandings of military impact. This lack of community representation was not as severe in pre-2015 coverage, even in articles written by military beat reporters.

Numerical analysis of represented definers show that the 2015 corporate takeover of the Kitsap Sun by Gannett Media corporation is associated with a huge dropoff in community involvement in narrative defining and an increase in government dominance over the narrative definition process. Of the 37 analyzed articles written prior to the 2015 takeover, just 11 (30%) featured only government officials. 18 of the 37 articles (48%) featured at least one community definer in the narrative negotiation. Pre-2015 coverage featured a variety of opinions more often than it presented singularly-defined institutional narratives. By contrast, 39 out of 62 analyzed post-2015 articles (63%) included exclusively government official perspectives, and only 14 (23%) included any community definers. This shows a shift from media as a negotiator between ways

of knowing proposed by Brown and Robinson, to a new role of media as an amplifier of industrial and governmental narratives.

The next section of findings will look at the issue of impact and dependence framing, and examine whether there is a change in subject or framing to be associated with this shift in primary definers. Further, the relationship between primary definers and the framing of site understandings will be analyzed, keeping in mind the way that those chosen to be in control of narrative definition changes over time and based on reporter angle.

Content Analysis: representation and elevation of different measures of site impact

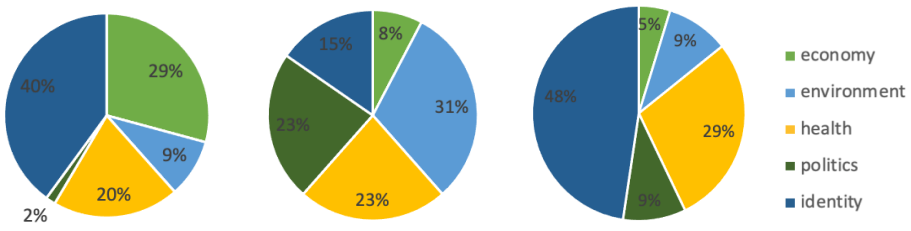
The previous section looked specifically at the numerical representation of primary definers. Moving forward, we will look at how different primary definers and reporters as secondary definers choose to discuss the site.

Centered impact measures

Impact to regional identity was the most commonly highlighted industrial impact measure, being addressed and supported by 39% of articles. Impact to community and worker health is centered as the dominant impact of concern in 22% of articles, though there is a steep dropoff in coverage in recent years which will be discussed later. This health impact discussion is largely focused on the impact to actual PSNS employees, but sometimes extends its implications to include community health impact. Impact to the economy is centered in 22% of articles. Environmental impact is centered in 13% of articles. Impact to regional politics was centered in just 5% of articles, although it is implied by many of the articles which speak on the impact of PSNS on regional economy or policy. This low numerical representation of political centering is likely because economic and political discussions have so much overlap, but the economic impact to the community is what is used to measure political success or failure.

Graphics 4,5,6: Centered impact measures by Primary Definer type

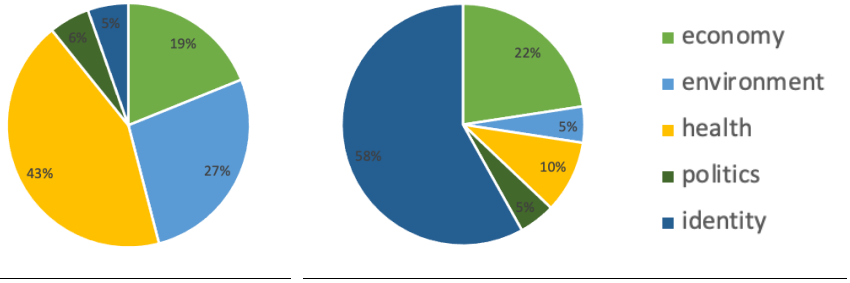
Government Definer: Professional Definer: Community Definer:



There is observable variation between different primary definer types and the measures of impact they choose to center. Government definers overwhelmingly center issues of regional identity and economy. Articles which feature professional definers center impact discussions on environmental and health concerns. Community definers center both identity and health impacts, reflective of the way that they likely experience the site: health concerns and even the experience of harm inform individual experience and thus identity, exemplified in quotes from employees and their dependents (Barron 2002).

Graphics 7 & 8: Centered impact measures before and after Kitsap Sun Merger

Before 2015 (Archival articles) After 2015 (Available with regular subscription)



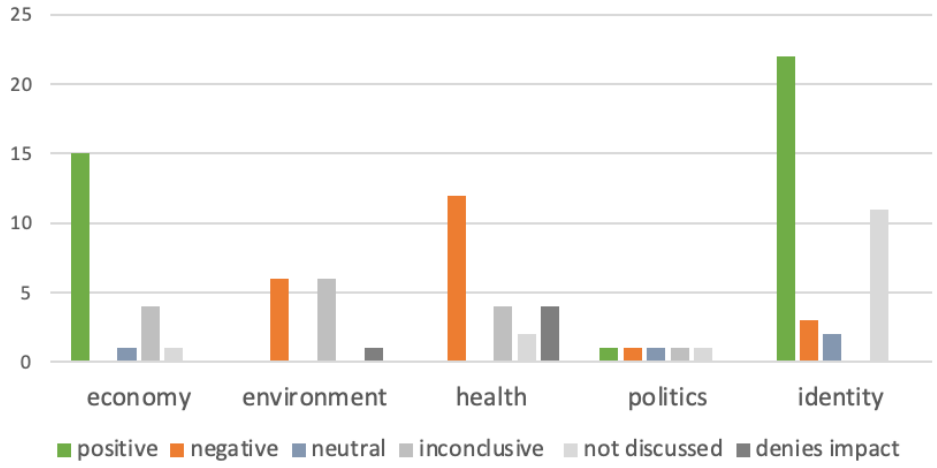
Archival articles provide a much more balanced discussion of potential benefits than recent coverage, and focus on impacts measurable by the community. 43% of archival articles center community health as an impact area of concern, which is very significant when compared to the 10% of recent articles which center the topic of health. 27% of archival articles address environmental concerns, compared to just 5% of recent articles. As discussed in the introduced literature, community members physically experience environmental and health alterations, but are likely to dismiss their experiences if they do not see them reflected in popular discussion such as the media they consume (Brown, Zavestoski).

Where archival articles focus on the tangible and measurable impacts felt by the community, 58% of recent coverage focuses on the nebulous measure of identity. This relatively opinion-based measure is supplemented by the 22% of articles centering claims about economic impact, which are rarely examined through the lens of real community economic experience. Combined with what we see in the numerical measures of primary identifier inclusion, this numerical representation of a drop-off in discussion of impacts which a community member would experience physically on a day to day basis shows more evidence of neglect of community perspective. Focusing on the heavily subjective measure of identity and the inaccessibly-measured economic benefit further distances community experience from the negotiation of a site impact definition.

Frame Analysis: variations in impact framing by different primary definers over time

Environmental and health impacts are the most likely to be denied. Issues of the economic impact, political impact, and regional identity impact are almost universally supported.

Graphic 9: Number of articles which present each area of impact as positive, negative, or neutral



Representation and framing of different impact measures by different primary definers

Denial of site impact across definer groups is nearly exclusively applied to health and environmental concerns. Government officials are more likely than any other definer group to engage in the denying of any form of site impact.

Institutional framing of impact measures

Government and/or institutional definers were most likely to discuss the impacts of identity and economy. Impact on identity was not frequently centered as the dominant site impact by institutional definers but was introduced as affected by industry very frequently in their articles. Identity discussion largely centered on themes of community pride in naval excellence.

29% of institutionally-defined articles center the economy as a measure of naval-industrial impact, which means institutional definers selected the economy as a measure of impact significantly more frequently than community or professional definers. This suggests that the economic impact narrative is largely a result of top-down narrative dissemination.

Theories of impact to regional identity, politics, and economy are unanimously supported by institutional definers, despite institutional voices being the group which denied other forms of impact the most frequently. This shows that though government definers dispute many unproven environmental or health risks, they are always willing to support theories of economic or identity impact which are often equally numerically unsupported.

OSHA is an important outlier in the general pattern of institutional impact subject selection as they are the only US-governmental group which supported theories of potential health impact from the industrial site. However, close reading reveals this health impact was restricted to discussion of employee health, which while extremely important does not pose the same threat of a community shift in cost-benefit analysis that could result from discussion of community health impacts.

Institutional framing of impact measures: Suquamish as an Opposing Institution

Both articles which centered Suquamish official statements as primary definer focus exclusively on environmental impact, and do not put emphasis on the possible economic impacts which are so heavily narratively centered by other definers. This is unsurprising when you consider the way that the Suquamish tribe interacts with this site: although Suquamish tribe members are employed by PSNS similarly to any other Kitsap county community, the tribal government does not benefit economically or politically from the naval industry in the way that the US or even WA state government does, and therefore does not have stakes in supporting the economic

impact narrative. Additionally, the Suquamish have been politically vocal about the way that this industry and the environmental impacts violate their rights to land and food systems sovereignty, and have engaged in litigation on the issue that landed them in the paper on multiple occasions (Suquamish statement, Lawsuit articles).

Professional framing of impact measures

Professionally-defined articles are much less likely to discuss the measure of economic impact, and instead are likely to focus on the more contested issues of environmental and health impact. This is especially significant as non-governmental professionals are so rarely primary definers in Kitsap Sun coverage on NBK. Though they are the most likely to center health and environmental impact, professional definers are also the least represented primary definer group, and thus coverage of health and environmental impacts remains limited.

Professional definers did not often deny health or environmental impacts, with the exception of the nuclear industry representative. The lack of denial from less-biased professionals, compared to the denial from professionals and institutions with stakes in nuclear and/or military industry, suggests that governmental and naval statements may not be revealing the most updated scientific understandings.

Individual/community framing of impact measures

Community members are most likely to be featured as primary definers in articles which center human health impacts. The lack of community centering of economic impact is significant as it counters the narrative proposed by institutional definers which want the reader to believe that the effect of NBK is largely felt through economic benefit. Community definitions not reflecting this narrative suggest that this economic benefit is either less significant than institutional narratives wish readers to believe, or other impacts are more significant in comparison. Alternatively, this

de-emphasis could simply suggest that because of the dominance of the economic benefit narrative, community members do not feel economic impact is necessary to discuss when they are given the platform to redefine an issue.

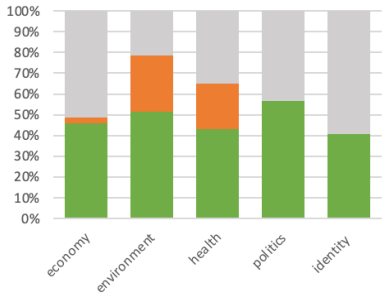
Out of 7 articles defined by community members which discussed health impact at all, 6 centered community health as the dominant impact of concern. No community members fully denied health or environmental impacts.

Community members' outsized centering of and refusal to deny health impacts is unsurprising given our sociological understanding of personal industrial impact definitions. Brown says that members of industrially-impacted communities are less likely to dismiss the unknown than professionals, especially when that unknown potentially could impact their well-being. Compared to institutional definers with stake in continuing their project (Megaprojects), and professional definers with stake in being empirically correct (Brown, Zavestoski), community members are more likely to embrace the uncertain as they work to understand body-industrial relations as they can not afford the risk of dismissing risk as a possibility and being wrong.

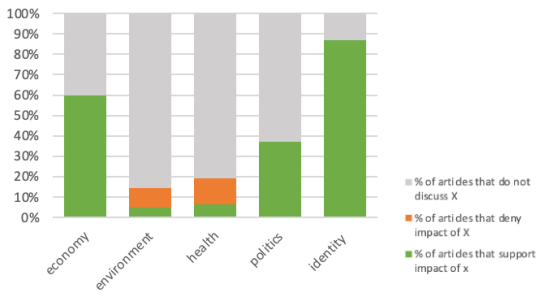
Impact framing over time

Support or denial of different impact measures before and after Gannett takeover

Before 2015: Pre-Gannett



After 2015: Post-Gannett



Discussions of different areas of industrial impact were much more balanced prior to the 2015 absorption of the Kitsap Sun by Gannett Media corporation. There were still much higher levels of denial of impact applied to environmental or health impact discussions in articles written prior to 2015, but the diversity of impact discussions made this denial less powerful, as many articles still supported the possibility of environmental or health impacts from the industrial site. By contrast, recent articles very rarely discuss environmental or health impact at all, and when they do the impact is denied. This is unsurprising considering the shift in narrative definers: professional definers are much more heavily represented in recent coverage than historical coverage, and they are much more likely to deny environmental and health effects than other narrative definers.

Impact topics which were centered in recent analysis were overwhelmingly issues of identity and economy. This is significant especially because these are two of the regional impacts which are often specifically identified as benefits felt by the community.

The Josh Farley era's fixation on PSNS as an employer and the Naval experience as a definer of regional identity can be identified as a specific period of narrative generation which resulted in this extreme emphasis on identity and economy as evidence of community benefit.

Limitations

This project only skims the surface of the construction of individual site understandings. Based in my personal experience hearing about this site through the lens of my family's embodied knowledge, I began this project with the intent of collecting and cataloging community perspectives rooted in their embodied and experiential knowledge. Two things stopped me: I noticed this strange pattern of institutional dominance over media narratives, and preliminary data collection revealed that individuals were hesitant to speak about concerns they had about the

site, and put faith in institutional perspectives above their own. This strange pattern guided my research in a whole other direction.

However, by combing through news media as a sample, many of these institutional narratives were likely reified. In this way, I did not achieve the initial goal of diversifying coverage through highlighting community counternarratives, or the kind of crip-theory-based goal of approaching Another limitation is a lack of discussion of the differences amongst community members, which is especially limiting when it comes to a lacking class and race analysis. More discussion of the variation among community members as it appears both in the information they present as definers and in the way they individually synthesize and put stock in these institutionally disseminated narratives would likely be very revealing of the role of race in constructing this proud working class identity I explore in this paper.

Conclusion

Kitsap Sun coverage of Naval industry dominantly centers institutional definers: 65% of all articles centered on US governmental statements. This centering is more pronounced in articles written by military beat reporters, suggesting they are either unable or unwilling to critically engage with Naval and PSNS messaging through providing a diversity of perspectives. Institutional centering is much more severe in recent coverage than archival coverage: 54% of analyzed articles written prior to 2015 featured institutional definers, and 32% featured community definers. After 2015, 74% of analyzed articles featured institutional definers, and only 21% featured community definers. Professional perspectives were rarely represented as definers in either time period.

Already, these numbers tell us that the Kitsap Sun is serving as a disseminator of institutional information, rather than a negotiator between lay and professional perspectives, considering neither professionals nor laypersons are featured as primary definers. Looking at the variation in impact framing between different primary definer types revealed the implications of this lack of representation.

Because institutional definers were most likely to center narratives of economic benefit and naval identity, they overwhelmingly elevate the idea of community benefit. Even more sinister, institutional definers are most frequent to deny health and environmental concerns. By contrast, community members are very unlikely to deny any impact, and speak about the site in a way which addresses benefits and risks across multiple areas of impact.

Understanding the social construction of impact definitions to be consequential in determining future community land use decisions and individual risk behavior, the implications of this distortion in site definition are quite sinister (Ninan, MacKendrick 2010). Absent accurate

information on their reality, community members may make uninformed decisions when engaging with community politics or even when engaging with their potentially toxic environment. Considering the role of community consent in land use decisions and community opinion in drafting Environmental Impact Statements, there is serious reason for concern. **This institutional and media distortion of the *social* construction of the reality of industrial site understandings has serious implications for the way that our future is *physically* constructed: the understandings of today inform the decisions which create our tomorrow.**

Recommendations

This problem has many heads, and due to its institutional roots is very difficult to attack with policy. As such, I will focus on the possibilities for leveraging existing community power to hold both the problem definers (news media) and the problem themselves (the Military industry) accountable.

Holding narrative creators accountable

The impact of naval misinformation would not be so severe with proper local journalism serving as a watchdog, as was the case in Love Canal (Robinson).

Part of this lack of critical engagement with industry is a result of industrial monopoly over media. Although there are antitrust laws in place pertaining to media corporations, mergers and conglomerates are permitted as long as editorial staff is separate (JUSTIA). This does not address the issue of institutional bias, such as could potentially be the case with the Kitsap Sun, Gannett Media Co., and Lockheed Martin. Consider that a media organization, like any corporation, has incentives or disincentives built into their institution, in hiring, publishing, and reviewing job performance. Imagine that these institutional incentives pushed the individual to

write from a certain position, or to not address certain topics. Those would be biases built into the institution and would not be addressed by diversifying editorial staff. Considering the drastic shift in coverage under Gannett seems to indicate some level of disincentive to critically reporting on Naval-industrial impact, these institutionalized biases should be addressed.

Part of this lack of critical engagement can also be attributed to individual conflict of interest, as we see in the case of Josh Farley's final article in which he praises the nuclear industry and the Navy's impact on it, directly before leaving the Kitsap Sun to work in PR for a Nuclear fusion company (Zap Energy).

One recommendation for addressing this is for subscribers to demand or pressure the news media which they subscribe to begin disclosing institutional and personal conflicts of interest. This has been undertaken as a practice by some newspapers, but could certainly benefit from external oversight.

Holding the Navy Accountable

Although news media coverage of Naval Base Kitsap fixates on the economic dependency of Kitsap county on Naval industry as a way of holding the community hostage, there is another side to this codependency that is not leveraged in the same way. Because the Navy is dependent on this site as the sole Nuclear recycling facility and as the closest NSY to the dominantly-discussed defense threats of Russia and China, the community could leverage their power in order to make demands to better the conditions of defense-industrial communities across the country.

Leveraging the sites deemed unexpendable to protect the bodies and environments deemed expendable or otherwise unworthy of protection

A recurring theme in institutional statements was the idea of the Navy and the Kitsap community working together as a team, their power together unexpendable to the defense project. Given this necessity, and with the idea of teamwork in mind, there are certainly policies and practices that could be changed to better reflect the reciprocal relationship between community and industry. Leveraging the existing community power over the Navy could allow Naval communities such as that of Kitsap to demand changes which have been called for and gone unmet for years

1. Acknowledgment and practical compliance with Suquamish right to food systems sovereignty (Suquamish NSN)
2. Coming up to compliance with OSHA workplace safety standards (Stanford 2018)
3. Genuinely engaging in epidemiological research to assess the potential risk of cancers, thyroid conditions, and Multiple Chemical Sensitivity (Letters 1994)
4. Oversight to ensure that the military promise of full health benefits is realized throughout the lifetime of the individual who may have risked bodily alteration under those pretenses (Roland McIntosh, via Philpott)

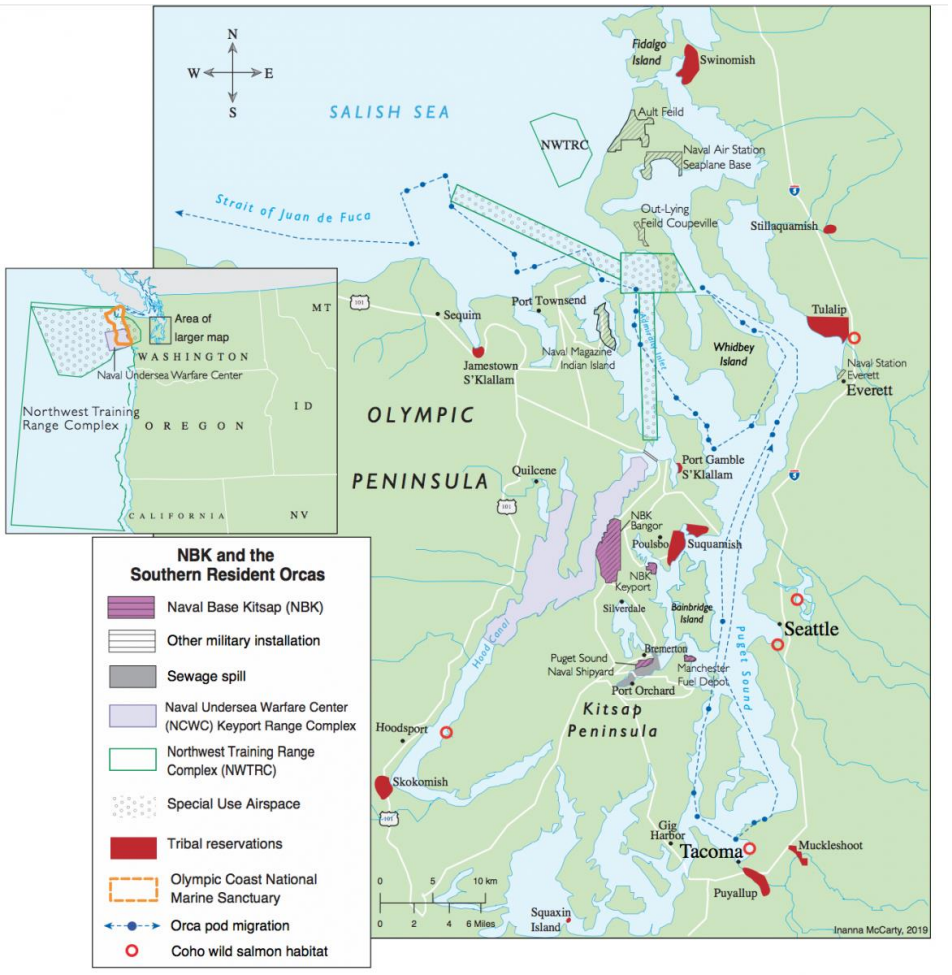
Narrative Interventions to emphasize community power

In order to make these demands, there must first be

Because media is so institutionally dominated, community members must turn to other ways of sharing information to engage with a popular defining process. Activist networks are a great space for this. Existing activism is pretty restricted to niches: the Soundkeepers address environmental concerns in cooperation with the Suquamish, and the Ground Zero Center conducts actions based on faith-based moral concerns (Dundas 2008). There has been little coalition building across these platforms. Community members may be hesitant to engage with strictly morality based institutions due to religious difference or because those institutions may

villainize a profession they find great pride in. Some may not be concerned with the environment as it pertains to marine ecosystems, but would be interested if discussion was focused on their personal bodily health. A coalitional organizing movement could better gauge whether there is community interest at all in undermining the power of the Navy over the local community. Because so many people do not know about the heavy nuclear industry at this site, simply having conversations among your community is the first step to intervening in the passive acceptance of this industrial project. Simply ask a friend, “did you know that if Washington was its own nation, it would be the third largest nuclear power in the world?”, and engage in a conversation about why you maybe would not have known that fact (Federation of American Scientists). Have conversations which challenge the idea of defense necessity and radically prioritize the protection of human and nonhuman life. Be compassionate with family members and friends who may place great stake or even pride in the naval industrial project: our understandings have been constructed, and they can be reconstructed, but only through patience.

Site Map, courtesy of Innana McCarty, Basewatch



Appendix: News Media Analysis

Archival Media: via https://products.kitsapsun.com/archive/

1990-1999:

1. Lloyd Pritchett, "PSNS, one hundred years of tradition", *Kitsap Sun,* April 1, 1991. https://products.kitsapsun.com/archive/1991/04-01/346_psns__one_hundred_years_of_traditi.html
2. Lloyd Pritchett, "PSNS gets green light for expansion", *Kitsap Sun,* September 4, 1991. https://products.kitsapsun.com/archive/1991/09-04/235984_psns_gets_green_light_for_expan.html
3. Lloyd Pritchett, "Engineer wants Navy put under OSHA rules", *Kitsap Sun,* October 22, 1991. https://products.kitsapsun.com/archive/1991/10-22/236391_engineers_wants_navy_put_under_.html
4. Lloyd Pritchett, "Study finds no radiation peril", *Kitsap Sun,* October 24, 1991. https://products.kitsapsun.com/archive/1991/10-24/236322_study_finds_no_radiation_peril.html
5. Lloyd Pritchett, "Nuclear waste site listing disputed", *Kitsap Sun,* April 10, 1992. https://products.kitsapsun.com/archive/1992/04-10/240742_label_hed__shipyard.html
6. Lloyd Pritchett, "Jobs safe under compromise", *Kitsap Sun,* August 10, 1993. https://products.kitsapsun.com/archive/1993/08-10/284679_psns.html
7. Lloyd Pritchett, "The Nuclear Navy: PSNS tearing it apart, sub by sub", *Kitsap Sun,* December 5, 1993. https://products.kitsapsun.com/archive/1993/12-05/289161_the_nuclear_navy__psns_tearing_.html
8. Lloyd Pritchett, "Researcher claims radioactive marine life", *Kitsap Sun,* January 5, 1994. https://products.kitsapsun.com/archive/1994/01-05/289975_sinclair_inlet__researcher_clai.html
9. Lloyd Pritchett, "Navy: Scope of victims expands over 1940s radiation testing", *Kitsap Sun,* January 6, 1994. https://products.kitsapsun.com/archive/1994/01-06/289942_navy__scope_of_victims_expands_.html
10. Lloyd Pritchett, "Nuclear Waste: Navy predicts work safe for now", *Kitsap Sun,* January 12, 1994. https://products.kitsapsun.com/archive/1994/01-12/289770_nuclear_waste__navy_predicts_wo.html
11. Lloyd Pritchett, "Nuclear Waste: Temporary storage at PSNS safe for public", *Kitsap Sun,* January 13, 1994. https://products.kitsapsun.com/archive/1994/01-13/289746_nuclear_waste__temporary_storag.html
12. Lloyd Pritchett, "Nuclear Fuel: Bremerton may end up permanent storage", *Kitsap Sun,* January 29, 1994. https://products.kitsapsun.com/archive/1994/01-29/289358_nuclear_fuel__bremerton_may_end.html

13. Lloyd Pritchett, “Locals act on nuclear storage dangers”, *Kitsap Sun,* February 12, 1994. https://products.kitsapsun.com/archive/1994/02-12/290491_psns__locals_act_on_nuclear_sto.html
14. Lloyd Pritchett, “Radiation: Dicks urges compensation for yard victims”, *Kitsap Sun,* February 25, 1994. https://products.kitsapsun.com/archive/1994/02-25/290146_radiation__dicks_urges_compensa.html
15. Christopher Dunagan, “So far, nobody is raising public health concerns, but the discovery of radioactive material in the Sinclair Inlet could provoke further testing”, *Kitsap Sun,* March 8, 1994. https://products.kitsapsun.com/archive/1994/03-08/291625_so_far__nobody_is_raising_publi.html
16. Christopher Dunagan, “Sinclair Inlet: Isotoper hunt switches from cadmium to iodine”, *Kitsap Sun,* April 20, 1994. https://products.kitsapsun.com/archive/1994/04-20/292207_sinclair_inlet__isotoper_hunt_s.html
17. Lloyd Pritchett, “Nuclear Waste: PSNS among undesirable choices”, *Kitsap Sun*, June 23, 1994. https://products.kitsapsun.com/archive/1994/06-23/295701_nuclear_waste__psns_among_undes.html
18. “Forum Letters: Nuclear waste storage at PSNS”, *Kitsap Sun,* August 14, 1994. https://products.kitsapsun.com/archive/1994/08-14/297913_forum_letters__nuclear_waste_st.html
19. Martha Andersson, “PSNS: Four people questioned for ‘sampling waters’”, *Kitsap Sun,* September 25, 1994. https://products.kitsapsun.com/archive/1994/09-25/298520_psns__four_people_questioned_fo.html
20. Christopher Dunagan, “Contamination research: Court hearing today may allow shipyard sampling”, *Kitsap Sun,* July 12, 1995. https://products.kitsapsun.com/archive/1995/07-12/337590_contamination_research__court_h.html
21. Christopher Dunagan, “Researcher denied access to PSNS”, *Kitsap Sun,* July 14, 1995. https://products.kitsapsun.com/archive/1995/07-14/337506_sinclair_inlet_brief.html
22. Lloyd Pritchett, “Nuclear Waste: Shipment ban threatens jobs, Navy says”, *Kitsap Sun,* July 14, 1995. https://products.kitsapsun.com/archive/1995/07-14/337509_nuclear_waste_shipment.html
23. Christopher Dunagan, “Radioactive iodine noted”, *Kitsap Sun,* October 14, 1995. https://products.kitsapsun.com/archive/1995/10-14/340219_radioactive_iodine_noted.html
24. Christopher Dunagan, “Both scientist and activist”, *Kitsap Sun,* December 10, 1995. https://products.kitsapsun.com/archive/1995/12-10/342123_both_scientist_and_activist.html
25. Christopher Dunagan, “Researcher convicted for entering PSNS waters”, *Kitsap Sun,* January 24, 1996. https://products.kitsapsun.com/archive/1996/01-24/342758_researcher_convicted_for_enteri.html

26. Lloyd Pritchett, "PSNS denies attempt to dismantle union", *Kitsap Sun,* August 9, 1996. https://products.kitsapsun.com/archive/1996/08-09/351018_psns_denies_attempt_to_dismantl.html
27. Lloyd Pritchett, "Fewer than half of Kitsap County's contaminated sites have been studied", *Kitsap Sun,* February 13, 1997. https://products.kitsapsun.com/archive/1997/02-13/0003_toxic_kitsap__fewer_than_half_of_.html
28. Tom Philpott, "Mail Call", *Kitsap Sun,* May 28, 1998. https://products.kitsapsun.com/archive/1998/05-28/0025_mail_call__this_supplement_to_tom.html
29. Lloyd Pritchett, "OSHA cites shipyard for '97 death", *Kitsap Sun,* May 30, 1998. https://products.kitsapsun.com/archive/1998/05-30/0044_san_diego_accident__osha_cites_sh.html
30. Richland Horn, "Fallout: CDC to release study results of thyroid health near Hanford", *Kitsap Sun,* January 28, 1999. https://products.kitsapsun.com/archive/1999/01-28/0053_fallout__cdc_to_release_study_res.html

2000-2009:

31. Richard Horn, "PSNS Accidents: Navy told to improve safety", *Kitsap Sun,* March 10, 2000. https://products.kitsapsun.com/archive/2000/03-10/0064_psns_accidents__navy_told_to_impr.html
32. Richard Horn, "SHIPYARD SAFETY: Man brings suit against union", *Kitsap Sun,* March 10, 2000. https://products.kitsapsun.com/archive/2000/03-10/0030_shipyard_safety__man_brings_suit_.html
33. Chris Barron, "Federal health, safety investigation: 'High number' of violations found at PSNS" , *Kitsap Sun,* March 27, 2002. https://products.kitsapsun.com/archive/2002/03-27/0065_federal_health__safety_investigat.html
34. Chris Barron, "Shipyard Safety: Radiation incident prompts PSNS review", *Kitsap Sun,* March 28, 2002. https://products.kitsapsun.com/archive/2002/03-28/0040_shipyard_safety__radiation_incide.html
35. Chris Barron, "A widow's fight for benefits: "I'm tired of being pushed around", *Kitsap Sun,* May 5, 2002. https://products.kitsapsun.com/archive/2002/05-05/0094_a_widow_s_fight_for_benefits___i_.html
36. Marietta Nelson, "OSHA cites shipyard again", *Kitsap Sun,* July 27, 2002. https://products.kitsapsun.com/archive/2002/07-27/334613_osha_cites_shipyard_again.html
37. Ed Friedrich, "Letting go of the Mighty Mo", *Kitsap Sun,* May 4, 2008. https://archive.kitsapsun.com/news/local/letting-go-of-the-mighty-mo-ep-422079747-358614641.html/

Recent Media: via https://www.kitsapsun.com

2010-2019:

38. Susannah Frame, "Shipyard workers exposed to cyanide, other toxins for many years", Published originally by *King 5,* found via *Kitsap Sun,* November 7, 2017. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/local/2017/11/07/shipyard-workers-exposed-cyanide-other-toxins-many-years/840235001/
39. Julianne Stanford, "Puget Sound Naval Shipyard loses workplace health and safety program 'star site' recognition", *Kitsap Sun,* June 6, 2018. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/local/2018/06/06/puget-sound-naval-shipyard-loses-workplace-safety-program-recognition/670021002/
40. Josh Farley, "As captain combats harassment, shipyard workers cast doubt on office handling complaints", *Kitsap Sun,* December 15, 2019. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2019/12/15/shipyard-workers-cast-doubt-office-handling-discrimination-complaints/2513747001/

2020 to Present:

2020:

41. Josh Farley, "Navy, Suquamish reach settlement over aircraft carrier hull-scraping in Sinclair inlet", *Kitsap Sun,* January 29, 2020. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2020/01/29/navy-tribe-reach-settlement-over-carrier-hull-scraping-sinclair-inlet/4610575002/
42. Josh Farley, "A Kitsap-based sub just tested one of the most powerful weapons on the planet—twice", *Kitsap Sun,* February 20, 2020. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2020/02/20/kitsap-based-sub-test-fires-2-unarmed-nuclear/4806647002/
43. Josh Farley, "Kitsap's nuclear legacy: county has grown under its protectors and protesters", *Kitsap Sun,* August 5, 2020**.** https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2020/08/05/kitsaps-nuclear-legacy-has-protectors-protestors/5502825002/
44. Josh Farley, "Navy reservists give Puget Sound Naval Shipyard a workforce boost during the pandemic", *Kitsap Sun,* October 19, 2020. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2020/10/19/navy-reservists-give-puget-sound-naval-shipyard-workforce-boost/3667523001/
45. Josh Farley, "Old sub reactor leaves Puget Sound to new home where it will spend the next 1,000 years", *Kitsap Sun,* November 9, 2020. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2020/11/09/ex-narwhal-reactor-leaves-shipyard-new-home-next-1-000-years/6220464002/
46. Josh Farley, "Price tag to ensure safety of carrier dry dock during an earthquake? $667 million", *Kitsap Sun,* November 27, 2020.

https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2020/11/27/shipyards-aircraft-carrier-dry-dock-upgrades-estimated-667-million/6318460002/

2021:

47. Josh Farley, "Shipyard will see a new homeported carrier and submarines in its dry docks in 2021", *Kitsap Sun,* January 12, 2021. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2021/01/12/shipyard-see-new-homeported-carrier-and-submarines-its-dry-docks-2021/6597415002/
48. Josh Farley, "How the Navy based in the Pacific Northwest is helping to contain China", *Kitsap Sun,* February 26, 2021. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2021/02/26/how-navy-based-pacific-northwest-helping-contain-china/4491791001/
49. Josh Farley, "Talk grows of billions for revamp of Puget Sound, nation's shipyards", *Kitsap Sun,* May 9, 2021. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2021/05/09/puget-sound-nations-shipyards-talk-grows-billions-revamp/4973043001/
50. Josh Farley, "Delegation from Congress visits Puget Sound Naval Shipyard", *Kitsap Sun,* October 7, 2021. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2021/10/07/delegation-congress-visits-puget-sound-naval-shipyard/6040838001/
51. Josh Farley, "Nimitz sets sail Saturday on first voyage following shipyard work", *Kitsap Sun,* November 6, 2021. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2021/11/06/nimitz-sets-sail-saturday-first-voyage-following-shipyard-work/6316468001/
52. Josh Farley, "Navy's shipyards, already struggling to maintain fleet, will lose workers over COVID-19 vaccine", *Kitsap Sun,* November 9, 2021. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2021/11/09/coronavirus-vaccine-mandate-washington-state-puget-sound-naval-shipyard/6243652001/
53. Josh Farley, "Propulsion problems bring USS Nimitz home after 3 days at sea", *Kitsap Sun,* November 10, 2021. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2021/11/10/uss-nimitz-returns-puget-sound-naval-shipyard-propulsion-plant-problem/6375148001/
54. Josh Farley, "Shipyard welder who is deaf overcomes obstacles at Puget Sound Naval Shipyard", *Kitsap Sun,* November 15, 2021. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2021/11/15/deaf-puget-sound-shipyard-welder-wins-national-award-pentagon/6347562001/
55. Josh Farley, "Here come the funds: Navy inks contracts to bring billions to Puget Sound Naval Shipyard", *Kitsap Sun,* November 15, 2021. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2021/11/15/navy-inks-contracts-bring-billions-puget-sound-naval-shipyard/8591143002/
56. Josh Farley, "USS Oklahoma City submarine makes final voyage to Bremerton, where it will be scrapped", *Kitsap Sun,* November 23, 2021. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2021/11/23/uss-oklahoma-city-submarine-makes-final-voyage-bremerton/8736625002/
57. Josh Farley, "In troubled era for Navy's destroyers, commander says sailors now 'well trained, equipped'", *Kitsap Sun,* December 13, 2021.

https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2021/12/13/us-navy-destroyers-john-paul-jones/8827486002/

58. Josh Farley, "USS Ohio, America's oldest working sub, returns to Bremerton following deployment", *Kitsap Sun,* December 20, 2021. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2021/12/20/uss-ohio-submarine-returns-bremerton-following-deployment/8978061002/
59. Josh Farley, "USS Connecticut, damaged in crash with underwater mountain, arrives in Bremerton", *Kitsap Sun,* December 21, 2021. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2021/12/21/uss-connecticut-damaged-crash-seamount-arrives-bremerton/8972936002/
60. Josh Farley, "USS Louisiana, last of the Ohio class to be refueled, leaves dry dock", *Kitsap Sun,* December 30, 2021. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2021/12/30/uss-louisiana-last-ohio-class-refueled-leaves-dry-dock/9039122002/

2022:

61. Josh Farley, "Aircraft carrier USS Kitty Hawk departs Bremerton for Texas dismantling", *Kitsap Sun,* January 15, 2022. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2022/01/15/old-carrier-uss-kitty-hawk-departs-bremerton-texas-dismantling/6534565001/
62. Rep. Derek Kilmer, "Congress must do right by our servicemembers and defense workforce", *Kitsap Sun,* January 17, 2022. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/opinion/columnists/2022/01/17/opinion-congress-must-do-right-our-military-and-defense-workforce/6549822001/
63. Josh Farley, "Congress must do right by our servicemembers and defense workforce", *Kitsap Sun,* January 17, 2022. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/opinion/columnists/2022/01/17/opinion-congress-must-do-right-our-military-and-defense-workforce/6549822001/
64. Josh Farley, "Here's how Puget Sound Naval Shipyard will ready fleet in 2022", *Kitsap Sun,* January 22, 2022. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2022/01/22/puget-sound-naval-shipyard-ready-fleet-2022/6610066001/
65. Josh Farley, "Naval Base Kitsap becomes the tactical hub for ballistic-missile submarines", *Kitsap Sun,* January 28, 2022. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2022/01/28/naval-base-kitsap-becomes-tactical-hub-ballistic-missile-submarines/9233756002/
66. Josh Farley, "USS Nimitz, with repairs complete, heads out of Bremerton for sea trials", *Kitsap Sun,* February 7, 2022. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2022/02/07/its-repairs-complete-uss-nimitz-heads-out-bremerton-sea-trials/6691018001/
67. Josh Farley, "Navy veteran's dying wish granted as flag flies again: After I'm gone, it will still be here", *Kitsap Sun,* February 16, 2022. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2022/02/16/navy-veterans-dying-wish-granted-flag-flies-again-uss-sailfish-puget-sound-naval-shipyard-bremerton/6797787001/

68. Josh Farley, “USS Connecticut, damaged in South China Sea grounding, enters dry dock for assessment”, *Kitsap Sun,* March 4, 2022. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2022/03/04/damaged-uss-connecticut-enters-dry-dock-assessment-bremerton/9374339002/
69. Josh Farley, “In bid to improve commuter safety, shipyard installs 911 boxes in Bremerton”, *Kitsap Sun,* March 17, 2022. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2022/03/17/puget-sound-naval-shipyard-installs-911-call-boxes-bremerton/7049177001/
70. Marietta Nelson, “OSHA cites shipyard again”, *Kitsap Sun,* March 23, 2022. https://products.kitsapsun.com/archive/2002/07-27/334613_osha_cites_shipyard_again.html
71. Josh Farley, “USS Nimitz comes home to Bremerton, following 2 months of training at Sea”, *Kitsap Sun,* March 26, 2022. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2022/03/26/uss-nimitz-comes-home-bremerton-after-2-months-training/7151870001/
72. Josh Farley, “2 Hurt during test aboard USS Louisiana at Puget Sound Naval Shipyard”, *Kitsap Sun,* April 2, 2022. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2022/04/02/2-hurt-during-test-aboard-uss-louisiana-puget-sound-naval-shipyard/7259667001/
73. Josh Farley, “Judge reinstates shipyard worker accused of ‘weaponizing’ sexual harassment investigations”, *Kitsap Sun,* April 6, 2022. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2022/04/06/judge-restores-demoted-puget-sound-naval-shipyard-worker-over-harassment/6436677001/
74. Josh Farley, “Navy secretary visits Bremerton, Bangor, touts multi-billion modernization of shipyard”, *Kitsap Sun,* April 12, 2022. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2022/04/12/navy-secretary-carlos-del-toro-visits-naval-base-kitsap-bangor/7290248001/
75. Josh Farley, “Shipyard commander addresses USS Louisiana submarine accident: ‘We cannot get complacent’”, *Kitsap Sun,* April 18, 2022. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2022/04/18/uss-louisiana-submarine-depressurize-inaccurate-procedure-puget-sound-naval-shipyard/7359128001/
76. Josh Farley, “USS Michigan, 1 of nation’s 4 guided-missile submarines, completes $274 million overhaul”, *Kitsap Sun,* April 20, 2022. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2022/04/20/uss-michigan-guided-missile-submarine-overhaul-puget-sound-naval-shipyard/7371328001/
77. Josh Farley, “USS Nimitz, departing Bremerton for training, will reunite with strike group”, *Kitsap Sun,* May 7, 2022. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2022/05/07/bremerton-based-uss-nimitz-returns-sea-more-training/9675502002/
78. Josh Farley, “New subs and modernized missiles mean new facilities at Naval Base Kitsap-Bangor”, *Kitsap Sun,* May 23, 2022.

https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2022/05/23/new-facilities-coming-bangor-navy-prepares-sub-missile-upgrades/9830808002/
79. Josh Farley, "Months before striking an underwater mountain, USS Connecticut hit a pier in San Diego", *Kitsap Sun,* May 23, 2022. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2022/05/23/uss-connecticut-had-hit-pier-prior-striking-underwater-mountain/9901675002/
80. Mary Gleysteen, "Nuclear weapons aren't an investment in the future", *Kitsap Sun,* May 28, 2022. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/opinion/readers/2022/05/28/nuclear-weapons-arent-investment-future/9950037002/
81. Bill Broughton, "In turbulent D.C., Kilmer has kept his focus on constituents here", *Kitsap Sun,* May 31, 2022. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/opinion/readers/2022/05/31/turbulent-d-c-kilmer-has-kept-his-focus-constituents-here/9987632002/
82. Josh Farley, "The Navy wants to demolish Puget Sound Naval Shipyard's iconic shipyard crane. Here's why", *Kitsap Sun,* June 8, 2022. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2022/06/08/iconic-shipyard-crane-to-be-razed-to-make-room-for-new-navy-dry-dock/9943614002/
83. Ritch K. Eich (Retired Naval Captain), "Treasuring pieces of our shared history", *Kitsap Sun,* June 10, 2022. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/opinion/readers/2022/06/10/treasuring-pieces-our-shared-history/7586719001/
84. Rep. Derek Kilmer, "Steps that will strengthen our shipyard", *Kitsap Sun,* July 8, 2022. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/opinion/columnists/2022/07/08/opinion-what-congress-can-do-strengthen-puget-sound-naval-shipyard/10015156002/
85. Josh Farley, "Navy Plans to scrap ex-carrier Enterprise at private shipyard instead of PSNS", *Kitsap Sun,* August 19, 2022. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2022/08/19/navy-wont-scrap-former-enterprise-aircraft-carrier-puget-sound/7845512001/
86. Josh Farley, "USS Theodore Roosevelt undocks from dry dock at Puget Sound Naval Shipyard", *Kitsap Sun,* August 27, 2022. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2022/08/27/uss-theodore-roosevelt-departs-dry-dock-puget-sound-naval-shipyard/7908604001/
87. Josh Farley, "USS Nimitz aircraft carrier departs Bremerton for final underway before deployment", *Kitsap Sun,* September 13, 2022. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2022/09/13/uss-nimitz-aircraft-carrier-puget-sound-naval-shipyard-comptuex-deployment/10371536002/
88. Josh Farley, "Navy placing 10,000 yards of sand on Puget Sound seafloor as part of legal settlement", originally published in *Kitsap Sun,* found via *USA Today,* September 19, 2022. https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2022/09/19/navysand-seafloor-puget-sound-lawsuit-settlement/10425620002/

89. Josh Farley, “Jet fuel contaminates water supply aboard USS Nimitz before deployment”, *Kitsap Sun,* September 21, 2022. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2022/09/21/jet-fuel-penetrates-water-supply-aboard-uss-nimitz-navy-aircraft-carrier-southern-california/8070930001/
90. Josh Farley, “Nimitz returns to Bremerton after completing key training exercise”, *Kitsap Sun,* October 28, 2022. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2022/10/28/uss-nimitz-returns-bremerton-training-exercise-washington/10628900002/
91. Josh Farley, “Bangor facility preps for new sub: 'We have to be masters of the craft the day it arrives'”, *Kitsap Sun,* November 5, 2022. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2022/11/05/nuke-tipped-subs-means-big-changes-bangor-facility/8251100001/
92. Josh Farley, “Nuclear power in Kitsap? Not happening. But 'Navy nukes' will keep generating it elsewhere”, *Kitsap Sun,* November 17, 2022. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2022/11/16/how-navy-nukes-give-america-nuclear-industry-reliable-workforce-kitsap-clean-energy/10524307002/
93. Peiyu Lin, “Nimitz departs Bremerton for its next global deployment”, *Kitsap Sun,* November 28, 2022. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2022/11/28/nimitz-departs-bremerton-for-its-next-global-deployment/69679802007/
94. Peiyu Lin, “Sailor found dead on USS Theodore Roosevelt”, *Kitsap Sun,* December 8, 2022. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2022/12/07/sailor-found-dead-on-uss-theodore-roosevelt-on-monday/69709073007/
95. Peiyu Lin, “Sailor above USS Theodore Roosevelt died by suicide, coroner’s office confirms”, *Kitsap Sun,* December 17, 2022. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2022/12/16/sailor-aboard-uss-roosevelt-died-by-suicide-coroners-office-confirms/69732939007/
96. Peiyu Lin, “Shipyard leadership changes with Mosman leaving for Norfolk”, *Kitsap Sun,* December 20, 2022. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2022/12/20/psns-and-imf-commander-announces-pending-move-to-norfolk-shipyard/69736386007/

2023:

97. Peiyu Lin, “Chinese Navy conducts military drills after USS Nimitz begis operating in South China Sea”, *Kitsap Sun,* January 18, 2023. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2023/01/18/chinese-navy-conducts-drills-after-uss-nimitz-enters-south-china-sea/69815731007/
98. Peiyu Lin, “Submarine USS Chicago wraps up service with decommissioning at Puget Sound Naval Shipyard”, *Kitsap Sun,* January 20, 2023. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/local/navy/2023/01/20/submarine-uss-chicago-decommissioning-puget-sound-naval-shipyard/69814768007/
99. Peiyu Lin, “Another death of sailor assigned to USS Theodore Roosevelt confirmed as suicide”, *Kitsap Sun,* January 22, 2023.

https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2023/01/22/death-of-sailor-assigned-to-uss-theodore-roosevelt-confirmed-suicide/69826997007/

100. Peiyu Lin, "Navy suspending use of 4 Kitsap submarine dry docks in light of seismic concerns", *Kitsap Sun,* January 27, 2023. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/local/navy/2023/01/27/puget-sound-bangor-naval-shipyard-dry-docks-earthquake-study/69849084007/

101. Peiyu Lin, "After final trip from Guam, USS Key West submarine arrives in Bremerton for decommissioning", *Kitsap Sun,* February 16, 2023. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/local/navy/2023/02/16/uss-key-west-los-angeles-class-fast-attack-submarine-decommissioning/69904657007/

102. Peiyu Lin, "Navy awards $76 million for work on three dry docks cited for seismic concerns", *Kitsap Sun,* February 17, 2023. https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/2023/02/17/navy-awards-76-million-to-fix-suspended-dry-docks-at-naval-base-kitsap/69915652007/